ties there are without alteration of statute, without any new political demand, in the great reforms which will be for ever associated in the history of India with the name of Lord Morley. (Cheers.)

The Indian Student in London.

I want this year to devote my attention to the one problem which I believe underlies all other problems in India, which I think is the keystone of progress and the keystone of the development of social conditions, and of, eventually, the improvement of political conditions—namely, education. It has two branches—education in this country and education in India Those interested in India must never lose sight of the increasing army of those who come over to England and benefit by our educational facilities, and who present a very serious problem. The facilities which we offer here are often purchased at an exorbitant price, and I think it is difficult for Indians to estimate them at their real value. It may well be that the solution of some of the difficulties presented by them may be found by providing better facilities for education in India itself. If this were done—if the Indian doctor, the Indian barrister, the Indian aspirant to an unprejudiced share in the government of his own country were to obtain an adequate training in his own country, I venture to say that many a

parent would be saved anxiety and worry, many an Indian would be saved bitterness and disappointment, and perhaps the financial disaster attendant upon a journey to England But whilst they are over here, in search of what the heart of the Empire can give them, it is our duty and part of our responsibility for the good government of India to welcome and to help our Indian fellow-subjects to the best of our ability.

The Englishman's Duty.

Let me say first of all how difficult it is to interest men and women in this country in *Indian problems. Is it too much to hope that* when the problems come to their very door they will respond to the invitation which in all humility I make to them to show some hospitality to our Indian fellow-subjects? All men and women who show this hospitality to our Indian visitors are doing an Imperial work of the utmost value to the Empire Nothing could be more valuable than for Englishmen and women in particular, to afford opportunities to Indians of learning something of English homes. I do not want to go into details, but I want to assure the House that I have had ample and lasting proof of the serious consequences of allowing Indian students to believe that the majority of the women with whom they come

most easily in contact in the lonely lives they lead in lodging-houses are typical of English womanhood. May I say a word to undergraduates in our great Universities? A responsibility of an exceptional kind falls upon them. Amongst those who go to our Universities, both Indian and British, are the future administrators of India, and if we allow our Indian visitors to be segregated, isolated, or rudely treated, we are sowing seed which will sprout and fruit long after we have repented of the carelessness which helped its germination

THE ORGANISATION AT THE INDIA OFFICE.

I want to say something more now of the efforts the India Office are making to ensure that those who come to this country are looked after. It is not the first time the House has been asked to consider this question. The Master of Elibank, who preceded me at the India Office, explained to the House in 1909 the measures which had been taken. The scheme has now been in existence for three and a half years. So great a measure of success has been achieved that the Secretary of State feels himself justified in making a considerable extension and development. I should like to give the House an idea of the work which Mr. Arnold, the head of the organisation, and his staff

have been called upon to perform. In the first place, a bureau of information has been created which provides information upon educational matters to Indian parents and students, keeps for students a record of suitable lodging-houses and of families that are ready to receive them, furnishes them with references and certificates required by institutions which they wish to enter, serves as an intermediary between the Universities and other academic bodies in cases where their regulations impose unintentional hardship on students from India or do not harmonise with the system enforced in Indian Universities and colleges, issues a handbook of information relating to academic and technical education, the condition of life, the cost of living in different centres of the United Kingdom to which Indian parents may wish to send their sons, and finally assists Indian students in this country with advice on matters social, financial and educational, and undertakes at the express wish of Indian parents the guardianship of their sons, sending to them from time to time periodical reports as to their progress and conduct. It is now calculated that this bureau is in contact with 1,962 Indian students, or about 62 per cent. of the total number in this country. As regards those of whom Mr. Arnold has undertaken the guardianship, let me give the figures:—In June

1910, there were 27; in March, 1911, 91; and in February last, 137 Between April, 1909, and June, 1910, the amount of remittance received on behalf of these students was about £5,000; between July 1, 1910 and June 1, 1911, the amount was over £18,000. The educational adviser works in conjunction with the Board of Education in finding suitable courses of instruction for technical students, and in regard to engineering he is assisted by an expert adviser in Mr Champion

Mr Mallet's Appointment.

I wish to say that the scheme inaugurated in 1909 has fully justified its institution, and, secondly, that it has grown far beyond the control of its original organisation Mr Arnold, to whose zeal, energy, and devotion I gladly take this opportunity of paying public tribute, has with his assistants worked nobly to grapple with an ever-increasing rush of work That a reorganisation is necessary is, I think, a justification of their work, for it is only by tactful management and the taking of infinite pains that the natural repugnance of students to placing themselves under control could be overcome and that the number to be dealt with has therefore increased The first step which we have taken is to increase substantially the very insufficient salary upon which Mr. Arnold and his assistants

are doing their work. Then a Secretary for Indian students has been appointed at the India Office at a salary of £1,000 a year. (Opposition cries of "Oh!") As the House knows, we have been fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Mallet.

Mr. PEEL. Is there a pension?

Mr. MONTAGU: There is a pension after ten years' service if he is invalided; and if he is not invalided when he retires at the age of 60 he gets a pension of one-eighteenth of his salary for each year of service, together with a bonus of one-thirtieth of his salary for each year of service.

Mr PEEL. Is there any examination?

Mr. MONTAGU: No; there is no examination of any sort or kind. The position is not an easy one to fill. What is required is largely a knowledge of the conduct of a public office. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying after the very short experience and opportunity we have had of judging Mr. Mallet's work that it shows us to the full how glad we should be to welcome him as a colleague in this new and difficult work he has undertaken.

Mr PEEL. Is a knowledge of any Indian language required?

Mr. MONTAGU: No. Mr. Mallet is to be a link between the Secretary of State and the various organisations in India on the one hand, and in this country on the other hand, which have been formed and are being formed for this important work.

Mr KEIR HARDIE: Was there no Indian available?

Mr. MONTAGU: No, for the very important reason that we desired to appoint one with knowledge of the working of an office. It was considered that the best appointment that could be made was from Great Britain and not from India.

Captain FABER: Has he any knowledge of India?

Mr. MONTAGU: So far as I am aware, not. Mr. Arnold will in future confine his attention to students in London. There are something like 800 of these at present, and the number will probably be increased. If he is to carry on the work with the same personal attention as he has done in the past, we want to limit his activities to the guardianship and care of Indian students in London. Mr. Mallet will organise and keep in touch with similar organisations to that in Cromwell Road and which are being founded with the same object and on the same lines as those which have been so successful in London. In no University town at present is there any real satisfactory organisation for looking after Indian students. We want at Oxford, Cambridge, the Scottish Universities and the provincial centres, where Indians congregate for study similar machinery to combat the sense of homelessness. Our hope is that each University which enrols Indian students may be willing to appoint an officer who will make it his duty to know and to help all the Indian students there, to give them information and assistance, and even to act as

guardians. We believe that will be of great value to the University and of great value to the Empire. The Secretary of State is, of course, willing under the new scheme to assist financially such efforts Mr. Mallet will be in close relation to those local advisers and will help them in every way to organise their work and to induce others to co-operate with them and to assist them in communication with India. Communications are being carried on with the General Medical Council for more satisfactory regulations for Indian students who wish to study for the medical profession Mr. Mallet will play an important part in this scheme. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing publicly the thanks of the Secretary of State for the courtesy and consideration with which these bodies have met his suggestions. I may add that there is no intention of abolishing the position of Indian assistant at Cromwell Road which was formerly held by Dr. Ray, and the selection of a successor to Dr. Ray is now under consideration I come to another branch of this subject. Indian students in recent years have come over to this country for industrial and technical study. A few of them—about ten every year—come at the cost of the Indian Government. Others are sent by patriotic societies, and others come at their own expense. Some doubt was expressed as to the value of the training they get, and the Secre-

tary of State has appointed a committee to enquire into the matter, under the chairmanship of Sir Theodore Morison. The committee has not yet reported, but I understand all the members agree as to the importance of practical training. The university or technological school can teach science and its application to industry, but it cannot make a man an engineer, a tanner, or a manufacturer. He can only learn the industry by practical experience in a business concern which is run for profit, and I am afraid that Indian students find some difficulty in getting the practical experience which they need in a concern run for profit as a complement to their theoretical knowledge. Our Colleges and Universities are open to them on the same terms as to Englishmen, but in some industries at least they meet with great reluctance to admit them. This is a state of things which fills me with concern. India is going to develop great industries and her young men are going to learn how to direct them. It is not a development which we should want to prevent or could prevent if we wanted. If Indian students cannot learn from manufacturers here they will go to foreign countries for the purpose, and on their return to India they will send orders for machinery and equipment to those countries. That seems to me a matter of such great importance that I invite the attention to it of

members of the House who are interested in great industrial concerns.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT Has the Government considered the adoption of the practice of the Japanese Government when giving out contracts of stipulating for a certain number of apprentices being employed?

Mr. MONTAGU: I do not think that I can say anything about that, beyond that I am sure that it is one of the things which the Committee will consider. They have not yet made their Report. Then the question intrudes itself: Why do so many Indian students come to this country? And the explanation is largely to be found in the fact that we have not provided comparable facilities in their own country, and therefore compel them to come over, at whatever cost, to obtain the fullest opportunities for useful careers.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

And so I come to another important aspect of the question—the question of improved education in India. It is not an easy subject. In this country the bulk of the population is in large towns, where it is possible to equip schools which can always be supplied with a full contingent of pupils who can be trained with efficiency and economy of effort. But in India over 90 per cent. of the population live in villages, and most of them are very

small villages indeed. It is almost impossible to select a figure in connexion with this subject in India which is not almost startling. There are over 600,000 villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants, and these villages include more than half the total population. This distribution makes it enormously costly to bring educational facilities within the reach of every child of school-going age. In addition to this there is the distrust of parents, some of whom wish merely to train their children as retail petty traders, and consider that the primary school curriculum is superfluous. Some parents among the present population are unable to see that schooling does any good, while it certainly withdraws the children from helping to look after the cattle. The school committees who manage the public schools have been described in one province as "varying between enthusiasm, toleration and hostility." Sometimes we have the Western idea that schooling will raise the village boy above his station or make him unwilling to accept the old rate of wages. Much of the education given up to the present has been of an unpractical nature. The boy was for a few hours a day taken mentally out of the world in which he passed his life and taught by rote what were to him utterly useless facts, such as the names of British possessions in Africa. If you do not know whether Africa is a hundred or a

hundred thousand miles away from your village it is not of much interest to you to learn the exact political status of Sierra Leone. But, of course, it is much less troublesome to all parties concerned to teach a boy to learn by heart what a "cape" or a "bay" is than to go with him to the nearest stream or lake and show him in miniature exactly what the objects are. Then caste presents some difficulty. I do not want to overrate it, because I believe that among the castes and classes who can read freely caste prejudices bulk less largely than in the West. The description of a school in a Hindu village often reminds me of the description of a Scottish village school in the eighteenth century where the sons of the laird and the ploughman sat side by side and thought no harm of it. But when we reach the gulf which separates the higher castes from the depressed castes, whose touch is regarded as pollution, we find ourselves in very deep waters indeed, and the question of the depressed classes constitutes one of the very serious difficulties in the way of universal primary education.

