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appropriate a sufficient sum from the revenues of these Provinces for the purposes of urgent provincial expenditure so that this Government may be enabled to place the District Boards financially in a position to discharge adequately the obligations which have been imposed on them by the enactment passed to-day.



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The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in April 1904 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James John Digges Latouche, K. C. S. I.

YOUR Honour,—I am sure every member of the Council will join me in thanking the Honourable the Financial Secretary for the very lucid statement which he has made before the Council. That statement enables us to clearly understand the nature and effect of the new Provincial settlement which the Government of India has been pleased to make with, or rather for, this Government. The first important thing to be noted about it is that instead of the Provincial contracts being made for periods of five years only, as was the case in the past, the financial arrangements now made are not limited in duration. This by itself seems to be an advantage; but in order to judge how far it will really benefit us, we have to consider whether the arrangements come to secure to us a fair portion of the revenues of these provinces for Provincial expenditure. Having carefully studied the subject, I regret to be driven to the conclusion that they do not. The net results of the new arrangements, I take it, is that these provinces



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will be permitted to retain for expenditure in these provinces Rs. 3,69,69,000 out of the whole of the Provincial revenues, Rs. 12,49,92,900. In Provincial expenditure, the Government of India have reduced the share of expenditure debitable to the United Provinces by Rs. 28,20,000. This means, as the Honourable the Financial Secretary has explained, that we are now in the enjoyment of an income which, if calculated on the former basis, is eleven lakhs larger than that available for expenditure under the last settlement. But a considerable portion of this increase may be attributed, as he has pointed out, to the growth of normal revenue and the income available for expenditure remains Rs. 3,69,69,000 only. In addition to this the Government of India have been pleased to make a lump grant of 30 lakhs to this Government to start the new settlement. This grant I understand, is subject to the condition that it is to be spread over five years, and it is for this reason that only six lakhs will be available out of it for expenditure in the coming year. So far as this lump grant is concerned, I understand that it has been made in order to compensate the Local Government for the disadvantage it would suffer for five years under the new settlement by reason of the curtailment of its expending revenues. This is, therefore, not such a matter for congratulation as it might at first sight appear.



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Turning to the share of revenues permanently allotted to us, I must say that all those who are interested in the advancement of the people of these provinces must regret that the Government of India have not even in a season of great financial prosperity done justice to the claims of these provinces, have not recognised their right to be permitted to spend a larger share of the revenues raised from the people of these provinces than they have done. The settlement appears to be entirely arbitrary and unjust. The inequality of the assignments made to the different provinces which characterized the previous contracts has not been remedied. It is difficult to understand what rule or principle has guided the distribution. The original grants made in 1871 were based on the then existing actual expenditure in each province. The provinces of Bengal and Bombay, which had made comparatively greater progress and were spending much more in various useful directions than the other provinces, received much larger grants than these latter; and as each succeeding contract was based on the ascertained average expenditure of each province during the period of the preceding contract, the inequality has been maintained to this day. Eight years ago, in speaking at a meeting of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, I pointed out that while the people of these



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provinces contributed the largest amount of revenue, larger than that of rich Bengal and larger still than that of Bombay, the percentage of our revenues allotted to us to provide for the administration of these vast provinces and for internal reform was much smaller than that allowed to any other province in India. Two years later the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur repeated and emphasized the complaint in the Supreme Legislative Council. Last year the Hon'ble Rai Nihal Chand Bahadur published an excellent pamphlet under the heading of 'The shearing of the Provincial sheep,' in which he reproduced the utterances of every official and non-official Member of this Council and of the Supreme Legislative Council on this question, and showed that there has been one continual cry during the last many years for a fairer allotment of revenues for provincial purposes. Comparing the figures for different provinces, he showed that while 53 per cent. of the revenues raised in Bengal was left to be spent in that province and 64 per cent. of the revenues in Bombay, only 43 per cent. of the revenues was left to these provinces for provincial expenses. And my Hon'ble friend pleaded that a sum of six crores should in fairness be allowed to these provinces. That may have been regarded an extravagant hope, though it was based on reason. But certainly the Government of India could, if they wanted to deal with these



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provinces fairly, even though not as liberally as they deal with Bombay and Bengal, have increased our allotment to at least 450 lakhs.

I am most unwilling, Sir, to take up much more of the time of the Council on this question. But I feel that the entire possibility of advancement and progress in these provinces depends upon the amount of our revenues which the Government of India allow us to spend, and it seems to me, therefore, that this question is of paramount importance and deserves the most serious consideration of the Council. It might seem idle to hope that the Government of India will allow us to reopen the question so soon after they have come to a decision after having the matter under consideration for sometime. But I believe, Sir, that if the fact is brought home to the Government of India that the practical result of their refusal to grant to us a larger share of the revenues of these provinces means the perpetuation of the ignorance and the poverty of the vast millions of these provinces who toil to fill the coffers of the State, that Government will yet reconsider the matter and make it possible for your Honour's Government to do its duty by the people entrusted to your care. It is perfectly clear that as the Government of India which has the right to determine what portion of the revenues of these provinces spent shall be for Provincial purposes, the responsibility



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for the welfare and progress of the people rests upon it. The Provincial Government is, under the circumstances, merely the executive of the Government of India. It will, no doubt do the utmost it can within the means left at its disposal. But when those means are so limited and when not much margin is left for future improvement, it cannot possibly effect much progress.

In whatever way we may look at the question and that the arrangement is not as satisfactory as it should be. In four of the six shared heads—Excise, Assessed taxes, Forests and Registration—the Provincial share alike of the revenue and expenditure will be a quarter only. In Stamps, revenue and expenditure will be divided equally between Imperial and Provincial, while in Land Revenue the Provincial Government will get one quarter of the receipts and bear one-half of the charges. I confess, Sir, I fail to understand on what principle this arrangement is based. Considering that all that vitally touches the well-being of the people, sanitation, education, efficiency and integrity of administration, police arrangements, industrial development and all that is likely to increase the earning capacity and prosperity of the people is left solely to be provided for by the Provincial Government, one would think that at least half, if not three-fourths of the revenue raised from every one of the heads enumerated above, would be left to be spent



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in these provinces, and that half the total revenues of the provinces would be regarded as a sufficient contribution to the expenses of the army, the Government of India, the Council of the Secretary of State and other Imperial purposes. But the Government of India have decreed otherwise. I have not forgotten the change that has been made under the head 'Irrigation.' The receipts from major irrigation works will henceforward go entirely to make up Provincial revenues. But this is only going back to what used to be the case before 1898, when irrigation was entirely a Provincial head. And against the increase under this head, which is much more liable to fluctuation than the receipts from other sources, has to be placed the diminished share which the Provinces will receive under the other heads. The minimum guarantee of 40 lakhs which the Government of India has made, lends support to the view that irrigation is not so reliable a source of revenue as other heads are. And, on the whole, it seems to me that the redistribution of the various heads of revenue between the Government of India and this Government will not prove advantageous to this Government.) The chances of the provincial revenues have to my mind been narrowly circumscribed by the arrangements which have been arrived at.

