

*Number Two of the "Deshbandhu" Series
on Current Indian Problems*

BENGAL IRRIGATION

BY

NALINI RANJAN SARKER

CALCUTTA

BENGAL IRRIGATION

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ERRORS

Certain typographical and other errors have, for various reasons, crept into this publication. These are regrettable. The nature of these errors, however, is obvious and readers should not experience any difficulty. One error in figures must be specially mentioned :

On page 4 in the table of capital expenditure on works there is an item "Purchase of Dredgers," under "B. Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works," the amount for which is Rs. 62, 47, 243. The percentage figure, 24,858, is incorrect. It should be 14,585.

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PREFACE TO THE SERIES

The object of the series of contemplated pamphlets of which this is the Second is, as its name indicates, to direct attention to the current problems of national reconstruction. It was the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das who gave the first real impetus to this movement, and who animated the minds of the people to co-operate in trying to bring about its fulfilment. It is to the memory of the Deshbandhu, therefore, that this series is dedicated as a humble tribute to one who died that India may live—and live happily.

It was after the Budget Session of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1929 that I intended to publish a study of the condition of the Irrigation Department of the Government of Bengal and that of irrigation generally in the Province. Extreme pressure of work retarded my progress in this direction and it was not till the cold weather of 1929 that I was able to devote myself seriously to it.

In the meantime, at a meeting of the Standing Waterways Advisory Committee held on the 24th August, 1929, presided over by the Hon. Sir Abdelkerim Ghuznavi, the present Member in charge of the Irrigation portfolio, an important pronouncement (quoted in full in appendix IV) was made by him regarding the appointment of a Committee of enquiry for making suggestions for the formation of a permanent Waterways Board. A newspaper *communiqué* was issued and I requested the

PREFACE TO THE SERIES

Hon. Member to favour me with a copy of the proceedings of the meeting, to which he was good enough to reply on the 29th August, 1929, as follows :

“I am pleased to receive your letter of to-day's date. There has been really one meeting of the enlarged Waterways Standing Committee on the 25th last. There was more or less an informal meeting of only a few members in my rooms a few days previous to it. The proceedings are being printed, and I have asked the office to send you a copy as soon as available. The old Committee seems scarcely to have held any meeting in recent years. I am glad to find you taking an interest in this matter, and I wish others would equally do so as the subject is of great importance to Bengal.”

On the 21st October, 1929, his office sent me the printed copy of the proceedings. The pronouncement of Sir Abdelkerim altered my scheme of treatment of the subject to some extent, and it was still further modified by the appointment of the Committee of Enquiry and its terms of reference.

It is pleasing to learn that Sir Abdel Kerim wants the public to take an interest in the matter “as the subject is of great importance to Bengal.” It is with a view to such interest being intelligently and critically taken that I am publishing this study.

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS

*Calcutta,
March 20, 1930.*

NALINI RANJAN SARKER

1. THE DEPARTMENT AND ITS ACTIVITIES

Prior to the introduction of the Reforms the department, or, strictly speaking, the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department, had no separate existence. It formed a part of the Public Works Department, which was concerned with all classes of engineering works. The Reforms and diarchy led to a division of the activities of the P. W. D. and two separate branches, the Roads and Buildings, generally known as the Public Works Department, and the Irrigation, known as such, were re-organised. The Roads and Buildings Branch was placed in charge of a Minister as a Transferred subject and the Irrigation in that of a Member of the Executive Council as a Reserved one. No reasons were adduced for such differentiation of control of these two branches of works of public utility. The Ministers had charge of the portfolios of what the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea fondly described as the "nation-building" departments. He did not mention anything about the Reserved portfolios dealing with departments, which, by way of antitheses, might have been called the nation-crushing ones. As a matter of fact the Irrigation department has proved to be such, as will be seen in the following pages. And as protests and representations were of no avail in most of what happened after the Reforms, this anomalous position endured in the case of the two branches of the P. W. D.

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The effect of it all has been a distinct lack of co-ordination and co-operation between the Irrigation and other departments of Government, and also the people interested, as will be mentioned hereafter. In fact instances are not wanting where even antagonism has manifested itself. The general popular voice and the voice of the representatives of the people are less effective, if they have any effect at all, in respect of the ideas, schemes and works of this department as an inevitable consequence of its being a Reserved subject. Its vow of silence and the tight veil drawn upon its activities have made it so irresponsible and callous towards popular needs and demands that even the authorities themselves find it difficult to define its policies, actions and inactivities. Its solicitude, on the other hand, for special interests has become so notorious that decency recoils at its touch. All this has made the authorities a mere plaything in its hands and they do not know their mind any two minutes together, being driven from pillar to post by the dynamic impetus of what is described as "expert opinion." The ineffectuality of its control by the authorities has gone so far that the very mention of progressive Indianisation, even within a fraction of the limit, is out of the question. A casual reference to recruitment of officers of the department in recent years will reveal the fact that foreigners will man and dominate the department for a good many years to come. It is hard to believe that Indians with adequate qualifications and talents cannot be procured to supply the personnel of this department, when Indian brains and labour alone have made the Cauvery and Chitaldoorg schemes, for instance, famous throughout the world. It is futile to suppose that callow youths from abroad alone can realise the significance of the requirements of the country in this respect, or understand and apply the principles and practices of both western and indigenous irrigation directly they are appointed, or even during their whole official career in this land of the golden pagoda-tree. It is equally futile to assert that brains and muscles are the monopoly of the West.

The activities of the department are chiefly concerned with the following items of works :

1. Irrigation.
2. Navigation.
3. Embankment and Drainage.

The departmental division, however, is shown as follows :

- A. Irrigation, productive and unproductive.

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B. Navigation, Embankment and Drainage works, productive and unproductive.

Productive works are those, on which a certain rate of return in the shape of profits is *estimated*, unproductive works being those on which no such estimated rate is assumed, although, in a few cases, an amount of return is received. Such a receipt is a set-off against the cost of maintenance, establishment, etc. The few works in regard to irrigation proper occupy quite a minor position in the activities of the department and references to them will be made hereafter.

It will be observed that the classification of works as productive and unproductive is based merely upon *estimates* prepared by the department, according to the codes of course, but it is vitiated by the fact that estimates are seldom, if ever, accurate, and the rate or volume of return, on which the classification depends, is never realised. The result is that the general revenue of the Province is being saddled with an increasingly accumulated burden of interest and other charges, which, mildly described, is appalling. This condition is due to the wanton disregard of a universal cry for a comprehensive and systematic study of the needs of the country and want of the spirit of co-operation with other departments and the people. It is also due to the forceful pushing forward of schemes that are admittedly beyond means. The authorities, as mentioned above, are powerless and so are the people. The remedy lies in a wholesale change of the angle of vision and recourse to publicity. I shall have occasion to make a few suggestions later on in this connection.

The Annual Irrigation Revenue Report of the year 1927-28 is a publication available to the public at the extraordinary price of Rs. 21-4-0 per copy! If the price has been fixed to withhold its circulation even among the interested few, it has certainly served its purpose. It contains the Government Resolution on the administration of the department. This Resolution is a mere summary in $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages of the departmental administration Report of $7\frac{1}{8}$ pages including the tables of the figures. It contains the usual statistical tables, a rather short but somewhat illuminating "Report" on the Administrative Accounts by the Accountant General, Bengal, and the tables of accounts prepared by him. The Superintending Engineers' Reports are also embodied in it.

The volume of activities of the department may be studied from several points of view.

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The capital expenditure on works, for which both capital and revenue accounts are kept, so far incurred, i. e., up to the end of 1927-28, we learn, amounts to Rs. 4,28,84,750.* Assuming this figure to represent 100, the percentage of incidence in respect of different works is as follows (figures for works are also given) :

	Amount	%	%
A. IRRIGATION.			
<i>Productive</i>			
Damoder Canal	Rs. 8,13,845	1·898	
Bakreswar	Rs. 14,653	0·032	
<i>Unproductive</i>			
Midnapore Canal	Rs. 84,94,053	19·860	
Total of A. Irrigation.			21,790
 B. NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT & DRAINAGE WORKS.			
<i>Productive.</i>			
Grand Trunk Canal	Rs. 14,47,627	3·374	
<i>Unproductive.</i>			
Hijli Tidal Canal	Rs. 26,14,318	6·095	
Calcutta & Eastern Canal	Rs. 70,39,768	16·400	
Sunderbans Steamer Route	Rs. 19,20,110	4·477	
Madaripore Bhil Route	Rs. 76,62,753	17·850	
Dredger "Ronaldshay"	Rs. 55,16,986	12·862	
Purchase of Dredgers	Rs. 62,47,243	24·858	
Dredging Bidhyadhari	Rs. 11,13,394	2·567	
Total of B. Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works			78·210
Grand Total	Rs. 4,28,84,750	100	100

It will be seen from the table above that Irrigation proper is but a minor consideration of the department, on its own showing, taking up only 21.790 of its capital expenditure. But when the fact that the Midnapore canal is also a navigation channel is taken into consideration, the volume of Irrigation activities of the department is further reduced.

Having spent Rs. 14,47,627 on the productive (!) work in respect of the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme, excluding the cost of the dredgers, the Government of Bengal decided to abandon it. But the hydra is raising yet another head.

*Accountant General's Review, pages 8 and 9.

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The purchase of the dredger "Ronaldshay", subsequently earmarked for work in the Grand Trunk Canal, cost over 55 lakhs. The cost of purchase of the "Cowley" and "Burdwan" dredgers amounted to Rs. 62½ lakhs. It is, indeed, unnecessary to recall the fact that all these three dredgers were purchased in view of "future" work in the province at a time when no such work was in existence or in contemplation. It is practically absent to-day. The "Burdwan" and "Cowley", it was subsequently explained, when the Legislative Council demanded information on the subject, were purchased to replace the "Foyers" and "Alexandra", which were becoming obsolete. But it is a notorious fact that during all these years the two latter are practically on commission on most of the works, though their volume is of not much consequence, while the three former are more or less lying idle.

The table above gives a general view of the condition of the department and proves the impression that it hardly exists for the purpose which its name implies and that it has no idea at all, much less a definite one, regarding the condition and requirements of the province in respect of irrigation and even of navigation. This fact will be more clear in the following pages.

Diagram No. 1 gives a graphic view of the volume of work of the department with reference to its capital expenditure.

II. THE SCHEMES AND WORKS

I have endeavoured to give above a general view of the department and its activities. It would be worthwhile to examine its schemes and works in some detail. This examination will necessarily be brief considering the space at my disposal and the time at that of my readers. The reference to the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme will, however, be made at some length, not only because it is the largest project of the department, but also because it is typical of its wanton disregard of the country's real needs and its strenuous efforts to ride a pet hobby horse in the face of almost universal opposition.

A reference to the map of Bengal at the end will enable the reader to obtain a general view of the situation in respect of the schemes and works mentioned below. A special map of the Grand Trunk Canal scheme is also given. The schemes and works have not been treated in the sequence as shown in the table in the preceding section, but in accordance with their relative importance from the public point of view.

A. GRAND TRUNK CANAL

The Grand Trunk Canal scheme is the sore point both with the department and the public of Bengal. It has made Mr. C. Addams

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Williams, C. I. E., Chief Engineer of the department, famous and the Government of Bengal unpopular. It is not my desire, in fact it is superfluous, to go over the same ground covered by the article on the scheme published in the journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* ; but that article deals more with the then existing condition of the project.

The Grand Trunk Canal scheme has a history which originated exclusive of the idea of providing a substitute for the outer Sunderbans Route to Eastern Bengal. The project was originally intended to provide a "shorter, safer and better route" between Calcutta and Eastern Bengal. The present dying condition of the connecting channels between the Channel Creek and the Habilla River has only given it an urgent and imperative character in the opinion of Mr. Addams Williams.

The original problem was studied by Mr. Lees, and alignment made for a canal from Badartala to Kulti, this being subsequently altered by Mr. Addams Williams, who made a new alignment from Baranagar to Malancha. The rivers and khals beyond Malancha were supposed to provide a permanent waterway for steamers with but little dredging.

The construction of the canal, it was estimated, would reduce the distance between Calcutta and Khulna as follows :

Sunderbans Route	261 miles.
Grand Trunk Canal Route	126 miles.
	<hr/>
Saving	135 miles.

The criticisms made in the journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, fair and sound as they were, raised many points in regard to the finance, engineering difficulties, estimates, etc. There was, besides, a suggestion in it for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the correctness of the estimates, specially those relating to income and profits. † This suggestion was ultimately adopted by the Government, of course, without acknowledgment. A committee of enquiry was appointed in the spring of 1927 under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. Marr, then Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust and now an Hon. Member of the Executive Council of Bengal.

* The Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Vol. 1, No. 2, supplement.

† Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Vol. I, No. 2, supplement, page 21.

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It is understood that during the very first meeting of the Committee a point was raised as to whether the terms of reference gave power to the Committee to enter into an examination of the estimate of costs of the project, since all or most of the items and amounts of estimated revenue were the balances left over after the deduction of such costs. The revenues were, therefore, primarily dependent on such costs. Mr. Marr's ruling was that the Committee had such power of examination of the estimated cost.

In the "Report on the Revised Estimates for a Grand Trunk Canal to connect the River Hooghly at Calcutta with the Navigable Rivers of Eastern Bengal," (now known as the famous Red Book) prepared by Mr. C. Addams Williams, C.I.E., printed at Calcutta at the Bengal Secretariat Press in 1922, but not for sale, is a table entitled "Forecast of Inland Steamer Traffic on the Sunderbans Route up to March, 1928, and on the Grand Trunk Canal Route subsequently." With praiseworthy optimism Mr. Addams Williams made his forecast up to the end of the official year 1937-38. However much the imagination displayed in preparing this forecast be appreciated, The Hon. Secretary of the B. N. Chamber, a member of the Committee, challenged the figures on the strength of those published in the statistics relating to River-borne traffic to and from Calcutta (a Government publication). It was observed that those statistical figures were probably incorrect. He retorted that they were what the Steamer Companies themselves supplied, his own Steam Navigation Company being one of them; and Mr. Addams Williams's source was the same. It was decided to obtain a certificate of authenticity from the Statistical department. This happened at the second meeting of the Committee.

Immediately after this meeting a communique was issued stating that the Government had abandoned the Scheme! The members of the Committee read it in the columns of the newspapers. It was some time before the members were officially informed of the fact. The papers, in the meantime, sympathised with the members for having undertaken a literally thankless task and the Government then woke up to make amends by communicating their thanks to the members.

I have mentioned these facts in some detail because of their bearing on the history of the project as well as the helpless condition of the authorities. Government gave no reasons whatsoever for the lightning abandonment of the project, on which years of toil and lakhs of public money had been wasted.

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The sentiments evoked in the public mind at this sudden collapse were aptly reflected in an article in the "Forward" of the 6th December, 1927, and I may well quote a few lines. The writer said :

"Thus ends a project which for nearly a quarter of a century had agitated the brains of the Irrigation Department and which must have made Mr. Christopher Addams Williams C.I.E., pass at least a thousand and one sleepless nights. Disappointment indeed! It would have crushed any lesser mortal to atoms! Mr. Christopher Addams Williams, however, is alive, but his Aladdin's lamp is broken before it could be lighted.

"No amount of calculation, foresight, imagination, secrecy, persuasion, threat, force, speech or writing was wanting and the dogmatically scientific, accurate, imperative and imminent project of the greatest authority in the world upon engineering connected with deltaic rivers is buried with the simple announcement that it is abandoned. 'Not a drum was heard—etc.'

"And yet we sympathise with Mr. Christopher Addams Williams. The other Christopher was acclaimed by his king on his return after having accomplished his object, the discovery of America, but Mr. Christopher Addams Williams was acclaimed by Lord Lytton as the greatest deltaic engineer in the world before he had proceeded even a yard on board the "Ronaldshay". Imaginative as he is he cannot but feel the cruelty of Lord Lytton's eulogy to-day, specially as it was after all from a layman, whatever his competence to pronounce such an opinion might have been".

But the writer of that article must now feel ill at ease to learn that the project is not only not dead but very much alive, although hibernating. The Government Resolution on the department's working for 1927-28 says :

*"The Grand Trunk Canal Project—*The project was held in abeyance during the year. The question of this canal is under review in view of the rapid deterioration of the rivers in the western Sunderbans".

The departmental report, of which the Government Resolution is a mere summary, gives only the additional information that "vessels are being delayed for want of water" in these rivers.

Abandonment and abeyance may be synonymous in the twentieth century, but we learnt otherwise in the nineteenth. But as such trivialities of expression do not count for much in this country, and also because no useful purpose can be served by raising a storm in this tea-cup, I think we must swallow the fact that the Grand Trunk Canal project will be

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proceeded with. And in view of this consummation it is necessary to go into some details of its history, estimates, etc.

I have mentioned how the project was suddenly abandoned when the Committee of enquiry relating to the revenue estimates of the project had just commenced its work. It was apparent that the two vital factors of the estimates prepared by Mr. Addams Williams, namely, the costs and probable return from tolls, were challenged in a manner that sufficiently ensured condemnation. Whether the initiative for the abandonment (for the time being) of the project came from the late Nawab Nawab Ali Choudhury (Member in charge at that time) or from any higher source, the public cannot, and probably must not, learn. The only inference, however, forced by the absence of any explanation, was that the Government thought it prudent to face some temporary unfavourable criticisms rather than proceed with the project and ultimately find themselves in a financial mess. But if the Government abandoned the project Mr. Addams Williams did not. The effect was that the late Nawab Nawab Ali Choudhury himself announced its revival in the Bengal Legislative Council during a debate on the resolution moved by Lt. Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy for an investigation relating to the condition of irrigation in Western Bengal, as disclosed in the speech delivered by Sir Williams Willcocks in the hall of the British Indian Association at Calcutta on the 6th March, 1928.

Events at this period followed each other in somewhat rapid succession and it would be interesting to note in particular the dates of the correspondence, etc., as mentioned below.

In the August session (1928) of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose requested the Government to lay on the table the note by the Consulting Engineer to the Government of India and the correspondence that passed between the Governments of India and Bengal on the Grand Trunk Canal scheme. These were published in the *Calcutta Gazette*.* These papers would be interesting reading but the space at my disposal being limited I can only make a few references to them in passing. The papers were these :

(1) Letter No. 8666-I., dated 19th November, 1927, from the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour (Public Works Branch), on the *Subject* "Abandon-

* Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, December 27, 1928, pages 1623 to 1627.

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ment of the Grand Trunk Canal Project” In this letter the Government of Bengal informed that of India that it had “*been decided by the Governor-in-Council not to proceed further with the project.*” *

(2) Letter No. I-47-25 of 5th December, 1927, from India to Bengal on the same Subject. In this letter the Government of India requests that of Bengal to furnish “a statement of the reasons, which led the Government of Bengal to the decision,” for their own information and that of the Secretary of State for India.

In the meantime the Economic and Overseas department of the India Office in its letter No. E. & O. 1927-28, of the 22nd February, 1928, requested the Government of India to submit a report on “the present position as regards the above-mentioned project,” in view of a question in Parliament by Mr. Kelly, who wanted to know (question No. 10, dated 20th February, 1928), (a) whether it was proposed to proceed with the Scheme and (b) whether the committee appointed to consider the matter had issued a report.

(3) Letter No. I-47-30, of the 16th March, 1928, from India to Bengal, was issued in forwarding the matter mentioned in the preceding paragraph and asking for a report.

(4) Endorsement No. I-47-32 of the 4th April, 1928, from India to Bengal, forwarding yet another question (No. 17 of the 12th March, 1928) in Parliament by Mr. Gardener, who wanted the same information as did Mr. Kelly, with the addition of the terms of the Committee’s findings.

(5) Note by Mr. D. G. Harris, C.I.E., Consulting Engineer to the Government of India, on the Sunderbans Steamer Route, dated the 28th February, 1928.

Mr. W. H. Nelson, secretary to the Government of Bengal (offg.), in publishing Mr. Harris’s note adds a very significant one, which is this :

“The note by the consulting Engineer to the Government of India was communicated demi-officially by the Government of India to this Government with the intimation that it had not been taken into consideration by the Government of India, but was forwarded as an independent professional view in case it might be of interest or use to the Local Government.”

(6) Letter No. 20 T.-I, of the 24th April, 1928, from Bengal to India, on the subject—“*Abandonment of the Grand Trunk Canal Project.*”

Paragraphs 2 and 3 of this letter are worth quoting in full :

* Italics are mine.

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"2. In reply, I am to state for the information of the Government of India that since the issue of this Government letter No. 8666-I, dated the 19th November, 1927, intimating that it has been decided not to proceed further with the Grand Trunk Canal Project, this Government, in view of a note, dated February 28th, 1928, made by the Consulting Engineer to the Government of India, consequent upon a visit paid to the Sunderbans Steamer routes with representatives of the Irrigation Department and the Joint Steamer Companies has decided to review the whole situation."

"3. I am to add that a further communication on the subject will be made in due course."

The note of Mr. D. G. Harris of the 28th February, 1928, would, in any other country, have been taken as a joke. In this country it has altered, or at least operated as an apparatus of sufficient leverage to hold in abeyance (to use the new Government phrase in this connection), the decision of the Governor-in-Council. The note, as mentioned above, is supposed to represent "an independent professional view" by a Consulting Engineer in whole-time Government employ, who visited the Sunderbans Route at Government expense in company with the Chief Engineer of Irrigation in Bengal (Mr. Addams Williams,) and the "managers and technical experts of the principal Steamer companies, the India General and Rivers Steam Navigation Companies," which, as everyone knows, operate practically as one concern under closely connected management. Presumably the flying visit was most enjoyable to the members of this cosy river party, but the country is concerned with certain grim facts.

This note by Mr. D. G. Harris, to say the least, is a production, which is far from the standard expected of a Consulting Engineer, whom the Government of India employs. In this note there is not a single fact, a single deduction, a single theory, or a single recommendation that is new. In fact, these very things have been repeated by Mr. Addams Williams times without number and the note might just as well have been issued over the signature of Mr. Addams Williams. The only addition, if it can be so called, is in paragraph 9 of the note, which is rather amusing as an apology for a repetition of the worn-out argument in this behalf and as a sort of justification for an endeavour on the part of the department to revive the project. Its importance as such and its relevancy can only be judged from Mr. Harris's own language and I must, therefore, quote it in extenso :

"The most serious point is, however, that where the Subtermukhi River crosses the steamer route. A comparison of a chart of its

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crossing to-day with that of 1878 shows dry land, where there were formerly 18 feet of water, and 3 feet where there were formerly 30. My predecessor, Sir Frederick Gebbie, who inspected the crossing in 1920, came to the conclusion that the silt coming down the Subtermukhi would block it and render it impossible to open within seven years. He may have been pessimistic as regards the time, which it would take for the river to shoal up (such a process is not necessarily regular, but may be retarded in one year, while accelerating in another), but that it is shoaling and will continue to shoal there is not, in my view, the slightest doubt. It is already a serious source of delay; impassable at low tide, there not being more than two to three feet of water on the top of the bar, and steamers arriving at low water have to wait on either side for the tide—a wait, which may, by making them miss the tide in the Hooghly, cause them to arrive twenty four hours late in Calcutta. The bar is steadily getting worse, and it is only a question of time before it becomes an island dividing the river into two channels and thus completely blocking the route. I agree entirely with Sir Frederick Gebbie that this crossing is inevitably doomed.,,

The opinion expressed by Mr. Harris in this paragraph that his predecessor, Sir Frederick Gebbie, was wrong in concluding that the Subtermukhi crossing would be blocked up in seven years, is the only thing that is new in his whole note. The strange irony, however, is that it fell to the lot of a scientist and an expert in the employ of the Government of India to find out this obvious fact at the end of that oracular period and that he was obliged to contradict his predecessor. In the layman's untrained mind might arise the natural question—cannot the successor of Mr. G. D. Harris equally well find him erroneous? But probably not, for Mr. Harris has at least one virtue and that is of being vague, acquired, no doubt, from experience. He refuses to mention any date for the completion of such blocking up. He says, "it is only a question of time."

The insertion of this paragraph, however, was a necessity from the point of view of the department. It was to keep alive and advertise the absolute and urgent necessity for taking action for providing an alternative route, which, according to the greatest deltaic expert, was, of course, the Grand Trunk Canal.

The history of the project, so far known, rests with the publication of the correspondence etc. as mentioned above. It will be observed that neither the Government nor Mr. Addams Williams has replied to the Committee and the poor Members of Parliament, who must live in expectation. Nothing is known about any further correspondence between the

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Governments of Bengal and India as threatened in para. 3 of Bengal's letter No. 20 T.—I, dated the 24th April, 1928. *

The publication of these documents have probably been made possible owing to the separation of function of the Secretary to the Government and Chief Engineer of Irrigation, formerly exercised by one and the same person, namely, Mr. Addams Williams, who, it is alleged, strenuously opposed the scheme. The separation, of course, took away with it the allowance that the Chief Engineer enjoyed for working as the Secretary and he has our sympathy, but it may be regarded as having produced at least one good effect as represented by the publication of the Government correspondence and Mr. Harris's opinion, specially Mr. Nelson's note. The Roads and Buildings Branch (P. W. D.), however, continues in the old way of the combined offices of the Secretary and Chief Engineer, which proves that an Executive Councillor in charge of the Reserve subject has apparently more real power than a Minister in charge of a nation-building one, having no power to effect such a separation.

Some of the prominent and pertinent questions in this connection are the following :

1. Cannot the successor of Mr. Addams Williams find some defect, obvious or otherwise, in this scheme of his in the same way as he did in that of Mr. Lees and cannot such a defect lead to its rejection or modification ?

2. Is the Grand Trunk Canal as projected by Mr. Addams Williams the only alternative ?

3. Are the estimates correct, adequate or even trustworthy, and what are the prospects ?

4. Assuming that the estimates are adequate and correct, can the project be carried out in the financial condition of the province, whether the capital expenditure is met out of the loans or revenue ?

5. What will be the effect of this scheme (including the locked canal and the training of rivers beyond) on the sanitary and agricultural conditions of the province ?

6. What are the opinions of the two most interested transportation sections, viz., the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Steamer Companies ?

There are many other questions of comparatively less, but none the less vital, importance that it is not possible to discuss in a small

*Vide item (6), Page 11.

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publication like this. Even in discussing the above-mentioned questions I must be stringently brief.

The idea of the Grand Trunk Canal as mentioned above * did not originate with Mr. Addams Williams, though it has practically become synonymous with his name. It took shape gradually from a note submitted in 1902 by Mr. O. C. Lees, formerly a Superintending Engineer of Irrigation in this province. It was not until 1912 that Mr. Lees was recalled (he having retired in the meantime) and asked to draw up a complete scheme, which he submitted in 1913. Briefly this scheme was for a canal issuing from the Hooghly at Badartala, south of Garden Reach, Calcutta, to Kulti. † Provision for an Inland Harbour was also made near the present Port Commissioner's Docks. In 1922 Mr. Addams Williams submitted his revised scheme embodied in what is now known as his famous "Red Book." Mr. Addams Williams found a great flaw in Mr. Lees' scheme, which he asserted was also admitted by Mr. Lees, in the fact that the crossing of the Bidyadhari River by Mr. Lees' canal was impracticable. He, therefore, changed the point of junction of the canal from Badartala to Baranagar to the north of the city of Calcutta. The engineering side of the flaw and change need not be discussed in detail in these pages, but the effect of the new alignment of Mr. Addams Williams does require more than a passing remark, which will be made when I discuss the sanitary and agricultural effects. The obvious fact is that no two experts think or act alike. There was as much difference between Mr. Addams Williams and Mr. Lees as between Mr. Harris and Sir Frederick Gebbie. Naturally the authorities found themselves between Scylla and Charybdis.

The people, and the Indian mercantile community specially, in the meantime, were persistent in their protest against the scheme and insistent about an independent enquiry into the whole matter. The most effective of these protests and demands were made by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, which was following this subject up in the same strain for a long time. But the presence of one strong man alone has been sufficient to prevent the making of the slightest impression by popular and other protests on the Government, till they find themselves in the ludicrous position of reconsidering a momentous decision on the flimsy note of a so-called "independent

* Vide page 7.

† See map of Grand Trunk Canal.

professional" man containing a mere gramophone record of the strong man's own data and arguments, already repeated times without number. The persistence of Mr. Addams Williams is as admirable as his industry is praiseworthy. Had these qualities been devoted to the right cause of the country, the people of Bengal and their posterity would have remembered Mr. Addams Williams as a second Bhagirath, bringing health, wealth and prosperity to them. As matters stand, unfortunately, they wonder if and when he will take leave of these shores.

They also wonder why the Government of Bengal took the unprecedented step of extending his incumbency of office as Chief Engineer for a second term. This has undoubtedly operated against an examination of his pet scheme by his successor. Who knows that, following precedent, and probably in the growing light of scientific progress and further accumulation of data and experience, there might not have been a subsequent revision at any rate? That the project may not be free from defects, and serious ones too, has been hinted at by many a layman, public bodies and may be, even men in Government employ. The most out-spoken opinion, so far as an expression of it was possible in the circumstances, was recorded by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. The necessity, therefore, arose even as a matter of self-defence for the department to obtain what was demanded as an "independent opinion." The department, therefore, armed itself with the certificates of merit, first from Sir Thomas (then Mr.) Ward, then from Mr. N. Nethersole, C. S. I., from Sir Frederick (then Mr.) Gebbie and finally from Mr. D. G. Harris. And in connection with this final one appears the significantly disinfecting note by Mr. W. H. Nelson, the Irrigation Secretary. * But the popular demand was for quite a different kind of "independent opinion" and the Hon. Member in charge of the Irrigation portfolio would earn the gratitude of the people if he would kindly publish the papers and facts relating to, or deny the existence of, an alleged endeavour to engage the services of an expert, Sir John Benton, or one from America, for instance, to examine the whole scheme. Perhaps the High Commissioner for India in London may enlighten us.

The second question mentioned above † as to whether this Grand Trunk Canal project of Mr. Addams Williams is the only alternative to

* Vide page 11.

† Vide page 14.

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the dying Sunderbans route is also of a scientific nature and outside the province of consideration by laymen. But, as science is not against common sense, the layman might be excused for expressing his bewilderment, at least at the variance between Mr. Lees and Mr. Addams Williams, as is palpable and for asking a question as to whether any other scheme was ever made or even suggested and what its fate was. What the layman wants to know is not an opinion of the nature of a certificate of merit given by an "independent professional" man fortified by the support of the Chief Engineer of Irrigation in Bengal and "the Managers and technical experts of the two principal steamer companies." He wants to know of opinions other than these. Were there any and will the Hon'ble Irrigation Member kindly enquire and enlighten the public? As matters stand, the Grand Trunk Canal project is, no doubt, the only one before the Government. The issue is—is it the only one possible? If other possibilities have been disregarded or left out of consideration, why so and who is responsible?

At a conference held in 1923 and presided over by the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, Mr. Addams Williams gave a lecture on the Grand Trunk Canal project. Some members of the audience then asked a few questions, that were also replied to by Mr. Addams Williams. A European gentleman was said to have asked :

"Even if you proceed with the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme would it not be necessary in order to keep the route all right, to dredge other rivers?"

The European gentleman raised the most acute and pertinent question in this connection. By "Grand Trunk Canal Scheme" he evidently meant the works in connection with the locked canal, inland harbour, etc., and he was quite cautious when he referred to the dredging of "other" rivers, i. e. those beyond the locked canal. A reference to the map of the Grand Trunk Canal at the end will show the position and the rivers beyond. Of these rivers the cross ones (including the khals and cuts) are most treacherous and several of them are already dead and dying. Mr. Addams Williams's reply to this unfortunate European gentleman was said to have been :

"Yes, if you are talking of 500 years hence."

Amazing is, indeed the mildest description that can be applied to this reply. Any ordinary mortal would hesitate at making such a reply,

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but not Mr. Addams Williams, the scientist and greatest living deltaic engineer in the world. Yet a cross channel in the Doa Agra itself is mentioned by him as evidence in favour of his theory of the Sunderbans route being unavailable in time. The Doa Agra is said to have shrunk from a width of 2750 feet in 1897 to less than 200 feet in 1923, the Hetalia Doania's bed, again, is raised, the Subtermukhi crossing is silting up, the Jabuna is gone and so are the Coxali, Banstala, Assasuni, and even the Seepsah. In a rather useful compilation, known as the "History of the Rivers in the Gangetic Delta, 1750-1918" by Mr. Addams Williams, (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1919) is a paragraph on page 40 reading as follows :

"The depth of water in the Seepsah off the Menus mouth appears extraordinary: the depth of 28 fathoms was obtained at a point about 200 feet below the Menus mouth: opposite the mouth an attempt at sounding failed to reach bottom: the local fishermen state that they have sounded to 80 fathoms without reaching the bed of the river: it is not known whether there is a local pot hole in the river at this place caused by an eddy or not: the river runs straight and the Menus itself has only 6 fathoms: investigations will be made to determine the extent of the scour."

It would be interesting to learn of the experience of Mr. Addams Williams early in 1925, when he was said to have gone over the same place. Did he find even 28 feet in place of 28 fathoms? What investigations did he make after 1919, or even after 1925, and with what result? And it is a notorious fact that in the Menus itself an ordinary inland steamer of about seven feet draft scratched the bottom in 1925.

Mr. Addams Williams's whole fabric of arguments for the Grand Trunk Cannal project rests on the advertised dying condition of the Doa Agra, and the rivers to the east of it and the live condition of those of the inner boat route. In the latter he is constantly changing the alignment and providing for cuts etc. His original idea of using the Chandkhali Khal, for instance, has vanished in connection with the inner route. His Assasuni cut is foredoomed in the light of the past experience of his own department and many other channels and rivers are similarly involved, not to speak of the Seepsah. And yet Mr. Addams Williams is said to have pronounced the delphic oracle of keeping these rivers alive for 500 years to come without dredging!

His experience of the Lower Kumar River in connection with the Madaripore Bhil route ought to be a sufficient warning against an irrespon-

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sible and drastic prophecy for 500 years to come. Lakhs of rupees are being spent every year in keeping this small stretch open and Mr. Addams Williams cannot even make a budget for the cost of clearing the shoals as he cannot foresee what might happen even a season ahead!

Mr. Addams Williams had perhaps the dire necessity of hurling that discourteous reply to the European gentleman, who, perhaps unwittingly, touched the very vitally weak spot in his project. In less than three years the Government had thrown the pet scheme of this greatest living deltaic engineer overboard. But in less than three months from the time of the abandonment of the project the Government decided to review the question on the strength of a note, from an "independent professional" man, the nature and substance of which even a child could detect as being those of Mr. Addams Williams himself.

The third question* is easy to answer. The last committee appointed in this connection would easily have proved the inadequacy of the estimates if the Government allowed it to continue. The very fact that the "Forecast" of traffic in the Red Book was an exaggerated one would have vitiated the estimate to a degree. There were various other items in the estimate that would hardly stand scrutiny and mention of these was made in the article in the Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. The net result is that the yield of 13.2 p. c. † on the estimated capital outlay is an illusion. Further mention of this point will be made when I discuss the finances and accounts of the department in a later section. One matter, however, may be mentioned in passing. If this project of Mr. Addams Williams were of such a magnificently lucrative nature, why could it not be executed as a private undertaking in the same manner, as for instance, a company owned railway? Perhaps the Hon. Member in charge of the Irrigation department may enlighten the public on this point. He might publish the facts, papers, memorandum, correspondence etc., of an alleged negotiation with a certain foreign firm of financiers, having a fiscal foundation in many countries, which a certain mercantile Knight was alleged to have brought about. He might also publish the reasons for the alleged rejection of the proposal by the party. Or else he might deny the truth of the allegation altogether. A further allegation was that the firm of foreign foundation found it far from profitable to undertake the work and run it as a business proposition.

* Vide page 14.

† Vide page 3 of the "Financial Results" in the "Red Book."

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As to whether the project can be carried out, even if the estimates be correct in the condition of the country, will also be dealt with later.

The question relating to the effect of the canal on the sanitary and agricultural condition of the country will be dealt with in the relative section to follow.

The sixth question, * as to the opinion of the two interested sections of transportation concerns, may throw some curious light on the subject. The Eastern Bengal Railway has all along preserved an ominous silence in this respect, except that their Chief Engineer and Traffic Manager at one time sat in a Technical Committee in this connection. That Committee did not discuss the project as a whole. It is unknown what the attitude of the E. B. R. will be. Probably they are not interested, since they are perfectly aware that, with the completion of the Dacca Aricha Railway and the Faridpur Barisal one (the latter in due time), they will be able to disregard any competition that steamer traffic will offer with the help of the problematical advantage of the Grand Trunk Canal and the treacherous rivers beyond. The question of capital does not weigh with the Railway so much as it does with the Grand Trunk Canal project. Besides, the costs of maintenance and operation of a railway are definitely known factors. Those of the Grand Trunk Canal are not, as may be easily gathered from the experience of the Madaripore Bhil route and the Lower Kumar river.

The Steamer Companies (one in reality as truly described in the Bengal Government letter No. 20 T.-I, of the 24th April, 1928) have, wisely enough, refrained from making any public pronouncement on the subject, but their spokesmen, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, have, from time to time, as the occasion arose, asked for expediting the construction of the canal as a Government, i. e., public utility, work. It is, however, generally known that in spite of the earnest desire of the Steamer Companies to find the Grand Trunk Canal an accomplished fact, they were not unmindful of their other interests. They are said to have emphatically brought the following points to the notice of the Government.

They had watched with apprehension the rise of the estimated rate of tolls from Re. 1-4-0 per 100 maunds to Rs. 2-8-0, the movement being always in the upward direction, and they wanted to have a guaranteed

* Vide page 14.

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maximum. They were also said to have warned the Government that the trade of Calcutta did not provide an inexhaustible source of taxation for public utility schemes. They were already booked for Re. 0-8-4 per 100 maunds in respect of the New Howrah Bridge. Besides, these imports would create an unfair competition between the Calcutta and Chittagong Ports. The provision of enforcing the payment of tolls, whether the Grand Trunk Canal or the Outer Steamer route was used by them, was objectionable and might lead to the imposition of an unreasonable rate of tolls and inefficient working of the canal. The political effect of carrying out the project against popular opposition was presumably considered also. The Steamer Companies were said to have refused to be a party to a scheme strenuously opposed by a great majority of their clients, who were Indians and with whom they had friendly relations for nearly three quarters of a century. There perhaps was also a suggestion for creating a Trust for the construction and working of the canal.

Thus the very scheme, which was being pushed forward with such assiduous energy and in the teeth of practically universal opposition from the whole population of Bengal, for the sole purpose of enabling the steamer companies to obtain a water-passage to Calcutta constructed and maintained at public expense was, perhaps, opposed by the very party for whose benefit it was launched !

B. OTHER WORKS

Other works of this department, not necessarily in the order of their importance, are the following :

1. Damodar Canal (Productive)
2. Bakreswar Irrigation Scheme (productive)
3. Midnapore Canal (unproductive)
4. Hijli Tidal Canal (unproductive)
5. Madaripur Bhil Route (unproductive)

The first two are irrigation works proper, the third is both an irrigation and navigation one and the fourth and fifth are purely navigation works.

The Damodar Canal is designed to irrigate 2,00,000 acres of paddy land in the Burdwan and Hooghly districts. Work was just commenced

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and only a few preliminaries were completed up to 1927-28. Comments on these works must, therefore, be withheld, but a few pertinent facts may be noticed.

The Accountant General, Bengal, remarks in respect of appropriation accounts of 1927-28 as follows (Page 62 of Report, para 97) :

“The voted expenditure under 55 construction etc. works not charged to Revenue —A— Irrigation Works—Productive—Works fell short of the amount voted by the Council to the extent of Rs. 14,09,833 owing mainly to the bulk of the provision for the Damodar canal not having been utilised on account of the failure of the East Indian Railway to complete the railway siding at Panagar for carriage of stores and tools and plant required for the work. Over 80 per cent of the original provision could not be utilised. It may perhaps be considered whether the project connected with the construction of the railway siding had sufficiently matured to justify the provision being made at the time of framing the estimate.”

The Council voted the grant for Rs. 17,50,000. Rs. 3,40,167 were spent, leaving a balance of Rs. 14,09,833. In explaining the variation between Expenditure and Grant, the Accountant General (page 121 of Report) says :

“(Variation) Due to smaller works in the Damodar Canal owing to the delay in the completion of the railway siding at Panagar by the East Indian Railway and difficulty in obtaining plant in time. A sum of Rs 12,81,580 was surrendered and Rs 19,120 was re-appropriated to other heads resulting in a net saving of Rs 37, 133. (This was the departmental saving.) Over 80 per cent of the amount voted by the council could not be a utilised.”

Accuracy of estimates is a matter of pride with Mr. Addams Williams. In the conference regarding the Grand Trunk Canal, in which he silenced the unfortunate European gentleman by pronouncing the oracle of 500 years of undredged life of the rivers, Mr. Addams Williams is said to have been asked the following question by Mr. Amulya Dhone Addy :

“If 12 lakhs were required for the construction of so small a bridge over a small river, I am afraid whether 279 lakhs will suffice for the construction of this huge Canal ?”

To this Mr. Addams Williams is said to have given this reply :

“I have estimated every single thing that we can think of. We have been over our estimates, time and again, since the submission of this project. We have gone into everything one by one.”

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Admirable as such assiduity is, it is entirely and hopelessly belied by a single item in respect of the Damodar Canal project ! And the condemnation does not come from a layman, but from the highest Government Accounting official in the province, competent to pronounce it on the capacity of even the greatest living deltaic expert ! A layman's comments are superfluous indeed.

The department is not famous for close, much less accurate, estimates. It has, besides, the habit of spending before sanctions are given or even estimates are prepared. Estimates are often unduly low and the Accountant General has to make the very unsavoury suggestion that "it may be investigated whether more accurate forecast was not possible at the time of preparing the budget." Doubts are, therefore, entertained as to whether the amount of Rs. 78,14,981 would suffice to complete the project. If it does, the credit, of course, goes to Mr. Addams Williams, since he alone is responsible not only for the whole scheme and estimates down to the minutest details, as he usually claims to have considered and worked out, but also for the carrying out of the construction under his personal supervision to the exclusion of the usual machinery of the department, a procedure unusually abnormal in respect of such Government public works. If the estimated amount be insufficient, and that is most likely in accordance with precedence, the blame may be distributed and dissipated or the subject may be altogether dropped if convenient. In any case Mr. Addams Williams will have taken leave of the shores of this country long before the day of reckoning arrives. It would even now be interesting to learn the volume of works completed, its estimated and actual costs and the variations, adjustments and re-appropriations made. Perhaps the Hon. Member in charge of Irrigation will publish these facts in the public interest.

But despite all that is written above, the Damodar Canal project is a welcome one and the people of the portions of the two districts may indeed be grateful to Government after 170 years of British rule.

The Bakreswar Irrigation scheme is a modest but similarly welcome one, estimated to cost Rs. 4,90,596. Most of the apprehension, however, as in the case of Damodar Canal, is also present here.

The Midnapur Canal has a two-fold function of irrigation and navigation as mentioned above. It is now a fairly ancient Canal, the date of its closing of Construction Estimate being 31st March, 1889.

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It was originally classed as a "productive" undertaking, but the almost perpetual heavy loss compelled it recently to be classed as "unproductive."* This might have served as a lesson in the case of other projects, but the department is proof against experience.

The area irrigated by this canal is about 80,000 acres. Its position will be discussed further in the financial section.

The Hijli Tidal Canal is a purely navigation channel constructed at a cost of Rs 26,14,318. It was also a "productive" affair. It is similiary "unproductive" now and will be very much so in future if the figures up to 1927-28 provide a clue. Its position will also be discussed later on.

The Madaripore Bhil Route, another purely navigation channel, is yet another "white elephant," if mixed metaphor be permitted. It is classed as "unproductive", though the reason for this classification is not apparent, it being at par with the Grand Trunk Canal, but that is another matter.

A diagram plan of the Madaripur Bhil Route is appended at the end. The route was opened primarily for the passage of inland steamers although country boats use it occasionally, with loss and always at their peril.

