

This part is dedicated to Thakur Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Kt.,
without reference to him and without informing him its
contents.

BAMAN CHANDRA DAS.

PREFACE

We have tried in "Financial Autonomy for India" to state the principles of economics as far as they are applicable to Indian condition, in such form that they shall be comprehensible to an educated and intelligent person who has not made before any systematic study of the subject. The condition of India is different from the condition of every other country on the face of this earth as the perusal of the annual Budget Statement of the Finance Minister will show. India is a perpetual debtor country—the Home charges and the salary of the imported service consume a greater part of its revenue and the periodic sales of councils by the Secretary of State contribute to the trade of the country. Moreover we do not know what is the return of the British money invested in India which at a modest computation has been said to amount to 656 millions by the Times Trade Supplement and that how that return goes out of India. We find that a very small part of the revenue is spent upon sanitation and education and that up to the present the country has not been blessed with a polytechnic institute or with such scientific works as will enable the country to meet the requirements of a modern state and society. We maintain that the want of Financial Autonomy to

the people of India is responsible for its present wretched condition. We find that as a remedy for this condition, gradual realisation of responsible government has been conceded to the people of India by the announcement of the Secretary of State for India of 20th August 1917, confirmed by the highest authority in England and that step has been taken to devise means to introduce the principle of responsible government in India. But we are sorry to find that except before the Joint Committee of the Houses of Commons and Lords, the chief thing which should first be conceded to the people to initiate them in the art of progressive realisation of responsible government viz., fiscal autonomy was not permitted to be thoroughly discussed. Our 'Financial Autonomy' will discuss this problem in some of its bearings and will show that financial autonomy is essentially needed for India for its regeneration.

Our 'Financial Autonomy' will consist of five books. The 1st Book will deal with the general history of industry and trade. It will show how India has been turned, as described by Srijut Ranade, into a British plantation, how the country has lost its ancient arts and industries, how the infant industries of the country are suffering from foreign competition, how before granting fiscal autonomy to India she is being dragged into a scheme of Imperial Preference by England. This book will also deal with Srijut Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's fiscal autonomy resolution of March, 1916, which is commonly known as Industria

Commission Resolution. The history of cotton, sugar, iron, silk and salt industry will also be touched in this book. The 2nd Book will contain agriculture and industry and will also touch upon co-operation, prices and wages. The 3rd Book will deal with Transportation including Railway and Shipping, Irrigation and Famine. The 4th Book will deal with Finance and Currency Expenditure and Public debt of India. The 5th Book will deal with Sanitation, Education and Ways and Means.

We will try to picture from the published records the economic position of India as faithfully as we can and will also propose the ways and means for improving the present wretched condition of India but it will be our best and earnest endeavour to point out that the present method agitation will not enable us to secure the remedy. The present method of agitation is only creating and deep-rooting race antagonism. This is not good for the rulers and the ruled. This race antagonism is to be eradicated from the country and co-operation between the sovereign and subject race must be secured to achieve the regeneration of the economic progress of India. Already the annual mortality is over 7 millions among a population of about 250 millions in British India. People who are suffering from malaria, cholera, small-pox, plague, dysentery and respiratory diseases are very large in number as they principally contribute to the number of the dead. The remedy for this situation lies in peoples' hand. People must first be loyal—loyal to the British empire and loyal to the crown of England.

The first essential of this loyalty lies in the fact that people must live and find enjoyment in living and can themselves in a position to co-operate with the ruling race. Slavish obedience and submission is neither co-operation nor loyalty. Those who contribute to the number suffering from the above diseases and succumb to them cannot be expected to find pleasure in living and thus seven million are eliminated from the people who can be expected to co-operate with the ruling race. Then comes Sir W. Hunter's figure of 40 millions among a population of about 200 millions (vide census of 1881) and afterwards comes Sir Charles Elliot's figure of 70 millions among a population of about 222 millions (vide census of 1891) who are said to be sub-merged population—people who cannot satisfy their hunger. Sriyut K. L. Datta in his Report has failed to indicate their number with reference to the census of 1911. His silence is certainly ominous as his appointment was made to silence the clamour of the people for securing a commission to investigate the economic condition of the rural and agricultural population and an inquiry of the kind instituted by him to be of use must find out that number. We can however say that the vast number of people who are suffering from famine and scarcity cannot be expected to entertain good feelings towards the ruling race. Then come the dumb masses, illiterate and unintelligent people who are rightly or wrongly being told that people who are living in India are not getting their belly expanded and power of devouring food increased but it is the

export of food that is responsible for the want of food in the country and no amount of reasoning by Srijut Datta will convince people that export of food of higher price and import of food of lower price will mitigate the scarcity of food when the food growers find that on account of the merchants and middlemen and cost of transportation and interest of money invested in the export and import business they cannot purchase their food even at the price at which they sell their own produce to meet the rent demands and the demands of their mahajan. These people must necessarily be disaffected people. Then we must consider the case of the people who stand between the Government and the proletariat. These people are generally gelded population and many of them among whom the workings of the veterinary department have not yet produced the desired effect have the C. I. D's after them. This brings us to the question that if Britain wants to avail of the man-power of India for the defence of India without the repetition of the catastrophes of the Mesopotamia and Afgan campaigns, how many men will be available for the purpose among the 315 millions of bipeds in India—whether man power will have to be breded or whether sufficient number can be recruited from the 315 millions of bipeds. This question has not been sufficiently considered in public inspite of Srijut Sarma's effort in the Council. But we maintain that the policy of humouring and gilding the clever among the gelded ought to be changed and steps ought to be taken that real human beings with manly

instincts and qualifications can be breded in India. Senator Reed of America has described us as a dying race. In fact the present system of administration is stunting the growth of the population, their aims and aspirations—Government is taking steps to change it but we maintain that real steps should be taken by conceding them fiscal autonomy and permitting them to learn to defend themselves not by dribblets but in adequate numbers.

Our view is a constructive one—we want the people to grow to manage their own affairs and to defend themselves as this is the avowed object of Great Britain firmly proved by securing a place for us in the League of Nations. If people are helped in this direction they may gradually realise responsible government. With this end in view we ask the people first to be loyal, then to educate themselves, then to organise themselves, and then to co-operate with each other. To be loyal people must have food to live on not only to show their loyalty but to be of service as loyal citizen, they must have utensils to cook their food and to eat upon, they must have clothing and then houses to live in. These being secured, people can be expected to be loyal and to get education and afterwards organisation and then and then only co-operation can be attempted and achieved. After we have educated and organised ourselves and achieved co-operation among ourselves we can then secure co-operation with the ruling caste. We must extract respect from the ruling caste before co-operation with them becomes possible. Gubernatorial regulation

will not secure it as it has in the past failed to secure it. With the object of securing co-operation with the ruling caste and to be an "honest to God" in the place of "honest to the interest of the British ruling caste" member of the League of Nations, financial autonomy is essentially necessary for the people to get. "Financial Autonomy" will deal with how that co-operation becomes possible and can be secured. The present issue is merely a small part of the 1st Book.

BAMAN CHANDRA DAS.



FINANCIAL AUTONOMY.

BOOK I.

General History of Industry and Trade.

CHAPTER I.

Decline of Indian Industries and want of Proper Education.

I.—India, a land of raw produce—"a plantation."

The history of the Indian tariffs will show that without fiscal autonomy the Indians have no future. Without it they have become the poorest people in the world. Without it they are subject to constant attacks of scarcity and famine. Without it they will permanently remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, and will in course of time, in all probability, be wiped out of existence. It is well known that India was at one time a great manufacturing country. It was, indeed, the excellence of the Indian manufactures that aroused the cupidity of the Western nations and induced them to come to trade here in spite of the dangers of the distant and unknown seas.

The history of these manufactures under British rule, however, is a melancholy one. H. H. Wilson, the well-known historian of India, writes: "It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the

Settled policy of the
Government

FINANCIAL AUTONOMY.

country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence (in the Parliamentary Committee of 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been set in motion, even by the power of the steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties on British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.'

True, debates were now and then held on Indian affairs in Parliament in which words of sympathy for India and her people were now and then uttered. In the Parliamentary debates of 1813, for instance, to quote again from Wilson, "professions of a concern for the interests of India were, it is true, not unsparingly uttered," but "says the same writer", it would be difficult

to show that the majority of the party who engaged in the discussion were solely instigated by a disinterested regard for the welfare of the Indian subjects of the Crown. ... The merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom avowedly looked only to their own profits" If the settled policy, as Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, wrote in his General Minute of 30th November 1830, had been "to look to India in the matter of rendering Great Britain independent of foreign countries for a considerable portion of raw materials upon which her most valuable manufactures depend," debates in the House of Commons, could not but be merely academical in character To the ruin of the Indian industries and the growing poverty of the Indian people this policy, settled or unsettled, has, however, materially contributed No public man or public writer unfortunately has given much thought to this aspect of the question The student of Indian political economy will even look in vain for a reference to this policy in Adam Smith or in J. B. Say, or even in the works of the Stracheys or in the "Imperial Gazetteer."

2 An extract from a communication to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company from Lord Ellenborough dated the 18th March 1835, will not be amiss.