The Scarcity of Teachers.

There are very great difficulties also in connection with the supply of properly trained teachers. The market value of a primary school-

master, if he is technically qualified, but untrained —that is if he has certificates but has not passed through a normal school—may be as low as eight rupees per month. The average wage of a primary schoolmaster in 1907 was £6 13s. 4d. a year. The supply of qualified teachers for vernacular schools, even with increase of pay, is scanty at present. Any man who knows English is reluctant to become a purely vernacular teacher and prefers the Provincial Civil Service, which he finds far more lucrative than the Education Department. And when one reflects upon the enormous share taken by women teachers in this country and America in education in primary schools one realises the difficulty of getting sufficient teachers in a country where women teachers cannot be employed except for female education Then, again, there is the question of inadequate buildings. We do not want elaborate buildings and furniture in schools in India, but in the case of schools under private management, which are three-fourths of the total number, it is the custom for classes to be held in verandahs lent for the purpose, or in the master's own dwelling house, or in any other place that can be obtained. I mention these difficulties only that the House may realise the magnitude of the task before us, but I do not think that the difficulties afford any excuse for apathy or indifference. On the

contrary, they should only serve as an incentive to greater activity.

The Policy of the Government.

The only question we have to decide now is the direction this activity should take. The House will have heard of the proposals associated with the name of that eminent Indian educationist, Mr. Gokhale, who has introduced a Bill for what I may describe shortly as free compulsory primary education on a permissive basis. What I mean by that is that the education is to be free and compulsory where under certain conditions the local authority choose to apply it. He estimates that the cost of his proposal will ultimately be about 3½ million pounds. We are inclined to believe that that is a sanguine estimate. I hope Mr. Gokhale and those who sympathise with him will never misunderstand me when I urge a quality always irksome to self-sacrificing reformers like himself—the quality of patience He thinks that primary education as it exists at present in India is sufficiently valuable to force it on the whole school-going population of India as early as possible. We do not. Universal and free education must come in India, as it has come in all other countries, but the time is not yet. I am confident that the Government of India has a policy dictated for the

present by the same hopes and aims as the hopes and aims of Mr. Gokhale's Bill which will produce for the moment a better result. We have no hostility towards the principles which inspire his Bill. We and he together are working for the same end, the breaking down of illiteracy in India. No one who knows anything about the matter can deny that his energy and his speeches have helped us to create the public opinion, without which our activity would be useless, but we believe that the greatest expansion of education can be secured not by making it free or compulsory at the present moment but by the improvement and the multiplication of the schools In the Bombay Presidency it is roughly calculated that there are 100,000 children whose parents would willingly send them to school to-day if there were schools to send them to. And the same story is told about other provinces, where it has been demonstrated that the surest way of increasing the school attendance is to increase the number of schools And with regard to compulsion, the case is even stronger. Compulsion really can only be worked where education is popular, and where, therefore, the need of putting compulsion into force would not show itself to the very large bulk of the population. There is not much use in applying it to resentful districts.

There is not much to be hoped from compulsion unless it is largely effective, and how much unrest and disturbance a really effective measure for making primary education compulsory would create it is not difficult to imagine. In the Native State of Baroda, where education has been made compulsory, the fines for non-attendance amount to 60,000 rupees per year. This figure gives an incidence per head of the population which is double the incidence of the fees charged in elementary schools in India. Yet what is the result? The percentage of literacy among the males in Baroda after five years of free and compulsory education is 17·5. In the adjacent British district of Broach, where education is neither free nor compulsory, the percentage of literacy is 27·4. I should like to read to the House the language of a leading Indian chief, the Raja of Rajpipla, a State in the Bombay Presidency. He is a progressive Chief, who takes a keen interest in his State, and has done much to advance education in it. He used only recently the following words :—"Make primary education as free as you choose : add as many further inducements as you can but do not make it compulsory. In the case of the most advanced classes it is absolutely unnecessary, and would serve only to create irritation. In the case of the poor 'backward classes,' it would inflict harm where good was meant.

would subject them to great harassment, would be positively cruel and unjust, and would be deeply though silently resented as such."

What is our alternative plan? We have already, I would point out, made a considerable step in the direction of free primary education. Primary schools for girls generally charge no fees. Primary education for boys is free in certain provinces. No fees are charged in the monastery schools of Burma. The sons of agriculturists in the Punjab and in certain districts of the United Provinces pay no fees. Primary education has been made free in the frontier provinces of Assam, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier. There are arrangements in other provinces giving primary education without charge to backward sections of the community, with the result that from one-fifth to a third of the boys already receive free education. Let me tell the House something of the progress made in the last ten years. In 1901 Lord Curzon dealt with the subject with characteristic candour. He declared that "he could not be satisfied with a state of things in which four villages out of five are without a school, and three boys out of four grew up without education, and one girl in forty only attended school." During the last ten years there has been an increase of 22 per cent. in the number of schools and 44 per cent. in the number of scholars, and to-day

there are 4,500,000 boys and 866,000 girls receiving primary education in 120,000 schools. During the last four years there has been an increase of about 240,000 boys per annum attending school; but, while 15 per cent. of the population is of school-going age, of that population only 4 per cent. of the boys and 7 per cent of the girls are at school. The educational grant of £330,000 a year announced at the Delhi Durbar is to be spent mainly on primary education and is but a prelude to a much more extensive programme. The programme which we hope to work up to in time is as follows.—We desire to increase the total number of primary schools by 90,000 or 75 per cent., and to double the school-going population. The cost of the new schools will be £25 each per year, and they will be placed in villages and other centres of population which are at present without schools We are going to improve the existing schools, which now only cost about £10 a year; the cost of these will probably have to be doubled.

Lord RONALDSHAY In what period?

Mr. MONTAGU: I cannot give the period. As I am going on to say, it must take some considerable time. But this is the programme which we propose at once to set ourselves to work on. We want to improve the teaching given in the schools, and

make it practical, popular and instructive, and for that purpose we have got to improve the teaching.

Sir J.D. REES. Up to what sort of grant would you work?

Mr. MONTAGU. The additional expenditure this year is £750,000. I cannot give figures for a longer period

Mr. WYNDHAM. Is the balance of £1,000,000 of increased expenditure for education going to higher education?

Mr. MONTAGU It includes both higher and primary education.

Mr WYNDHAM And is that comprised in the million?

Mr. MONTAGU: No; three quarters of a million is the amount this year, both for higher education and primary education. As I said, we must make the education attractive, and therefore we want a larger supply of better-equipped teachers. We hope to lay down the rule that they shall have passed at least the upper primary school standard, that there shall be at least one teacher to every 50 scholars, that the pay shall begin at at least 12 rupees a month, and that there shall be better prospects for teachers by grading and instituting a provident fund or pension system. These two items of improvement and extension will involve a very large expenditure, and the recurring expense of these schools will be by no means the only charge on the Indian Treasury. There must be heavy initial expenditure for buildings and equipment. More serious and more costly will be the training of the teachers which the schools will absorb. I

want to ask the House to remember that a considerable space of time must elapse before these hopes can be realised. The financial problems which these educational ideas involve are obvious to every one. What is not so clearly obvious is that, even if the money were now in hand, it could not immediately be spent The Government of India is satisfied that, at the present moment, an increased salary would not bring forth any considerable increase of competent teachers Trained men do not exist in sufficient numbers for the existing schools, and therefore the only way in which the problem can be dealt with is to call them into existence.

Higher Education

Let us turn our attention for a moment to higher education I want, if I may, to draw the attention of the House to the importance of this subject. May I venture on an analogy between the conditions of India to-day and of Europe in the Middle Ages? I do not want to press the parallel beyond this point, that we have a series of large countries, each with its own vernacular speech (or, perhaps, more than one vernacular), brought into an intellectual commonwealth by the use for purposes of higher education of a language which is not a native vernacular. Any Englishman, Frenchman

or German who proceeded in higher studies in the Middle Ages learnt to write, and to speak, Latin, the language of law, of science, and of politics. In India, to-day, the man who would serve the State in the higher departments, of law, or science, or politics must learn English. Of course the parallel breaks down at this point, because English is not to India, as Latin was to Europe, the language of religion. It is, as Latin was not, the language of business and international commerce. Further, English is a living tongue, whereas Latin was not then a live one. Possibly my comparison may seem fanciful, but I make it for this reason. Very few of us, I think, stop to consider what it really means when we find Indian gentlemen taking high honours at their English university, passing competitive examinations in this country, or making admirable speeches in the Legislative Councils. I would like to ask how many Oxford or Cambridge graduates capable of turning English literature into the most excellent Latin prose, how many cultured Englishmen who can read German with ease, would be prepared to learn higher mathematics and write mathematical or scientific theses in German, or to sit down in an examination room and answer questions on Indian history in Latin? How many of us would be prepared to conduct our debates in this Chamber in any foreign language which we were supposed to have

learned when we left school? That is precisely the achievement of many Indian gentlemen to-day. When we admit and deplore the manifest shortcomings of Indian secondary education, we forget that each of the pupils whom we so often hear of as being prepared by a process of cramming, has not only had to acquire the English language, which differs fundamentally from his own in structure, in spirit and in syntax, but has got to acquire all the other advanced knowledge through the medium of English I think it is too often forgotten that this sort of thing is very typical in India, the sort of thing described by one member in a recent speech in the Viceroy's Council, a speech which, in point of form, might well serve as a model to many of us here, and in which he said: "That he received the elements of education sitting on the floor of the primary school, confronting a wooden board, covered with red powder, and with a piece of stick with which to write vernacular letters."

We propose in secondary education to extend our *model schools* where required, and not to replace private or aided schools, but to co-operate with them and set an example of standard. Only graduates will be employed as teachers It is hoped to establish a graded service with salaries of from 40 to 400 rupees a month. We want to establish a school course complete in itself, with a curriculum

comparable to a school course on the modern side of an English public school, giving manual training and science teaching. There is to be an increased grant to privately-managed schools, and we want to provide proper hostel accommodation.