It will be observed that the route extends in a west to east direction, its source being at a point near Gopalganj on the Madhumati River and mouth at the middle of a crescent-like river, the Kumar, the arms of the crescent joining the Urialkahn river to the east. The two arms are known as the Upper and Lower Kumar rivers. The route is right across a low land country, a portion of which remains under water all the year round, while the whole of it is inundated during the monsoons. The slope is from north to south.

It proved a failure from the very beginning. Inundations caused silting up, the Kumars behaved in an erratic manner with shoals and other obstacles, the cultivators on the southern side cut open water passages or dammed them where necessary and it was found almost impossible to preserve it till a really practical suggestion was made by some one (who?) to save it by erecting an embankment along the southern bank of the route. The cultivators on the southern area objected and provision was made for sluices. Thus both capital and working expenses mounted up and the end is not yet. The Lower Kumar, which is used by the Steamers

* Since the beginning of 1921-22.

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proved an insoluble problem even for the greatest living deltaic expert, so much so that he is unable to foresee even a few months ahead how it will behave and make his estimates accordingly. The result is that the working expense is an unknown quantity and the Irrigation Department's Budget is necessarily elastic to permit of appropriations from one head to another.

The Accountant General observes in this respect as follows :

“Under ‘Working Expenses,’ the Madaripur Bhil Route shows an abnormal increase of expenditure over that of the previous years and an unusual fall in revenue, as will appear from the figures noted below. The fall of revenue is explained by the Executive Engineer, Khulna Division, to be due to the suspension of Steamer Traffic for 7 months during the year, on account of bad shoaling in the Lower Kumar River, to remove which unusually heavy dredging had to be done. This also raised the figures for Working Expenses considerably above those for previous years. The attention of Government is especially drawn to this fact, so that an investigation may be made into the matter, if considered necessary.

	Receipts Rs.	Working expenses Rs.
1925-26	3,79,729	2,20,558
1926-27	3,87,005	3,26,782
1927-28	2,74,336	7,40,857”

The last sentence is almost pathetic in its significance and the Government “Resolution” is generously silent on the point. But then the “Resolution” is a mere summary of the Report and quite an indifferent one too.

There are several other works of minor importance which exhibit the same character in conception, estimate, construction and finance. Therefore, any detailed discussion of them is unnecessary.

C. EMBANKMENTS

A part, a very minor part, of the activity of the department relates to the maintenance of the embankments along either or both banks of certain rivers for the prevention of flood water, specially during freshets, damaging the crops in the adjoining areas. The duty of construction and maintenance of these embankments rested with the Zemindars, before the Permanent Settlement in 1793. When the Permanent Settlement was made and the fixed revenue was assessed, an amount, equal to that of the

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cost of maintenance of these embankments at that time, was excluded from the assessment on the understanding that the Zemindars concerned would permanently maintain such embankments. The Zemindary mostly affected was the Burdwan Raj, which in the early seventies of the last century decided to discontinue the duty of maintenance and offered to pay to the Government about Rs. 80,000 per annum, being the amount of such relinquishment at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The offer was accepted after an Embankment Act was passed in 1873.* A few other Zemindars were also affected and, in fact, the Government took over all such embankments and called them "Schedule D Embankments." Besides the Schedule D Embankments, the Government maintains several other embankments along certain other rivers. All these embankments are within the scope of the Irrigation Department.

No separate accounts of the receipts (by the Revenue Department) and disbursements (by the Irrigation Department) in respect of Schedule D Embankments are available, but it will be interesting to learn whether the Government makes a profit in bulk or the provincial revenues are debited to any extent.

The problem of maintenance of these embankments is rather involved, more departments than one being concerned and space does not permit me to enter into details. Mention is made of the situation alone and that also in view of the effect of these embankments on agriculture and sanitation and health.

D. PREPARATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The significantly insignificant activity of the department lies in its preparations for the future. In the following table is shown the estimates and expenditure in respect of "surveys and investigations" undertaken by the department.

	Sanctioned Estimated Amount.	Expenditure up to date (1927-28)
Damodar Division	Rs. 4,273	Rs. 2,978
Bankura Division	Rs. 15,949	Rs. 12,326
Southern Circle	Rs. 11,135 (?)	Rs. 8,753
TOTAL	31,357 (?)	24,057

* Subsequently amended in 1882.

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The department, which has made a capital outlay of Rs. 3,35,62,199 up to the end of 1927-28 and the working expenses of which for that year was Rs. 16,48,709 (adjustments etc. excluded), had a provision of Rs. 31,357 only for the collection of data for its future projects. Yet the dredgers "Burdwan", "Cowley" and "Ronaldshay" were purchased in advance, their capital values, i.e. book values, in 1927-28 being Rs. 1,17,64,229 ! And such advance purchase of these useless monsters was justified on their future utility ! Adjectives are wanting to describe the situation adequately. I would request my readers to visualise the perspective as best as they can. I refrain from working out a percentage of incidence because of its microscopic nature.

III. FINANCIAL

In the following table is given a general view of the financial results of the department up to the end of 1927-28. Details are omitted to make the table as light as possible, but references to particulars will be made as I proceed and further departmental figures and those deduced will also be given in their respective places.

The table gives a comprehensive view and the significant nature of the department's activity, which is primarily that of navigation.

TABLE OF THE FINANCIAL RESULT OF THE DEPARTMENT
UP TO THE END OF 1927-28.

Works	Estimated cost of construction.	Total Capital outlay	Accumulated surplus revenue.	Total sum charge Cols. 2 & 3
PRODUCTIVE WORKS				
A. IRRIGATION.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Damodar Canal	78,14,981	8,13,845	44,890	8,58,735
Bakreswar Irrigation Scheme	4,90,596	14,653	406	15,059
B. NAVIGATION, EMBANK- MENT & DRAINAGE WORKS.				
Grand Trunk Canal	2,54,75,000	14,47,627	5,65,673	20,13,300
<i>Total Productive Works</i>	3,37,80,577	22,76,125	6,10,969	28,87,094

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UNPRODUCTIVE WORKS

A. IRRIGATION.

Midnapore Canal	84,94,053	84,94,053	1,59,02,396	2,43,96,449
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B. NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT & DRAINAGE WORKS.

Hijli Tidal Canal	26,14,318	26,14,318	41,39,307	67,53,625
Calcutta & Eastern Canals	76,91,838	70,39,768		70,39,768
Sunderbans Steamer Route	22,27,207	19,20,110	28,84,610	48,04,720
Madaripur Bhil Route	77,06,655	76,62,753	2,62,943	79,25,696
Dredger Ronaldshay	54,25,000	55,16,986	21,06,763	76,23,749
Purchase of Dredger	64,40,000	62,47,243	24,75,289	87,22,532
Dredging Bidyadhari	10,22,412	11,13,394	2,26,900	13,40,294
<hr/>				
Total B. Navigation etc.	3,31,26,830	3,21,14,572	1,20,95,812	4,42,10,384
<i>Total Unproductive Works</i>	4,16,20,833	4,06,08,625	2,79,98,208	6,86,06,833

It would help us in realising the sequence and incidence of these financial results if I proceed in the same order of reference to works as in the preceding section. The consideration of the financial situation of the department as a whole will follow.

THE GRAND TRUNK CANAL

The revised estimate of this project, as given in the Red Book, is Rs. 2,79,23,122. The estimate sanctioned by the Secretary of State was Rs. 3,09,00,000. The reduction, as reflected in the revised estimate, was reported to be due to the very careful scrutiny exercised by Mr. Addams Williams.

This revised estimate was ruthlessly criticised by many at the time and subsequently. Then the Government appointed the committee to enquire into a part of it at least, i.e., its revenue portion, which also involved a part of the estimate of costs. No one knows exactly why the Committee was dissolved and why the project was abandoned only to be revived within three months. The history, as far as it is known, is given in the preceding section.

In the table of financial results just given above, the estimated cost is shown to be not Rs. 2,79,23,122 but Rs. 2,54,75,000. Just how the amount of difference, Rs. 24,48,122, again vanished from the estimates is not known. No explanation of it is to be found anywhere, but such a drastic reduction is indeed of vital importance, since the main controversy

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in regard to the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme revolves round this question of estimates.

Whether Mr. Addams Williams has again revised his estimates or whether the figures have been adjusted by the transfer of Rs. 24,48,122 to other heads is at present a matter of conjecture and judgment should be withheld. But mention may be made of the fact that the Irrigation department estimates are notoriously undervalued to be subsequently exceeded as the work progresses. An instance of a somewhat different kind but having the same effect may be mentioned, i. e., that of the works relating to the Hoorhooah Khal. In this case the amount of estimate was not exceeded, in fact, there was an actual saving of a very small amount, but the works were only about a third completed. In other words, the actual cost was about three times the estimated one. This has a direct bearing on the Grand Trunk Canal estimates, one of the items being common to both, that of dredging. Again the cost of construction of the Tolly's Nullah bridge was nearly four times that of the estimate, but Mr. Addams Williams repudiates its authorship. Still it concerned his department, at any rate to start with.

To resume. The estimated cost of the Grand Trunk Canal project is accepted generally (except by Mr. Addams Williams,) as far too low. The Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce discusses this matter of estimate in some detail and it is not intended to go over the ground twice. I will, however, quote a paragraph in respect of the cost of the "excavation" and then proceed to discuss a few other items.

In respect of the item "excavation" the Journal says:

"Item 'Excavation' in the estimate means only the cost of fuel, lubricants etc. If experience hitherto has proved that the rates of Rs. 3 and Rs. 3-8 are inadequate and the true rate should be no less than Rs. 8-8 at the minimum, then this one item alone should be increased to 260 per cent. and the figures will stand thus :—

Total 'Excavation' Estimate as in the Combined	
Estimate (page 4 of the 'Red Book') ...	Rs. 33,02,221.
Increased to 260 p.c.	Rs. 85,85,774.

This amounts to an increase of the estimate by Rs. 52,83,553. Mr. Addams Williams has cut down Rs. 30 lakhs by his so-called careful revision from the estimate sanctioned by the Secretary of State. That estimate is exceeded by Rs. 22,83,553 if the reasonable probable minimum rate of 'dredging' (not excavation, which is the proper term and which is employed by him in the Harbours

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Section, page 16), is taken into account. Is it too much to request Government to investigate this point thoroughly and satisfy themselves and the public?"

It should be observed that Mr. Addams Williams's rates, as given in the Red Book, at Rs. 3 and Rs. 3-8 have never even been approximated. His own experience, even without taking into account many factors, such as repairs, life of the dredgers and necessary sinking fund, interest, accidents, variations, stoppages, incapacity to excavate the required volume of earth, etc., is that nothing short of Rs. 8 or Rs. 8-8 will suffice. The cost of the project should, therefore, be not Rs. 2,79,23,122 but Rs. 3,23,06,675! The amount under this head, excavation, in the estimate sanctioned by the Secretary of State, was Rs. 25,51,709. Mr. Addams Williams after very careful revision *increased* it to Rs. 33,03,221. It may, therefore, be presumed that no reduction in this item is possible. Mr. Addams Williams's revised total for the project is Rs. 2,54,75,000. Assuming that the figure for the item "excavation" remains unaltered, the total on the basis of the rational dredging cost should be Rs. 3,07,58,553. But if Mr. Addams Williams goes back to his original figure of Rs. 25,51,709 on this item, the total will be Rs. 3,15,09,065.

I have gone into some details in respect of this single item to show what variations in the estimate are probable. I shall refer to a few other items only as factors of such variation.

The total estimated cost of the project is based on numerous assumptions, the reasonableness of which, much less their correctness, is exceedingly faulty and in no instance are they based on actual experience or facts. Nor are any possible variations either suggested or taken into account. The calculations are of the elementary arithmetical kind and not those of calculus, in other words the unknown and disturbing factors are totally ignored in them.

Besides, the figure of Rs. 2,79,23,122 (the total estimated capital cost) has been arrived at after taking credit for various recoveries in respect of highly problematical items, some of which will be discussed presently. This nature of the estimates should be carefully borne in mind, since it vitiates the whole of the project's finances very materially.

Land is an item of considerable expenditure. In the estimate sanctioned by the Secretary of State it amounted to Rs. 53,57,000. In Mr.

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Addams Williams's revised estimate he has not only been able to wipe this amount off altogether, but actually to show a profit of Rs. 9,72,314, making a total saving of Rs. 63,29,314. This miracle has been brought about on the assumption of sale of surplus land along the canal.

The fact, however, remains that not a single square inch of land so far acquired in this connection, has been so acquired at anything even near the estimated cost. In practically all cases much higher compensation had to be paid. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the original estimate of Rs. 53,57,000 would be far exceeded and not only will there be no profit, but a large deficit is inevitable. Besides, land-values in Calcutta have diminished to a great degree and there is no prospect of any rise unless there be a war again, in which India would not be involved. There is not only no demand for land for any purpose, much less for the expansion of industry and trade, on which principally Mr. Addams Williams was relying for the disposal of his surplus land, but there is practically no money to buy any land with. The conditions obtaining just after the war are not the conditions of to-day. Mr. Addams Williams's optimism may be praiseworthy, but it is not practical at all.

One of the items in Mr. Addams Williams's estimate is the setting up of a brick field at Baranagar, with the object of utilising the earth excavated in constructing the canal at this end (there being no room for depositing the soil or throwing it into the river Hooghly) and to obtain bricks cheaply for the masonry works. This stroke of imagination would undoubtedly be worthy of a genius, but for several flies in the ointment, or rather a few brickbats in the pug mills. It is hard to resist the temptation of quoting his data, which are as follows :

“The capital cost of the brick-field for full development and also of the feeder channel itself and connected works is Rs. 16,00,111.

Cost of manufacture of bricks is Rs. 7,35,000 per annum.

Annual out-turn of bricks 588 lakhs, of which 75 p. c. (!) are 1st class.

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On the above basis Mr. Addams William's estimates are as follows :

“Allow 50 lakhs of 1st class bricks for Government work at Rs. 15 per thousand ; then value of bricks manufactured will be—

1st class	50 lakhs	at Rs. 15	per thousand	75,000	
1st	” 391	”	” 20	7,82,000	
2nd	” 88.2	”	” 17	1,50,000	
3rd	”	and others	29.4 lakhs		
		at Rs. 12	per thousand	35,000	
				Total	10,42,000
				Cost of manufacture	7,35,000
				Net profit	3,07,000

Proportional charge for manufacture
of Government bricks

$\frac{50}{588}$	of Rs. 7,35,000	Rs. 62,500
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Sale value of bricks sold	6,67,000
Cost of bricks sold	6,72,000

Net profit carried to Revenue Account	2,95,000
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Which on the total capital cost of Rs. 16,00,111 is equal to a return of 18½ per cent.”

Regarding the lower standard arithmetic of this estimate I have nothing to say, but it would be a marvellous feat for Mr. Addams Williams to accomplish even if the assumptions in it remained unaltered only for a short while. And it should be remembered that his most carefully revised estimate of the project amounting to Rs. 2,79,23,122 was arrived at after taking due credit of the “net profit” of Rs. 2,95,000 per annum for 5 years, the period of construction of the canal.

Let us now go a little further in to our discussion of this item.

Mr. Addams Williams could get his 50 lakhs of bricks to-day at Rs. 15 per thousand (his own rate) made on the spot with his excavated clay, even if he charged tollage on it, on a contract basis, especially on a 5 years' contract. And this would be possible without his having to spend an anna on works, plant, machinery and other incidental charges.

His expectation of selling 391 lakhs of bricks at Rs. 20 per thousand would be a chimaera to-day since the price of bricks is down by at least 20% and the demand has decreased by at least half. Building and other

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construction works have gone down tremendously in and about Calcutta and many brick fields have already closed down. Concrete construction is advancing in volume and the future demand for bricks for other purposes will certainly be reduced. The money market is tight and there is no prospect of any building boom for years to come. Even if the conditions alter, competition among private manufacturers of bricks is bound to keep the price low and government bricks at higher prices will not have any special charm of their own to command a sale. The average market value of such bricks to-day is about Rs. 18 per thousand, delivered at site of construction in Calcutta, and buyers are few and far between !

Mr. Addams Williams has made a calculation of 18½% return on his capital outlay in this concern—a wonderful lure for capitalists. Why, in spite of this expert calculation, the capitalists and speculators in the country have not only fought shy of launching in this business, but have actually abandoned it, is easily imaginable. That a government brickfield venture is an utter failure, even in normal and growing periods, is within the experience of the Public Works Department. The Government brickfield at Akra to the south of Calcutta is an example, and the loss entailed there was considerable. It was abandoned. And yet Mr. Addams Williams, on the strength of his simple arithmetic, takes a credit of Rs. 2,95,000 per annum in preparing his very carefully revised estimate !

Credit has been taken in a similar way in respect of transit shed rent and sale and rent of other plots of land etc., in the Inland Harbour and plots adjoining the canal, as well as other equally problematical items. Let us quote Mr. Addams Williams himself :

“The receipts from the harbours will be derived from rents of land and transit sheds and a terminal charge on the railways, all tolls having been shown against the main canal. In estimating the receipts I have based my figures on applications for actual space. Out of 226 applications, 118 are for specified areas totalling 975 bighas ; in 61 cases the maundage only that it is expected to handle is mentioned and amounts to 226 lakhs of maunds ; the remaining applications amounting to 47 in all give neither the area nor maundage, but state that accommodation will be required.

“While some of the applications are probably a good deal exaggerated, others may be expected to come in by the time the harbours are ready for use. Those received do not include land

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required by the Port Commissioners, Government Departments, Transit sheds, nor any land which will be required by the Inland Steamer Companies for coal berths, etc.”

It would be interesting to learn how many of the 118 applicants for even specified areas totalling 975 bighas are in existence to-day. It is significant that not one of these applicants is reported to have urged the necessity of construction of the Inland Harbours, during the last 7 years almost to the date. Mr. Addams Williams made a calculation for only 320 bighas “in the first year the harbours are opened”, as he wished to “be well on the safe side.” “In the tenth year after opening, the total area shown as leased” was 1,298 bighas, leaving yet a surplus. With the slump in trade, with the money market tight, and with no prospect of any phenomenal recovery in the near future, this estimate is hopelessly wrong. Economists assert that even if international finance is adjusted on a satisfactory basis, the world will take at least a third of a century to attain a normal position. The political situation outside, and in India as well, may alter the situation tremendously. The engineering problems of the drainage of the portion of the country north of the locked canal and that of the Bidyadhari river may alter the entire aspect of the Inland Harbour, and, in fact, the whole Grand Trunk Canal project.

The net result of it all will be to vitiate Mr. Addams Williams' prophecies and arithmetic in such a manner that not 279 lakhs of rupees, but many times that amount will be required to construct this canal and his estimated return of 13.2 p.c. on the capital outlay will vanish into thin air.

I have given only a few examples of the utter inadequacy of figures in the estimates. They can, of course, be multiplied, but there is a limit to space and also to the patience of my readers. Let me, however, just take up one point on the revenue side of the estimates.

In the financial results of the estimates of the “combined project,” i.e. the Grand Trunk Canal proper and the Inland Harbour, Mr. Addams Williams gives figures for the capital outlay each year, also the total brought forward to the end of the year, the interest charges at 6 p.c. and the net revenue. These figures are calculated for a period of 15 years. In the 15th year the figures are as follows :

(a)	Expenditure to the end of the year	Rs. 2,72,54,293
(b)	Interest at 6 p. c.	Rs. 16,46,000
(c)	Net revenue	Rs. 37,08,000

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The total simple interest, less net revenue, continues up to the 8th year and from the 9th year to the 25th the net revenue, less simple interest, goes on accumulating. The total and other balance are as follows :

Simple interest <i>less</i> net revenue	...	Rs 89,47,000
Net Revenue <i>less</i> simple interest	...	<u>Rs 87,74,000</u>
Balance of interest charges in 15th year		Rs 1,73,000.

Further calculations are these :

“Results in the 15th year or 10 years after completion.

Direct charges	Rs	2,72,54,293
Indirect charges	”	6,68,829
Arrears of interest	”	1,73,000

		2,80,96,122.
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Return on ditto		13.2 per cent.”
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So this is the origin of the famous 13.2 p. c. return on the Grand Trunk Canal project!

There is such a thing as probability and variation in any business undertaking and their effect on the final result is also variable. In so far as these unknown quantities operate on the working out of a solution, thus far, indeed, the solution becomes difficult, the result questionable and the actual wide of the mark. That is why mathematicians evolved a system of calculation which could ensure but a reasonable guess at a result and nothing more. That is the work of the calculus and not of mere elementary arithmetic. That is why men in business and others interested in such undertakings make allowances for what they call *fluctuations*.

I have already mentioned above that the assumption of the revenue return on tolls on the basis of tonnage passing through the canal was questioned in the last Committee on the project and, as there was a good deal of difference between the figures given by Mr. Addams Williams in his Red Book and those presented at the Committee meeting, being compilations from no other source but Government statistical publications, the inevitable inference would be that the amount of expected revenue could never be realised. Then the rate of tolls has been raised from Re. 1-4-0 per 100 maunds in the original estimates to Rs. 2-8-0 for the quantity and it has not been accepted by the parties interested. The estimated return from sales and leases of buildings and land is a highly

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problematical one. In his speech in the Legislative Council in August, 1926, the late Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, then in charge of the Irrigation portfolio, made a statement which is rather significant and is, therefore, quoted here. He said :

“I must also mention that the steamer companies have neither made any offer of contributions towards capital expenditure, nor of entering into any agreement for toll. Mr. Addams Williams is of opinion that the time saved by the steamer companies in making the voyages by the shorter route thereby increasing their frequency, will be an adequate set off against any toll they would be called upon to pay.”

The significance lies in the Maharaja refraining from expressing any opinion of his own which might be construed as that of the Government. He merely referred to Mr. Addams Williams' surmise ! And Mr. Addams Williams never troubled about the action and re-action of competition of freight rates between the steamer companies and the railway, to mention but one of the several disturbing factors of his hypothesis.

These, among others, are the factors, i. e., unknown quantities, causing variations in respect of which little or no notice, has been taken. While out-goings, in ordinary reason, are bound to mount up, the income is equally bound to dwindle. Yet there appears to be a concensus of opinion even up to the Secretary of State that things are quite sound in the Bengal Irrigation Department. And on an estimate of this nature, with a show of 13. 2 p. c. return on a supposed capital outlay of 279 lakhs, Government is going to force the scheme down the throats of an unwilling people. One may be excused to enquire if it would be possible in any other country, even in England.

That such a scheme could proceed even as far as it has done, has been probably made possible by the tight veil that has all along been kept drawn over everything connected with it. The Hon. Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi has promised to lift the veil and while wishing him every success in his laudable endeavour, in which even mightier persons before him failed, I cannot conceal the apprehension of a fate similar to that of the ex-king Amanullah.

In his speech in the council, mentioned above, the late Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia also spoke on the estimates, this time deliberately expressing the Government's intention. He said :

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“Regarding the correctness or closeness of the estimates I should like to add only this. It is the intention of Government to call for tenders for the works relating to the Grand Trunk Canal Route, including the canal proper, works, drains, harbours etc., in fact everything comprised in the project, and the tenders received will themselves be ample proof of the adequacy or otherwise of the estimates; and if they vary much from our estimates Government would then reconsider the whole thing, and the matter will again be brought before the council should the Government decide to proceed with the scheme.”

It is a declaration of policy in respect of the scheme which public memory, being short, has probably forgotten and which the department may conveniently forget, but it is really the Magna Charta of the Grand Trunk Canal project. The Waterways Board which is intended to be formed should take a special note of it, as also every person or body of persons interested. That the estimates are anything but satisfactory may be judged from the alleged rejection of the proposal for undertaking the works by a foreign firm of financiers and construction engineers, if the allegation has any truth.

On the basis of the chimaerical assumption of the 13·2 p. c. return the Grand Trunk Canal has been classified as a “productive work.” Reference has already been made to the Midnapore and Hijli canals which were also classed as such but were eventually transferred to the unproductive group. As a matter of fact the classification of works in one group or the other has no practical value except as a means of obtaining administrative sanction. There appears to be no room for really independent checking of facts and figures and, as the public is kept entirely in the dark, criticisms and suggestions on vital factors can never be made.

The total capital outlay in this respect up to the end of 1927-28 is Rs 14,47,627 and the accumulated interest is Rs 5,65,673. If the scheme be finally abandoned, the total loss to the province will be more than Rs 20 lakhs. If it be revived, surely a portion will be lost as many items of works etc. will have to be commenced *de novo*. Of wanton waste of public money this is a glaring example.

THE DAMODAR CANAL

This scheme is classed as “productive”, the estimated cost being Rs 78,14,981. The total expenditure up to the end of 1927-28 was Rs 8,13,845,

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excluding the amount of Rs 12,81,580 surrendered * and Rs 91,120 re-appropriated to other heads! The obvious reading of the situation that the department is inefficient and cannot carry out the works contemplated and budgeted for within the year. The antithesis also holds good, for the department can neither contemplate nor budget for works within the year and yet can carry them out, as in the case of the Madaripur Bhil Route.

The financial position in regard to the Damodar Canal project may not be discussed in these pages, at the present moment, as the works have not made sufficient progress, but the layman may well expect the unveiling of a few facts specially in view of the Hon. Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi's pronouncement to do away with secrecy. The questions are, has the *volume* of works, estimated for at certain specified rates and for certain *amounts* of money, been completed at such rates and for such amounts? If not, what are the deviations and results? Has the brilliant performance of the Hoorhooah Khal been repeated in this case so far? What are the appropriations and re-appropriations in respect of major and minor heads and specific items of works in respect of the project so far carried out? But let not the valiant knight be embarrassed with the music of the department. Probably there will be no response or it may be of a nature not quite pleasant.

THE MIDNAPORE CANAL

The Midnapore Canal is an "unproductive" work used for both navigation and irrigation purposes.

The total capital outlay is Rs 84,94,053 up to the end of 1927-28, the amount of accumulated arrears of interest is Rs 1,59,02,396, the total sum at charge being Rs 2,43,96,449. Large figures these but let us see the result. The canal irrigates an area of 79,000 acres † and permits country boats to ply along its length.

* See Appropriation Accounts of the Government of Bengal for 1927-28, page 121.

† c. f., Damodar Canal projected to irrigate 200,000 acres at an estimated cost of 78 lakhs

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The receipts, working expenses and net revenues for two years are shown below.

	1926-27	1927-28
Gross receipts (about 80 p. c. being in respect of water rates)	2,69,263	2,93,161
Working expenses	2,43,458	2,02,245
Net revenue	25,805	90,916
Percentage of working expenses to receipts	90.3	68.9

The somewhat better result of 1927-28 "is due to enhancement of the water rates of leases renewed during the year, and also to the shortness of the rainfall." Comments are unnecessary!

And in spite of the illusory favourable ratio of working expenses to receipts, that in respect of net revenue to capital expenditure, i. e. Rs 90,916 to Rs 84,94,053, is staggering, namely, 1.07 per cent! And this also in 1927-28. In the previous year it was a microscopic figure. In the years previous it was a negative quantity, the result of which is exhibited in the accumulated arrears of interest amounting to the appalling sum of Rs 1, 59, 02,396, or double that of the capital outlay! Yet the Midnapore canal was classed as a "Productive" work till recently, and was forced to be classed otherwise by the sheer weight of figures in the negative. What value, then has the classification of works as "productive" and "unproductive" got in respect of the burdens on the unfortunate rate-payer? And who knows that a similar fate will not overtake the Grand Trunk Canal project with its famous 13.2 p. c. return which, *prima facie*, is an absurdity, as I have tried to show in the foregoing pages.

THE BAKRESWAR CANAL

The Bakreswar Irrigation Scheme in Birbhum district is a welcome feature of the department's legitimate activity. The scheme, however,

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is a minor one for irrigating 10,000 acres of paddy land at an estimated cost of Rs 4,90,596. The work has just commenced and comments are unwarranted in view of the expenditure of only Rs 14,653 up to the end of 1927-28. This scheme and that of the Damodar canal are indications of the growing consciousness of an otherwise pre-occupied department to the real needs of the country. They, however, are isolated instances of such activity and do not form parts of a systematic and well thought out plan.

THE HIJLI TIDAL CANAL

The Hijli Tidal Canal with its feeders is a navigation canal 50 miles in length. The capital expenditure incurred is Rs 25,50,805. The balance of interest after deducting net revenue, Rs 7,09,957, up to the end of 1927-28, was Rs 41,46,298. The Accountant General's Review is worth quoting in this connection, as it gives a graphic view of the financial position.

"Of these, the Midnapore Canal and the Hijli Tidal Canal were shown as 'Productive' up to the end of 1920-21 but, since the introduction of the Reforms, these two canals have been reclassified as 'Unproductive,' as the net revenue of these two canals is much below the interest on the capital invested. The Government of Bengal, in their letter no. 1345-1., dated 10th April 1926, expressed their opinion that the Hijli Tidal Canal may prove 'Productive' after 1926-27. From the General Abstract of Financial Results, it appears that the net revenue realised, since 1921-22 when the system was brought on the 'Unproductive' list, has been continually failing to pay the annual interest at the rate prescribed in Rule 3, Statement A, Appendix 4, Public Works Account Code. It is, therefore, proposed to continue the existing classification of the canal as 'Unproductive.' Again, contrary to the expectation of Government, the revenue of the Hijli Tidal Canal has been falling at a rapid rate, as will appear from the figures below. The attention of Government is particularly drawn to this abnormal fall in revenue :

Year.	Revenue.
	Rs.
1924-25 1,30,365.
1925-26 1,07,514
1926-27 65,513
1927-28 47,911."

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This is another instance of the arbitrary classification of works as "Productive" and "Unproductive." The Government Resolution, however, is silent on the point and the Accountant General has only the consolation of having done his duty by his pointed reference.

THE MADARIPUR BHIL ROUTE

This is yet another instance of financial chaos, and as for its utility the Bhil Route is probably iniquitous to a degree. The Accountant General says :

"Under 'Working Expenses,' the Madaripur Bhil Route shows an abnormal increase of expenditure over that of the previous years and an unusual fall in revenue, as will appear from the figures noted below. The fall of revenue is explained by the Executive Engineer, Khulna Division, to be due to the suspension of steamer traffic for 7 months during the year, on account of bad shoaling in the Lower Kumar River, to remove which unusually heavy dredging had to be done. This also raised the figures for Working Expenses considerably above those for previous years. The attention of Government is specially drawn to this fact, so that an investigation may be made into the matter, if considered necessary.

	Receipts.	Working Expenses.
	Rs	Rs
1925-26	3,79,729	2,20,558
1926-27	3,87,005	3,26,782
1927-28	2,74,336	7,40,857."

A little thought and study of the conditions obtaining in this route will reveal the fact that the erratic nature of the two arms of the Kumar River will make it increasingly difficult to keep this channel open for steamer traffic as time passes, specially if Mr. Addams Williams' theory of tides and silting up of rivers holds good. Its efficiency is dwindling at an enormous rate and it is impossible to make a forecast of its normal up-keep, not to speak of any unusual expenditure that might be required to maintain it as a navigable channel all the year round. Mr. Addams Williams makes no secret of his inability to make his budget and the Accountant General's idea of making an investigation must necessarily remain on paper only.

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The capital expenditure in this connection, including the unspent balance of Rs 43, 302, is Rs 76, 62, 753, practically double the figure of the original estimate. The balance of interest charges, less net revenue, is Rs 2, 62, 943. This amount is practically a subsidy to the steamer companies using this channel and may throw some light on the problem of the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme as well.

THE DREDGERS

I have mentioned above that the expenditure of the department on works for which both capital and revenue accounts are kept, amounts to Rs 4, 28, 84, 750.* Of this expenditure the amount of Rs 1, 17, 64, 229 represents the cost of the three dredgers the "Ronaldshay", the "Burdwan" and the "Cowley." In fact these three dredgers, purchased before the maturity of the actual works on which they were to be employed, covered 37.72 per cent. of the department's total capital outlay. And the urgency of their purchase rose to such fever heat that about 1920-21 all caution was thrown to the winds and they were bought on borrowed capital involving a burden on the resources of the Province unprecedented in its magnitude and consequence as will be presently shown. Before proceeding, however, to a detailed consideration of these "Works," the Accountant General's summary of the financial position may be quoted with advantage :

"Dredger 'Ronaldshay,'—The accounts of the Dredger 'Ronaldshay' were previously incorporated in the accounts of the Grand Trunk Canal Project up to the end of 1926-27. The Secretary of State in his letter No. E. & O. 6307/27, dated 22nd September, 1927, sanctioned the proposal to debit the capital cost of the Dredger 'Ronaldshay' to a separate account outside the Grand Trunk Canal Project, and has agreed to the classification of the expenditure as 'Unproductive,' as proposed by Government. The accounts of the Dredger 'Ronaldshay' have accordingly been separated with effect from 1920-21 that is, the year in which the Dredger was purchased.

The total capital outlay (direct and indirect) of the Dredger 'Ronaldshay' to the end of the year 1927-28 amounts to Rs 55, 16,986,

* See page 4.

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as shown in the General Abstract of Financial Results (vide pages 8 and 9 of the Administrative Accounts). Out of this sum, the amount of Rs 54, 31, 719, representing direct charges, was met out of the loan of Rs 50 lakhs granted by the Government of India, and the balance from the general revenues and accumulated provincial balances. The amount of hire realised to the end of the year 1927-28, vide page 41 of the Administrative Accounts, amounts to Rs 1,98,727 against the capital cost of Rs 55, 16, 986. The interest charges for the purpose of capital accounts to the end of the year 1927-28, vide page 43 of the Administrative Accounts, amount to Rs 20, 46, 629. The following table shows the financial position of the Dredger 'Ronaldshay' to the end of the year 1927-28 :

	Rs.
(1) Capital cost (direct and indirect) to the end of 1927-28 excluding hire ...	57, 15, 713.
(2) Interest charges for the purpose of capital account to the end of the year 1927-28 ...	20, 46, 629.
(3) Total gross expenditure ...	77, 62, 342.
(4) Deduct receipts on account of hire ...	1, 98, 727.
(5) Net expenditure ...	75, 63, 615.
(6) Percentage which the receipts (4) bear to the gross expenditure (3) ...	2.6.

Purchase of Dredgers ('Cowley' and 'Burdwan')—The total capital outlay (direct and indirect) on the two dredgers (Cowley and Burdwan) to the end of the year 1927-28, as shown in the General Abstract of Financial Results, vide pages 8 and 9 of the Administrative Accounts, amounts to Rs 62, 47, 243. Out of this amount, the sum of Rs 16, 26, 908 representing direct charges, was met out of the loan of Rs 51, 89, 000 granted by the Government of India for the purchase of the dredgers and from the general revenues and accumulated provincial balances. The amount of hire realised from these two Dredgers and shown under the capital account, vide page 45 of the Administrative Accounts, amounts to Rs 7, 34, 238 against the capital cost of Rs 62, 47, 243. Moreover, the interest charges adjusted for the purpose of the capital account to the end of the year 1927-28, amount to Rs 23,40,222, vide page 47 of the Administrative Accounts. The following table shows the financial position of the purchase of Dredgers to the end of the year 1927-28 :

	Rs.
(1) Total capital outlay (direct and indirect) to end of 1927-28, excluding hire ...	69, 81, 481.
(2) Interest charges to end of 1927-28 ...	23, 40, 222.
(3) Total gross expenditure ...	93, 21, 703.
(4) Deduct receipts on account of hire ...	7,34,238
(5) Net expenditure ...	85,87,465
(6) Percentage which the receipt (4) bears to the gross expenditure (3) ...	7.9

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It should be observed that the percentage of receipts to gross expenditure, in both cases, relates to the entire period of seven years. The average annual percentage of return, therefore is .37 in the case of the "Ronaldshay" and 1.1 in that of the "Cowley" and the "Burdwan". The rate of interest payable in respect of the loans is 5.59 p. c. per annum. The deficit, therefore, is 5.22 p. c. and 4.49 p. c. respectively. The amount involved in such deficit is, of course, a burden on the general revenue of the Province.

It should be further observed that the deficit mentioned above does not take into account the provision for the repayment of the loan, nor does it concern the items for depreciation and repairs of the dredgers. The last items are covered by the "hire" charges realised (?)

The Accountant General calculates * the annual repayments as follows :

Principal and interest on the loan of Rs 50 lakhs payable annually till the loan is cleared (i.e. in respect of the dredger "Ronaldshay")	Rs 4,89,072.
Principal and interest on the loan of Rs 51,89,000 payable annually till the loan is cleared (i. e. in respect of the dredgers "Cowley" and "Burdwan") ...	Rs 5,51,864.
	Rs 10,40,946

In other words, the provincial revenue is burdened with an annual liability as follows :

Liability as above	Rs 10,40,936.
Less on account of receipts being Rs 1,98,727 for the "Ronaldshay" and Rs 7,34,238 for the "Cowley" and "Burdwan," Total Rs 9,32,967 for 7 years ; thus for one year	Rs 1,33,481
Balance	Rs 9,07,455

This amount of Rs 9,07,455 is the net deficit which the tax-payer must make good per annum! But the actual would be much higher when the fact is taken into account that most of the receipts in respect of "hire" of the dredgers are mere book-entries and the rate of such "hire" is ridiculously unbusiness-like.

* Page 38, para 41, of the Appropriation Report for 1927-28.

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Mr. Addams Williams has found a marvellously simple formula for the calculation of the "hire" of dredgers. Let me take the case of the "Ronaldshay". Explains Mr. Addams Williams :

"Hire of dredger is taken at Rs. 1,033 per day thus :—

Depreciation at 5 per cent on the Capital cost of				
Rs. 54,00,000	...	...	...	Rs 2,70,000.
Average cost of Repairs	...	...	...	40,000
			Total	Rs 3,10,000

Assuming dredger to work for 300 days in the year—

Daily charge $\frac{3,10,00}{300} = \text{Rs } 1,033 \text{ per day !}$ "

I must confess that this simple rule of three is rather beyond me, but let us see something of the data.

The item of receipts in respect of "hire" for this dredger, amounting to Rs 1,98,727 in 7 years, as mentioned above, is undoubtedly arrived at on the basis of Rs. 1,033 per day. This rate of Rs 1,033 per day is again dependent on the assumption of the dredger working 300 days in the year i.e. on all weekdays practically. Below is Mr. Addams Williams' table of the working of this dredger :

The dredger has been employed from 1st January, 1923, up to the 31st December, 1927, i.e. for 60 months or 1,826 days. During this period the time was occupied as follows :—

	Under repairs, in dockyard and out of commission	Holiday and petty repairs	Working days	Total
1923	248	81	36	365
1924	366	—	—	366
1925	365	—	—	365
1926	365	—	—	365
1927	365	—	—	365
Total	1,709	81	36	1,826."

As a matter of fact this dredger worked only for a few days at the Gheaputty Khal and in the lower Kumar rivers (36 days) and was laid up at Harispur (in the Madaripur Bhil Route) practically during its whole existence.

The average total cost of dredging 1000 cft. by the "Ronaldshay" as experienced by Mr. Addams Williams in 1923 (the only period when she worked) was Rs. 16.06 and yet in 1926 he asked the Legislative Council to vote a grant for the Grand Trunk Canal on the basis of the rate of Rs. 3 and Rs. 3/8 per 1000 cft. The whole picture is staggering !

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The "hire" of the "Cowley", in the same manner is Rs 986 per day and her rate of dredging cost of 1000 cft. is Rs 11.12. Out of 1,641 days she worked on only 277, a somewhat better showing than that of the "Ronaldshay".

Similarly the "hire" of the "Burdwan" is Rs 287 per day and dredging cost Rs 46.66 in 1923 and Rs 15.28 in 1926. Out of 1790 days she worked for 243 days.

The figures given above are from official sources under the authority of Mr. Addam Williams himself. No better proof of the utter uselessness of these dredgers, their enormous capital cost and maintenance charges and hopelessly inadequate "hire" charges are probably to be found. It should be noted that while the dredgers were under repairs in the dockyards or out of commission and laid up, the interest charges were being borne all the same by the tax-payers of the province. What a justification for the inordinate hurry in which these monsters were purchased! And no wonder that Irrigation is a Reserved subject!

A press telegram from Delhi dated the 29th October, 1929, appeared in the newspapers of the following morning, and read as follows :

"I understand that the Dredger 'Ronaldshay' is being lent to the Andaman Islands Government by the Bengal Government for dredging the salt marshes. This is in pursuance of the scheme to make the island healthy and free from malaria, which is at present the chief scourge of the island.

The 'Ronaldshay' is expected to leave Calcutta on December 1, and to be employed in the Andamans for 15 months. It may be remembered that the entire scheme came up before the Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly and was estimated to cost about 14 lakhs."

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Thus we are indebted ~~to~~ this Press correspondent for the slight lifting of the veil and not to Sir Abdul Kerim Ghuznavi, in spite of his promise to take the public into his confidence. However, the public will be grateful to learn how much of the 14 lakhs estimated for the Andaman work will be paid to the Bengal Government for the "hire" of the "Ronaldshay", the rate of such hire, the actual period of the hire, etc. In fact, the Hon. Member may publish all the papers in this connection. It may be noted that at Mr. Addams Williams' rate of "hire" at Rs 1033 per day the "Ronaldshay" will earn Rs 4,80,345, while according to the Accountant General's figure, the Government of Bengal must provide for interest

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and repayment of loan alone to the extent of Rs. 6,11,340. Who is to provide for the deficit of Rs 1,30,995? I have worked out this problem on the simple method of rule of three that is current in the departmental estimates, but it involves other factors which will merely augment the deficit and that is distasteful to the department.

GENERAL FINANCIAL POSITION

From the financial point of view the department is not only bankrupt, but is also liable for saddling the general revenues of the Province with an unbearable and practically fruitless burden. I am aware of the argument that irrigation as a public utility undertaking should not necessarily be looked upon as a business concern. Not necessarily, indeed. That idea is a residue of the old conception of almost all public works. Even the conception of the State has undergone a change to-day and so has that of public works. In fact, irrigation proper is looked upon as a paying concern and that is why the classification of some of the works, at any rate, as "productive," is met with.

The important statutory liabilities of the Government of Bengal involve an annual expenditure of Rs. 16,90,872. The Irrigation department alone accounts for Rs. 15,84,767. I refrain from going into details of the general financial condition of the department. Figures are tiresome by themselves. They are, after all, only proofs. I presume ample proof of the nature of the workings of the department has been made eminently clear. In regard to Government's liability the Accountant General says:

"The annual amount of ultimate statutory liabilities comes to Rs. 16,90,872. Apart from the interest charges on these loans, no provision has up till now been made in the revenue section of the budget estimates for repayment of the loans which are compulsorily repayable."

The same officer reviews the financial position of the Province in the following words :

"A general review of Provincial Finance, as depicted in the accounts of the year under report, is now possible.

- (i) *As has already been remarked, the Revenue has proved insufficient to cover the expenditure charged thereto. The growth of expenditure is out of proportion to the growth in revenue.*

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- (ii) Important commitments of a permanent character have been made during the year 1927—28 to the extent of 15,56 approximately.
- (iii) Apart from the statutory liabilities, the amount of important temporary commitments made during the year under report, including large Civil and Irrigation Works, old and new, (excluding the expenditure adjusted under "60 Civil Works not charged to Revenue") for which provision has to be made in future years comes to 1,04,13.
- (iv) *Unproductive Irrigation Works, as a whole, not only yield no return on the capital invested, but are not even self-supporting. As for Productive Irrigation, three works, the Damodar Canal, Grand Trunk Canal and the Bakreswar Irrigation Scheme, are classed as such. No revenue accounts have yet been opened for these works. There is an annual loss of interest on these to the extent of 1.10 lakhs of rupees.*
- (v) *The transactions connected with the purchase of the three dredgers, Ronaldshay, Cowley and Burdwan, have proved a burden on the resources of the Provincial Government, inasmuch as an annual payment of Rs.10,41,000 is required to be made to the Central Government in repayment of the loans aggregating Rs 1,01,89,000, vide items 2 and 3, paragraph 41 (a), without any adequate return.*
- (vi) All the debts of the Provincial Government are due to the Central Government and these debts are repayable in annual equated instalments and require no arrangement for Sinking Funds. In view, however, of the revenue deficit no arrangement for amortisation of the debts is possible. The debts due to the Provincial Government are, in the main, repayable in annual equated instalments and arrangements for Sinking Funds are not required to be made in such cases. It is, however, presumed that Government takes into consideration the possibility of liquidation of loans before sanctioning them.
- (vii) *On the whole, the position in respect of the finances of the province may not be very serious for the present, in view of the accumulated balance, but increase in recurring expenditure without arrangement for corresponding expansion in revenue must always be looked upon with grave concern."*

The italics in the above extract are mine. The dangerous position is clearly, ably and dispassionately revealed, not by a layman, nor by an outsider, but by Mr. F. J. Wood, Accountant General, Bengal.