Inland duties and their effect.

"While the cotton manufactures of England are imported into India on payment of a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, the cotton manufactures of India are subject to a duty on the raw material of 5%, to a further duty on yarn of

7½%, to a further duty upon the manufactured article of 2½%, and finally to another duty of 2½%, if the cloth should be dyed after the Rowana (pass) has been taken for it as white cloth. Thus altogether the cotton goods of India (consumed in India) pay 17½%

"The raw hide pays 5%. On being manufactured into leather, it pays 5% more and when the leather is made into boots and shoes, a further duty is imposed of 5%. Thus, in all, there is a duty of 15% (on leather goods used in India).

"In what manner do we continue to treat our own sugar? On being imported into a town it pays 5% in customs and 5% in town duty, and when manufactured, it pays on exportation from the same town 5% more, in all 15 per cent (on Indian sugar used in India).

"No less than 235 separate articles are subjected to Inland Duties. The tariff includes almost every thing of personal or domestic use, and its operation, combined with the system of search, is of the most vexatious and offensive character, without materially benefitting the revenue. The power of search, if really exercised by every Custom Officer, would put a stop to internal trade by the delay it would necessarily occasion. It is not exercised except for the purpose of extortion.

"The effect upon the national morals is yet more serious than the effect upon national wealth. Every merchant, every manufacturer and every traveller is, as it were, compelled for the security of his property or the protection of his personal comfort, and not unfrequently for that of the feelings of his family, to enter into

unlawful collusion with the Officers of the Government. It is a system which demoralises our own people and which appears to excite the aversion of all the foreign traders of Asia."

3. In that well-known work "Eastern India" compiled from the Official report of Dr. Buchanan and his economic enquiries in Northern India, held at the instance of the East India Company, Mr. Montgomery Martin wrote in 1838 :

"Since this official report was made to Government, have any effective steps been taken in England or in India to benefit the sufferers by our rapacity and selfishness? None. On the contrary we have done everything possible to impoverish still further the miserable beings subject to the cruel selfishness of English Commerce. The pages before the reader prove the number of people in the surveyed districts dependent for their chief support on their skill in weaving cotton etc. Under the pretence of Free Trade, England has compelled the Hindus to receive the steam-looms of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow etc. at mere nominal duties; while the hand-wrought manufactures of Bengal and Behar, beautiful in fabric and durable in wear, have had heavy and almost prohibitive duties imposed on their importation in England."

4. The political economists of Britain from Adam Smith downwards undoubtedly professed the principles of Free Trade. The British Government and the British people did not, however, adopt them till they had destroyed by their

Selfishness of English
Commerce

Free Trade when applied
to India?

fiscal policy and fiscal legislation both in Britain and in India, the manufacturing power of India and reared their own manufactures upon the ruin of the Indian manufactures and created in India their monopolistic trade. This policy of Britain has led to the adoption of by other nations of the world protection in their own country. Even the British colonies who have fiscal liberty have adopted protection even against British manufactures. India having no fiscal autonomy, her industries were supplanted by British manufactures by protection and then again free trade forced on her served as a protection to the British manufactures in as much as it stood in the way of the revival of Indian industries. The Committee of the House of Commons, who now and then examined Indian questions, took down depositions of people who were conversant with the affairs of India both as administrators and merchants and after mature consideration submitted their reports for the guidance of the authorities. In respect of the trade and manufactures of India, the principal object of these enquiries was directed to discover how India could be made a monopolistic mart for British trade and how the Indian manufactures could be replaced by British manufactures and how the British industries could be promoted at the expense of the Indian industries and further, how India can be converted into a land of raw produce for the purpose of "rendering Great Britain independent of foreign countries for a considerable portion of raw material upon which her most valuable manufactories depend" and a gigantic monopolistic mart for the sale

of British goods at the dictated price of the British Manufacturers. Before the Enquiry Committee of the House of Commons of 1813, Warren Hastings was asked · "From your knowledge of the Indian character and habits, are you able to speak to the probability of a demand for European commodities by the population of India, for their own use?" Mr. John Rankin, a merchant, was asked ; "Can you state what is the ad valorem duty on piece-goods sold at the East India House?" The reply was · "The duty on the class called calicoes is £3/6/8 per cent upon importation and if they are used for home consumption, there is a further duty of £18-6-8 per cent. * There is another class called muslins, on which the duty on importation is 10%, and if they are used for home consumption, of £27-6-8 per cent. There is a third class, coloured goods, which are prohibited being used in this country, upon which there is a duty upon importation of £3/6/8 per cent, they are only for exportation." This session of Parliament there has been a new duty of 20% on the consolidated duties, which will make the duties on calicoes ... used for home consumption £78-6-8, upon the muslins for home consumption, £31/6/8" and he remarked · "I look upon it as a protecting duty to encourage our own manufactures."

5. We quote here a few other testimonies of weight.

Free Trade for England
and not between India
and England

In course of his examination before the Commons Committee of 1840, Mr. Montgomery Martin in reply to questions Nos 3876, 3877 and 3879 said :

"I have examined at considerable length and for a series of years the trade of India. I have taken the utmost pains to arrive at correct conclusions by examining various documents which the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India House, with their usual liberty, permitted me access to and I have been impressed with the conviction that India has suffered most unjustly in her trade not merely with England but with all other countries, by reasons of the entry for free trade on the part of England without permitting to India free trade herself. On all articles except those where we are supplanting the native manufacturers, and consequently impoverishing the country, there is a decreasing trade

"We have during the quarter of a century compelled the Indian territories to receive our manufactures, our woollens, duty free, our cottons at $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, and other articles in proportion, while we have continued during that period to levy almost prohibitory duties, or duties varying from 10 to 20, 30, 50, 100, 500 and 1000 per cent upon articles the produce from our territories. Therefore the cry that has taken place for free trade with India, has been a free trade from this country, and not a free trade between Indian and this country . . . The decay and destruction of Surat, Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places, where native manufactures have been carried on, is too painful a fact to dwell on. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade, I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker."

GENERAL HISTORY OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE.

6. Before the same Committee Mr. Larpent, Chairman of the East India and China Association produced the following figures.

| YEAR | COTTON PIECE-GOODS IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE EAST INDIES. | BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURES EXPORTED TO INDIA. |
|------|---|---|
| 1814 | 1,266,608 pieces | 818,208 yards |
| 1821 | 534,495 " | 19,138,726 " |
| 1828 | 422,504 " | 42,822,077 " |
| 1835 | 306,086 " | 51,777,277 " |

The witness complained that inspite of this continued decline of import of Indian manufactures into England, they were subjected to an ad valorem duty of 10%, while British cotton goods imported into India, in spite of their continued increase, were subjected to a duty of 2½%. The witness quoted the observation of Mr. Shore: "This supersession of the native for British manufactures is often quoted as a splendid instance of the triumph of British skill. It is a much stronger instance of English tyranny, and how India has been impoverished by the most vexatious system of customs and duties imposed for the avowed object of favouring the mother country." He said that he did not agree with Mr. Shore in these observations to the full extent, but they showed the feeling of a distinguished servant.

of the Company, a feeling which was likely to prevail among the people of India.

7. Before the Commons Committee of 1848, Hon'ble

India which clothed herself
in 1816 could not do
so in 1846

John Bagshaw, a Member of Parliament in course of his deposition said that "in 1816-17 India not only

clothed the whole of that vast population but exported £1,659,438 worth of goods." Thirty years later the whole of this export had disappeared, and India imported four millions sterling of cotton goods

8 In 1848, the Select Committee of the House of

Prospect of cotton cultivation
in India

Commons appointed to enquire into the growth of cotton in India submitted their report. In their report they observed that for sixty years from 1788 the Court of Directors had made experiments in India for extending the cultivation and export of cotton and had introduced American gins, sent out American cotton growers and had established experimental farms for this purpose. The result of the experiment satisfied the Committee that India had capacity to supply cotton to an indefinite extent and the Directors still believed that the obstacles which retarded cotton cultivation in India could be overcome. After this report we find that imports of cotton goods are increasing and exports of raw cottons are also increasing

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF INDIA.

| YEAR. | IMPORTS OF COTTON TWIST AND YARN. | IMPORTS OF COTTON GOODS. | EXPORTS OF RAW COTTON. | EXPORTS OF COTTON GOODS, TWIST AND YARN. |
|-------|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1849 | 909016 | 2222089 | 1775309 | 690584 |
| 1851 | 1039329 | 3642361 | 3474489 | 673549 |
| 1853 | 1130500 | 3667433 | 3629494 | 930877 |
| 1855 | 1274098 | 5403244 | 2428764 | 817103 |
| 1857 | 1191974 | 4911353 | 1437949 | 882241 |
| 1858 | 943920 | 4782698 | 4301768 | 809183 |
| 1864 | 1529001 | 10416662 | 35864795 | |
| 1870 | 2715370 | 13555846 | 19460899 | |
| 1876 | 2794769 | 16450212 | 13280945 | |

9. The result of the commercial policy adopted by

Commercial policy, India
reduced from a manu-
facturing to an agri-
cultural country

Britain with relation to India has
thus been described by Mr. Tucker ;

"India is thus reduced from the
state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural
country." The question is . How to improve this
condition ? Can it be effected without fiscal autonomy ?
The Reform Scheme is not going to give it. Lord
Chelmsford says the scheme is giving us influence in
fiscal matters. But will influence alone do ? Here we
find that administrators have protested against the
fateful commercial policy pursued by Britain in India,
historians have exposed its evil effects, illustrious
witnesses in their depositions before the Parliamentary.