I come now to the Universities. Mr Balfour posed the difficulty of the Indian University system with, if I may say so, admirable lucidity to the Congress of Universities. The words he used were these :—"How are you going to diminish the shock which the sudden invasion of a wholly alien learning must have on the cultured society of the East ? A catastrophic change in the environment of an organism is sure to inflict great injury upon the organism, perhaps destroy it altogether. In the East we are compelled to be catastrophic. It is impossible to graft by a gradual process in the East what we have got by a gradual process in the West." And so we have the complaint that our Indian University teaching has undermined religions, has weakend the restraint of ancient customs, and has destroyed that reverence for authority which was one of the attributes of Indian character. How can we combat these things ? We believe that the dangers of catastrophic change can be mitigated by adopting in India that part of the English system of education which has, so far as the Universities are con-

cerned, proved most successful in moulding character. Character is not trained by lectures or taught by text books. It forms but a small part of the work in the class-rooms. But it has arisen, as it were, accidentally, as a by-product of our residential schools and old Universities. Young men in their association together evolve certain rules of conduct which they impress on each other, and which we speak of as the tone or tradition of the school or college. There is evidence to show that in residential colleges in India, traditions comparable to those in our own public schools spring into existence and stamp their indelible impression upon the young men who go there. The formative influence of the residential college can be stimulated by the presence of English masters and professors who have been trained in the same system in their own country, and who know how much can be done by example and how little by homily. It is this side of University education which we propose to develop in India. We have allotted large grants for building hostels and boarding houses attached to colleges. We are finding money for libraries in connexion with the colleges, we desire to develop existing Universities by the creation of chairs in different branches of post-graduate research, and we propose to increase the aid to private colleges. The Universities of India

have hitherto been of a federal or affiliating type. At their first inception they were little more than boards constituted for the purpose of holding examinations, and for these examinations students were prepared at a great number of institutions scattered over a wide area As the Universities were only examining boards they could only recognise merit shown in the examinations The training of character and other valuable by-products of collegiate life could not be recognised or encouraged Universities of this type came into existence in England in the last century, but after a short experience the type has been generally condemned, and the recent tendency has been for the federal University to be dissolved and for the constituent colleges to become independent Universities It is upon such lines that the Government of India is directing the construction of the Indian Universities The first step was taken in 1904, when the area within which each University could exercise the power of affiliation was demarcated The next step will be to reduce the area over which each University exercises jurisdiction, but where a college is adequately staffed and equipped, and where it has shown a capacity to attract to itself students from a distance, that college will be elevated to the dignity of a University and will be given the power of conferring degrees upon the students who have been trained within its walls.

Such Universities will be local and residential in the fullest sense of the term. They will, it is hoped, develop traditions of their own and become centres of learning. The Government of India have expressed a wish to create a University of this type in Dacca, and correspondence is passing between the Government of India and the Secretary of State upon giving a similar status to the college at Aligarh. It is probable that Universities of a similar type will shortly follow at Benares and Rangoon. (Hear, hear.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Then, of course, there must be side by side with this extension of liberal University education an increase of technical education Technical education is to be developed A technological institute at Cawnpore has been sanctioned in accordance with the recommendations of Sir John Hewett, who has done so much in the cause of technical education in India I may say, generally, that technical education is to be advanced all over India (Hear, hear) This must serve as a summary of the educational efforts which the Government of India is making in all directions. I have attempted to show that we are extending our educational facilities in that country We are making a courageous and sustained effort to break down illiteracy in primary

education. We are leading the way towards the recognition of a higher standard of efficiency in secondary education by the establishment of model Government schools. We are spending large sums upon the provision of well-equipped hostels attached both to schools and to colleges and promoting the growth of a healthy residential system. We are trying to mitigate the evils of wholesale examination by the contraction of the area over which each University enjoys jurisdiction, and to establish a new type of University which may develop into a genuine home of learning. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, we are developing industrial and technological education. I say confidently that that is a record of which any Government may be proud and a programme to which the House can confidently look forward. (Hear, hear.) If the educational ideal which we have in mind is realised we will have laid the foundation of a national system of education by a network of really valuable schools, colleges and Universities, so that facilities will be opened to Indians to qualify themselves in their own country for the highest positions in every walk in life.

Opportunity for Indians.

The problem before us when we have educated Indians is to give them the fullest opportunity in

the government of their own country to exercise advantages which they have acquired by training and by education How are we going to remove avoidable disabilities under which Indians labour while promoting the efficiency of the public services generally? Those who desire reform in the Indian service will welcome the appointment by his Majesty of a Royal Commission of which the House has heard There are many questions a solution of which is confidently asserted by some to be as confidently refuted by others, and which will never be properly solved until we have an authoritative pronouncement on them I want to justify the appointment of this Royal Commission, but I want most carefully, in what follows, to avoid the expression of any opinion lest it might be considered to be opinion of the Government, upon whose behalf I speak this afternoon Sir Charles Aitchison's Public Service Commission reported at the end of 1887, and final orders were published on its recommendation in 1891. Accepting, as I do the supposition that those orders were the best possible orders that could have been passed at that time, he would be a bold man who would say, having regard to the development of India during the past twenty years, that there is now no necessity for any development of the system which owes its results to Sir Charles Aitchison's Commission Many points remain, and some directly result

from the orders which were based upon that Commissioner's report which have given rise (it is not an exaggeration to say) to grave discontent inside and outside the services concerned.

First of all there is the Indian Civil Service. A competitive examination at the moment lays the way open for a choice between the home and the Indian Civil Service, and those who choose the Indian Civil Service have a year's probation at home before they go out to do the varied administrative, executive and judicial work, the success of which is, I think, the marvel of the whole world and a source of continued pride to the people of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.)

The Keynote of British Rule.

The innate power of well-ordered administration and prompt, decisive action which seem to me to be the characteristic of the British race, and perhaps of no other, will never fail. But more than that is wanted—humanity, capacity to deal with men, statesmanship, and above all, that quality which is increasingly wanted as the keynote of British rule in India; sympathy. (Hear, hear.) The Indians with whom the young Indian civil servant comes into contact will be better educated, with a wider knowledge of other countries and of the world, as the years go by. As we improve our

system of education, and as we increase the capacity for the expression of popular opinion, and as Indians come over to this country, not only Government students, not only Indian princes, but zemindars and merchants, and travel in Europe, learning of England at its best and at its worst, it becomes all the more important that we should not risk any deterioration of our service, but that we should give to India, as we have undoubtedly done in the past, the very best material we can. It is obvious that to open both the home and Indian Civil Services to one examination gives us a wider choice, because it gives to the candidate a choice of profession when he passes the examination, but it will be for the Commission to consider how far nowadays it results in our getting only the leavings of the home Civil Service and how far, further, an examination which can admittedly be passed mainly by cramming is the best possible way of securing our Indian Civil servants. I do not know, and it would be improper for me to express an opinion, but this is for the Commission to consider, and there are many other questions which suggest themselves. Is the year's probation long enough? Is it spent to the best possible advantage under our present system? Do we get our young men at an age when they are too old to adapt themselves to the life they have

to lead, or, on the contrary, are they too young for the responsibilities which they have to bear? Ought not the training they receive to be supplemented by more intimate knowledge of our legal procedure in this country? Might not certain difficulties of our Indian judicial system be overcome by some such means as these?

Sir J D REES Will this Commission deal with the manner in which Barrister Judges are appointed to the public service?

Mr MONTAGU ignored the interruption and continued.—

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE SERVICES.

Then again there is the position of Indians in the Civil Service. The door of the Indian Civil Service is at present only to be found in this country, and this is one of the reasons why Indians come over here. It has been suggested that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held here and simultaneously in India, or that, if another process is adopted for selecting civil servants, that the same process should be gone through in India as is gone through here It has been answered that it would be impossible under such a system to ensure the same status and the same standard in India as we require here And when the Service has been recruited is the door to promotion open as widely as possible to men of all races in the best possible way? Are

the rules of pay and of pensions suitable or incapable of improvement? Is it right that Indians should not subscribe to the family fund? Then there is the Indian Medical Service, which is only recruited in this country. Is the training which is possible for Indians in their own country of such value as to warrant us opening the door to the Indian Medical Service in India? Does the existence of an Indian Medical Service prevent the growth of an independent medical profession? Would it be right to open the doors of the Indian Civil Service and of the Indian Medical Service to subjects of feudatory States? All these problems present themselves again and again to those who have to do with administration in India.

We come then to the other Services. Roughly and generally, the Imperial Service is recruited in England and the Provincial Service is recruited in India. The Imperial Service has preserved for it the higher superior appointments, and the Provincial Service fills the higher subordinate appointments, while the lower Imperial appointments are filled partly from the Provincial Service and partly from the Imperial Service. The pay, leave and pension rules in each service have been fixed by a consideration of what is necessary to secure Europeans to serve away from their own country, and by what is necessary to secure Indians to serve in

their own country. The result is that the branch which is essentially European has better pay, better prospects, and more responsibility than the branch which is essentially Indian.

THE NECESSITY FOR THE EUROPEAN ELEMENT

It does not necessarily by any means follow that these principles are wrong—that is for the Commission to decide. It is necessary to have a European element in almost all of the services European officers must be given pay and prospects sufficient to induce them to join these services, and when good men have been trained and have been induced to join they must be placed in positions of responsibility adequate to their merits. It has been said, and again I express no opinion, that this has been achieved in a way which causes just discontent among Indians, that it is not achieved in the most appropriate way, and that our present system excludes desirable men and involves avoidable race distinction. In these Services where the Imperial branch *is recruited by nomination, although* Indians are not declared to be ineligible, although in one, the Public Works Department, provision has been made for giving a certain proportion of the appointments every year to India, the result of the system is that in almost all the Services Indians are shut out

from the more important and highly-paid posts. In the Education Service by recruiting the Imperial Service only in this country, only two Indians have been appointed in the last 15 years. In the Public Works Department, Lord Morley decided that 10 per cent. of the appointments should, if possible, be given to Indians each year. The result was that certain Indians were appointed to the Imperial Service who had failed to get into the Provincial Service. So the system results in either keeping Indians out of the higher branches of the service or appointing them with qualifications inferior to those required for the lower branch. And if the principle of maintaining appointments in this country only for Europeans is abandoned, it imposes a course of education in England on Indians who wish to attain high office in their own country. In all these services there is the question of pay, pension, leave, the present conditions of which will be familiar to students of the subject, but which I dare not ask the House to listen to in detail now. Every service has its grievance. There is the Police, Forests, the Telegraphs, the Survey and the Education Service, the examination of which is all the more necessary having regard to the development of education which is going on. I do not want to give an enumeration which might be held to be exhaustive and I do

not want to suggest to the House that the services can be dealt with piecemeal. It is the question of principle we have to decide first, and the principle must be adjusted before the details can be settled.