What Mr. Wood has said might just as well have been said by an occupant of the front bench of the opposition in the Legislative Council chamber, probably in different language and not without an exhibition of emotion. As a matter of fact such utterances have been numerous and frequent, but the

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gods have no ears. Mr. Wood finds himself, in effect, on the side of the futile clamourers, commonly called irresponsible agitators by the bureaucracy of this land.

The examination of the so-called irrigation works in Bengal, the Department's attitude and activity and the particular and general financial condition, as made in the foregoing pages, reveals a tragedy—and tragedy is sad. It is painful alike to the reader and the writer and I have to confess to being almost overcome by a sense of melancholy in reviewing the position. It is the callous indifference of the department and its utter disregard of the people's needs that have produced a freezing hopelessness, which even the warmth of the promise of a London Conference and that of the calculated definition of Dominion Status may not thaw.

The foregoing pages are mainly critical. In the following pages I propose to make a few suggestions and references to activities in other spheres related to this problem.

IV THE PROBLEM

The position of irrigation and its relation to the health of the people and the transportation of their produce, in Bengal, have been summarised in the Report of the Linlithgow Commission*. The Commissioners have suggested the separation of Irrigation Works proper from those connected with navigation, embankments and drainage. They have re-stated the complaint so long made in the Legislative Council, in the Press and outside and even in other Government Departments that

“No general survey of the irrigation possibilities of Bengal has yet been made.”

They suggest that

“The first duty of the new Irrigation Department would, therefore, be to formulate a general scheme for irrigation development based on a survey in such detail as would ensure ordered progress.”

On the 20th March, 1925, Dr. Bentley, the Director of Public Health, submitted an admirable Report on “Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal, how to reduce Malaria in Bengal by Irrigation,” for the “information of

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, April 14, 1928. Chapter X, Paragraph 292, pages 358 to 361.

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the Government of Bengal.”* Scanty, if any, notice of this Report has been taken. It has often been characterised in high quarters, so says rumour, as the product of Dr. Bentley's peculiar mentality, in fact, as an exhibition of his fad. Presumably the upper ten in their authoritative chairs were too charmed with the glamorous panorama of the Grand Trunk Canal to exercise their brains on a problem which, to say the least, was sordid, unprofitable and pessimistic. Yet, Dr. Bentley has never quoted a fact or authority that was not absolutely relevant, nor arrived at a conclusion that was not irrefutably supported by unimpeachable data not only concerning the conditions in Bengal but also those throughout the world. Thus by direct evidence and analogy he has amply justified his deductions. The picture he has presented is one of appalling disaster. In Chapter V of his Report, Paragraph 97, page 76, he refers to the suggestions of the late Sir Edward Buck for the preparation of drainage maps. The passage may be quoted:

“It was the duty of every patwari (village record-keeper) to mark on each field in the map by symbols or figures the nature of the soil, the rate of rent, character of irrigation and so on. He was required to add an arrow, showing the main drainage lines which carried the drainage water out of the village. When the village maps were placed alongside each other the drainage lines of any given tract could be easily drawn.”

“It would seem to be difficult,” says Howard, “to improve on Sir Edward Buck's method of constructing drainage maps and it is fortunate that this economical system is available. Wherever the country has been surveyed, the ‘run-off’ could be marked on the map and the drainage lines determined. The utility of such maps in India at the present time does not end with drainage schemes. They would prove of service in many other aspects of the economic development of the country. They could be made use of in laying out new roads and new railways. Similarly, these drainage maps would be useful in irrigation works and indeed in the United Provinces they have been employed successfully for many years. Other uses suggest themselves such as town-planning schemes, malarial studies and projects connected with rural sanitation. In the general administration of the country, good drainage maps, on a suitable scale, would be most valuable. All kinds of questions arise from time to time which have to be settled by District Officers and which involve the rights of others and the well-being of the country. Drainage maps in many cases would be of great help in

* Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal—How to Reduce Malaria in Bengal by Irrigation, by Charles A. Bentley, Govt. of Bengal, Public Health Department, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1925.

deciding many problems relating to land, to water, to communications and to town planning."

The undertaking of a regular survey and the formation of a Waterways Board were suggested by me in a Resolution in the Legislative Council, which the Government accepted and, as usual, little or no useful work came out of it. This question was also raised in the Press and by individuals for long but the effect had been equally disappointing. There was, therefore, nothing new in the findings and suggestions of the Royal Agricultural Commission except, probably, their authority. The Commission referred to this work that awaited the new department (that of Waterways) as of "critical importance."

In their disappointment, and sometimes utter helplessness, the people of this country often think that redress would follow if only the Government knew. They have gradually arrived at the sense that Government does know, only the redress does not come unless there is the force of authority. And the Agricultural Commission's force of authority was expressed in their words as follows:—

"We accordingly recommend to the earnest consideration of the Bengal Government the desirability of appointing a committee of experts which should include among its members at least one who is familiar with the management of the deltas of large rivers in other countries, such as, for example, that of the Mississippi and we suggest that one of the specific directions to such a committee should be to consider and report upon the advisability of setting up a Provincial waterways Board."*

As a result of the force of this authority the Government of Bengal in the Irrigation Department, having accepted the recommendations of the Commission, has just appointed a Committee. In the notification this very paragraph of the Report of the Commission is quoted as a preamble. The members of the Committee are Mr. W. S. Hopkyns, C. I. E., O. B. E., I. C. S. (Chairman); Mr. D. G. Harris, C. I. E., Consulting Engineer to the Government of India; Mr. J. G. B. Smith, C. I. E., Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, Punjab; and Mr. A. E. Porter, I. C. S. (Secretary). Mr. Addams Williams is left out, although as a matter of consistency from the Government point of view, he should have been there. But we have Mr. D. G. Harris with whom we are already familiar in connection with the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme. Two of the members of the Committee are mem-

* Report of the Royal Agricultural Commission, paragraph 292, page 361.

bers of the Steel Frame Service and how they come in as experts is a bit too thick for a layman to realise. Having no knowledge of the antecedents of the other two members, I am unable to assert that either "is familiar with the management of the deltas of large rivers in other countries, such as, for example, that of the Mississippi." The presumption, however, is that both are unfamiliar; at least it may be safe to assume that they are unfamiliar with the *management* of such deltas. Thus this Committee, appointed after the acceptance by the Bengal Government of the recommendations of the Linlithgow Commission (!), is to be admitted as that of experts in view of the definite suggestion of the Commission that "*at least one*" of the members should be an "expert" familiar with the management of the deltas of the Mississippi, for example. Then there are no non-official members on the Committee and no representation of interests directly or indirectly concerned. Another most important defect lies in the fact that the Public Health Department, which is so vitally concerned with the irrigation and drainage, is unrepresented. This is but another example of the want of co-operation and co-ordination within the Government itself as mentioned before. The result is that the personnel¹ of the Committee does not inspire confidence. The Linlithgow Commission rightly pointed out the utmost importance of the Committee in its pronouncement in the following words :

"The problems that await solution in Bengal, if, indeed, all the problems presented can be completely solved, are thus complex in the extreme. The order in which they should be attacked, the nature of the measures to be adopted, and the amount which can properly be spent on them, having regard to other urgent calls on the public purse, will all require most careful investigation *and the provincial legislature will rightly require an authoritative opinion on these questions as a preliminary to granting its approval to any scheme which may be put before it.*" (Italics are mine.)

On this basis the Commissioners recommended the inclusion of a foreign deltaic expert. We have seen the result. Thus the Committee, as it is, is less than even half a loaf. And the people in their despair may be pardoned to presume that when the redress comes it is hardly a redress and that authority is but a chimera.

All this, however, may appear as a digression, but it is not. It is necessary, in considering the present and future of Irrigation etc. in Bengal, to go into the mentality of the Government as exhibited in its actions. The signs, as we find, are most disappointing.

The existing problem of irrigation in Bengal is indeed very complex, as is admitted on all hands including the Linlithgow Commission. First,

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there is the question of rainfall and conservation and regulation of both surface and sub-soil water ; next is that of the effect of embankments on irrigation, drainage, sanitation and public health, then that of the condition and behaviour of deltaic rivers, then follows that of navigation.

It is neither my purpose nor is it possible within the scope of this short review to go into details, but a general review is possible on a classification of the different areas of the Province according to the nature of their soil, slope, rivers, agriculture etc.

The Province of Bengal for the purpose of a study of its Irrigation Problem should be divided into four areas, each with its own regional problem, that of the whole province coming in as a co-ordinating one. The usual process of thought on this subject runs in the old groove and classification is based upon the three different types of activity of the department, namely, those of irrigation proper, embankments and drainage and navigation, the accounts for the last two, as shown above, being kept together. This classification is wrong since it turns away thought from its proper channel and the consideration of the problem becomes clouded. In fact, this has enabled the department to proceed in the unprecedented and irresponsible manner which has, I hope, been made abundantly clear in these pages. Even the knowledge of local conditions has been wanting, much less a comprehensive one in respect of the whole Province, and it is not surprising that the department found unhindered scope for displaying its energies on such schemes as that of the Grand Trunk Canal.

The four areas of the Province for this purpose are, of course, the following :—

(1) Western Bengal, i. e., the area west of the Hooghly River (Bhagirathi) and south of the Ganges ; (2) Northern Bengal, the area north of the Ganges and Padma and west of the Brahmaputra and Assam ; (3) the Eastern Bengal, south of Assam, east of the Brahmaputra, Jamuna and Gorai ; and (4) South Bengal, sometimes described as Central Bengal, east of the Bhagirathi, south of the Ganges and Padma and west of the Gorai.

Each of these tracts has its own peculiar conditions as regards soil, crops, health, drainage and navigation. And, in spite of the diversity of these conditions these tracts present on the whole a problem of the general level and slope of the Province, its health and population, its productivity and its water-traffic. In order to minimise description I give, on the page following a statement showing the different conditions of the tracts and those of the Province, as briefly as possible.

Different conditions relevant to the study of the Irrigation Problem of the Province.

Area	Soil (General condition)	Crops (Principal)	Population (Thickness, rising or falling)	Health	Drainage	Navigation
West Bengal	Gravel, sand and clay. Distribu- tion differs in different districts.	Rice, sugarcane, wheat and some winter crops.	Moderately thick along northern fringe, sparse in centre and south. Population diminish- ing.	Malaria, kala- azar, cholera etc. are predominant. General health is poor.	Natural drainge in the north and west are good. Practically no drainage in the cen- tral area. Railway and river embankment in- terference present.	Practically none except along the eastern fringe.
North Bengal	Sand, clay, loam and old alluvial deposits.	Jute, r i c e, cereals, sugarcane.	Thin in the Terai. Mo- derately thick along the middle area. Ra- ther thick along the northern area of the Ganges and Padma. Population stationary.	Malaria and epi- demic diseases present. General health is mode- rate.	West and north enjoy moderate d r a i n a g e. Great interference by Railway embankment running accross natu- ral slope.	Seasonal and moderate. The eastern fringe enjoys some fa- cility.
East Bengal	Mostly clay and loam. Rich silt deposits.	Jute and rice.	Thick practically all over, except in places unwatered by floods. Population increasing.	Health is good. Comparatively free from epi- demic and other diseases.	Abundant in practi- cally all places.	Great facility but very seri- ously threatened with water-hya- cinth.
Central (or South) Bengal	Sand, clay and loam. The sou- thern fringe of forest and water, the Sunderbans, is a separate proposition al- together.	Rice, jute, pulses, su- garcane and other ce- reals and winter crops. At one time the land of golden harvest, now practically in ruins, except the Sunderbans, which is rice produc- ing.	Moderate to thin. Po- pulation is decreasing The Sunderbans area is very spersely popu- lated.	Health is very poor. Malaria, kala-ajar, cho- lera and other epidemics a r e rampant.	Very poor in the north to excessive in the south (Sundarbans),	M o d e r a t e t o abundant.
Province of Bengal	Clay, loam, sand and old alluvial deposits. From very rich to very poor fertility.	Rice, jute, sugarcane, cereals and other win- ter crops.	Practically stationary. The rate of inerease, on the whole, is very poor.	Very poor health all round.	All kinds from very poor to very good.	From nil to abundant.

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The statement reveals a variety of conditions; the satisfaction of which must, of necessity, be entrusted to different specialists while the co-ordinating authority may be centralised. The recognition of this fact led to the resolution in the Council and the subsequent findings of the Linlithgow Commission.

The main features of the problem are these :

Not only should water be brought down to the localities to be irrigated, but it must be done in a manner which will not interfere with the subsoil moisture for a considerable period during at least two crops a year in Western Bengal. As far as possible the silt laden water of the rivers must be allowed to flow freely over country side and in places where the existing embankments interfere with such overflow, adequate devices should be adopted to minimise the evil. Railway embankments should not only have more abundant openings but their position and construction should not direct the outflow of the flood in a particular channel or direction, but enable the whole country to be equally watered. Special precaution must also be taken so that subsoil moisture is retained as a result of the modification of the water-openings in these Railway embankments.

The Railway embankments have proved a thorn in the sides of both the Government and the people. When they were constructed, and even now when Railway alignments are made, no proper thought was bestowed on this very important problem and the result has been disastrous. Similar remarks apply to road alignments both under provincial and district schemes.

The reason lies in the want of knowledge of facts relating to natural slopes, drainage and requirements of the Province, as mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this section. Since there is no use crying over spilt milk, the people of the Province should unanimously ask for a revision of the policy, open discussion and compel the Government to take systematic and co-ordinated action which is scientifically and economically sound.

The problem of North Bengal is one of the clearance of dead and dying channels and treatment of Railway embankments; those of Eastern Bengal is the fighting down of the water-hyacinth and regulation of natural flow. The problem of Central Bengal is rather intricate and difficult. The chief function here should be of restoring the old rivers and proper drainage of the country.

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A great controversy arose over this question two years ago when the celebrated Irrigation Engineer, Sir William Willcocks, who projected and built the Assuan Dam on the Nile in Egypt and projected and launched the Mesopotamian Irrigation scheme, delivered a lecture on the "Restoration of Ancient Irrigation of Bengal," on the 6th March, 1928, in the Hall of the British Indian Association, Calcutta. In the course of his address Sir William said :

"I am now going to make statements about what I have seen with my eyes. To forestall any one contradicting me when I have left Calcutta, I have purposely put off my return to Egypt for a week, so that I may go out with any one who calls in question what I am going to say and examine the ground on the spot. Though I shall have spoken the naked truth, it is the truth which I shall have spoken."

Nothing could be more fair and emphatic than this supremely straightforward statement of a scientist and expert. Mr. Addams Williams, so far as I remember, was not present at the lecture although invited, as I was informed, by the Secretary of the British Indian Association*

The naked truth that Sir William spoke of the so-called rivers of Central Bengal is best placed before my readers in his own words:

"To support their view, the members of the Commission quote a saying of Mr. J. Fergusson about the swing of a pendulum and refer it what they call 'dead rivers.' This is a misquotation, for Fergusson refers it to the cutting of the bends of rivers, an altogether different matter. The fact is that Fergusson is quite right, and they are wrong in calling the 'uncleaned canals' 'dead rivers.' They are canals dug by men. Moreover the surface of the ground of a delta like that of the Ganges rises about 4 inches in 100 years simply because the bed and water surface of the river rise 4 inches in 100 years; and the level of the ground today bears the same relation to the level of the river as it did in Bhagirath's day. We have no more difficulties than he had. Bhagirath's asset was a stout heart."

The difference in the conception as to whether the channels, i.e., those between the Hooghly (Bhagirathi) on the west and the Gorai on the east, including the former at any rate, are natural rivers or artificial "canals dug by men," alters the outlook on the whole problem very materially. In his

* If I am wrong Mr. Addams Williams can certainly contradict me and in that case he has my apology in advance.

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book on the History of Rivers of Bengal Mr. Addams Williams gives his(?) theory of delta formation and the cause of the death of rivers. He says in the main that the deposit of silt in the sluggish river, as well as the factor of tides meeting in it, raise the bed, in fact the river itself, and cause its death by leaving it high as a watershed instead of a channel in the basin. Such, of course, is the case in connection with a river. But an irrigation canal is different. Even an ordinary man knows, and certainly every Irrigation Engineer does, that an irrigation canal must be dug along a watershed so that water may be carried to the areas adjoining the canal by the natural means of gravitation. The truth arrived at by Sir William that the so-called rivers of Central Bengal were canals has not only the authority of a world-renowned expert (in the best sense of the word) but is also supported by common sense. And the classification by Sir William of this class of irrigation as "overflow irrigation" is rationally justified. If Sir William's views are adopted by the Government then the remedy proposed must needs follow. That again will involve an outlay for which our top-heavy Government may not provide funds, and, besides, the works in that connection may not elicit a description of their projector as the greatest living deltaic engineer from a highly-placed superior although a layman.

Thus it will be observed that there has either been a mistake in describing these channels as rivers and condemning them as dead beyond any chance of reviving them, or the department shuts its eyes altogether to the possibility of realising the true nature of the channels which involved a totally different policy and action.

Sir William Willcocks entered minutely into the problems of irrigation proper, health, agriculture, water-transportation etc. and I must perforce resist the temptation of quoting him, but I would invite all my thinking readers to read that lecture. Sir William rendered a truly philanthropic service to our country, a service which the Government could not possibly secure for less than many thousand pounds.

It is astonishing that not a single dissentient voice was raised in spite of Sir William's invitation during his calculated stay of a week longer in Calcutta. Yet, when he had left and a resolution was tabled in the Bengal Legislature, the then Hon. Member in charge of the Irrigation portfolio, who voiced the sentiments of the department, said, in substance, that Sir William, although a great engineer, knew nothing of Bengal and his observations and conclusions were all wrong. Mr. Addams Williams

was credited by rumour to have written a secret criticism of Sir William's speech. If it was written it was not published, but Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur, who happened to be a member of the Bengal Public Health Committee was reported to have had a battle royal with Mr. Addams Wisliams. On the question of secret criticisms, however, I may quote Sir William's own view. In a letter to a correspondent he wrote:

“In my life I have never written a line which could not be read and criticised by the men whom I criticised. All other criticisms, I do not think, are worth the paper they are written on.”

But any critic of Sir William will surely get another opportunity of refuting him, if desired, thanks to the University of Calcutta, which has just invited the great engineer to deliver a course of lectures in the University on this very subject. I only hope Sir William will accept this invitation.

The utter disregard of the department of the real problem is exhibited by the proposal to construct the Grand Trunk Canal (the locked portion) right across a tract of country with a drainage slope from north to south. The original idea of draining the country north of the locked canal was through a syphon. When this was challenged as inadequate, the departmental suggestion was that a parallel canal would be constructed to drain off the water on the northern tract, but no mention was made of the inadequacy of irrigation of the southern tract caused thereby. Against such a proposal, and in fact, the whole scheme, Sir Nilratan Sircar raised no uncertain voice, from the health point of view especially.* Numerous petitions and protests were put forward by different persons and bodies, but practically no notice was taken of them except that they were presumably filed.

The case of the Sunderbans and the Outer Steamer Route particularly has arrested the entire attention of the department as the pre-eminent reason for expediting the construction of the Grand Trunk Canal. Of this I have said enough in these pages. The latest development, of course, is the appointment of the Committee of enquiry, contrary to the recommendation of the Agricultural commission on the very basis of which the committee of enquiry was appointed.

*See item 5 on page 14.

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The reason given by the Linlithgow Commission for including an expert "familiar with the management of the deltas of large rivers in other countries, such as, for example, that of the Mississippi," is as follows :

(After describing the conditions as at present obtaining the Commissioners say).

"This group of problems is by no means confined to north and north-eastern India. It has presented itself with tragic emphasis in the United States by the devastating floods of 1927 in the Mississippi Valley. It is known to exist in many other parts of the world."

Thus it is apparent why the Linlithgow Commission laid so much stress on the inclusion of such an expert, which the Government of Bengal has so flagrantly disregarded. The Damodar floods, that of North Bengal about 8 years ago and the Eastern Bengal and Assam flood of last year were devastating indeed and were no less serious than the Mississippi flood. That was the reason why the Linlithgow Commission specifically mentioned it. A glimpse of the Mississippi disaster and how it was combated may be obtained from the following description :

"The Mississippi flood is so recent that I need not describe it. When in April (1927) President Coolidge appointed him (Herbert Hoover) Chairman of a Committee to deal with the human factor, the first crest had reached the upper part of the Mississippi. It had cost already two or three hundred lives. Refugees had fled to the hills by tens of thousands. Their more fortunate neighbours were helping them as best as they could. But the work went on unsystematically. And every one knew now, that the worst was yet to come.

"Hoover touched flood-relief with his magic hand. Immediately, life-boats and crews were speeding west-ward from the Atlantic coast, aeroplanes winging from the army and navy fields, coast guard vessels speeding up the river-flood, carpenters in a hundred yards throwing together emergency boats, Red Cross units entraining for the Mississippi. Then, like one of those trick moving pictures, lines which signified nothing by themselves jumped together into coherent meaning. Ahead of the flood moved Hoover's forces in perfect coordination, volunteers under the state flood directors warned the inhabitants out of dangerous areas. They did not all move, humanly. Indeed, when the crest reached the conservative Acadian districts, very few moved. But as the levees broke or the inundations advanced

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at their resistless pace of three miles an hour, the aeroplanes buzzed overhead, scouting for men, women, and children marooned on roofs or sections of levee, for animals getting ready to swim. Behind them came the mosquito-craft to the actual work of rescue. And on the highlands of a thousand miles broke out the Red Cross camps, under Hoover—sheltered, sanitated, supplied with everything necessary to life. In two months these forces effected or supervised the removal of 700,000 refugees. Only six lives were lost—fewer than the probable toll of automobile accidents had the roads remained open. Prompt medical work with disinfectants and the needle prevented the epidemics which usually curse such migrations. Indeed, the health of those 700,000 was better than in normal times !.....I reported this disaster. I wrote then of Hoover : 'It was like seeing a master play billiards. You may not know much of the game, but you recognise supreme skill when you see it.'

"I, who have followed Hoover on his great European jobs, would like to leave him as I saw him one May morning of 1927—standing on the tottering Melville levee, his aeroplanes scouting overhead, his mosquito-fleet scurrying below, a group of prominent citizens about him listening to the wise, quick, terse directions which were bringing order out of chaos. It symbolises the man, that scene.—'The one tranquil among the raging floods,' the transmuter of altruistic emotion into benevolent action. On that side of him his friends and intimates base their fanatical affection. It is a warm and witty and very human Hoover that they know ; a creature of vibrant sympathies."*

In Bengal we want a Herbert Hoover, "a creature of vibrant sympathies."

The magnitude of the Mississippi problem both as to flood control and deltaic engineering is immense and although success or even unanimity of opinion as to the measures that should be adopted are far from being achieved, the United States, being a free country, is in a position to attack any immediate problem, however difficult, at the moment. Apart from the U. S. Government organisation, evolving schemes and making projects, the people have their own, the National Flood Commission. This commission is a body of scientists, industrialists, business men, citizens and even politicians, if you please. The exact position of the whole problem as it is before that country is summarised in a report of the Commission, dated the the 20th January, 1928. In Appendix I at the end of this publication I give a relevant extract from the report. It will

* Herbert Hoover, a Reminiscent Biography. By Will Irwin, pp. 310-311.

be observed that even the United States are not free from embarrassments caused by conflicts between Government experts and those of the people. The Government experts are the Army Engineers in charge of the preparation of schemes, plans and estimates. The latest Government schemes were embodied in the plans, one prepared by General Jadwin, the chief of the Army Engineers, and the other by the Mississippi River Commission, the president of which, Col. Potter, subsequently repudiated it before the Flood Control Committee of the House. The people's plan was prepared by Mr. J. P. Kemper, in August, 1927 (i. e., just after the great flood), under the auspices of the National Flood Prevention and River Regulation Commission. Mr. Kemper advocated for flood control by means of lower flood levels through outlets and spillways.

The Linlithgow Commission to repeat, knew what they were talking about when they recommended the inclusion of an expert of the Mississippi type.

The problem of Drainage and Waterways in Bengal is really not so difficult as it appears on the surface. But its solution, of course, presupposes a knowledge of the slopes and requirements of the Province as explained before. The proposed Waterways Board, if constituted, will, however, be confronted with the matter of evolving a scheme of work and the principle on which such a scheme should be based. If this proposed Board be a mere attached department of the Government, such as the Education or Co-operative Department, for instance, then it is doomed to failure, not because of any analogy which may not hold good, but because of the peculiar nature of the Board itself and that of its works. And if such a Board in such circumstances be assisted by a body of members whose capacity may be only advisory and not executive, as, for instance, in the case of a Railway Advisory Committee, then we may safely say good bye to real work and progress as required by the country.

The object of the Waterways Board should be to formulate schemes and estimates based on proper data and in proper perspective to the circumstances of the case and in correlation to the other departments and factors. Such an object, theoretically, may be obtained by making the Board a corporate unit like the Calcutta Improvement or the Port Trust. But the success of such a Board will depend entirely on its members and the executive experts. If the proposed Board be merely a device for perpetuating the retention of the services of the existing experts, so-called, whose term of office would expire in the near future, as

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in the case of Mr. Addams Williams, then opposition of a very strenuous character should, and will, be made, and quite reasonably too, to the formation and working of the Board. Such experts are welcome to give advice in a detached manner from out side and philanthropically, or even as as a matter of grateful return for what they owe to India, but as a part and parcel of the Board, and specially as its excutives, they are certainly not wanted by the country.

My suggestion regarding the Board, or Trust, as it is later on called, are given in the section to follow.

Talking about the principle, scope and methods of the Irrigation Department and the Waterways Board, the existing laws in India are not of much help. They usually relate to the procedure of utilising the facilities offered by the works after their construction. These laws are not concerned with the principles and processes of the evolution of schemes, nor with the collection, co-ordination and generalisation of the data. Reference, therefore, to the Indian and Provincial Acts is made here.

The outlook of an *Act* for the purpose of establishing a scientific and economic policy in regard to waterways, water conservation, flood control etc., was very clearly given in "A Bill to create a Waterways Commission," in 1923, (H. R. 13344, Dupre Bill) in the United States House of Representatives. "In a brief Support, prepared by J. P. Kemper C. E., the purpose and benefits of the bill are outlined in a most concise and intelligent manner thus: The purpose of this bill is to supply the instrumentality for bringing about the conservation of the waters of this nation in order that this divine gift might at all times be enjoyed as a blessing." In order to give a more accurate idea of the bill, I quote its preamble in Appendix II.

The youngest of Britain's self-governing Dominions, the Union of South Africa, has passed an Act, No. 33 of 1926, in order to provide for the establishment of a permanent Irrigation Commission, to define its functions, powers and duties, and to make special provision for the acquisition, development and disposal of land under irrigation schemes. While conditions and circumstances, both economical and political, differ in this Province from those obtained in South Africa, the principles of that Act may be conveniently and usefully applied to our requirements. Section 6 of the Act mentions some "special powers, duties and functions of the Commission" as follows :

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(1) In addition to any general functions, powers and duties otherwise assigned to the Commission by this Act the special functions, powers, and duties of the Commission shall be :—

(a) To inquire into and report to the Minister upon the working of the existing irrigation schemes and any step which may be necessary or desirable to improve the conditions in any area served by any such scheme ;

(b) To advise the Minister as to the extent of and the prevention of erosion in, and any other matter connected with, the catchment areas of public streams ;

(c) To inquire into and report to the Minister on every proposal for the construction of any Government irrigation work or of any irrigation work which is to be constructed by means of an irrigation loan and to make definite recommendations as to whether the proposal or any alternative thereto should or should not be carried out ; whether any such work should be constructed by the Government or by private enterprise ; and as to the manner of construction ;

(d) To examine every application for an irrigation loan which may be referred to it by the Minister and to recommend to the Minister whether such application should or should not be granted, and, if granted, the amount, period and conditions of the loan ;

(e) From time to time to cause irrigation works under construction to be inspected ;

(f) To recommend the making of investigations as to the adequacy of the water supply of any irrigable area scheduled under the Irrigation Acts ; to report whether in its opinion such an irrigable area is too large, regard being had to the supply of water available, and to recommend to the Minister what action (whether by legislation or otherwise) is desirable or necessary ;

(g) When instructed by the Minister, to investigate any case where it appears that irrigable land is not being developed or rendered productive by the owner or occupier thereof.

(2) The Commission shall investigate and report to the Minister upon any other matter connected with irrigation which is referred to it by the Minister.

(3) The Commission may, upon its own initiative, make recommendations to the Minister as to the desirability of his exercising, through officers of the Irrigation Department, any of the powers conferred upon him by section 6 of Act No. 8 of 1912.

In addition to the above the Act empowers the Commission to acquire, develop and settle lands and advance loans on schemes. The money is appropriated by the Parliament for such purposes. Particulars of works

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carried on under the Act are given in the Reports of the Commission and they disclose a progressive expansion and equitable distribution of irrigation facilities, keeping the general requirements of the country in view.

The scheme of a Waterways Board may obtain special inspiration from the Reports of the Royal Commission on the Canals and Inland Navigation of the United Kingdom. This commission was appointed by Royal Warrant under the chairmanship of Lord Shuttleworth on the 5th March, 1906, and submitted its final Report on the 4th December, 1909. In pages 171-172 are given the recommendation of the commission for the formation of the Waterways Board. The principal points are that the Board should have power to raise loans and be under the control of the Parliament and the Treasury. In Appendix III, I give an extract of the important points of recommendation of the Commission.

It must be observed that the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways cannot apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the matter of formation of a Waterways Board in this Province, but I have quoted it in full (so far as relevant to the problem) to neutralise any charge of bias.

That Commission made exhaustive studies and analysed all possible conditions of canals, rivers and waterways not only of Great Britain but also of France, Germany, Belgium and Holland and it cannot be said that they arrived at a conclusion that was not based on definite facts and data.

Numerous instances of thoughtful legislation and coherent principles relating to both irrigation and waterways in other countries may be given, but I presume those given above and in the appendices are sufficient for the purpose of indicating the lines on which work should proceed in this Province. With the slightest disregard of the conditions and requirements of the country, even to the extent of a thousandth part of what is obtained in this Province, both the Nile and Danube Valleys would have been a howling wilderness to-day.

V SUGGESTIONS

I have already mentioned in the Introduction that the preparation of this discussion commenced before the appointment of the Committee of enquiry. The terms of reference to the Committee, however, have brought a few points within focus. These terms as mentioned in the notification are the following :

(1) To discuss the work at present undertaken by the Irrigation Department in Bengal in respect of irrigation, the maintenance of waterways, the resuscitation of rivers, the control of floods and the drainage of water-logged areas.

(2) To make recommendations as to the desirability of the creation of a separate department to deal with the waterways of the province, to define the scope of its functions and those of the Irrigation Department; to discuss, if separation is advocated, the method of separation and to make recommendations as to the constitution and strength of each department.

(3) To consider the advisability of the formation of a Provincial Waterways Board and the desirability or otherwise of the representation upon it of the Provinces of Bihar and Orissa and Assam in order to secure co-ordination in respect of policy and methods of river conservation throughout the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna series of rivers. To define the status, powers and functions of the Board and its relations to the Government of Bengal and to the Civil and Irrigation Departments of that Government.

(4) To advise on the problem of finance.

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The Committee have issued no questionnaire, but they wish to enquire into the following matters:*

(1) The Irrigation Department undertakes work in respect of irrigation, the maintenance of waterways, the resuscitation of rivers, the control of floods and the drainage of water-logged areas. Is the Irrigation Department as now constituted in a position to perform this work?

(2) Is there further work which the Irrigation Department ought to undertake either in the areas where it now operates or in other areas?

(3) Are existing arrangements adequate for the protection of inland navigation? Have waterways been adversely affected by the construction of bridges with inadequate waterways or by other obstructions either natural or artificial?

(4) Is an organisation separate from the Irrigation Department necessary or desirable? If so, what should be the line of division between it and the Irrigation Department? Of the four main branches of the Irrigation Department's work,—irrigation, waterways, embankments and drainage, which should be entrusted to the new Department?

(5) If a new authority for waterways is created, should this be a Government Department operating with or without the assistance of a Board or a Trust with statutory powers and separate finances?

(6) If a Board or Trust is created what interests require representation upon it and how should this representation be effected? Would it be possible to have local interests represented by local committees? If so, what should be their relation with the Board or Trust?

(7) What should be the status of the Waterways Authority in relation to the Local Government?

(8) How should the operations of a waterways authority, if created, be financed? Is it possible to obtain an adequate revenue from the steamers and boats using the waterways? In what form could such revenue be collected, whether in the form of a cess on the fares of passengers and on the freight of goods or of a toll for the use of the waterways or of annual license fees levied on vessels using the waterways or in any other form?

(9) What tolls or other fees, if any, are now collected by public authorities or private persons?

(10) Should the Waterways Authority have power to raise loans?

* From a Circular Letter from the Secretary of the Committee, dated the 6th/7th January, 1930.

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It would be convenient for me to make my suggestions relating to these queries first. As a matter of fact these questions have already been replied to, to a large extent, in the foregoing pages, as my readers have no doubt observed.

The problem whether the Department, as now constituted, is in a position to perform this work, is, to my mind, in the nature of begging the question. The department can, and always could, perform the work. It depended on men and mentality as much as upon knowledge and organisation. In all these the Department has failed hopelessly. Separate departments or organisations relating to irrigation and waterways have no special merit or extraordinary capacity, merely because of separation. There will be men as projectors, executives and workers in both. They are in the existing Department to-day. The necessity of separation arises from a recognition, tacit or otherwise, of the fact that the Department, as now existing, has failed. The expectation is that its continuance as such would not meet with either the present situation or future requirements. Therefore, such separation has become imperative. But even when the separation is achieved, the two departments or wings must convince by their constitution and personnel that the Government, the Legislature, the interests concerned and the people at large may expect some definite results in the right line. Otherwise the only result will be an additional burden of expenditure on the Province.

Regarding query two, above, the denotation of the words "Irrigation Department" is assumed to signify the Department as it exists now. The reply must, therefore, be divided. If the Department continues as at present, it must first study the conditions and requirements of the whole Province, prepare plans and estimates for comprehensive works, and then decide about operating in other areas according to urgency or as funds may permit. If separation is effected the Irrigation Department proper would have to proceed in the same manner keeping in close touch with the Waterways Board, the Public Health Department, the Legislature and the public. If the present mentality and unpreparedness continues then neither the operation in the existing areas nor that in other areas would either be feasible or possible.

To query number three I should reply as follows: The first part relates to the "existing arrangements for the protection of inland navigation." If by this are meant primarily the Madaripore Bhil Route and Sunderbans Steamer Route, I should say that the former is a hopeless

failure and that opinions in regard to the latter are so volatile and one-sided that no action is possible unless and until a genuinely independent opinion is obtained. That the Madaripore Bhil Route is neither adequate nor paying is abundantly clear. The Sunderbans Route, if it dies at all, must not yield place to the Grand Trunk Canal, so strenuously advertised as the only alternative. If this part of the query be a bait for catching an expression of opinion in favour of the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme, then I can emphatically maintain that no reasonable person, or body of persons, would be drawn into an admission, unless it be in his interest to do so. The reasons have been made more than clear in the foregoing pages. The second part of the query relates to the obstruction of water-passages by inadequate bridges or other artificial or natural means. This is a comprehensive query. I have indicated the situation and consequence of artificial barriers etc. in the previous pages, particularly in the previous section. Natural obstructions are to be manipulated and made to help. The problem, however, does not merely relate to water passage. It concerns the whole question of "overflow" irrigation, sub-soil moisture, conservation and regulated drainage of what are described as the water-logged areas and a variety of other factors. The query, therefore, is not happy and may lead one to suspect that the Committee may not go deep into the problem. The reply to the query in a nutshell is that embankments have been great stumbling blocks and so has been the almost criminal neglect in realising the problem as a whole. And, even if the problem was understood, no effort was made to collect comprehensive and specific data to solve it.

A portion of the reply to query number four has already been given above in dealing with query number one. It may, however, be repeated to make the present reply full, that with the present state of affairs and personnel of the Irrigation Department a separation is both necessary and desirable subject to the provision mentioned on pages 68 and 69 above. Works relating to irrigation proper and embankments and drainage are so interwoven in the present condition of Bengal, especially when a good deal of the embankment problem is concerned with the Revenue Department, being an obligation under the Permanent Settlement, that they may for at least some time to come be entrusted to the Irrigation Department. The Waterways should be completely separated under a Board or Trust, whichever name may suit, such a Board being executive and not advisory.

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Query number five distinguishes between a Board and a Trust. I had purposely left such a distinction out of consideration in the paragraph above so as to conform to the nomenclature of the Royal Commission on Canals etc. of the U. K. (Shuttleworth Commission). I have already mentioned that a mere advisory Board as contemplated in this query is utterly inadequate and useless. Such a body must be a Trust, as distinguished in the query, with a corporate existence having statutory powers and separate finances, subject to control as indicated before.

Query number six is rather wide and requires a somewhat elaborate treatment. To do so would perhaps be to encroach upon the future findings of the Committee. I can, therefore, but indicate the lines of representation of the interests concerned on the Trust. There should be a Chairman of the Trust, with executive qualifications who must be elected by the Trustees in a body, excepting the first Chairman who may be appointed by the Government. This Chairman must not be an Engineer by profession. The Legislative Council must have specified seats on the Trust for its members, who must be elected by the non-official and non-nominated members of the Council from among themselves. Representatives of the Indian and European Commercial bodies must also find seats on the Trust by election according to their rules, as in the case of the Port and Improvement Trust and other corporate bodies. The Calcutta Corporation should be similarly represented. The principal Railways concerned should find seats as also the Calcutta and Chittagong Port Trusts. The Government should have powers to nominate a few, very few, trustees to represent minor interests etc. These suggestions are made by way of a guiding principle only. They may be expanded or modified as circumstances may require. Local advisory Committees in the different Divisions or important commercial centres may also be appointed, but the formation of such committees may be useful at a later period only, i.e., after the Trust is in a position to formulate and operate schemes. During the incubation period, so to speak, of the Trust, the whole of its energy will have to be directed to the compilation of data. Committee work or even that of the Trust itself would be, during this period, not of a creative nature. The relation of the Local Advisory Committees with the Trust would be purely advisory.

Query number seven relates to the Status of the Waterways authority, i.e., the Trust in relation to the Local Government. The reply is that it should be the same as that of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, for

instance, excepting that none of its schemes should be put into operation without due and adequate publication and without the sanction of the Legislature.

Query number eight consists of several questions to which the replies are as follows: The Trust should be financed (1) by Government contribution, subject to legislative sanction, for specific purposes without the authority of transference or re-allotment, a system now practically in unchecked vogue in the Department. I do not think that it is "possible to obtain an adequate revenue from the steamers and boats using the waterways." The Government is perfectly aware of it and the facts I have stated before are sufficient eye-openers. The Steamer Companies would never guarantee anything and the departmental figures of tonnage are anything but reliable. Such a revenue must remain inadequate, for the schemes themselves are arbitrary and interest-serving. A cess on the freight of goods would be a very great advantage to the railway and I can see clearly that the Steamer Companies would strongly object to it. A cess on passenger fare would mean a great burden on the people of Eastern Bengal if such a cess is made universal, whether the steamers and boats use the constructed waterways or not. A general toll or license fee for steamers and boats using the waterways all round or only those that are of special construction would be more in line, but it is a matter of adjustment by negotiation with the Steamer Companies. On the whole the Waterways can hardly be expected to pay for themselves. Finances must be provided from Provincial revenues at least for the deficit of maintenance charges of the existing waterways. The Grand Trunk Canal, if at all constructed, must find its own financiers as a business proposition and if a loan is contemplated, it must be made on absolutely unimpeachable estimates, accepted as such by the legislature and the people and on definite tenders. The Government is already pledged to this procedure and even if the new Waterways Trust undertakes the construction there is no escape from such an obligation. No stretch of imagination, however, is required to foresee that in the present state of affairs in the country a Waterways Trust to function adequately must work a miracle.

Regarding query number nine, the Enquiry Committee may be referred to the Revenue Department of the Government. Mr. Hopkyns himself might know, having been connected with that Department before he was called upon to work in connection with the Simon Commission. So does Mr. Porter, I presume. In fact the tolls and other fees, now

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collected by public authorities or private persons, although not many, are varied in form and incidence. They are really of not much importance and can be adjusted by agreement.

The reply to query number ten, as to whether the Waterways Authority should have power to raise loans, is in the affirmative, subject, of course, to Government and Legislative Control as mentioned above.

The few points of importance that remain uncovered by the queries issued by the Committee of Enquiry, but are mentioned in the terms of reference, may now be considered.

The Committee is required "to discuss, if separation is advocated, the method of separation and to make recommendations as to the constitution and strength of each department." It is not understood how the Committee might discuss these points without suggestions or evidence. If they mean to depend upon departmental information only, I am afraid, they may not have the entire perspective. Regarding constitution and method of separation I have given certain views above. The strength of the department may claim a little of my readers' patience.

The departmental list of officers will at once make it clear that, in spite of the accepted policy of the Government, Indianisation of the department has not only stagnated but there appears to have been a deliberate disregard of the policy, specially since recruitment has not ceased. The result, as has been mentioned in the opening section, is that for years to come the entire fabric of the Irrigation Department must be supported by European officers. It might at least be doubted whether in imagination, knowledge of local conditions, or comprehensive grasp of the requirements of the Province as a whole they would be in a position to manifest any superiority over Indian talents, tradition and spirit. The greater efficiency of the European was a myth and it was rightly exploded on that afternoon when the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea retorted to a member of the Islington Commission, which included Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, that efficiency and intellectual attainments were not the monopoly of a nation. The fact need not be denied that there is a sharp division of outlook between the Indian and European elements of the Department and a good deal of dissatisfaction among the former. Sharp conflicts may not also be unknown, and the Hon. Member in charge of the Department may perhaps find some examples in the records with which he may

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enlighten the members of the Committee. Thus, in the present condition of the Department, it would be a task indeed for the Committee to make any suggestion for the division of the personnel. It is still more difficult to imagine how they will do it without a thorough enquiry into the matter. I mention the subject only to make my readers realise the importance of the bearing.

The other point relates to the representation of the Behar and Orissa and Assam Government on the Trust. I am of opinion that there is no specific reason for such representation. Both these Governments may, and will, be consulted when schemes and plans are made affecting their territories.

The most important point, on which neither the terms of reference nor the queries are very clear, relates to the question of the financial position of the waterways Trust at its formation. It has been observed that the condition relating to the already existing waterways work that will form the nucleus of the Trust, is in such a state of chaos that the Province is plunged in a hopeless commitment for finding means for interest and sinking fund charges amounting to several lakhs of rupees per year. The late Nawab Ali Choudhury, the Member in charge of the Irrigation Portfolio, admitted in the Council to my question that the charge was a burden on the Revenues of the Province. What, therefore, is the intention of the Government relating to the treatment of this problem if, and when, the Trust is constituted? Will the general revenues bear the burden of the past iniquities of the Irrigation Department, or will the Trust be born with an enormous debt and the consequent burden of providing means for the payment of interest and sinking fund charges out of its own resources? If the latter, then good bye even to maintenance, much less expansion. It is an irony of fate that has overtaken the Committee without being apprised of this very fundamental information. If the Government decides to pay for these charges out of the general revenue then it is almost certain that it will not have the means to help the Trust further in finance. And if the Trust is saddled with this liability I cannot imagine any source of revenue on which the Trust can lean to make both ends meet even in existing circumstances. Perhaps the Hon. Sir Abdelkerim Ghuznavi may enlighten his countrymen by admitting them behind the purdah which he has promised to lift.

There is one word more and I shall have finished. Once bitten twice shy is exactly the mental attitude of the people of this Province.