Committee had adverted to it. Have all these protests, exposures and admonitions led to the change of that commercial policy for the benefit of the Indian industries? They have not. On the contrary, we find that the same policy has been carried further and further, regardless of its effect on the economic condition of the Indian people. It is idle to expect what the Viceroy is not prepared to grant in plain words by legislation. Monopoly dies hard in a country where the people have no voice. Even with the legislative enactment of fiscal autonomy, it will be, difficult to bring the British Bureaucrats into line.

10. Every one should remember the words of Lord Lytton's Confidential Minute of 1877 ; "No sooner was the Act (Act of 1833) passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Under the terms of the Act, which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated natives whose development the Government encourages without being able to satisfy the aspirations of its existing members, every such native, if once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the covenanted service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in fair course of promotion to highest posts in that service. We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to natives of the Competitive Examination

system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete, are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act, and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they have uttered to the ear."

11. Later on in 1883 during the Anglo-Indian excitement over the Ilbert Bill when Lord Northbrook pleaded the Act of Parliament of 1833, the Court of Directors' explanatory despatch and the great and solemn Proclamation of 1858 of Her Majesty Queen Victoria of revered memory in favour of the Indians, Lord Salisbury in reply said; "My Lord, I do not see what is the use of all this political hypocrisy."

12. The proclamation of 1858 repeats the pledges contained in Charter Act of 1833 and yet it was publicly explained away by Lord Curzon in 1903 while he was Viceroy of India and the same Lord Curzon is now one of the most prominent members of the present British Government. We must accept Lord Lytton, Lord Salisbury and Lord Curzon as unimpeachable authorities on the conduct of some of the eminent servants of the Government in evading the fulfilment of the pledges given in the solemn Act of Parliament and

Selfish policy continued after protest from Lord Northbrook

Unredeemed pledges.

the Sovereign. But we have every confidence in the sense of justice of the British democracy and our Sovereign. Our misfortune is that we cannot make our grievances heard at their bar. Interested persons intervene and our grievances remain unredressed. This being the case, can the Indians expect to get their grievances in fiscal matters removed unless fiscal autonomy is expressly granted to them? Will it do to appeal to the sense of abstract justice of the British people in India? Writing privately to Sir Erskine Perry, Sir John Lawrence said:

"The difficulty in the way of the Government of India acting fairly in these matters (levying of taxes) is immense. If anything is done or attempted to be done, to help the natives, a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England and finds sympathy and support there. I feel quite bewildered sometimes what to do. Every one is, in the abstract, for justice, moderation, and like excellent qualities but when one comes to apply such principles so as to affect any body's interests, then a change comes over them."

13. This being the character and mood of some members of the ruling caste of the English people the difficulty arises from the real weakness of the machinery

Lord Salisbury on India
administration

of the Government of India which the Reform Scheme is not going to remove. The real weakness lies in the peculiar position of the Secretary of State with respect to the Government of India and the peculiar composition of the Government of India which the scheme will strengthen. Though the Viceroy will

reign supreme in the Government of India on the spot, as the scheme will not grant fiscal autonomy to India: the Secretary of State will control the Viceroy in fiscal matters. And the Secretary of State cannot but be susceptible to influences of the manufacturers of Britain as at the present time. Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India, characterised the present system of the administration and management of the Government of India as that of "India must be bled."—Said his Lordship: "So far as it is possible to change the Indian fiscal system, it is desirable the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts, where capital is scarce, sparing the towns, where it is often redundant and runs to waste in luxury. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it."

- 14 When deposing before the Parliamentary Committee in 1874 Lord Salisbury said
- The machinery which offers no effective resistance to financial injustice towards India that under the present machinery there was no effective resistance to financial injustice towards India.

When the Secretary of State became aware that India was being unjustly charged all that he did was to protest again and again and if the injustice went on and apparently no remedy could be obtained for India the

Secretary of State would not then resign because that would stop the machine but he should go on submitting and submitting with loud remonstrances. It is to be feared that the resignation of the Secretary of State will not bring relief. This was made clear by Lord Elgin in 1896 when the countervailing excise duty was levied on all cotton goods manufactured in India. Lord Elgin made his position clear by saying that all that he could do under the circumstances was to resign but that would not bring relief. This being the position, there is no future for India, without fiscal autonomy.

15. On the 15th March 1906, Lord (then Mr.)

Morley as Secretary of State wrote to the Viceroy Lord Minto as follows:—

Working hours in Indian
textile factories and
concerns in
Lancashire

“My interview with a deputation of about fifty Lancashire textile workers came off yesterday. They were very moderate and not lengthy. The Lancashire employers stood aside, presumably on the ground that their appearance on the scene would strengthen the prejudicial idea that the whole move was due less to humanity than to dislike of Bombay competition. I told them that the Government of India shared their views in some of the reforms for which they pressed more inspection, stricter certifying surgeons and I threw out the idea of asking you to employ a first class inspector from this country to enquire into the Bombay factory system, and to report to you. Looking through the Office papers, I find that Lord Cross and Gorst, who were in this office some

years ago, rather murmured at the coolness of the Government of India of that day in respect of the regulation of labour, and its reluctance to come up to the level of the Berlin Conference of 1890. We here even are not up to the standard of some parts of Europe, still less is India up to that standard. I hope that you will see no strong objection to this notion of a visit from one of our Home Office Inspectors. I am naturally anxious not to irritate the Bombay employers, but you can hardly realise the strength. I might say the violence of the currents now racing in the House of Commons on all labour questions, and if anybody were to bethink himself of moving a vote of censure on the Secretary of State and the Governor General in Council for their callous inhumanity to children in Bombay, the said vote might easily be carried by, say, 5 to 1. Pray, rescue me from this black catastrophe if you can, and agree to invite an inspector for a week or two."

16 Thus we read in the Times of India Office Year

Hours of employment in
Indian textile factories

Book 1918, page 373.

"The question of the hours of employment in textile factories was brought into prominence by the period of prosperity that the Indian cotton industry began to enjoy in the cold weather of 1904-05, a large number of persons operatives being regularly worked for 15 hours a day or even longer

"Owing to complaints regarding the long hours worked in many mills, the Government of India in 1906 appointed a small committee with Commander Sir H. P. Freer Smith, R. N., late Superintending

Inspector for Dangerous Trades in England, as Chairman, to conduct a preliminary inquiry into the conditions of labour in textile factories. The Committee recommended that the working hours of adult males should be limited to 12 hours a day, that certificates of age and physical fitness should be required prior to half-time employment and prior to employment as an adult, that night work of women should be prohibited; and that whole-time Medical Inspectors should be appointed.

"The conclusions of this Committee formed the basis of an investigation, extending to all factories in India, by a representative commission. This report disclosed the existence of abuses, particularly in connection with the employment of children, and the excess in hours worked by operatives generally in textile factories. The majority of the commission deprecated a statutory limitation of the working hours of male adults. But they recommended the formation of a class of "young persons" between 14 and 17 years of age, whose hours should be limited to 12, and considered that this would indirectly secure a 12 hours' day for male adults. They also recommended that the hours of work for children should be reduced from 7 to 6 hours and that the hours for women should be assimilated to those for "young persons," night work being prohibited for both classes. They recommended that children should be certified as to age and physical fitness."

"Hours fixed.

"The recommendations of the Committee and of the Commission having been considered by the Govern-

ment of India and the Local Governments, a Bill was introduced in July 1908 to amend and consolidate the law relating to factories and was finally passed into law as Act XII of 1911."

17. Speaking of the poverty of India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, no mischievous agitator, referred in 1905 to the figures so often quoted .

India's starving millions
testimonies of Hunter
and Elliot.

"Forty millions of people, according to one great Anglo-Indian authority, Sir William Hunter, pass through life with one meal a day. According to another authority—Sir Charles Elliot—70 millions of people in India do not know what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied even once in the whole course of the year. The poverty of the people of India thus considered by itself, is truly appalling. And if this is the state of things after a hundred years of your rule, you cannot claim that your principal aim in India has been the promotion of the interests of the people of India."

18. As a remedy for this appalling poverty of the people, the Famine Commission of 1878-80, said in their Report:

Diversity of occupation as
a remedy.