Even in the matter of making a lump grant, the Government of India have not been as liberal to us as



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they might have been. One would have thought that, having regard to the fact that the permanent allotment of revenues for provincial purposes was here so obviously smaller in proportion to that allotted to Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the Government would give to these provinces at least as much as, if not more than, they have given to those provinces. But while 50 lakhs have been allotted to each of those provinces, only 30 lakhs have been given to us. Why this has been so, it is difficult to understand. One is forcibly reminded of the saying 'To him who hath, more shall be given.' I am aware that some portion of the lump grants have been made to the other provinces for special objects. But these provinces are wanting in many of those institutions which the sister provinces possess, and a grant larger than what has been made to them could have been most beneficially utilized in these provinces. I hope, Sir, that Your Honour's Government will yet press the needs of these provinces upon the attention of the Government of India, and I hope that those needs will yet be recognised and that sufficient provision will be made for meeting them.

How numerous and how pressing those needs are, it is hardly necessary to say. The department of education alone calls for an expenditure of at least 30 or 40 lakhs a year more, in order that these provinces



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might be brought abreast of other provinces in education. And not only have non-official members of this Council been praying for larger grants for education, but the Director of Public Instruction has been doing the same. Two years ago Mr. Lewis enumerated the most urgent needs of education in these provinces, and stated that the carrying out of those reforms on a moderate scale would require an additional 20 lakhs a year. He pointed out at the same time that even when that addition has been made it would only raise the total expenditure from public funds to $1\frac{1}{2}$ d a year per head of the population, and that this scale of expenditure was already exceeded in most, if not all, of the other provinces. But it seems that he has been crying in the wilderness and his last report is full of despair. I cannot do better than reproduce his remarks here in his own words : 'The reforms that have been initiated, have been rendered possible only by the special and permanent annual grant of five lakhs assigned to the United Provinces by the Government of India for education. While the gift has been welcome, some disappointment has been felt at the smallness of the amount in comparison with that given to the other provinces ; and much regret that the opportunity was not taken to bring the most backward province more nearly abreast of the more fortunate parts of the country in which a greater liberality



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towards education has been customary. As a matter of fact the United Provinces show worse in comparison with the rest of India than they did before the special grants were distributed among the provinces. Already at the bottom of the list, with regard to public expenditure on education per unit of population to population than any other province. Hence other provinces have by the favour of the Government of India been allowed to increase their lead. It is, therefore, the misfortune rather than the fault of these provinces that they are last of all in educational progress, and there, it seems they are destined to remain. There is little doubt that if money were spent as freely here as elsewhere in education and largely devoted to the extension of primary education there would be a large increase in the enrolment of scholars. There is a demand in perhaps all districts for more schools and more schools, but they cannot be opened because the funds are exhausted. When a people cry out for education and cannot get it, we may well, with Carlyle, count it a tragedy'. This earnest appeal of the Director of Public Instruction was prominently brought to the notice of his Excellency the Viceroy and his Council by the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bhahadur at a time when the exchequer of the Government of India was overflowing with money towards which the toiling millions of these provinces had contributed in



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no small measure. But it is to be deplored that it was not heeded.

It is sad, Sir, to contemplate the position of these provinces in the matter of education, particularly in that of primary education. As the Education Commission remarked, these provinces were the pioneers of the policy of extending primary education amongst the masses and of providing adequate funds for it by means of local rates. Before any other provincial administration had awakened to a consciousness of its duty in this direction, the late Mr. Thomson of pious memory, devised a most excellent scheme of elementary vernacular instruction of the people. That scheme met with the approval of the Government of India and of the Court of Directors, and in the famous Educational Despatch of 1854 and of 1859, in which the general adoption of measures for the extension of elementary education was for the first time inculcated, we were held up as a model to other Governments. But while education has been steadily advancing in every other province, it has remained backward here, with the result that there are only ten boys out of a hundred of the school-going age who receive any education in these provinces, whereas 22 to 23 per cent of the boys of the school-going age are at school in Bombay and Bengal and these provinces which were the home of learning, and refinement, both under the



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Hindu and Muhammadan *regimes*, have now to bear the reproach of being the 'most ignorant provinces in the Indian Empire.' It is all the more to be regretted that this should be so when we remember that the Government of India have for the last fifty years repeatedly acknowledged the importance of primary education and expressed their desire to promote it. In the despatch of 1854, in the resolution appointing the Education Commission of 1882, in the resolution on the recommendations of that commission, the Government of India have again and again declared that they regard the extension of primary education to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed and which should be regarded to possess almost an exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues. And in subsequently reviewing the progress of education in the various provinces, they have again and again expressed a hope that the efforts of the Local Governments will be steadily increased and sustained in the direction of promoting primary education. In spite of these resolutions the Government of India have been constrained to admit in the recent resolution on education, which does no more than reaffirm, the previous declarations of Government on primary education, that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of



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the public funds. They have again repeated the opinion that they consider that it should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues, and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The resolution goes on, however, to say that the Government of India believe that Local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in desiring this extension and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province. And these last words, read in the light of the terms of the provincial settlement, define the limits of the possibility of the extension of primary education in these provinces. When we consider what little margin has been left for increased expenditure to this Government under the terms of the new settlement, it seems to me that there is little hope left for any substantial progress in education.

I find, Sir, that in the resolution to which I have referred, the Government of India have been pleased to say that the expansion of primary education is impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to its spread. I consider it my duty to say that the remark is not true, so far as these provinces are concerned, if it is true of any other province of India. It is not the indifference of the advanced ambitious classes but the lukewarmness and



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parsimony of the Government of India that accounts for the want of satisfactory progress in primary education. As Your Honour's Government was pleased to observe in reviewing the history of education in these provinces: 'want of money is the beginning and the end of a narrative of education in these provinces in modern times' and none but the Government of India is responsible for this chronic want and the consequent absence of healthy growth in education.

Are we then to give ourselves up to despair? To give up the hope of extending primary education, would be to abandon all hope for the advancement of the people, for it is universally recognized now that education lies at the foot of all other progress. Even in the important resolution of the Government of India of March 1897 on agricultural education, the extension of primary education among the agricultural population was strongly inculcated as being essential to all agricultural improvement and reform. But I cannot better express the paramount necessity of promoting the education of the masses than in the words of Mountstuart Elphinstone, uttered in 1823, which are as true now as ever:—

"It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great



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measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring : and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. We have all often heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population ; of the savings of a life squandered on some one occasion of festivity ; of the helplessness of the ryots, which renders them a prey to money-lenders ; of their indifference to good clothes or houses, which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them ; and finally of the vanity of all laws to protect them, when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour ; there is but one remedy for all this, which is education.

