Indian leaders, as I have pointed out previously, have grievously neglected this department of their duty. They have concentrated all their energies on working for reforms in statutes and laws while these are good and very essential, they are not everything. They have taught the people, as parents do to their children, to passionately admire clothes, which they cannot put on without someone's help. India will make a great advance if half the lectures delivered in the country dealt, not with the faults and failures of the bureaucracy, but with the faults and failures of the people themselves. If the Congress is the real and conscientious guardian of the future of India, it must take care that the people are not over-fed with the indigestible confection of controversial matter. They should be taught the duties of true citizenship. They should be taught the part they have to play under the Reforms Scheme. They should be taught the significance of voting and also its responsibility. They should be taught to learn to subordinate communal interests to that of national interests. They should be

taught to forget the narrow divisions of old and discard altogether the old forms of racial prejudices. They should be told that in this lay their weakness: this was the open door which tempted foreign nations to come over and subjugate them. They should be taught to train their children to consider the virtue of patriotism as of as much importance as filial duty. They should be taught to take pride in their country and learn self-reverence. They should be taught the need for unity and the need for little services and sacrifices. All these and much more the people have to be taught, if we are to have a nation with a strong character. What the people are incessantly given at present is nothing but diatribes against the Government or some member of the Government. Diatribes may do very well under certain circumstances, but we sin against the people when we feed them only with such a dish—all starch and spice and no proteid.

Yet again, what does the Press of India do? It follows the same course as that followed by Indian leaders. The columns of both the moderate and advanced papers come out day in

day out, week in week out, as arsenals full of shells and shrapnel and poison gas, hurled either against one another or against the unfortunate bureaucracy. At the time of my writing the shells and shrapnel have found a new label—the label of Non-cooperation. I am not against these shells and shrapnels: the more moderately they are used the more effective they would be. But apart from this, the fact must be remembered that journalism utterly fails in its duty in that, seeing the condition in which India is at present, it has confined itself solely to criticism. When is construction to come? I write with no bitterness: I only desire that journalistic policy in India may henceforth be changed. What I suggest is this: by all means use shells and shrapnels of criticism, but on no account omit to educate the people through the Press. In this task of educating, the newspapers of India should assist the Committee. When the history of the political renaissance in India is written it will be found that it was largely possible due to the labours of the Indian Press, which, however, it must not be forgotten took its lessons from British

journalism. But it seems to me that the real work of Indian journals has just begun : and I feel sure that they will not hesitate to shoulder the task with all the enthusiasm and fervour which characterise their endeavours at the present day. The Press is not only the spokesman of the people but also their mentor. It is this part of its duty which I request the Indian Press to fulfil to-day. It may be supposed that party politics will not permit of such a procedure and that on account of the divergence of the lessons taught more harm than good would be wrought. I admit there is such a danger, but at the same time I am sanguine Indian editors will not sacrifice the best interests of the country and the nation on the altar of party politics. I cannot conceive of any better medium than the Press to impart political education to the people, only it should be imparted not only through the channels of criticism and controversy (which also enlighten) but also through direct teaching and constructive methods. Before passing on I would earnestly ask Indian leaders and Indian journalists to bear in mind that political education must em-

brace many things, not concentrated upon one single mode of political activity. We must take to heart in all seriousness the lesson conveyed in the following lines with which Mr. Augustine Birrell describes Mr. Burke's political imagination: "Burke's imagination led him to look out over the whole land; the legislator devising new laws, the judge expounding and enforcing old ones; the merchant despatching his goods and extending his credit; the banker advancing the money of his customers upon the credit of the merchant: the frugal man slowly accumulating the store which is to support him in old age; the ancient institutions of church and university with their seemly provisions for sound learning and pure religion; the parson in his pulpit; the poet pondering over his rhymes; the farmer eyeing his crops; the painter covering his canvas; the player educating the feelings." This is the type of political imagination which must inspire our system of political education.

One word more and I shall close this sub-chapter. While I am against students taking direct part in political affairs, especially when their minds are by no means mature and their

whole attention should be centred on other things, yet I do not see any reason why young men in the higher standards in colleges should not attempt to spare a few hours every week or every month and acting as political missionaries go forth into villages and untrodden paths and areas and preach, with persuasion and effect, the gospel of nationhood, teaching the people the meaning and the weight of their new responsibilities and showing them the manner in which greater responsibilities could be shouldered. They must preach unity, preach patriotism, insist upon the need for a national character. They must tell the people that India's salvation and greatness lie in the destruction of petty prejudices and in the cultivation of national ideals—that they are all the children of one Mother and to one Mother they should give their devotion, which cannot be possible if they are not devoted to one another. In this work educated Indian young women can also take a part, confining their particular work among the women of India, not so much in the villages as in the towns. I do not think it would be prudent just at present to approach

the women in rural areas. In addition to all these things, the Propaganda Section of the Congress should issue pamphlets broadcast teaching the people simple truths in citizenship, patriotism and national duty and service and national unity. What good will these things produce, you may ask. There can be no two opinions on the fact that they will produce good. All the seed that the sower sows, do not yield ears of corn; some of them die, some of them are picked up by birds of the air; but crops do come. The Indian people are not so ignorant as it is popularly imagined. They may be ignorant in certain things which Western science and knowledge have brought into the country; but they have enough common sense to differentiate between good and evil, if they are properly explained.

MECHANICAL DEVICES.

Students of human psychology will agree with me that it often happens that the human mind undergoes revolutions, incredible in their extent, through no systematic endeavour, deliberate study, or prolonged effort at resolution, but sometimes in the twinkling of an eye, by the magic power, force or what ever it may be called, of a word, or a thought, or a sign, or a symbol, or a sentence, or even an accident, or a chance happening. What could not be conveyed through volumes or long orations, however weighty the one or inspiring the other, has often been conveyed in a flash by means of a single word or a thought or a sign. The French Revolution, for instance, was carried on mostly by the magic power of three words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Evil sprang up in abundance because the people did not know the full significance of the words they uttered. However, those were the words which shook the aristocracy of France and brought in Republicanism. Yet again, the sign of the Cross to Christians and the sign of the Cres-

cent to Mohamedans have been like divine fountains out of which the warrior or the saint or the sage quaffed ere he set out to battle or upon a spiritual campaign. The Eagle which was the emblem of the Romans meant more to them than their Emperor. With words the great Napoleon turned the tides of war and plucked the flower of victory out of the nettle of defeat. The common words uttered jocously by the Old Contemptibles on their march to the seat of war,—Are we down-hearted ? No—served as a bulwark to them and made them invincible. All the stress and the terrors of Mons were of no avail. The laughing question was put and laughingly it was answered "Are we down-hearted, No." Nearer home, the words "Bande Mataram" have done more to bring the political consciousness of the people into relief than anything else including the political messages of the leaders.