"At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and to the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the people and that no remedy for the present evils can be complete which does not include introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus

population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to earn the means of subsistence in manufactures and such employments "

19 Since 1880, when the Famine Commissioners drew up their report up to date, famines and scarcities visited us

Famines since 1880

in the following years

| YEAR. | FAMINE AND SCARCITY |
|-----------|---|
| 1883-84 | Scarcity in the Punjab |
| 1884-85 | Scarcity in Lower Bengal & Madras. |
| 1888-89 | Famine in Madras & Scarcity in Behar and Orissa |
| 1890-92 | Scarcity in Ajmere and Kun'aun and Gurhwal |
| 1891-92 | Scarcity in Behar, Deccan, Madras and Upper Burma |
| 1896-97 | Famine in Bengal, Deccan, Central Provinces, Berar, Madras, Delhi Division, United Provinces and scarcity in Punjab and Upper Burma |
| 1899-1900 | Famine in Ajmere, Berar, Bombay and Central Provinces and scarcity in Bengal, Madras and Punjab |
| 1900-01 | Famine in Guzerat and scarcity in the Deccan. |
| 1901-02 | ... Famine in Guzerat and scarcity in Deccan and Ajmere. |
| 1902-03 | ... Scarcity in Central Provinces. |

- 1905-06 ... Famine in Bombay.
- 1908 ... Famine almost as a result of the
widespread failure of crops in
1907-08, throughout India.
- 1911-12 ... Scarcity in Bombay.
- 1913-14 ... Famine in the United Provinces.
- 1918-19 ... Famine in the Bombay Presidency.
- 1919 ... Famine and Scarcity practically
everywhere.

20. The Indian National Congress have been all along drawing the attention of the
Congress Presidents and
Famine.
 authorities to the growing poverty of
 the people of India and their liability to frequent attacks of
 famine and scarcity. In 1896, the Congress under the
 presidency of R. M. Sayani passed the first famine
 resolution. In the next year the Congress which met
 under the Presidency of Sir (then Srijut) Sankaran Nair
 passed the following resolutions. This was after Govern-
 ment had appointed a Famine Commission under the
 presidency of Sir James Lyall on the cessation of the
 widespread famine of 1896-97 :

"IX. That this Congress is glad to note that the
 Government of India has appointed a Famine Commis-
 sion and hopes that the Commission will institute a
 searching enquiry into the matter. At the same time
 the Congress once again desires to repeat its conviction
 that famines are due to the great poverty of the people,
 brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country,
 which has been going on for years together, and by the
 excessive taxation and over assessment consequent on

a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the Civil and the Military Departments which have so far impoverished the people that, at the first touch of scarcity, they are rendered helpless and must perish, unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries, which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries

“XVII., That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes of periodical famine and the remedies for the prevention of the same”

21 In 1901, the Congress under the presidency of Sir (then Mr) Dinshaw E. Wacha
Wacha and remedy for famine passed this resolution —

“VIII. (a) That this Congress deplores the recurrence of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India in recent years, and records its deliberate conviction that famines in India are mainly due (1) to the great poverty of the people brought on by the decline of all indigenous arts and industries and the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years; and (2) to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land, consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the Civil and the Military

Department, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, improve the agriculture of the country, foster the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures, and help forward the introduction of new industries.

“(3) That this Congress rejoices that a “Famine Union” has been formed in London with a branch in Liverpool, consisting of distinguished men from all parties, and this Congress desires to place on record its deep gratitude to the members of the Union for their sympathy with the famine-stricken sufferers in India, and the earnest and the eminently practical way in which they have set themselves to the task”

22 In, 1899, the Congress under the presidency of
 R C Dutt and remedy Mr R C Dutt C I E, passed the
 for famine following resolution —

“XIII. That this Congress while gratefully recognising the endeavours made by the Indian and Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the adoption of the true remedy. to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine, this Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure, the development of local and indigenous industries and the moderating of land assessment.

23. In 1900, the Congress under the presidency of Sir (then Srijut) N. G. Chandavarkar^{Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and remedy for famine} passed this resolution :—

“II. That having regard to the oft recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest, leading as it frequently does to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of live-stock, disorganisation of rural operations and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery, the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and adoption of practicable remedies.

24. In 1896, the Hon'ble Srijut Surendra Nath Banerji^{Surendra Nath Banerji and famine} in moving the Famine Resolution in the Congress refuted the idea of the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces who spoke of famines as “visitations of Providence” and observed that famines came through the blunders of our rulers. He proved from figures how much better off Indian labourers were in the time of Akbar than now, and stated that famines were Nature's reminders to Government to mend their ways. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu seconded the resolution, nine other speakers supporting it. In the year 1897 the Famine Resolution was moved from the presidential Chair of the Congress by Sir Sankaran Nair. In 1899, the Famine Resolution was moved by Sir R. N.

Mudholkar and seconded by Pundit M. M. Malaviya and supported by Haji Shaik Hussam, Mr Chintamani and by Mr S S Deb Sir R N Mudholkar urged, as remedies for famine, curtailment of Civil and Military expenditure, development of indigenous industries and the lessening of land revenue demand. He proved that the public debt of India within the last 60 years had increased from 26 to 270 crores of rupees. In 1900. Srijut (afterwards Sir) R N Mudholkar again moved the famine resolution and Srijut B G Tilak seconded it and Moulvi Maharam Ali Chisti and Mr Joseph Benjamin and Srijut Chura Mani supported it. In 1901 Srijut G. Subramania Iyer moved the famine resolution and it was seconded by Srijut N M Samarth and supported by Srijut N K Ramswami Iyer, Srijut Jadu Nath Mazumdar (Rai Bahadur) and Mr Joseph Benjamin.

25 Here we find the value of Indian representation or, say, the representation of a microscopic minority, about the famine and poverty in India in relation to the representation of some Manchester people about their interest.

26. Lord Morley in his Recollections has thus written about the inner workings of the Cabinet on the proposal of the Minto—Morley Reform in Book II at page 211 —

“On none of the proposals in the Cabinet, save the Indian Member, did I say anything beyond naming them. On the Indian Member, the ruling considerations, were the attitude of your Council and mine, and second, the possible risk of an Anglo-Indian fit of wrath and

fear. Then what carried great weight, as was to be expected, was the fact that Ripon, whom no body will suspect of want of sympathy with Indian hopes and claims, was hostile to the proposals on the merits mainly on the Secrecy argument—that the Member would have to know military and foreign secrets, etc. etc. Elgin was also hostile on the same ground, or about the same ground. Fowler, ditto, on all grounds. I told them that what influenced my own mind was not the weakness of your case on the merits—the arguments against you seeming to me of the nature of moonshine—but this, that the gain of having a native on your Executive Council, whether in improving administration or in pacifying Native aspiration, was not decisive enough to justify the risk of provoking European clamour. In this country, what I firmly believe to be a wholly disproportionate stir is worked up about unrest in India whenever some wretched riot is reported. Everything is put under a microscope, and a whole horde of Anglo-Indians pounce down with alarmist letters. This sort of thing is reason the more for keeping the Native Member back for a while at any rate. It is not the solid or the most satisfactory of reasons, and I wish it did not prevail. But cabinets and ministers have to take the world as they find it.”

27. At pages 195 and 196 Lord Morley writes :—

“I am keenly interested in what you say of the inner workings of your Council, and I hope I shall hear more of Baker’s strongly worded notes” and “emphatic protest” to H.

No predominant voice for the Government of India,

M's Government. In so far as he is for acting as dragon in guard of the golden apples, all my sympathies would go with him. But if he is for setting up an *imperium in imperis* and for claiming "a predominant voice in the terms of settlement"—i.e. in a political settlement—then he is taking ground from which he will find himself dislodged in a single dispatch. I am even more jealous than he is of using Indian money for Persian or any other Imperial purposes, and, as he will remember, I refused to sanction a sovereign unless the Chancellor of the Exchequer here plucked down a sovereign of his for every one of ours—a rather bold innovation in B.'s own sense. But this talk of "predominant voice" will never do. We are already in pretty deep waters in respect of our self-governing colonies, and if the Government of India are to advance the same sort of claims—founded not on the principles of free government, but on his arbitrary decisions or views of a close body of officials—then we shall indeed be in a scrape.

28. In the Industrial Conference at Nainital in 1907, the Hon'ble Sir John Hewett said:—
No scientific improvement in the art of manufacture, "It is clear that, in spite of some hopeful signs, we have hardly as yet started on the way towards finding industrial employment, by means of the scientific improvements brought about in the art of manufacture, for the surplus portion of our 48 or 50 millions of population. It is impossible for any one interested in the industrial development of this country to study the annual trade returns without lamenting

that so much valuable raw produce which might be made up locally, should leave our ports annually to be conveyed to other countries, there to be converted into manufactured articles, and often be re-imported into India in that form.....Mr. Holland will perhaps regret most the continued export of mineral products capable of being worked up locally into manufactured articles, and I certainly share his regret ; but I confess that my chief regrets are at present over the enormous export of hides, cotton and seed, because these raw products could be so very easily worked up into manufactures in our midst."....."We cannot regulate the sunshine and the shower ; the seed time and the harvest ; that is beyond the power of man. But we can control to some extent, the disposal of the products of the earth, thereby opening new avenues to employment and spreading greater prosperity over the land."

— 10:—

II.—Poverty of Technical and Industrial Education.

29. Sir John Hewett in the same address said: "It does seem to me to be an axiom that there is a very close connection between education and the progress of industries and trade. Undoubtedly this truth has not been sufficiently recognised in India, and to my mind its backwardness in industries and trade is largely

Connection between education and progress of industry,

due to the failure to recognize the importance of organization on a proper basis of its system of education."