The need for education being so supreme, it is necessary that more effective steps should be taken to secure it to the people ; and it seems to me, Sir, that the best way to do it would be to have sufficient funds set apart for education by legislation. Twenty years ago the Provincial Committee of the Education Commission recommended that education should be made compulsory in these provinces. On the general question of the need for legislation the Commission pointed out what indeed is also borne out by the recent, resolution of the Government of India on education



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that executive orders of clear important and general application have failed more or less in all provinces to ensure uniform attention to broad principles prescribed for general guidance and they rightly observed that 'in all countries where education has been most successful, that is, most national it has been based on law or ordinance. Even in England, where there is so much jealousy of any central action that can be avoided, it was never advanced in the prolonged discussions which resulted in the Acts passed between 1870 and 1880, that if a national and adequate system of primary education was at last to be established, it could be established otherwise than by legislation.' The history of education during the twenty years that have elapsed since that was written fully establishes the soundness of the opinion which was expressed by the Commission, and shows that the time has come when legislative provision should take the place of executive orders and resolutions if the progress of education is to be assured. I think, Sir, legislation is necessary not because the people are unwilling to take to education, for we have it on the testimony of the learned Director of Public Instruction that the people are everywhere crying for more and more schools, but because I think statutory provision is needed to secure adequate funds for education. In my humble opinion one per cent of the school cess which



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the landholders of these provinces have been paying since 1866 should be made the nucleus of the school fund, and such a percentage of the provincial revenues as may be needed to meet the educational wants of the provinces should be set apart as the contribution of the Provincial and Imperial Governments to that fund. District and Municipal Boards should also be required to contribute a fair and fixed portion of their income towards the education fund. It may be said that all these sources are actually contributing at present towards education. This is true. But I believe that when the duty of providing education for the whole of the school-going population is recognized, the claim of education will be better realized and more adequate and more certain provision made for meeting them than is the case at present. I venture, to hope, Sir, that when the need for making such provision is brought home to the Government of India, that Government may not be unwilling to extend that financial support to us without which no scheme for the advancement of education can have a chance of success. I hope, Sir, that such a scheme might be taken into consideration during your Honour's administration.

As regards higher education, it is a matter for regret that the expenditure incurred on it in these provinces also compares unfavourably with that incurred in other provinces. This is fully brought out



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in the recent reports on public instruction, which reports also show the need for increased expenditure on higher education in these provinces. I do not, however, think it necessary to go into details here. The Universities Bill has now been passed into law, and I am thankful to note that the Government of India have been pleased to promise to meet by special assignments, part of the additional expenditure which may be rendered necessary by reforms which are in contemplation in the administration of police and education. I hope, Sir, that those grants will be made on sufficiently liberal scale to permit of the establishment of a real teaching University in these Provinces. All lovers of high education are looking eagerly forward to the arrangements which will be made under the Universities Act in that direction. I hope that all the funds which will be available will be spent in creating one centre of culture and in endowing a sufficient number of chairs there, so as to gather together at that centre a society of scholars devoted to learning and able to inspire, instruct and guide the most capable young men of these provinces into the highest pursuits for learning. As has been well said, a University requires more than anything else, a large and vigorous staff so that the various sciences and languages may have their devotees, and young men of different tastes may find fit guides. And there is nothing more calculated to insure the



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success of a University than the presence of a body of living teachers, eminent in their special subjects and loving to teach. The influence of such a body of men will be most beneficial in its effects upon the young men who will have the privilege of being brought into contact with them. And the University will in course of time become what Universities in other countries are—a seat for the advancement of the highest learning; for the discovery and development of talent; for the promotion of scientific knowledge and research; and the elevation of professional standards. I also hope, Sir, that the new scheme will not be allowed to suffer from any narrow jealousy of other institutions. I regret to have to say so, but the history of the Muir Central College compels me to do so. Your Honour is aware that when the Muir Central College was established, it was intended that it should be the most important centre of education in these provinces. The Education Commission recommended that it should be kept up as a model institution and that it should be the focus of the learning of the whole provinces. They also recommended that there should be at least six Fellowships endowed at that College. But not only no Fellowships have yet been created, but the College have never received that measure of support from Government which it should have received as the principal State College in these provinces. Though



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the College enjoys the benefit of having some very distinguished scholars on its staff, the staff taken as a whole has for a long time not been what it should be. And apart from any scheme of a Teaching University I hope that the Government will be pleased to spare some money to strengthen the staff of the College.

As regards the Law department, now that the teaching of law has been practically centralized, it is necessary that the Government should make a suitable grant to enable the College to have well-paid Professorships of Law, so as to attract and retain the services of capable men. The Faculty of Law have recommended that the Government should guarantee to the University an income of Rs. 25,000 a year, to enable the University to take up the teaching of law in its own hands. I hope the matter will receive favourable consideration, and money found for the purpose under the new scheme.

The need for a Medical College for these provinces has long been recognised, and I hope that Your Honour will be able to see such a College established before long. Your honour is aware that when the scheme for establishing the Muir Central College was sent up to the Government of India in 1872, it was contemplated that lectureships in Medicine and Surgery should be attached to the Muir College. The excellent equipment that the Muir College has received during the last few years



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for the teaching of Physical Science and Chemistry, makes it all the more desirable that a Medical College should be established in the vicinity of that institution. The need for such a College has been growing day by day. The new field for study and employment which such a College will afford to the young men of these provinces, though in itself a desirable thing, is to my mind of comparatively less importance than the fact that a large number of young men will be trained and qualified to serve humanity, to prevent suffering and to bring medical aid and relief to thousands of our fellow-beings in these provinces. A knowledge of sanitary rules and ideas will also much more quickly diffuse through them among the body of the people and will lead to sanitary alleviations and advancement. I hope, Sir, that the establishment of such a beneficial institution will not be long delayed.

I notice with gratitude that the Government of India has been pleased to give us three lakhs for expenditure on parks, hospitals, colleges and libraries. I hope that the Government will be pleased to make a grant of at least Rs. 10,000 for the Public Library at Allahabad. I hope also that the Government will be pleased to give a lakh of rupees for the construction of residential quarters for students who are attracted in such large numbers to the Muir Central College. This help is needed to enable the MacDonnell Hindu



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Boarding House to be completed. Even after it has been completed there will still be need for more accommodation for students than will be available there.

More immediately pressing than even education is the need of sanitation in these provinces. The thanks of the public are due to the Government of India and to your Honour's Government for the relief which has been given to municipalities generally by their being relieved of half the police charges borne by them and for the greater relief which has been given to those municipalities whose resources are crippled by large water-works or drainage schemes. I have no doubt that this sum will help the Municipalities greatly to improve the sanitation of their areas, and later on to make better provision for education. The public will also feel thankful that a sum of three lakhs has been given to the Lucknow Municipality as a contribution towards its drainage scheme. I wish, Sir, that a similar favour were conferred upon the Allahabad Municipality. Your Honour is aware that during three years Allahabad has had to mourn the loss of over 15,000 of its inhabitants on account of plague. And your Honour is also aware that plague has been most virulent in those parts of the city where sanitation, is most unsatisfactory for want of a good drainage scheme. Since the water-works were introduced, dampness has much increased in Allahabad.