The New Royal Commission

The terms of reference to the Commission are as follows:—To examine and report on the following matters in connection with the Indian Civil Service and other Civil Services, Imperial and Provincial:—1. The methods of recruitment and the system of training and probation. 2. The conditions of service, salary, leave and pension. 3. Such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans, and the working of the existing system of division of services into Imperial and Provincial; and generally to consider the requirements of the public service, and to recommend such changes as may seem expedient. The members of the Commission are:—Chairman, Lord Islington, the present Governor of New Zealand; the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P.; Sir Murray Hammick, of the Indian Civil Service, now acting as Governor of Madras; Sir Theodore Morison, member of the Council of India; Sir Valentine Chirol; Mr. F. G. Sly, member of the Indian Civil Service and Commissioner of Berar; Mr. Mahadeo Bhaskar Chaubal, member of the Governor of Bombay's Executive Council; Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale,

member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council; Mr. W. C. Madge, member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council; Mr. Abdur Rahim, Judge of the Madras High Court; Mr. Ramsay MacDonald M.P.; and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (Cheers.) It only remains for me to ask the House to wish these gentlemen, who are so patriotically devoting themselves to a very difficult, arduous and lengthened investigation, all good fortune in their work. I am confident that the result of their deliberations must be of enormous importance to India and will lead to the improvement of the country. (Cheers.)

"EAST AND WEST."

Perhaps the House will permit me, in conclusion, to explain in a few general words what I think is to be drawn from what is happening in India. I have often said before, and I say now, that I can see nothing dangerous in the condition of India at all. Its revenue and its trade are expanding; it is being better equipped year by year to withstand the calamities of weather and of disease; its people are being better trained to play the part of citizens. We have given public opinion expression adequate to the present development of the nation. But, as I said last year, and I appeal now, India must be regarded more than ever as a progressive country,

and two warnings are necessary. The first is that you cannot now, even if you would, embark on a policy of reaction The mighty mass in India is moving in response to our own stimulus, and to try and force it back into a condition of sleep, which would now be an unwilling sleep, and could only be achieved, if it could be achieved, by repression, would be calamitous blunder The second warning which, in all humility, I would give is that, seeing that India is never the same to-day as it was yesterday, and will never be the same to-morrow as it is to-day, the man who relies on out-of date knowledge, the man who expresses a confident opinion about India, based on knowledge however intimate, or on work however admirable, but a few years out of date, who prefaces his every remark with the words "indicus olim" is a man whose advice must not be accepted without question (Laughter and Hear, hear) If we are to do our duty by the enormous responsibility which we have undertaken we must move forward, however cautiously, accepting the results of our own acts and inspirations, keeping ourselves informed as intimately as we possibly can of the modern and changing aspects of the problem with which we have to deal Nobody can possibly foretell what will be the eventual characteristic of the population we shall form in India. the India

which must be a heritage, not only of its Asiatic population alone, but also of that small handful of Europeans who have unified it giving it its trend, brought to it its traditions and its ideals, and which must be reckoned in its destinies. There is a trite quotation so often made that I hardly like to quote it now, that "East is East and West is West." Nobody wants to deny it: no living man would have it otherwise. But, as a great Bengali writer has laid it down, the East and West must meet "at the altar of humanity." And then they are meeting, not with clash or discord, but in harmony and amity. There need be no enmity to competition; the forces are not mutually destructive; they are mutually complementary. The quietism of the East is meeting the restless spirit of the West. Each has learnt much and has to learn much from the religion, the art and the philosophy of the other. The asceticism of the Oriental, the simplicity of his daily life and the modesty of his bodily needs are meeting with the love of material advancement, the striving after progress, the craving for the concrete and the love of realism which comes from the West. If I may use rather ornate language, the golden thread of Oriental idealism is being woven into the rather drab web of our scheme of life, and our science of government, which we have laboriously inherited and are handing down, is being

offered to the Oriental to teach him the road to progress. In other words, in India, East and West together, uniting and co-operating, are building, let us hope successfully, a lasting temple on their joint ideals. (Cheers.)

Reply to the Debate.

Mr. Montagu, replying by the indulgence of the House, assured hon. members that the various points they had raised would receive attention. The decrease of £502,500 in the Army Estimates of India this year, to which Mr. Wyndham had alluded, was not due to any policy of retrenchment which was likely to jeopardise the defences of that Empire. An important feature of the decrease was the absence of the Durbar expenditure, which amounted to £373,000. It must also be borne in mind that a great portion of the expenses of the Abor and Mishmi Expeditions did not appear this year, but last year, on the estimates. The economies achieved were due to the very rigorous attention paid to the very minor details of expenditure. He had, however, forgotten, when speaking of the new Royal Commission, to mention that although it had got to enquire into very important services, those services were not represented on the body. It would be impossible to appoint a businesslike Commission if all the services to be enquired into

were represented on it, and the system which it was hoped the Commission would adopt was to co-opt, to sit with the body, one or two representatives of the Imperial and provincial branches of each service. They would represent their case, marshal the evidence, and present the case, but of course would have no word in the drawing up and signing of the final report With regard to railway extension, there had been since the report of Sir James Mackay's Committee, such a depreciation in all gilt-edged securities that it was not always easy to raise large loans for expenditure even on such desirable objects as railways, and they had had, therefore, to modify their demands upon the London market in this respect. It was always difficult to decide as to expenditure upon the improvement of the existing railways, or upon new lines. Some advocated increasing the rolling stock and improving the lines and the stations of the existing lines. Others maintained that every available penny ought to be spent upon extension. The policy adopted by the Government was a compromise between the two. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had raised the question of an independent audit. Theoretically that was an excellent thing, and it had so happened that by the last mail proposals had been made by the Government of India for alterations and additions to

the Audit Office in India, and the whole subject was now about to be re-considered As to Tibet, our activities there were given by the Anglo-Russian Convention, and came within the sphere of the Foreign Secretary On the subject of the projected Persian Railway, it was perfectly true, certain parts of the route ran through India, and therefore it would not be surprising if the Government of India were to see objection to that part of the line being constructed by an international group, and to consider that, if built at all, it should be built by India The question of the gold standard reserve had been raised by Colonel Yate New orders had been issued, the result of which would be that, whereas now the whole 17 millions was in securities, excepting one million which was in cash on short notice, the Government were going to allow the sum to increase until it reached the amount of 25 millions sterling. There would ultimately be a reserve of 25 millions, of which five millions would be in gold In regard to the very large balances of the Government of India, he recognised it was a matter for comment that there was at the end of the year a balance in hand of £18,320,000. The balance of the Secretary of State in England was only part of the whole amount standing to the credit of the Indian Government Last year the balance was exceptionally large owing to overesti-

mating and under-spending in certain departments, and also to the great volume of trade done between England and India The only object which the Secretary of State had in view was the facilitating of trade, which would be brought practically to a standstill if these bills were not issued. That was the explanation of a well-known economic and financial practice, and he hoped hon members opposite would disabuse themselves of the idea that these balances were kept in England simply to oblige the money market It was an indispensable factor of British Indian trade, and it would be difficult to imagine how that trade could be carried on without it

THE INDIAN BUDGET—1913.

On the motion to go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts

Mr MONTAGU said —

This is the fourth time that it has fallen to my lot to move that you do leave the chair in order that the East Indian Revenue Accounts for the year may be reported to the House I can assure the House that as the years go by I approach this task with more and more diffidence I am afraid that the temper of the House with regard to Indian matters has not altered very materially since Mr. Gladstone, in 1834, wrote a letter to his father on a speech which he had made on the University Bill. He said —

"The House heard me with the utmost kindness, but they had been listening previously to an Indian discussion in which very few people took any interest, and the change of subject was no doubt felt as relief"

VISIT TO INDIA

Since I last stood at this box for this purpose, I have had the advantage of a prolonged journey in India I make no apology for that tour, though I

do most sincerely apologise to the House for any inconvenience that my absence may have caused. After all, no one questions the wisdom of the first Lord of the Admiralty in journeying to see the ships under his charge, or of the Secretary of State for War in meeting and talking to soldiers, or of the President of the Local Government Board in inspecting work-houses, or of the Home Secretary in going to look at the prisons I am convinced that I did right, when I had been longer in my office than any of my predecessors, with the exception of three or four, in going to see something of the country and of the people with whose welfare I was concerned I promised the House that I shall not weary them this afternoon with an account of the opinions which I formed in India I am here only to express the views of the Government which I represent

I have the opportunity from day to day in my office of bringing to bear upon my daily work the information given to me in India, and it was not for the purpose of making speeches, but for the purpose of helping me in my share of the administration that I went out. I can only say that it would be almost impossible for me to forget the cordial assistance given by British and Indian officials and non-officials alike in my eager desire to find out what we could do to help them, and I shall endeavour to

prove my gratitude by helping to bring about, as time goes on, some the many schemes of reform which were advocated to me abroad. I am certain that the majority of those whom I had the honour and pleasure of meeting were glad, at all events, to get an opportunity of meeting face to face and talking to an inmate of that very vague and indefinite authority which so often is the instrument of alterations in the conditions under which they live —the India Office

When I mention the India Office, I want to say a word to the House about the changes which we contemplate in the organisation of the Office. I need only say a very few words, because a week ago my Noble Friend explained in another place exactly what was in his mind. To lay certain possible anxieties to rest, I want to say at once that there is not now, nor, so far as I am aware, has there ever been, any intention to abolish the Council of India It is not even proposed to curtail any of their powers. And in order to lay to rest another rumour that has been circulated, I want to say emphatically that whatever be the exact final shape of the scheme, one unalterable factor in it is the presence of two Indian members on the Council. The whole scheme is one of domestic reform such as might be accomplished by any other Minister by a stroke of the pen without consulting anybody. But in the

case of the India Office the minutest detail of which is statutorily prescribed, it will be necessary to come to Parliament for a Statute. We have a dual aim: to speed up and to simplify the slow and complicated procedure of the office, and to make the expert advice which the Secretary of State derives from his Council more up to date. Any body who is sufficiently interested will have read my Noble Friend's speech in another place, and it will not be necessary for me to go into details, but I do not think that there is anybody familiar with the procedure of the India Office who will deny—I cannot do better than use the words my Noble Friend quoted—that it is "intolerably cumbrous and dilatory." With regard to the other part of the scheme, it is possible, under existing Statute, that a member of the Council may by the end of this time have been twelve years out of India. We propose to reduce that period, so far as possible, to about seven years. This may not appear very important to people here, but it is very keenly awaited in India. When, at the end of my tour, I read, in one of the leading Indian newspapers, an article commenting on my visit to India, an appeal to me to go home and do all I could to bear on the alteration of the Council, in order to bring about these results, so that the opinions it expressed and the advice it gave might be more up to date and more in accordance with

recent developments, it gave me great satisfaction to think that we had been considering such schemes for two years, and that they were very nearly ripe for announcement.