But let us quote the testimony of another Anglo-Indian administrator. In the same Conference Mr. (afterwards Sir) S. H. Butler in his note drew attention to "the remarkable growth and expansion of technical education in the West and Japan of recent years" which "marks at once changes in industrial conditions and in educational ideals." Among many other useful recommendations made at the Conference was one for the establishment of a Technological Institute at Cawnpore. In speaking of it Mr. Butler said :-

"A few technical scholarships—tenable across the seas—excellent though they are can never supply the impetus of a technological institute. Every civilised country has its technological institutes in numbers." "In the beginning all these institutions were, doubtless, humble but it is still true that in countries yearning to be industrial; technical education has begun largely at the top. Technical education lower down followed as a rule after the spread of general education."

The question of the spread of technical education formed a chief plank in the platform of the Congress and resolutions in support of it appeared year after year in its agenda. Some of the resolutions are quoted here—under.

30. The 3rd session of the Indian National Congress in the year 1887 passed this resolution :

Congress : Poverty and technical education,

"VII. That having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in order to utilising such manufactures for state purposes, and to employ more extensively, than at present, the skill and talents of the people of the country."

In 1888 the Congress passed the following —

"X That having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education, with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed commission, to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country"

In 1889 the Congress by their Resolution No. III (p) urged the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

In 1893, the above resolution was again reiterated. In the sessions of the Congress in 1895, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1912, resolutions for the introduction of technical education

had been similarly passed. Apology need hardly be made for quoting here an extract from the presidential address of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya.

In course of his Presidential address at the session of the Congress held in Lahore in 1909, as it dealt at some length with the problem of technical education in India, Pundit M. M. Malviya said :

"If vast millions of people in this country are to be rescued from poverty, if new avenues of employment are to be opened and prosperity spread over the land, it is essential that an extensive system of technical and industrial education should be introduced in the country. The examples of other countries point out that to be the road to prosperity.

"Germany was not at one time noted as a manufacturing country. It has so greatly improved its position as to become a formidable rival to England. America has enriched herself beyond description by multiplying her manufactures and industries. Japan has in the course of thirty years altered her position from a mainly agricultural into a largely manufacturing country. The industrial progress and prosperity of every one of these countries has been built upon a wide—spread system of scientific, technical and industrial education. The people of India are not wanting in intelligence or industry. They are willing to undergo any amount of labour that may be required of them. But they lack the education, the skill of the trained man, and are therefore being beaten day by day by the manufacturers of every foreign country which has built up a system of

technical education, and thereby laid the foundation of its industrial prosperity. The manufactures of these countries are flooding our markets and impoverishing our people. It is high time that the Government took up the question in right earnest, and adopted a system of technical education co-extensive with the needs of the country."

31. From the paper read by Rao Sahab G. N. Sahasrabuddi before the Industrial Conference at Bombay in December 1915 we read :—

Industrial Conference,
Industries, scientific and
technical training

"Excepting the three institutions established by the Government of India viz., (1) Pusa Research Institute (2) the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, the outcome of the princely generosity of the late Mr. J. N. Tata and (3) the Roorkee Engineering College, the remaining institutions (about two hundred in number), do not provide for higher practical training in the processes of manufacture—education which is badly wanted at present. There are several big industries, that require scientific skill and practical technical training and the schools under this class would be of greatest importance and service for the purpose of producing and manufacturing articles and for competing with foreign markets. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Mudholkar had moved a resolution from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council for establishing a technological College and Sir John Hewett, as President of the Nainital Conference" had also advanced a similar demand. But it seems that the scheme proposed was

not sanctioned by the Secretary of State. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp in his report remarks as follows:—

"The establishment of a Technological Institute for the United Provinces was one of the proposals of the Nainital Conference. It was decided that it should consist of two parts. The second branch was to be established at Cawnpore with the object of encouraging research in applied chemistry with reference to important industries in the province. The Secretary of State did not sanction the scheme. A more modest scheme was accordingly formulated, intended to give instruction in the Chemical aspect of the sugar, leather, acid, and alkali manufacture, dying, bleaching, printing, colouring and finishing of manufactured goods and paper making. Hitherto a site has been secured and building commenced."

32. The Industrial Conference in all their sittings—
Government and technical education. hitherto 14 in number—have been urging upon the Government the importance of technical education for the Indian youths as one of the means of enabling them to take up industrial pursuits. But we have not got any polytechnic college worth the name. The famine commission in 1880 directed the attention of the Government to industrial pursuits, the congresses and conferences have been doing the same. But the moment some Manchester people waited upon the Secretary of State, Committee and commission followed which ended in the Factory Legislation of 1911. In the meantime the Indian Industrial Conference in vain began to protest against the Indian

Factories Bill of 1909. In vain Sir Vithaldas Thackersey proposed this resolution in the Industrial conference in 1910. This conference is of opinion that the provisions of the Indian Factories Bill of 1909 involve a serious, unnecessary and uncalled for interference with the rights of adult male labourers and urges that the sections of the Bill which involve such restrictions be dropped. In vain Sir D. E. Wacha supported it. In vain Sir R. N. Mudholkar supported it. The Bill became a law through the machine. But the machine worked otherwise when dealing with Sir John Hewett's proposal of founding a polytechnic college at Cawnpore. The Government of India supported it. In 1909, the Industrial Conference passed this resolution :

"That this conference regrets that the proposal of the United Provinces Government for the establishment of a Technological College at Cawnpore, which was supported by the Government of India, has not been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. In view of this fact, this conference reaffirms the Resolutions of the previous Conference on Technical and Industrial Education and again urges :—

- (1) That the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay, and the College of Science at Poona be enlarged so that they may between them supply for the Presidency of Bombay technological instruction in all the branches of mechanical and chemical industries.
- (2) That the Government of India may sanction the proposal of the Government of Bengal

to add classes in Industrial Chemistry to the Shibpur Engineering College.

- (3) That the Government of Madras will be pleased to give effect to the recommendation of the Ootacamund Industrial conference that the Madras College of Engineering should be expanded into an Institute of Technology.
- (4) That the Secretary of State might accord early sanction to the Proposal of the Government of the United Provinces that a College of Technology should be opened at Cawnpore, and
- (5) That similar Institutions should be established in the Punjab, Burma, Eastern Bengal and Assam.

33. Technological institutions are yet to come into being. The Lieutenant Governor of

No remedy for the want of technical training without fiscal autonomy.

a Province summoned a conference.

The conference suggested the establishment of a technological institution. The Lieutenant Governor approved it and forward it for sanction to the Government of India. The Government of India approved it and forwarded it to the Secretary of State. But somewhere in the machine the proposal got entangled. It is because of this machine that we submit that without fiscal autonomy to the Indians there is no future for India.

34. "The first serious attempt to organise industrial education was made by Lord Curzon who appointed a roying committee

Government and industrial education,

to examine the subject. The Committee suggested an apprentice system. The Government of India, disagreeing with it, advocated trade schools of various grades and referred the matter to Local Governments. Then followed a period of feverish activity. Between 1907 and 1911 every Local Government appointed a committee, and many schemes, involving the foundation of schools of a higher grade than the trade schools contemplated by the Government of India, were set on foot. Some of these were too costly for immediate realisation, others were found impracticable and had to be modified and others have survived.

"The Nainital Conference of 1907 recommended a director of industrial enquiries, a technological institute, a school of design, an experimental weaving station and a carpentry school. Portions of the scheme materialised. Difficulties arose over other portions. The Local Government after further enquiries, slightly modified the scheme in a resolution of 1914. The general result has been the creation of a directorship of industries and the establishment of the Lucknow and Gorakhpur technical schools, the Lucknow arts and crafts school, the Bariely carpentry school and the Benares weaving station."

"The Ootacamund conference of 1908 likewise recommended the creation of a directorship of industries, (which has come to pass) and two kinds of institutions one to teach the performance of actual processes, the other to teach the application of principles to practical purposes. It also made an important recommendation regarding the tentative pioneering of industries, on com-

mercial lines but with the object of demonstration, in factories, connected with schools. Lord Morley negatived this proposal and stated that the policy which he was prepared to sanction was the expenditure of State funds upon familiarising the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern science and the practice of European countries could suggest, but that it must be left to private enterprise to demonstrate that these improvements can be adopted with commercial advantage. The Government of Madras made a further representation regarding these orders. In reply Lord Crew considered that too limited a construction had been placed upon the terms of the orders and recognised that in certain cases instructions in industrial schools may be insufficient and may require to be supplemented by practical training in workshops where the application of new processes can be demonstrated. He considered that there was no objection to the purchase and maintenance of experimental plant for the purpose of demonstrating the advantages of machinery or new processes and for ascertaining the data of production.