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When these works were started, it was contemplated that there should be a drainage scheme also carried out. A scheme was actually prepared during the time of Mr. Porter, which was to cost between six to seven lakhs of rupees. But as the money could not be raised, the scheme was abandoned. The Government have rightly recognised that help to large but poor municipalities for a scheme of drainage is a legitimate charge upon the public revenues. Indeed, the more the sanitation of places like Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, Agra and Cawnpore is improved, the less will be the danger of epidemics breaking out at these large centres of population, and the lesser the chance of the province being overrun by such epidemics. I hope your Honour's Government may yet see your way to secure or extend the needed help to the Allahabad Municipality for scheme of drainage similar to what has been given to Lucknow. Not only do these large municipalities stand in need of help, but so also do the smaller municipalities. From Saharanpur in the west to Gorakhpur in the east, there are few municipalities in which there is not need for a large and systematic measures for improvement, and I hope that, in addition to the relief that has been given to them, your Honour will be pleased in the interest of the general sanitation of the provinces, to grant them such further help as may be possible.



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I come now to the question of plague expenditure. Four lakhs were budgeted for as the cost of plague preventive measure last year; three lakhs only have been allotted this year. Out of the four lakhs allotted last year it is stated that, in pursuance of the policy of treating sanitation as the main line of defence, two lakhs were transferred to the Civil Works Budget to be placed at the disposal of the poor municipalities and large towns, to enable them to set their houses in order against plague. I venture to submit that in view of the increasing havoc which plague has been making and the larger area that has been attacked by it, the allotment for plague should have been increased instead of being decreased. It was very kind of the Government to help the Lucknow, Cawnpore and Allahabad Municipalities to bear the burden of plague charges by grants aggregating to Rs. 66,000. If the municipalities are to take any effective measures to combat plague and if the sums, which have become available to them by their being relieved of police charges, are to go to improve the sanitation of the areas of those municipalities, it is necessary that the Government should bear the burden of the whole of the plague charges. Our Municipalities are unfortunately poor and can ill afford to meet this calamitous extraordinary expenditure from their limited resources, and I feel that if the Government



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does not help them they will not be able to do their duty by the people at this terrible crisis. It is stated in the budget that the Government looks to improved sanitation as a defence against plague. In order that this should be so, what are the municipalities required to do? There is no doubt that filth is recognised as one of the prime factors in the production and propagation of most of the devastating plague known to mankind. Medical authorities also lay down that 'the study of epidemic and endemic diseases generally has brought to light an array of facts which strongly suggest that an intimate association exists between the soil and the appearance and propagation of certain diseases.' To minimise, therefore, the conditions which favour the appearance and propagation of plague in our towns and districts, it is necessary that measures should be adopted to secure that the soil of inhabited areas shall be dry and healthy, and to provide against the pollution of it and through it against the contamination of both water and air. To secure these results, arrangements are needed for removing at the earliest possible opportunity all the excreta and other effete matters; and in order that this may be most effectively done it is necessary that conservancy tram-ways should be laid in every, or at least every large, municipality, and that incinerators should be employed to destroy the sweepings of the town. The second thing needed is a good



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system of drainage which should drain off effectually all the refuse water of the town. Where no general scheme of drainage may be feasible, it is at least necessary that the present insanitary drains of many towns should be replaced by pakka drains. All this means large expenditure and can only be carried out if Government will guide and help municipalities liberally.

I should mention here that it is essential that, whatever system of drainage should be devised, care should be taken to see that the sewage of the towns does not discharge into the rivers. This is necessary, both in order that the sewage should be utilized for fertilizing land, and also to prevent the pollution of the rivers which are the sources of the water-supply of all our large towns and of the numerous other towns which are situated along their banks. Since the water-works were introduced the drainage of several towns has been pouring in increasing measure into the rivers and poisoning them. Millions of people drink the water of these streams and bathe in them. And the pollution of the water not only gives offence but is considered to be a source of danger. An eminent doctor, Dr. Frankland, stated it as his opinion before the Royal commission that 'when water is once contaminated with sewage there is no process to which it is afterwards subjected which will effectively remove all



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that sewage contamination from the water; filtration will not do it in certain cases at all events.' Sir Benjamin Brodie also said that 'the injurious character of water impregnated with sewage matter might not be discovered for years, you might go on using it for years and it might not be discovered, and yet you might have some outbreak of disease in the place which nevertheless might be connected with the use of that sewage water.'

The attention of the Government was drawn to the necessity for preventing the pollution of the rivers by the inhabitants of Allahabad in 1894, and my friend, the Hon'ble Rajah Rampal Singh, drew the attention of the Government to it again by a question which he put in the Council in 1897. The Government was pleased to say that on a suitable representation being made the matter would be taken into consideration. I submit, Sir, that the time has come when this question should receive attention. I hope that your Honour will be pleased to consider the desirability of legislation to prevent the pollution of our beneficent streams on the lines of the River Pollution Acts passed in England and Scotland. The pollution of the river has, during the last three years, been aggravated by the enormous number of corpses of persons who have died of plague being thrown into them. What that number has been I am not in a position to say, but I should not be sur-



prised if a lakh of corpses has been so thrown into the rivers. The Municipal Board of Allahabad have been doing a great deal by the free supply of fuel and in other ways to see that corpses should be burnt. But still I fear that a large number of corpses have been thrown into the river. It is apprehended that this pollution is a distinct danger, and I hope this matter also will receive your Honour's consideration.

And this brings me to the very important question of the policy of Government in regard to plague. I believe over two lakhs of the people of these provinces have been carried away by plague during the last three years. It is heart-rending to read that nearly ten thousand of our fellowmen are falling victims every week to this disease in these Provinces. No comfort can be derived from the fact that altogether forty thousand souls are perishing from the same cause every week throughout the country. Apart from the appalling loss of life, it is distressing to think of the misery and suffering which it leaves behind. Who can describe the grief of aged parents who have lost their only son, of little children who have lost their parents, of the thousands of young women who have been condemned to widowhood and of those who have lost dear friends and relations? Is there no resisting the march of this enemy of mankind? Are not the resources of our Government which made such a splendid organization



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and rescued millions from the jaws of death during the late famines, equal to arrest the progress of this enemy or to mitigate the sufferings it inflicts? Cannot the Government and the public combine to check the ravages of the disease? Shall we give no succour to the people in this hour of distress? These are some of the questions which are suggested by the situation we find ourselves in and which call for an answer. I read, Sir, in the financial statement that the policy of regarding sanitation as the main line of defence has been adopted. I hope this does not mean that no other measures are to be adopted by Government either to arrest or to combat the disease. It will take years to so improve the sanitation of towns as to make the recurrence of plague impossible; and of what avail will that sanitation be to people who will fall victims to plague in the meantime? I believe, Sir, that it is impossible to reduce the mortality from plague to between 5 to 10 per cent of its present number if the Government will be pleased to consider what are the best measures to check the spread of the disease and to see that they are carried out. I know, Sir, that you sympathise deeply with the sufferings of the people entrusted to your care, and I believe that you will be pleased to consider any feasible scheme which may be devised to minimise their sufferings and their loss. And I therefore feel encouraged to suggest one for your consideration.