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They are, therefore, apprehensive as to whether or not this proposition of the Waterways Trust is a mere contrivance to revive the Grand Trunk Canal scheme and find a permanent place for Mr. Addams Williams as its executive expert. We have no quarrel with Mr. Addams Williams. He may be the greatest living deltaic engineer, as Lord Lytton declared he was, but it is a fact that the country has no love for him. The assumption is quite reasonable and justified that even the Government has no love for him either, since it did not even give the slightest hint regarding the reason which made it abandon his pet scheme—in fact the be all and end all of his existence, on which he spent nearly a quarter of a century of the best years of his life.

CONCLUSION

In effect this discussion of the Irrigation Department of Bengal, and that of Irrigation in the Province, is sad. It makes even the most cheerful optimist cry halt. The Department in the course of its riotous career has become bankrupt and burdened the poor taxpayers of the Province with the payment of several lakhs of rupees per year practically in perpetuity with no return in value whatsoever. Discontent and stagnation are its predominant features. Secrecy and arrogance are its defensive and offensive weapons. A more woeful spectacle would be hard to meet. An exhibition like this of hopeless inefficiency and wanton disregard of conditions and finances drives one to doubt if the recent utterances of the Viceroy or the Secretary of State are indeed genuine. But in the midst of death there is life! Great words these! Let us live in HOPE!

APPENDIX I

*(FROM THE REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE
NATIONAL FLOOD COMMISSION, JANUARY 20, 1938.)*

This office has written 44,745 letters and has distributed in its National Campaign 120,512 pieces of flood control literature including some 50 Engineering and Economic reports, pamphlets and bulletins. The foregoing does not include a very great amount of work done and services rendered by Mr. Walter Parker, Executive Vice-President, through the office of Fenner and Beane at their own expense, generously contributed to the cause.

These documents used in our nation-wide Educational Campaign constitute the essence of all that has been published in the interest of a change in Federal Policy for Flood Control, based upon a proper understanding and an unprejudiced view of the flood problem.

The work of the National Flood Commission has been carried on in accordance with policies laid down at the time of organization. Those policies were based upon certain recognized fundamental principles which may be stated briefly as follows :

First—That Flood Control is a National and not a Local Problem.

Second—That the Levees Only Policy pursued by the Army Engineers, and Federal Mississippi River Commission was a fallacy and must be abandoned.

Third—That the Lower Valley must be protected at National Expense, but must look for relief only through comprehensive legislation for River Regulation and Flood Control, nation-wide in its scope, and considering the interests of all other states in flood protection and in the conservation and beneficial use in place of waste of our surplus flood waters.

Fourth—That a National understanding of the flood problem is a prerequisite to intelligent and adequate National legislation.

Essentially, our work was one mainly of bringing to the people of the United States a better understanding of the flood problem and of their own particular interest in its solution.

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The flood disaster of 1927 brought about a climax. It disproved old theories of River Control. It hastened an understanding of the flood problem and vindicated all of our principles and policies. It justified the statement contained in our reports and pamphlets, and the predictions made as to the certainty of more disastrous floods in the future.

The Mississippi River Commission after 48 years had given inadequate thought to the possibility or probability of a great flood, and were unprepared.

The Federal Government as the result of 8 years of militant demand on the part of the Lower Valley, beginning in 1922, prepared through a Spillway Commission of Army Engineers a plan for the protection of the Lower Valley below Old River, which is embodied in the Report of that Commission.

After the flood disaster of 1927, General Jadwin, the Chief of the Army Engineers, prepared a plan for the protection of the entire lower Mississippi Valley designed to prevent any recurrence of that flood disaster, which is known as the Jadwin Plan. After the flood disaster of 1927, the Mississippi River Commission also prepared a separate plan, likewise designed to protect the Lower Mississippi Valley which is known as the Mississippi River Commission Plan.

With the view of carrying out the plans as developed by the Mississippi River Commission, Bill S—1999 has been introduced by Senator Ransdell, appropriating \$725,000,000.00 for flood control, all costs to be paid by the Federal Government.

For the purpose of carrying out the plans of General Jadwin approved by the Secretary of War and by the President, Senator Jones has introduced S—1677 appropriating the sum of \$258,960,000.00. This bill provides in effect that no work shall be done in any state until that state assumes the obligation to contribute and does provide for a substantial part of the cost.

Both of these administration measures were thrown into the discard by the Statement of Colonel Potter, President of the Mississippi River Commission made to the Flood Control Committee of the House, reported in the United States Daily as follows :

“OPPOSITION IS VOICED TO ALL PLANS OFFERED”

“At the night session, January 4, Col. Potter told the committee that he did not concur in the flood plan of the Commission ‘nor in any other report submitted to Congress.’ He said that although he had signed the report of the Commission, he was sorely tempted to write a minority report and had only been prevented from doing so because of his training as an Army Officer for 41 years.

“He said that neither General Jadwin nor the Commission were well enough informed to write a comprehensive flood control program at this time. The only feasible plan for flood control, according to the information in the possession of the Commission, he said, was the Bonnet Carre Spillway, and that no other method was justified until further study is made. The witness said that the Commission's plan for the Federal Government to assume costs of rights of way and damages in the construction of diversion channels, floodways and spillways, was opposed by Major General Jadwin, Chief of Army Engineers. He said the Commission submitted two reports to General Jadwin, who also objected to the estimate of \$775, 000,000.00.”

In addition to the above Bills which may be considered as supporting Administration plans the following have been introduced :

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S—678 by Mr. Robinson containing the work of the Mississippi River Commission and appropriating \$ 10,000, 000.00 a year for 6 years.

S—819 by Mr. Hawes appropriating \$ 1,000,000,000, abolishing the Mississippi River Commission and creating a new Commission.

H. R. 5775 by Mr. Rainey appropriating \$ 60,000,000.00 and creating a National Waterways Council and Water Control Board.

H. R. 6992 by Mr. O'Connor appropriating \$ 50,000,000.00 and creating a Waterways and Water Resources Commission to carry out comprehensive and nationwide Flood Prevention, Flood Control and the beneficial use in place of waste of our water resources.

H. R. 8111 by Mr. Newton provides \$ 10,000,000.00 for an inventory of the water resources of the United States, to be made by the United States Geological Survey.

H. R. 8219 by Mr. Reid, to prevent disastrous floods, increase the Mississippi River Commission to 13 members, place the entire cost upon the Federal Government, and extend the jurisdiction and control of the Mississippi River Commission over the entire watershed of the Mississippi River and all its tributaries and authorize them to make plans for flood control on any river in the tributaries.

H. R. 9576 by Mr. Howard of Oklahoma. Flood Control Navigation and Conservation on the Ohio, Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers and their tributaries and creation of a special commission and appropriation of \$ 10,000,000.00 for comprehensive Surveys.

H. R. 9256 by Mrs. Rogers for Survey of rivers in New England States with a view to flood control.

H. R. 8909 by Mr. Sears of Nebraska, creating Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers Flood and Drought District, creating a special commission.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Bill by Mr. Reid, Chairman of the Flood Control Committee of the House, though incomplete, is intended to meet an emergency situation primarily by advocating what appears to be an absolute necessity—FLOOD PROTECTION TO THE LOWER VALLEY AT NATIONAL EXPENSE.

Any other policy is impracticable and would court disasters worse than that of 1927.

That policy we approve and commend to the people of the United States.

H. R. 811 by Representative Newton, providing for an inventory by the Geological Survey of the Water Resources of the United States, we consider necessary to intelligent action for flood control before expenditure of enormous sums on comprehensive plans prepared without full and necessary information. The Geological Survey is the proper Department to carry on this work.

H. R. 6992 by Representative O'Connor is based upon the Newlands policy passed by Congress in 1917 and is in its present form the result of 30 years of work and study by statesmen, engineers and other earnest students of this subject.

It is our earnest conviction that the best interests of the nation will be served by the following action

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(1) Support the Reid Policy of PROTECTION TO THE LOWER VALLEY AT NATIONAL EXPENSE.

(2) Support the Newton Bill for an inventory of the water resources of the United States

(3) Support the O'Connor Bill 6992, for comprehensive legislation in the interest of every state and for the beneficial use in place of waste of our water resources. The cost of carrying out of such a program to be equitably apportioned among the States, Communities, Public and Private Enterprise, and the Federal Government according to benefit or,

A compromise measure containing the best of the Rainey Bill, H. R. 5775, the O'Connor Bill, H. R. 6992, the Howard Bill, H. R. 9576, the Sears Bill, H. R. 8909, providing for special commission as opposed to any measure calculated to extend the jurisdiction or to continue the domination of the Army Engineers Mississippi River Commission and the repetition of the failures and disasters of the past 50 years.

APPENDIX II

(*BILL INTRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.*)

A BILL, TO CREATE A WATERWAYS COMMISSION.

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that a commission, to be known as the Waterways Commission, consisting of seven members, to be appointed by the President of the United States, at least one of whom shall be chosen from the active or retired list of the Engineers Corps of the Army, at least one of whom shall be an expert hydraulic engineer from civil life, and the remaining five of whom may each be selected either from civil life, or the public service, is hereby created and authorized under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe, and subject to the approval of the heads of the several executive departments concerned, to bring into co-ordination and co-operation the engineering, scientific, and constructive services, bureaus, boards, and commissions of the several governmental departments of the United States and commissions created by Congress that relate to study, development, or control of waterways and water resources and subjects related thereto, or to the development and regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, with a view to uniting such services in investigating, with respect to all watersheds in the United States, questions relating to the development, improvement, regulation, and control of navigation as a part of interstate and foreign commerce, including therein the related questions of irrigation, drainage, forestry, arid and swamp-land reclamation, clarification of streams, regulation of flow, control of floods, utilization of water power, prevention of soil erosion and waste, storage and conservation of water for agricultural, industrial, municipal and domestic uses, co-operation of railways and waterways and promotion of terminal and transfer facilities, to secure the necessary data, and to formulate and report to Congress, as early as practicable a comprehensive plan or plans for the development of waterways and the water resources of the United States for the purpose of navigation and for every purpose, and recommenda-

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tions for the modifications or discontinuance of any project herein or heretofore adopted. Any member appointed from the retired list shall receive the same pay and allowances as he would if on the active list, and no member selected from the public service shall receive additional compensation for services on said commission, and members selected from civil life shall receive compensation of \$ 7,500 per annum

"In all matters done, or to be done, under this section relating to any of the subjects, investigations or questions to be considered hereunder, or in formulating plans, and in the preparation of a report or reports, as herein provided, consideration shall be given to all matters which are to be undertaken, either independently by the United States or by co-operation between the United States and the several states, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals within the jurisdiction, powers and rights of each, respectively, and with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as may be undertaken by the United States, and to the States political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations and individuals such portions as belong to their respective jurisdictions, rights and interests.

"The Commission is authorized to employ, or retain, and fix the compensation for the services of such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development and utilization, and constructors of eminence as it may deem necessary to make such investigations and to carry out the purposes of this Act. And in order to defray the expenses made necessary by the provisions of this Act there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as Congress may hereafter determine, and the sum of \$ 250,000 is hereby appropriated available until expended, to be paid out upon warrants drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury by the Chairman of said commission.

"The commission shall have power to make every expenditure requisite for and incident to its authorized work, and to employ in the District of Columbia and in the field such clerical, legal, engineering, artistic, and expert services as it may deem advisable, including the payment per diem in lieu of subsistence for employees engaged in field work or travelling on official business, rent of offices in the District of Columbia and in the field, and the purchase of books, maps, and office equipment.

"Nothing herein contained shall be construed to delay, prevent, or interfere with the completion of any survey, investigation, project, or work herein or heretofore or hereafter adopted or authorized upon or for the improvement of any of the rivers or harbors of the United States or with legislative action upon reports heretofore or hereafter presented."

APPENDIX III

(FROM THE FOURTH AND FINAL REPORT OF
THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON CANALS AND WATERWAYS.)

RECOMMENDATION TO APPOINT A WATERWAY BOARD.

We have, therefore, come to the conclusion that English and Welsh waterways, when and in so far as they are taken over, should be placed under the direct control of a central "Waterway Board."

We suggest that three or five Commissioners would suffice, and that they should be paid, and should give their whole time to the work. The Board should be a body entirely dissociated from party politics. The first Commissioners should, we think, be named in the Act of Parliament. It should be the duty of the Board to report annually to Parliament.

We believe that, with a view to efficiency, it will be better to have a centrally appointed Board of this kind, rather than a composite and partly elected trust or board such as that which was proposed in the Canals Bill of 1906. The question will be open for future consideration whether this Board might not be usefully assisted by Local Advisory Committees, representing local interests at the more important centres of origin or of delivery of traffic. A development of this kind might perhaps, be found to be expedient after the main improvements of the waterways had been carried out, and as soon as the routes were in working operation, especially in the case of cities and towns where valuable aid was given by the provision of wharves or inland harbours duly equipped.

It would be the duty of the Waterway Board to review the whole situation, in the light of the information reported by ourselves, and of such supplementary information as they may think it necessary to obtain. This review should, of course, be conducted from a practical point of view, with special regard to finance, to the extent to which localities and interests specially benefited would render assistance, to prospects of traffic, and to competition with Railway Com-

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panies. It is obvious that the reconstruction and improvement of waterways must ultimately depend on questions of finance and of benefit to the trade of the country, and that State funds or State credit can only be pledged on business principles, in other words on the strength of a reasonable prospect of a return, direct or indirect, on the outlay on such reconstruction and improvement. Any estimate of such return would take into account the probable benefit to public interest including any resulting increase of the taxable capacity, both local and national, of the districts and centres specially benefited.

If, on such a review of the situation the Waterway Board were satisfied that either the acquisition and unification or also, in addition to these measures, the reconstruction and improvement of certain waterways would be desirable, on the business principles above stated, they should propose a scheme, which would, of course, require Parliamentary sanction before the Board commenced to carry it out.

The Waterways Board should have power, with the sanction of the Treasury, to issue stock or raise loans guaranteed by the State in order to obtain the capital required. Hence in each case, the expenditure of money upon successive instalments of the work of improvement would have to be justified by the Waterways Board and sanctioned by the Treasury, and there would thus be the usual administrative check upon the outlay of the new authority.

Alternative Proposal as regards Authorities, and as to Procedure, for the Acquisition, Improvement and Administration of Waterways.

When we had almost reached the conclusion of our consideration of this Report, the "Development and Road Improvement Funds Bill" was introduced into Parliament. It has now become law.

This Act provides for the constitution of a permanent body, partly salaried and partly unsalaried, styled the "Development Commissioners." It is also provided that the Treasury may, upon the recommendation of these Commissioners, make advances to a Government Department, or through a Government Department to (*inter alia*) a "public authority" for various specified purposes, one of which is "the construction and improvement of inland navigations." Such advances may be made either by way of grant or by way of loan or partly in one way and partly in another, and upon such terms and subject to such conditions as the Treasury may think fit.

It will thus be the duty of the Development Commissioners to inquire into the merits of any application made to them by administering authorities or bodies, and to make to the Treasury such recommendations as they may consider advisable. Among the objects which may receive the State aid contemplated are, "the construction and improvement of inland navigations," as well as other objects, among which are the general improvement of rural transport, including the making of light railways, and the construction and improvement of harbours.

By the same Act a separate Board, "the Road Board," is constituted for improving the facilities for road traffic in the United Kingdom.

It appears to us to deserve careful consideration whether it would not be expedient to vest in the Development Commissioners part of the functions which hitherto, in our Report, we have suggested might be exercised by the Waterway Board.

The Development Commissioners might be entrusted with the duties of holding inquiries and considering schemes submitted to them by the Waterway Board for (a) the acquisition (b) the

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improvement of waterways. It might also be part of their duty to arrange terms of purchase with canal companies whose property it was proposed to acquire, or, failing voluntary agreement, to embody in Bills or Provisional Orders the usual terms of compulsory purchase. Waterways when acquired could be vested in the Waterway Board.

The administration and actual work of improvement of the waterways, when acquired, would be entrusted to the Waterway Board, constituted on the lines suggested in our Report. But the general function of advising with regard to waterways would remain in the hands of the Development Commissioners, with whom alone the Treasury would have to deal.

There would, we think, be two main advantages in the adoption of this alternative :

- (1) The Development Commissioners who would thus control, subject to the sanction of the Treasury and Parliament, the general progress of acquisition, improvement, and expenditure, would have functions wider than those relating to waterways only, be in a position to take a large view, and to consider schemes for inland navigation in relation to other schemes for economic development in other directions, such as light railway and harbours. This consideration would be important from the point of view of national expenditure and of co-ordination.
- (2) On the other hand, the Waterway Board could devote itself entirely to framing schemes, to engineering questions, and to administration, and its members should be chosen with this end in view.

APPENDIX IV

*SPEECH OF THE HON. SIR ABDELKERIM GHUZNAVI AT THE MEETING
OF THE STANDING WATERWAYS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
HELD ON THE 24th AUGUST, 1929.)*

"Gentlemen, I think I shall be echoing the feelings of all of us present here when I say that we are thankful to our hosts for giving us an opportunity of holding what I may call a floating meeting on board this excellent ship. I am sure this will prove to be a very useful trip in that it has afforded us an idea of how things are on the spot, and of examining the exact position with our own eyes. I am glad to find that the members of the enlarged Waterways Standing Committee are all present here, with the following exceptions: Mr. Laird, the representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, has been detained at the eleventh hour, I understand, in view of his position *visavis* the labour strike. Another member, who holds the eminent position of Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust—I mean Mr. Swan—could not afford to be away from Calcutta on account of his existing engagements. The third member, also compulsorily detained at Jamshedpur, is our representative of the Calcutta Corporation, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, to whose presence on this occasion we were all looking forward.

I believe, gentlemen, the old Waterways Committee could hardly be held to have been particularly industrious or successful. This is patent from the scarcity of meetings held by it, and its failure to make any headway or achieve any concrete results. It also suffered from the want of not being a sufficiently representative committee. When I took over the portfolio of Irrigation I felt the necessity of recasting the old committee on more representative lines.

But, gentlemen, the work lying ahead of us is so stupendous, *viz.*, the finding of solutions to the diverse problems that Bengal rivers present, that even this present Committee would be the first to recognise that when it can only meet at certain intervals and its members are unable to devote continued attention to all these problems, it is necessary to form a whole-time organisation

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for the proper conservancy of our waterways. I think you will readily agree that it is necessary to create a Waterways Board on a statutory basis for the whole province, which should include representatives of Bihar and Orissa and Assam, and which would be charged with the duty of supervision over the 20,000 miles of major waterways in Bengal alone. On this Board we would cordially invite the co-operation of the mercantile and commercial community—both European and Indian—as also of the general public, as I am sure we are all equally interested in and convinced of the imperative necessity of maintaining our waterways. If you are all agreed that such a Board as visualised by me should be constituted, then it is scarcely necessary for us to examine on this occasion any particular question such as that of the Grand Trunk Canal project, as it would be best to leave the solution of this thorny problem to the proposed Waterways Board. It is, therefore, obvious that our first step should be to push on as fast as possible with the creation of a competent Waterways Board, which should be fully representative of all the various interests. The Board will be invested with statutory powers somewhat on the lines of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, and this highly specialised and representative body will be entrusted with the work of formulating and carrying on all necessary schemes with the approval of Government.

I, therefore, trust that all members will agree to the speedy creation of the proposed waterways Board. I may mention for your information that we have already addressed the Government of India to help us with a small Committee of experts in order to enable us to reorganise the present Irrigation Department by splitting it up into two sections, viz., that of Navigation as one, and that of Irrigation, Embankments, Drainage, etc., as the other, and also to assist us in forming this Waterways Board. It is hoped that this Committee will begin to function from the next cold weather."

APPENDIX V

*r. SPEECH OF NALINI RANJAN SARKER IN CONNECTION WITH A DEMAND OF
Rs. 25,000]- FOR THE GRAND TRUNK CANAL IN THE BENGAL
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ON THE 17th AUGUST, 1926.*

My first objection against this motion is that there is not the least necessity for bringing forward this item along with the supplementary budget. There is no urgency or emergency about the measure : neither is it a fact that any fund is necessary for works already begun. So I cannot but characterise this demand for Rs. 25,000 in furtherance of a scheme which will cost about Rs. 3 crores ultimately as most unfair.

I need not go into the previous history of the scheme or that of the several Committees Conferences which never considered it as a whole, but did so only piecemeal, and whose deductions, therefore, were not logically sound. The last Conference at the Government House in January, 1925, ended in nothing. Most of the aspects of the scheme were ruled out of discussion, specially the financial one by His Excellency Lord Lytton who presided. Mr. Addams-Williams who, according to Lord Lytton, was probably the greatest living authority upon engineering connected with deltaic rivers, and the like of whom it would be impossible to find anywhere in the world, explained that the outer steamer route was doomed and that he had reduced the estimate and found a solution of the only knotty problem concerning the passage of the Banstola Khal by the substitution of the cut near Assasuni.

I admit in all humility that my knowledge of the engineering world or its problems is just as much limited as that of any other layman, but I might be pardoned by the greatest authority, the acting Chief Engineer and the Hon'ble Member himself in charge of the Irrigation Department, for asking a few questions which only commonsense suggests.

Firstly, why is it that at a time when the scheme was actually put into operation with all the energy at the command of this very potent department, the work was suddenly stopped

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by the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan? Was there any doubt in his mind that all the claims of the scheme, then put forward were not as sound as they appeared on paper, or else what were the facts?

Secondly, assuming that the Doa Agra, Subtermukhi and other channels down to the Malta are dying, is the present scheme the only solution, taking into consideration the almost similar conditions of the open rivers and khals between Malancha and Khulna? The whole scheme is based on the assumption that in the 13th year after commencement, the project will not only pay its way but pay a dividend as well in all up to 13.2 per cent, but what guarantee is there beyond that of Mr. Addams-Williams' opinion that the open waterways will be productive in the manner they are expected to do? The question, of course, does not arise if, Sir, we can persuade ourselves to believe that we are in the reign of King Canute and we are his courtiers. If not, I would respectfully request the acting Chief Engineer to cast off his official mask for a while and tell the House what he thinks of the probable behaviour of these waterways 13 years hence. Besides, would he kindly compare the conduct of the Attarabanka and Kumar Rivers in connection with the Madaripur Bhil Route with that of Grand Trunk Canal proper? Again, what do the theories of Mr. Addams-Williams himself, as propounded in his official book on the deltaic rivers, prove when applied to the problems of these rivers? Even in respect of the solution found in the Assasuni cut, is it too much for a layman to inquire what effect it will have on the Boyera Bhil and *vice versa*? I mention only a few engineering problems, Sir, lest I take more time than I may.

Thirdly, can the Hon'ble Member assure the House that the estimate is as sound and as close as it should be and whether it has been examined by any independent authority in every detail, although Mr. Addams Williams may have revised it several times over and made convenient reductions? If not, is not there a reasonable apprehension that the estimate is not what it should be, in spite of the great ability and honesty of purpose of its father? Is it the experience of the Hon'ble Member that the actual work done by a dredger and the cost of doing such work by it per unit has in any instance been in accordance with the estimate? Cannot sand, clay, dead animal and vegetable matter, or even crabs, and hilsa fish, found in the way of the cutters of the dredgers make a difference in the rates? Assuming it to be so, what provision, in the light of experience, has the Hon'ble Member made as regards additional cost of dredging? And a dredger in India is a treacherous monster. If further experience of its tremendous treachery is needed, I can only refer the House to the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. I maintain that the estimate of expenditure is much under the probable figure, while that of income is abnormally exaggerated. The latter point has been ably made out by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and I need not repeat it here. But one thing is certain: If the actual income falls short of the expected one, then good-bye to the 13.2 per cent. return in the 13th year from commencement and the project being classified as a productive one under the Public Works Department Code, and, unfortunately, number 13 is a significant one.

Fourthly, what is the opinion of the Public Health Department with regard to the scheme? Is the Hon'ble Member satisfied that a solution has been found to avoid all interference with drainage, agriculture and health? I am aware of the parallel drain along the Grand Trunk Canal proper, its intake and outfall, its syphons and locks, but what is beyond these? Neither the Bidyadhari River nor the Habra Gong will drain away a country so vast and practically uniformly level. What is the acting Chief Engineer's experience, even with

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the Bhangor Canal and Magrahat Drainage Embankment? Does he not receive many urgent requests for opening out sluices to preserve crops and lives?

There are various other questions, but I have mentioned only a few. Even these will prove that the scheme is not yet ripe for being put through. At the Government House Conference Lord Lytton said that a series of Conferences would be called by Government to go into various details. Unfortunately, not a single Conference was called. If it had been, it would not be necessary for me to take the time of the Council to-day by asking these questions that remain unanswered. Probably, they are unanswerable. And without going into details it is impossible to express an opinion on the scheme.

Sir, a few other points, equally important, need considering: The Grand Trunk Canal is for the benefit of the inland steamer companies only. What contribution, if any, do they propose to make either in the shape of capital expenditure or contract for tolls? What has the Eastern Bengal Railway which, at the present moment, in common with all other State Railways, has embarked upon a scheme of expansion and greater facility with a view to attract traffic, got to say in this matter? Would their rates and those of the steamer companies saddled with a toll neutralise each other in connection with what the traffic will bear, and would not the railway then draw more traffic than the steamer companies, if only on the basis of speed? These are problems which have not been solved and yet the Government is rushing on with the scheme.

A navigation canal, Sir, is not an unmixed blessing. The Manchester Ship Canal, which is not a Government concern but a commercial undertaking with innumerable facilities, failed to declare a dividend for nearly 20 years. During the next five years it paid a dividend of only 1 to 2½ per cent. During the last five years it has been paying 4 to 5 per cent. It should be mentioned in this connection that the cost of this scheme exceeded the original estimate by 40 per cent. The most modern and newest inland waterway of any length in America, the New York Barge Canal, is a huge failure. It costs much less to transport by rail than by this canal. The Mississippi Canals are not paying, but are maintained more for draining the delta and saving the cotton crops. The Danube Canals are in a similar position. Any cross-canal or navigation channel in the Ganges delta, dissected as it is with north and south or north-west and south-east waterways, even on Mr. Addams-Williams' own river course theory, is bound to fail, and nobody knows what will happen in, say, 40 years' time, the period which may be assured to be the term of currency of the loan or even in 13 years when the project is advertised to pay 13.2 per cent. return on an inflated estimate of income.

Sir, both Lord Lytton and the Hon'ble Mr. Donald assured the conference at Government House in January, 1925, that the scheme was an investment and would pay. Such an assurance again, reminds me of the Bombay Back Bay Scheme. The Majority Report of the special Committee of Enquiry appointed last year to investigate the affairs of the Bombay scheme placed the main responsibility of the failure on Sir George Buchanan, the Advisory Engineer, and the Minority Report blamed the Bombay Government, and suggested that Counsel be consulted to fix the liability of Sir George. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the then Executive Councillor in charge of the portfolio, said that the reclamation would yield a profit of Rs. 30 to 50 crores to the city of Bombay. Sir, the assertions of the Bengal Government, its expert and advisors in connection with this scheme appear to me to be at a par with those of the Bombay Government in respect of the Back Bay Scheme. The only difference is that, while nemesis has overtaken the Bombay scheme much sooner than was expected, we might have to wait 13 years to realise our fate. And what

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is at the root of the Bombay failure? I am almost afraid to mention it—it is the dredger. In Bombay we find the same undue haste in its purchase, the same overestimating its working capacity, the same underestimating its cost per unit of work, the same idleness and the same result as in the case of our dredger. And last but not least, do we find in this Government the same attitude of secrecy and reliance on a single person, howsoever his reputation might be, as it was found in the Bombay Government. I beg to warn the House, Sir, that the Grand Trunk Canal as a paying and even as an engineering scheme is bound to fail. It would interfere with sanitation and agricultural prospects of the country and ultimately land the province with a tremendous burden of repayment of an enormous loan with interest. All that we could then expect in return would be a Committee of Enquiry and a possibly nicely bound Report. The authors of the bubble would have vanished by that time beyond reach, their reputation finding a cool grave in the putrid waters of a stagnant canal. I again beg to warn the House and request it to reject this demand for a grant.

2. SPEECH BY NALINI RANJAN SARKER IN THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WHEN MOVING A TOKEN CUT FROM THE IRRIGATION BUDGET ON THE 16th MARCH, 1927.

In proposing this cut my intention is to draw the attention of this House to the deplorable condition of the Irrigation Department. It is the most irresponsible of all the Secretariat departments. Large amounts are allotted to this department for expenditure without its being exposed to the same effective scrutiny by the Finance Department as in the case of the others. It is practically unfettered in regard to expenditure, because any layman, however well-informed, who attempts to criticise the details of a given scheme is promptly silenced by the *ipse-dixit* of some technical expert, a veritable godling to whose tyranny the Hon'ble Member in charge, the Finance Department, or even His Excellency the Governor, has to bow. Thus neither in the initiation nor in the conduct of a scheme has the Department seriously to reckon with outside criticism. We finally come to a veritable *reductio ad absurdum* when we remember that it is Mr. Addams-Williams, the Secretary who checks and passes the schemes prepared and to be executed by Mr. Addams-Williams, the Engineer. The Budget estimates presented by the Irrigation Department are so splendidly unintelligible that they reduce the Hon'ble Member in charge into blind acquiescence, nay more, they even dazzle the Hon'ble Mr. Donald out of his consistently negative stolidity.

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Its very name is a misnomer ; for the department is maintained primarily for the upkeep of certain embankments and a few navigation canals. Of irrigation proper this department can boast of next to nothing. Beyond the maintainance of the Midnapore and Eden canals there has been practically no work of any worth undertaken by this department from the time of its inception. The Damodar Canal is, no doubt, a new departure of which I shall speak later.

The resolution of Government published in 1924 in connection with this department makes curiously interesting reading. I quote only one paragraph.

“As stated in the last year’s resolution, the important problems with which the Irrigation Department in Bengal have to deal are connected more with the improvement of navigation and sanitary conditions and control of flood water in the province than with irrigation properly so called. As regards the improvement of navigation, Government have long been impressed by the necessity for developing the waterways. For this purpose, three dredgers have been brought from England of which one is intended exclusively for the Gand Truk Canal. This project has been held in abeyance for the present on account of financial stringency. It is expected that if the project is carried out navigation in the province will be very greatly improved.”

I am thankful to the author of this paragraph not only for supplying me with a correct description but also for making an admission that saves me much trouble in proving my contention. The paragraph likewise tells us that the improvement of sanitary conditions is a direct concern of this department. This information will, no doubt, prove amusing to this House, which is only too familiar with the obstinacy with which the Grand Trunk Canal project is being pushed through in the teeth of the opposition of the Public Health Department. Then, again, there is the Magrahat drainage scheme which was supposed to be designed to effect the sanitary improvement of the area as well, but has in fact resulted in an increase of malaria and a consequent arrest in the increase of population.

The efficiency of this department can be judged from the following facts : The total capital expenditure by this department on irrigation works proper is about Rs. 85 lakhs with a net revenue of about Rs. 42 thousand or practically half per cent. The total capital expenditure on navigation works is a little over three crores with a deficit of nearly three lakhs per year or minus one per cent. It is incomprehensible how the department can continue to be run in this way without coming to be an intolerable burden on the people. In fact, it is already bankrupt beyond recovery. The capital obviously cannot be repaid ; apart from that it cannot even justify the huge waste it has incurred on the score of any indirect benefit to the people. I refrain from going into further details lest that should prove tiresome.

I maintain that not only is this department stagnating, but probably even the great scientist, Sir J. C. Bose, himself would find it impossible to make it respond to any of his delicate instruments ; for, does it not beat the vegetable in immobility, or dead metal in inertness ? Bengal, as you are aware, Sir, is a peculiar province. Well might the raiyat cry, with apologies to the Ancient Mariner, “Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to irrigate.” There is either no water or no sweet water to flow over the land, or else only salt water which poisons it. He has thus to depend on his moody god, the Monsoon. The real problem with which this department should concern itself is, therefore, the control and utilisation of water.

The department, however, appears to have no imagination whatsoever in the case of its legitimate functions, while in evolving schemes of little or doubtful utility costing fabulous sums

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it has no equal. It is hardly unnatural if the question occurs to any one whether its inactivity in bringing relief to the cultivator is deliberate or not since its formation in the distant ages it has spent and is still spending millions of the people's money, principally in feeding fat its own personnel, and the further astounding fact is that it does not even possess the necessary data on which to build a comprehensive scheme. It cannot say whether water will run from the Indian Ocean to the Himalayas or *vice versa*. There has not yet been a contour survey made of the Province nor even has any attempt been made in that direction in spite of its being headed by "the greatest living deltaic engineer in the world."

The utter inefficiency of the department hardly requires further exposing. Its estimates are invariably exceeded not by a small percentage but sometimes, I may venture to say, even by more than one hundred per cent. The excavation of the Hoorhoora Khal recently executed by one of the white elephants in which this department is so prolific—I refer to those fearsome dredgers—is a case in point. Not even a third of the projected length or quantity has, I understand, been excavated and practically the whole of the estimated amount of money is alleged to have been consumed with the result that further work has been abandoned. The following illuminating fact is to be found in the Report on the Madaripur Bhil route. The work was stopped "for technical reasons" after expenditure of Rs. 15 Lakhs and odd had been incurred against the sanctioned estimate amounting to a little over Rs. 38/-lakhs, but the total capital outlay to the end of 1922-23 amounted to over Rs. 62 lakhs. I am further reliably informed that in the dredging of the Lower Kumar river the original estimate of Rs. 2 lakhs came to an actual of about Rs. 10 lakhs. A layman will find it difficult to resist the conclusion that the department is either incapable of drawing up accurate estimates or had deliberately hoodwinked the authorities in obtaining sanction for projects like these. But this is a department of experts and a layman's inferiority must hide itself in shame. And yet the layman may find consolation in Mr. Henry Ford's memorable words: "We have most unfortunately found it necessary to get rid of a man as soon as he thinks himself an expert if he really knows his job. A man who knows a job sees so much more to be done than he has done, that he is always pressing forward and never gives up an instant of thought to how good and how efficient he is. Thinking always ahead, thinking always of trying to do more, brings a state of mind in which nothing is impossible. The moment one gets into the 'expert' state of mind a great number of things becomes impossible."

Lastly, Sir, the Irrigation Department is wholly demoralised. It is an open secret that discontent rules supreme amongst high and low. And in an atmosphere like this it is only natural that initiative and endeavour must vanish. There is no thinking ahead—no thinking of doing anything at all, much less of affecting improvement. The only thought is how best to skip over to the next pay day and how best to keep the current files tidy. I wonder if these be the right conditions to conduce to the making of the greatest living expert. One effect, however, that even a layman like me can foresee, is that Government will be very soon obliged to close this department altogether, owing to the creeping paralysis fast coming on.

The only legitimate piece of work recently undertaken is the Damodar Canal. Here also I feel strongly that there is the same danger of the expenditure far exceeding the estimate. The fact must be or ought to be known to Government whether or not the estimate has already been exceeded. I suggest an enquiry by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department himself and it will neither take him long nor will he have to take much pains over it, since I find that both the works and establishment in connection with this project have been shown as separate items in the budget wherefrom there should be no difficulty in finding out

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the details both as to progress and responsibility. The labour involved will not be wasted—indeed it will rather enable the Hon'ble Member to carry the House with him in future.

Lastly, there is of course the Grand Trunk Canal. I fancy its ghost like Hamlet's father is still raising an ominous finger to its sponsor. I have not the least doubt that it will ultimately find Nirvana, thereby saving the reputation of experts which must otherwise be ignominiously buried. The last council refused the token demand in no uncertain voice in spite of the opinion of the greatest expert on earth. No sixth sense is required to foresee that its cost will not be three crores but probably nine, and its return not 13 per cent but possibly 1.3 only. And I also claim judgment in my favour relying on the precedence of the fate of the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation scheme. The circumstances are absolutely at par with those of the Grand Trunk Canal, including the purchase, working cost and maintenance of the fateful dredger.

Such, in short, is the condition of the Irrigation Department. My suggestions are these. The department should be re-organised. Part of it should be incorporated in the Revenue Department for the upkeep of the embankments, while the canals constructed under the Agricultural and Sanitary Improvement Act should be made over to the Agricultural Department. For the purpose of irrigation proper, its expert autocracy should be done away with by the creation of a statutory Water Board with necessary powers to control and guide its functions—all interests being suitably represented, by both officials and non-officials. Provision should also be made for the independent examination of schemes and estimates and expressions of opinions thereon. It is highly important that schemes should be formulated and published with full details long before they are sought to be put into execution. The opinions of particular interests and the various local bodies concerned should be invited and secured before any definite step is actually taken. The policy of the department must, from now onwards, be to devise and work out bold schemes calculated to grapple with the vital problems of Bengal and find effective remedies for the associated evils of agricultural decline, epidemic malaria and depopulation. While I say all this I cannot forget how all our demands and requirements have invariably turned to nothing. But considering the seriousness of this situation may I not hope that the Government will at last evince a sincere desire to take some step for achieving the true wealth and welfare of the people of the province, of the fortunes of which they are so anxious to retain supreme control?

3. *SPEECH OF NALINI RANJAN SARKER IN THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ON THE 13TH MARCH, 1928, IN CONNECTION WITH A TOKEN CUT IN THE IRRIGATION BUDGET.*

Sir, the object of my motion is to criticise the work of the department and its policy. The chief preoccupation of the department as it is constituted to-day is the maintenance of navigation, embankments and drainage works. These works are responsible for the consumption of the bulk of the funds allotted to this department in the

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budget. Irrigation has the smallest share of the attention of the department though one would have expected quite the opposite. Not only is irrigation important but the care of navigation channels and embankments and drainage works could be profitably handed over to other departments. The Marine Department could, for instance, take care of the former, while the Revenue and the Public Works Department may well be entrusted to the latter. But irrigation must be maintained as the sole charge of a separate department for it has a direct relation to the well being of the people and the economic development of the province. Whether Government are conscious or not of the importance of irrigation their record of work in this sphere is anything but creditable. Large sums have been expended on schemes of no mean size, the help of much extolled experts was also secured but they have not till now succeeded in formulating any substantial scheme whatever, much less a comprehensive one. Even the Damodar Canal, now undertaken, is fragmentary and its efficiency is at best a matter of doubt. At any rate it is a matter for the future generations and the experts of the present time. But we have at the same time every right to demand the formulation of a comprehensive scheme, which will not only answer fully our irrigational needs but would also help the solution of a few other problems which in Bengal have been found to have a close relation to the system of irrigation in vogue.

The need for such a well-thought out comprehensive scheme will be evident from a comparison of the achievements of irrigation in Bengal with that of other provinces in India. The Irrigation Departments elsewhere have turned large areas of arid and unfertile waste into beautiful farms, but in Bengal the Government have reduced the granary of India into so many unproductive marshes raising a plentiful swarm of mosquitoes instead of a rich harvest of grain. The whole province is now a hot-bed of malaria and kala-azar. I shall not pay the Irrigation Department the compliment of comparing their work to the wonders wrought in Egypt and other parts of the world. But even judged by the standards obtaining in India the record of the Irrigation Department reflects but little credit on their capacity or efficiency.

How fortunate is Bengal's position will be seen from the fact that the area so irrigated in Bengal is one-fourth of such area in even the North-West Frontier Province. The figures have only to be stated to realise the wide disparity between Bengal and the other provinces in matters of irrigation. The average area irrigated in Bengal from Government works in the triennium 1921-23 was one lakh acres, the lowest in India. The figures for other provinces were 71½ lakhs in Madras, 4¼ lakhs in Bombay Deccan, 34½ lakhs in Sind, 24½ lakhs in the United Provinces 10½ lakhs in the Punjab, 16 lakhs in Burma, 10½ lakhs in Bihar and Orissa, 4½ lakhs in the Central Provinces and 4 lakhs in the North-West Frontier Province. The increased agricultural wealth due to Government irrigation works in the different provinces are thus recorded in official blue books: Madras Rs. 35.56 lakhs, Bombay Deccan Rs. 5.38 lakhs, Sind Rs. 10.54 lakhs, United Provinces Rs. 13.48 lakhs, Punjab Rs. 55.05 lakhs, Burma Rs. 8.12 lakhs, Bihar and Orissa Rs. 6.22 lakhs, Central Provinces Rs. 281 lakhs, Frontier Province Rs. 2.26 lakhs and Bengal Rs. 78 lakhs.

It may be said however that the Government of Bengal has not responsibility for this state of affairs. In pre-reform days the Government of India was wholly responsible for major irrigation works; but the Government of Bengal had no hand in the matter of sanctioning capital expenditure for those works.

But as the following facts will show the Irrigation Department of Bengal is equally responsible with the Government of India for the present disastrous state of irrigation in the province. Their responsibility lies in the unwise expenditure and the consequent waste of

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the capital entrusted to them. Up to the end of 1923-24, the capital cost of Government irrigation and navigation works in Bengal was Rs. 4.22 lakhs, while the value of the total crop raised in the irrigated area comes to a bare Rs. 78 lakhs with almost equal and probably in some cases even less capital expenditure, incomparably better results in cultivation and productivity have been attained in Sind, Burma, Bihar and Orissa. Central Provinces and North-West Frontier Province Madras has secured an yield of more than Rs 35½ crores on a capital of a little over Rs. 12 crores while the Punjab gains Rs. 55.05 crores a year out of an investment of Rs. 25 43 crores. Thus if the proportion of capital expenditure to the increased productivity of agricultural wealth is considered, the Irrigation Department in Bengal possesses the unenviable distinction of occupying the lowest place in India,

There is another point that reflects great discredit to the Bengal Irrigation Department. There are no productive irrigation works in Bengal. According to the official code the productive irrigation works are those which are expected to be self-supporting, that is, to pay for their working as well as interest charges. Even excluding works which are productive, is it not a disgrace that the experts in our Irrigation Department have not been able to plan and execute one irrigation project that is self-supporting while the net return on capital invested in irrigation works all over India is about 7.71 per cent. and in some provinces it is much higher? The return on capital on productive works in 1922-23 was Rs. 15.35 in the Punjab and Rs. 13.70 in Madras. It is clear that if the present policy of drifting is allowed it will not be long before Bengal will be impoverished beyond redemption. We have to press for the formulation of a comprehensive scheme of irrigation, a scheme which will be free from the whimsical vagaries of a few individuals and would be in the hands of a body specially fitted to discharge these grave responsibilities.

Besides the larger question of ensuring the economic development of the whole province there are considerations of immediate economy involved in my demand. For not only has this department failed to tackle the problem of irrigation but it has persisted in its course of spending money with reckless profusion.

I shall give only one or two examples. The Hoorhorra Khal has become famous by now. In reply to a question in this House, it was admitted by the oracle of this department that the work was taken as completed. In other words, it was stopped, when only a third of the estimated work was done and the whole of the sanctioned amount was nearly exhausted. The irresistible conclusion would be that either there was no necessity for undertaking such a volume of work or, if there was, the estimates were hopelessly beside the mark. In the former case it would appear that a larger volume of work was assumed in order to obtain the maximum grant. The other alternative is but a poor compliment to the efficiency of the engineers concerned. Whatever it was, the scheme has involved a tremendous waste and we have had to form out a thousand rupees for this proposal in the budget year.

Here is another little thing. We find that the House must provide Rs. 15,500 for maintenance and repairs to the Dredger "Ronaldshay," that white elephant of the Grand Trunk Canal. The Canal is dead, but this elephant subsists and the people have nothing else to thank for this but the wise head which in purchasing it in a hurry displayed more shrewdness and foresight than the best commercial magnets of the present day. The maintenance and repairs charges, not to speak of interest charges on the capital outlay, must perforce be met while this dredger and several others are kept idle for want of work and for aught we know will be for eternity. Of inefficiency and irresponsibility that is probably the finest example. This is how Govern-

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ment express their deep anxiety and concern for the dumb millions of the land. The crying need, Sir, to-day is sanitary and economic improvement. Irrigation is the main factor in effecting such improvement. My proposal, expressed concisely, is that an Irrigation Board should be created with technical, financial and popular representation on it for formulating a comprehensive scheme, carrying it out and maintaining the works. Such a board will eliminate the present hopeless condition of Government having to depend on a single man's advice and capacity as well as as the unhealthy procedure of doing everything behind closed doors. Funds, as when necessary, could be obtained either from revenue or by loan and it will be the board's duty to find such funds and see to their proper utilisation. The mistakes so far committed should be boldly rectified even if the izzat of the department and of its greatest exponent should suffer in the process.

