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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE statement issued by the Indian Association, Calcutta, on the Government of India's dispatch of March 5 is an admirable document. It goes into most of the important alterations suggested by the Government and proves to the hilt that, while preserving the outer framework of the scheme of the Joint Report, they practically kill the scheme in the so-called attempt to make it workable. The Government of India reject the unitary scheme proposed by the local Governments, but they themselves propose instead another unitary scheme which the Indian Association has no hesitation in rejecting with scorn. The modifications proposed by them "are fatal to the realisation of responsible government" promised in the announcement; their scheme "does not represent any substantial advance on the existing Minto-Morley system," and "it is calculated to perpetuate the rule of the bureaucracy in the country." The Association had given general support to the proposals in the Joint Report as constituting a substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in terms of the declaration of 1917, but now feels constrained to characterise the Government of India's recommendations as "constituting a breach of faith" with the Indian people "to which His Majesty's Government ought not to be a party."

THE Secretary of State for India has at last thought it fit to appoint a Currency Exchange Committee on which Mr. Montagu is satisfied that all the interests concerned are duly represented. It may be confidently asserted that no one dare charge the Secretary of State with having forced the pace in this matter and hurried on an enquiry

which could have conveniently waited for a few months more. We have patiently watched the exchange and currency movements of the world and the steps discussed and contemplated in other countries for the rehabilitation of their currency systems; and the time is now supposed to be ripe for an inquiry into our own affairs. The Indian Committee will sit in London and will examine witnesses. Its instructions are obviously to examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice and to consider whether in the light of recent experience any modifications thereof are necessary. Apparently to ensure that the basic principle of the existing system may not be departed from as a result of the changes likely to be recommended, the Secretary of State has taken care to add that the Committee should keep before its eyes the maintenance of 'a stable gold exchange standard' as an important object to be attained.

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THIS term of reference will dispel the fear haunting the mind of some people that India's exchange standard may be tampered with and the adoption of a gold standard as the goal of Indian currency policy may be recommended. We had thought that there would be no dispute with regard to a gold standard being looked upon as an ideal to be attained in due course by India as it has been achieved in other advanced countries; but it seems that though self-government within the Empire has come to be recognised as India's goal, an exchange standard is supposed to be quite enough for her. Certain correspondents writing in the *Times of India* on this subject have, in their hurry to bolster up the exchange standard, not cared even to note the serious difference between it and the systems of other countries as also the efforts the latter are making to restore this gold standard to a normal, sound condition. In criticising Prof. Kale's plan in favour of a gradual evolution of the Indian system on the lines of England and other countries, Mr. S. J. Panandikar, for instance, airily observes that, the foremost countries of the world have abandoned the gold standard and adopted the gold exchange standard. May we quote one sentence from the first interim report of the Committee on Currency and Foreign Exchanges after the war appointed in England in January last year to show that nations do not strive for tinsel, when the genuine article is worth having and attainable? The report says:

"In our opinion, it is imperative that after the war the conditions necessary to the maintenance of an effective gold standard should be restored without delay." An 'effective gold standard' does not, anyway, look like a gold exchange standard.

THE campaign against the Press is in full swing. The *Hindu* and the *Swadeshmitran*, who have served the Madras Presidency so well and so faithfully, have been placed under a security, the pre-censorship imposed upon the *Bombay Chronicle*, in addition to the action taken against its former editor, Mr. Horniman, is not yet withdrawn, again, the maximum security of Rs. 10,000 is demanded from it, and several other papers up and down the country have been punished under the Press Act. That maximum security allowed under the law is found necessary in the case of a paper which is already being issued under the eye of the authorities shows how jealous the officials are of honour of the Indian Press! Protests are being sent up from everywhere against the application of the Act in all individual cases, and opinion is crystallising every day and gaining in strength against an Act which admits of such indiscriminate and unjust action.

ONE need only go through the alleged incriminating paragraphs and articles in the *Tribune* to be convinced of the serious miscarriage of justice from which Mr. Kali Nath Roy has suffered at the hands of the Martial Law Commission. They show of course an independence of mind which Indians have learnt to associate with Mr. Roy, but they show also a scrupulous regard for truth, an earnest effort to be fair and a studious avoidance of intemperate language which also are his characteristics. It would be well to follow the Commission in their discussion of the offending passages, for although the instructions issued to them are said to have precluded a lengthy judgment (!) we are assured that no important point has been passed by. Those who fell victims to the firing at Delhi are represented in two news paragraphs as 'martyrs,' and the Commission have fastened the responsibility for this admittedly 'unfortunate' word upon the editor, on the only ground that it appears in a headline, which the Commission have without warrant assumed to be of the editor's devising. Even if the assumption is well-founded, the terrible inference which the Commission draw from the fact that the news of a relief and memorial fund for those wounded at Delhi was styled a memorial fund instead of a relief fund is not valid.

THE paragraph (in the issue of May 8) in which the Commission see an accusation against the Government of endeavouring to dupe the people is only intended as a reply—and an effective reply it is—to those who "seek to minimise the character of the (popular) demonstration (against the Rowlatt Act) by saying that the

multitude who took part in it did not know what the Rowlatt Act was." The editor observes:

"The masses of India are no fools. They know what is what. That they cannot be successfully duped ought to be clear from the ignominious failure in this very case of certain municipal commissioners and honorary magistrates and several others who went round the city trying to persuade shop-keepers to keep their shops open," &c.

Where is in all this a charge that Government was trying to dupe the people?

THEN, in the view of the Commission, there is "some particularly indefensible writing" and "violence of language" in certain other passages, of which the worst samples that the Commission could produce are: The action of the Punjab Government was "both unjust and unwarranted" and the Government has "exposed itself to the severest criticism at the bar of public opinion." The editor has shown in this article with unanswerable logic and in dignified language that the Punjab Government had no moral justification in using in time of peace a measure intended for war time to suppress ordinary political activities on the ground that they were calculated to "arouse public feeling against the Government." We cannot call to mind any public leader who has not made this criticism against Government and not used at least as strong language. We shall only add, in the words of this very article, that if this is an offence, it is equally open to the authorities "to proceed against every public man and every public organ with any pretence to independence in thought or strength in expression."

MUCH of the article of May 9 is, according to the Special Tribunal, "indefensible language," and they add that "all sorts of allegations are made against the authorities" in it. We have carefully perused the article and we find no allegation in it whatever. At a time when rumour was rife that excesses were committed by the authorities at Delhi, Mr. Roy, without himself believing those reports, makes an appeal to Government in this article to make an investigation in their own interest. There is not the remotest hint in it to show that the writer wanted the public to give credence to allegations, coming as they did from what must appear to an Indian publicist as a reliable source. We see in this article not the slightest lapse either from proper language or sentiment.