All these things show that we should endeavour to obtain materials for nation-building from different sources and reject nothing so long as it is not evil in itself. Mechanical devices are splendid things and they should

go hand in hand with the political education which I have referred to above. Care must however be taken that the latter is not subordinated to the former. They should be merely adjuncts and accessories.

I cannot do more than suggest a few of these mechanical devices. First and foremost, I think, there should be a National Day, preferably in the month of December, when there are general holidays. This day should be devoted to processions, meetings, lectures, and friendly visits between Hindus and Mohamedans, also their womenkind among themselves, and above all visits between members of one caste and one community with members of another. It should be similar to the British Empire Day, but more than that in spirit and practical observance. On that day schools should have treats and sports and the national idea, with its unity, should be set before the minds of the youth with due prominence. It seems to me that the barriers which one caste or community has raised around it can only be lowered and in time entirely removed if attempts are made to have social intercourse

no matter if only confined to visits. All the relationship that exists to-day is more or less of a business nature. Furthermore, the people of one province and the people of another should endeavour to come into closer contact by sending up delegations. Practically this may be nothing but the idea is there. And we want ideas to operate in the mind of the people. Moreover, I think the time has come for Hindus and Mohamedans (who are both Indian citizens) to endeavour to have greater social intercourse with each other. It will be a splendid thing if Hindus allow their wives to visit zenana ladies and Mohamedans do the same in their turn. Much of the strangeness that exists to-day will disappear if this is done. It is a most extraordinary thing that people who observe caste and the purdha are under the impression that only they and no other class of persons have human feelings and domestic affections. The mind must be given opportunities to broaden and acquire deeper sympathy. It must be taught that all human nature is one and beats to one pulse. These visits should not be confined only to the

National Day, but should be as frequent as possible, especially among the middle classes.

We should have a National Ensign for India having some suitable and inspiring legend upon it. And so also a National Anthem. Here is noble work for the poet and the artist. The Ensign should fly over all public buildings, over all schools, colleges and university buildings. It should be hung up in as many homes as possible, to serve as a reminder and a source of inspiration.

If it were possible I would also advocate one uniform dress and head gear in all public and national assemblies. The turban is the most dignified head gear in the world. Why not a uniform pattern of turban be worn throughout India on all public occasions? There is nothing to beat some of the patterns adopted by many of the Rajput princely houses. This device should be specially encouraged in schools and colleges and universities. We should also have a national colour—preferably green and gold: the green to represent the blades of our staple produce and the gold to represent the ears of golden corn. It would be an

excellent thing in addition to having the national head gear of green with gold borders to have the National Ensign also of green and gold—crossed palms with sheaves of wheat and paddy with so many stars to represent the provinces and presidencies and a crescent to represent the union of Mohamedans.

Furthermore, it would very substantially contribute to national unity and cordiality if Hindus and Mohamedans make it a special point of duty to call on each other on all their festivals and days of rejoicing. The Hindu and the Musalman must learn to live in India as brother and friend—as Indians first and then all things else. Religion should be a matter of individual conscience, not an overpowering influence in the affairs of the body politic. All that is necessary in politics is the idea of God and the recognition of the sacred duty of fulfilling His purpose, namely, to preserve the peace of the world and promote the happiness of humanity. The Hindu must learn to lean on the physical strength of his Mohamedan brother and so the Mohamedan must learn to lean on the intellectual power of his Hindu brother. United they

can lead India to greatness, divided they will lead her to run. Union and cordiality between the two cannot come by offering prayers for them: they can only come by effort and endeavour.

Further, Indian students should henceforth study Indian vernaculars more freely than they have hitherto done. For instance, it would held national unity and fellow-feeling among the various communities in India, if the Bengali studied Persian literature along with his mother tongue, the Madrassi studied Bengali, the Guzerati studied Tamil, the Canarese studied Hindi and the Telugu studied Urdu and so on. The present system of confining the vernacular education of young men to their respective mother tongues is pernicious and most deplorable. It seems to me that young men should know at least two languages, besides their mother tongue and English. This will not only serve to establish greater inter-communal sympathy but also broaden the minds of the young men. Literature is a great civilising and unifying influence and it should not on any account be neglected.

Lastly, the people of India should come to some sensible determination as regards the adoption of a single state language in India. The need for this is generally recognised and the sooner the question is finally settled the better. The tendency among some is to champion the Hindi language, while some support Urdu. Mr. Gandhi, I understand, is in favour of nationalising the Hindi language. While I am in sympathy with the idea, I am afraid the adoption of an Indian language will not be in the best interests of India. Though Indian nationality should be based and built upon Indian traditions and sentiments, yet the fact must not be forgotten that India should be brought into line with modern nations. We cannot do it, if we cling to our ancient civilisation in its entirety. We want modifications and some very drastic changes: otherwise we will retrogress, not advance. The modern world demands modern methods in government and trade and commerce: by adopting an Indian language as the state language we will be cutting ourselves entirely from the currents of modern life and go back to our old evil of

insularity. I see no other course but to adopt English as the state language. It will keep us in touch with England and the British Empire and above all with modern ideas and thoughts and science. No amount of translation will give to us clear conceptions of Western science and Western political life. After all what harm is there in adopting English? It is better than Hindi, better than Urdu, better than any Indian language, excepting Sanskrit, which, unfortunately, cannot be used as it is a dead language and will not answer modern purposes. English and English alone will help us in commerce and trade and industry and link us with the progressive nations of the world. The Hindi language may be made compulsory throughout India, but on no account should it be the state language.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

National Education, I said, is, or should be, the system of mental training, moral discipline and intellectual gymnastic through which and by means of which the people of a country are provided with common ideals and common aspirations and are led on to attain the one and realise the other through collective and concerted acts of service and sacrifice, while at the same time the individuals composing the people are taught to live well and earn well and fulfil the duty which destiny has assigned to each. I further said that this has two divisions, namely, *political education and university education.*

More important than the former is the latter and no effort should be spared to reform and reconstruct it in the light of the knowledge and experience available and in view of our national needs.