Leaving the India Office and coming to India itself, I propose this year, with the permission of this House, to introduce an innovation which I cannot but think will be welcome to those Hon. Members who, by their presence this afternoon, show their interest in India I do so with some trepidation, because I am fully aware of the years of unbroken precedents behind me, and I do so by way of experiment. As the House is well aware, the financial statement made by the Financial Member of the Government of India, together with the debates on it in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, has already been circulated to the House in the form of a Blue Book, and this Blue Book has been supplemented by a White Paper containing what is known as the Under-Secretary of State's "Explanatory Memorandum." It has been usual for the Minister responsible for India in this House to superimpose upon this explanation a further explanation, amounting to nothing more than a copious analysis of the White Paper. This has occupied the first half of the Budget Speech of the year. The second part has been devoted to questions of general administration. When one

considers that this Debate is, in ordinary circumstances, the only opportunity in the year for the discussion of Indian affairs, and that only one night is given to it, I really think that no apology will be needed from me if I rely on the Explanatory Memorandum and say very little about finance this year. I should like to devote that portion of the valuable time of the House which I desire to usurp to the discussion of matters of general public interest in the administration which have not before been discussed.

These are the salient features of the Budget. There was last year, due mainly to the very large railway receipts and the high prices obtained for opium, a surplus of not less than nearly £8,000,000 over the Budget Estimate. This surplus is to be spent mainly on Grants to provincial Governments for education and sanitation and, with the surplus estimated for in the Budget, on the reduction and avoidance of debt. For this year, 1913-14, it has been considered prudent to estimate the railway receipts at a slightly less sum than last year, but the remarkable feature of the year is that this is the first Budget in which no receipts can be expected from the Indo-Chinese opium traffic May I remind the House of what I said two years ago on this subject—in 1911 ? My words then were :—

"We must now definitely face the total loss, sooner or later of revenue derived from opium sold for export to China...(but) the question whether the loss of opium revenue will involve fresh taxation is one which I hope no one will decide too hastily. The present financial strength of the Government of India, the growth of its resources and the growth of restriction of its expenditure, are all factors that have to be considered as the plans for each financial year are made."

My doubts whether the loss of the Chinese opium revenue would lead to the necessity for new taxation were, I believe, considered to be the index of a characterically too optimistic frame of mind, but in Indian matters, and on Indian finance especially, optimistic views have a way being justified by the event. In the present year the chief feature in the Budget Estimates is that, although the Estimate anticipated from the opium revenue is only £306,000 or £4,250,000 less than last year, yet without any increase of taxation, without any abandonment of necessary or desirable expenditure, and with, indeed, a very large provision for the two objects which the Government of India recognise as having a first claim on their resources, namely, the improvement of education and the spread of sanitation, we are estimating for a surplus of nearly £1,500,000.

This position is mainly due to one factor—the improvement in the earnings of the railways. For the last two generations successive Secretaries of State and Governments of India have used the

resources and the credit of India to build up a railway system which has always been closely associated with the State, and has become more closely associated with it during the last generation. They have met with difficulties and discouragements of various kinds. In the early years there was a large annual loss which had to be made good from revenue. In later years, such has been the growth in the world of the demand for capital, there has been difficulty in obtaining the necessary capital, but they have persevered in spite of all, and the Budget of 1913-14, thanks to the growth of the railway revenue, enables them to make good a loss of £4,000,000 out of a total net revenue of less than £60,000, a rich reward for the work of many years. I think this story may be taken as a symptom of the marvellous possibilities of our Indian Empire, and as a lesson that bold Government enterprise in the direction of helping and exploiting her resources by developing her railways, or her irrigation works, or her wonderful forests, will lead to large national profit.

EDUCATION.

I wish to say a word next about education, a subject which always interests members of this House, at the Delhi Durbar, in December, 1911, it was announced that:—

"The Government of India has resolved to acknowledge the predominant claim of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire,"

and that it was

"their firm intention to add to the Grant (made at the time of the Durbar) further Grants in future years on a generous scale."

In accordance with this declaration, last year and this year, a non-recurring Grant of £2,500,000 and a recurring Grant of £695,000 a year have been made for this purpose. The non-recurring Grant will be spent on capital requirements for schools (elementary and technical), colleges, and universities including the new universities which it is hoped to establish at Aligarh, Dacca, Patna and Rangoon. The recurring Grant will be spent on such matters as scholarships and stipends, educational Grants to local bodies, and the strengthening and improving of the inspection and teaching staff. It is perhaps worth while, in order to show the progress of educational outlay by the Government of India and provincial Governments, to compare the provision this year with the outlay of the three preceding years :—

In 1910-11 the actual net outlay was £1,662,607.

In 1911-12 it was £1,815,579.

In 1912-13 it was £2,870,600.

In 1913-14 the provision is £3,847,200.

An increase in three years of about 130 per cent.

SANITATION.

The service which has the next strongest claim after education on the resources of the Government is Sanitation. This year and last year recurring Grants of £261,000 and non-recurring Grants of nearly £1,500,000 have been made, some of which may be used for research, but the bulk of which are intended for schemes of urban sanitation. Anyone familiar with the horrible slums in such cities as Bombay, and the marvellous effect on health of such work as is carried out by the Bombay Improvement Trust, will welcome this additional expenditure. In order that the House may have comparable figures to those which I have given for education as regards sanitation, I may say that the Budget Estimate of expenditure for sanitation under this head comes this year to nearly £2,000,000, showing an increase of 112 per cent. over the expenditure of three years ago. I am precluded from dealing with many things in the financial world which I should like to say something about, because we are now engaged, with the assistance of a strongly manned Royal Commission, under the presidency of the right Hon. Gentleman the Member for East Worcestershire (Mr. Austen Chamberlain), in exploring the system of finance with a view to seeing if a system which has not been revised for many years, and which has been partly inherited

from our predecessors, the old East India Trading Company, cannot be improved Although it is one of the matters which is being investigated, there is one fact I wish to mention From time to time proposals have been put forward, and have, I think, in theory, at any rate, found acceptance both here and in India for the establishment of a State bank. Such a bank would relieve the India Office of a very large amount of the commercial and financial work which it now does, and would, perhaps, find a solution of many of the difficulties which our critics have from time to time pointed out The Secretary of State is of opinion that the time has now come for the re-consideration of the proposal for the establishment of a bank which would act as custodian for a large part of the Government balances, manage the paper currency, and take part in the sale of drafts on India for meeting the Secretary of State's requirements The subject has been discussed in a Memorandum prepared by the Assistant Under-Secretary of the India Office (Mr Abrahams), and the Secretary of State, without committing himself in any way upon the subject, has directed that Mr Abrahams should present his Memorandum for the consideration of the Royal Commission, and he will welcome the consideration of it by the Royal Commission, as he thinks it clearly comes within its terms of reference.

NICHOLSON COMMITTEE.

To leave finance and to come to the question of general administration, I should like to say one word about the Army, which is a subject which will play a part in the Budgets of the future. As the House is aware, a Committee has been sitting which has explored our military defences under the distinguished presidency of Field-Marshal Lord Nicholson. This Committee has reported to the Viceroy. I need hardly say that the report is a confidential document, comparable to the Reports on similar subjects drawn up by Sub-Committees of the Committee of Imperial Defence. It cannot be published, although I believe that this confidential document will lead to improvements in our Army of which the House may from time to time be interested to hear. But in order to dispose of hopes on the one hand and fears on the other, I want to state one general conclusion—that the expert Committee has proved that, although we may possibly get a better Army for the same money we are now spending, although we can possibly improve our defences without any extra expense, there is, I fear, no chance of any reduction in expenditure on either the British Army in India or the Indian Army. The most interesting new feature in the Army expenditure for this year is the amount set aside for the formation of a Central Flying School. At first sight, one would

be inclined to suppose that in a country where the conditions of wind and weather can, as a rule, be anticipated with certainty some time beforehand, the difficulties of flying would be much less than they are in this country. But I am informed by experts that the extremes of heat and cold, the variations of temperature, and the differences of radiation over cultivated and desert areas give rise to new difficulties. The type of machine best suited for India has yet to be ascertained, and, in order to avoid any unnecessary risks to our flying officers, we must discover to what extent heat and moisture, and especially the combination of the two, may affect the materials which have been found most useful in the manufacture of aeroplanes in this country. We, therefore, propose to start the Flying School on a very modest basis, and to confine the work in the first instance to experiments and not to include the tuition of beginners. It is intended to begin with four officers, all of whom are in possession of pilot certificates. They will be provided with six aeroplanes for experimental purposes. The school will be situated at Sitapur in the United Provinces, where there is a large number of Government buildings, which are now unoccupied, which were formerly British Infantry barracks, but which, I am told, are very suitable for our purpose. The total Estimate for this year is about £20,000.

Turning to foreign affairs, I have very little to say. Last year was free from any serious disturbance on the North-West Frontier, though there was no intermission of minor raids, chiefly due to the presence of outlaws in the Afghan Border Districts of Khost. In March, 1912, the Mullah Powindah made a deliberate and almost successful attempt to embroil the Mashuds against the Government, and for some time it looked as if drastic military action would be necessary Fortunately, a demonstration of force was sufficient to rally the friendly tribes to our side, fines were levied and paid, and order restored. Save for a disturbance this year in the Tochi, which might have been serious but fortunately remained isolated, these were the only two incidents on the North-West Frontier The rapidity with which they were dealt with is proof that Sir George Keppel and his officers have not only been successful in keeping the troubled borderland tranquil, but in making great educational progress on the North-West Frontier. On the North-East Frontier complete peace has reigned. Various survey parties which visited the tribal country were very well received, and arrangements are being made for the tribes to visit the plains for commercial purposes and to do so unhindered As regards Tibet, I need not say anything here this afternoon, because my Noble Friend Lord Morley made a statement upon the subject last week in

another place. At the present moment the Government of India have invited the Tibetan and Chinese Governments to send representatives to Simla to confer on the subject of Tibet s future relations to China. At this conference the protagonists will be the Chinese and Tibetan delegates, for we desire, if possible, that they should settle their differences between themselves. His Majesty's Government have no interest whatever in the internal affairs of Tibet. All that we desire is to preserve peaceful relations between neighbouring States and to see that order is maintained on the Indian Frontier from Kashmir to Burma. These are very important interests, and His Majesty's Government cannot permit them to be endangered, directly or indirectly, by the Chinese. They are, therefore, not only concerned in bringing about a settlement between China and Tibet, but are bound to see that that settlement secures that there will be no repetition of the events of the last five years. I may mention that the Russian Government have been fully apprised of the action and intentions of His Majesty's Government, and have expressed their goodwill.