FINALLY, comes the article headed 'Blazing Indiscretion.' In it Sir Michael O'Dwyer's minatory speech in the Punjab Council is criticised. The violent language used by His Honour is especially condemned in view of the unusual excitement in the public mind. The latter circumstance, far from making it incumbent upon a publicist to speak out his mind, only appears to the Commission to add to the heinousness of the offence. It is impossible on a perusal of this article to support the view of the Commission that it is an attack upon the Lieutenant Governor, if by an attack is

meant criticism which is not legitimate or justifiable.

* * *

ALTOGETHER, considering the temper of public feeling and the provocation caused by Sir Michael's threats, the articles in question are such as to extort admiration for their restraint and judicial spirit. The Special Tribunal have signally failed in appreciating the drift of their criticism, and the conviction and sentence passed upon Mr. Kali Nath Roy will, we doubt not, outrage the sense of justice of every one who reads the offending articles. Add to it the fact that he was denied the aid of counsel of his own choice, and the unfairness done in his case will stand out in a glaring manner. The appeal which Mr. Andrews has made for funds with a view to the vindication of justice in this case must bring in sufficient money to enable an appeal being preferred to the Privy Council within the appointed time. No case probably stood a better chance of success in appeal than this. We confidently look forward to the judgment of the Martial Law Commission being reversed.

* * *

IF the information we have received of the particulars in connexion with the several arrests and house-searches that took place at Hyderabad (Sind) on April 26 be true, the local authorities responsible for these acts are guilty of grave irregularities. Fortunately, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri, being out of town on the day the warrant was taken out against him, escaped arrest, though his residential house and office were searched in his absence, and the others, who were then arrested, have since been set free, thanks to the kindly intervention of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. This fortuitous circumstance must not, however, be allowed to obscure the merits of the issues involved, and there is a pressing need for a searching inquiry into the whole affair. It is said that these persons were charge under sections 117, 141 and 147, Indian Penal Code, "with having formed an unlawful assembly at the office of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri on the 28th day of March, 1919, to get all the shops of the town of Hyderabad closed by any means, not excluding force, on the 30th March, that is, the Satyagraha day."

* * *

NOW, according to the version which has reached us, the first information report of the alleged offences which, under section 154, Criminal Procedure Code, the police are bound to record immediately on the receipt of the information, was recorded only on April 26, i. e., one full month after the commission of the offence. It was on the strength of this information that subsequent action was taken. Among the accused who, according to the report lodged with the police, took active part in the doings of March 28 and 30 were the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri and Swami Govindananda, both of whom were out of Hyderabad during this period. Mr. Bhurgri was on his farm at Dengan, 56 miles away from Hyderabad, from March 26 to

April 4, and the Swami was at Karachi from March 24 to 29, having lectured at that place on the 26th and the following two days. The Swami's movements are closely watched by the police, and the Government should have no difficulty in verifying these facts and also in getting C. I. D. reports of his speeches, if necessary. Now, if the facts are as related above, it becomes necessary to inquire who the person is who lodged such inaccurate information with the police and why the police took action on it when it was on its face suspect, being lodged a month after the occurrence. Something is seriously wrong with the police in Sind if they proceed on such information to offer an indignity to one occupying the position which the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri does. We understand that Mr. Bhurgri has himself asked for an open inquiry, and the Bombay Government owe it to themselves to grant his request.

THE European residents of Fiji desire that that colony, in imperial reconstruction, to be brought under the sway of New Zealand or Australia. With regard to this proposal, the Indian colonists, have intimated to the Colonial Secretary that, while between New Zealand and Australia, they would choose the former as being less rigid in its policy of exclusion of the non-whites, equity demands that the islands should be attached to India in so far as Indians form the largest section of the population. This arrangement, they trust, will not work to the detriment of the Fijians. In case, however, this suggestion should not be adopted, they propose in the alternative that Fiji should continue to remain under the British Crown and governed from Downing Street as it is to-day.

* * *

THE opposition of the *Times* to dyarchy has visibly weakened, and, despite the fact that it will be open to the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament to consider any alternative system and recommend it for adoption in supersession of the plan embodied in the Bill, the *Times* feels assured that dualism will form a cardinal feature of the statute now in making. This means that no serious objection will be urged to the basic principle of the Bill, and this news would have been acclaimed with a feeling of satisfaction in India if the public had felt confident that legislative effect would be given to all the proposals of the Joint Report and a whittling up instead of down of those proposals in some important respects would occur. In face, however, of the Government of India's dispatch, the retention of the so-called dyarchy has little significance to Indians. For the proposals in that dispatch have fairly reduced the dualism of the M.-C. scheme, to which they profess a nominal adherence, to a unitary system, and what Indians care for is not any particular form of government so much as a real transfer of power to the representatives of the people.

SOCIAL RELATIONS.—II.

SEVERAL of the points of which too much is made in any discussion of the question of social relations between Indians and Europeans would never have been made much of if there were not a disposition on one side or the other to find fault. They are almost too trivial, and among equals would have escaped notice. When, however, on one side there is a disposition to assert racial superiority and on the other either cringing subservience or occasionally an aggressive assertion of self-respect, they assume a fictitious importance. Such, for instance, is the question of shoes. If one could only get full hold of the fact that the European shoe cannot be easily taken off and was originally intended for use in colder climates while the Indian shoe is really a slipper that can be easily slipped off the foot and whose use is not necessary anywhere except outside the house, and then act on the logical consequence of this fact, all difficulties would cease. Again, the English house has chairs to sit on, for the ground is too cold and the clothes being close-fitting are inconvenient for squatting down; while the Indian house in its original state contained hardly any chairs, and squatting down on the floor is not at all inconvenient. If manners and customs of a people were established on a purely teleological principle one would have found the Englishman taking to Indian ways when he came to India as the Indian takes to English ways when he goes to England. But that is not the case, and a little adaptation is necessary. The Indian invariably takes off his slippers on entering a house arranged in the old-fashioned way; this keeps the house free from the dust the slippers get on the road, the cowdunged floor does not get damaged by being walked on with heeled footwear, and the carpets or mattresses for sitting down are kept clean. The Englishman, if careful, scrapes his boots on entering his house but ordinarily enters straight in. His house floor is covered with carpets or matting not intended to sit on and he sits in his chair. Under these circumstances the Englishman would be considered needlessly exacting if he insisted on his Indian visitors taking off their slippers on entering his house simply because they do so on entering their own. There is no practical difference between the dust-collecting properties of a boot and a slipper. If the Englishman received his visitor in an Indian room, then of course the Indian would gladly take off his slippers. The Indian does not insist on his European visitor—if he ever has any—taking off his boots as he knows that it is very inconvenient, though in old prints of the Peshwa's time Europeans could be seen squatting in the Durbar in the truly Indian fashion. But such cases do not arise. The orthodox Indian may regard a European's touch unclean, but he keeps this idea to himself, and if particular he cleans the place or even takes a bath afterwards. The English-educated Indian

has, however, some chairs in his house and when a European visitor comes he has arrangements for receiving him in his own way. We think, therefore, that from the practical point of view insistence on shoe-removal is absurd and uncalled for.