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Of the four methods adopted to combat plague, I do not wish to say much of inoculation. A portion of the educated public have much faith in it, and though I wish that every facility should be given to help them to obtain it, I do not expect that the people at large will take to it in any considerable number; and we cannot therefore rely upon it as a measure of general protection. Next to this comes disinfection. Experience in Allahabad has proved that when it is properly and thoroughly carried out it has some efficacy in checking the disease; particularly it is useful in stamping out the disease when it is confined to a few houses or to a limited area. But experience has also shown that it is very difficult to secure that disinfection should be thoroughly carried out, the process is very costly and the effects disappear after a time. Medical aid is helpful generally only when a case of illness is reported at once and the services of a competent doctor secured. It ought not to be impossible to make arrangements to secure such aid when the Government and the people combine to do so. And there is not the least doubt, as the experience of the last three years has shown, that the educated public are everywhere willing to co-operate with the district authorities in combating plague.

But speaking from the experience of the last three years I venture to say that the measure which affords



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the greatest protection, indeed, I may say absolute protection, from plague is evacuation. This measure, which experience has shown to be the most effective means of escaping from plague, is also one that is recommended by Hindu religious authorities. You were pleased, Sir, to visit the health camps which were erected last year and the year before last at Allahabad. And you will be pleased to hear that every soul that took shelter in that camp found itself absolutely safe from plague. The experience gained this year in Allahabad has much more strongly proved that a health camp is the surest and best means of protecting the lives of the people. Owing to some unfortunate causes into which it is not necessary to enter here—the health camp was started at Allahabad this year at a time when the outbreak had assumed serious proportions and was claiming a large number of victims day by day. And people came to the camp from all parts of the city where plague was raging virulently. Yet, except in the case of one or perhaps two families who came in after they had been infected and who were removed to the plague hospital as soon as it was known that they had been attacked by the disease, there was not a single death from plague and indeed, so far as I know from any other cause in the health camp during these three years. There are about a hundred and fifty huts with enclosures for the



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zenana in the health camp this year at Allahabad. Now. Sir, these huts no doubt cost a good deal, and the cost of erecting them every year will be large. I therefore propose a scheme which will be a permanent one and therefore cheaper in the end.

3 Plague never comes without a warning. The dying of rats gives us that warning. It never spreads in all parts of the city or in every house in a mohalla at once. Generally it discloses itself in one house in a mohalla and then travels slowly on to other houses. It has been noted that it works out its ravages in one mohalla before it goes on to another. It has also been proved that the disease is generally imported from one town or city to another, and also from one mohalla to another. The three years of sorrow and suffering have taught the people generally to understand that timely evacuation of an infected house or area is the best means of escape from the disease. Generally speaking, there is plenty of open land within the limits of every municipality. I propose that every municipality should build fifty houses on approved sanitary plans, each apart from the other but forming small mohallas or model villages. On the first intimation of the appearance of plague in a mohalla all the people of the mohalla would be persuaded to remove into one or two of the blocks of houses so built, and to remain there until the houses in the mohalla



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were thoroughly disinfected and the disease stamped out. If the disease broke out in the two or three mohallas, the houses would suffice to accommodate the inhabitants of the infected area. For large cities like Allahabad, Benares, Cawnpore and Lucknow we should have 200 such houses built. In addition to these, private individuals should be encouraged to build houses on approved plans outside the city. In this way a sufficiently large number of houses would be available for shelter from plague. As the facts become known, people will gladly avail themselves of these places of protection. It will be impossible that the disease should spread largely in all parts of a town or city. There will be little necessity left for people to migrate from one town to another, and altogether the chances of the spread of the disease will be minimised. The scheme, Sir, will no doubt be a costly one, but considering the amount of money that the Government and the Municipal Boards will otherwise have to spend in plague measures year after year, I venture to say that it will be economical in the long run. It will also save municipalities against the loss which the large mortality from plague must inflict upon them and the loss which occurs in their income whenever plague comes virulent in their city. The saving of life which it is calculated to effect is, of course, the strongest recommendation of the scheme, and judged from every point of view it



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will, I venture to say, be found to be the best insurance against plague. I hope the scheme will receive that consideration from your Honour's Government and Municipal Boards which it deserves.

There is one other matter in the financial statement to which I beg briefly to refer. It is stated that the large growth of the Excise revenue is evidence of the continued prosperity of the people. I regret, Sir, I cannot agree with the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary in that view. There are no signs to indicate that the condition of the people is generally improving. Trade has admittedly diminished. Income-tax receipts have fallen. I am afraid the growth in the excise revenue is most likely due to the fact that liquor shops have been multiplied and temptation brought to the doors of the people. I am also afraid that the evil habit of drink is growing upon the people. This is a matter which requires the serious attention of the Government and I hope it will receive it.

There are certain grievances relating to the public services which it is also my duty to bring to your Honour's notice. There is, I understand, a large saving to the Government from the administration of civil justice in these Provinces. I hope the Government will be pleased to consider the desirability of strengthening the staff and improving the pay and



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prospects of the Subordinate Judicial Service. There is a congestion of work in several districts, and the whole arrangement about the distribution of work requires examination. Promotion is also very slow, particularly among Munsiffs, and I fear that unless the pay and prospects of the service are improved and are placed on the same footing as those of the Subordinate Executive Service, the service will cease to attract the kind of men that should be attracted to it.

There has for a long time, been a standing complaint in many department in these Provinces that undue preference is shown to Eurasians and domiciled Europeans in making appointments and promotions to posts for which they are eligible in common with Indians. This complaint finds a remarkable verification in many offices foremost among which are the English departments of the General Branch of the Government Secretariat and the office of the Board of Revenue and Commissioners of divisions. In these offices all posts carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards are held exclusively by Eurasians and domiciled Europeans, mostly the former. These posts should under the standing orders of the Government of India be held exclusively by Indians. These orders, to which I was referred in reply to my question in connection with this subject at the last meeting of this Council require that no person, other than a native of India,



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shall be appointed to an office carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month or upwards without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council in each case, unless the proposed appointment falls under one or other of the following conditions. The appointments excluded from the operation of these orders are those reserved for the members of the Covenanted Civil Service and officers appointed by the Secretary of State and the Governor-General and the higher appointments in the Opium, Salt, Customs, Survey, Mint, Public Works and Police departments. As regards these departments, it is expressly said that "The Governor-General in Council does not wish that the offices in these departments should be in any way reserved for the Europeans and hopes that it may be possible to appoint natives of India more and more freely to higher appointments in these departments. Now it is proved that Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians are classed as statutory natives of India and are not debarred from appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards. But this does not mean, Sir, that they are the only natives of India to be appointed to these posts and that Hindus and Muhammadans are to be excluded. No reasonable man would object to a fair share of these appointments being given to duly qualified Eurasians and domiciled Europeans. But allowing them to monopolize appointments which the



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Government of India found it necessary to reserve for Indians by special orders has unquestionably the appearance of a practical disregard of those orders.