The only other foreign matter with which I need deal is to say that the Central Indian Horse, which went in 1911 to Shiraz, has been withdrawn. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has instructed the Consul-General at Bushire to convey to

Colonel Douglas and the regiment under his command his sincere congratulations that their most arduous duties in Persia have been brought to a conclusion. The tact and self-restraint which has been displayed by all ranks under trying conditions for the past one and a half years have been highly appreciated. I am sure the House would wish to endorse this tribute to men who have worked for some time in very trying circumstances. The Foreign Department of the Government of India not only deals with Foreign Affairs, such as those to which I have referred, but, what I think is nowadays an anomaly, with the affairs of Native States. We are not often concerned in this House with the affairs of Native States, though the territories which are described under that name and their rulers loom large in Indian affairs to-day, and will loom larger as time goes on. They are not merely places to be visited by tourists who wish to see interesting places and old buildings, to study ancient customs, or to indulge in sport. Those who visit them can gain many an opportunity of political speculation and instruction by observing their widely diverging political, racial and social conditions. However marked is the influence of Western education in India generally, nowhere is it more markedly to be seen than in the Native States, where the rulers of the present generation vie with one another

in improving the condition of their administration and their reputation for efficient Government. Consequently, in the last twenty years, there has been a great development in all the affairs of the States—in finance and administration, in railways, irrigation and education—and this advance brings with it the necessity for modernising our methods of dealing with the affairs of the Native States, where we are concerned with them. I need hardly say that in the majority of cases in their internal affairs we do not interfere.

Native States.

At the present time the links in the official chain between the Native States and the Viceroy are the Resident or political Agent—in Rajputana and Central India, the Agent to the Governor-General, then the Deputy-Secretary in the Foreign Department, who deals with internal affairs, then the Foreign Secretary and then the Viceroy. The Foreign Secretary is already overburdened with work He has to deal with an increasingly delicate sphere of operations all along the Indian borders. It is quite impossible for any one man at the same time to cope satisfactorily with the affairs of the Native States. The Government of India have, therefore, now proposed, and their proposal is being considered by the Secretary of State, that a separate

Secretary should be appointed for the affairs of Native States. He will bear the title of political Secretary, he will have all the rights and privileges of a Secretary to the Government of India, and he will have in his Department a branch of the present Foreign Office to deal with internal affairs The change can be brought about at very little cost and will, I am quite sure, be acceptable to the Chiefs, as tending to the quicker discharge of business and to a more thorough and more personal representation of their problems to the Viceroy In addition, too, the Conferences which are to be held from time to time at Delhi or Simla, to which ruling princes will be invited will give them opportunities of meeting one another and of discussing alterations of custom, of practice, or of rule That will be a very valuable procedure There was a Conference held at Delhi this year on education in the Native States, and the success which attended that Conference augurs well for the future

Coming to British India, I know that is very difficult to make a choice of the subjects which those Hon Members who are interested in India will agree with me are ripening, but I have tried, without any attempt to avoid anything of difficulty to choose the three things which I think are most pressing I need only say that if the House will be good enough to allow me

to reply at the end of the discussion, I shall be only too glad to give any information on any other subjects that I can. The first subject with which I wish to deal is that concerned with the relations between the religions and races of India. The second, is the problem connected with the maintenance of law and order, and, third, those service questions with which the Public Services Commission is now dealing. I said something about the relations between the Mussulman and Hindu some years ago. I think it is possible to say something more to-day, because it is difficult for Indian national ideals to take any intelligible or any satisfactory form so long as the great Mussulman community stands apart from the rest of the Indian population. I am confident of the future. I believe that the Indian peoples of all races know full well to-day that the desire and the intention of the Government communicated to all its officers and understood by them, is that there should be complete harmony between all the races there. The maxim *divide et impera*—one of the most dangerous maxims—has no place in our text-book of statesmanship. I can state emphatically that if the leaders of the Mussulman and Hindu communities could meet and settle amongst themselves some of the questions which from time to time arise out of and foster differences of opinion and of tradition they would find ready co-operation from

the Government. I found in India that one of the outstanding causes of trouble between the Mussulmans and the Hindus was the problem of special representation for the Mussulmans on legislative and municipal bodies. Another was the difficulty of obtaining for the relatively backward Mussulman youth full share of Government employment. On the first question, I believe, it is recognised by all parties that the Government is committed to the principle of special representation If the Hindu community who understand this and the Mahomedans were to accede to the request of the Hindus for special representation too, I believe, by agreement between the parties, we could arrive at a basis for the modification of the present rules to suit them both, but the Government has to await that agreement before any move can be made. However, the divergence between these two people is very marked Hinduism is self-contained, and so far as events outside India attract their attention at all, it is due to an ordinary interest in the politics of the world, consequent upon the spread of education and the improvement in means of communication. So while the mutual relations of Europe and Asia are interesting to the Hindu generally, the Indian Mussulmans, members of a religious community which for generations have exercised a marked effect upon the politics of the three Continents, are naturally

interested in the welfare and importance of Islam as a whole, and despite the neutrality of this country, despite our refusal to take part in these affairs, I think this House will sympathise with the fact that the Mussulmans of India have been, and must be, deeply stirred by misfortunes which have come to their co-religionists in Persia, in North Africa and in the Balkans.

Amid these misfortunes educated Mussulmans are I think, keenly conscious that there was a time when Islam was not only abreast of the general culture of the rest of Europe, but, through its scholars and men of science, took a leading part in the development and learning in Europe. They contrast the conditions of Morocco to-day with the history of the Moors in Spain. They remember that under Akbar and his immediate successors they were not only prominent in politics, but led the Eastern world for a brilliant period in arms, in letters, in art and in architecture. I think the Indian Mussulmans realise that they have, as a whole, too long neglected the educational opportunities that the British Government wish to offer as freely to them as to the Hindus, with the result that in those spheres of public employment, the doors of which are opened by Western education, they have not attained a position proportional either to their achievements in the past or to the numbers at present. They see some of their

eminent men in high places. There is a Mussulman who is a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; another sits upon the Council of the Secretary of State for India; a third is legal member of the Viceroy's Council, and many of them occupy important judicial and administrative positions These examples are indications, if indications were needed, that there is no sort or kind of discrimination against their creed or their race. The Mussulmans themselves have only to utilise the opportunities that already exist, and there has been considerable progress in the last ten years. During that time the number of Mussulmans at the elementary schools has increased by 50 per cent. and during the last few years the number of Mahomedan students in higher institutions has increased by 80 per cent. The scheme for raising the Mussulman Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh to the status of an independent university has been delayed, among other reasons, by the generous contributions which have been given to the Red Crescent fund in Turkey. The Government of India has recently called the attention of the local Governments to the necessity for increased facilities for Mahomedan education in more modest ways. A community that has once lagged behind in education has more difficulty than in almost any other sphere in making up leeway. All educated Indians must recognise that it would

be disastrous to India if divisions of the population, due to religious or historical causes, were to coincide permanently with a difference of intellectual level, and if 57,000,000 of people who include the rulers of great States, land-holders, merchants, some of the most vigorous and martial elements in the Indian Empire, were to remain outside the forces which are moulding the India of the future. I think we may be sure that such arrangements as local Governments can make for the encouragement of the Mussulman pupils by scholarships and by special courses, will be welcomed by the best elements in all the other communities.

Dacca University Proposal.

As regards higher education, I should like to call attention to the scheme for the proposed new University at Dacca, which has been framed by a Committee. We have not yet received any definite proposals from the Government of India. There are certain points which require consideration, but the presentment of this scheme opens a new chapter in higher education in India. Existing Indian Universities have been formed on the model of the London University although the Indian Universities Act of 1904 has, in measure, modified this conception. The Universities of Calcutta and Bombay are, it is true, now developing

post graduate teaching; but the old Indian University is an examining body affiliating remote colleges which they control to a certain extent, but do not teach. The new University at Dacca will have eleven constituent colleges, all at Dacca, all residential, and it will be somewhat similar to the Old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in this country. That is the novel and important point of scheme. It is to serve as a model for Indian Universities in the future. The University at Aligarh and the University at Dacca will consist of one or more colleges, all local, in which the pupils will reside, and in which it is hoped that we shall obtain something like the best features of English University life. I mention Dacca in connection with Mahomedan education not because it is to be a Mahomedan University, but because it is situated in the centre of a rather backward Mahomedan community, and therefore will offer to the Mussulmans the best opportunity of university education that they have yet had.

I should like to say a word about the other education progress of the Government. They have issued this year a resolution which declares their policy and makes announcements something on the lines of those which I was privileged to make this time last year. It clears up some misconceptions. We intend to rely, as we have relied in the past, on

private enterprise for secondary education. It is difficult to exaggerate the debt that we owe to private enterprise in teaching in India. One can see on all hands the marvellous work done by the missionaries. I am not now talking about any efforts at conversion. I am talking of the real educational work which they achieve in virtue of the inspiration which they derive from their religion. Mr. Tyndall Biscoe's school in Srinagar has done marvellous work for Kashmir. The Anglo-Vedic Arya-Samaj School at Lahore is another example of private enterprise and in a sense the Brahma Samaj is a missionary body. The Christian College at Madras, the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel at Allahabad, St. Xaviers College at Bombay, and the Salvation Army work among the criminal tribes—all this private education is of a kind which, assisted by Government inspection, recognition and control, by the very energy and influence of their teachers, has accomplished wonderful work in the development of India and everything in India, but particularly education, depends upon the personality and human influence in enlivening and interesting the peoples I think we are alive, too, to the importance of making education in India something different from the process merely of teaching Indians enough English to enable them to obtain, or fail to obtain, a B.A. degree. The Resolution which I am referring to

draws attention to three matters in which education in the past has been imperfect, the formation of character, sound hygiene in the schools and colleges, and the improvement of the teaching and study of Oriental languages The first Grant of the old East India Trading Company of 1813 was chiefly for the encouragement of literature. I am afraid we have lagged rather behind since then, but the project for establishing a central Oriental Institution in India and an Oriental College here in London, will remove from us the reproach that we have lagged behind Germany and France in our treatment of Oriental learning The Resolution concluded with an appeal for the co-operation of the Indian people. We cannot have education in the true sense from without. Millions of apt pupils engrossed in codes and schemes drawn up by Europeans will not suffice of themselves to make an educated people.