But what about the head-dress? asks the European. Apparently to many Europeans it is unthinkable that a person can greet another properly if both his head and feet are covered. But we do not see any intrinsic necessity for removing the head gear. After all, these are mere conventions founded in the beginning on considerations of convenience but which have been now lost sight of. Some classes of Indian turbans require folding every time you have to put them on, and hence apparently has arisen the convention that a turban should always be kept on the head. We do not think that those who wear ready-made turbans which retain their shape when taken off would have much objection to take them off if it is so desired. In fact, we know many who would like to take them off if they do not think that this would be regarded as a gross insult. In such cases a salute with the hand ought to be regarded as quite enough for all purposes. In fact, in such small matters one should not be always looking out for insults, real or imaginary, but should rather think that ordinarily no insult is intended; we can assure our European friends that Indians generally are over-polite, and any shortcomings are the result rather of ignorance than of set purpose.

These difficulties arising from a difference of dress are, however, practically disappearing as many educated Indians are taking to full English dress when they go out. If there is a soft corner in the heart of many towards the Indian head dress, it is because they feel that the adoption of the English hat would be looked upon as trying to be fully European and looking as if one is ashamed of being an Indian. It is always felt as one way of preserving one's national self-respect when one disdains to use the English hat, for in several places that alone acts as an open sesame to several places or is the means of getting more attention from low-class servants. If this feeling disappears the question will not arise. The same considerations hold with regard to the *dhoti* though that is not such an essential feature of India as a whole. We well believe that to English eyes the *dhoti* or the *sari* looks improper in the beginning, as a part of the nether limbs are occasionally seen bare which they are worn. But this is the Indian custom; and an Indian's eyes get accustomed to see the nether limbs bare as far as the knee just as an Englishman sees nothing strange in the dress of a Highlander or in the evening dress of English ladies with the neck and portion of the shoulder bare. Both these look to Indian eyes somewhat indecent. But this is not a question for *tu quoque*. These things are to be judged from a commonsense point of view, and if that is the usual point of view there would not be any bickerings on such trivial matters.

As we said last time, the question of social relations is really one of mental attitude. If there is an inclination to regard others as your equals the question would be nearly solved. The feeling of racial superiority or inferiority must go. Let ethnologists or sociologists find out the characteristics of different races or peoples. But the general characteristics of one people in the mass are not necessarily possessed by any one particular individual from among that people; and hence it is inadvisable to compel recognition of them by outward form. Let them be felt as the result of social intercourse and let them be purely of an intellectual or moral character. The peculiarities of dress and outer demeanour can be easily assumed or cast off. But if the Indian were to feel that the Englishman is not always aggressive with racial assertiveness and the Englishman were to think that every Indian is not a coolie or even a *babu* or clerk, a great deal would be done towards solving this problem.

THE CURRENCY PROBLEM.

THE subject of the present position and the development of Indian currency and exchange has not attracted that public attention in this country which the subject deserves. The scarcity of metallic currency, the discount at which currency notes were exchanged by a certain class of people and the enhancement of the rate of sterling exchange, have indeed been topics of comment in the press and outside for some time past, and loud complaints have been heard from all sides in that connection. But no systematic and fruitful discussion of the subject has taken place, and people have apparently left Government to make the best of a bad bargain. The reason for this is not far to seek. There are very few men competent enough to handle the currency problem which even experts find it extremely difficult to tackle. Ordinary people know and care little about the exchange question. And this is but natural. They feel that every thing is all right so long as they get a sufficient supply of metallic currency; and they are not expected to bother their heads about the gold value of the rupee and the rate of sterling exchange. But the character of the currency system of a country has very important and far-reaching effects upon the nation's trade, industry and economic development. That is why for generations prolonged discussions have taken place in all parts of the world over the subject, and it is doubtful whether controversy has raged more furiously round any other topic.

The war threw the currencies and exchanges of the whole world into a confusion, and the task of restoring them to normal conditions has been taken up in the leading countries. The Indian system and practice in this respect could not escape the effects of the war. The unexpected rise which took place in the price of silver upset the Indian system, and it was propped up by temporary measures designed to adjust the gold ex-

change standard to the changed currency conditions. The makeshift could not be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for the permanent system, and it became necessary for Government to reconsider the whole position. The discussion should have taken place long ago and Government should have prepared itself for readjustment even before the conclusion of the armistice. The India Office perhaps thought that things would adjust themselves in course of time, and that there was no hurry about the matter. This attitude of 'wait and see' was probably changed into a decision to appoint a committee to go into the whole question of the Indian currency system and practice and to make recommendations with regard to any modifications that might be deemed necessary, on account of the persistence of abnormal conditions and the consequent desirability of early readjustment. The terms of reference to the Indian Currency and Exchange Committee, which has been recently appointed, make it abundantly clear that the Secretary of State for India wants that the question of establishing a gold standard in this country should not be reopened and that the proposed inquiry should be conducted with a view to recommending measures designed to rehabilitate and strengthen the existing gold exchange standard. The committee thus has its hands tied with respect to the basis of India's currency system and has complete freedom only to range over the details of cut and dried policy. We are as anxious as the Secretary of State and the Government of India to see a speedy end put to the present uncertainties of the exchange situation and the enormous difficulties of the currency position. Our system and practice must be examined in the light of the experience of war times, and suitable modifications must be introduced therein to adjust them to the changed conditions. The report of the Chamberlain Commission has become practically obsolete, and questions concerning the size and location of the gold standard reserve, the fiduciary issue of notes and the note reserve, and the circulation and minting of gold coins must all be reconsidered. The rise in the price of silver and in the intrinsic value of the rupee above the pre-war rate is an altogether new problem which the Currency Committee will have to tackle. But we see no reason whatsoever why the Committee should have been instructed not to go beyond the limits of a gold exchange standard. Nine to ten, the Committee would have repeated the verdict of the Chamberlain Commission in this respect. It should, however, have been given the freedom to recommend measures calculated to develop the gold standard in India, if it chose to do so on the strength of evidence recorded by it. Conditions have changed since the time of the Chamberlain Commission's inquiry, and they are perhaps more favourable than ever before to the gradual introduction of an effective gold standard. We fail to understand, therefore, why the Committee is pre-

cluded from considering the probability of a change in the standard proving desirable and successful in the near future.