"In the meantime two important schemes were put forward for the development of industrial education. One was for the establishment of State apprenticeships in Madras City. The idea of state apprenticeship has been dropped, but the scheme has borne fruit, in the establishment in Madras of a Government Trade School where continuation classes are provided for apprentices, and workmen in the employ of different firms. The school opened with classes in plumbing and mechanical

engineering and the results of the past year's work were so encouraging that additional classes in electric wiring machine drawing and other subjects have since been added. The other scheme was for the development of the Board of Technical Institute at Madura. The institute was taken over by Government and a new institution is in course of construction. The institute will be divided into three sections—~~weaving~~, dyeing and mechanical engineering.”(1)

In Bengal, scheming and scheming had been going on since 1905 when Shibpur Engineering College was proposed to be removed to Ranchi, a healthy place. An industrial conference was held by Government at Dacca in 1909 which proposed the formation of a department of industries in Eastern Bengal and Assam and a Central Institute at Dacca with demonstration factories. This scheme was generally approved by the Government of India. In 1912 the re-partition of Bengal took place and the Imperial Secretariat in Calcutta remained vacant and this induced the framing and launching of a scheme for the establishment of a technological institute in this building at a capital cost of 10 lacs and a recurring cost of 5½ lacs. Let Mr. Sharp now speak out (1):—

In the same year (1912) the Dacca University scheme was set on foot and the Committee which reported on it recommended the inclusion of an engineering college to cost nearly 7 lacs capital and over one lac recurring. Thus Calcutta would have its technological institute and Dacca its college of engineering together with the

(1) Sharp's Review of the Education in India 1912-17.

industrial factories proposed in 1909. But the idea of the removal of the engineering college from Sibpur aroused some local feeling in Calcutta, a resolution on the subject was moved in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1914 and the local Government undertook not to settle the question until the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India had considered the subject of the training of engineers. The sanitary conditions of Sibpur are now undergoing re-investigation. As to the industrial side of the question, the committee which considered the Calcutta technological institute scheme had recommended the appointment of two directors of industries, one in Western and the other in Eastern Bengal, and both subordinate to the director of public instruction of Bengal. The Bengal District Administration Committee of 1913 upset this recommendation and thought there should be one director of industries, that expert managers from Europe should be engaged who would carry out demonstration enterprises under his supervision, and that industrial development and education (as apart from technical) should be removed from the control of the department of public instruction. Finally Mr. Swan was deputed to report on industries in Bengal, and in 1915, the local Government asked for the appointment of a director of industries who would work under the commercial department. This Officer has not yet been appointed. (But this officer has subsequently been appointed.)

"The characteristic of the 10 years previous to the present quinquennium was the initial formation of

schemes. The discussions which took place immediately before and during the present quinquennium were either, like that in the United Provinces which culminated in the resolution of 1914, revisory of previous schemes or, like the Atkinson—Dawson and Morrison Committees and the schemes put forward in Bengal, centered round particular institutions, or special aspect of the subject."

35. The following questions and answers asked in the Bengal Council and published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 22nd February 1919 will throw some light on the performance of the Government of Bengal in the matter of improvement of local industries.

Bengal Government and industrial training and polytechnic institution,

The Hon'ble Rai M. N. Mitra Bahadur asked :—

(a) Is it a fact that industrial surveys were undertaken by the Government of Bengal at various times?

(b) If so, has anything definite resulted from any of these surveys?

(c) Is it a fact that none of these surveys was made by officers with a technical knowledge of industry?

(d) Is there any appropriate organisation of specialised experts for the improvement of the industries of Bengal?

(e) Has any substantial advance been made to remedy the deficiencies, if any, after the appointment of the Director of Industries, Bengal, and what definite progress has been made in the development of industries after this appointment?

(f) What steps, if any, are the Government contemplating to improve the local industries?

The Hon'ble Mr. Donald in reply said:—

(a) Yes; noticeably by Messrs. Collin, Cumming, J. N. Gupta, Swan and Ascoli.

(b) The general improvement of technical education and particularly the appointment of a Superintendent of Industries and of a Government School of Weaving (with an expert as its Principal) may be taken as definite results of these surveys, while action was also taken towards the provision and extension of State scholarships for industrial education.

(c) Yes.

(d) Except the organisation provided by the Indian Munitions Board of which the encouragement of local industries is a prominent object there is no organisation of specialised experts. There is however an expert at the head of the Government School of Weaving and there are experts in the Forest and Agricultural Departments, while an expert has been engaged as chemist to the research tannery now being established in Calcutta.

(e) The Director of Industries as soon as he was appointed, was made Controller of Munitions for Bengal, and his activities have largely been directed to the fostering of such local industries as were of immediate value in relieving the war situation. Much has been done in that way as explained in a speech delivered by his Excellency on the 10th November 1918. A further and fuller account of some of the results achieved can be found in the Indian Munitions Board hand-book, a new edition of which is shortly to be published.

(f) Government is awaiting a pronouncement from the Government of India on the report of the Industrial Commission before undertaking the development of the Department of Industries, but such development is regarded as one of the important needs of the province at the present time."

The latest information in the matter of the Polytechnic Institute to be established in Calcutta is as follows :—

Dr. S. K. Mullick on the 1st May 1919 asked the following question. A resolution regarding a Polytechnic Institute was passed by the Corporation at a recent meeting. It was resolved that the terms of this resolution be communicated to the Government of Bengal to ascertain what steps they intended taking in the matter. Will the Chairman kindly state whether this resolution has been so communicated ; if so what reply has been received, if any from the Bengal Government.

The Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation Mr. Donald I. C. S., to whom the question was asked replied : The resolution in question was communicated to the Government of Bengal on the 1st March 1919. Government have replied that the matter has for long been under their consideration. In 1913 a Committee was appointed to work out a scheme for a technological institute in consultation with the employers of labours. A scheme was prepared and was submitted to Government, but it could not be taken up owing to the financial stringency imposed by the war. The scheme moreover was passed on the assumption that the Civil Engineering College at Shibpur would be removed to Ranchi and the

estimate of cost depended on the buildings of the Government of India being made available for the institute. The proposal to remove this College has now been dropped, it having been decided that it should be retained and developed on its present site, and there is no prospect at present of the buildings of the Government of India being available for the purpose. A revised scheme was therefore prepared by the Superintendent of Technical Institutions and this is now under the consideration of the Government!!

36. The order of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Morley directing the abolition of the Department of Industries in Madras evoked universal protest in India. In the sixth session of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Allahabad on the 30th December 1910, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani of Allahabad moved the ninth resolution as follows—

“Resolved—This conference records its deep sense of regret at the action of the Secretary of State in directing the abolition of the Department of Industries in Madras and lodges a protest against the policy laid down by him that the State should not pioneer new enterprises, as unduly limiting State help in industrial development.”

This resolution was seconded by Sir V. D. Thackersey and was carried unanimously.

In the fourth session of the Industrial Conference held in Madras in December 1908 Mr. (afterwards Sir) D. E. Wacha moved this resolution—

“Resolved—(a) That this Conference is of opinion

that there should be in every province of British India a Department of Industry under a Director of Industries to deal with industrial questions and to be in charge of technical and commercial education as well as industrial instruction ; and that there should be an Advisory Board of qualified persons, not less than one half of whom shall be non-official Indians, who should be consulted on all matters of importance.

(b) That the functions of this Department should include (1) the supply of advice in regard to new industries, (2) the introduction of new or improved methods and processes, (3) the carrying out of investigations and experiments, (4) the development of selected industries, and (5) the organisation of industrial and commercial exhibitions ;

(c) That there should be an industrial museum and a bureau of information under the Department of Industry for supply of information to the public on industrial matters."

This resolution was seconded by Rao Bahadur G. Srinivas Rao and supported by Srijut R. V. Mahajani and was carried unanimously.

The above resolution was again proposed by Hon'ble Srijut Gokuldās K. Parekh and seconded by Srijut Ram Gopal Chowdhury at the eighth Industrial Conference held at Bankipore in December 1912.

III. Decline of Ship-building Industries.

37. As regards ship-building industry in ancient

Ship-building in India,

India you will find a masterly treatment of the subject in Professor Radha Kumud Mukerji's book entitled "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the earliest times." In this work, Professor Mukerji has proved conclusively that even in prehistoric times the trade of India extended to far-off countries. India had also established colonies in distant lands like Pegu, Java, Sumatra and Borneo. With all efforts to be—little the Indians, traces of Indian activities in ancient times in all those distant lands are too visible even now for the European eyes to deny. It is an historical fact that Bijoy Sing of Bengal conquered Ceylon. The *Aini Akbari* will tell you about the Grand Moghul's fleet. Rao Saheb D. B. Harasni's essay on the "Navy of the Marathas" will give you a minute description of the warships of the Marathas. Any one who has read any middle-sized History of India, not made to order, nor for propaganda purposes, will find Shivaji fighting the Moghul sea robbers with the help of his fleet and securing the safety of the port of Surat by destroying them. Srijut M. B. Sant's able paper read before the fifth session of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Lahore in December 1909 first drew the attention of the public to this subject. The "Nankanyan" of Srijut D. P. Bhosekar has placed in the hands of the reading public a treatise containing reliable information in connection with the theory and art of ship-building, sea and river navigation

and other kindred subjects. We do not know anything of shipping now but the evidences of our possessing ships in ancient times are too strong to be effaced or obliterated.