I come to the second of my subjects, the question of law and order I think it may generally be said that peace reigns in India. The legislative Councils with their opportunities for discussion, the great progress that has been made during the last few years, the evidence that we are considering all outstanding questions, these have their effect, but I cannot paint a rosy picture without saying a word about certain disquieting features I am bound to

express the view that all is not well with Bengal. The elaborate rules and the diverging procedure in all the provinces which have for their object the fixing of rent or revenue due by land-holders to the Government or from tenants to the Zemindars or land-lords, are absorbingly interesting to any student of Indian agriculture. I am not sure that they are not in some cases perhaps over-elaborate and over-irksome, but no one can study them without being impressed by the fact of the relentless efforts with which land records, unequalled in the world, are kept, and by the help of these records justice and equity between the States and the land-holder on the one hand, and between the land-holder and his tenants on the other are meted out. This elaborate system of rent and revenue administration has incidental advantages in bringing together the rulers and the ruled. It gives infinite opportunity for knowledge of the condition of the peasant, and occasion upon which to foster village life and agricultural co-operation—which, as I have described before to the House, is making such wonderful strides in India—and for understanding and appreciating the character and the habits of the people.

Land Settlement System.

In Bengal, the permanent land settlement and the absence of continuous land records have together

resulted incidentally in one tremendous disadvantage that these opportunities for close relationship between the people and the administration have been limited, with the result of estrangement and a reliance, not on the revenue officer, but on the police for the link between the people and the Executive. The problem in Bengal is, then, to devise some remedy for this state of affairs by perfecting the machinery of local Government, and on the other hand, improving the police. All these matters are engaging the attention of the Government, and I have only stated them because it will enable the House of Commons to realise the sort of problem with which we have to deal. The House hears from time to time about dacoity in Bengal. In the year 1912 there were fourteen cases of dacoity, or attempted dacoity, by armed gangs in Eastern Bengal in the quest of money or of weapons, and in December a large quantity of arms and ammunition was discovered in a house in Dacca, in which also were found many articles of jewellery looted on some of these occasions. The peculiar feature about these crimes is that they have nearly always been brought home to a class which, outside Bengal, is very law-abiding—the young men of the more or less educated middle class, sons of respectable parents. There are not many of them—an infinitesimally small number when thinking of the

population of India, but gangs of a dozen or fifteen young men of respectable parents cannot engage in these exercises without attracting the notice of their neighbours. A head constable was murdered in the streets of Dacca last December by three young men armed with revolvers who were seen by many passersby. We must rely in our effort to correct these things upon the co-operation of the people. But it must be remembered that in Eastern Bengal the communications consist almost entirely of waterways, and crimes of violence are difficult to guard against and hard to detect. An enormous area of country, full of small isolated villages, intersected with rivers and courses must always offer an easy field to daring criminals and present great obstacles to the police.

Measures to deal with Dacoity.

There was a remarkable case in 1908, when about thirty young Bengalis were able to travel for many miles with the loot obtained by robbery in broad day-light, meeting no police and encountering little resistance from villagers, though they murdered four men, and that led to an investigation of the position. It was then found that the average of police stations, excluding outposts, was one to every 400 square miles. It is all very well to talk about the co-operation of the people, but you cannot

expect villagers to travel great distances, leaving their agricultural pursuits and leaving their homes and women unprotected, in order to go and help the police. The situation is being faced, the police are being strengthened and reorganised, and a system of river patrols is being established. The first step is necessarily to cope with existing crime. The larger problem is to prevent the recruiting of criminals in the future. So far as prevention goes, the Bengal Government are engaged in a comprehensive and carefully devised scheme, including, besides the measures I have described, a reorganisation of the village chaukidars and police. But the permanent problem is the cure of the conditions which made these crimes possible, and here we are face to face with economic and educational problems of great complexity. The development of the industrial resources of the province, the improvement of education on lines which will enable young men to earn a living in practical pursuits, instead of turning out educational failures who find themselves divorced from the humble callings which their fathers followed, endowed with just enough book learning to make them bad politicians, yet far too little to enable them to live by any liberal profession—these are the real problems of the future in Bengal, and their solution must be at best, slow.

Character and Service of Police.

In the meantime it is plainly the duty of the State to protect the law-abiding, to give confidence to the timid, and to deal so energetically with crimes of violence that public confidence may be restored in the ability of the Government to give protection to a population which has no natural sympathy with crime, but which has too often found that the dacoit can strike harder and quicker than the Government. One necessary step is to improve the police. The attention of the House is from time to time called, quite justifiably, to cases in which Indian constables have abused their powers I only want to pause for a moment before saying a word on this well-worn theme, to regret that no members of that force, except its few bad characters, are ever heard of by the public in this country and I should like to draw attention to the splendid material we have in the English officers and those under their charge. I have been looking at the most recent rewards and I wish to tell the House of some of them. I find that three recipients of the King's Police Medal risked their lives to save helpless people from drowning, while five awards were made to two superior officers and three constables on the occasion of a fire and explosion in the laboratory of the Delhi Fort. Twenty-five live shells were known to be in

the burning building when a superintendent and three constables mounted an adjoining wall, and for two hours played the hose on the fire, until their comrades succeeded in getting into the building and removing the shells. I find that a Calcutta constable unarmed, captured an armed burglar after he had just killed another constable. A Punjab constable, who had saved two women from drowning at the risk of his life, came to the rescue of a comrade felled to the ground by four criminals. Two constables in the United Provinces attacked a band of twenty armed robbers, wounding and capturing one, and putting the rest to flight. A sub-inspector in Madras, unarmed saved a magistrate from an angry mob during a religious disturbance A European inspector in Behar saved two Indian women from a burning house at the risk of his life. I have taken these from different provinces, and all from the one year's record, because I wish the House to realise what good material we have in the Indian police. I hope that the recital of such cases may raise a desire on the part of some of my fellow Members, who are laudably anxious to eradicate torture and practices of that kind from the Indian police, to encourage merit by seeking information also as to the other side of the shield.

In Bengal, within three years, no less than five Indian police officers have been murdered by political assassins, and one has been severely wounded. We punish severely any constable whom we can detect in abuse of his power. Facts are notified by way of warning to all members of the force. We must to complete the process, say a word of recognition and sympathy for the members of the force who have lost their lives in the fearless performance of their duty, and amid difficulties which I think are not always sufficiently appreciated by the House May I add that, although we propose to relax no effort in improving the condition of the police and their character, we cannot see our way to doing what some Members of this House would have us to do —abolishing a record of confessions prior to trial. We have two duties, one is to avoid and to prevent torture, as I believe we are increasingly successful in doing, but we are not justified in hampering ourselves against the other side of our duty—the punishment of crime and the protection of law-abiding citizens—by action which, as the House will see when the papers are published, is opposed by all the local Governments, and nearly every Court of law throughout the country. I have said before, and I say again, that the prohibition of confessions would not prevent the risk of ill-treatment

of accused persons by constables. It would not prevent the ill-treatment of witnesses in hopes of discovering clues of stolen property However, we can, I think, perfect our precautions to ensure that confessions are really voluntary and carefully recorded.

I should like to read to the House some of the measures which the Government of India propose to adopt. These proposals are still under the consideration of the Secretary of State, and I am able to say that he will be only too glad of the co-operation of any Hon. Member of this House in suggesting further reforms for consideration by the Government of India. The police are to be forbidden to interrogate accused, if remanded, without the permission of the Magistrate. Instructions will be given that a remand of a confessing prisoner to police custody should only be granted if the police could show good and satisfactory grounds, and only by magistrates who have first-class or second-class powers under the Criminal Procedure Code. Where the object of the remand is verification of prisoner's statement, he is to be remanded to the charge of the magistrate, and the remand should be as short as possible. When a prisoner has been produced to make a confession, and has declined to do so, he is in no circumstances to be

remanded to police custody. The recording of confessions is to be limited to special divisional magistrates and magistrates of the first class, or, if especially empowered, of the second-class. An effort will be made not to record a confession without the orders of the District Superintendent of Police, or until the accused has had some hours out of police custody. The police are not to be present when confession is recorded, and ordinarily a confession shall be recorded in open Court, and during Court hours, and a magistrate recording a confession shall endeavour to ascertain the exact circumstances in which confession was made, and shall record on the Record the statement of the grounds on which he believes the confession genuine, and the precautions taken to remove accused from the custody of the police.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT —The Hon Gentleman used some words which I do not quite understand. Will he kindly explain what is meant by the words "remanded to make a confession."

Mr. MONTAGU:—I am very sorry if I did not make the statement quite clear. I did not say, "remanded to make a confession." What I said was: "When a prisoner has been produced to make a confession, and has declined to do so, he is in no circumstances to be remanded to police custody.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT. May I ask what is meant by "produced to make confession?"

MR. MONTAGU: When he is produced in Court for the purpose of making a confession, and he declines to do it, he is not to go back to the custody of the police who produced him. I wish to say one word about the Delhi outrage. A bomb was thrown in daylight, the Viceroy was severely wounded, and two men were killed. The assassin got clear away and has not yet been caught. That is the story, and I want to say how it was possible for such a plot to be matured without any inkling of it reaching the authorities, why the actual attempt was not frustrated, and how it is that the criminals have not been detected. If there is an active organization, however small in number, however abhorrent to the general sense of the people, an organization including men competent to manufacture effective bombs, and men willing to take the risk of throwing them, and if that organization is in the hands of men who can keep their secrets and confine their knowledge of particular plots to a very narrow circle, then carefully thought-out plans could be prepared and no Government in the world can guard against them, except by such a network of surveillance and of espionage as would be absolutely intolerable. Even so, history has not shown that Governments who were ready to subordinate their main

business to a policy of intense suspicion have thereby succeeded in preventing political murder, and State occasions which draw immense crowds may draw, too, persons secretly armed with explosives and ready to use them. There are certain precautions which are not only possible, but which it is the clear duty of the police or authorities to take. They include careful arrangements for the regulations of traffic, the presence of troops and police, a knowledge of the occupants of houses along the route; and the ascertaining whether strangers of known bad character have come to the place. The judgment of the Government of India, after the most careful inquiry, is that there was no failure on the part of the local authorities or the police to carry out these duties. There was no reason whatever to suspect that such a crime would occur, or that the arrangements made to guard against crime were not thoroughly adequate. Lord Hardinge said in the moving speech with which, while still suffering from his wounds, he opened the first Session of the Legislative Council in Delhi, one of the most moving occasions at which I was ever privileged to be present.