*SPEECH BY NALINI RANJAN SARKER AT THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,
SUPPORTING A MOTION FOR A TOKEN CUT FROM THE IRRIGATION
BUDGET, ON THE 20th MARCH, 1929.*

Sir, I wish to support my friend's motion. My object in doing so is to draw pointed attention to the unprecedented attitude of the Irrigation Department in the matter of its policy, projects, estimates and works.

The sphinx is silent. The Irrigation Department goes one better. It is not only silent but veiled as well. Its projects are conceived and matured behind tightly drawn curtains; estimates are made with a view to mislead, ultimately to be exceeded by several hundreds per cent and useless and costly works are undertaken, less for the purpose of irrigation than of navigation, for benefits which certainly do not accrue to the toilers of our country. Such works, again, are classified as productive. This may be very good satire but very poor consolation.

I have on numerous occasions called the attention of the House to the arrogant attitude and callous unconcern of the department towards the wishes of the members of this House and I presume a climax has now been reached. A request by a member to the Hon'ble Member in charge of the department to be kind enough to furnish a copy of the reputed report on the Sundarbans Steamer Route by the Irrigation Expert of the Government of India has been treated with the silence that it does not deserve. Even the letter of request remains unacknowledged. Yet a copy of this report was sent to an outside body for obtaining a testimonial.

My intention is to criticise the policy and methods of the department and I shall therefore refrain from going into details.

The works of the department are divided into two classes, the so-called "productive" and frankly "unproductive". Nobody knows what tests are applied to arrive at the conclusion as to whether a projected work is or is not productive. The classification, such as it is,

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is apparently made by Mr. Addams-Williams on his own estimates unchecked and untested both as to utility and actual productive possibility. The department has arrived at such an *impasse* that neither the Hon'ble Member nor even the Secretary knows anything about its affairs and Mr. Addams Williams must be present in this House to give an answer to a question by, or supply information to, a member.

The position created by this "greatest living deltaic engineer on earth" is that loans have accumulated in an irresponsible manner to the extent of Rs 1,18,21,132 up to 1920-21. Additional loan for the dredgers in 1921-22 and 1922-23 amounted to Rs 1,01,89,000 the total being nearly Rs. 23 crores.

Rupees 25,59,258 have been paid out in interest up to 1926-27. The total budget estimate for interest charges in respect of works for which capital accounts are kept is Rs 19,60,000 made up of Rs 4,75,000 for Irrigation works and Rs 14,85,000 for Navigation works etc. The figure for interest on capital expenditure on dredgers and the Damodar and Bakreswar Canals is Rs 5,80,000. These figures, I submit, are appalling when we remember the hopeless condition of irrigation in Bengal. This money is being paid out of general revenues, while we are all the time ill-fed, ill-educated and ill-provided against disease and unhealthy conditions. The strange irony is that the "productive" works in respect of which a very large amount of interest is being paid out are the two notorious canals.

The Accountant-General says: "The 'Damodar Canal' and the 'Grand Trunk Canal' have been declared as 'Productive' under 'A—Irrigation works' and 'B.—Navigation, etc. works' respectively." He significantly adds: "no revenue account has yet been opened for the above works." Of course, not; for even the expert is nonplussed. As regards their productivity we find that we are saddled with a burden of Rs 19,60,000 by way of interest which will probably augment to Rs 25 lakhs by the time the Damodar canal is completed. The Grand Trunk Canal is supposed to be dead, but I presume it is only hibernating. Its famous 13.2 per cent. return was a myth and the Committee appointed by Government to investigate into the matter of the return of 13.2 per cent. was dismissed in a hurry presumably owing to the inconvenient nature of the enquiry made by some members even before they had time to sit comfortably in their chairs.

The Grand Trunk Canal has left us burdened with a loan of over half a crore of rupees on account of the dredger *Ronaldshay* alone—a useless dredger purchased for a project even before it was sanctioned by this House. It is interesting to learn that from 1st January, 1925, to the end of 1927 the dredger *Ronaldshay* was lying idle at Harridaspur. The result is that we must go on paying interest, not to speak of providing funds for the repayment of the loan for years to come and the Hon'ble Member said that the loan will be repaid from provincial balances. Productive work indeed! The dredger if sold will not bring in even the value of scrap iron. And yet we are asked to grant Rs. 19,000 for this dredger including its maintenance, establishment, tools and plant, and even repairs. We have come across ever so many strange things in the silent seraglio of the Hon'ble Nawab's department that one more surprise will hardly produce even a mild shock. I understand that attempts are being made to revitalise this already dead project, this time with the help of the Government of India, and that the Irrigation expert of that Government has suddenly developed into a Navigation expert. For sheer folly and unexampled irresponsibility this project has no equal. Luckily the days of Edmund Burke and Warren Hastings are gone. For in any other country, the projector

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and his helpers would have been criminally prosecuted for wanton waste of public money.

The Damodar canal project is another white elephant in course of making. I use the expression "white elephant" as being rather familiar to Mr. Addams-Williams. The project is estimated to cost nearly 8 lakhs of rupees. What the actual cost will be nobody knows. It would be interesting to learn the volume of work completed, the rate provided for in the estimate and the actual rate obtained and the amount by which the actual cost has exceeded the estimate so far. Unfortunately the replies to my questions on this point are yet to come, for the department found it impossible, or shall I say inconvenient, to make any. These questions are natural since we are assured that in the case of the Hoorhoora Canal nearly all the estimated amount was exhausted by the time the work was a quarter, or at best a third, completed whereupon it was suddenly stopped, showing a small saving. That was a marvellous feat of engineering, projecting, executing and accounting combined of Mr. Addams-Williams, his department and his dredger.

I mentioned last year that the Damodar Canal project was conceived in the dark, launched at midnight and carried on without light being allowed to be shed on it, and all by a single man. The credulity of Government regarding the sweet words of the famous expert in the teeth of practically unanimous opinion of this House and the country at large and the confidence they have bestowed upon him, are prodigious.

From the traditions of this department I am not astonished to find a demand for Rs. 13,000 for 1929-30 being a portion of the Rs. 38,842, for a palace for the Executive Engineer at Burdwan, a piece of work necessitated by the Damodar Canal project. Whatever Machiavelian explanation might be invented for its justification, the beauty is that this expenditure is charged to ordinary revenues and not to the Damodar Canal project itself. Such cooking is only possible in the zenna of the Irrigation Department and it is almost incredible that in spite of this culinary process the actual cost of the dishes served by Mr. Addams-Williams often exceeds the estimate by enormous figures. There are numerous examples of activities of the department that no condemnation can sufficiently denounce.

I have already pointed out that the department practically exists not for irrigation but navigation. If Ports and Railways are the concerns of the Government of India why not navigation, instead of the latter being improperly included under irrigation in Bengal?

Budget head "XIII" gives a clear view of the proportion of Irrigation works proper to those of navigation. While the net total estimated expenditure for the former is Rs. 2,70,000, that of the latter is Rs. 16,17,000. The former shows a credit balance of Rs. 20,000 while the latter a deficit of Rs. 6,68,000. The provincial revenue suffers from this burden alone, not to speak of interest and other cooked charges to the tune of Rs. 6,48,000.

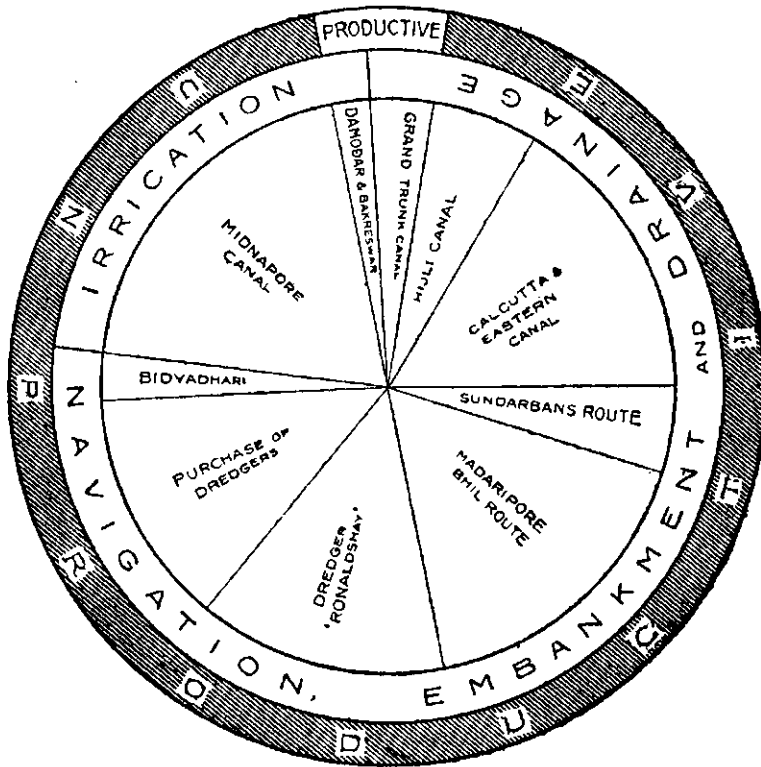
My contention, Sir, is that while even the minutest figures in respect of expenditure for other departments are scrutinised, or at least given an opportunity for being scrutinised, lakhs and even crores of rupees are spent on practically unnecessary, sometimes positively injurious, and in every case extravagant works on the strength of the opinion and recommendation of a single person, working behind closed doors. Extreme pressure has at times obliged the Hon'ble Member-in-charge to open his eyes and utter a few words that a gramophone might have done just as well and perhaps more mellifluously. It is an open secret that Mr. Addams-Williams wrote a reply, of course, confidentially, to the criticism of Sir William Willcocks. I understand it

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was seen by more men than a dozen, but may I enquire why it was not published if the facts and reasons stated therein were so incontrovertible that Government could disregard grave warnings to allow the Hon'ble Member to continue in his unnatural sleep? I have in my hand a letter from Sir William Willcocks written at the end of last year, in which he says: "In my life I have never written a line which could not be read and criticised by the man whom I criticised. All other criticisms I do not think are worth the paper they are written on." That is the spirit of the scientist, the seeker after truth and the man of action. Why cannot the greatest living deltaic expert come forth with his views in the same way?

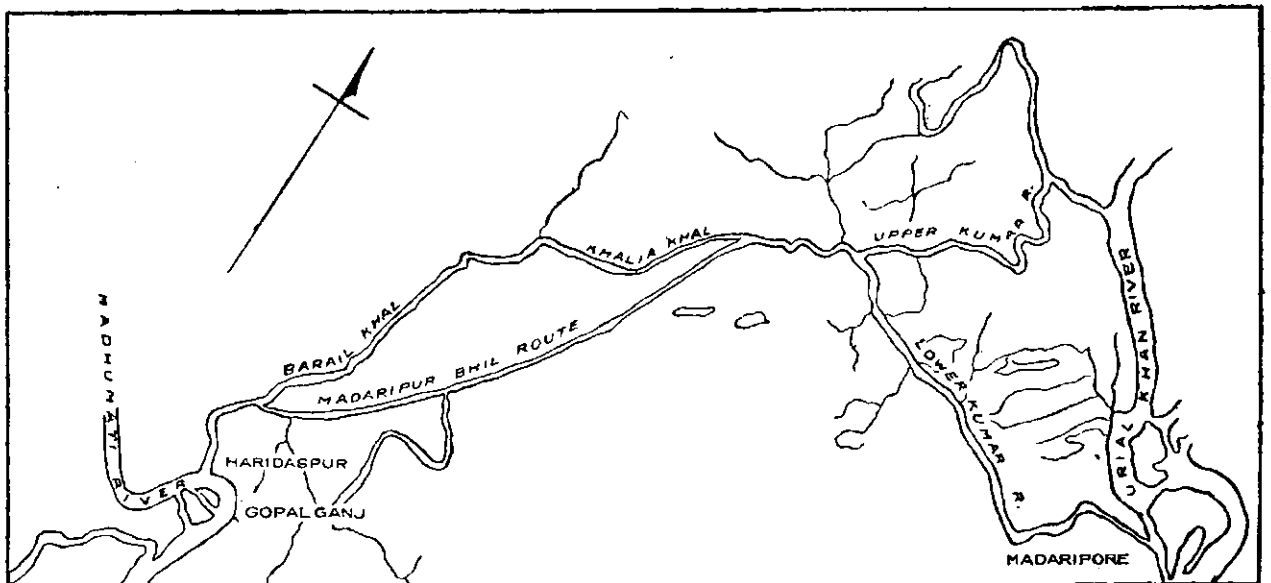
Sir, I have said before, and I repeat once again with all the emphasis at my command, that the remedy lies in the immediate change of policy of Government and the creation of a Board for Irrigation on which sufficient place should be found for the representatives of the people. Such a Board could be the arbiters of schemes after due publicity had been given them. Star Chamber methods have ruined the prospects of the province and saddled it with a tremendous burden for generations to come. It is high time that the Hon'ble Member, if he is to discharge his duty at all, should rouse himself from his slumber and take action, if at all he is capable of it. Or else it is high time that the name of the Irrigation Department be changed to the Irritation Department.

DIAGRAM I



Capital Expenditure of the Irrigation Department on, (a) Productive and unproductive and (b) Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage works.

DIAGRAM II



Sketch plan of Madaripore Bhil Route. Barail and Kalia Khals are dead. Their position is shown to indicate the former drainage channels of the Bhil stretching from north-west to south-east

BENGAL SWADESHI LEAGUE (RESEARCH SECTION) BULLETIN No. 1

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

Edited by

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

President, Bengal Swadeshi League.

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PREFACE

In December last year, the Bengal Swadeshi League was started in Calcutta with a view to co-ordinating the activities of businessmen, industrialists, economists and national workers for the furtherance of swadeshi in this country, specially in Bengal. The League has already appointed several Sectional Committees such as those for conducting Research and Propaganda and for compiling a Directory.

The present bulletin is the outcome of the labours of the Research Section, specially of the Hony. Secretary, Dr. H. Sinha. Other bulletins are in course of preparation and will be soon published.

The bulletin is based mainly on official statistics, both British and Indian, relating to Indo-British trade. An attempt has been made to estimate the position in Bengal separately as far as possible. It should be noted, however, that for the purpose of the allocation of the total imports of the country, India is officially divided into only five territories, *viz.* Bengal, Bombay, Burma, Madras and Sind. Thus a portion of the trade of Assam and of Bihar and Orissa is included in the Bengal trade in this bulletin in the same way as in official statistical returns.

In every case all-India figures have also been given. It will be seen that the declines in the imports of British manufactures have been heavy and widespread. Recent figures indicate more and more effective boycott. For instance, it has been shown in Chapter III that grey piece goods imported during October this year have been less than one-tenth of the imports during the corresponding period last year.

How the position in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will appear from Chapter II Section C and Chapter III. Contrary to popular notions, official statistics show that boycott has been far more effective in Bengal than in the rest of India. One reason for this misconception is undoubtedly the fact that the movement is not so spectacular in Bengal as in other parts of the country, but it should be remembered that the boycott movement is not something new in Bengal and methods in vogue elsewhere may not always be found necessary here.

Even the spectacular side has not been wholly ignored, for among the Indian provinces Bengal has sent the largest number of civil resisters to prison. Her record in other items of the national programme is not inconsiderable. In any case, it will be interesting to follow the official figures given below:—

TABLE I

Statement showing variations in the chief heads of Revenue in Bengal.

(Figures are in thousands of rupees.)

Head.	Actuals, 1929-30.	Budget, 1930-31	Difference.	Six months' preli- minary actuals.		Difference.	Remarks.
				1929-30.	1930-31.		
Land Revenue	3,24,74	3,29,48	+4,74	1,10,42	92,40	—18,02	* Excludes wind fall from Yule Estate 52,08.
Excise ...	2,26,25	2,28,00	+1,75	1,08,90	88,37	—20,53	
Stamps ...	3,39,89*	3,56,00	+16,11	1,84,00*	1,75,40†	—8,60	† Includes wind fall from Yule Estate 10,00.
Forests ...	30,52	28,61	—1,91	11,52	8,88	—2,64	

TABLE 2

Estimate of the total probable Revenue and Expenditure of the Province for 1930-31, based on five months' actuals (and in the cases of important revenue heads on six months preliminary actuals) and estimates for the remaining period of the year.

(Figures are in thousands of rupees)

Head.	Actuals, 1929-30.	Budget, 1930-31.	Estimate, 1930-31.	Difference,	REMARKS.
Revenue ...	11,17,59	11,73,30	10,78,48	—94,82	
Opening Balance ...	2,23,09	1,87,27	2,08,93*	+21,66	* Actuals include 13,50, from Road Fund.
Total ...	14,00,68	13,60,57	12,87,41	—73,16	
Expenditure ...	12,05,24	12,60,56	12,51,52	—9,04	
Closing Balance ...	1,95,44	1,00,01	35,89†	—64,12	† Includes 8,75 from Road Fund and 12,75 from Famine Relief.

Thus even when comparison is made with last year's actual figures instead of this year's budget figures, as has been officially done in Table 1, land revenue has declined by about 17%, Excise revenue by 19% and Forest revenue by 23% during the first half of the financial year. It is only the windfall from the Yule Estate which saved Stamps from a still greater collapse. The figures in Table 2 indicate that instead of a credit balance of Rs. 21,66,000 with which the year opened, there will be a debit balance of Rs. 64,12,000 at the end of the year, even when other funds such as the Famine Relief Fund are raided, as is proposed, in violation of all canons of public finance.

I take this opportunity of conveying my warmest thanks to Sj. Taranath Roy, who kindly saw the pamphlet through the Press in the most adverse circumstances.

1, WOODBURN PARK,

Calcutta, Jan. 26th., 1931.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,

President, Bengal Swadeshi League.

I

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE.

- A. IMPORTS—(i) VALUES (ii) PERCENTAGE SHARES
- B. EXPORT—(i) VALUES.

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

CHAPTER I

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE.

A. IMPORTS.

(i) VALUES.

In the following table the distribution of India's import trade among different countries for a number of years has been given.

TABLE A

Value of Imports into India from different countries.

Countries.	12 months 1st April to 31st March.						7 months 1st April to 31st Oct.	
	1913-14	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1929	1930
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores
United Kingdom ...	117	115	111	119	113	103	60	40
Other Br. Possessions ...	11	19	16	17	24	23	13	9
Europe ...	30	38	47	48	51	47	28	20
U. S. A. ...	5	15	18	20	17	16	11	9
Japan ...	5	18	16	18	18	24	13	9
Other Countries ...	15	21	23	28	30	28	15	13
Total ...	183	226	231	250	253	241	140	100

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Since the War, two changes are noticeable. One is that there is a considerable increase in the total volume of imports compared with 1913-14, as shown in the last line in the table. The other is that the share of the United Kingdom, although still predominant, is steadily declining, for on reference to the table, it will be seen that there is a fall in the value of imports from the United Kingdom from 1913-14 to 1925-26, again from 1925-26 to 1926-27, and finally from 1927-28 onwards. The slight increase of Rs. 8 crores from 1926-27 to 1927-28 is more than counterbalanced by the considerable increase of Rs. 19 crores in the total figure. In other words, the increase in the total is proportionately greater than that recorded for the United Kingdom. There has been a sensational drop during the last seven months from April to October 1930, when the political movement has been going on, as shown clearly in column (9), which is to be compared, item by item, with column (8), giving corresponding figures for 1929. It will be seen that of the total fall of Rs. 40 crores, as much as Rs. 20 crores is accounted for by the United Kingdom. To put the matter somewhat differently, in the case of that country, there has been a drop of Rs. 20 crores on the last years' figure of Rs. 60 crores, i.e., the fall is by $33\frac{1}{3}\%$; the drop in the case of the rest of the world is from Rs. 80 crores to Rs. 60 crores only; i.e., the fall is through 25% only. Thus the decline is heavier in the case of United Kingdom than for any other country.

(ii) PERCENTAGE SHARES.

The percentage contribution of different countries in India's import trade are shown in Table B (Page 3).

On comparing column (2) with column (9) a few significant facts emerge themselves. The share of the United Kingdom has continuously fallen from 64.1% to 39.6%, whereas Japan, U.S.A. and Italy record appreciable increases. In spite of the holocaust of the war, in which Germany, France and Belgium were economically ruined, there are slight increases even in their cases. To estimate how the present political movement has affected the trade of different countries, column (8) is to be compared with column (9). It will be seen that

IMPORTS INTO INDIA

there is a drop in the case of the United Kingdom and partly also in the case of Japan, a rise in the cases of Germany, U. S. A. and

TABLE B

Share of different countries in imports into India.

Countries.	Twelve months Ist. April to 31st March						Seven months April to Oct.	
	1913-14	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1929	1930
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.
United Kingdom ...	64.1	51.4	47.8	47.7	44.7	42.8	43.0	39.6
Germany ...	6.9	5.9	7.3	6.1	6.3	6.6	6.7	7.5
Japan ...	2.6	8.0	7.1	7.2	7.0	9.8	9.5	8.7
U. S. A. ...	2.6	6.7	7.9	8.2	6.9	6.7	7.6	8.6
Belgium ...	2.3	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.9
France ...	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.7
Italy ...	1.2	1.9	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.8
Other countries ...	15.6	22.0	22.8	23.4	27.5	26.6	25.5	28.2
Total ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

other countries, while Belgium France and Italy remain almost stationary. Thus it is quite clear that British Goods have been replaced by non-British goods. It should be noted in this connection that the decline in British imports cannot be explained away merely by talking about India's diminished buying power or about the present fall in prices. For, these general causes must affect all countries alike, and there can be no change in the percentage contributions made by different countries. The loss in the British share must be due to a special cause operating in the case of the United Kingdom alone, viz., the boycott declared against British goods.

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B. EXPORTS.

(i) VALUES.

Officials and their apologists frequently point out that international trade is a form of barter, that exports pay for imports and that India cannot curtail her imports without curtailing her exports at the same time. There is an obvious fallacy in this line of argument. While it is perfectly true that India's *total* export* must balance her *total* import, it does not necessarily follow that her export to a particular country such as the United Kingdom must balance her import from that country. As a matter of fact, from Table C (Page 5) it will be seen that the value of India's exports to the United Kingdom is consistently below that of her imports from that country (as given in Table A), whereas in the case of every other country as also in the aggregate, India exports more than she imports. In other words, India has a favourable balance of trade in the case of every country other than the United Kingdom, and that even when allowance is made for this adverse balance, there is in the aggregate a favourable balance of trade. Thus the excess of our exports to non-British countries over our imports from these countries has always been used in paying off the excess of our imports from the United Kingdom over our exports to that country. This position has not changed as a result of the present boycott movement. On comparing column (9) of Table C with the corresponding column of Table A, it will be clear that even with the heavy decline in British imports, pointed out above, the United Kingdom supplied goods worth Rs. 40 crores but purchased Indian merchandise worth only Rs. 33 crores, whereas during the same period India exported goods worth Rs. 107 crores to non-British countries, but imported from them only Rs. 60 crores worth of goods. It is out of this surplus of Rs. 47 crores that our account with the United Kingdom is really squared.

* Taking it in a comprehensive sense so as to signify not only visible trade in goods but also invisible trade in services, and including loan operations also.

EXPORTS FROM INDIA

TABLE C

Value of exports from India to different countries.

Countries.	12 months 1st April to 31st March.						7 months 1st April to 31st Oct.	
	1913-14	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1929	1930
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.	Rs. Crores.
United Kingdom ...	58	81	66	82	72	67	40	33
Other Br. possessions ...	36	54	53	50	48	44	26	22
Europe ...	85	97	68	88	95	79	47	31
U. S. A. ...	22	40	34	37	40	36	21	13
Japan ...	23	58	41	29	35	32	18	12
Other countries	25	55	47	43	48	53	30	29
Total ...	249	385	309	329	338	311	182	140

The hollowness of the official contention about the injurious effect of the present boycott movement on India's export trade can be easily seen from the Table D (Page 6) giving the percentage shares of different countries in the export trade of India.

In spite of the heavy decline in the British share in India's imports, the British percentage of India's exports during the present movement stands at a higher level at 23.5 than in 1913-14 when it stood at 23.4, and is in fact the highest on record except for a single year 1927-28 when it was 25.0. When the figures in column (8) are contrasted with those in column (9), both in Table B and the Table D, it will be seen that a falling off in imports does not necessarily mean a falling off in exports in the case of individual countries. For instance, though the column (8) and (9) in Table C show a drop of 23.1% in the total export trade, the decline is by only 17.5% in the case of the

II

MONTHLY STATISTICS OF IMPORTS

- A. BRITISH AND NON-BRITISH IMPORTS**
- B. DECLINE IN PRICES AND IN IMPORTS**
- C. IMPORTS INTO DIFFERENT PROVINCES**

CHAPTER II

MONTHLY STATISTICS OF IMPORTS.

A.—BRITISH AND NON-BRITISH IMPORTS.

It has been explained in the previous chapter that during the seven months April to October, 1930, there has been a falling off in British imports into India on a heavier scale than in the case of aggregate imports and therefore *a fortiori* in the case of non-British imports. In fact the disparity between the declines in British and non-British imports is a measure of the intensity of the boycott movement. It is for this reason that in the following table (Table E) monthly statistics of imports are given from January onwards, separately for (a) the United Kingdom, (b) other countries, and (c) all countries. In each case the figure for 1929 has been given in the first line, that for 1930 in the second line, and the difference between the two expressed as a percentage of the first given in the third line. For facility of reference the percentage declines are printed in heavier type than the rest.

TABLE. E

Monthly imports of India during 1929 and 1930,

Months.		Imports from U.K.	Imports from other countries,	Total.
January	{ 1929	Rs. 11,10 lakhs	Rs. 15,76 lakhs	Rs. 26,86 lakhs
	{ 1930	Rs. 9,82 lakhs	Rs. 13,11 lakhs	Rs. 22,93 lakhs
	{ Decline ...	11·5%	16·9%	14·6%
February	{ 1929	Rs. 8,27 lakhs	Rs. 11,56 lakhs	Rs. 19,83 lakhs
	{ 1930	Rs. 7,74 lakhs	Rs. 9,58 lakhs	Rs. 17,32 lakhs
	{ Decline ...	6·4%	16·3%	12·7%
March	{ 1929	Rs. 9,82 lakhs	Rs. 12,43 lakhs	Rs. 22,25 lakhs
	{ 1930	Rs. 9,20 lakhs	Rs. 11,62 lakhs	Rs. 20,82 lakhs
	{ Decline ...	6·2%	6·5%	6·4%

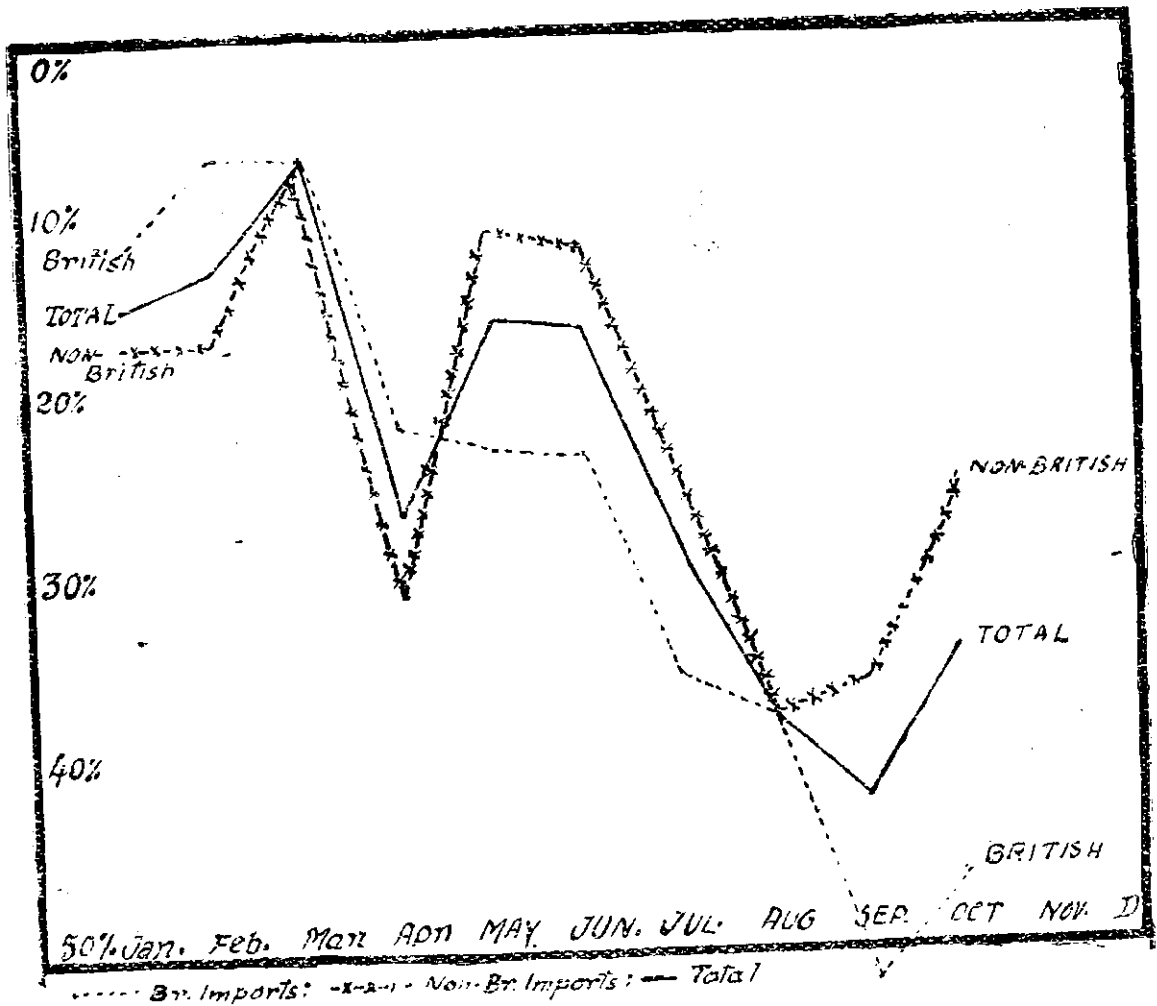
SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

TABLE E—contd.

Months.		Imports from U.K.	Imports from other countries	Total.
April	... { 1929	Rs. 11,17 lakhs	Rs. 13,37 lakhs	Rs. 24,54 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 8,80 lakhs	Rs. 9,30 lakhs	Rs. 18,10 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	21·2%	30·4%	26·2%
May	... { 1929	Rs. 9,05 lakhs	Rs. 12,18 lakhs	Rs. 21,23 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 7,02 lakhs	Rs. 10,89 lakhs	Rs. 17,91 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	22·4%	10·6%	15·8%
June	... { 1929	Rs. 7,16 lakhs	Rs. 9,36 lakhs	Rs. 16,52 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 5,55 lakhs	Rs. 8,32 lakhs	Rs. 13,87 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	22·6%	11·1%	16·0%
July	... { 1929	Rs. 8,05 lakhs	Rs. 11,01 lakhs	Rs. 19,06 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 5,22 lakhs	Rs. 8,43 lakhs	Rs. 13,65 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	35·0%	23·4%	28·4%
August	... { 1929	Rs. 8,47 lakhs	Rs. 11,87 lakhs	Rs. 20,34 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 5,31 lakhs	Rs. 7,44 lakhs	Rs. 12,75 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	37·3%	37·3%	37·3%
September	... { 1929	Rs. 8,22 lakhs	Rs. 11,01 lakhs	Rs. 19,23 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 3,94 lakhs	Rs. 7,14 lakhs	Rs. 11,18 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	52·2%	35·1%	41·9%
October	... { 1929	Rs. 8,10 lakhs	Rs. 11,14 lakhs	Rs. 19,24 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 4,38 lakhs	Rs. 8,40 lakhs	Rs. 12,78 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	45·9%	24·5%	33·6%
January-October	... { 1929	Rs. 89,41 lakhs	Rs. 119,67 lakhs	Rs. 209,08 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 66,34 lakhs	Rs. 94,92 lakhs	Rs. 161,26 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	25·8%	20·7%	22·9%
April-October	... { 1929	Rs. 60,21 lakhs	Rs. 79,94 lakhs	Rs. 140,15 lakhs
	... { 1930	Rs. 39,58 lakhs	Rs. 60,61 lakhs	Rs. 100,19 lakhs
	... { Decline ...	34·2%	24·2%	28·5%

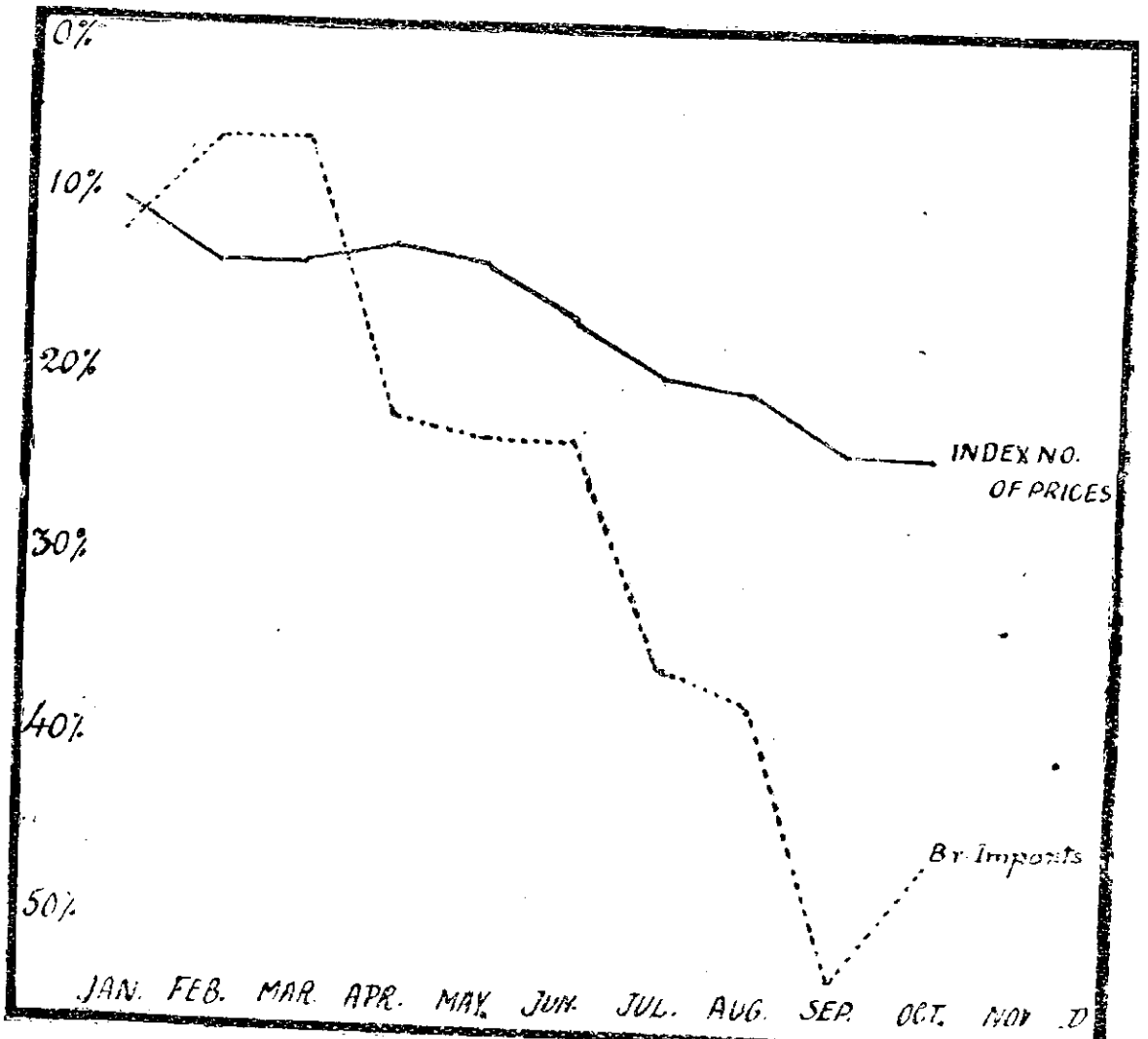
SHEET I

Percentage Decline in British Imports
During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SHEET II

Percentage Decline in British Imports
During 1930— Compared with 1929 figures.



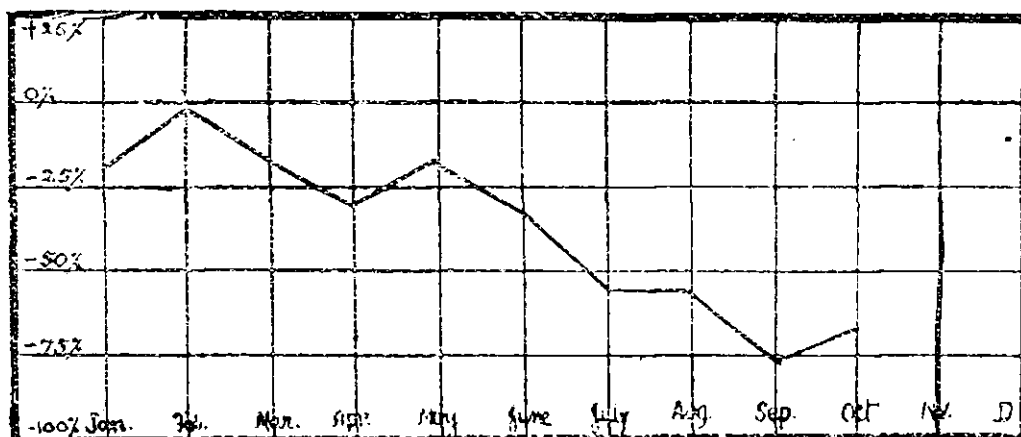
SHEET III

Percentage Decline in British Grey Cotton Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SHEET IV

Percentage Decline in British White Cotton Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



BRITISH AND NON-BRITISH IMPORTS.

A careful study of the table will make the following significant facts clear. During January to April, when only general causes such as price depression and diminished buying power were in operation, British imports recorded proportionately *less* decline than non-British imports, having been 11·5%, 6·4%, 6·2% and 21·2% in the case of the former and 16·9%, 16·3%, 6·5% and 13·4% in the case of the latter. From May onwards, when the political cause was at work, the decline in the case of British imports has been far heavier than in the case of non-British imports and the disparity, which temporarily disappeared during August is becoming greater and greater every month as shown below---

Months.	Percentage decline in		Difference
	British imports.	Non-British imports,	between the two-
May	22·4	10·6	11·8
June	22·6	11·1	11·5
July	35·0	23·4	11·6
August	37·3	37·3	0
September	52·2	35·1	17·1
October	45·9	24·5	21·4

The position is illustrated in the set of three graphs on Sheet I illustrating the percentage declines in (1) British (2) non-British and (3) total imports. It will be seen that from January to April, the graph (1) is above the graph (3) with the graph (2) down below, whereas from May onwards, the graph (2) is on top, with the graph (1) at the bottom. It is to be noticed also that the three curves after meeting together during August show a greater and greater divergence; the disparity between graphs (1) and (3) is more pronounced than that between graphs (2) and (3).

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B.—DECLINE IN PRICES AND IN IMPORTS.

The argument about diminishing imports from the United Kingdom as being due to fall in prices has been shown above to be fallacious on *a priori* grounds. The matter may however be examined from another point of view by studying the following statistics of index, number of wholesale prices in India month by month during 1929 and 1930, and by comparing the percentage decline in wholesale prices with the percentage decline in British imports:—

TABLE F

Decline in prices and British imports.

Month.	Index number of wholesale prices in India. End of July, 1914=100			% decline.	Percentage decline in British imports.
	1929	1930			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
January	145	131	10	11.5	
February	144	126	13	6.4	
March	143	125	13	6.2	
April	140	123	12	21.2	
May	139	121	13	22.4	
June	138	116	16	22.6	
July	142	115	19	35.0	
August	143	114	20	37.5	
September	143	111	23	52.2	
October	140	108	23	45.9	
November	137	.....	.....	.....
December	134	.....	.....	.....

[The index number of wholesale prices has been taken from the Indian Trade Journal issued by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics and the percentage decline in wholesale prices as well as in British Imports has been calculated from official returns.]

IMPORTS INTO DIFFERENT PROVINCES.

The figures in columns (4) and (3) are plotted on Sheet II. It will be noticed that from April onwards, British imports have declined much more than what can be explained by the fall in the index number of wholesale prices.

C.—IMPORTS INTO DIFFERENT PROVINCES.

From the above analysis it is quite clear that economic causes are not sufficient to explain the heavy decline in British imports and the reason must be looked for in the present political agitation. The share which the different provinces in India have had in the decline of British imports is not always realised till the official returns are studied. For instance, it is sometimes imagined that the boycott agitation is very intense in other parts of India; whereas it has received lukewarm support in Bengal. It should be remembered, however, that the boycott movement was started in Bengal about 25 years ago in connection with the anti-partition agitation, which did not then naturally affect the rest of India. The boycott movement in Bengal has gone on steadily and without a break since 1905 and the cumulative effect of that boycott has been great. In addition to this continuous boycott, there has been a remarkable drop in British imports in 1930 as compared with 1929 in the province of Bengal as in other provinces like Bombay, Bihar, Punjab, United Provinces etc.

It would not be altogether out of place to state that during the last 25 years Bengal has gone through every conceivable form of suffering and sacrifice. She has the undoubted distinction of being ruled for years by the Bengal Ordinance and administered with the help of detention camps in Buxa Dooars at the foot of the Himalayas. This would have been clearly unnecessary, if she had not been in the vanguard of the army of freedom. Further, it should never be forgotten that the Bengal Government do not use their wide and arbitrary powers only against violent revolutionary crimes but also against non-violent civil disobedience movement. When the anti-partition agitation was first started, there was no Bengal Ordinance, but the Government of the day utilised the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 to stifle the national movement. On January 7, 1924, His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson,

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then a member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bengal, explained in the Legislative Council the reason for the arrest during 1908 of the *swadeshi* leaders, Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt and Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter in the following words:—

“ I never knew Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, but I hope that Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter will not be ashamed, if I call him my friend, and I whole-heartedly acquit him of sympathy with terrorist crime. But as far as I know no one has ever accused him or Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt of promoting crime, still less of taking part in it*. The Bengal Government asked for the arrest under the Bengal Regulations III of 1818 of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter in 1908 because of his violent (sic) boycott speeches and his activity in organising volunteersIn the same way, the Eastern Bengal Government asked for the use of the said Regulation in the case of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt because of his whirlwind campaign.....and of his control of the Brajamohan Institution from which a stream of Swadeshi preachers was constantly pouring.....” True to this tradition, the Bengal Government since 1924 have been clapping prominent Congress workers into prison and thereby thwarting the national movement. In 1930 the number of Congress workers incarcerated without trial has also been very large. In spite of such ruthless repression, Bengal has sent a larger number of volunteers for picketing and other boycott activities than any other province in India. Her share of the total decline in imports compares equally favourably with that of the rest of India. Unfortunately statistics are not separately available for the aggregate imports from the United Kingdom into the different parts of India. Some idea may be formed about the position of the different parts by comparing the imports of British cotton manufactures for which British official statistics are published in great detail. These figures must also reflect the trend of the aggregate British imports, for cotton manufactures form nearly half of the total imports.

* But this was exactly the case officially put forward in 1908 to justify this arbitrary action against a non-violent constitutional movement. For instance, Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto in this connection:—“ You have nine men [the above two and seven other leaders of the boycott movement in Bengal] locked up a year ago by *lettre-de-cachet* because you believed them to be criminally connected with criminal plots.”—Lord Morley’s Reminiscences.

IMPORTS INTO DIFFERENT PROVINCES.