Opinion is no doubt divided on this question in India itself, and there are some people who would be content with a perfected gold exchange standard such as is contemplated in the proposed inquiry. It was equally divided when the mints were closed in 1893, and when the Fowler Committee recommended the adoption of the gold standard. Nor was it unanimous at the time of the inquiry of the Chamberlain Commission. Division of opinion is, therefore, no reason why there should be no thorough discussion as to the evolution of a sound currency system for India. People apparently feel that the gold exchange standard has come to stay and that discussion and agitation in the matter is bound to prove futile. Others perhaps think that India has got on well on the whole with the existing system and practice and that what is required is the mere adjustment of details which the Committee is going to consider. We deplore this apathy and self-satisfaction, holding as we strongly do that the economic development of India requires a radical change in the existing system and practice connected with our currency, foreign exchanges and banking. We are anxious to see India endowed with a currency and financial system which is best suited to changing conditions of her trade and industries and the requirements of her economic progress. The gold exchange standard is very good for a dependent nation with a small foreign trade, with heavy foreign obligations it has annually to meet and with an inadequate balance of trade in its favour. But what is India's position to-day? We have fifty crores worth of gold accumulated in the standard reserve in London; and crores belonging to the paper reserve are in sterling securities there. For years before the war we imported crores worth of gold annually in spite of heavy sales of council bills. The sovereign is legal tender in India, and a gold mint was established in Bombay some time ago. What justification is there, under the circumstances, to maintain a gold exchange standard in India and to make it stable? Why should the gold standard which was recommended by the Fowler Committee and accepted by Government as the goal of its policy twenty years ago, be now definitely discarded? What has happened in the meanwhile to show that it is an impossible and undesirable goal to be kept in view and to be steadily worked up to? There is little analogy between the conditions obtaining in India and those prevalent in the Philippines, the Straits Settlements and in Mexico, where the exchange standard has been adopted. And yet we are asked to follow their example and think of an effective gold standard even as an ideal of our currency policy!

V. G. KALE.

EDUCATION AND THE SOUTHBOROUGH REPORT.

OF the two poetical tags the one of the brooding, unchanging East allowing the legions thunder past and plunging in thought again, and the other of the inevitability of progress, of every struggle availing somewhat of light coming not by eastern windows only but also flooding in from all quarters so that westward too the land is bright, the first or its Kiplingese equivalent was hailed by the facile psychologists of racial characteristics as a great truth, and it might be even now cherished by the Lyall-Cromer school of politicians as a sound working theory. But the more potent truth represented by the second tag has rendered the first a myth. The East could not, even if it would, remain in isolation and preserve its identity. The good and evil of easy communication and commingling of interests, of mutual understanding beginning with mutual misunderstanding, the good and evil of civilisation, cannot be regarded as the *peculium* of any favoured race: the whole of the human family has now access to the hotch-pot. And this partaking of common intellectual and moral sustenance makes for the approximation of the characteristics of mankind and renders antiquated the notion of the eternal separation of the East and the West. The East does change and, it is feared, is changing with disconcerting rapidity. And the problem for the politician is how to let the change take place in a way which will least disturb settled conditions of life.

Such a change once admitted as inevitable, the change in the political machinery called the government of India will be regarded as quite in the nature of things and the latest reports on the Reform Scheme take us to the penultimate stage of the readjustment of the relation of the Government of India to the Government of the rest of the Empire; as also of the parts of the Government in relation to one other.

Of the most potent factors that have contributed to the present situation, not the least negligible is education, the imparting to the people of India the knowledge of the sciences and the culture of the West. The close connection between this new education and the political changes that would be insisted on by the educands as their sense of manhood developed in them, such a connection was very early perceived and the inaugurator of the new system was robustly optimistic about the political consequences. He was prepared to hail the day when the educated Indian might claim the direction of his own affairs.

If a large share of self-direction in the administration of Indian affairs is to be accorded to the Indian what about education itself? Entrust it to those who would make it broad and deep and sound: you achieve the best ends of government, you rear a nation of efficient self-respecting manhood. If you don't believe in the present system of education, if you are suspicious of educa-

tion and of the results achieved and if with repentant hand you would fain undo the work, keep the education in your hands and impart less and less of it and stultify the people, imitating in fact the jealousy of the Indian governor who, according to Bernier, administered to the troublesome intellectual a daily dose of the "pousta."

Among the most vital of Government responsibilities, as the most unmistakable indication of the assumption of political manhood, must be reckoned the direction of education. And if the authorities consulted by the Committee would not have education among the transferred subjects in the scheme embodying the Indian Government Reforms it must be for one of two reasons. They do not like the Reforms at all, and if the present clamour be too loud they would bide their time and achieve their ends by keeping education in their own hands and by so manipulating it as to rear a nation that would insist on perpetual tutelage. This reason thus crudely stated no body, not even the most fervent believer in the civilising mission of the West to the barbarian East, would own up now and it may be put aside. The other reason, and this can be put forward with a fair chance of making an impression, is this: the transfer of education at the present stage of political development might result in making education deteriorate, at least to this extent of making education less occidental in character, less in harmony with progress which makes for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. And even in cases where such a drastic change as of impressing a new character on education might be contemplated there would be the particularistic or sectarian spirit allowed to interfere with educational progress. And if this reason should be advanced in good faith, those who wish to have the transfer effected must advance counter-arguments.