There would be no complaints or objections if Eurasians and domiciled Europeans were treated as being on the same footing with other natives of India in the matter of appointments and promotions. Things are not so bad in other provinces as they are here, so far as appointments in English offices are concerned. In the Bengal Secretariat there are 29 appointments with salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards. Of these, 22 are held by Indians and 7 by Europeans or Eurasians. In the Bengal Board of Revenue there are 12 such appointments, of these 9 are held by Indians and 3 by Eurasians or Europeans. In the Madras Secretariat there are 11 such posts, 6 held by Indians and 5 by Eurasians or Europeans. In the Madras Board of Revenue there are 8 such posts all held by Indians. In the Bombay Secretariat there are 17 such posts, 11 held by Indians and 6 by Eurasians or Europeans. In the United Provinces there are 15 such posts in the English department of the General Secretariat all of which are held by Eurasians or Europeans. The same is the case with the 7 such posts in the office of the Board of Revenue and 9 posts in the offices of the Commissioners of divisions.

The exclusion of Indians from these offices cannot be justified on the ground of the absence of qualified men



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There is no lack of educated men in these Provinces who could efficiently discharge the duties of these posts. One of the most efficient, if not the most efficient of the larger offices in these Provinces, is the Accountant-General's office. The work of that office is, generally speaking, more intricate and taxing than that of other offices. But most of the superintendents in that office are Indians only 2 being Eurasians. The General Branch in the Government Secretariat is divided into two services superior and inferior, the former rising from Rs. 40 to Rs. 600 and the latter from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100. Hindus and Muhammadans are admitted so rarely to the Superior service that it has come to be regarded as a Eurasian and European service not to be aspired to by Indians. Complaints are often heard that Hindus and Muhammadans of superior educational qualifications rarely find admittance to English offices generally, that the few who do find entrance into such offices do not prosper. However able and efficient they may be, and that in the matter of promotion, Europeans are preferred to Eurasians, and Eurasians to Indians.

These complaints are by no means confined, Sir, to English officers. The inequalities in the treatment of the Indians as compared with Europeans and Eurasians is no less marked in the Education Department. The promotions of European and Eurasian schoolmasters is far quicker than that of Indians of



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equal or better qualifications. Instances may be found of able and efficient Indians of long standing in English offices and in the Education Department working on meagre salaries, while Europeans and Eurasians of much shorter standing and possessed of more superior qualifications are in receipt of two or three times the pay drawn by such Indians. The Court of Wards is another department in which Indians are rarely employed in higher posts, and most of such appointments are bestowed on Europeans. So far as I am aware there are only 4 Hindus and Muhammadans at present employed as Special Managers in these Provinces on salaries ranging between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300, while I believe there are over a dozen European Special Managers drawing salaries ranging between Rs. 300 and Rs. 600. I should think that Europeans are not particularly suited for appointment as special Managers, for they have often to deal with Indian ladies whose habits, customs, and feelings they do not often understand. Mistake made and offences given may not always come to the notice of the Government, but they do occur and give rise to complaints.

It appears from the remarks made on the statistics quoted by the Honourable Rai Sri Ram Bahadur in his Budget speech in the Governor-General's Council regarding the rare appointments of Indians in or their entire exclusion from higher posts in what



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are called the minor services, *viz.*, the Police, Public Works, Forests, Opium, Salt and Survey department, that little or nothing has been done in these Provinces to give effect to the hope expressed by the Government of India 'that it may be possible to appoint natives of India more and more freely in these departments.' It is evidenced from the very fact of the Government of India having found it necessary to promulgate orders, such as those to which I have referred and from the wording of those orders, that that Government had noticed a tendency on the part of officers having the power of dispensing public patronage to show undue preference to Euroyceans. The manner in which Hindus and Muhammadans are being debarr-ed from higher appointments in these provinces shows that even the promulgation of those orders has proved ineffectual. It is to be hoped, Sir, that your Honour's Government will be pleased to take steps to secure that appointments and promotions are made on just and unimpeachable principles, and that there remain no valid grounds for complaints such as those which I have felt it my duty to bring to your Honour's notice.

A system of competitive examinations would perhaps afford the greatest safe-guard against complaints of undue preference being shown to one class over another, and against injustice being done to individuals. But I regret that instead of that system being extended



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it has been abolished even in the matter of the appointment of a few Deputy Collectors. That abolition, I beg leave to say, Sir, has caused much disappointment among a large section of the educated public. I requested at the last meeting of the Council that the Government might be pleased to publish the correspondence which passed between the Government of these provinces and the Government of India at the time that system was introduced and when it was abolished. But the Government declined to do so. And the public are yet in the dark as to the reasons which led to the abolition of that system. In England the system of open competitive examinations was introduced because it was desired "to get rid of patronage with the solicitation and trouble attending it, and, secondly, to secure the ablest men which the situations could command, and I venture to say that if it had been given a longer trial it would have proved to be equally successful here. I am emboldened to say so, because of the personal knowledge I have of the ability and character of many of the young men who have entered the service through open competition. It is too early I know, to expect a change in this direction but I venture to hope that a change will come.

I have pointed out, Sir, only some of the many reforms and improvements which are needed in these provinces. It is clear that most of these



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require money and I fear that the settlement which has been made will not enable this Government to make such contributions towards them as must be made if they are to be carried out. I therefore think, Sir, that it is our clear-duty to approach the Government of India with a fresh representation of our needs and to pray for further grants. (There is need in these provinces for large measures of improvement, for liberal expenditure, for the great humanitarian endeavour to uplift the people from their present pitiable condition; to rescue them from ignorance and poverty and its concomitants, misery and crime; to raise them, in short to a higher standard of living and thinking so as to make their condition a matter of satisfaction to all lovers of huminity and a matter of congratulation and pride to the great Civilized Power which has been entrusted, with the task of guiding their destinies.) I hope Sir, that under your Honour's large-hearted leader-ship and guidance the Government and educated public will combine to bring about these much desired results, and I believe that if we all act earnestly our efforts will be blessed with success.



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The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in March 1906 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor Sir James John Digges Latouche K. C. S. I.