The educational system in India at the present day is a product of Western experience.

In spirit it is the same as that which obtains in England. I will not weary the reader with any detailed criticism of that system: nor in

anything I may say should I be liked to be understood as passing an uncharitable judgment on the originators of it. I am dealing with the system, not with the originators. The system of education in India, though admirable in many respects and has wrought many wonderful things, is very imperfect. There is a general feeling that it needs a complete revision. It needs the revision for the very cogent and incontrovertible reason that it has partially failed to answer to the definition of education in general and national education in particular. It has no direct reference to and no direct bearing upon national needs. It has sinned in the sense that it has kept itself aloof from religion, from ethics, from the catechism of democracy, from the masonry of politics. It has also sinned in the sense that it has tended more to be theoretic education than practical education. What is the result and the end of it ? I accuse no one, but I must say honestly that the result in a very literal sense has been the murder of thousands of young men. Education has not introduced culture but has brought in carnage. The Alma Mater while a mother to a few has

been an abattoir to the many. In a pool of blood lies the lacerated hearts of hundreds of India's young men. I am using no language of exaggeration. What I write is sober prose. I not only plead for the nation and the nation's glory, but also for the good of the millions of the country's youth, who will be the nation of tomorrow Their lives are being destroyed, their hopes annihilated, and their outlook darkened. Colleges are not the seats of education but are cemeteries. Universities are not the seats of culture but mausoleums for the dead. It is not that the colleges cannot teach and the universities cannot preside over education, but that the system they are following is antiquated, illogical, absurd and seriously wanting in many respects. If you disbelieve me, or think that I am indulging in rhetorical hysterics, I would ask you to look into the hearts of ninety out of every hundred young men whom you meet. Look also into the hearts of the fond father and the fond mother. They will reveal a tale of silent suffering and dumb agony the depth and extent of which I cannot attempt to describe. Instead of the nourishing corn, our young men

have had corn mixed with dry husk. They get the bread, but no butter with it. If they get the butter, they get no bread. Whatever may be the views and policy of the Government of India, I must point out that the system of education as it obtains in England itself is not very commendable. The Government is partly right in considering that what is good for England must necessarily be good for India. But everything depends on the word "good." Is there any serious thinker in England who will say that the English system is perfect and needs neither alteration nor revision? Is it not more or less out of tune with the demands of modern conditions, with the stress and tension of modern civilisation? Has it not partially failed in giving to society that tone and bearing which it was expected it would give? Has it not partially failed to solve the terrible problems of poverty and crime? If it has failed so grievously in England how could any man expect the same system to succeed in a country like India? I quite understand the fact that no system can be perfect and I am also aware of the fact that system is not everything. Nor

do I deny that education like religion is merely a ladder furnished for the human mind, which it can climb, if it likes, or stay at the bottom. It will have itself to blame or thank for whatever it chooses to do. I grant these things, but is it not necessary that the ladder should be one that is scaleable and placed against proper props and at proper angles? And above all, should there not be a variety of these ladders, for all boys are not of the same mould? An educational system should be so devised as to allow an infinite variety of channels for the mind to move onward. Like rain it should be showered upon all but it should be seasonal. While our system aims at doing this, it is in reality a shower out of season and doing no good or an excessive fall in one particular place and so doing positive harm.

I have said elsewhere that the Indian National Committee should take entire control of the nation's education, especially the department that falls under the aegis of the universities. This department should be under its guidance, superintendence and guardianship. The real

political battle we have to fight with the Government (in a friendly spirit, no doubt) is the battle in regard to education. Education is a transferred subject but what we want is a complete surrender in spirit. This department must be entirely, absolutely, under the control of the people and the Committee will represent them in this matter. If the Government cannot bring itself to agree to this view, then it should at least recognise the National Committee on Education as the final authority in educational matters. It must be consulted on all points and its suggestions followed ; serious differences of opinion should be settled by a referendum of the intellectual opinion in India. If the Government is in truth solicitous for the improvement of the standard and system of education what prevents it from allowing us to fix that standard and devise that system. If we can govern ourselves, I suppose we can also educate ourselves. Education affects our national interests as nothing else does and it is only reasonable that the Government should do nothing that will hinder our progress towards attaining national character. I do not think I need say

any more. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms will be a comedy of comedies if the educational system is not revised and reconstructed. Except under circumstances absolutely justifiable from the point of view of the safety and internal peace of India and also the good relations between India and England, Government should not interfere with Indian education.

Before proceeding to discuss the changes and revisions that seem to me necessary in the present system I would like to point out that the suggestions that I make are merely outlines and do not deal with the subject exhaustively. It is a matter for educationalists like Professors Paranjpe, Jadunath Sirkar, Dr. Bittendrigh, Principal Sheshadri, Mr. Venkatrathnam Naidu, Mr. Telang, Mr. Arundale, Dr. Ewing, and the heads of such great centres of learning as St. Joseph's College at Trichinopoly, Elphinstone College in Bombay, the Calcutta and Madras Presidency Colleges. *The fundamental principle which should be borne in mind is that education should equip young men within the shortest possible period of time with general and specialised knowledge from the very start of their*

school career and also train them in morality, hygiene, citizenship and religion. It should be practical education, not merely scholastic education. It should aim at making young men not merely fit to read, but also and principally fit to live and fit to earn.