To take a converse case, what might be regarded as the materialising of the sectarian spirit is the Benares University. Some of us had grave misgiving of the tendency of this new educational agency. Would its work result in a definite turning away from the distinctive teaching of the West? Will the Benares University ask its *alumni* to betake themselves to a new bibliolatry, bringing back in all its strength the medieval spirit we were getting the better of or getting away from? Those indeed who have been studying the middle ages with sympathy say that there has been a great deal of ignorant prejudice in the belittling estimate of its achievements. Our business is not with the justice the popular appreciation of the medieval spirit. Taking the ordinary view as correct enough, the view that supposed that the spirit allowed Aristotle and Aquinas to prescribe what the later men must think in matters religious or philosophic, are we going to get a similar intellectual atmosphere created in our Universities, an atmosphere of unquestioning reverence of earlier thinkers, of accepting as above all challenge the teachings of the Vedas and the Shastras? Are we

going to have the 'Hindu' counterparts of the 'Stonyhurst' series of Catholic text-books? (That some of the Stonyhurst books are Catholic in the earlier sense of the word is beside the point.) What did responsible authorities like Sir H. Butler and Lord Hardinge mean by according sanction to a University with such latent possibilities? Would not an Indian minister entrusted with educational administration 'be partly thrust and partly going,' betwixt shame and *soi disant* patriotism, the way of the reactionary and bring into existence more of such Universities?

If some Indians remember how little headway the new culture has made and if they have grave fears about its having a set-back because of ill-judging enthusiasms, with what plausibility may not this argument be advanced by interested sticklers for vested interests, by men who strive to uphold their present position of supremacy and patronage?

What have the exalted officials of the new educational movement to say on their aims and their ideals? His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore in his last address as the Chancellor of the Benares University said: "Especially should we, Hindus, with our glorious past, beware of the temptations to confuse patriotism with blind adoration of ancient days, coupled with a feeling of repugnance for everything modern and foreign. No nation is impoverished by commerce with other nations; no civilization can suffer by commerce with other civilizations, and by an intelligent assimilation of the principles, ideas and practices that proved to be beneficial to other peoples and countries." He expects the *alumni* of the University to turn out to be "men of stout hearts and strong hands who will not allow their conscience to be drugged by sophistry of any kind, or their nerve to be paralysed by the fear of unpopularity but will oppose wrong, wherever found, and fight unflinchingly the battle of social justice and emancipation, on behalf of the weak and down-trodden." The Vice-Chancellor, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, followed the Chancellor who is equally reassuring: "The ideals of the Hindu University must necessarily be the same as those of the best modern Universities of the West." If he represents the true mind of the new University, there need be no misgiving about the religious teaching. He has no apprehension of the Hindu University following any reactionary course. He insists on the need for "encouraging the study of our sacred literature and its *reinterpretation in the light of modern ideas and scientific knowledge.*" (The italics are ours.)

A further reassuring circumstance is that Sir Sankaran Nair has no fears about the future of education because of its being transferred to the Indian in the new scheme of administration. He is one as eager as any for India to be progressive on right lines of intellectual advancement, and he is as keen-sighted as any to see any possible imperilment of sound education. If he had any misgivings about the narrowing sectarian spirit of the new

educational movement he would not have passed it by with ostrich-like blindness. Political sympathies would not have kept him from denouncing the new portent with such potentialities of evil.

The truth is that in these days no universities worth the name can be set up essentially differing from the existing type. Amidst all the differences of historic development and varying environments all universities agree in plaing before their *alumni* the following ends: assimilation of knowledge already attained, mastery of the methods of adding to such knowledge, and, as a necessary consequence, enabling them to envisage the world and its destiny in the light of the theory and practical working of their knowledge. Educational institutions with less ambitious pretensions are content with modester achievements in the above directions. That it is a Benares University or a Central Hindu College, that it is an Osmania University or a Vaniambady College does not at all matter.

No body need feel any distress that there might be educational institutions, springing up on what might be called 'denominational' lines. They all carry within themselves what would destroy narrowness and sectarianism. These, if truly educative, will in due time produce sons that will overthrow them. No obscurantism of any kind has a chance of rearing its head to cast its baneful shadow over the future.

Hence we see no reason for misgivings about the future of Indian education even when entrusted to the natives of the country. The best evidence of the 'good will of Government to help on the Scheme is to place this branch of administration on the transferred list. That has been done and such unmistakable testimony of good will has been accorded by the majority of provincial Governments. If the Madras Government does not support the views of the majority, is not the Presidency called 'benighted'? Is not the Government of the Presidency even as the friends of Job inclined to take his words with self-complacency: they are the people and wisdom shall die with them?

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

FUNCTIONS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

In judging of any scheme under this head, two or three points have to be kept in view. The basic principle of the declaration, its very core, is the gradual and progressive transfer of responsibility from Government to the people. Any scheme which does not vest the Council and the minister or ministers responsible to it with real power within prescribed limits and with real responsibility for the right exercise of such power cannot be said to be a compliance with the declaration. The second point is that "an irremovable executive with an irresponsible but supreme Legislature" is an impossible system of government. The third point is that mere increasing association of Indians in the administration without any transfer of power and responsibility to them is not what the declaration lays down. The two measures are to be integral parts of a composite scheme, each contributing towards the attainment of the goal, which is complete responsible government within the Empire in due course of time.

2. The joint report attempts to give effect to the declaration by the introduction of a dual system of government. That the working of this system is beset with difficulties and what these difficulties are, have been nowhere better set forth than in the joint report itself. It has attempted to overcome them by various expedients. As explained by His Excellency the Viceroy in his minute dated the 5th March, 1919, these difficulties are inherent in the principle underlying the declaration and have to be faced. For responsibility cannot be divorced from power and if you confer on Indians certain powers, as you must if you are to carry out the declaration in an honest spirit, the responsibility for their right exercise must rest entirely on their shoulders. It follows that if diarchy or division of functions and governmental powers is to be condemned as bearing within it seeds of discord leading to failure, some other scheme coming within the purview of the declaration has to be propounded. Responsible critics realise this position.

ALTERNATIVE SCHEME CONSIDERED.