YOUR HONOUR,—For the abolition of the patwari rate and the local rate fund, the people feel grateful to the Government of India; as also for the assignments which have been made for University education for agricultural development for police reform and for technical education. Indeed gratitude is felt for every pie of taxation taken off the head of the people, and for every pie added to the Provincial funds, even by way of assignments. But these features of the budget apart, the financial statements which has been laid before the Council, affords most depressing reading. The prevailing note of the Statement is an earnest complaint that the Government of India do not allow the Local Government to appropriate a sufficient portion of the revenues of these Provinces for purposes which bear directly upon the progress of the people, and that the Local Government cannot, under existing financial arrangements do



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its duty by the people. The attention of the Government of India has repeatedly been drawn to this fact. In the last General Administration Report of the United Provinces, your Honour's Government urged that the Provinces had a strong claim to further assistance from the Imperial finance. Again, in the debate on the Imperial Budget in the Supreme Legislative Council, the official representative of these Provinces pressed the necessity of a reconsideration of the financial settlement. While acknowledging that the new contract is more favourable to the Provinces than its predecessor was, the Hon'ble Mr. Porter pointed out that the portion of Provincial revenues which these Provinces are permitted to spend, is still insufficient to carry on the administration with reasonable efficiency, and to carry out reforms which are urgently needed. 'The truth is', said Mr. Porter, 'that the Provincial income is insufficient for Provincial needs. This fact will have to be faced sooner or later. In the interest of the Provinces, the sooner it is faced the better.' The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur pleaded equally earnestly for a fairer and more liberal allotment of funds for these Provinces. But the Government of India failed to recognise the gravity of the situation. And now we find that the Financial Secretary to the Government has been driven to declare, in the statement laid before the Council, in terms as clear and emphatic as could be



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used, that "we cannot go on further without an improvement of our income," 'that the budget makes provision for only the bare needs of the Province;' and that we have clearly not enough for our needs. And this is the cry of the Provinces which contribute more largely than almost any other Province to the Imperial Government! This is no new complaint either. Year after year the representatives of these Provinces have been urging, both in the Supreme Council and here, a fairer distribution of the Provincial Revenues between the Imperial and the Local Governments. But their complaints have not received much consideration. It is not at all to be wondered at that a Province which has to contribute so much more in the shape of taxes, and which receives so much less out of its contributions for its advancement than other Provinces, should be the most backward of Provinces in the Indian Empire, or that the condition of its people should be so deplorable as it is.

How weak that condition is, is painfully evidenced by the fact, that the people are not able to withstand the effects of the failure of a single crop without assistance from the State, and that they fall such easy victims to plague. Famines and scarcity are unfortunately now of such frequent occurrence that we have to be prepared for their periodical visitations. It is estimated that the expenditure on famine relief of last year would



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amount to 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. There are now eight districts in which the existence of famine has been officially recognised, and 20 lakhs has been provided for relief in the present budget. I listened with painful interest to the statement made by the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary and the Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds regarding the measures which have been adopted by the Government to save the people from starvation. It is a great relief to know that so much is being done to relieve the sufferings of the people, and I feel grateful to the Government for it. But it is distressing to think that the condition of the people should be so weak that vast numbers of them should be driven to throw themselves on the help of State on the failure of a single season of rain.

It is clearly desirable that such improvement should be effected in the circumstances of the people that they should be able to tide over a season of adversity without Government aid. Towards this end there are three matters to which I would beg leave to invite attention. The first is a moderation of assessment. The pressure on land is undoubtedly heavier than it should be. It does not leave the toiling cultivator a sufficient portion of the fruits of his labour. And no efforts to effect a real improvement to his condition will succeed until the assessment on land is reduced. In this connection I might draw attention to the remarks of the Indian Famine Commission of 1901, which was presided over



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by Your Honour's illustrious predecessor, Sir Antony Mac Donnell. At page 106 of their report they say:—

"Our instructions permit us to record any recommendations or opinions which it is thought may be of use in anticipation of future famines. Nothing can be more useful in anticipation of famine than improvements in the material condition of the cultivators, whereby they may be enabled to withstand the pressure of hard times; and nothing more impedes such improvements than an agrarian system under which the cultivators fail to reap the full fruits of their industry and are kept in a state of indebtedness."

"It seems clear to me that the burden on land must be lightened before we can expect the cultivators to enjoy a healthy and happy existence.

Besides a moderation of assessment more extended irrigation and a great encouragement of industries are the measures which are most urgently needed to ensure the people against the miseries of famine. In his valuable book on "Indian Polity", Mr. Chesney remarked many years ago: "droughts have occurred in India so frequently that their recurrence before long, in some part or other of the country is reasonable to be expected; and famine, as the certain effect of droughts, can be prevented by irrigation. Here, then, is clearly one of the most important duties that can be placed before the Government of any State. The task is one



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that only the Government can undertake, for it is not merely to carry out projects which promise to be remunerative in the ordinary sense of the word; it is to extend irrigation whithersoever irrigation may be possible throughout the country. Till that is done, and the danger of famine has been guarded against to the fullest possible extent, the English in India may replace anarchy by peace and may distribute equal justice and remove ignorance, but it cannot be said that they have fulfilled their whole duty by the people of the country." More than three decades have passed since this was written, but the remarks are as true now as they then were. I acknowledge, with gratitude, what has been done during the time that has since elapsed in the way of irrigation, and feel thankful for what is being done in the present. But I submit that a great deal more could have been done and should be done in the near future. Besides canals there is great room for increased irrigation by tanks and wells. It has long been recognised in this country that it is the duty of the King to have tanks constructed in all parts of his territories to afford an easy means of irrigation on the failure of the rains. Thus we find Maharishi Narad inquiring of King Yudhisthira whether he had large and full tanks constructed in suitable places in all parts of his empire, as agriculture did not depend on the rains alone.



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The Indian Famine Commission of 1901 recently drew attention to the urgent necessity for constructing more wells and tanks. At page 103 of their report, they said :—

“ We have carefully considered this question in the light of the grievous misfortunes which have within recent years afflicted Upper India. Our enquiries demonstrate that there is a field for the construction of wells, tanks and other artificial means of irrigation to which it would be difficult to assign a limit.”

It had been forcibly brought home to them as it had been to the Commission of 1880 that the terms on which loans were offered for the said purposes did not attract owners of land to make more than a partial use of the opportunities held out to them. And being convinced that nothing short of a permanent exemption will stimulate the owners of land to that full activity which is on every ground so greatly to be desired, the Commission recommended ‘that in all future settlements any increase of assets due to the construction, otherwise that at the expense of the state, of wells, tanks or other artificial sources of irrigation should be permanently exempted from assessment of revenue.’ I hope these remarks have received the attention they deserve. I note that there is a provision of one lakh in the present budget for tanks in Bundelkhand. But there, is need for much more money to



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be spent both on tanks and wells, if sufficient means of artificial irrigation are to be made available to the people.