The reconstruction of the educational system should be based upon the following lines. To begin with university education should be divided into the following classes or sections :— (1) Practical Education, (2) Technical or Industrial Education, (3) Collegiate or Higher Education, (4) Professional Education, (5) Women's Education, (6) Academical Education.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

By practical education I mean education to correspond with that which is given from the primary school to the High School (that is from the infant class to the Matriculation standard), but with the essential difference, based upon new principles, which I shall proceed to show. The system which demands first a primary school, then a secondary school and then a High School is absurd and only multiplies trouble. Its glory is dependent only on usage and tradition. I would have only one school; you may give to it any name you like. Its purpose should be to give a sound course in practical education, education that will equip the boys not only with a knowledge of the three R's but also with character, a moral backbone, good physique and a spiritual outlook on life. At the present day no effort whatsoever is made to cultivate character in the boys: the teacher contents himself with teaching grammar and the rule of three. And we call this education! I am extremely sorry to have to say that the behaviour of boys in

our schools is most objectionable and much to be deplored. It is not their fault but the fault of the system and their teachers. I consider it a deliberate sin against the youth of the country to blast their young lives in such a manner.

Practical education should give courses in the following subjects :—English language (with special care given to grammar, spelling and composition), one or two vernaculars, short history of India and England, in vernacular if preferred, geography of the world and India in particular, arithmetic (no algebra and no geometry), simple lessons in physics and still simpler lessons in chemistry (in fact the latter need not be included), physical drills, sports, religion (whichever the parent or the guardian chooses), morality, hygiene, and citizenship. The complete course should not extend beyond six years. It will be noted that our present system does not include courses in no less than four highly essential subjects, namely, hygiene, morality, religion and citizenship. A system that excludes these is no system of education at all. It may be anything but that.

The complete course, I said, should not extend beyond six years. If I am not mistaken it takes a boy well nigh ten years to reach the Matriculation class and one, two, or alas! even three years to pass this test and enter a college. I protest against this diabolic method of wasting the life and opportunities of the youth of the country. It is a monstrous act. I will even go to the extent of characterising it as a murderous act. The desolated hearts of thousands of young men cry against it. Will no one hear their cry? What do we take a boy's life for? Has it no part in and no connection with the life of the man to be? Is it a thing apart? No, a thousand times no. No man, not even a father, has a right to fritter away so large a slice of a young man's life in more or less profitless study, rather schooling. For the most part the schooling is class-attendance and passing or failing in examinations. Lucky the boy whose good fortune or his father's purse takes him from the High School to the college and thence to a profession. In this terrible scholastic race nearly 75 per cent are left behind to lead a colourless, dull, joyless life. The practical

education I have referred to should on no account be extended beyond six years and it should be an apprenticeship in general knowledge and the art of living, and the development of character. If a boy enters upon such a course of study in his sixth or seventh year (I am not in favour of earlier schooling, because it stunts a boy's growth, moreover it is a period when parents should develop character, by precedent and precept judiciously and persuasively conveyed), I think it will be by no means difficult for him to complete the subjects I have mentioned within six years. The difficulty is not with the student but with the teacher. (I shall touch upon this subject later.) Further, there should be no University examinations or anything of the kind. After a boy has completed his course he should be certified as having done so by the head of the school, and sent on to either a Technical School or College. The choice must be left to the student under the sympathetic guidance of his teacher and his parent. If all the three can decide harmoniously together—by no means a difficult matter—so much the better.

This is practical education, enabling a boy to think and to live, not to earn. Its primary aim should be to divest the mind of childish ideas and invest it with scientific conceptions; kindle its imagination, stiffen its moral backbone, and enrich its mind.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Technical education should be the real training ground for the battle of life. Practical education will teach how to live; technical or industrial education will teach how to earn. One will teach how to be a soldier; the other how to fight. The one will teach how to think; the other how to act. The one will be the inception, the other the consummation of the process.

To every High School or whatever it may be called, we should henceforth have one or two technical or industrial schools. In the latter should boys receive the instruction suited to the calling in life they have chosen. It should be an unalterable condition that unless a boy had obtained a certificate from the University testifying to his having passed through this school, he should receive no employment in any public or semi-public office or institution. So also, no boy who has merely received a course of instruction in the High School (practical education) should receive any employment. Employment will mean only

misery to them. Such a restriction will be of abundant benefit to them in the end and the intention is thoroughly benevolent.

A Technical or Industrial School should give courses in the following subjects : (1) Shorthand and Typewriting, (2) Book-keeping, salesmanship and accountancy, (3) Principles of commerce and trade, (4) Banking, (5) Office Procedure, (6) Mercantile clerkship, (7) Carpentry and Smithery, (8) Mechanical and Electrical engineering (not the higher forms), (9) architecture and draughtsmanship, (11) Fine Arts, including sculpture, (12) Physics and Chemistry (to serve as assistants in laboratories and apothecaries in hospitals), (13) Railway engineering and Routine Work, (14) Motor engineering, (15) Municipal work and Sanitation.

The above is but a rough sketch. Every art and industry should be taught and no course should extend beyond three years. I think this period is quite enough. I am well aware of the fact that there are certain subjects which cannot possibly be taught in a school of the nature I have in view. For instance, shipbuilding, bridge-building, agricultural science,

and certain other industries cannot possibly be taught (even the rudimentary stages of them) in a technical school however perfectly equipped.

The most essential point in this department of education is that along with the imparting of instruction in the peculiar vocation which a boy has chosen, he should be given further lessons in "practical education." He should be given advanced courses in English literature and grammar, hygiene and history. His mind under no circumstances should be allowed to be crabbed, cabined and confined. No student should be declared to have passed whatever the department he may have chosen, unless he satisfies his examiners in respect of his general knowledge and English literature. Also, his character must be pronounced good by the school authorities. No certificate should be considered complete without this essential testimony. I once more repeat that technical or industrial education should not be considered as having been properly received, unless the student has satisfied his examiners in regard to his proficiency in English literature and

general knowledge. I emphasise and insist upon this point because, unless the student develops his general knowledge and knows the art of expressing himself clearly and lucidly, he will find himself handicapped later on in actual life. Apart from this, he should seek to train his mind in such a manner that after the stress and strain of every-day life, he may find in literature consolation and intellectual pleasure and an appetite for the nobler things of life and through them a tonic which will revivify him, making him fit to bear the burden and the heat of the succeeding day. Life is a struggle, a competition, a race, a battle ; the more balms and healing mental ointments a man secures the better for him. It will contribute to the joy of life, ennoble the mind and make it capable of inculcating character in the household. If a young man is in love with literature he will have had the necessary equipment to purse it with pleasure and profit no matter in what business he may be engaged.