"In my desire for kindly intercourse with the people and accessibility to them, I have always discouraged excessive precautions, and I trust myself and Lady Hardinge more to the care of the people than to that of the police"

I think we owe to this fact, and to the splendid courage with which the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge acted throughout—(cheers)—the magnificent display of sympathy with them and the abhorrence with which the crime was treated throughout India. Had His Excellency desired, further precautions would have been taken. When a procession moves through a city of flat-topped houses, it is possible by posting men practically to garrison the roofs, but this would not prevent the throwing of a bomb. There are assassins who will kill even with the certain knowledge that they cannot escape. The building from which the bomb was thrown is really a collection of houses built round a courtyard, a warren of passages and staircases with over a dozen means of access to the adjoining buildings and streets, and so the assassin got clear away. The fact that the assassin got away does not mean that the police have been idle and that there is no hope of ultimately bringing him to justice.

"INDIA ABHORS THE CRIME."

But this crime is not an outcome of a wide national movement. The fact that a lot of irreconcilables, enemies of authority, can effect political murder is not confined to India. There have been times and countries in which the deliberate opinion of the people was opposed to

the Government and in which political murder is the extreme manifestation of a sentiment which, in its milder form, the mass of the people shares In such cases as the detection of a political crime is, as a rule, not difficult, for the existence of conspiracies is no secret to the people at large. In those circumstances a particular crime can be detected and punished without affecting the general situation A situation of this kind differs radically from the present situation in India. A spontaneous expression of horror came from all classes and all creeds from one end of India to the other wholly apart from any difference of political opinion The splendid thanksgivings for the recovery of the Viceroy constitute one of the most striking things in the history of our Indian Empire A closer association of leading Indians in the Government of the country has precluded all possibility that an attempt on the life of the Viceroy, the President of the enlarged Legislative Council, in which speeches of sympathy and dismay of such striking eloquence and sincerity were made, can be the act of a politician nationalist.

India abhors the crime, and I think Indians have reflected sadly that its occurrence casts an unmerited strain upon the reputation of their country. Lord Hardinge declared at once that he would pursue unfalteringly the policy which he had

followed hitherto. There is no question of withdrawing from innocent millions the measure which we have thought it right to take, merely because in India, as in a dozen other countries, terrorists have committed a crime which could, by no possible means, have brought one single national aspiration nearer fulfilment (Cheers) The good name of India has suffered very unjustly, and the position of our Indian fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire, difficult enough already in many ways, has not been made easier by the Delhi bomb. The outrage provoked a genuine outburst of indignation from severe critics of our Government as well as from those who are more generally in sympathy with us. I want to draw attention to the words of one Indian member of the Council in a recent debate, who said —

"I fully share the feeling of shame, but I ask myself, 'Have I been able to help the Government or those responsible for the administration of the country to get rid of these people? Though these outrages are committed against my own countrymen, my kith and kin, what have I done? That is the real thing"

This question, I think, shows a feeling of personal responsibility which is new, behind a feeling of loyalty which is not new and this feeling of responsibility is one of the greatest needs, as it is one of the most hopeful signs, in the India of to-day.

Public Services Commission.

I come to my last subject, the Royal Commission which is now sitting. I think that I can describe the year of which I have been speaking as the year of deliberation. It has marked out, as it were, a halt after a period of advance. The last March, the march of the Morley-Minto Report, covered a vast tract of unconquered and valuable territory, and we are now halting to consolidate our recent conquest while reconnoitring parties are being sent out to spy out the land that lies before us To two of our pioneers I have already referred, the Royal Commission presided over by the right Hon. Gentleman, the member for East Worcestershire, and the Military Committee which has sat under Field Marshal Lord Nicholson. The third is the Public Services Commission, Lord Islington's Commission, now sitting in London, and soon to go back again to India, where it has already sat during the last cold weather. The Commission has conducted its inquiry under conditions of great difficulty. It has been subjected to misunderstanding, based on imperfect reports of its proceeding and often to slander. I want to say that the Government appreciates the determination and assiduity with which it is pursuing its labour, and the Government is confident that when its Report issues we shall have the

basis of many desirable alterations in our system, the material for another march forward. I do not want to say one word which would prejudge its conclusions, but I do want to say that we cannot go on governing India with a dissatisfied public service, and there is evidence that the recruiting sergeant is hampered by the evil reports which are brought home from India at this moment.

At the risk of once again stating a platitude I will say that unless you can get the best men, selected by the most suitable tests, animated by the highest traditions, proceeding—this is the important point — to India confident of their choice of a permanent career and of the good-will of and fair treatment by the British people in whose name they are going to administer you will lose, and you will deserve to lose, the hold of the British people upon the affection of the Indian people. In saying that I am not referring for one moment to those few, very few, Civil servants who regret the good old days when they were sent out to govern the people, who were content to be governed, and lament the fact that they have now to co-operate with the people and the Government of India. With all respect and all recognition for their services in the past, we do not want those men in India. After all, what did we go to India for? If the people of India have not made any progress under

British rule, if the problems of the Government are still to-day what they were a hundred years ago or in the days of Lord Clive, then I think we have failed in our justification Nor do we want to listen for one moment to those men who tell us that they do not like the educated Indian, and that the educated Indian does not like us If the educated Indian has faults or shortcomings, different from or greater than the faults of the educated Englishman, these faults are the faults of the education which we have given them.

Civil Service

Even if it can be said against us that there are some educated Indians who do not like us, do not sympathise with us, do not believe in our motives, I think that there is no necessity to be dismayed. Our part, difficult and worthy, is to bring the educated Indian on to our side, and to go on helping him in order that he may help us, or to ask him to help us in order that we may go on helping him. The problem of India is not a problem of material advance of increasing prosperity. It is not a problem of new schools and university buildings. It is not a problem of new hospitals and Government Houses. It is a problem of Government and of co-operation, of giving to the Indian increasing opportunity in the country which is his own, and

increasing assistance in the development of his capacity for local Government and administration. No, the grievances, as I understand, in the Indian Civil Service, to which I desire to call attention are three : The first is want of pay. The Indian Civil Service claim that their pay has not been revised as has the pay of people in private employment, to keep the pace with the enormous increase in the cost of living in India. The standard of life, the slowness of promotion, and the lateness of life at which they are recruited are all questions of the utmost importance, and if an under-paid service is an unsatisfactory service, the Royal Commission have got a worthy task to perform in a thorough investigation of this grievance in order that they may recommend pay which shall be adequate to the altered conditions and pensions proportoinate to the services rendered.

Sir J. D. REES : Is the Hon. Gentleman referring to any general complaint by Indian Civil servants or a complaint by the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces ? Is he referring to something specific and local ?

Mr. MONTAGU : Of course, I know that there is a particular grievance from the Punjab and the United Province owing to the block in promotion, and we have taken some steps, not wholly satisfactory perhaps, but which will not—if I may use the expression—queer the pitch of the Royal Commission, for temporarily dealing with these places. But

I was taking a general view that the cost of living had increased, and that the pay had not. The next grievance of the Indian Civil Service is the growing complexity of the system under which they live. Half the faults which are found from time to time with the Indian Civil Service are mainly attributable to their overwork. Every year sees an increase in the inflexible rules laid down for the guidance of all grades of officers. Every year, therefore, decreases the responsibility of officers which makes their task less agreeable, and who devote more of their time to reports. I have heard of an officer who said that when he joined the Service a small volume of rules was sufficient to guide him when he went into camp; now he has to pack a portmanteau with codes and regulations. At the risk of repeating what I have said before in this House, I cannot pass by this subject without saying that one of the cures for this is devolution. We must seek to find indigenous voluntary agencies to conduct a large amount of our detailed work. We are always inclined to thrust upon India, in the light of our own experience in this country, laws and regulations comparable to those which have been found satisfactory to us. In this country, when laws are passed, we hand them over in the main to our voluntary agencies—our county councils, our municipal councils and our rural district councils—

to carry out, but in India every such enactment and every such resolution must at present mean work for the officials. Even if there be some loss of efficiency, even if a district board be worse run, a municipal body be less capable, we ought to find the indigenous agency in India which will alone ensure our progress being real and complete.

How can this be done? I hope the House will forgive me for saying that there is this problem. How can a district officer entrust details of his work to voluntary assistance if the local Government is always asking him detailed questions on matters for which he ought to be responsible? How can the local Government forbear worrying each district officer if the imperial Government at Delhi is for ever interfering and worrying the local Government for reports? How can the Imperial Government at Delhi refuse to interfere with its local Government if it is always being worried for reports or details by the Secretary of State, and how can the Secretary of State forbear to worry the Imperial Government at Delhi if the House of Commons and the House of Lords are always asking for information? The tightness of control of each step in the machine is an excuse for the step below. I hope the House will forgive me. Honourable Members are entitled to know anything and everything they want to know, but if you

devolve on other people duties which you cannot or will not perform yourself, you must leave them with trust, to do the things that you have asked them to do for you. Let them do confidingly the things that you have asked them. I know I shall be told, indignantly, by Honourable Members, that were if not for their interpolation of questions as to Indian affairs, there would be no opportunity of any public and recognised criticism of the Indian Government. All these things are a matter of degree, and, as time goes on, and you take steps in India to bring the Government more and more face to face with the people, every step you take in India in that direction ought to lessen control here But I should like to remind the House that devolution in this respect was accomplished by recent reforms, and that in the Legislative Councils, now enlarged, elective and representative questions are asked and answered, and resolutions moved and discussed on questions of every variety of importance concerning every branch of administration. It is only necessary to glance at the proceedings of one of those councils to realise that a very genuine interest in administration is taken by the leaders of Indian opinion, and that there is very little danger that any real or apparent grievance, or any Government action of any kind which appears to require explanation, will pass unchallenged.

Then there is a third grievance, the last grievance of the Indian Civil Service, and this applies to all the Services in India, British and Indian. They are sensitive of your opinion and dependent on your support, and believe me I speak from the bottom of my heart when I say they are in every way worthy both of your support and of your good opinion. The isolation, the courage, the indefatigable work of exiled men and women, often in lonely stations, in the Forest Service of the Indian Civil Service, in Salt, in education and other services, to name only a few, ought to call for the admiration of every Member in this House. What I ask in their name and what they ask silently, is an appreciation of their difficulties and a belief in their undoubted singleness of purpose. It too often happens that they are discouraged in their work, because the criticisms of them from this country are so very vocal, whereas praise and appreciation is so often silent, because men have not time to attend to Indian subjects. So much for that side of the public services inquiry. But there is the other side of the public services inquiry which opens up the whole vast territory of the share of Indians in the administration of the country. What our attitude is in regard to this I have already indicated. The old era of a hard and a fast division between Government and the