3. Five Local Governments, including my own, have as an alternative scheme proposed that while the government is to remain one and indivisible responsible to the Secretary of State, and in no respect responsible to the popular Council, though liable to be influenced by it, there is to be an increased association of Indians in the administration. This is to be attained in two ways. The provincial executive is to consist of a Governor with an executive Council, in which there is to be an equal number of official and non-official members, the latter being selected by the Governor from the elected members of the Council, except in the Punjab, where the non-official nominated members are also to be eligible for this selection. The Governor is to assign such portfolio as he likes to any member of his Council. The other method is the institution of standing committees taken from the Council. These are to be attached to the various departments of government and are to discharge the same functions as laid down in the joint report. There are also to be Indian Under-Secretaries as proposed in this report. This is the crux of the scheme. For other particulars I refer to the joint minute dated the 15th January, 1919. I may say at once that this scheme, if offered, say, five years ago, would, in my Province, have been welcomed as a substantial recognition of Indian claims to share in the administration and a great advance on existing conditions. But, I feel bound to say, it is now behind the times. The declaration puts it out of court. The declaration has authoritatively laid down a well-defined clear-cut policy and the expectations it has roused have to be met in an ungrudging spirit. Risk there may be and probably there is. But it has to be faced. The joint report makes sufficient provision for this contingency by the institution of periodic statutory Commissions, when the whole political situation will be resurveyed and the machinery readjusted to the new requirements. It is unnecessary for me to discuss how the scheme summarised above, whatever its other merits, falls short of the requirements of the situation brought into existence by the declaration. The minute of His Excellency the Viceroy referred to above has shown why and how this is. All I need say is that the scheme does not, as is admitted by its authors, profess to transfer any power coupled with responsibility of government. It increases, and in the case of my Province, largely increases, if it does not create for the first time, the association of Indians in the real work of administration and introduces them into the inner circle of government, where they will be in a position, if they possess the necessary qualifications, to influence its policy. But here it stops. It provides no adequate machinery, either now or hereafter, for the gradual transition from the stage of association without power and responsibility to the stage when responsible government will be ushered into existence.

4. I only wish to add by way of preliminary remark

that whatever be the system finally adopted, its success will depend on genuine and hearty co-operation between the officers of Government with their experience and training in the art of administration and the non-official members for the first time clothed with high governmental functions but lacking both in this experience and in this training. Unless a spirit of general good-will pervades and an earnest desire to compose differences on fair terms animates both parties, there can be no success and no progress. It is no less the duty than the interest of my countrymen to bear this what may appear to be an axiomatic truth in mind. For the first and foremost to be injuriously affected by failure will be ourselves, although anything which arrests the growth of a spirit of contentment with the system of government among the people cannot in the long run advance the cause of good government.

LEGISLATION.

5. The first matter dealt with in the Report is legislation. Its treatment is somewhat technical. I will give only the broad outlines. In matters where the interests of India as a whole, or interests affecting more than one Province or larger than those of one Province, are involved, the power of legislation is to remain as now with the Government of India. The provincial legislature is to have authority of its own to legislate on matters where provincial interests essentially preponderate. The dividing line may at times be difficult to draw, but it is pointed out that the experience gained in the working of the existing local legislatures have largely decided in practice what subjects fall in the provincial class. Power of control is, as in the joint report, to be retained by the Government of India to discharge their own responsibilities. There is to be no statutory demarcation or limitation of powers so as to preclude the validity of Acts passed being challenged in the Courts on the ground of their being *ultra vires* of the authority passing them.

6. In framing the list of all-India and provincial subjects, the two lists appended to the joint report have been taken as the basis. It is pointed out that while it is difficult to work out a complete scheme of classification where no overlapping can possibly take place, of bearing in mind the important fact that there is to be no reference to Courts of Law, the adjustment proposed can be amended from time to time in the course of legislative and administrative practice in the light of accepted general principles.

TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS.

7. Coming next to the transfer of functions to the charge of ministers, or the classification of provincial subjects into "reserved" and "transferred," the illustrative list No. II of the joint report has been taken as the starting point. The scheme proposed by our Local Government did not involve the appointment of a minister in charge of transferred subjects. At the request of the Committee, however, a list was prepared specifying the subjects which were, in its opinion, least unsuitable for transfer, if the scheme of dual government proposed in the joint report were finally adopted. Taking first the important subject of education, while the joint report had proposed the transfer of primary, secondary and technical education, excluding University education, the Committee think that the whole field of education should be transferred, except European and Anglo-Indian education. They consider that the problem should be treated as a whole and any division would be equally unsound in theory and unworkable in practice. An exception is made in the case of Bengal on the ground that the Calcutta University Commission have been enquiring into and are about to report on higher education in that Province. In my opinion, for a somewhat analogous reason, University education in our Province should for the present remain a reserved subject. We are at present subject to the jurisdiction of the Allahabad University and cannot, therefore, deal with University education ourselves. We hope soon to have a University of our own. The preliminaries to be

settled and the details to be worked out are many and various and of intricate character. At this initial stage of development of University education among us, I would, even at the risk of being called a reactionary, prefer that it remains during the first stage a reserved subject. I mean no disrespect to my fellow-countrymen in the Province when I take leave to doubt whether we would be able to secure from among us a Minister with the necessary academic qualification and University experience.

8. Land Revenue, Court of Wards, Provincial Services (except those connected with transferred subjects), Civil and Criminal Justice, Police, Forests and Irrigation are to be reserved. The list includes a few other subjects, but these are obviously such as must at this stage remain as reserved and so I make no mention of them. They are also of minor importance so far as the development of the Province is concerned. The main transferred subjects besides Education are Local Self-Government, Medical Administration, Public Health, and Sanitation, Public Works, Agriculture, Co-operative Credit, Excise and Development of Industries. I do not recommend agriculture to be a transferred subject at the beginning. Great work is being done by our agricultural experts increasing thereby the wealth of our agriculturists in a marked degree, and I would not disturb the present arrangements and thereby perhaps retard the pace of progress.

PRINCIPLES OF TRANSFER.

9. I take the liberty to give the following extract from a speech I made during the Council debate on the subject as explaining the position I take up;

"A judicious selection of subjects as given in the list is a matter of vital importance. If, as I have said elsewhere, less is given than what the exigencies of the case justify, there will be no real step in advance and no genuine fulfilment of the pronouncement of August 20th, 1917. If, on the contrary, more is given than what we are in a position to assume charge of with advantage and with a fair prospect of success, we will be inviting a set-back and thereby blocking the way for future progress.