The period for a course, whether accountancy, banking, or whatever it may be, should be made as short as possible and examinations

held twice a year and not once as is done now. There are subjects which require a longer course and there are some which require a shorter course, but the aim should be to save time as much as possible. I insist on two examinations in a year because it is nothing short of a crime to call upon a boy to waste one full year of his life because he had happened to fail in one or two subjects. Nature gives a man ten thousand chances in a single day: would you give only one chance to a boy in a whole year? The sporting spirit which we so much admire in the ordinary transactions of life is for some inscrutable reason deemed unworthy to be extended to the boy in the school. Is there any sense in condemning a boy to re-study his course because he has made the mistake of saying that Timbuctoo is in Togoland or Tokio is in Turkestan? We must do away with such a system of examination. Examinations should aim at getting the best out of a boy. We must give him as many chances as possible to display that which is within him, and not set traps for him, not set stumbling blocks in his way. The lawyer

may loose a hundred cases and yet remain a lawyer ; the doctor may fail in a hundred cases and yet remain a doctor, but a boy who has failed to secure "pass marks" is penalised with one more year's study in the same class. My countrymen, time is precious, life is precious, youth is more precious still. Let us be generous to our youth ; we must build their young lives, not destroy them. We must remember that the hall-mark of the University only opens the door ; it is the stuff that a boy has in him which stands by him in the transactions of life.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

By higher education I mean education such as is given in our colleges. It should be imparted for two main purposes (1) to enable young men in affluent circumstances to secure a liberal education in the arts and sciences, (2) to enable those seeking entrance into any one of the important professions to acquire the necessary preparatory mental equipment. Students from the High School (where practical education is taught) should be admitted to the colleges and also students in the Technical Schools should be allowed to take arts or science degrees if they so desired. There should be no residential qualification as a *sine qua non*. The College should in essence be an advanced type of the High School and should confine itself to English literature, languages, science, mathematics, history, philosophy, logic, comparative study of religions, philology, archæology, political economy and kindred subjects. It should under no circumstances include medicine, law, commerce, engineering (mechanical and electrical) and agriculture.

The B. A. or even the Master's Degree should not entitle anyone, however able, to secure appointments in the higher teaching profession. The College should be the recruiting ground for candidates for the higher grades of service in the administration of the country. It is the graduates from these colleges who should in future be the members of the Indian Civil Service, upper and subordinate. It is they who should take commissions in the army and superintend the police. It is they who should engage in journalism and enter into trade and commerce. It is they who should engage in politics. It is they who should lead the agricultural industry of the country, by taking practical farming as their profession in life. While all these channels are kept open to them, the higher teaching profession should be debarred to them.

A college course for the B.A. Degree should not extend beyond three years and there should be two examinations in a year. The Master's Degree may be taken either in residence or out of it. Students desiring to take up professional studies, such as medicine or engineer-

ing, should be allowed to do so after two years in a college. They should not, however, be considered to have qualified in their professions unless they take a degree as well in literature and history or philosophy or science or mathematics or languages. Preparation for the Degree should be private and should be carried on simultaneously with their professional studies. I have said that two years in a college should be deemed sufficient qualification for entrance into any of the professions, because under the present system time is wasted in a most reprehensible manner. For instance, as a general rule, a young man is well out of his teens before he takes his B.A. Degree and it takes him three, four or five years to secure a Degree in any one of the professions. The percentage of young men who secure the M.B. and C.M. Degree or the B.C.E. before they are 26 years of age is very small. The argument may be advanced that no student who has spent only two years in a college can have sufficient preparatory general education to successfully tackle law or medicine. For an answer I will point out the old school of pleaders and surgeons.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION.

I divide this into law, medicine, engineering, architecture, fine arts, banking, agriculture, and the other branches of industry. No student from the High School should be admitted to any of these branches of professional study unless he has spent two or more years in a college, or technical school and no student should be declared to have passed in his professional course unless he also takes a degree in arts. I have nothing much to say under this head except that Universities should widen the scope of professional education by including several branches of industrial education. This is a question of great importance and should be seriously considered.

ACADEMIC EDUCATION.

By academic education I mean education beyond the college stage, education of the type contemplated by Plato and Socrates. Its aim should be knowledge for knowledge sake. It should embrace Literature, Philosophy, History, Higher Mathematics, Science and Scientific Research, Medical Research, International Law and Jurisprudence, Languages, Comparative Study of Religions, and the art of teaching. This department should be under the special care of the University and should be called the Academy. It should be the home and workshop of the scholar and the scientist, the philosopher and the historian, in fact of the pioneer workers and leaders in every department of human knowledge. Courses may extend to two, three or four years or as many years as a student chooses to spend. There should be less teaching and more study, experiment and research. Doctor's Degrees can be conferred by suitable tests of a candidate's ability in the subject of his choice.

It will be noted that I have reserved for this department the teaching profession. Whether it is a high school or college, no man should be appointed as the head or the first assistant unless he had put two years' residence in an Academy and studied the science of teaching. Much depends upon the teacher and we should have good teachers or no education at all. We shall be wasting not only the country's money but also the lives of our youths by engaging teachers who do not know what they are about. The teacher's life is probably the noblest calling in the world and those that prepare for this calling should always keep this fact in mind. Let no man in future presume that he could teach the youth of the country until he has himself become a true son of knowledge. Not only should he be imbued with the literature, learning and philosophy of more than one nation, but also a master-student of human nature and a true lover of his country. The teacher should not only impart knowledge but also build character: not only teach but also train; not only be a master but also a friend; not only an intellectual mentor but also a spiritual

father. He should contrive to act as the conscience of every boy and the source of inspiration to every pupil under him. What our boys want is not so much dry mechanical methods as spiritual influences. The best seats of learning and knowledge were the grove academies of Plato and other Greek and Indian philosophers, not the modern universities. It was so, not because the knowledge imparted was in any way superior or the methods were more perfect but because the personal influence of the master was a living, inspiring, strengthening influence.