**Statistics of imports of different classes of British cotton manufactures during 9 months,
January to September 1929 & 1930.**

		1929 (£ 1,000)	1930 (£1,000)	Percentage decline.
Grey, unbleached yarn ...	Bengal ...	234	82	65
	Rest of India (excluding Burma).	1,040	403	61
White, bleached yarn ...	Bengal ...	97	56	42
	Rest of India (excluding Burma.)	443	324	27
Grey, unbleached piece goods	Bengal ...	5,770	3,085	47
	Rest of India (excluding Burma.)	1,209	672	44
White, bleached piece goods	Bengal ...	1,061	1,136	42
	Rest of India, (excluding Burma.)	4,994	3,404	32

In respect of every item, the decline in the case of Bengal is greater than for the rest of India.

Similar statistics are not available for other British imports. But some indirect evidence is available. Thus most of the items which find considerable sales in Bengal record the heaviest declines. It was shown above that the aggregate British imports recorded a diminution of 34.2% during the seven months April to October in 1930 as compared with 1929, some commodities showing declines less than this figure and others showing falls greater than this figure. To the latter category generally belong the commodities, whose principal market is Bengal. The position will be made clear with the help of detailed statistics in the next chapter.

III

STATISTICS OF IMPORTANT COMMODITIES.

BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURES—

- (a) BRITISH GREY COTTON PIECE-GOODS
- (b) BRITISH WHITE COTTON PIECE-GOODS
- (c) BRITISH COLOURED COTTON PIECE-GOODS
- (d) BRITISH COTTON TWIST AND YARN

- 2. BRITISH MACHINERY AND MILL WORK.
- 3. BRITISH GALVANISED IRON SHEETS.
- 4. BRITISH PROVISIONS (OILMANSTORES ETC.)
- 5. BRITISH CIGARETTES.
- 6. BRITISH ELECTRICAL INSTRUMENTS ETC.
- 7. BRITISH HARDWARE.
- 8. BRITISH WOOLLEN PIECE-GOODS.
- 9. BRITISH SOAPS.
- 10. BRITISH SPIRITS.

CHAPTER III

STATISTICS OF IMPORTANT COMMODITIES.

The principal commodities imported from the United Kingdom into India and their values during the past few years are tabulated below :—

TABLE G.

Values of Principal Commodities imported from the United Kingdom into British India.

British imports.	Twelve months 1st April to 31st March.						Seven months April to October		
	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1929	1930	Decline
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Per cent.
Cotton manufactures—									
(a) Grey piece-goods ...	24,06	17,08	15,24	15,54	13,78	11,76	6,49	2,50	62
(b) White piece-goods ..	19,25	15,09	16,57	14,20	14,23	12,03	7,36	3,90	47
(c) Coloured piece-goods	16,45	11,91	12,58	12,59	11,99	9,50	5,89	3,61	39
(d) Twists and yarns ...	4,55	3,14	3,08	3,09	3,56	2,96	1,94	82	58
2. Machinery and Mill work ...	12,40	11,87	10,66	12,53	14,09	13,68	7,97	6,63	17
3. Galvanised iron sheet	5,91	7,15	6,45	7,24	6,26	4,38	2,66	1,35	50
4. Provisions etc. ..	1,73	1,93	2,25	2,34	2,25	2,35	1,32	1,07	19
5. Cigarettes ...	1,20	1,57	1,93	2,38	2,00	2,12	1,07	60	45
6. Electrical instruments, etc. ...	1,41	1,52	1,70	1,85	1,99	2,15	1,20	1,04	13
7. Hardware ...	2,00	1,98	1,84	2,06	1,89	1,80	1,04	80	23
8. Woollen piece goods ...	1,57	1,50	1,43	1,62	1,22	91	65	34	48
9. Soap	1,25	1,36	1,37	1,47	1,39	1,46	82	60	27
10. Spirit	1,31	1,35	1,36	1,36	1,36	1,41	80	62	23
All commodities ...	133,45	115,32	110,54	119,21	113,24	103,08	60,21	39,58	34

BRITISH GREY COTTON PIECE GOODS.

It will be noticed that except for 1927-28, there has been practically an uninterrupted decline in respect of most of the items. There has been a very considerable drop during the current financial year, which is easily seen on comparing column (8) with column (9). To facilitate the comparison further, the 1930 figure has been deducted from the 1929 figure in each case and the difference has been expressed as a percentage of the 1929 figure in column (10). The lowest decline is recorded in the case of electrical instruments etc. (13%) and the highest for grey piece goods (62%), the decline in the aggregate being 34%. In the following pages, further details about these commodities have been given.

1(a). BRITISH GREY COTTON PIECE GOODS:

It has been stated above that during the seven months April to October, 1930, the imports of British grey cotton piece goods declined by 62% as compared with the corresponding figure for 1929. In the table below, the declines are calculated month by month from January onwards.

TABLE H
British Grey Cotton piece goods Imports.

Month.	Value.	Month.	Value.
Jan., 1929	Rs. 1,56,37 thous.	June, 1929	Rs. 37,69 thous.
.. 1930	Rs. 1,45,08 thous.	.. 1930	Rs. 23,70 thous.
% decline	7.2	% decline	37.1
Feb., 1929	Rs. 1,15,61 thous.	July, 1929	Rs. 70,58 thous.
.. 1930	Rs. 94,67 thous.	.. 1930	Rs. 24,24 thous.
% decline	18.1	% decline	65.6
Mar., 1929	Rs. 1,29,41 thous.	Aug., 1929	Rs. 1,22,05 thous.
.. 1930	Rs. 1,02,47 thous.	.. 1930	Rs. 29,33 thous.
% decline	20.8	% decline	75.9
Apr., 1929	Rs. 1,50,25 thous.	Sept., 1929	Rs. 88,58 thous.
.. 1930	Rs. 88,88 thous.	.. 1930	Rs. 17,99 thous.
% decline	40.8	% decline	79.7
May, 1929	Rs. 99,26 thous.	Oct., 1929	Rs. 80,15 thous.
.. 1930	Rs. 58,58 thous.	.. 1930	Rs. 7,62 thous.
% decline	40.9	% decline	90.5

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It will be seen that during the first three months when economic causes alone were operating the declines were very much less than during the following months. In fact the fall is increasing progressively, recording a decline of more than 90% during October, as illustrated in Sheet III.

(b) BRITISH WHITE COTTON PIECE GOODS.

The next item on the list, British white cotton piece goods also record sensational declines as shown below and illustrated in Sheet IV—

TABLE I

British White Cotton Piece-goods Imports

Month.	Value.	Month	Value
January, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,31,00 thous.	June, 1929 ...	Rs. 92,52 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 1,01,42 thous.	„ 1930 ...	Rs. 61,05 thous.
% decline ...	20·0	% decline ...	34·0
February, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,02,27 thous.	July, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,07,58 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 1,06,56 thous.	„ 1930 ...	Rs. 46,91 thous.
% decline ...	0·7	% decline ...	56·4
March, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,41,07 thous.	August, 1929 ...	Rs. 97,60 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 1,16,01 thous.	„ 1930 ...	Rs. 42,57 thous.
% decline ...	17·8	% decline ...	56·3
April, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,55,18 thous.	September, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,09,03 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 1,06,71 thous.	„ 1930 ...	Rs. 25,86 thous.
% decline ...	31·3	% decline ...	76·3
May, 1929 ...	Rs. 1,05,71 thous.	October, 1929 ...	Rs. 68,31 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 84,67 thous.	„ 1930 ...	Rs. 22,72 thous.
% decline ...	19·9	% decline ...	66·7

BRITISH COLOURED COTTON PIECE GOODS.

Bengal consumed about one-third of the total import during 1924-25 and about one-fifth during 1928-29. The figures are appended:—

British White Cotton Piece-goods Imported into different parts of India.

Territory.	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)
Bengal	6,20	4,63	5,47	4,53	2,97
Rest of India	13,05	10,46	11,10	9,67	11,26
Total	19,25	15,09	16,57	14,20	14,23

A substantial part of this fall must have been contributed by Bengal for from the table below it will be found that Bengal normally buys the bulk of the grey cotton piece goods.

British Grey Cotton Piece Goods imported into different parts of India

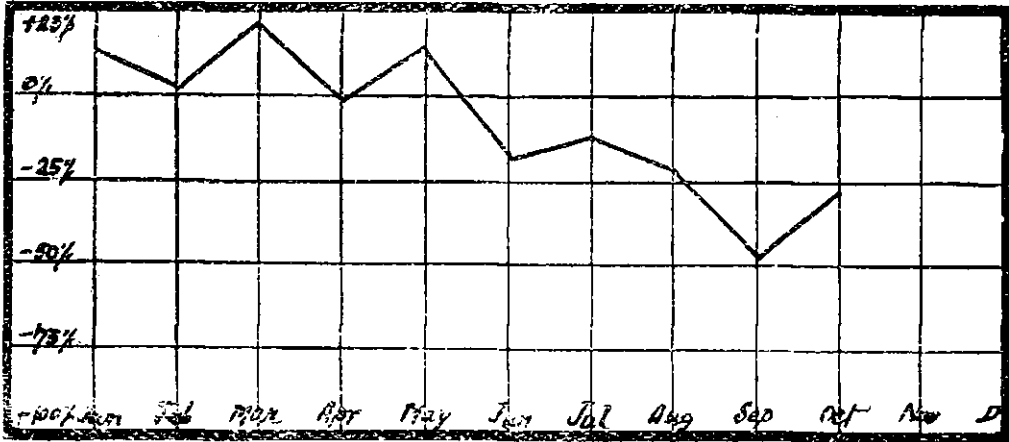
Territory.	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)
Bengal	19,88	14,68	12,81	13,67	11,52
Rest of India	4,18	2,40	2,43	1,87	2,26
Total	24,06	17,08	15,24	15,54	13,78

(c) BRITISH COLOURED COTTON PIECE GOODS.

In this case the figures are extremely interesting. Just before the campaign of boycott, there was an *increase* in imports during 1930 compared with 1929. Taking February figures, there was an increase

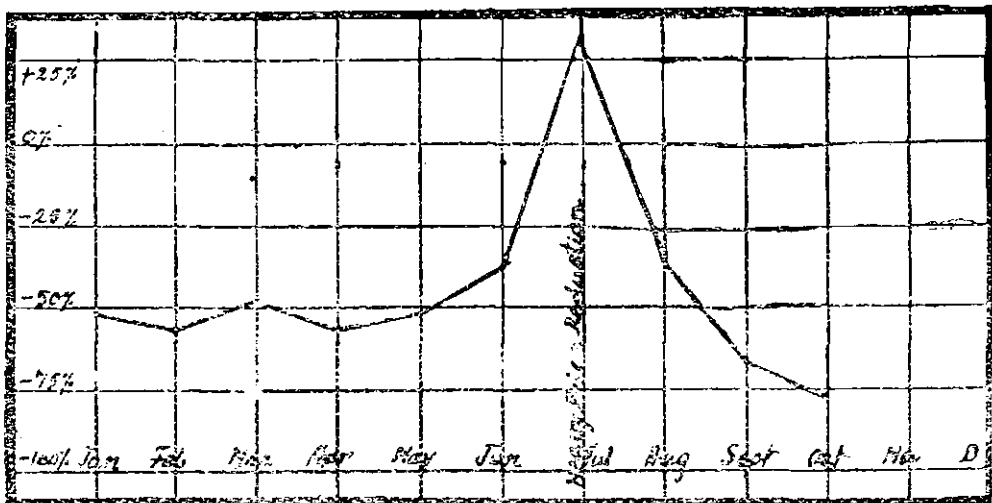
SHEET VII

Percentage Change in British Machinery and Mill Work
Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



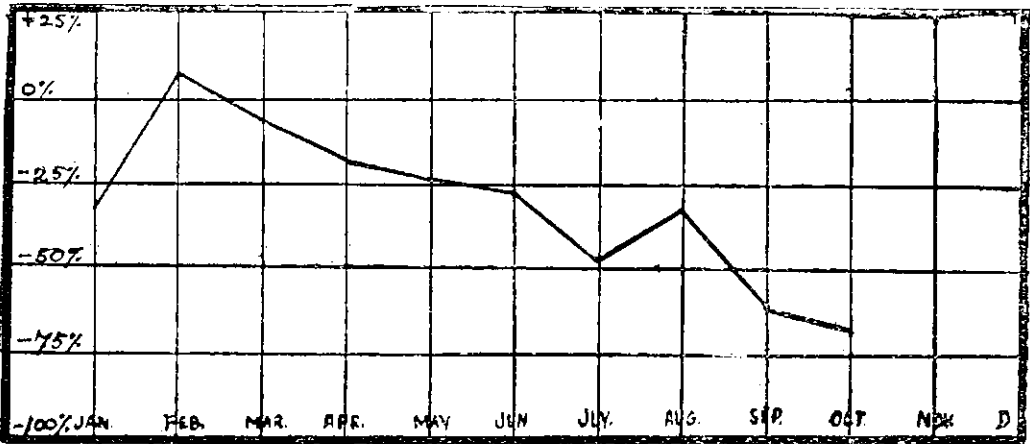
SHEET VIII

Percentage Decline in British Galvanised Iron-Sheets
Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



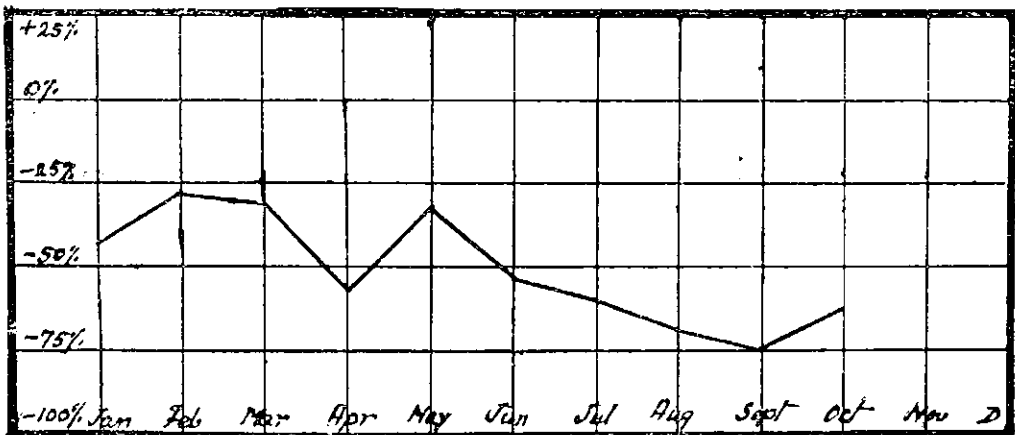
SHEET V

Percentage Decline in British Coloured Cotton Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SHEET VI

Percentage Decline in British Cotton Twist and Yarn Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

by as much as 7.6 %, which is clearly brought out in Sheet V, the graph rising above the base line of zero per cent. The figures for all the months are given in the following table :—

TABLE J

British Coloured Cotton Piece Goods Imports

Month.	Value.		Month.	Value.
January, 1929	... Rs. 96,83 thous.		June, 1929	... Rs. 65,06 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 66,50 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 46,93 thous.
% decline	... 31.3		% decline	... 27.8
February, 1929	... Rs. 74,45 thous.		July, 1929	... Rs. 70,13 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 80,17 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 37,61 thous.
% decline	... 7.6*		% decline	... 46.3
March, 1929	... Rs. 96,30 thous.		August, 1929	... Rs. 84,21 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 89,84 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 57,67 thous.
% decline	... 6.6		% decline	... 31.5
April, 1929	... Rs. 1,11,76 thous.		September, 1929	... Rs. 98,08 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 90,14 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 38,31 thous.
% decline	... 19.3		% decline	... 60.9
May, 1929	... Rs. 87,04 thous.		October, 1929	... Rs. 72,42 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 67,05 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 23,19 thous.
% decline	... 22.9		% decline	... 68.0

* Denotes increase.

How the consumption in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will be clear from the table below :—

British Coloured Cotton Piece Goods Imported into different parts of India

			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
Territory.	...	...	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	...	...	3,63	2,82	3,25	3,33	2,47
Rest of India	...	...	12,82	9,09	9,33	9,26	9,52
Total	...	...	16,45	11,91	12,58	12,59	11,99

BRITISH COTTON TWIST AND YARN

(d) BRITISH COTTON TWIST AND YARN.

Here also the decline is equally heavy, as given in Table K and illustrated in Chart VI.

TABLE K
British Cotton Twist and Yarn Imports

Month.	Value.		Month.	Value.
January, 1929 ...	Rs. 39,76 thous.		June, 1929 ...	Rs. 32,15 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 22,10 thous.		„ 1930 ...	Rs. 14,80 thous.
% decline ...	44.4		% decline ...	53.9
February, 1929 ...	Rs. 27,00 thous.		July 1929 ...	Rs. 30,86 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 19,41 thous.		„ 1930 ...	Rs. 12,36 thous.
% decline ...	28.1		% decline ...	59.9
March, 1929 ...	Rs. 30,24 thous.		August, 1929 ...	Rs. 27,05 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 20,66 thous.		„ 1930 ...	Rs. 8,52 thous.
% decline ...	31.1		% decline ...	68.5
April, 1929 ...	Rs. 36,47 thous.		September, 1929 ...	Rs. 22,59 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 15,74 thous.		„ 1930 ...	Rs. 5,72 thous.
% decline ...	56.8		% decline ...	74.6
May, 1929 ...	Rs. 26,38 thous.		October, 1929 ...	Rs. 18,81 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 17,91 thous.		„ 1930 ...	Rs. 6,80 thous.
% decline ...	32.1		% decline ...	63.8

Bengal normally consumes about one-fifth of the total import as shown below:—

British Cotton Twist and Yarn Imported into different parts of India

Territory.		1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
		Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal ...	...	91	83	60	71	79
Rest of India ...	...	3,64	2,31	2,48	2,38	2,77
Total ...	...	4,55	3,14	3,08	3,09	3,56

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

2. BRITISH MACHINERY AND MILL WORK.

That the present decline is not due to economic causes such as trade depression is strikingly illustrated in Chart VII. Throughout January, February and March, there were recorded increases above the 1929 figures. The increase in May after the launching of the movement is also due to non-political causes, for during that month British railway locomotives, engines, tenders and parts worth Rs. 20,75,683 were imported for the different railways in India against, Rs. 4,91,988 imported during May, 1929. The decline after this period has been striking and cannot be explained away by economic causes. The usual table is appended:—

TABLE L

British Machinery and Mill work Imports

Month.	Value.	Month	Value
Jan., 1929	Rs. 1,26,30 thous.	Jan., 1929	Rs. 1,12,58 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 1,44,04 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 92,58 thous.
% decline	14.0*	% decline	17.8
Feb., 1929	Rs. 1,60,79 thous.	July, 1929	Rs. 1,11,56 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 1,01,78 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 96,14 thous.
% decline	1.0*	% decline	13.7
Mar., 1929	Rs. 1,08,73 thous.	Aug., 1929	Rs. 1,22,06 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 1,30,64 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 96,83 thous.
% decline	20.1*	% decline	20.6
April, 1929	Rs. 1,25,30 thous.	Sept., 1929	Rs. 1,12,87 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 1,24,54 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 60,00 thous.
% decline	0.6	% decline	46.8
May, 1929	Rs. 99,96 thous.	Oct., 1929	Rs. 1,12,57 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 1,13,89 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 80,04 thous.
% decline	13.9*	% decline	28.9

* Denotes Decline.

BRITISH GALVANISED IRON SHEETS

Unfortunately, separate statistics of imports of British machinery and mill work into the different parts of India are not available. But from the last two lines in the following table, it will be seen that the bulk of the imports is supplied by the United Kingdom, and, therefore, the distribution for aggregate imports will not differ materially from that for British imports. In any case, there seems to be a tendency in Bengal to discard even British machineries. For instance, the Dakeswari Cotton Mills at Dacca have been fitted up with Dutch machines and are giving entirely satisfactory results.

Total British and Non-British Machinery and Mill work Imported into different parts of India

Territories.	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)
Bengal	4,61	4,67	4,44	5,95	7,52
Rest of India	10,13	10,22	9,49	9,99	10,84
Total	14,74	14,89	13,93	15,94	18,36
British share of above	12,40	11,87	10,66	12,53	14,09

3. BRITISH GALVANISED IRON SHEETS

The relative graph on Sheet VIII shows a single discontinuity in July, when instead of there being a decrease, there was an increase by as much as 31.5%. The reason for this is purely economic, for British manufacturers heavily reduced their prices to stifle Belgian Competition. How far the move was successful may be seen from the trend of the curve during the following months, October recording a fall of 76.5%, as shown in the table below :—

TABLE M

British Galvanised Iron Sheets Imports

Month.	Value.	Month	Value.
Jan., 1929 ...	Rs. 63,65 thous.	Feb., 1929 ...	Rs. 61,11 thous.
„ 1930 ...	Rs. 31,58 thous.	„ 1930 ...	Rs. 26,92 thous.
% decline ...	50.4	% decline ...	55.9

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

TABLE M—contd.

British Galvanised Iron Sheets Imports

Month	Value	Value	
Mar., 1929	Rs. 71,69 thous.	July, 1929	Rs. 17,37 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 36,33 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 22,85 thous.
% decline	49·3	% decline	31·5
April, 1929	Rs. 74,14 thous.	Aug., 1929	Rs. 22,10 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 31,82 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 14,31 thous.
% decline	57·1	% decline	35·2
May, 1929	Rs. 59,65 thous.	Sept., 1929	Rs. 23,86 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 29,05 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 7,97 thous.
% decline	51·3	% decline	66·6
June, 1929	Rs. 33,15 thous.	Oct., 1929	Rs. 35,36 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 20,37 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 8,33 thous.
% decline	38·5	% decline	76·5

The principal market for British galvanised sheets is Bengal, which consumes normally two-thirds of the total import. The marked diminution must therefore be largely due to the success of the boycott movement in Bengal.

British Galvanised Iron Sheets (plain and corrugated) Imported into different parts of India

Territories.	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	2,87	4,19	4,47	4,82	4,18
Rest of India	3,04	2,96	1,98	2,42	2,08
Total	5,91	7,15	6,45	7,24	6,26

BRITISH PROVISIONS (OILMAN'S STORES ETC.)

4. BRITISH PROVISIONS (OILMAN'S STORES Etc.)

As in the case of British machinery and mill work, there was in this case also an *increase* during January, February and March, that is to say, before the starting of the campaign, as illustrated in the curve on Sheet IX. There has been a decline during every one of the succeeding months, although not so heavy as for some other commodities, such as grey cotton piece-goods, which are used exclusively by Indians. It should be remembered that a very large quantity of British Provisions is consumed by Europeans and Anglo-Indians in India.

The usual table is given below :—

TABLE N
British Provisions Imports

Month.	Value.	Month	Value
Jan., 1929	... Rs. 20,59 thous.	June, 1929	... Rs. 15,72 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 22,66 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 14,06 thous.
% decline	... 10·0*	% decline	... 10·5
Feb., 1929	... Rs. 14,48 thous.	July, 1929	... Rs. 19,74 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 15,57 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 13,76 thous.
% decline	... 7·5*	% decline	... 30·3
Mar., 1929	... Rs. 16,12 thous.	Aug., 1929	... Rs. 17,17 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 18,34 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 14,24 thous.
% decline	... 13·7*	% decline	... 17·0
April, 1929	... Rs. 17,46 thous.	Sept., 1929	... Rs. 20,37 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 16,15 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 14,23 thous.
% decline	... 7·5	% decline	... 30·1
May, 1929	... Rs. 17,89 thous.	Oct., 1929	... Rs. 23,70 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 14,79 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 20,06 thous.
% decline	... 17·3	% decline	... 15·4

* Denotes increases

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

It should be remembered further that Bengal usually consumes only about one-fourth of the aggregate import. Thus even any intensive boycott on her part alone cannot bring about any sensational decline in the all-India figure. The usual table is appended below :—

Total (British and Non-British) Provisions Imported into different parts of India

			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
			(Rs. (lacs))	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs))	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	...	...	1,11	1,23	1,59	1,54	1,55
Rest of India	...	...	3,04	3,67	4,19	4,87	4,66
Total	...	...	4,15	4,90	5,78	6,41	6,21
British share of above	...	...	1,73	1,93	2,25	2,34	2,26

. 5. BRITISH CIGARETTES.

In this case also, there were considerable increases during the period just prior to the movement. In fact the whole trend was upward, for or reference to Table G, it will be seen that during the quinquennium 1924-25 to 1929-30, consumption increased by nearly 70%. With effect from April, there have been considerable declines, as illustrated in the graph on Sheet X and detailed in the table below :—

TABLE O

British Cigarettes Imports

Month.		Value.		Month.		Value.
Jan., 1929	...	Rs. 22,38 thous.		Mar., 1929	...	Rs 15,99 thous.
“ 1930	...	Rs. 23,12 thous.		“ 1930	...	Rs. 22,36 thous.
% decline	...	3.3*		% decline	...	39.8*
Feb., 1929	...	Rs 13,81 thous.		Apr., 1929	...	Rs. 15,95 thous.
“ 1930	...	Rs 18,99 thous.		“ 1930	...	Rs. 15,07 thous.
% decline	...	37.5*		% decline	...	5.5

BRITISH CIGARETTES IMPORTS

TABLE O—*contd.*

British Cigarettes Imports.

Month.	Value.	Month.	Value.
May, 1929	Rs. 16,35 thous.	Aug., 1929	Rs. 17,52 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 11,62 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 4,51 thous.
% decline	28·9	% decline	74·2
June, 1929	Rs. 12,23 thous.	Sept., 1929	Rs. 13,35 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 11,97 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 2,37 thous.
% decline	2·1	% decline	82·2
July, 1929	Rs. 16,67 thous.	Oct., 1929	Rs. 14,64 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 7,96 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 6,31 thous.
% decline	52·2	% decline	57·0

* Denotes increases.

A substantial portion of this decline must have been contributed by Bengal, which is an important market, as shown below :—

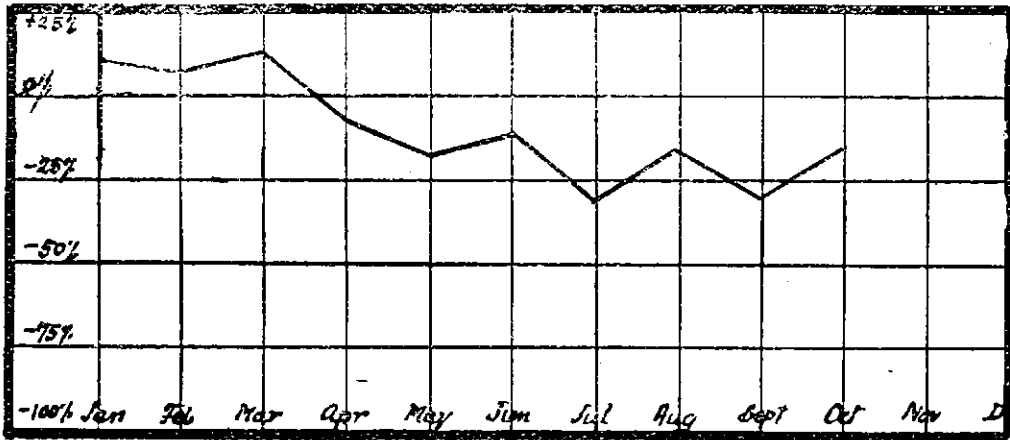
British Cigarettes imported into different parts of India

	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	39	47	56	76	79
Rest of India	81	1,10	1,37	1,62	1,21
Total	1,20	1,57	1,93	2,38	2,00

Further, even the most casual observer must have noticed that by the boycott of cigarettes in Calcutta as well as in the mofussil since April, 1930, has been remarkable.

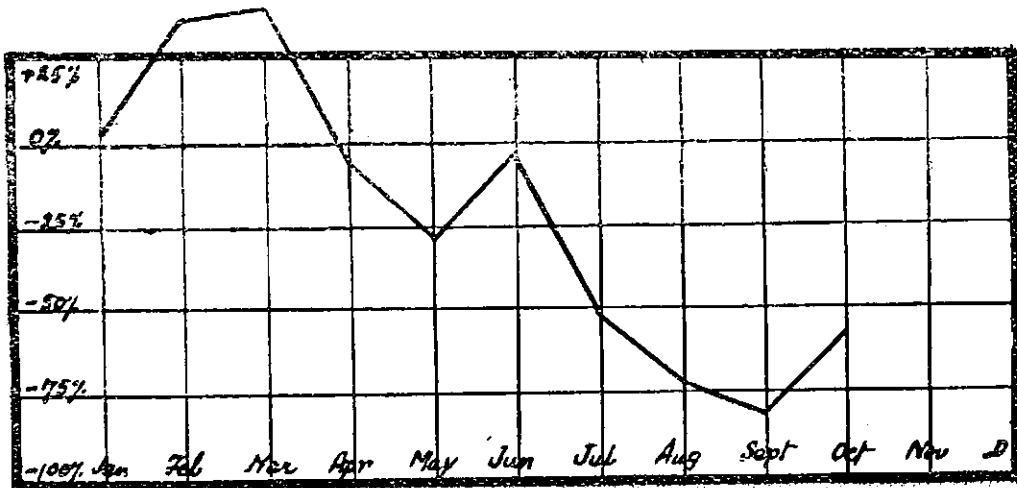
SHEET IX

Percentage Change in British Provisions Imports
During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



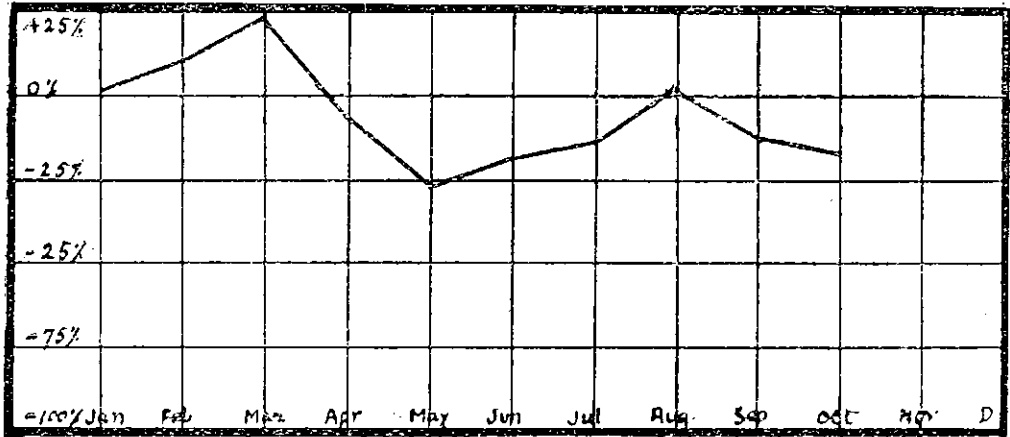
SHEET X

Percentage Change in British Cigarettes
Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



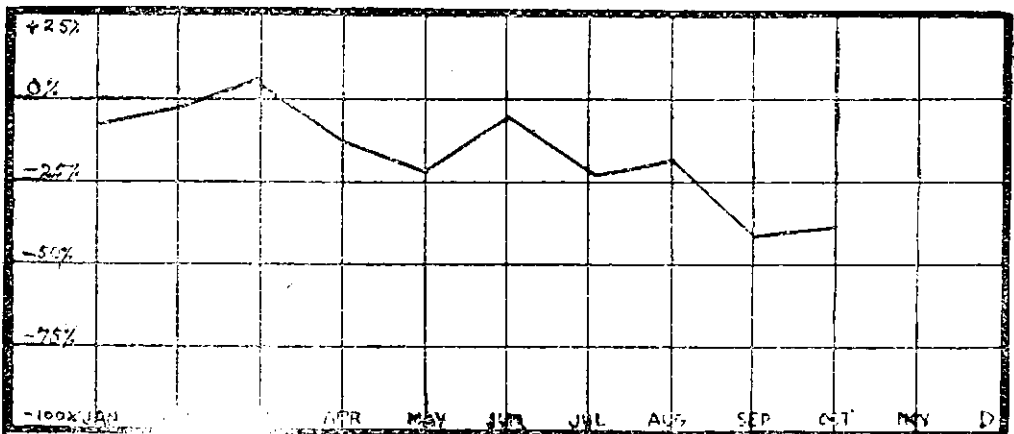
SHEET XI

Percentage Change in British Electrical Instruments Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SHEET XII

Percentage Change in British Hardware Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



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6. BRITISH ELECTRICAL INSTRUMENTS &C.

On reference to Sheet XI, it will be seen that there were substantial increases immediately before the inauguration of the boycott agitation. The boycott movement has however brought about substantial decrease. The only exception was provided by August, during which month British electric wires and cables were imported to the value of Rs. 9,26,712 as against Rs. 6,82,336 during August, 1929. The imports were made mostly by institutions, which although located in India, are predominantly British in their composition and outlook. The usual tables are appended :—

TABLE P

British Electrical Instruments &c.

Month.	Value.	Month.	Value.
Jan., 1929	... Rs. 20,92 thous.	June, 1929	... Rs. 17,76 thous.
“ 1930	... Rs. 21,20 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 14,38 thous.
% decline	... 1·3*	% decline	... 19·0
Feb., 1929	... Rs. 13,03 thous.	July, 1929	... Rs. 16,85 thous.
“ 1930	... Rs. 14,34 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 14,48 thous.
% decline	... 10·1*	% decline	... 14·1
Mar., 1929	... Rs. 19,14 thous.	Aug., 1929	... Rs. 16,16 thous.
“ 1930	... Rs. 23,70 thous.	„ 1930	... Rs. 16,65 thous.
% decline	... 23·8*	% decline	... 3·0*
April, 1929	... Rs. 17,94 thous.	Sept., 1929	... Rs. 12,50 thous.
“ 1930	... Rs. 16,92 thous.	1930	... Rs. 11,06 thous.
% decline	... 5·7	% decline	... 11·5
May, 1929	... Rs. 21,78 thous.	Octo., 1929	... Rs. 17,36 thous.
“ 1930	... Rs. 15,90 thous.	1930	... Rs. 14,56 thous.
% decline	... 27·0	% decline	... 16·1

* Denotes an increase.

BRITISH HARDWARE

Total (British and Non-British) Electrical Instruments &c., imports into different parts of India.

			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
			Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	...	...	98	1,00	1,16	1,34	1,46
Rest of India	...	...	99	1,25	1,36	1,49	1,67
Total	...	...	1,97	2,25	2,52	2,83	3,13
British share of above	...	...	1,41	1,52	1,70	1,85	1,99

7. BRITISH HARDWARE

The United Kingdom now supplies about one-third of the total requirements of India in hardware, her chief competitors being Germany and the United States of America. The decline in her share has however been proportionately greater than in the share of her rivals. The figures are given in Table Q and illustrated on Sheet XII.

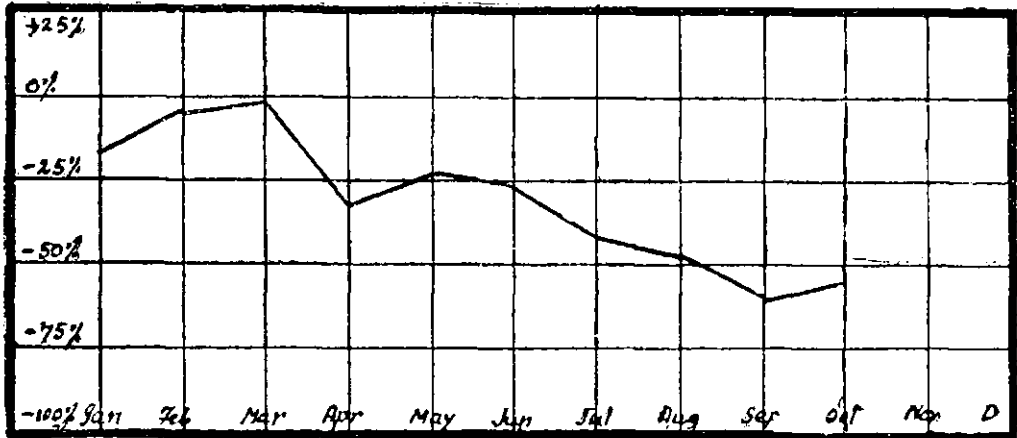
TABLE Q
British Hardware Imports

Month.	Value.		Month.	Value.
Jan., 1929	... Rs. 19,38 thous.		June, 1929	... Rs. 13,02 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 17,80 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 12,26 thous.
% decline	8.1		% decline	5.8
Feb., 1929	... Rs. 12,77 thous.		July, 1929	... Rs. 14,88 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 12,26 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 11,53 thous.
% decline	4.0		% decline	22.5
Mar., 1929	... Rs. 15,55 thous.		Aug., 1929	... Rs. 14,65 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 16,23 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 12,04 thous.
% decline	4.3*		% decline	17.8
April, 1929	... Rs. 16,52 thous.		Sept., 1929	... Rs. 14,12 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 14,26 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 8,39 thous.
% decline	13.6		% decline	40.6
May, 1929	... Rs. 15,09 thous.		Oct., 1929	... Rs. 16,06 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 11,68 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 9,88 thous.
% decline	22.6		% decline	38.5

* Denotes an increase.

SHEET XIII

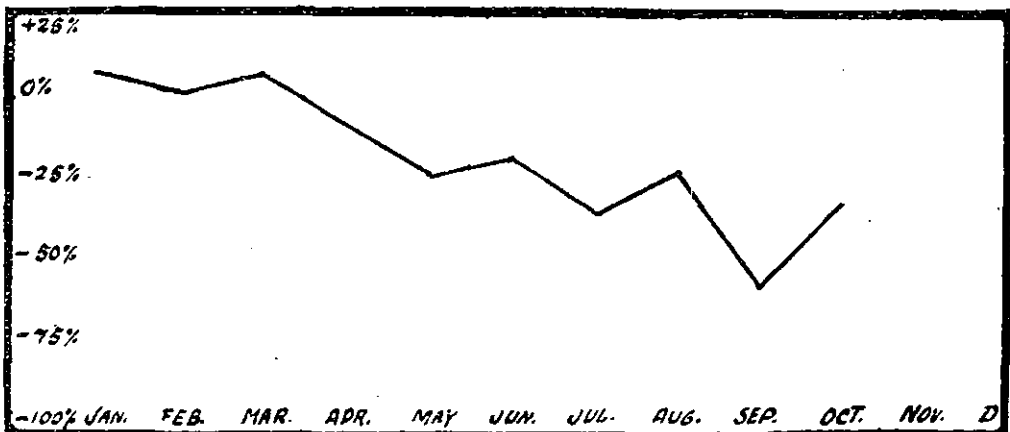
Percentage Decline in British Woollen Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SHEET XIV

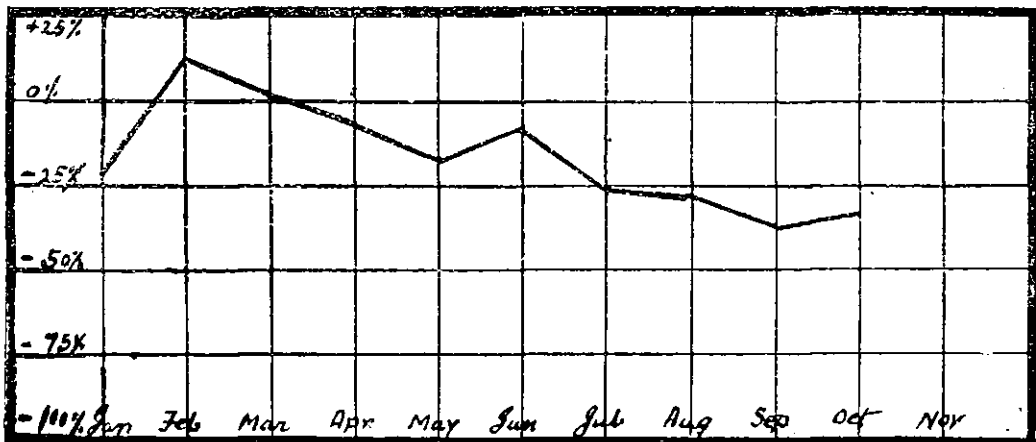
Percentage Change in British Soaps Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.

SHEET XIV



SHEET XV

Percentage Change in British Spirit
Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figures.



SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

Bengal's consumption is compared below with the all-India figure.

Total (British and Non-British) Hardware imported into different parts of India

	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	1,68	1,84	1,73	1,80	1,81
Rest of India	3,31	3,36	3,34	3,44	3,42
Total	4,99	5,20	5,07	5,24	5,23
British share of above	2,00	1,98	1,84	2,06	1,89

8. BRITISH WOOLLEN PIECE GOODS

The trade in a commodity like woollen piece-goods must be largely seasonal. To give only one instance, the import during September, 1929 was nearly four times the import during February that year. The method of comparison month by month adopted for a study of the boycott figures is peculiarly suitable for woollen piece-goods. The difficulty due to fluctuations in monthly import figures is eliminated and the percentage declines show practically an interrupted decline in Table R and in the graph on Sheet XIII.

TABLE R

British Woollen Piece Goods Imports

Month.	Value.	Month.	Value.
Jan., 1929	Rs. 6,24 thous.	April, 1929	Rs. 5,60 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 5,30 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 3,69 thous.
% decline	15.1	% decline	32.4
Feb., 1929	Rs. 4,25 thous.	May, 1929	Rs. 4,65 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 4,06 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 3,54 thous.
% decline	4.4	% decline	23.8
Mar., 1929	Rs. 4,83 thous.	June, 1929	Rs. 4,82 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 4,79 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 3,60 thous.
% decline	0.9	% decline	25.3

BRITISH SOAPS

TABLE R—contd.

British Woollen Piece-goods imports.

Month.	Value.		Month.	Value.
July, 1929	... Rs. 7,68 thous.		Sept., 1929	... Rs. 16,33 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 4,48 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 6.51 thous.
% decline	41.6		% decline	60.1
Aug., 1929	... Rs. 13,19 thous.		Oct., 1929	... Rs. 12,32 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 7,09 thous.		„ 1930	... Rs. 5,36 thous.
% decline	46.3		% decline	56.5

The contribution of Bengal to the decline will appear from her share of the total trade as given below :—

British Woollen Piece Goods Imported into different parts of India.

	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs.)
Bengal	... 21	... 16	... 18	... 18	... 17
Rest of India	... 1,36	... 1,34	... 1,25	... 1,44	... 1,05
Total	... 1,57	... 1,50	... 1,43	... 1,62	... 1,22

9. BRITISH SOAPS.

Of the total import of British Soaps about two-thirds is made up of household and laundry soaps, which are used mostly by Indians, whereas the remaining one-third consisting of toilet soaps is consumed mostly by non-Indians. Naturally therefore the decline cannot be as heavy as in the case of grey cotton goods. Comparison should rather be made with British provisions, with which there is a striking similarity. Figures are given in Table S and illustrated on Sheet XIV.

TABLE S

British Soaps Imports

Month.	Value.		Month.	Value.
Jan., 1929	... Rs. 12,69 thous.		Feb., 1929	... Rs. 9,59 thous.
„ 1930	... Rs. 13,87 thous.		“ 1930	... Rs. 12,51 thous.
% decline	9.3*		% decline	30.3*

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

TABLE S—*contd.*

British Soaps Imports.

Month	Value	Month	Value
Mar., 1929	Rs. 12,50 thous.	July, 1929	Rs. 11,41 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 13,61 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 7,41 thous.
% decline	8·1*	% decline	35·0
April, 1929	Rs. 13,38 thous.	Aug., 1929	Rs. 9,63 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 12,54 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 7,54 thous.
% decline	6·3	% decline	21·6
May, 1929	Rs. 15,29 thous.	Sept., 1929	Rs. 9,99 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 11,74 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 4,11 thous.
% decline	23·2	% decline	58·6
June, 1929	Rs. 13,24 thous.	Oct., 1929	Rs. 9,24 thous.
“ 1930	Rs. 10,82 thous.	“ 1930	Rs. 6,30 thous.
% decline	18·3	% decline	31·8

* Denotes increases.

In this connection it is necessary to remember that many factories have been set up in Bengal for the manufacture of laundry as well as toilet soaps in the wake of the Swadeshi movement since 1905. Bengal consumes only a small proportion of non-Indian and still smaller proportion of British soaps,—and even that mostly on account of her non-Indian population. The relevant figures are given below:—

Total (British and Non-British) Soaps imported into different parts of India

	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	21	26	27	28	27
Rest of India	1,11	1,20	1,25	1,33	1,31
Total	1,32	1,46	1,52	1,61	1,58
British share of above	1,25	1,36	1,37	1,47	1,39

BRITISH SPIRITS.