"It follows that we should use all the wisdom we can command in settling what is reasonably obtainable and what we can put to the best use under existing conditions. It needs a thorough knowledge of the internal working of the various departments before a right solution covering the whole field can be arrived at. I confess I do not at this stage possess that knowledge. I can only see my way at present in unhesitatingly recommending the transfer of local self-government primary, secondary and technical education, development of local industries and co-operative credit. I think we have imbibed sufficient experience to be able successfully to manage these departments. Thanks to the liberal views of the then Chief Commissioner, Sir John Morris, our Government was foremost in giving to Lord Ripon's policy of local self-government a good start in conformity not only with the language of his famous resolution of May, 1882, but with its spirit. Since then during the past 35 years, we have, as the resolutions of Government testify, been able to make steady and substantial progress so as to place us in a position now to take over this important branch of the administration, which may be said to constitute the foundation upon which the structure of responsible government will be gradually raised. Similarly, we have through our local bodies been administering primary education and through our committees of management of secondary schools managing secondary education during the whole of the above period, and there will not be wanting competent men to take these over at once. Technical education that can for the present be introduced among us will be of a somewhat preparatory and elementary character and we ought to be able to have charge of it. It might also be possible to hand over to us sanitation and medical relief, excise and some parts of forests and buildings and communications. The proper administration of these by no means unimportant"

departments will certainly not be a light task and will give ample scope for all our capabilities and energies and constitute for us a training ground for the future.

LAND REVENUE AND ADMINISTRATION.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Kelkar and some others of my Hon'ble friends think that the land revenue administration, which is now outside the list, should be brought within it. The Report (paragraph 238) explains that the new Councils cannot be entrusted with it as it involves the well-being of the masses, who will not be adequately represented in them. I am at one with the Hon'ble Mr. Kelkar and others of my friends who have spoken on the subject that the reason here given is not one which commends itself to us as well-founded. I cannot say what may be the case elsewhere, but I do not think that the landed proprietors, whose interests are no doubt in some important matters not identical with the interests of their tenantry, will be in such a considerable majority in our Council as to be able to override the claims of the cultivating classes to their detriment and to their own advantage. There will be enough members in it, I think, who can well be trusted to safeguard the special interests of these classes, even if sufficient number of men drawn directly from their rank be not returned to the Council. All the same, I do not agree with those of my friends who have advocated the immediate devolution of this department to popular control. Land revenue constitutes the backbone of our finance. I believe it is responsible for 55 per cent. of the total revenue of the Province. Almost our whole population may be said to depend in one way or other on land for their support and existence. Those actually engaged in the tillage of the soil are said to number 70 per cent. while the occupations of a considerable portion of the remainder are dependent on agriculture. Whether this large mass of people shall live a life of comfort and contentment depends greatly on a proper administration of the various branches of this department. Thus it transcends and overshadows in importance with us at least all other branches of the administration. We have yet to gain the necessary knowledge and experience to be able successfully to shoulder the very heavy burden and responsibility. In fact, to take over this department means and involves practically the taking over of the entire administration excepting law, order and justice. Whatever the odium involved in the admission, I have no hesitation in saying that we will not be wise in demanding such a comprehensive and all-embracing devolution of powers from the very commencement. Caution and patience are virtues which one must learn to cultivate in this as in all other activities of life, and it is no shame to admit our present imperfections, especially when haste and impatience will involve indefinite postponement of the consummation we all devoutly wish and pray for."

10. The next important matter that needs mention is the power of the Governor in relation to the transferred subjects and the minister in charge thereof. That he must possess some power of intervention is clear. Under Section 50 of the Government of India Act, he can override his Council and take such action as he deems fit if in his judgment "the safety, tranquillity or interests" of his Province demand that he should act on his own responsibility. This statutory power will, of course, remain. Besides, there will be certain matters where action taken by one branch of Government would affect the interests of the other branch, or where the functions of the two branches would touch or overlap. In all such cases, there must be some supreme authority to settle the proper action to be taken, when those in charge of the two branches are unable to arrive at an agreement. The Committee's proposal is that the Government should see both the members and the minister in charge, either separately or together and try to settle the matter between them. If no agreement is arrived at, the Governor will decide. If his decision involves action by a reserved department, he must obtain the concurrence of his Council in such action, or failing that, override the Council under

Section 50 of the Statute. If the decision taken requires action by the transferred department, the Governor must require the minister to comply. If the minister yields, the necessary action will be taken by him, and he will be responsible for it to the Legislative Council. If, however, he is unable to agree the Governor will have power to dismiss him and find another minister. If there is an emergency calling for immediate action and it cannot wait till the Governor finds another minister, the Governor will certify to that effect, and he and his Council will then take the necessary action, subject to the obligation of reporting to the Governor-General-in-Council. If, however, no such emergency exists, the Governor will appoint the new minister on the understanding that he will concur in the necessary action, and such action will be taken after his appointment in the ordinary way, *i. e.*, by the Governor and the Minister. Under this scheme, the Governor-in-Council will take action only in the event of an emergency existing, but the department will remain a transferred department and come again in charge of the Minister as soon as he is appointed. This will not ordinarily take long to do. This is a departure from the proposal in the Joint Report, which lays down that the Minister shall hold office for the life-time of the Legislative Council. The Committee's proposal seems better calculated to meet the deadlock that may arise owing to a difference of opinion between the Minister and the Governor and his Executive Council. The Government of India's proposal under this head is that on the occurrence of such a difference, the Governor will have authority to assume control of the department until the cause of difference disappears. If he is unable to bring about this result by finding a Minister who will carry out his decision, he should move the Secretary of State to retransfer the department in question to the charge of the Governor-in-Council. This drastic remedy will no doubt remove the deadlock, but it is bound to create an undesirable state of tension between the Legislative Council and the Executive so as to render future harmonious action between the two parts of the Government extremely difficult. It also cuts at the root of the scheme of the Joint Scheme, which permits re-transfer of a function only in the event of its proved mal-administration after five years from the time of the first meeting of the reformed Council and never with a view to remove a deadlock brought about by disagreement between the popular element and the official element in the Government. Moreover, armed with this drastic power, the official element will seldom care to seek a solution in a compromise.

11. Regarding taxation for provincial purposes, the Committee accept substantially the proposals of the Government of India under this head. The Provincial Legislature shall have power under the following heads:—

- (a) Any supplement to revenues which are already provincial, *e. g.*, cesses on land, enhanced duties on articles that are now excisable, higher Court-fees, increased charges for registration, etc.,
- (b) Succession duties,
- (c) Duties on unearned increment on land, such as taxes on successions and transfers, and
- (d) Taxes on advertisements, amusements and specified luxuries.

As in the Joint Report, it is recommended that, if the residue of the provincial revenues (after the contribution to the Government of India and the allotment for reserved services have been set aside) is not sufficient, it should be open to the Minister to suggest fresh taxation. As this scheme fixes the responsibility of devising means to meet the deficiency in the revenue on the Minister, the Committee suggest that the decision whether legislation involving fresh taxation should be undertaken should rest with the Governor and the Minister. Further, inasmuch as the whole balance of the revenue after meeting the two prior charges will be at the disposal of

the Minister. when an existing tax can be reduced or remitted without legislation, such legislation should be undertaken on the responsibility of the Minister and the Governor and not of the Governor and the Executive Council. This seems to be perfectly logical and sound.