Teachers who are to man the technical schools should also have studied in an academy and studied the science of teaching.

The Academy should be the nation's pride and should receive the largest support from the Government and all lovers and admirers of learning. Only a small percentage would elect to remain on in the University and submit themselves to such strenuous and exacting studies, but these few should be generously supported and treated with the utmost respect.

They will be the intellectual giants of the country, men who will be working for the good of humanity by researches in science and kindred subjects. Every University should have such an Academy and its senior members should have a voice in the direction of University affairs.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

Whether it is the Government or the political reformers who have been mainly responsible for the progress, however small, made in the matter of women's education, I do not think either party deserves any great praise. If some praise is due, and I readily grant it, it is due for having brought home to the people the necessity for educating women, in opposition to or in substitution of the old principle which closed the door of knowledge to women. On the other hand no reasonable man will congratulate them on the type of education they have made it their choice. Here again, we see the hand of the zealot and the enthusiast not that of the artist or the scientific organiser. The education which Indian girls receive is education which is primarily and solely meant for boys. If what is suited to the latter is also suited to the former, because it happens to be "education", then all I can say is that it is education against the principles of nature. We may, if we choose, give the political vote to women, but our imitative zeal need not go

so far as to make us forget that education which is not based on the essential peculiarities of the two sexes cannot be true education. To a very great extent our present system is an unsexing system, a destructive system. It passes my understanding as to how my countrymen, *with their venerable traditions and immortal* libraries of knowledge, have made the fatal blunder of placing young men and maidens under the same system of instruction, with no reference to the sex question whatsoever. However, it is a matter for devout thankfulness that the blunder is not irremediable. We have no right to compel girls whose function in nature is not similar to that of boys, whose duties in the maturity of age are quite unlike those of boys, whose texture and sphere of ambition is quite unlike that of men, whose vocation in life is parallel, not one, with those of men, in fact who are not made for exactly the same purpose as man in the scheme of creation, to acquire knowledge which has no direct bearing upon or relation to the peculiar duties and aspirations ordained for them by Nature. Let us by all means educate our women, but le

us not unsex them. Let us not sap or destroy that which makes woman woman, that which is dear to men, that which is the very essence and the charm of a woman—her femininity.

It will be agreed that women's education should aim at making women more intensely feminine—better women as women, better wives, better mothers, better companions to their husbands and better guides to their children. That will be practical education to a girl, the true form of education she needs and should have. Higher education for her should aim at investing the charms and graces of her femininity with the graces and charms of music, painting and poetry. Departing from this sound aim, we are making our girls book-worms, blue-stockings, bachelors of arts and so on, all ending in a majority of cases in what is not, to say the least, the type of womanhood which has been the pride and the glory of our civilisation. However much one may admire education, one cannot, if one is reasonable, understand how or in what manner mathematics or physics or metaphysics can really educate a girl. The girl who should learn domestic hygiene, through

our perverted system, learns hydrostatics; instead of music, learns mensuration ; instead of cookery, learns cube root and quadratic equations ; instead of first aid and home nursing, learns the differential calculus and the properf ties of heat ; instead of painting, she learns the principle of pulleys and the theory about the parallelogram of forces ; instead of the art of training children, learns the constitutional history of Greece or some other dead empire ; instead of needle-work, learns the subtleties of Kant or Spinoza and instead of domestic economy, learns political economy and astronomy and so on.

If we are wise, if we do not want our daughters to lose the best that Nature has given them, but make the best of what Nature has blessed them with, let us have done with our present-day system. Our aim should be to give our young women practical education suited to their sex, their feminine character and characteristics, their peculiar calling in life and their position in the body politic. Let us give them training in music (Indian music is a mine which is quite unexplored), painting, literature, plain

tales in history, geography, domestic economy, domestic hygiene, first aid, home nursing, cookery, confectionery, dress-making, needle-work, religion and morality and the care of homes and children, with some English and a vernacular and some arithmetic. I think this is work enough for even a budding Sappho. A girl who receives such an education can well consider herself a pearl of great price, for such she indeed will be when she attains womanhood. She will be capable of rising to any height and be a Lakshmi in the house. What we now try to bring about is a morally hybrid product which feels dissatisfied with its surroundings.

The argument may be advanced that I am not taking into consideration the unfortunate fate that befalls widows with children whom they have to support until they come of age. I admit that women should be equipped with education to earn a living. But why should their education be the same as that given to men? Can they not earn a living by means of education best fitted to their sex? They can, but the fact of the whole matter is that the tendency is gaining ground among our women to

enter into competition with men, as it has happened in England and elsewhere on the continent and America. We in India, who know how to value our women and the ideals of womanhood, should guard against this pernicious tendency. We do not and should not want our daughters to sit at office desks or stenograph in a mercantile house. Though more experienced than ourselves in many respects, Western countries do sometimes entertain very extraordinary notions on some of the plainest universal truths : it is either due to a liberalism that wishes to out-universe the universe (the universe of principle) or it is a case of Frankenstein's monster—the emancipated are trying to swallow the emancipators ! It may all be due to a great civilisation, but like charity civilisation seems to cover a host of fallacies and untruths. The chivalry which sprang spontaneously, which welled forth from innate nobleness, in the days of Sidney and Spenser, is now extorted under compulsion, under necessity. Within a few score of years the true source of chivalry will disappear. The Sidney of the age of Queen Bess is now transformed into a Bindle, eternally

bent on propitiation, with a salmon tin under his arm and his goddess' favourite tune on his lips. But salmon tins and symphonies are not propitiating the goddess at all—she demands more and more and Bindle shall give or perish.