10. BRITISH SPIRITS.

In this case the decline is due to a two-fold factor, viz., general boycott of all British goods and the effect of the prohibition movement which is a part of the national programme adopted by the Indian National Congress. It should be remembered, however, that among the consumers are non-Indians and the declines cannot therefore be as heavy as they might have been. The percentage declines are given in Table T and illustrated on Sheet XV.

TABLE T
British Spirits Imports

Month.	Value.	Month.	Value.
Jan., 1929	Rs. 15,40 thous.	June, 1929	Rs. 10,40 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 11,98 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 9,46 thous.
% decline	22·2	% decline	9·0
Feb., 1929	Rs. 10,98 thous.	July, 1929	Rs. 12,52 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 12,44 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 9,37 thous.
% decline	13·3*	% decline	25·2
Mar., 1929	Rs. 12,68 thous.	Aug., 1929	Rs. 9,47 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 12,82 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 6,77 thous.
% decline	1·1*	% decline	28·5
April, 1929	Rs. 12,28 thous.	Sept., 1929	Rs. 11,48 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 11,53 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 7,05 thous.
% decline	6·1	% decline	38·6
May, 1929	Rs. 11,12 thous.	Oct., 1929	Rs. 31,03 thous.
„ 1930	Rs. 9,15 thous.	„ 1930	Rs. 8,57 thous.
% decline	17·6	% decline	34·2

cases.

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

British spirits form nearly two-thirds of the total import from all countries. Bengal consumes nearly 30% of that total. The usual figures are given in the following table.

Total (British and Non-British) Spirits imported into different parts of India

Territories	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs)	Rs. (lacs.)	Rs. (lacs)
Bengal	63	67	68	75	72
Rest of India	1,47	1,52	1,61	1,55	1,54
Tota	2,10	2,19	2,29	2,30	2,26
British share of above ...	1,31	1,35	1,36	1,36	1,36

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing statistics it is abundantly clear that there have been considerable declines in the imports of every class of British commodities during the current fiscal year. It has also been shown that purely economic causes cannot be responsible for the present state of affairs. Thus goods, which are consumed mostly by Indians have suffered much more than others, consumed generally by non-Indians, who must have been affected equally by the present trade depression, and probably more since their incomes are derived from trade, whereas some Indians have other sources of income such as investment in Government securities, the income from which has now increased. In the second place, it has been shown that in Bengal where the lessons of the last *Swadeshi* movement have been thoroughly learnt and where the movement is carried on in an organised and determined manner, the boycott has been more effective than in the rest of India. In fact, in British official reports there were repeated reference to the political position in Bengal long before the inauguration of the present movement. To give only one instance, H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner for India, Burma and Ceylon openly stated in his official report for 1927-28 :—

“There is no doubt that the racial feeling among the younger generation of Indians, *particularly in Bengal*, is bound to have some influence on the sales of British goods.”*

The question now arises what the future direction of trade will be, if and when the present boycott is ultimately called off. There are two views. One is that the trade now lost by Great Britain cannot be recovered, even when nationalists are fully placated and all their demands met. For, it is pointed out that British trade was slowly but surely declining, and the present movement has merely hastened the inevitable end. It is therefore useless to try to regain the trade by political concessions.

* P. 19 ; no italics in the original.

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

As against this, it is pointed out that if Britain is given breathing time, she can certainly reorganise her commercial and industrial methods so as to suit the present changed conditions and thus compete successfully with her rivals in Indian trade. When there is no antipathy against British goods as such, surely by offering to sell goods of better quality at a cheaper price, British manufacturers will be able to oust German, Japanese, American and other goods from the Indian market.

Both are extreme views and the truth probably lies midway. In the case of commodities, which are now being manufactured in India, probably the Indian market is permanently closed to non-Indian goods. But in the case of others, British goods will have the same chance as non-British goods if and when the present movement is called off. At the same time, the possibility of a protective tariff against non-Indian goods, including British goods, cannot be entirely ruled out. Nor must it be inferred that the difficulty will be solved when British factories are transplanted on the Indian soil, and the goods now imported are manufactured in India with the help of Indian labour. The cases of cotton and woollen mills started in India with British capital under British control and predominantly British in personnel may be recalled in this connection. There is as effective a boycott against their products (e.g., those of Elgin, Dhariwal and Lalimli mills) as against imported goods.

Thus the future is shrouded in obscurity. The present movement is not entirely political; it has a higher and an ethical aspect, although it may at times be lost sight of by officials and their apologists. There are many Indians, who feel that they cannot make the supreme sacrifice for their country. There are some again, who feel that resistance even against "lawless laws"* is unconstitutional and is subversive of orderly Government. There are others again, who feel that antipathy against the imports from a particular country engenders hatred which must be eschewed as evil in itself. But they all agree in the belief that they should make some common sacrifice for the cause of their country and that could best be done by religiously encouraging *Swadeshi*. When one buys an indigenous product, probably of worse quality or at a higher price than the imported product, he does this, for the good of the nation as a whole.

* It was Deshabandhu C. R. Das, who coined this beautiful phrase,

CONCLUSION

It is these little conscious acts of self sacrifice which have contributed to weld Indians into a nation, inspite of their superficial differences. It is for this reason that many Indian nationalists, prefer *Swadeshi* to protection, which, they agree, cannot give the same impetus to efficiency and economy or the same inspiration to national endeavour as "*Swadeshi*" can. According to them, there must be free and unrestricted competition with imported goods in order that on the one hand Indian manufactures may not slacken their efforts at constant improvement and on the other, Indian consumers may know and feel what sacrifice they are making in the interests of the nation. As against this, there is the view that when an industry is in its infancy, it has to be helped in its upward growth by artificial aid in the shape of protective tariff.

In either case, it will be clear that if and when boycott is called off, *Swadeshi* will stay and will be adhered to religiously by most people. At the same time, with the rapid industrialisation of India, her buying power will be considerably increased as also her wants and the market will be proportionately widened, and there will be a demand for imported goods, in addition to all indigenous products. Under a fully national Government, agriculture also will no longer remain in the present depressed state. There will be a demand for agricultural machinery and through the adoption of scientific methods the agricultural wealth of the country will be increased and as a result there will be an augmentation of India's buying power.

In the midst of these uncertainties two things stand out as inevitable. In the first place, the growth of nationalism in India will have a profound influence on her economic and industrial development. At the same time, it is equally true that nothing can happen in India which will give the go by to the general laws of economics and international trade. In the long run in the field of international Commerce. India will require the aid of the outside world as much as the world will have need of India.

SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

DR. SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

(Member, Working Committee, Round Table Conference)

**At the meetings of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee
and at the Plenary Session of the Indian Round
Table Conference—September 14, 1931, to
November 30, 1931**

WITH

An Introduction, Notes and a Short Biographical Sketch

BY

SAIYID MUHAMMAD JAFARI

Editor, "THE STAR," ALLAHABAD.



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Dr. SHAFaat AHMAD KHAN

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PREFACE.

No apology is needed for the publication of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's speeches at the meetings at the last Round Table Conference, as they deal with subjects of supreme importance to Indians in general and the Muslim community in particular. The speeches have never been published before in their present form, and Indian public will now be in a position to judge whether the great Muslim leader discharged his duties in a manner worthy of the great community which he represented. This is not the occasion for an appraisal of the unique services which His Highness the Aga Khan has rendered to India in general and the Muslim community in particular. There is no Muslim in the world who has rendered nobler services to his country and Islam than His Highness the Agha Khan. When the history of the two Conferences is written, and the part played by His Highness in these Conferences is studied in detail, it will be found that but for the Aga Khan's devotion, sincerity, ability and tact, both the Conferences would have irredeemably failed. I may add that I have confined myself to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's speeches at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and the plenary session of the *last* Round Table Conference, and have left out his remarkable speeches delivered at the first Conference on various Sub-Committees, such as the North-West Frontier Sub-Committee, the Sind Sub-Committee, the Franchise Sub-Committee, the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee, the Defence Sub-Committee, the Services Sub-Committee, and the Minorities Sub-Committee. I may add that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan has the unique distinction of being a member of all the Sub-Committees appointed by the Conference in 1930 and 1931. All these speeches will repay perusal. Again I have not dealt with the propoganda work rendered by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan for the purpose of mobilising English opinion behind the scenes. Such work was necessarily confidential, and when the history of the last two Conferences comes to be written, the invaluable work done by him for the Muslim Delegation at the last two Conferences will be known to all. It was a work demanding a rare combination of tact, ability, energy, enthusiasm, initiative and industry. That this work was performed remarkably satisfactorily is the testimony of every Delegate to the Conference—whether Hindu, Muslim, or European. It was the commanding ability and magnetic personality of His Highness the Aga Khan, seconded by the devotion, loyalty and industry of his Secretary, which made the Muslim Delegation at the Round Table Conference the most influential as well as the most powerful Delegation in the Conference. Again, it may be pointed out that all these speeches were *extempore*, and were made on the spur of the moment, in the cut and thrust of debate. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, having instinctively sensed the atmosphere of the Committee, avoided studied ornate and elaborate addresses. His speeches on Federal

Finance, delivered in the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, have not been included in this collection, as they have not yet been published.

The Federal principle which runs right through these speeches may be summed up in two words—State Sovereignty. In other words, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan is a firm believer in the autonomy of the new states of British India and Indian India, which will constitute the units of the new Federation. He is inspired by the juristic theories of the Bavarian school of federalism, the school represented by Seydel and Beyerle. Of English writers who seem to have contributed in no small degree to the development of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's idea of Federalism, I need only mention Calhoun and Bryce. His speeches, however, are completely free from pedantry, *apriori* theories, banalities, and metaphysical abstractions. However, one can perceive in them the effect of a deep and sustained study of the theory and practice of constitutional law, and particularly of the Bavarian school of Federalism.

A Short Biographical Sketch of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Birth and Family.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan belongs to an old and influential old family of Rohilla Pathans, in the Rohilkhand Division, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Members of his family have held high Civil and Military appointments in some of the Indian States and British India. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's family rendered invaluable help to the British Government in the stormy days of the Indian Mutiny. It has possessed considerable landed property in the Division for decades. His father resides in his estate, and devotes his whole time to the management and improvement of his property.

His Academic Work.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was born at Moradabad, in the Rohilkhand Division, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1893, and educated at the Government High School till 1910. After passing his Matriculation Examination from the school in 1910, he left for England in May 1910 for study. He took his B. A. Degree with First Class Honours in History from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1914. He was awarded a gold medal as well as a prize by his University in the same year. He devoted nearly five years to research work in the leading British archives—such as the British Museum, the Public Record Office, London, India Office Library and Record Department, and embodied the results of his researches in a thesis for the Litt. D. The degree of Litt. D. was conferred on Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in 1918. The Doctor was appointed to the post of Assistant Professor in the University of Madras, in 1920, and served there for nine months. He was appointed to his present post of Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad in 1921. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan threw himself heart and soul into the work of reorganisation of the University. He was the right handman of Sir Claude de la Fosse, the able and enterprising Vice-Chancellor of the New University, and helped him in some of the most important committees that were appointed in the formative period, 1922–23. In his own department, he showed administrative ability of a high order and he soon became one of the most successful administrators of the University. He organised researches into Indian History with rare devotion and zeal, and published a series of works throwing a flood of light on many of the obscure problems of Indian History. His works on the period are recognised as standard and authoritative treatises and are known all over the world for their massive, solid and thorough research, their luminous exposition of principles and movements, and their clear and accurate analysis of material. His monumental work on *The Sources for the History of British India in the XVII Century* is a striking tribute to his extratordinary industry, persistence and devotion to the

highest ideals of scholarship. His work on the *East India in the XVII Century*, and *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1665—1672* are recognised as classics on the subject. I need not mention his other works, nor need I refer to his numerous contributions to learned Journals. They are known all over the world. No man has devoted more time, energy and care to the production of original books on Indian History, and the sacrifices made by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan for the pursuit of his ideal are incalculable. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan founded the *Journal of Indian History* in 1922, and edited it for three years. The Journal is now in the tenth year of its existence, and there is no periodical which has done more for the development of research work in Indian History. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan is recognized as one of the greatest living historians of Modern India.

Public career of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

The administrative and research work of the University did not exhaust Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's extraordinary energy. He decided to contest a seat in the United Provinces Legislative Council in 1923, and defeated his opponent by an overwhelming majority. His work in the Legislative Council of these provinces is too well known to need mention. He has all the requisites of a parliamentarian and all the qualifications of a leader. His enormous industry, upright character, remarkable capacity for friendship and sterling ability soon brought him to the forefront of provincial politics. He was one of the best speakers and one of the most brilliant parliamentarians of the province, and he soon established his position as one of the leaders of Muslim opinion in India. He worked whole-heartedly for the development of compulsory primary education in the rural areas and pleaded for facilities for Secondary and University Education.

I need only refer to his numerous speeches on finance, his work in connection with the Agra Tenancy Bill of 1926, his championship of Muslim rights inside and outside the Council. When the Simon Commission visited India in 1928, he immediately convened a meeting of leading Muslims of United Provinces at Allahabad, who formed a Committee for the preparation of a Memorandum for the Simon Commission. He was President of the Conference of Muslim members of the Legislative Council, Municipal and District Boards. With the help of his Secretary, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, M. L. C., Bar-at-Law, and other prominent Muslims, such as Mr. Masudul Hasan, Bar-at-Law, now Judicial Minister in the Rampur State, and Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Bar-at-Law, and a Delegate to the Round Table Conference, he compiled a Memorandum on behalf of U. P. Muslims which became the Magma Charta of Indian Muslims. It is a document of about 500 pages of foolscap size and contains a most vivid and accurate account of the condition of Muslims in the United Provinces. Its brilliant literary style, the wealth of its information, the cogency and solidity of its reasoning, and its sweet reasonableness have

made it a household word in Northern India. It was a concrete and visible expression of that Muslim Renaissance which had been unfolding itself slowly for the last ten years. The Muslim community was roused from its dogmatic slumber, and became conscious of the vital need for the protection of its political individuality, and distinctive culture. The resolution of the Muslim Conference passed a few months later at Delhi, embodied the principles which the U. P. Memorandum had illustrated with rare ability and matchless industry. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was pursued with attacks from various quarters. He was furiously attacked by the Hindu members of the University ; he was denounced at numerous meetings ; he was abused unmercifully in the Hindu press ; and the Hindu members in the Legislative Council subjected him to incessant criticism. He bore all these attacks with extraordinary patience, and maintained his ground with matchless tact and firmness. He did not make a single enemy, and retained the friendship and confidence of all communities. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was not allowed to seek re-election to the Legislative Council by the University, which, as everyone knows, contains an overwhelming number of Hindus in all its bodies, executive and academic. During these days of political apprenticeship the Doctor was incessantly busy, organising his community, touring through the province, holding meetings at various centres, and keeping up the spirit of his community. He was president of the U. P. Muslim Educational Conference in 1925, and again in 1929 ; he presided at the Punjab Muslim Educational Conference in 1929 ; the Ajmer-Merwara Muslim Educational Conference in 1929, and the Bengal Muslim Educational Conference in 1930. He was president of the Bengal Muslim Conference at Dacca last year, where he delivered a presidential address which roused the Muslims of Bengal. He has been a member of numerous executive bodies, and has been a member of the Improvement Trust, Muslim University, Aligarh, and many select committees on U. P. Government and private bills. In 1929, he founded the weekly "*Star*" and soon made it the ablest and most influential exponent of Muslim policy and Muslim aspirations in India. The paper is now in the third year of its existence.

Work at the Round Table Conference.

A new sphere of activity was opened for the Doctor by the Round Table Conference. When the civil disobedience movement was started in India in 1931, he was one of the first to raise his voice against it. He pointed out the dangers of the movement and warned his community against the risks involved. Not content with mere platitudes, he helped in organising meetings attended by thousands of Muslims at Allahabad and various important places in the province, and advised them not to defy the law. A convinced constitutionalist, he opposed the revolutionary programme of the Congress with courage and determination. He did this until the Gandhi-Irwin truce was signed at Delhi in March 1931.

At the Round Table Conference his outstanding ability, engaging personality and phenomenal energy soon brought him to the front.

This is not the place for a full account of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's work as a Secretary to Muslim Delegation. When the history of Round Table Conference is written, it will be found that his incessant exertions, extraordinary industry, and striking ability immediately brought him to the forefront. He was a member of seven out of eight Sub-Committees in the first Round Table Conference, and his speeches on the Frontier question, in the Frontier Sub-Committee, on the separation of Sind, in the Sind Sub-Committee on the protection of Muslims in the services in the Services Sub-Committee, on the protection of minorities, in the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee, and on franchise in the Franchise Sub-Committee, brought out the qualities which have led to his phenomenal success—boundless energy, capacity for give and take, and agility and quickness in debate. I have not deemed it necessary to reproduce these speeches, as it would have swelled the size of the book. Any one who wishes to go through them can read them in the proceedings of these Committees, published by the Government Press, Calcutta.

On his return from the first Round Table Conference, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan applied himself to organising work and helped in arranging meetings to counteract the propoganda which the Congress was subsidising on behalf of the Muslim "Nationalists". It was a work of extraordinary difficulty but the community remained solid and the principle of Muslim safeguards was reiterated from numerous platforms. He roused the whole of Muslim India by his historic address at Dacca in July 1931. It was the clearest and ablest exposition of Muslim programme and policy, and its moderation made it immensely popular among all classes and communities

Conclusion.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan has been called the ablest younger leader of Muslim India. He has established his position on a sound and firm basis by his sacrifices, his remarkable ability, his charming personality, his volcanic energy, his tremendous driving power, and his reasonableness and moderation. He exercises a strange and mysterious fascination on the mind and heart of his community. The community trusts him because his honesty has never been questioned, his character is irreproachable, and his confidence in the future of his community is absolute. His devotion to his leaders, and loyalty to his colleagues, are universally recognised, and if he holds the chief place in the Councils of Muslim leaders this is due to his clear vision, his fearless advocacy of his cause, his organising ability, and commanding abilities. What will be his future? Everybody is speculating about it. Will he be permitted to carry on his unique work for his country and community? All that I can say is that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan is the *Man with a Future*.

INTRODUCTION.

The Federal Structure Sub-Committee is the most important committee of the Round Table Conference, as upon it devolves the momentous task of devising a constitution for India. It held two sessions, one in 1930, and the other in 1931. It contained the most influential as well as the ablest delegates to the Conference, as the leaders of all the British as well as the Indian parties were members thereof. The British parties were represented by Lord Sankey, Lord Chancellor of England, who was the Chairman of that Committee. It included Sir Samuel Hoare, the present Secretary of State for India, Lord Lothian, the present Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord Peel, and Mr. Wedgwood Benn, former secretaries for India; Lord Reading, ex-Viceroy of India, and many other prominent members of the British Cabinet. Among the Indians we need only mention the names of Mr. Gandhi, who attended the second sessions of this committee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Sir Akbar Hydari.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan acted as Honorary Secretary to the Muslim Delegation to the Round Table Conference for 3 months in 1930 and for another three months in 1931. It is not necessary here to refer to the services rendered by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan to the Muslim Delegation and to the Muslim community. I may, however, be permitted to quote one or two paragraphs from the letter of His Highness the Agha Khan, the Muslim patriot and leader, who is now a world figure, written at the end of the second Round Table Conference. I need only quote the following passages from the letter.

Quotation from a letter from His Highness the Agha Khan, dated the Ritz Hotel, November 30th 1931 to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

"I feel I cannot leave England without thanking you from the bottom of my heart for all your hard work, for your real devotion to the great cause of Islam and also for the invaluable assistance you have given me personally. I only hope that this association will continue for as long as our book is needed for the great cause we have at heart. I again thank you with all my heart for what you have done. I do not know where I should have been without your help. Affectionate best wishes for your journey home."

(Sd.) AGA KHAN.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's work at the Round Table Conference.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was a member of seven out of eight sub-committees of the first Round Table Conference in 1930. He served on the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee, the Frontier Province Sub-Committee, Sind Sub-Committee, Services Sub-Committee, Franchise Sub-Committee, and Defence Sub-Committee. He was not a member of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee in the first session. His extraordinary ability and remarkable knowledge of the constitution were immediately recognized after the end of the first conference, and he was nominated to the second session of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee in the middle of 1931.

SPEECHES OF DR. SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

In the Federal Structure Sub-Committee which contained the ablest statesmen of England and India, he immediately made his mark, and in a series of speeches delivered at various meetings of that committee he showed his profound knowledge of the word's constitutions as well as of the realities of the Indian situation. There were two principles which guided him throughout his work in that committee. In his first speech he made it clear that he could not discuss any question regarding responsibility in the centre until the demands of the Muslim community were met. In his last statement in the committee, which he read out on behalf of the Muslim Delegation, on November the 17th, he emphasised this principle and said that the Muslim Delegation could not discuss these questions and reserved their opinion upon them, as the Muslim demands had not been met. He said that such discussions lacked reality. The principle he has consistently adhered to is that every province of British India should be given the greatest possible measure of autonomy, and that the central Government should have as little to do with the provinces as possible. The Provinces should be truly the sovereign states of British India. Consequently, the Home Member in charge of Law and Order in the central Government will disappear, and each province will be a master in its household. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan applied this principle consistently to every sphere of provincial activity, jurisdiction, and power. He opposed strongly Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposal to centralise the High Courts, as he believes in the autonomy of the judiciary of the provinces. He worked out this principle on the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, and the latter committee recommended that the residuary power of taxation should be vested in the province. He strongly pleaded for a thorough revision of the scheme of classification of subjects which had been suggested by the first Federal Structure Sub-Committee. He pleaded for revision because he felt that under the scheme suggested by the committee, the provinces would not possess control over a sufficient number of subjects. It may be pertinent to point out here that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan had to fight very hard against the attempts made by the princes, who were joined by Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others, to upset the decision of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, of which he had been a member. The princes wished to confer dangerous powers of taxation on the central Government, whereby the fiscal autonomy of the provinces would have been reduced to a farce. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan resisted these attempts and succeeded completely in checkmating the design whereby the central Government would have been able to nullify provincial autonomy and provincial rights.

Form of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Speeches.

It is necessary to say a word about the form of these speeches. The Committee was essentially a business body containing the ablest leaders of India. It eschewed long-winded orations, rhetorical appeals, and tedious harangues. Only that member succeeded who could put his points clearly and concisely before it. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan instinctively caught the atmosphere, and being himself a practical man, he avoided oratorical flourishes, and emotional appeals, and contented himself with a masterly analysis of the problem in the clearest and the most precise language. To this was due his extraordinary success in the committee. For the British people are eminently practical and business-like, who like plain, clear and definite statements on a subject. The examples of emotional eloquence furnished by the French patriot, Gambetta, or Vergniud, the French Girondin, of the Revolutinary era, would have been utterly distasteful

to a nation that has been brought up on facts and experience, and carefully trained in discipline of judgment and emotions. Herein lay the secret of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's work. He succeeded because nobody among the British Indian delegates knew more about his subject. His most remarkable work was done on the Federal Finance Sub-Committee. It is undoubtedly one of the most difficult of all the subjects that came up before the conference, yet his extraordinary grasp of principles, and unrivalled memory exhorted the admiration of all who heard him in that Sub-Committee. The speeches that are reproduced here must be viewed from this standpoint. They were all extempore speeches, delivered without any preparation, and never committed to writing. They were essentially business-like, and intensely practical, based mainly on the principle that clear thinking and concise speaking are the golden road to success in a body whose intellectual standard was undoubtedly higher than that of any other similar body in any part of the world. The speeches of the Doctor Sahib were business-like, practical, concise, matter-of-fact, and realistic. This explains their enormous, nay, unprecedented success in a country like England, with its realistic, practical and commonsense outlook on men and things. His speeches on Federal Finance have not been reproduced, as this would have swelled the size of this pamphlet. He appeals to the reason of his hearers, and credits them with a desire to have none but solid arguments before them. The note struck is always a high note. There is nothing superfluous, nothing tawdry, nothing otiose in these speeches. They are utterly devoid of pomposity or vehemence.

General Discussion on Indian Constitution. Speech delivered on September 14, 1931.

In this speech Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan gave expression to the policy of the Muslim Community when he declared that it will be quite impossible for Muslims to take part in discussion of any question which may raise the issue directly or indirectly of responsibility in the centre until the Muslim demands have been met. To this principle Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan adhered at every stage of the committee's deliberations. His last statement on behalf of the Muslim Delegation reiterated this principle. All discussions of such a nature are impossible until the Muslim demands have been met. The other point to which attention should be drawn is that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan insisted on complete provincial autonomy for units of British India. He, therefore, proposed that the Home member for Government of India should disappear, and provinces should have complete control over law and order. He pleaded for a thorough revision of the subjects which had been classified as provincial and central with a view to give the provinces full power over a large number of subjects. While he agreed with the principle of Federation he opposed weightage for the princes in the Federal Legislature.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: My Lord, I thank you for the opportunity you have given to new members for the expression of their views on some of the points of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's Report, Sir, I have heard from a safe distance of the work you have done and of the great and unexampled courtesy, tact and resource which you have shown in the management of this Committee. My experience of the Committee is very limited; but from what I have gathered during the last week I can say that, if we carry on the work in the spirit in which it was carried on last year, I am perfectly certain that we shall be able to achieve lasting foundations for the welfare, security and safety of India.

My Lord, this is a Committee not dealing with law or sordid details, but it is a Committee which is preparing a constitution for millions, may be for generations. It reminds me of the old Roman Senate—not a Committee of ordinary individuals but a Committee of statesmen. I am not presumptuous enough to think that whatever I may say will be of any substantial help to the members of this Committee. My only qualification for the task is that I have had practical experience of the Provincial Legislature for seven years; I have been Chairman of local bodies and Chairman of the Muslim members of the Legislative Council in my own Province for a short period. This is very limited experience, but I claim that in dealing with matters of this kind it is practical experience that counts. Although I have had only a limited practical experience I will try to embody that experience in the remarks which I am going to make.

I am speaking not only in my personal capacity, but I am speaking on behalf of the section which I have the honour to represent in this body. Lord Chancellor, my task has been facilitated by the fact that the Sub-Committee itself made it perfectly clear that the Report was provisional and, in a way, incomplete. I think, Sir, you very wisely left a number of details to be settled

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by negotiation or discussion in future. Again, when the scheme of federation was broached in this Committee very few people in India knew or understood its significance at the time it was discussed here. Within the last six months, since our return to India, every section and every interest knows the implications of the proposals of the Sub-Committee and public opinion has been mobilised on some of the most important recommendations in the Report of this Sub-Committee. We are, therefore, in a position to express clear, definite, unambiguous and certain view on some of the points to which I should like to draw attention.

Then there is another factor, Sir, to which I should like to refer, and that is the presence of Mahatma Gandhi. Whatever view I may take, or whatever view other people may take, as regards certain problems which we people may be faced later, it cannot be denied that Mahatma Gandhi's personality is a unique contribution to the solution of Indian problems. He has played a great part in the past and I hope he is going to play it in the future. That is a factor of tremendous importance so far as this Committee is concerned, and it removes one objection which has frequently been urged against this Conference—the objection that very strong, influential, representative bodies wielding really great influence in India, have not been represented at the Conference. That objection is removed, and I can say now that this Committee, with Mahatma Gandhi's presence can deliver the goods; and if anything is approved by all the interests and all the communities represented here it will have the sanction of England, of India, and of the World behind it.

Sir, I would like to make a few remarks which I hope, will be noted, and if opportunity is provided for further discussion I shall be quite willing to adduce arguments in support of these remarks. I believe that this is not the occasion and not the time for arguments on any points that I may bring forward. The time for argument may arise, and I hope will arise, when we deal with specific issues. Again, Sir, I am not here, and nobody is here, to start debating points with one another. We are not really in a house of legislature. We are here to construct. We are not here to start carping criticism on any point that may be brought forward for discussion.

Having made these remarks, Sir, I will now go ahead with the task and I will offer just a few suggestions for the consideration of this Committee.

I come, Sir, to the basic principle of federation. So far as the principle of federation is concerned I am in complete agreement with the idea. There is not a single Indian, to whatever party he may belong, whatever interest he may represent, who is not wholeheartedly in favour of the principle outlined with such great zeal, intellect and ability by my friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. But, so far as details are concerned, I am afraid at this stage I cannot commit myself. I believe, Sir, that, to use a hackneyed expression, until the picture is complete it will be quite impossible for me to say whether federation really is practicable, and what is useful both for India and for the Indian States. I will give only one example to illustrate the difficulty which I and some of my way of thinking feel on this point. Take the question of the quantum of representation in the two Houses of the States. Until I know what it is going to be I really cannot say whether the price we are going to pay for federation will be suitable.

Then, Sir, my second point is that in a proper and genuine federation there must be complete autonomy of the constituent units. If we are going to have

a federation of the type which some of us contemplate, I say it is absolutely essential that it should be a genuine and a true federation. Unless it is so there will be paralysis at the Centre and anæmia at the circumference. We, therefore, require true and real sovereign states of British India. We do not require a unitary government with territorial decentralisation. In order, therefore, that the idea may be carried out logically, authoritatively and consistently, in my humble opinion it is necessary that the list of subjects appended at the end of the Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee should be revised. I believe that certain of the subjects called "Central" subjects could easily be handed over to the Provinces.

In the third place, Sir, I believe that it is absolutely essential for the success of the Federation which we are going to introduce that Law and Order in all Provinces should be the exclusive charge of the persons at the helm of those Provinces. The Federal Legislature or the Federal Cabinet should have absolutely no power over the department dealing with that supreme question of Law and Order. I can quite imagine, Sir, that cases may arise in which more than one Province may be concerned ; emergencies may arise. I claim that in those cases the Governor-General, and the Governor-General alone, should have the power ; that neither the Federal Cabinet nor the Federal Legislature should be competent to interfere in the details of administration of any Province. I believe, Sir, that the Report does contain a provision wherein it is stated that the Governor-General shall be empowered to adopt measures for the safety and tranquility of British India. I believe the object could be attained by empowering the Governor-General to take measures if and when such cases arise. I do hope that the cases will be rare, and I am certain that the Governor-General himself would not like to interfere or to do anything which is likely to affect the autonomy of any Province. But, if he does, and if he is justified in doing it, then I am sure that his conduct will be approved, provided he keeps within the limits assigned to him in the Constitution.

Then, Sir, there is another point which is a corollary to this. The Home Member and the Government of India at the present time have enormous powers, tremendous powers. When Law and Order is transferred to the Provinces those powers will have to be strictly circumscribed and limited, and the Home Member in India of the future will be paractically in the same position as the Secretary of the Interior in the United States of America. He will have nothing to do with Law and Order, but will occupy the position in India which is now occupied in America by the Secretary of the Interior of the United States of America.

Then, Sir, I come to a somewhat ticklish question ; but I think it is absolutely necessary for people who think as I do to be absolutely frank. I want to lay all my cards on the table. So far as the States are concerned I think their representation in both Houses should be according to population.

Then there is another provision which I think will have to be kept prominently in view. When the constitution confers autonomy on the Provinces it must be made perfectly clear that it also involves complete financial autonomy. It is not sufficient to have mere political autonomy ; it is essential that each Province should have complete power over the purse. The necessity for this will be apparent from the fact that a recent Report on the working of the Federal Constitution in Australia has shown that it is the power of the purse in the Central Government which has very seriously limited the work and the functions of the various States of the Federation.

The next point connected with this is the question of the participation of the Indian States in the Federation. I am, and have been, of the view that British Indians should not interfere in the affairs of the Indian States. I respect the autonomy of the Indian State; I regard the Treaties made with them by the East India Company and by the Crown as sacred, and I would most certainly oppose any attempt on the part of anybody to dictate to the Indian States as regards their internal affairs or domestic policy. But, while I do so, I also expect in return that the doctrine of neutrality will be observed by the States in regard to the affairs of British India, and I am very glad indeed that the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner made this point perfectly clear in their speeches at the meetings of the Sub-Committee.

My difficulty is that, if representatives of some of the Indian States are included in the Cabinet, it will be quite impossible for them to keep completely aloof from the current of British Indian politics, and British Indian politics are bound to have repercussions on the domestic policy of the Indian States.

I am only pointing out the consequences. I do not like them myself, but I am simply trying to show what will ultimately happen. I believe that in order to avoid this, appropriate machinery should be devised. I do not know if it is possible; I have not been able to conceive any method which will lead to the erection of a "Chinese Wall" round the States. It is quite impossible for me to conceive it; but if it is possible to do so I would most certainly welcome it. My difficulty is that, if representatives of the Indian State are included in the Cabinet, they are bound to be involved in the politics of British India, and it is quite impossible, therefore, for the Indian States to keep absolutely aloof from the current of national politics.

Then, Sir, there is another point to which I should like to draw the attention of this Committee. In one of the sections of the Report of the Sub-Committee, it is pointed out that the Governor-General will, of course, appoint a person who will be the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister will choose his colleagues to form the Cabinet. Let me say at once that I entirely agree with the principle enunciated there. I believe that, in the Dominions, this is and has been the practice for a number of years. I feel, however, that in the present circumstances of India occasions may arise when it will be quite impossible for the Governor-General to select one man who has the confidence of the majority of the Legislature. If and when such occasions arise, then the Governor-General should have the power to appoint members of the Cabinet direct. I hope that such cases will be few and far between, but a constitution is not made merely for normal occurrences—it must provide also for emergencies; and I claim that, if this principle is mechanically or automatically followed in some cases, it may bring about a deadlock and the constitution may not really be workable. I, therefore, propose that a provision should be made in the Constitution whereby the Governor-General should, in exceptional circumstances, be allowed to appoint persons direct as members of the Cabinet leaders of the various groups, and so on. There may be occasions when a person has a party of, say, a hundred members, while some one else may have another party of about the same size, and perhaps there will be a third party of approximately the same size. These parties may, in some cases, be of equal strength, and in those cases the Governor-General should not be debarred from appointing the persons who, he thinks, w if combined, be able to command the confidence of the Legislature.

My next point refers to commercial safeguards for the Europeans. I am, Sir, and have been, a whole-hearted supporter of safeguards for my community ; and if I believe in the principle of safeguards for minorities, I equally strongly believe in the principle of safeguards for Europeans in India. I have had opportunities of appreciating the work which the European community has done in India. In my own Province Cawnpore is the nerve-centre of the industries of the north of India, and I know that the whole of that city was built up by the enterprise and the energy of the Europeans. I, therefore, support whole-heartedly the compromise arrived at in the Report of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference.

Next, Sir, in the Reports of the Franchise Sub-Committee, of the Services Sub-Committee and of the Minorities Sub-Committee, there are certain portions dealing with fundamentals safeguards, safeguards which guarantee to minorities and different interests protection. I suggest that rules should be framed by appropriate authority, for the enforcement of those safeguards. I am not going to suggest here how those rules should be framed ; my point is that those safeguards should not remain mere vague and ethereal generalisations. They are there to be worked and should be enforced.

Lord Chancellor, I need not specify the Muslim demands, as they are known to every one here. Since our return to India, however, the opinion of my community has become clearer than it was when we were here last. It has crystallised. My community holds certain opinions, and it has expressed those opinions with no uncertain voice. A number of meetings and conferences have been held and a programme formulated which leaves no room for ambiguity or uncertainty. The position is that, as far as Muhammadans are concerned, they would certainly prefer questions directly concerning responsibility in the Centre to be discussed last, because they feel that it would be difficult—I do not say impossible, but that it would be difficult, if not impossible—to discuss these questions at this stage ; and I am grateful to you, Sir, therefore for arranging the Agenda in a way which will meet our wishes, because we feel that until we know what our position is going to be it would be difficult for us to commit ourselves to any scheme. I know it may be said by some that this is the central problem before the Committee. Logically that is correct, but I submit that sometimes logic and politics are belligerent bedfellows, and one has in some cases to pay regard to expediency. I, therefore, trust, Sir, that we shall not arrive at that crucial point until after the Minorities Committee has met ; and I am very glad indeed that the presence of Mahatma Gandhi will, as it is bound to do, facilitate our task. There is no reason why the Minorities Committee should take a very long time. There are only a few points—though, of course, points of supreme importance—left ; and I am perfectly certain that, with the help and co-operation and real, genuine sympathy of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit, M. M. Malaviya and other gentleman represented here, we shall be able to achieve a lasting and a true and a genuine settlement of a problem which has baffled a number of persons for at least ten years.

Mr. Sastri : May I enquire whether Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan spoke for the whole of his community in the observations with which he concluded ? I thought he began by making such a claim.

Chairman : I do not know about that. I think that is a question which perhaps you might ask him a little later.

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Speech on Federal Legislature delivered at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, on September 17, at 11 A. M.

The speech dealt with the question of election of members of the Federal Legislature. In this speech Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan dealt with a number of important problems. He pleaded for security of property and insisted that the rights of landlords to their property should be guaranteed by the constitution. He was subjected to some heckling on the point, but the Doctor Sahib maintained his ground, and ultimately won his point, for the Report of the Federal Committee makes provision for it.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I have no desire at this stage to make any comments upon the proposals which His Highness The Maharaja of Dholpur is going to raise. I think that it would be best if we did not decide finally on the important issues in Item (i) until we have heard the Maharaja of Dholpur. My first impression is that the scheme will not work, but I cannot go beyond that. I hope that, if the proposal is made, we will be allowed to express our views on some of the points mentioned by you, Lord Chancellor.

I come now to the question before us, Head 2. With regard to Head 2, Item (i), it is difficult for me at this stage to formulate or to express finally views with regard to the method of representation by groups of States ; but, so far as, (i) (a) is concerned, I am definite that it should be by election. I believe that the members of the future Federal Legislature should all be elected to the Lower Chamber, and I feel that the work of the Lower House will be very seriously affected if some of the members are nominated by the Princes. I admit the great work which the Princes have done for our country, and I take this opportunity of paying my tribute to His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, for the great and unexampled policy which they adopted last year of agreeing to join the Federation ; but I am not convinced that our Federal Legislature will really work satisfactorily if we have in either House a body consisting of nominated members from the States on one side, and elected members on the other. It will have a very serious effect upon the working of our Parliamentary machinery. At the present time, nominated members are appointed for various considerations. There are, of course, good members, and there are incompetent members, but I may say that generally the members nominated by the Government have done exceedingly good work. Some of them have been men of great eminence, of merit, of service and of experience. If members are nominated in the future, not by the Government, but by the Princes, in the first place there is no guarantee that the standard which has been hitherto maintained will be kept up. In the second place, it will have a very serious effect upon the development of party government in future India, because there is a unity of policy and a uniformity of programme so far as British India is concerned ; but if we have, say one-fourth of members of our future Legislature coming from all the four corners of India (some from Kashmir, and others from Manipur), it will have a very serious effect upon our party system, because the policy that they would pursue would be dictated to them by the Princes from headquarters, and the policy may, therefore, be so thoroughly inconsistent as to be entirely destructive. Consequently, I think that it will have a very serious effect upon the development of party government in the Lower Chamber. There will be a lack of confidence in the party system as a whole, and, ultimately, there will

be, I fear, Ministerial instability. You will never be sure upon any point what policy the members from the States are going to adopt.

Then, My Lord, it is said by the Indian States that the question of election or nomination is entirely one for the States themselves. I made it perfectly clear in my last speech that, so far as the internal autonomy of the Princes is concerned, I am and have been a great champion of the policy of non-interference in their domestic affairs. I regard the sovereignty of the Indian States, as regulated by the Treaties, as inviolate; but my contention is that, when the representatives of these States come into either the Lower Chamber or the Upper Chamber, it will not then be a concern merely of these States. When they come into the Legislature, our Legislature is profoundly affected by the entry of a very large block into the Lower House. Its entire outlook, policy and procedure are changed by the existence of heterogeneous individuals. Therefore, it is not merely the concern of these States, but it is also the concern of the members of the Legislature from British India.

For these reasons, Lord Chancellor, I think that, so far as this point is concerned, the principle of election for the appointment of representatives from the States will have to be maintained. I leave it to the States to decide whether election should be direct or indirect.

With regard to the franchise, I am perfectly willing to leave the details of the franchise to be arranged by each State as it likes. This is done in all federal constitutions, and the States may suggest any franchise they may deem necessary, suitable or convenient for their purpose.

With regard to the Upper House, I think the Governments of the States should have the right to nominate representatives. I feel that this method is likely to produce a more efficient House even than the House we have got now. The Council of State existing at the present time has not, I am sorry to say; realised our expectations. I look forward to an Upper Chamber which will perform the functions which used to be performed so efficiently and thoroughly by the Bundesrat of the old German Empire; and, from this point of view, I can quite imagine the representatives from the various States in the Upper Chamber doing the work in that Chamber with a thoroughness, a skill and an efficiency that may make it a very efficient and workable body.

With regard to the question of the selection of representatives of groups of States, on this point I have nothing to say. I think that is a matter which must be left entirely to the States themselves. The States will have to be grouped, and it will be for the States themselves to suggest the methods and the principles on which they should be grouped and the number of votes which should be allotted to each State or group of States.

I come then to (iii). With regard to (iii), I am of the opinion that the British Indian representatives in the Upper Chamber should be indirectly elected by the Provincial Legislatures. I will not adduce arguments in favour of this proposal, because so many arguments were adduced yesterday; but I will only say this, that about three years ago the members of the Simon Commission in the United Provinces, of which I happened to be a member, considered this question in all its aspects, and they came to the conclusion that, with a view to the co-ordination of the work of the Provinces with that of the Centre, it was necessary that there should be election by the Provincial Legislatures to the

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Central Legislature. I should like to add, however, that my support of indirect election is subject to two conditions—the conditions mentioned by the Government of India in paragraph 145 of their Despatch. With your permission I will read out a passage from paragraph 145.

“The present method of returning members of the Council of State by direct election has been successful in composing the upper house on suitable lines. Our own preference would be for maintaining the present system; but we recognize that, if the Assembly were to continue to be constituted on the basis of direct election, there might be some advantage in taking occasion through the Council of State of familiarizing men’s minds with the federal idea and the system of indirect election proposed by the Commission. We would, however, make our acceptance of a change in the existing method of election conditional upon two objects being attained. We should wish to be satisfied that the change involved no prejudice to the rights of minorities. Our second proviso would be that the change commended itself to public opinion. Subject to these two considerations, we should be prepared to accept the proposals of the Statutory Commission.”

While I am on this subject I should just like to point out one or two difficulties which might be experienced by the small communities, and which might necessitate a slight modification of the proposal I have just supported. In the case of the Indian Christians, for instance, who are scattered throughout the length and breadth of India—though the majority of them are concentrated in the Madras Presidency—it might be very difficult to get any Indian Christians returned indirectly by a Provincial Legislature; and in these cases some provision should be made whereby their representation would be secured. The normal procedure which has been adopted has been that existing organisations of the various communities concerned have proposed a list of three or four names for membership of the Legislature; the names have been submitted to the Governor, and he has selected one of them. I do not know if the community would like to maintain the present system: I only wish to draw your attention to the necessity of making some provision for the representation of very small communities who really may not be able to get in through the single transferable vote.

I now come to (iv). With regard to (iv), I am of the opinion that the members of the Lower Chamber of the Federal Assembly should be directly elected by territorial constituencies. I believe that this is the most practical, and, I should say, the most popular, system. If we suggest any other plan at this stage it will be unacceptable to the people of India. Direct election is, to mind, the best method. I should, however, like to draw your attention to the proposal which was made in Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, and which has been referred to the Expert Franchise Committee for their consideration. May I just read out this paragraph, which is paragraph 4 on page 57? This is what they say on that page:—

“We recommend that, in addition to providing for this increase, the Commission should consider the introduction of a scheme by which all adults not entitled to a direct vote would be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner, for the election of one representative member from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the Provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be formed for them.”

I do not commit myself to the proposal, but I think it is well worthy of consideration by the Expert Franchise Committee. This proposal was made

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by Lord Zetland in the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Conference. I did not support it then, because I was not sure it would work. I think, however, that in some cases—in the case of the Assembly, for instance—it might be convenient if enquiries were made as to whether it is practicable and whether we can apply it to the complex conditions of India.