38. Pundit M. M. Malaviya in his dissenting Industrial Commission report says—
Malaviya and ship building in India.

“Another important Indian industry that succumbed to the jealousy of English manufactures, was ship-building. That ship-building was an ancient industry in India, and that Indians carried on navigation to far distant climes east and west, has been fully established by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee in his valuable “History of Indian Shipping.” Both Darius and Alexander had hundreds of vessels constructed in India. Indian river craft navigated Africa and went as far as Mexico. Again, from the Coromandel Coast Indians navigated as far as Java, Sumatra, Borneo and distant Canton.

A hundred years ago, says Mr Digby, ship-building was in so excellent a condition in India that ships could be (and were) built which sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships and under the convoy of British frigates.

“The Governor General (Lord Wellesley) reporting in 1800 to his masters in Leadenhall Street, London, said :—

“The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England. . . . From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the

port of Calcutta from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal (Quoted by Mr. Digby in *Prosperous British India*, page 86.)

"But, says Mr. Taylor :—

'The arrival in the port of London of Indian produce in Indian built ships created a sensation among the monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The ship builders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm, they declared that this business was on the point of ruin and that the families of all the ship wrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation ! (*History of India*, page 216.)

"The cry prevailed. The Court of Directors opposed the employment of Indian ships in the trade between England and India. In doing so, says Mr. Digby, they employed an argument which, in some of its terms, sounds very curious at the present time, when so many lascars are employed by all the great lines of steamers running to the East. After reciting other reasons against ship-building and ship-manning in India, the Court said in their despatch, dated 27th January, 1801 :—

"XVII. Besides these objections which apply to the measures generally, there is one that lies particularly /

against ships whose voyages commence from India, that they will usually be manned in great part with lascars or Indian sailors. Men of that race are not by their physical frame and constitution fitted for the navigation of cold and boisterous latitudes; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate, and short and easy voyages performed within the spheres of periodical winds; they have not strength enough of mind, or body to encounter the hardships or perils to which ships are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, especially in the winter storms of our northern seas, nor have they the courage which can be relied on for steady defence against an enemy. . . . But this is not all. The native sailors of India are . . . on their arrival here, led into secures which soon divest them of the respect they had entertained in India for the European character. . . The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Asiatic subjects, whose reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our supremacy in the East, will be gradually changed . . . and the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental . . .

Considered, therefore in a physical, moral, commercial and political view, the apparent consequences of admitting these Indian sailors largely into our navigation, form a strong additional objection to the concession of the proposed privilege to any ship manned by them (Appendix No. 47—Supplement to Fourth Report, East India

Company, pages 23 24, quoted by Mr. Digby in *Prosperous British India* at pages 101 103).

"The lascars of to-day are only the successors of those who emerged from the ports of Kathiawar and navigated from thence to Aden and Mocca, to the East African coast and to the Malaya Peninsula. It is possible an Indian lascar in the early nineteenth century finding himself in London may have plunged himself just as Jack to-day does when he lands in any important Indian port. But it cannot but be regretted that such small considerations were allowed to weigh at all against Indian navigation to England. And it is difficult to express in words the economic and political losses which this attitude was meant for England as well as India. How much better would have been the position of India, how infinitely stronger that of England, if Indian shipping had been allowed to grow, and had grown as shipping in other countries in the last forty years, and been available to India and the Empire in this hour of need.

Mr. Romesh Dutta has shown in his "Economic History of British India" that this continued to be the settled policy of England towards India for fifty years and more, that it was openly avowed before the House of Commons and vigorously pursued till 1833 and later, and that it effectually stamped out many of the national industries of India for the benefit of English manufactures. Mr. Arnold Toynbee has expressed the same view —

'English industries would not have advanced so rapidly without protection, but the system, once estab-

lished led to perpetual wrangling on the part of rival industries, and sacrificed India and the colonies to our great manufactures"—The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England by Arnold Toynbee, page 58."

39. Mr. D. P. Bhosekar read a very interesting paper on the importance and necessity of navigation Schools and Colleges in India in the eleventh session of the Industrial Conference at Bombay in December 1915 and in the same conference Mr. V. Govidan also read a paper on the training of Indians as seamen and navigators. He eulogised the efforts made by Mr. Mahamad Yusuf Ismail who has been maintaining since 1914 a small training ship in the Bombay Harbour for the benefit of the sons of our Indian seamen at his own expense with the view of raising the status and accomplishment of our Indian seamen. The Government of Bombay has also welcomed the proposal with the support and encouragement it deserves.

40. On the 24th September 1918, Sriyut B. N. Sarma moved in the Imperial Council the following resolution:—

Sarma's resolution on ship building
Progress of ship-building in India

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate steps be taken which would enable the Government to assist and develop the building of an Indian Mercantile Marine at as early a date as possible.

He said:—"The principle underlying this Resolution was accepted by the Conference which met at Delhi on

the recommendation of a Sub Committee which was appointed to enquire into the resources of India to assist the Empire in the war. The Resolution which was then accepted, and to which I have made reference, was the second part of the first Resolution :—

‘This Conference recommends that, for the purpose of minimising the serious hardships to the public and the dislocation of trade caused by the congestion of traffic on railways it is necessary that the Government should, with as little delay as possible, take measure for the construction by itself of river craft for inland transport, and of sailing ships for ocean transport, and also, as far as possible, of steamships, and should by the grant of subsidies or concessions encourage the construction of same by private agencies!’

After pointing out that ship-building was an ancient industry in India and quoting what Lord Wellesley said about Indian shipping as described above, Srijut Sarma said :—

“And the tonnage then was much larger than the Indian tonnage now available. And it was also found that ships could be built in Bombay and in Calcutta at a much lower cost than they could be built in London. Ships could be built in Bombay one-fourth cheaper than in London, and whereas the English ships required to be renewed every 12 years, the Indian ships required to be renewed only after 50 years.”

Sir George Barnes, the Commerce and Industry Member, in reply said what had been done recently to stimulate ship-building in India ; but he said that Govern-

ment will accept this resolution if it is thus amended :—

“That this Council recommends to the Governor—General in Council that as soon as circumstances permit the Government should consider in what way the industry of ship-building can best be encouraged in India.”

Mr. Sarma accepted that amendment and the resolution as worded in the amendment was accepted by the Government.

In view of the fact that India has about 4000 miles of maritime coast and on the average over 4000 ships had been annually employed in carrying on Indian maritime trade for the ten years from 1906-07 to 1915-16 with average carrying capacity of 7 millions tons, we shall quote the whole debate in the appendix.

Many of our countrymen who were formerly engaged in shipping and steamer business yet remember what competition is and how much one must be prepared to suffer for that competition.

On the 14th March 1918 Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Roy asked the following question in the Imperial Council.

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state what progress has been made in forming a ship-building branch of the Indian Munitions Board with a view to examining the possibilities of ship-building in India ?

(b) Are Government aware that in his evidence before the Industrial Commission, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey said that the establishment of ship-building industry was necessary to further Indian trade and industries after the war ?

(c) Are ship building concerns subsidised in Japan?

Do Government intend subsidising ship-building concerns in India with a view to establish the ship-building industry?

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :

(a) A ship-building branch of the Indian Munitions Board has recently been formed. It is in charge of an officer whose services have been borrowed from the Admiralty to take control, and who is now engaged in examining the possibilities of ship-building in India.

(b) The Government of India have not yet received the full evidence recorded by the Industrial Commission, but they understand that Sir Vethaldas Thackersey did express the view stated in the second part of the Hon'ble Member's question.

(c) The Government of India are not aware whether ship-building concerns are subsidised in Japan. Until they have received the report of the Controller of the ship-building, they cannot consider the last question raised by the Hon'ble Member.

IV.—Present State of Education in India and the Prospects of Indian Students getting education abroad.

41. Among the persons who have taken part in the

Educated Indians and primary education.

Education Resolution in the Congress we ought to mention the names of A. Chowdhury, G. K. Gokhale, Pundit M. M. Malaviya, Brojendra Nath Seal, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Nilratan Sarkar, G. A. Patel, C. Y. Chintamani, H. S. Gour,

K. V. Joshi, S. M. Paranjpe, S. V. Khare, Nares Chandra Sen, M. K. Patel, Ramananda Chatterji, Niba-an Chandra Das, A. B. Patro, K. G. Dessai, R. P. Karandikar and many others.

We know the fate of Srijiut Gokhale's Education Bill. Even now Government has not adopted in full the principles of Srijiut Gokhale's Education Bill. Hon'ble Surendra Nath Roy's Primary Education Bill has secured the Government support and has become a law. The Bill is intended to make primary education free within the municipal areas of Bengal if the conditions set forth in the Bill are complied with. The principle underlying the Bill is good but how far the Bill will be workable will have to be seen. After all, the Bill will affect a small part of the population.