I have no right to criticise British or American conceptions of things : if I have done so, it is because they are gaining converts in India. I may be wrong in my views, but I feel I should say that however much the West may be advanced, its conception of equality of rights for woman (which means equality in public life and social life) is based on a wrong principle. The only equality which Nature recognises between the two sexes is an equality of the mind—*not mind in its aspect of capacity but character.* Even here there is a difference; for Nature recognises not sameness of character but fullness and richness of character, peculiar to each. In giving equality Western nations are overlooking this essential division of nature. They are trying to equalise things which cannot be equalised. They are seeking equality where they should seek harmony : they are seeking to establish legal rights at the expense of natural

laws : they are seeking to square the circle and give breadth and height to a straight line. Instead of harmoniously uniting in productive wedlock the positive and negative, attempts are made to convert the positive into the negative or the negative into the positive. Nature rebels against such processes. She blesses only such equalities as are produced by harmony. Even here it is so conservative that it discourages inter-unions among men and animals, plants of different species, and so on. It does not like the birch to claim equality with the oak or the bramble with the fig. But it allows each to attain to its fullness of beauty and growth without any hindrance whatsoever. In education and social rights we are endeavouring to make the lily, the rose and violet all yield the same scent. The only equality we Indians should recognise is the equality born of character, claimed by character ; we do not want equality to assume such shapes as to destroy the qualities peculiar to each. I am not for subjection of women ; if you ask the philosopher he will tell you that she never is, never will be subject. She has means and arts of ruling

of which we men have no complete idea. When to her naturally endowed secret art, you add rights born of artificial and unnatural legal acts and social laws, you make her a tyrant and a despot, you destroy natural harmony and magnetism. My words may sound very strange, in fact vacuous, to Western ears. I have no quarrel with them and I readily admit that their conception of equality does not involve a moral or ethical wrong. Not that; it involves a transgression against the laws of nature and its effects will be seen in the complexion which Western civilisation takes in the next fifty or a hundred years.

We, Indians, must follow the science of all sciences, the science of harmonious relations, as defined and taught by the wisest of our forefathers, with due regard and attention given to modern conditions and demands on life. It will, I hope, be generally agreed that we should have equality with our women in our homes, in fact give them the superiority. We want them to be our crown, but not a crown which we should wear on our heads wherever we go; it should be like the King's crown, the crown is his but

he does not wear it every moment of his life and it is not the crown that makes the king but the king that gives power to the idea underlying the crown. We want our women to rule us, by ruling our household ; we want them to guide us, by guiding our children ; we want them to instruct us, by being purer than ourselves ; we want them to bring blessings upon us, by being faithful and obedient in the eyes of Heaven ; we want them to be our brightest ornaments, but ornaments which would lose their beauty the moment we flash it about in the glare of publicity. The true diamond shines most in darkness ; our women should shine most in their homes. If we are considered fools for these opinions, let us be fools. Our folly is really wisdom.

MATERIAL PROSPERITY.

We have discussed so far the education of the nation, education on political lines, education on academic lines. There is a third form of education which is equally essential, which is the very corner stone of the whole national edifice, an education without which the former two are quite impossible of attainment. This education is the direction of the people in the acquisition of wealth so that it may be evenly distributed. There can be no political strength without material strength : there can be no political power without material power ; there can be no national greatness without national wealth ; there can be no national moral character without national material prosperity : there can be no progressive constitution without a progressive economy. Character is infinitely greater than wealth and moral strength is more powerful than material strength, but these do not retain their greatness and their strength under all conditions and all manner of circumstances. What holds good in the case of individuals does not necessarily hold

good in the case of communities and nations. The difficulty increases when the numerical strength of the community or nation is of so unwieldy a dimension as that of the population in India. It is possible for a small tribe or a very small nation to be physically, politically and morally strong without having an equal amount of material strength. But in vast communities and nations, perfection of character, political or otherwise, is impossible without material wealth. In plain words no political Utopia can be raised amidst a semi-starved people. The strength of a nation must be in its unity and ability to withstand aggression: its glory in its willingness to maintain the peace of the world; its moral splendour in its institutions; its greatness in the greatness of character of the people composing it; and its vitality in its material wealth. We cannot have one and not the other. We cannot have two and not a third. We must have all these types of strength and above all vitality. It should be like the blood in the human body; we do not value blood more than character, the feelings, the imagination, and the

emotions, but human life is impossible without blood. Material prosperity should be like the human body, and national character the soul that lives within it. As the body cannot live without the soul, so the soul cannot have a visible personality without the body.

It is a matter for extreme regret that the development of the material conditions of the country has not been taken up with all the zeal and scientific organisation that they demand. The growth of mineral industries has been mainly the product of the people's energy ; and agricultural improvement mainly the product of the Government's interest. In the new order of things the State and the people must combine in improving both departments of the country's industry. The most important of all the problems confronting our statesmen and politicians is the problem of poverty which is a direct result of the periodic waves of famine which flood the country, bringing death, disease and devastation in their train. If I have not given primary importance to this subject in this book, it is because I realised that the tendency among certain politicians, whose follow-

ing is not inconsiderable, is to plant politics of the Bolshevist type in this country which must be checked and the people taught to discipline themselves in the school of nationhood. In the present state of their mentality every seed will strike root and grow into dangerous tares and weeds, sapping the vitality of the soil and eventually ruining it. Nor does our salvation lie in socialism of the root and branch type. It lies in unflagging labour and scientific improvement. Equal distribution of wealth should be based not on the principle (a very pernicious principle) of a compulsory redistribution of the wealth and property already in possession, but on the principle of the scientific creation of fresh wealth, especially among those who are not already in possession of it. Wealth and property are as much the indisputable possessions of a man as his character or his personality, so long as they have been acquired in conformity with the laws of the state. In so far as socialism over-rides this just principle, in so far it becomes a destructive and not a constructive force. A nation or a community means society and society is based upon the foundations of