There is a third remedy which must be adopted if the evil effects of famine are to be fully guarded against, and that is a great encouragement of industries. The Famine Commission of 1878 pointed out that the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies in the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population. The famines that have since occurred have emphasised this sad fact. But it is to be regretted that not much has yet been done to introduce a diversity of pursuits among the people which might draw away a portion of the population from agriculture, and train them to earn their living by means of manufactures. Until this is done the present economic situation cannot be radically improved, and I hope that the Government will be pleased to take the matter into its early consideration. It goes without saying that the Government can do a great deal more than any private individuals or body of individuals to promote industrial development. That the government ought to do so is coming more and more to be realised. I would draw attention in this connection to a portion of the very instructive and hope-inspiring speech of



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the Member for Commerce and Industry recently delivered in the Viceroy's Council. The hon'ble Mr. Hewett said :—

“The Madras Government have recently taken the lead in establishing what is practically a Government Agency for the fostering and improving of the Indian industries. The success which has been attained in developing the aluminium industry and the chrome leather industry by Mr. Chatterton is a good augury for further developments in the improvement of the industries in the south of India. We hope that the other Local Governments will now make survey of the state of indigenous industries within the areas of their jurisdiction, with a view to ascertaining the exact state of the various industries and handicrafts the amount of the earnings and the present condition of the artisans respectively employed in them, the precise manner in which the different industries have been affected by competition with imported articles the practicability of creating new markets or of developing markets which already exist, and the possibility of giving a new lease of life to these industries either by means of special instructions, or by the improvement of the appliances in use. It is not too much to hope that something tangible may be done to improve their efficiency, and increase their scope by re-organizing them on modern lines.”



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In these Provinces among other industries the glass industry is one which might well be fostered by the Government.

It is now universally recognised as a part of the duty of a civilised Government to save the people not only from starvation but also from pestilence. The authors of ancient Hindu polity laid it down many thousand years ago as one of the important duties of a King. *Apastamba* says :—

“That none shall suffer in his territories within his knowledge from starvation disease, exposure to cold or sun, by reason of destitution.” And among the enquiries which Narada addressed to Yudhisthira regarding the discharge of his duties as a King, he asked :—

“Do you protect your empire from the danger from fire, from snakes, from disease and from evil spirits?” It is most unfortunate that these Provinces are exposed at present both to famine and pestilence. The deaths from plague are still appalling; its ravages are still frightful. Can nothing be done to save the people from it? I notice with regret that plague expenditure has been reduced in the current budget. It seems to me that there is room for a great deal of expenditure to check the spread of the disease and to minimise its evils. I do not know why health camps, similar to those that have proved so successful in saving life at Allaha-



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bad, are not established in other districts. They have afforded the most absolute protection to those who have sought shelter in them. Your Honour yourself has seen some of these camps, and I do hope that the erection of such camps will be encouraged more than it has been in the past. If arrangements are made for lighting and the supply of water and for Police protection, people will willingly resort to them. It is also very desirable that the establishment of model bustees and villages should be encouraged. As plenty of open land is available in villages, it would not be difficult to erect such model bustees there. Since Your Honour's Government declared three years ago that sanitation would be in the main line of defence against plague, it has become even more important than before that the sanitation of both our towns and villages should be greatly improved. This cannot satisfactorily be done without grants from the Provincial revenues. The sums which become available to Municipal Boards by their being relieved of police charges have been mostly absorbed by plague expenditure and other charges, and the funds at the disposal of the Board do not, generally speaking permit of any extensive sanitary improvements within their areas. The death-rate in towns is higher than in villages. The water works which have been introduced in many important towns have not proved to be an



unmixed evil; indeed, in some places, they have affected the health of the locality adversely. Unless a proper system of drainage is introduced, the health of these towns will not be what it should be; and this cannot be brought about without help for the Government. Benares acted as boldly as any Municipality could in taking up a very costly scheme of drainage but it has come to the end of its resources. The scheme of drainage cannot be carried out to completion there for want of funds. Benares cannot even borrow more money to complete its drainage, because it cannot increase its taxation. Allahabad has suffered grievously from plague. A system of drainage is badly wanted there. Many years ago a complete scheme of drainage was devised when Mr. Porter was the Collector there, which was calculated to cost 6 lakhs. It was not carried out because funds were not available. If it had been carried out, Allahabad might have escaped part at least of the heavy loss of life which it has suffered within the last three years. I am told that the Municipal Board of Allahabad is likely to apply soon for a loan of two lakhs to carry out a part of a scheme of drainage. It is obviously much to be desired that a complete scheme be carried into execution as early as may be practicable. But this can only be done if the Government will help the Board with funds. Besides these larger Municipalities, the smaller Municipalities also



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stand in need of help from Government to improve their sanitation. Plague is a disease closely connected with the soil. The paving of lanes, the opening up of congested localities, the construction of pakka drains, are all necessary to secure a healthy soil, and all these require money. Your Honour's Government has not got the money to help to bring about an improvement in the sanitation of the Provinces. Unless the Government of India permit you to appropriate a larger portion of the revenues raised from taxation in these Provinces, the needs of the Provinces cannot be met even in such a vital matter as sanitation. I find that one lakh has been set apart in the budget for drainage in villages. Little improvement can be effected with such a small sum.

The needs of the provinces in the matter of education next claim attention. I tender my thanks to the Government for the grants it has made for education. But I regret to say they are grossly insufficient. Let us first take up University education. When the Report of the University Commission was published, there was a widespread belief that the beginning of a Teaching University would be made by endowing a few chairs at the seat of the Allahabad University. It is believed that a scheme was prepared, and that it received Your Honour's approval. It was estimated that an expenditure of a lakh or a lakh and a half



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would have enabled Your Honour's Government to make a fair beginning. But the scheme has been given up because the money has not been forthcoming. The Government of India have no doubt given us small temporary grants for University education, which they have ear-marked for special purpose. But they have not given us a grant wherewith to make the beginning of a Teaching University, and the hopes that had been raised in that respect have been sorely disappointed. In the matter of secondary education our position is not more satisfactory. In reviewing the last report on Public Instruction, Your Honour was pleased to point out that a recurring increase of expenditure of eight lakhs of rupees per annum and a non-recurring expenditure of $14\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees is required to meet schemes which are ready and only waiting for funds, and that this sum was required for reforms which were most urgently needed. Your Honour declared at the same time that such an expenditure was beyond the means of the Local Government. It is regrettable that the Government of India have not thought it fit to help this Government even with the small sum named above. In the matter of Primary Education our needs are still greater. The learned Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Lewis who deserves our thanks for having laboured strenuously to promote education as far as was possible, with



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such means as were placed at his disposal, has very ably drawn a comparison between the position of education in these Provinces and that in the sister Provinces, and has made a most earnest and eloquent appeal for larger grants for education for these Provinces. I cannot do better than reproduce Mr. Lewis' remarks here. After pointing out that of all the larger divisions of India, the United Provinces remain the least favoured, having only Rs. 80 per thousand of the population for expenditure on education, while Bombay which stands at the other end of the scale finds Rs. 245 per thousand of the population for the same purpose. Mr. Lewis remarks :—"It is scarcely reasonable to expect education to be spread so widely, or if as widely spread, to be so efficient in a province with a small public expenditure as in another which spends more than three times the amount in proportion to the population. To remove the inequality and to raise the United Provinces up to the Bombay standard of liberality, we need to increase our public expenditure on education from 38 lakhs (the amount shown in my last report with our share of the 35 lakhs grant added) to 117 lakhs, i.e. we ought to come in for a further provision of nearly 80 lakhs a year on the supposition that progressive Bombay stands still: but, allowing for the inevitable expansion there, it would seem, that measures are called for to spend in these Provinces