On the 8th March 1918 Srijiut B. N. Sarma in course of the Budget debate said in the Imperial Council :

"My Lord, I may characterise the present Financial Statement as the usual orthodox statement modified by the pressure of War—a Service Budget, War Budget—a tradesman's Old East India Company's Budget, and not a People's Budget. Travelling back over the history of finance during the past many years one noticeable feature has been that no Government of India, no Finance Minister, has ever come forward with any proposals before the Legislative Council for raising money, either in the shape of taxation or otherwise, for education, sanitation or what may be called the social reforming side of the Government activities. It is a question always of throwing the crumbs for the above

purposes. Money may be raised for service needs or for army needs; if it is a surplus budget, some little money may be forthcoming for the needs of education and sanitation and such services are thus satisfied from time to time. But there has been no definite policy of asking the people to associate themselves with the Government saying to them 'we will raise so much money for the definite purpose of improving and organising your resources, intellectual or economic; will you agree to our proposals?' I hope that a departure will be made in this direction. I understand the difficulties of the Government. All foreign Governments are generally afraid to tax the people except to keep peace and order and do only so much as is absolutely necessary for the improvement of the condition of the people consistently with the security of their position."

The Indian Industrial Commission thus observes upon the present system of education in India:—

"135 The system of education introduced by Government at the outset, mainly intended to provide for the administrative needs of the country encouraged literary and philosophic studies to the neglect of those of a more practical character. In the result it created a disproportionate number of persons possessing a purely literary education, at a time when there was hardly any form of practical education in existence. Naturally the market value of the services of persons so educated began eventually to diminish. Throughout the nineteenth century the policy of Government was

Industrial commission on
the want of industrial and
technical training.

controlled by the doctrine of laissez-faire in commercial and industrial matters, and its efforts to develop the material resources of the country were largely limited to the provision of the improved methods of transport and the construction of irrigation works. Except in Bombay, the introduction of modern methods of manufacture was almost entirely confined to the European Community. The opportunities for gaining experience were not easy for Indians to come by, and there was no attempt at technical training for industries until nearly the end of the century, and then only on an inadequate scale. The non-existence of a suitable education to qualify Indians for posts requiring industrial or technical knowledge was met by the importation of men from Europe, who supervised and trained illiterate Indian labour in the mills and factories that were started. From this class of labour it was impossible to obtain the higher type of artisans capable of supervisory work. The more advanced Indian thinkers began at last to appreciate the dangers and difficulties of the position. The system of technical education which had grown up on the continent of Europe had already attracted the attention of the manufacturers in Great Britain, and it was natural that a demand should be made in India for Government to provide similar facilities. Even when the necessity for action began to be perceived clearly by Government, the magnitude of the problem was hardly appreciated; it was by no means sufficiently recognised that technical education is by itself incapable of creating industries.

42. In 1901 Lord Curzon summoned at Simla an educational Conference which reviewed the situation and recommended drastic reforms in the methods of higher education, with a view to render them more effective and practical. Measures were taken in the first place to improve the teachings of the physical sciences. In this line of education great improvements have been effected, and it is now possible, in so many of the Colleges affiliated to the Universities, to obtain efficient instruction for a limited number of boys in pure science and to be trained in scientific methods of enquiry and research.

43. The Simla Educational Conference also dealt with technical and industrial education; but its recommendations were of little practical value owing to the dominating idea that it was outside the province of Government to take any part in the industrial development of the country, beyond the facilities for acquiring technical education and of information regarding commercial and industrial matters. Almost immediately after the conference . . . the Government of India appointed a commission to report upon industrial education, but the report of the Commissioners were never published. A more important outcome of the Conference was the establishment by the Government of India of scholarships to enable Indians to proceed to Europe and America for special training. The scholarships were of the annual value of £ 150 and were granted in the first instance for two years, which was normally

Lord Curzon on education,

Not publication of the report on industrial education, creation of few technical scholarships.

extended for a further year. From a statement furnished to us, it appears that under the scheme more than 100 students have been sent for foreign training, of whom over 60 have returned to India. The average cost to the revenues of the Government of India of each student who has completed his period of training is about £550." (1) Mr. Sharp's Report on Education 1912-17 says that 113 State Scholars have been sent abroad.

44. In March 1904, through the instrumentality of Rai Bahadoor Jogendra Chandra Ghose and others, an association was established in Calcutta, for the advancement of the scientific and industrial education of the Indians, the main object of which was to enable the properly qualified students to visit America, Japan and other foreign countries to study arts and industries. Under this scheme, over 300 students have been sent abroad with the assistance of the association, to the funds of which the Government of Bengal contributed an annual grant of Rs. 5000, reduced, since the outbreak of the war, to Rs. 2500. Among other private efforts, the establishment of Guruprossona Ghose scholarship for Industrial purposes at Calcutta is worthy of mention. The results anticipated from the grant of these scholarships whether by the Government of India or by the Bengal Association, have only in part been realised. It was found that while educational institutions were freely admitted to the scholars, access to workshops was denied them, except in the case of manufacturing iron works

Difficulties of technical
scholars abroad

and small industries of no great practical importance. The treatment that these scholars received in England led to the appointment of the Morison Committee, who, in the report on the system of State technical scholarships which they submitted to the Secretary of State in 1913, stated that concerns which possess valuable trade secrets or fear to assist possible competitors, prefer, when they admit learners, to receive men who are likely to remain their employes rather than foreigners. This is an attitude which is common to manufacturers all over the world, not excepting India (1)

45. In the Industrial Conference held at Bombay in 1915, the exclusion of the Indian students from the workshops in the United Kingdom and the continent formed the subject of a resolution which was as follows :

Technical scholars, diffi-
culties in the United
Kingdom.

"While recognising the efforts made by the Secretary of State for India for the better training of Indian technical students in the United Kingdom and on the continent, this Council strongly recommends that he should, in placing orders for the Government of India, give preference to such firms in the above-named places, other things being equal, which offer facilities to Indian students for practical training."

In supporting this resolution Dr. J. N. Mehta said :—

"The difficulties of the Indian students in the United Kingdom are many, some of their own creation and others due to forces over which they have no control. The particular difficulties which we have in view, at the

(1) Industrial Commission Report (1916—18) pages 106 & 107:

present moment have reference to the practical experience in works—an experience which, according to the findings of what is known as the Sir Theodor Morison Committee and also according to the common sense of all of us, is indispensable for a complete industrial training. Our students find it difficult to gain this practical experience for two reasons. First, racial and political and the other, trade jealousy. The latter is understandable; but as regards the former, there could be no two opinions in this hall, and, as a matter of fact, in the whole of India, that so long as England remains responsible before the world for the better Government of India, and as long as facilities for education are denied to us in India, so long our students have every right to seek and secure admission into all kinds of English institutions. . . . A perusal of the report of Sir Theodor Morison's Committee will convince us that no systematic attempt has as yet been made to improve the situation. One thing is clear from the report, namely, that Indian students had always received encouragement and support from their professors at the Universities, which specialise in technological courses, and at the various technological colleges. But their efforts were not always successful for the two reasons I have stated. However, we want as much to be done for our students as the Government of Japan, of China, or of the several South American Republics, who have attempted to achieve facility for their students through their Consular Agencies. I know a Brazilian scholar, who was working on a ship, which was being built at Newcastle—upon—

Tyne by an English firm for the Government of Brazil, which Government had made a special stipulation to that effect. I know also two students from Columbia, one from Chilli, and some from China, who were able to secure similar facilities through the instrumentality of their Consuls. If other Governments are thus able to secure admission for their students into British workshops, why should not the India Office undertake to move more for Indian students in the same direction? This is not a rabid suggestion. It has been made by Government Officials in high places. Sir Theodor Morison writes in his Committee's report very convincingly on this point. There is also another report that I should like to refer here, and that is the report of the London Advisory Committee for Indian students which was presided over by Sir Muncherjee Bhowmuggree. We see that the Committee presided over by Sir Theodor Morison merely expresses a desire that India Office should exercise its influence through the Stores Department in securing admission of Indians into British works. I am sorry to state that though this report was issued two years ago, no effect has so far been given to my knowledge to the suggestions therein. The report of Sir M. Bhowmuggree's Committee goes a step further and gives a practical turn to the above suggestions by recommending that two lists of firms should be kept in the Stores Department and the India Office, and that preference should be given to the firms which are willing to admit Indian students in their works in the event of their securing contracts from the India Office."

46. Here it will be useful to remember that before Lord Hardinge started for India to assume the Governor Generalship of India he was given a complimentary dinner at the Savoy Hotel in London on the 24th October 1910. He said on that occasion :—

“I regard the question of Indian students in England as one of Imperial concern to the future of our Empire. I believe that a little kindness shown to these youngmen would repay itself a thousandfold by the spread in India of a warmer spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Empire. .

47. The number of students in England in 1917 was about 1000—about 600 in London, 160 in Edinburgh, 98 in Cambridge, 59 in Oxford, 59 in Glasgow, 50 in Dublin, 19 in Manchester, and there are smaller numbers at Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool and other centres.

The Times Trade Supplement, May 24, 1919, at page 250 says :—

“The meeting held on Monday afternoon (19th May 1919) at the London Chamber of Commerce, on the initiative of the East Indian Section, to discuss the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, was disappointing from several points of view.

“After Mr. Chadwick, the Indian Trade Commissioner, had outlined the broad purposes of the Report and