security, individual freedom of conduct within certain universally recognised boundaries, and individual freedom of effort and freedom to work and earn without any boundaries at all, so long as they clash against no law. These are fundamental principles, sanctioned by the wisdom and experience of ages—having the concensus of opinion of every administrator and sage in every part of the world. When socialism aims at redistribution of wealth by force, it aims in reality against the nullification of the principle so essential to the existence of society, namely, fullest freedom for individual effort without any boundaries, so long as it is against no recognised law. If there is no such principle, there can be no society, no laws, no civilisation. Utopia cannot be built by a negation of laws, but by a firm establishment of law and principle. Let us not be misguided by Western socialism, nor even by the British Labour Party. There can be no better creed than honest work and honest endeavour. Where these are stunted, hindered or prevented the law must be recast and revised, not the aid of force and anarchy enlisted We all want to vault over into a

chimerical Utopia by acrobatic feats performed in the fashion of quadrupeds, instead of progressing towards our ideals as sensible men through sensible effort. The Bolsheviks are seeking a paradise, but have left the path leading to it and are tramping in a never-ending wilderness. Millions of lives have been lost, but the goal is farther than ever it was. In fact they will never reach it. Man has been made to exist by work: the whole of creation works: the universe is nothing but a workshop; and laws and principles, innumerable and unchangeable, govern them all. Improvements must be sought within the compass of law and order, not outside it. They do not exist outside that circle.

How shall we improve the material condition of the country? The work must be begun at once and pursued steadily, with untiring zeal and determination. The awful nightmare of poverty and disease must be flung out of the life and the vision of the people. Famines and months of starvation should be exorcised from rural India or we will have a country with a people having no stamina and a nation having no exchequer. It seems to me that Spain affords

the most striking example of a great nation having lost its greatness and its character when its material wealth began to dwindle. The splendid chivalry of the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, of the days of the Armada, has disappeared, because the ships of Spain no more plough the seas and bring to her courts the spoils of conquest and the products of discovery.

The only answer to the question how shall we better our material condition is "Improve the material resources of the country scientifically."

What are the material resources of the country? These are infinite in number and infinite in variety; but I will not touch upon all or a part of them. I will confine myself to the one and only industry, the scientific development of which would strike a fatal blow at the poverty and famine problems. That industry is agriculture. We must make two and three blades of corn grow where one grows now. I am not using the words of Swift for the sake of a figure. No: I am using them because they establish the principle on which we should

work. We must have corn, corn, corn in abundance—the wheat, the paddy, the millet and the maize. All the iron, steel, and other manufacturing industries are of subsidiary, secondary importance. Instead of an Industrial Commission we should have had an Agricultural Commission. We want money, for our education, our sanitation, our research work, our police, our defences. Where are we to get this money from? From manufacturing industries? Well and good: but the more we manufacture the more misery we will have, for man does not live by eating steel tablets or rubber pills. The labour unrest in England, though partly politically engineered, is more or less incurable, because England, unfortunately, is more a manufacturing country than a producing country. Whether I am put down as a dreamer or a visionary, I do not hesitate to declare that there is only one gospel for the modern dispensation in India with its inventions and manufactures—grow corn and make corn cheap. In other words, make as many luxuries as you please dear, but keep the food cheap. If we in India, have an abundance of the staple

grains, we shall secure great assistance from our manufacturing industries. But without agricultural prosperity the opulence of manufacture will be a decided curse to us. We do not want more misery but less of it. It is the rice market which rules all things. It not only keeps up the health of the people, but it maintains their exchequer as well. If we have an abundance of corn, we shall by making corn cheap, not only remove poverty and diseases born of want of nourishment but also effectively fight against the terrible depredations of famines and years of scarcity. Corn in abundance we can have only by making two, three and four blades grow where one grows now. This cannot be done without proper financial assistance and scientific methods: the one without the other is worse than useless.

So far as financial assistance goes we have in the co-operative organisation a splendid instrument with immense possibilities. I am not thoroughly posted in regard to its working in the various presidencies and provinces, but know enough to believe that the organisation is progressing and has already rendered an

immense amount of service to the cultivators by freeing them from the money-lending octopuses. The main defect, if defect it were, is that the governors and directors of this organisation are over-anxious for moral results. Moral results cannot come with lightning like rapidity. The material benefits, like seed, must soak and strike root in the soil, before the moral seedlings spring up. Every endeavour should be made to strengthen, widen and improve the organisation and honorary workers should be specially recognised. Either the Government or failing them the Congress, should recognise their services and entitle them to increased respect. These are the men who deserve to be distinguished, not army contractors, restaurant keepers and commissariat clerks, whom the Government of India, in its Olympian wisdom, loves to honour. The co-operative organisation cannot possibly fail if properly conducted and the splendid rate of interest which the Central Banks offer ought to attract a large amount of capital. While I must on behalf of the country congratulate the several Registrars and their co-workers on the

exceedingly good work they have done in a very short space of time, I must ask them to widen the basis of work as quickly as possible in conformity with safety. This matter is of the highest importance and on no account should it be postponed. If there is not enough money available, then a vigorous canvassing for deposits should be forthwith conducted. People in general know nothing of the co-operative movement, still less of the secure character of a Co-operative Central Bank. In fact, if Indians desire their country to advance materially and morally they cannot do better than invest a certain proportion or all of their spare cash in Co-operative Central Banks. They will receive not only a direct interest of ample proportions but also an indirect interest through the lessening of the prices of agricultural produce.

There are two or three important suggestions which I wish to make in relation to the Co-operative Organisation. Firstly, the aim of a Central Bank should in future be not only to assist members of agricultural societies to purchase seed, plough bullocks and imple-

ments, but also to take a direct part in improving the land and developing its crop bearing value. Working in consultation with the Public Works Department it should arrange for the inception of minor irrigation works, especially the sinking of wells in badly irrigated localities, taking for this purpose two or three villages at a time. The Provincial Bank acting as the central institution should finance the district or tahsil banks if these have not enough funds of their own. Moreover, the Central Bank should systematically attempt to secure for its members grouped holdings, the advantages of which will be apparent to every farmer.

Secondly, the Central Bank, through the Co-operative Stores or by itself, should endeavour to erect granaries, buying up the surplus of a good year's produce and storing it against famine or scarcity. These granaries should be for the benefit of societies and its members only—this is not selfishness but strict business. Where, a co-operator may ask, is the money to come from? I will tell him that he has the money with him. The Reserve Fund of the Bank.