12. In bringing this note to a close, I wish to emphasise that the whole scheme has been conceived in a spirit of great liberality and constitutes an adequate compliance with the terms of the declaration of August 20th, 1917. Given the necessary good-will and a spirit of mutual understanding, it has within it all the elements which make for success.

B. K. BOSE.

SELECTION.

HOW IRELAND IS GOVERNED.

MR. DEVLIN, M. P., made the following speech in Committee on Ways and Means on May 1. The Whisky and Beer Duties proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were calculated to impose a burden of another ten millions upon Ireland.

We in Ireland are asked to bear an additional burden of £10,000,000 imposed upon us by an English Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by an English Parliament in which we have no direct voice or influence. [Laughter.] Where do we stand in this matter? In the first place, I deny the right of this Parliament to tax Ireland at all, and I rise to protest against this Parliament taxing Ireland. This Parliament has no moral right to tax Ireland. It is not an Irish Parliament. It is not responsible to the Irish people. Ireland has no power, and can exercise no influence upon finance, in this House. Therefore, this Parliament has no moral power whatever to tax Ireland. Secondly, I object to paying an additional tribute of £10,000,000 a year for a Government in Ireland, which at the present moment is a disgrace to Europe. What are we called upon to contribute £10,000,000 for? An Army of Occupation of 40,000 soldiers.

You may tell us that that is our own fault, that the 40,000 soldiers would not be there if they were not needed. Is that the answer which I am to get from the representatives of this nation which went out to fight for the rights of small nations, liberties and for the fundamental citizenship which is to allow every free people to determine its own destinies? You talk about fighting for freedom, and you have an Army of Occupation of 40,000 soldiers in a country which is your neighbour and would be your friend and was your friend until, either by your ignorance or your malignity, or your lack of appreciation, or by any other cause that may be attributed to it, you have placed Ireland to-day in such a position that every time you shriek "Liberty" your enemies shriek back at you, "Hypocrite." That is the answer you get when you talk about freedom. Ten million pounds additional tax for a nation not only held by an Army of Occupation, but a country where you have suspended all constitutional law and abolished all forms of legal tribunal, where you take your political opponents—and they are my political opponents too—I am not speaking for them, I am speaking for freedom. As I advocated freedom when I was helping you in the War in order that you might fight against Prussian despotism, I am advocating freedom now even for Sinn Feiners, the right to be tried. I do not care a crack of my fingers who the men are or whether they are my opponents. The principle for which I am concerned is the principle of liberty. You have courts-martial to try men for political offences. Trial by jury is abolished. You have the destruction of a great constitutional party that stood here as the friends of England, the men who, on every platform in this country for twenty years preached the holy apostolate of good will, friendship and co-operation for all great causes between the Irish and British democracies, and inoculated it in the minds and consciences of their own people. But there is hatred to-day, deep burning hatred between Ireland and this

country, and what has been your contribution to it? You destroyed the great party that brought friendship and goodwill about and you have paid the price in this country and in Ireland in the hellish fires of mutual hate and mutual distrust. There is not anything wrong in Ireland that has not been of your own creation. . . .

You may say probably that this is the only policy we know of. There can be only one justification for any policy in this or anything else, and that is that that policy will succeed in its purpose. Do you mean to tell me that you will end the Irish question by keeping the army of occupation there for one year, or two years, or five years, or twenty years? Do not you know that until the army of occupation disappears the forces will be let loose again, the passions of the people will burst again, the old feeling and bitterness will be there? And if you think that, and you keep the army of occupation there, is this thing to go on for all eternity? That is what I want to know, and yet never from a single British representative, from a member of the Government, from the Prime Minister, or from anyone, have we been told what their Irish policy is. I know now what their Irish policy is, and this House will understand what the policy is. It is to add in this Budget £10,000,000 to an already over-taxed nation, a nation which a Royal Commission appointed by British financial experts declared twenty-five years ago had been paying £2,500,000 more than its taxable capacity since 1800. The taxation has gone on, and on, and on ever since, and what have we got for it? At the end of 100 years we have, as I have stated, the Constitutional party destroyed, chaos created in the country, Ireland a byword whenever the name of England and liberty are associated together, and confusion and suspicion and hatred and contempt as the only assets you possess for all your expenditure in this transaction. Even now at this hour perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer will tell us. He is the Gentleman who finds the money. He calls the tune and asks us to pay the piper. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer will tell us. Yes, he will. It is seldom we get a Minister on that bench who can tell us anything, and perhaps he will now kindly illumine the Committee and give some information to myself, as the only voice, as the hon. and gallant Gentleman calls it, from Ireland in this House. Perhaps he will tell us, not what the Irish policy of the Government is, but what we are asked to pay this additional £10,000,000 for. This is a business transaction, I understand. I believe the Budget ought to be a business transaction, and I want to know from him, as the head of the business side of the British Empire, what is to be the compensation that Ireland is to get for the £10,000,000 over and over her expenditure which she is paying now, and the other £9,000,000 or £10,000,000 which she is called upon to pay in connection with this Budget. I know he is a gentleman of vast resources. I know that he was placed in the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer, because they wanted a resourceful man at this financially epoch-making stage of the proceedings, and therefore I trust he will enlighten and tell the House whether he expects Ireland quietly to sit down satisfied that she is to go on allowing this Parliament, without representation, to put additional burdens upon her already overburdened shoulders, to add vast sums to the vast sums she has already paid over and above her expenditure, and what it is that we are to pay all this for? Is the Army of Occupation to continue there? Is trial by jury to disappear, and all forms of constitutional justice no longer to operate? Are the representatives from Ireland to have no voice in the affairs of their own country? You give us, no doubt, a formal right to come here, but that is all. We never had any power here. [HON. MEMBERS: "Oh, oh!"] Even when we carried home rule through this House it passed through stormy periods and vicissitudes which no Bill ever had to pass through before. It had to pass three times, through three different Sessions; it had to go to the House of Lords; it survived all these Parliamentary difficulties; it faced three General Elections, and was ratified by the electorate three times; it got the Constitutional assent of the King; and it was never put in operation. It is a scrap of paper, soiled and besmeared with false promises and broken pledges, and yet you ask to trust you! We will not trust you. The only thing we will allow you to do is to tax us.

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