Here again, so far as these very small minorities are concerned, I think it might be very difficult to get them directly elected by territorial constituencies. In my own Province there are only about three lakhs of Indian Christians; in the Punjab there are about three lakhs; only in Madras do you find a large number. It would be quite impossible for any person belonging to that community, who wished to stand for the Assembly in his constituency, to organise an election in three or four Provinces. The expenses would be prohibitive, and the effort to succeed would be hampered by lack of party organisation and by other reasons.

I would certainly have liked the constituencies for the Assembly to be much smaller. I have had experience of two elections for the local council, and I have also been instrumental in helping in organising a few elections in various other districts; and I can say that it is very difficult indeed, with the constituencies as they exist now, for a member to keep in touch with his constituents. There have been and there are a very large number of members who do manage to keep in touch, and who periodically visit their constituents. I know members of my own party who have done that in the past—who visit the villages and talk to the villagers, and who manage to keep completely in touch with their constituents. But if a constituency is spread over four Districts, as there are cases, or over one whole Division or two Divisions—as in one constituency I know, which extends over a very wide area—it is very difficult indeed to make a representative system really efficient. But I am afraid there is no other method that I can think of. An electoral college consisting of members of the local bodies will not work. For a few years I was chairman of an association in my own Province which included representatives of municipal boards and district boards. I tried to keep in touch with the members of various bodies in each district. I know how difficult it is for members of local bodies to take an interest in provincial politics or national politics, and I feel that the very principle of encouraging local bodies in this is fundamentally wrong.

Chairman : If you would just help me, I do not quite follow from your last four or five sentences why you say it would not work. I can understand difficulties of organisation; I can understand difficulties of expense; but are you putting it upon the ground that the local people take no interest in politics?

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan : I should not have said it would not work. I should have said it would not really be useful, because the members of these bodies, in the first place, do not take a very keen interest in provincial politics. In the second place, they will really be neglecting their own work if they occupy themselves with functions with which as members of those bodies they are not concerned. The proper sphere of work for a local body is local affairs—management of the local affairs, sanitation, public health, lighting, and so on; but if a local body is also given the power to help in the election, or given the power of influencing elections, to the Provincial or central Legislatures, then in that case I am afraid the primary duty imposed upon them will be neglected, and the local bodies will be involved in inextricable confusion—confusion of aims, confusion of policy, confusion of method. For these reasons I do not think local bodies

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should be brought into the arena either of provincial politics or of national politics. They should be kept strictly confined to the work committed to their charge ; so that the only method which I can think of at the present stage is direct election by territorial constituencies. But the proposal of Lord Zetland is certainly worth consideration. This is all I can say about that at the present time.

Now, Sir, I come to No. (v). As regards No. (v) I agree generally with what was said so lucidly and ably by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. I am very glad indeed that he has made it perfectly clear that he would like these interests to be safeguarded ; but I think he left out landlords.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : I am not opposed to it ; on the contrary, I would support that.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Lord Chancellor, the tenancy problem in my Province is very acute at the present time ; it has been acute during the last ten years. We had one very comprehensive and very important Bill passed into law in 1921, the Oudh Tenancy Act. Then five years afterwards, in 1926, the local Council passed another far-reaching Act dealing with the relations between landlord and tenant. During the last two years the position in Oudh has become very serious indeed, extremely serious. I do not wish to say anything here about the necessity for the maintenance of good relations between the two classes ; nor do I wish to go into details of various measures. All I would like to impress upon the members of this honourable body is that, in my humble opinion, some provision should be made for the adequate representation of the landlords in the Federal Legislature.

Mr. Joshi : And tenants also.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I will come to that.

Chairman : "Landlords" you said.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Landlords, both in the Lower and Upper House. I feel that the landlords, if they are not protected, will not be able to safeguard their interests. In 1919, 1921 and 1922, when the new Governments in Europe came into power, the first thing they did was to start almost revolutionary agrarian measures for the purpose of expropriating landlords of foreign extraction. I think in Poland, Latvia, Esthonia and Czechoslovakia, agrarian measures, which were almost revolutionary measures, were passed with a view to taking the property of one class and giving it to another class. I do not contemplate that this will be done in India. The relations between landlords and tenants in my Province are excellent.

Chairman : Are you speaking of the United Provinces ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I am speaking of Agra, not Oudh. We consist of two Provinces, Agra and Oudh. In the other part of my province, Oudh, the relations are not so good and I can quite imagine there might be a possibility of a serious trouble in future. In order, therefore, to provide against the possibility of their being completely ignored, I do hope that some representation will be given to the landlords in both Houses.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : May I point out that we are considering here the question of the Federal Legislature and not the Provincial.

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Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I am speaking of the Central Legislature and not the Provincial.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : The law relating to the relations between landlords and tenants has nothing to do with the Central Legislature ; it is a Provincial matter.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I should like to remind Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that I mentioned I was only giving an example and illustrating the necessity for the representation of a class which I think deserves the support of every impartial person.

Then, Sir, as regards the other interests, I am in favour of the maintenance of the privileges enjoyed by the various interest at the present time. The Europeans must continue to possess and enjoy the rights which they have at present. They have got a certain quantum of representation ; I should not like to reduce that quantum. As regards Labour, I think Labour ought to be represented also ; and, generally, I agree with what Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru have said about the representation of special interests. I should like these interests to be represented in both the Houses—the Upper Chamber as well as the Lower Chamber.

As regards (vi), I think the rules which are now observed with regard to the qualifications for membership of the Upper House may, with certain modifications, be maintained. There ought not to be any radical change in those rules. For the Council of State we have got certain rules framed by the Central Government.

Chairman : Under the Act, yes.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Those rules should, in my opinion, be maintained with slight modifications. We must impose the condition of residence, a person must be resident in the Province which he is going to represent. Besides this, he must possess other qualifications, either property or academic qualifications, or the qualification obtained by holding certain offices. At present, if a person is vice-president of a local body or a Fellow of a University he is an elector for the Council of State, and besides that there are other offices enumerated in the rules.

With regard to disqualification, I think the sections of the two constitutions cited by Sir Sultan Ahmed may be adopted with the necessary modifications. So far as the question of moral turpitude, which was referred to yesterday, is concerned, I think any person who is convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude should not be eligible for the membership of the Upper House. This question cropped up in our local Council for several years, and there were various resolutions on the subject. I think the sense of the members there was in the direction I have indicated.

Mr. Iyenger : That is not the case so far as the Assembly is concerned.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I am not speaking of the Assembly—I have never been there. I am speaking of the Provincial Legislature ; and there seemed to be agreement that persons convicted of crime involving moral turpitude should not be eligible.

Mr. Iyenger : The Assembly, Lord Chancellor, passed by a very large majority a resolution against imposing any political disqualifications either on the ground of political offences or on that of moral turpitude.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : As regards (vii), I feel that this is a question which should be settled in consultation with the States. I do not wish to say anything on this ; but what I feel is that the question of allegiance to our King-Emperor is quite consistent with allegiance to the Ruler of the Indian State. There is absolutely no conflict of loyalty ; and I may add that, so far as the States are concerned, every State which comes into the Federation will retain its sovereignty, and we shall have practically the same principle applied as is applied in other constitutions. Let me quote here one brief sentence from Lord Bryce's "American Commonwealth." This is what he says :—

"A State commands the allegiance of its citizens and may punish them for treason against it. The authority of a State is an inherent and not a delegated authority."

The Indian States, therefore, retain all their powers with the exception of those powers which are specifically given to the Federal Government ; and the question of any conflict does not therefore arise.

With regard to No. (viii), I agree with the recommendation of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee that we may have ten members, and not more than ten, in both the Upper and the Lower Houses ; but in some cases, I think that provisions should be made for the nomination of experts to both the Houses if and when necessity arises. A provision like this is to be found in other constitutions, specially new constitutions ; and I think that it would be very useful if, besides these ten, we have one or two more (I hope not more than two or three) in the Lower Chamber as well as in the Upper Chamber. This has been done very successfully in the Provincial Legislatures. When questions of a very serious, complex, or technical nature have arisen in my own Province, we have had experts nominated. I think that, without that help, we would not have been able to pass a really satisfactory and suitable law both as regards tenants and Universities.

Speech on Relation of two Chambers in the Federal Legislature.

Speech delivered at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee on September 22, 1931.

This speech deals succinctly with some of the most important constitutional questions, and is a moderate, reasonable and rational defence of the existing practice. Particular attention should be drawn to the function of the upper house in a Federal Legislature. The part played by the senate of ancient Rome, and the senate of United States of America was evidently in the Doctor's mind. As regards deadlock between the two houses, the device suggested for its removal is one that will commend itself to every student of the Indian constitution. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's trenchant criticism of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's inappropriate analogies is worthy of attention. Again, he opposed Sir Akbar Hydari's proposal to give equal power to both the houses in every respect. This would have made parliamentary Government absolutely unworkable, as the upper Chamber would then be invariably used as a *deus ex machina* by the powers that be. Hence, money bills must originate in the lower house. The speech shows a profound knowledge of the constitution.

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Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: Lord Chancellor, after what has been said by Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, I need not detain this Committee with any elaborate discussion of the various problems. I would merely like to emphasise two or three points. The first, Lord Chancellor, is that, in framing a constitution for the Upper and the Lower Houses, we must keep one aim constantly in view. It is this—that the Upper House is going to be the custodian of the interests of the States of British India and of Indian India. Consequently, the Upper House must be such as will be able to protect and safeguard those interests. So it is from this point of view, Lord Chancellor, that we should discuss the question of federation as regards the two Houses. The States, both from British India and from Indian India, will have certain rights defined in the constitution. There will be certain subjects reserved for the States and others reserved for the Federal Government. This will be a check on the power of the Federal Government in its relation to the Provincial Governments; but there will be yet another check, which I may call the internal check. This will exist in the form of a strong and influential Upper House. Therefore, we need not merely the check in the form of division of subjects, but also the check imposed by the presence of a really influential and representative Upper House. This internal check on the power of the Federal Government would not be in the sense of antagonism, not in the sense of conflict, and not in the sense of any clash between the two component elements of the Federation and the Central Government, but in the sense of the protection of the interests of the component Units. So it is from this point of view, Lord Chancellor, that I look at this question.

The other point to which I would like to draw your attention is that our Upper Chamber, which I should call the Senate, will be an altogether different body from the Council of State of the present time. It will be different and it ought to be different.

Chairman: I do not think you need labour that point at any length, because I do not think anybody would dispute what you say on that head.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: The Upper House will, in my opinion, contain the ablest and the most influential leaders both from British India and from the Indian States. I am certain that, when the Upper House develops its powers and acquires influence, the Indian States will send their ablest representatives and their most experienced Ministers to the Upper House. Consequently, the Upper House will become, if I may say so, the foundry in which public opinion is melted and cast. It is from this point of view that I envisage the constitution of the Upper House.

Lord Chancellor, the question of the power of the Upper House is therefore of supreme importance. One point has been raised to-day by Sir Akbar Hydari. He said that the two Houses should have co-ordinate and equal powers. I do not wish to commit myself on this point at this stage. I would simply like to point out that, if they are going to have co-ordinate powers, then there will have to be responsibility of the Ministers to both the Houses or complete irresponsibility, in other words, presidential form of government. That has been the practice in the United States of America and in Switzerland. In these two countries there is no responsibility of Ministers and the system is entirely different from what is called the Parliamentary system. Therefore, this question can only be discussed if and when we have decided the question of the responsibility of Ministers to one House or to both Houses.

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Sir Akbar Hydari: I think Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made it clear that they would be responsible to both.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: No.

Sir Akbar Hydari: That the defeat of the Ministry could be only by.....

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: That was with regard to a vote of no-confidence only.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: Then Lord Chancellor, the other question is whether the Upper House should have the power to amend or whether it should have merely the power to suggest amendment. From a practical point of view I admit that there is not much material difference; but I should prefer to get this practice regularised and formalised instead of leaving it in the unsatisfactory position in which it now is in the Australian Constitution. I believe that the report on the working of the Australian Constitution which has just been published will throw further light on the working of the Senate in Australia. A number of suggestions for amendment were made by the Australian Senate, but they did not exercise that influence on the Lower House which they would have exercised if the position had been legalised and the power of the Senate had been definitely affirmed and explicitly stated in the constitution itself. From this point of view, therefore, I think it would be better if the Upper House were given this power explicitly in the constitution. I do not think there is really much material difference; but it would make a difference ultimately in the actual day-to-day practical working of the constitution of the new India.

The other point is with regard to a possible deadlock between the two Houses. In all constitutions you must have—to use an Americanism—an emergency exit from a deadly deadlock; and for this emergency exit various provisions have been made and various remedies have been suggested. My humble opinion is that, when we are studying any constitution, we must see whether that constitution has actually worked well or not. It is not enough to see whether there is such and such a provision in the constitution, but we must go further and see how that provision has actually worked. The second point I should like to emphasise, therefore, is that, when drawing analogies, we must be very careful to pay regard to the similarity of conditions in the various countries.

I have the greatest possible respect for the experience and knowledge of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but on this point I beg to differ from him. I believe that the South African Constitution is not and really cannot be a good model for us, even on this point. I hold this view because the South African Constitution is essentially a unitary constitution. It is framed with the express and avowed object of drawing all the powers of the Provinces into the fold of the Central Government. The original idea, of course, was to have a true and genuine federation; but when the Convention met in 1908, the federation was transformed into a union, with the result that, at the present time, the Provincial Governments in South Africa are virtually glorified local bodies, and the proposal has now been made that even the small powers they possess should be taken away from them. The South African Constitution, I beg to submit, is, therefore, not really a very good model for us.

If we want a pattern suitable for India I suggest that we must go to the constitutions of countries the conditions of which are similar to ours; and the constitutions which I submit can really help us are constitutions such as those

of the United States of America, of the old German Empire and of Australia. As I have already emphasised, however, it is important to see how the various provisions actually work in practice. We must ask the question which every pragmatist asks—"How does it work?"

The Australian Constitution has failed utterly so far as the Senate is concerned. The recent report on the working of the Australian Constitution admits that the Senate has proved utterly useless and powerless so far as protection of the rights of the various States is concerned. Consequently, when we want to apply some of the provisions of modern constitutions, I beg to submit that we should apply only those provisions which were passed to deal with conditions analogous to those in India. From this point of view I submit that it would be better, in the case of a deadlock, not to follow the South African model, but to follow the Australian model, or—as my friend, Sardar Ujjal Singh, said just now—the model of the Czechoslovakian or German Constitutions. I might also cite the provisions of the British Parliament Act of 1911 in case of deadlock. So far as South Africa and Australia are concerned, they do not make any distinction in the case of deadlock between Money Bills and ordinary Bills. In the case of Money Bills, I think the time will have to be shortened to a fortnight or a month, and within that time a joint conference between the Upper and Lower Houses must be held; but, in the case of ordinary Bills, I should be inclined to copy the provision of Section 57 of the Australian Act as it stands.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—Do you suggest that, following the Australian model, there must be a dissolution before a Joint Session takes place? That is of the essence of the Australian model.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan : I would not go so far as that; my point is that I want to interpose delay, and sufficient delay. The delay imposed in the South African Constitution is not sufficient for my purpose. But I do not want any dissolution; I merely want a substantial delay.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : In other words, instead of three months you want six, or instead of six months you want nine; but you do not want to go the whole length of the Australian Constitution and have a dissolution?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : The essence of that Section is that there should be sufficient delay to prevent the matter being considered from a party point of view.

Mr. Joshi : You think the 1911 British Act is simpler and is to be preferred?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan :—I have already expressed my views.

Composition of the Federal Legislature.

Speech delivered by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan on September 23, 1931.

In this speech Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan dealt with the strength and composition of the Federal Legislature. He strongly opposed weightage for the Indian states in the Federal Legislature. It is pertinent to remark in this connection that though Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan desired to give representation to all provinces in the Federal Legislature on the basis of population alone ; in discussing the draft report of the Committee, he agreed to weightage for Punjab and Bombay so far as their representation in the Federal Legislature is concerned.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Lord Chancellor. It is a great handicap to follow an experienced statesman, and I am speaking, therefore, under a sense of disadvantage ; but, Sir, as a member of the Committee, I would like to put a few points before this body. The first point which we have to decide is the total strength of the Lower Chamber. Lord Chancellor, I suggest that the total strength should be 300 Members. I do so because I regard 300 as a reasonable figure which will satisfy the requirements both of efficiency and of representation. We cannot have too large a body, because if the body at the Centre is too large it will not be able to do really good and efficient work.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : You want 300 for the Lower House?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : 300 for the Lower House, yes. If, on the other hand, it is too small, the constituencies will be so large and unwieldy that it will be quite impossible for the Members to keep in touch with their constituents. There is another reason, Lord Chancellor, why I advocate this number, and it is this. India is a country of long distances, and it is very difficult for a body of, say, 600 or 800 persons—to take figures which have been proposed by some members—to secure the presence of all its Members. It would be difficult for all the Members to attend the Lower House regularly. Moreover, the class from which the Members come is not what I may call a professional class. We have, of course, persons who devote their whole time to political work ; but, apart from that, we have a very large number of persons who regard it as their duty to devote some part of their time only to political work, and who cannot therefore attend the meetings of the Assembly regularly if the meetings are too long.

With regard to the Upper Chamber, I think there should be 150 Members. An Upper Chamber should, I think, in all cases be much smaller than the Lower Chamber, because the Upper Chamber will, I believe, do very solid work and very good work if its numbers are kept very small. The Senate of the United States of America has, I believe, 96 Members ; in the Upper House of the Union of South Africa there are, I think, only 41 Members ; while in Australia the number is also not very large—I do not think more than about 50 altogether.

Dr. Ambedkar : What is the population ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : The population of the United States of America is large enough.

Dr. Ambedkar : Compared with that of India ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : You cannot go by population in every case ; but in this case the Senate I propose is certainly bigger than the Senate of the United States of America, which has only 96 Members.

The next point, Lord Chancellor, is the basis on which the apportionment of the number of seats between the States and British India should be made. That is, if I may say so, the crux of the whole problem ; and if we decide this question satisfactorily we shall be able to achieve what all of us desire—federation. In considering this question I submit that we must keep certain principles in view. If we do not keep certain principles in view we are likely to frame proposals for the representation of the British Indian Provinces and for the Indian States on an inconsistent basis. I propose that the basis of apportionment should be population both in the Lower Chamber and in the Upper Chamber, both for the Indian States and for British India. That is my proposal ; and I make it because, if we introduce any other principle, I feel it will lead to infinite confusion, complexity and inextricable difficulties in the working of our constitution. We know how difficult it would be to assign seats among the States themselves. We have to take not only the question of population but also, it is suggested, such questions as salute, area and so on. Various bases have been suggested. If we try to work out any scheme on the bases suggested from various quarters, it will be found that the number of Members of the two Chambers will become too large and they will be unwieldy ; and there will be no finality or complete satisfaction so far as the representation both of British India and of the Indian States is concerned. I submit, therefore, that the population basis is the safest, the soundest, and on the whole, the best which could be adopted in considering this question, I therefore suggest that the Indian States should be given representation both in the Lower Chamber and in the Upper Chamber according to population. It is said that, in considering the representation of the States, regard should be had to areas. I do not agree at all with this view. If we have to pay regard to area, let us consider what would happen, for instance, in the case of the Sahara Desert, if we had a Union of Africa. Are we going to give full representation according to area to that large and inhospitable tract ? Or take the Gobi Desert. I submit, therefore, that area should not be taken into account.

Then, Sir, it is said that, at least so far as the Upper Chamber is concerned, there ought to be equality of representation of the different Units, and that the Indian States should have 50 per cent. of the seats because, in the United States of America, every State has the same number of Members in the Upper House. I beg to submit, however, that the conditions in the two countries are entirely different. You cannot compare the heterogeneous condition of the Indian States with the absolutely sovereign character of the American States before they joined the Union. Before they joined the Union they were absolutely sovereign in the truest sense of the term, and they came and joined it because they had been told that, so far at least as the Upper House was concerned, they would be given equality. If, in India, the Provinces and States occupied precisely the same position as the American States occupied in 1787, I would certainly say that there might be equality of representation in the Upper House. But what do I find ? On the one hand I find the highly efficient and developed Provinces of British India, possessing an organic unity and uniformity, which have the stamp of an all-India character, if I may say so, on them. On the other hand, I find levels of cultural, political, economic and administrative development which vary considerably. Unless and until, therefore, there is complete similarity between the conditions of the two sections of the country, it is very difficult for us to concede that point.

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Another argument which has been adduced in certain quarters is that the German Federation before the War also conceded adequate representation to the States ; but may I point out that the very principle of the German Federation was inequality. The German Federation was based essentially on the principle of inequality. You had at the top Prussia (with nearly seventeen votes) and then you had a number of other States possessing votes ranging from six for Bavaria to one (each) for fourteen States. It was because of the inequality that the Federation was brought about,

It is also said that, in the States possessing large areas, there is bound to be expansion of population later on. Well, that can be met, as it has been met in many constitutions, by laying down a provision that after each Census (say, after 10 years) the proportion of the Indian States as well as of the British Provinces, should be increased both in the Lower and in the Upper House.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : Readjusted ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Readjusted, yes. This is done in Canada every 10 years, in Australia every 10 years, in South Africa also ; and I may say that it is provided for in the new German Constitution and other constitutions. So that argument can be met by the successful working of this provision in many other constitutions.

I now come to the next point.

“ On the assumption that, at the outset, some States decline to enter the Federation—(a) on what principles is the voting strength in each Chamber to be determined from time to time.... ? ”

This is a point which has cropped up whenever there have been projects of federation. It is not an entirely new point. This difficulty has been faced by all the framers of constitutions before, if I may say so. I will take up (iv) (b), first, with your permission :

“ To what minimum extent must the adherence of Indian States be secured..... ? ”

I propose that, unless and until at least half of the States, possessing half the population—about 40 millions, that is to say—come in, the initiation of a Federal Constitution cannot be justified.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : 79 millions is the total population.

Chairman : You are in agreement with Sir Akbar. So long as there is 51 per cent. of the population, you say “ go ahead.”

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Yes ; but if other States do not join later on, if 50 per cent. come in, I should give them a voting strength in both the Chambers only according to the amount of their actual representation in the respective Chambers. I would not allow them to exercise all the votes to which they would be entitled if every one of them joined the Federation. This provision would also simplify the difficult and intricate problem of grouping. So far as this question is concerned. I am not going to enter into it, because I believe it is entirely the concern of the States and that the British Indian representatives have nothing to do with it. The grouping may be effected according to any principle that may be arrived at among the States themselves ; but I beg to submit that, if this principle—the principle of population—is followed throughout, then their difficulties also will be greatly simplified and lessened, because they

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will get representation in the Lower Chamber, say, at the rate of about one Member per million of population, and one per two million in the Upper Chamber. If 50 persons come in in both the Chambers, we can make the necessary readjustments from time to time; but I am not prepared—and I think very few persons on this side are prepared—to give them the votes to which they would be entitled if all of them joined the Federation. The principle in all federations has been that a State should be given the right to vote in either Chamber only if it had joined the federation.

I now come to the last point. Here again I would apply precisely the same principle—the principle of population—both in the Lower House and in the Upper House. At the present time, the amount of representation enjoyed by various Provinces, both in the Lower Chamber and in the Upper Chamber of the Central Legislature, is not based on any sound lines. Some Provinces have been given a larger representation than others.

Chairman : Then you would rather suggest, for example, that the Central Provinces, which have only 13 millions, if I remember aright, while Bengal, for example, has 46 millions, should only have about one-third of the representation of Bengal?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : It should be done according to population, whatever it may be. The Franchise Committee of 1919 allotted seats to the various Provinces on no principle at all. The three Presidencies—Madras, Bengal and Bombay—were given a disproportionate amount, while the United Provinces and other Provinces were not really given their due share.

Chairman : Would the effect of that be that the Punjab would only have half the number of places that Bengal had?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I think it would be so.

Chairman : And, for example, the Punjab would only have half the number of Members that Madras had?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Yes.

NOTE.—*It may be pointed out that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in discussing draft report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, conceded weightage for the Punjab and Bombay in the Federal Legislature.*

Foundations of Federal Finance.

Speech delivered by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, on 14th of October, 1931, at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was elected a member of Federal Finance Sub-Committee and worked on it for two weeks. When the report came up for consideration before the Federal Structure Sub-Committee it was attacked by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others who insisted on the Government of India Act being passed immediately, and declared that details should be worked out later on. To this Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan strongly objected. He said it was putting the cart before the horse, and adduced cogent reasons for his proposal. A summary of what happened later on may be given here. The Report was in danger

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of being completely shelved, but after negotiations with Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others, the basic principles of the Report were upheld, and the financial autonomy of the British province was preserved. There was a great danger of impairment of the financial autonomy as it was seriously contended by many influential delegates that income-tax, which the committee in the report had recommended for transfer to the provinces, should be levied by the central Government and the latter was, moreover, to possess a general power of taxation over provinces. Had this been allowed, the provinces would have been stifled and emasculated. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan vehemently opposed this. This speech is probably the most constructive speech on the subject. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was the first to propose that an expert Inquiry Committee should be appointed immediately, and that it should be discussed later on by the various interests affected before it is embodied in the Government of India Act. Now this is precisely the procedure that has been followed. His contention that it is the community of economic interests, and not mere sentiment, that will act as a cement in the Indian Federation is as illuminating, as his retort to Messrs. Jayakar and Sapru. The whole speech should be carefully studied, as the procedure subsequently followed by the Government was very brilliantly advocated by the speaker.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: I should like to thank Mahatma Gandhi for his very lucid and clear speech on the Federal Finance Sub-Committee. It is difficult for me to make any remark regarding the proposal he has just made, and I think that the members of the States Delegation should first express their views. So far as I am concerned, I think Lord Peel will agree with me when I say that we explored all the fields with the greatest care. What we felt, My Lord, was that we had no sufficient material before us. We had also the question of overhauling the existing resources for the Provinces and for the Centre. I should be prepared to consider the proposal after I hear what the States Delegation say and what the leading members on this side also say.

While I was following the discussion yesterday, I felt that there was a danger of the idea of Federation disappearing from our view altogether. There were moments when the greater scheme which the Committee had propounded and discussed seemed to be disappearing in a cloud of mist. But to-day the position has been greatly improved. I feel confident that, after the speeches of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, of His Highness of Bikaner, of Sir Akbar Hydari, and, lastly, of Mahatma Gandhi, the idea of Federation will be successful, and that we shall be able to evolve a scheme which will be satisfactory to the Princes and to the interests of British India.

As a member of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, I must place on record our deep debt of gratitude to our Chairman, Lord Peel, for the tact, the patience, and the skill with which he presided over our deliberations. Only those who have had the privilege of working with him on that Sub-Committee can know with what great ability he piloted those contentious and controversial measures through. When we sat round the table and discussed various controversial points with our brethren from the Indian States, we did so in a spirit of compromise, of sweet reasonableness and of give and take. We did not act as ambas-

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sadors from rival and hostile powers ; we felt that we were dealing with a very difficult and complex problem which will affect millions for generations, and we, therefore, acted in the spirit of brothers, the elder brother from British India meeting the younger brother from the Indian States.

Therefore, though there may be—and I think there are—some paragraphs to which objection may be taken either on the one side or the other, I submit, Lord Chancellor, that the Report must be taken as a whole and treated as a whole, and that you cannot pick out a passage here or a passage there and say "This is bad, this is unworkable," and so on. If you treat it as a whole, you will find that the main problems with which Federal India will be faced have been settled in an eminently practical manner—in a manner which will be really satisfactory to both sides, to the Princes' side and the British Indian side.

The Report of the Sub-Committee is, consequently, essentially the result of a compromise, a compromise on the side of British India and a compromise on the side of the Indian States ; and here I should like to place on record the great reasonableness and the spirit of give-and-take which the representatives from the Indian States displayed in the Sub-Committee. After hearing the speeches to-day, I am convinced that the Federation is not in danger. I am no less convinced that the financial scheme which we have sketched in our Report is substantially the foundation of our future Federation.

I will now, with your permission, Lord Chancellor, deal with the two points which have been raised yesterday and to-day. The first point to which I wish to refer is the point which my esteemed friend, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, dealt with to-day and referred to yesterday. He mentioned the lack of any provision in the Report of the Sub-Committee for what he called the interim period, and he pointed out that the Sub-Committee has made no provision for an interim period ; and he then referred to the relevant section of the South African Constitution. In my humble opinion, there is no need for what is called an interim period. An interim period has not been provided for in every constitution. There are constitutions where no interim period, in the sense in which that term was employed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has been provided. Take the Government of India Act of 1919. That Act was passed in 1919, but the important sections of it were not brought into force until a number of rules had been framed regarding the composition of the Legislature, the franchise, financial relations and so on. The mere fact that an Act is passed ought not to mean that it must be brought into immediate operation. As a matter of fact, in the Australian Constitution, there is a section which lays down that the Constitution will be brought into force a year after ; and during that year apparently it contemplated the completion of arrangements for the transfer of power from the old government to the new government. There are other constitutions where an interval is provided for the transfer of power from one government to the new. Consequently, it is not necessary, I submit, that an interim period should invariably be provided for in any constitution that we may frame here. Could we not go on, as we have gone on for years, with the present constitution of the Government of India until our arrangements for the new one are complete? If we have been able to carry on for a number of years, surely we can carry on for another year or two ; and during this interval we could appoint an Expert Committee, and that Expert Committee could complete its enquiry within, I hope, a comparatively short time, and the results of the enquiry could be embodied in the Constitution itself. So, My Lord, an interim period is not absolutely essential.

Another point was raised by my friend. He said that the Federation should be started immediately, and an Expert Committee should be appointed by the

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Federation. I am very sorry to say I do not agree with this view. I believe that it is impossible to have Federation until and unless we know beforehand the Units which are willing to come into the Federation; and the Units will not express their readiness to come into the Federation until they know what their financial position is going to be in the new Federation. Therefore, if I may say so with very great respect to Sir Tej, we are placing the cart before the horse.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: May I ask you whether, in what you said yesterday, you were placing the cart before the horse? Were you placing the cart before the horse when you put this question in the course of the discussion?—

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy: Unless Sir Akbar Hydari has changed his mind, my impression is that Colonel Haksar agreed to the suggestion that we should go into the Federation at once, and an enquiry was to be started afterwards.

Sir Akbar Hydari: No, I do not think that is so.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: I put that question myself, My Lord."

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy: My Lord. As this refers to me, will you allow me to reply?

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: I do not impute any inconsistency to you, Sir Maneckjee.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy: I did put that question, yesterday, and I must confess that I was under a misapprehension. I confused two items of importance. I felt, after that, that I had done Sir Akbar Hydari some injustice in the matter by putting him that question. I confess that my misunderstanding was owing to the fact that there were other questions, like cession of territory, for which compensation was to be fixed. There was the question of tributes to be taken into consideration. There were other local matters affecting the States to be taken into consideration; and we had come to a conclusion in respect of those matters that they could be properly deferred as they would take years probably, to decide. But, as regards the stage at which the Federation should come into existence, I am now to-day, after hearing the Princes and the States, entirely in agreement with Dr. Shafaat, and I say it would be impossible to expect the Princes to give their adhesion or consent, in all fairness and justice, at this stage, as to whether they should come immediately into Federation or not.

Sir Muhammad Shafi: We are not here to score debating points. We are here to discuss important problems on their merits. The question is, can any Unit of this proposed Federation agree to come into the Federation without first knowing what its financial obligation will be?

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy: That position was made perfectly clear this morning by His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner. He distinctly stated "We must know our liabilities and our obligations."

Chairman: I think you are quite right, Sir Maneckjee. I think what happened was that there was misunderstanding yesterday afternoon. I confess that I did not follow it at first; I was confused with two Committees.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy: And I am responsible for that mistake, Sir. I am sorry.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: I would only say this much as regards the question that has been put, that I merely asked Colonel Haksar that question in

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the Finance Sub-Committee to be clear on a crucial point. If I put a question, of course, it does not mean that I agree with the policy implied in the question. I merely asked if the Indian States will come into the Federation before or after the Expert Committee. That is all, nothing more; so that the question which has just been put by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is, I submit, irrelevant to the issue before us.

My Lord Chancellor, I was dealing with the question of federation on the basis propounded by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. I submit that, if his proposal is carried into effect, there will not be a federation in the true sense of the term. For what does federation imply? It implies the aggregation of constituent elements. The constituent elements must be there before they can combine into a federation; and how can you have any constituent elements if the latter do not know what their fate is going to be in the new constitution? They cannot come in until they know what it will be. Until they know the financial liabilities—the credit and debit side of the account—they will not enter; and if they do not enter, where is the federation? I submit that the States must know their position financially before they come into the federation, and I think that is a proposition that has been accepted and carried out in constitutions practically all over the world. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referred to Australia. The independent, Sovereign States of Australia carried on negotiations on this same financial question for nearly thirty years, and did not come into federation until they had been completely satisfied with the economic position assigned to them in the new federation. The Union of South Africa would never have been an accomplished fact until the constituent units had been guaranteed financial security. A federation in modern times implies community of economic interest. Federation is brought about when the economic interests of the constituent units have been safeguarded. For these reasons, is it unreasonable if the States insist on seeing what the financial conditions will be before they enter the Federation? I am very sorry, therefore, that I cannot agree with the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

There is another reason. The Indian States have their Treaties with the Crown; and, if federation is going to be brought into being, then they will not surrender their rights to the federation direct—they will surrender part of their sovereignty to the Crown, and the Crown will place those rights at the disposal of the federation. Therefore, if the Indian States wish to come into the federation, and if they say they can only surrender some of the rights to the Crown, I am afraid that no person or no party can make them do otherwise. For these reasons I think it is essential that the wishes of the States should be taken into account.

There need not be considerable delay in the appointment of an Expert Committee. The Expert Committee need not be given the task of dealing with all the problems or replying to questions involved in this. On the contrary, a number of important and fundamental questions may be referred to it, and the historical and other portions of the matter may be dealt with later.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy: That would be by the second Committee.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan: The Expert Committee could complete its work in about six months' time if other questions, such as those of the Maritime Customs and so on, are eliminated and relegated to a different Committee. During those six months, if the financial principles of new federation are agreed to, work could go in British India on the lines which were followed in 1919.

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The franchise proposals will also have to be carried out. There is an enormous amount of other kinds of work to be done, and there is no reason why all these details should not be ready within one year.

Mr. Jayakar : May I ask a question ? Is it suggested that there should be a third Conference in London to arrive at this arrangement ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I am suggesting nothing of the kind.

Mr. Jayakar : How would the final arrangement be arrived at ? In India.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : In India, of course. Therefore, I feel that the best course would be to appoint an Expert Committee immediately after this Conference has finished its work, and it would be an instruction to that Committee to complete its task, say, within six months. Only those questions or problems would be referred to it which are capable of immediate solution. Other problems, such as those relating to the Maritime States and so on, which might take a long time, could be entrusted to another committee later on.

Then the other point which was raised by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was with regard to the body which will appoint this Committee. For the reasons given by me in my speech, I believe the proper body will be the Crown. The Crown should appoint the Committee after this Conference is over. After the Report of the Committee has been published, it should be circulated to the Indian States, and after agreement has been arrived at on the important issue raised—

Mr. Iyengar : How is the agreement to be arrived at ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : We can meet in India. That is certainly possible.

Mr. Jayakar : What about the Treaty rights of the Crown ? Where would agreement be arrived at with regard to that, in England or in India ? You referred to some Treaty rights : will agreement with regard to them be arrived at in India ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Is it necessary, if certain portions of Treaty rights are to be surrendered, that it should all be done in London ?

Mr. Jayakar : That is what I am asking you.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : Cannot the Secretary of State for India go out to India, instead of a hundred people coming here ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I am simply pointing out that this could be done in India ; it is not absolutely essential that every Prince should come here in order to surrender Treaty rights.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : May I know—I expect Lord Peel can tell us—whether the question of Treaty rights and their surrender was gone into at all by the Sub-Committee ?

Lord Peel : We did not go into that particular problem.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : It has been referred to by the learned speaker, but I gather it was not considered by the Sub-Committee, nor was it raised by any one of the representatives of the Indian States.

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Lord Peel : I think it was hardly within our competence, Sir Tej. I think, if it had been raised, I might possibly have had to say that it was outside our range.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy : But even now, how are these questions about these Treaties settled ?

Mr. Iyengar : That is a general issue.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy : Questions concerning the interpretation of the Treaties are now settled by the Viceroy in consultation with the Secretary of State.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : It is not necessary for the Princes to come here.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy : That is what I am saying. It is being done now. With regard to these important Treaties, there are constant disputes about the interpretation of certain rights which are claimed by the Indian States, and the Viceroy has very often to interpret those Treaties with the assistance of his Political Department ; and generally he consults the Secretary of State for India before he issues final orders on all important matters. It can be done in the same way. Even now it is not necessary for the Princes to come to England to settle questions of interpretation or explanation regarding any Treaty or any clause in any Treaty which is in dispute.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : Is it, or is it not, a fact that the late Mr. Montagu went out to India during the period of the Great War in order to make investigations in connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms ?

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : May I also put a question ? Can anyone, either on the side of the Government or on any side, give us an assurance that the Government are prepared to send out a deputation ?

Sir Samuel Hoare : I think obviously that is a question we could not answer here. I should have thought it was a matter of commonsense that obviously there must be enquiries of this kind. The finance enquiry is only one of a whole series of enquiries, and I do not in the least regard the finance enquiry as in a different category from any of these others.

Mr. Iyengar : Yes. The question is, what about the constitution ?

Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan : I was merely pointing out that there will be a constitutional difficulty if an Act is passed now, and the Federation is started, and the Expert Enquiry Committee is appointed later on. I believe the best plan would be to appoint an Expert Enquiry Committee immediately after the Round Table Conference is over—immediately after the work of this Conference is finished—with instructions to complete its work within a certain time, say, six months ; and later on we could meet again in India and discuss the various proposals embodied in that Report and come to an agreement.

Mr. Iyengar : You do not mean to say that this was the idea we had in mind when we framed the Report of the Sub-Committee ?

Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan : The proposal I am making is quite consistent with the recommendation of the Finance Sub-Committee. We did not discuss it at all.

Mr. Iyengar : That is sufficient.

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Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I believe, Lord Chancellor, that this is the only method whereby we can carry out the recommendations of the Finance Sub-Committee.

The other point which was referred to was the question of representation of different interests in the Committee. I entirely agree with the recommendation of the Sub-Committee that there should be an Expert Enquiry Committee. It should not contain representatives, as such, either of the Indian States or of British India ; but that does not mean that the persons appointed to that Committee should not have the confidence of either side. Indeed, it is quite possible that those experts who may be appointed may have the confidence both of the Princes and of British India. They should be selected in consultation with both parties, and the personnel should be approved after both parties have agreed. I cannot support, therefore, the proposal made for the representation of various interests on that Committee. I believe that impartiality is absolutely essential in a Committee like this, and I believe equally strongly that no member of such a Committee should be directly interested either in British India, as such, or in Indian India. For this reason I am a strong supporter of an Expert Enquiry Committee.

The last point to which I would refer is that of Income-tax. That point has been referred to by various speakers. I believe that Income-tax from various Provinces should form a common pool and should be collected at the Centre and administered from the Centre. The Provinces should get a portion of the proceeds in accordance with certain well-understood general principles—it might be *per capita* or it might be on some other basis. In any case, I am convinced that the poorer Provinces—the agricultural Provinces who have suffered considerably for the last seventy years—should have a share in the proceeds of the Income-tax, and they can have it only if there is a common pool and if the Centre distributes the amount in accordance with certain principles.

Should High Courts be Centralised ?

Speech of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan delivered at a meeting of the Federal Committee, on October 26, 1931.

This speech is of primary importance to champions of units of the federation, or, what is called in popular parlance, state rights. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had made a very important and far-reaching proposal in which he strongly pleaded for the centralization of High Courts in India. The implications of the proposal are obvious. Its effects would have been to take the High Courts completely away from the influence which the Local Governments exercise at the present time, and to subject them to the control of the central government. This would have established despotism of the centre over the provinces and provincial autonomy would have disappeared. In the first part of his speech, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan very ably and strongly opposed this dangerous doctrine, while in the second part, he offered constructive suggestions for the way in which fundamental safeguards can be enforced. This is one of the most original speeches delivered at the Committee and shows a remarkable grasp of a most difficult problem. For, as experts on constitutional law are never tired

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of pointing out, the main difficulty concerning fundamental safeguards lies in the procedure to be employed for their enforcement.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.—I shall confine myself only to two points—one, the question of the centralisation of the High Courts; and the other, the method whereby the fundamental safeguards can be enforced. I shall limit myself in this way partly because the ground has already been covered by very able and distinguished lawyers like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammad Shafi, and partly because I am not sufficiently competent to discuss questions which require judicial training of the highest order and experience of the widest range.

I shall, therefore, deal with two points to which reference has been made by previous speakers. The first question is, should the High Courts be centralised? I differ from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the question of the centralisation of the High Court. I do so, Lord Chancellor, with very great reluctance and with considerable hesitation, because I have the highest possible respect for the experience, the knowledge and the sound common-sense of Sir Tej Bahadur.

Before I deal with the question proper, I should like to make one or two points perfectly clear. In the first place, I should like to point out that, in the discussion of this matter, we are not concerned with the question of the appointment of the Judges of the High Courts or with their terms of office. On all these matters, I am in complete agreement with what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said in his speech. Again, it is not contended by me or by anybody that the administrative functions of the High Courts should be curtailed or withdrawn. I think it will be acknowledged by every one that a High Court cannot perform its functions efficiently and satisfactorily without exercising administrative functions. For instance, nobody has suggested that Section 107 or the relevant portion of the Letters Patent should be curtailed. Now, while this is granted, it will be admitted by everyone that the administrative functions of a High Court should be open to discussion by the Legislature. I will not decide here which Legislature it should be, whether Provincial or central. In other words, the High Courts should not be irresponsible in the exercise of their administrative functions. There must be control by some Executive and a power of control by some Legislature. Which Executive and which Legislature it is to be, I will, discuss later on. Basing my arguments on these assumptions, the only question we have to decide now is by what executive authority such control should be exercised and in what Legislature these powers should be vested. In other words, should these powers be vested in the Central or in the Provincial Executive?

I do not deny the force of some of the arguments which have been used by previous speakers, with eloquence, ability and lucidity. There is, I admit, a danger inherent in any system which involves responsible government that the High Court may be dragged into the arena of party controversy. I submit, however, that this danger is not removed or lessened by shifting the High Court to the Centre. So far as I have been able to gather, the local legislatures have discussed administrative acts of the High Courts on various occasions. Many of the subjects discussed were in themselves eminently appropriate for public debate, though it must be admitted that some of the motions have not been debated in a proper spirit. The remedy for these defects, however, is to be found in amending the Standing Orders of the Legislatures and not in taking the entire control away from these bodies. There have been questions

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and discussions on the work of one Judge of the High Court—I will not mention his name—in my own Legislature; and there have been various questions in the different Legislative Councils with regard to the administrative functions of the High Courts. While there have been a few cases in which a certain amount of very unfair criticism has been indulged in, it must be said, on the whole, that the method adopted in dealing with these motions has been fairly satisfactory. This is indeed admitted by the Judges of the Bombay High Court, the Chief Justice and two Judges of the Allahabad High Court, and the High Court Judges of the Punjab High Court, who have said that their relations with the Local Government have been amicable and there has been, so far, no serious disagreement with the Legislative Council. So far as the Local Governments are concerned, in their Despatches to the Government of India on the Report of the Simon Commission, practically every Local Government emphasized the need of keeping the present relations of the High Court with the Local Government intact without any modification and without any change. Only the official members of the Bihar Government have suggested centralisation, and the Bengal Government has said that the High Court may be centralised if courts in other Provinces are also centralised. Hence, the consensus of opinion of the various Local Governments is that the High Courts should remain in the position in which they now are, and also that there should be no disturbance or dislocation of the existing relations between the two bodies. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the rights which the Local Governments now exercise over the High Courts should be maintained, so far, of course, as their administrative functions are concerned. I need not go elaborately into the reasons for these views, but I hope you will allow me to summarise them as briefly as possible.

In the first place, if the High Courts are centralised, the Federal Government would not possess the local knowledge which would enable it to discharge its duties properly. The Local Governments are more familiar with the merits of candidates than the Federal Government can be. In the second place, there would be serious risk of conflict between the Local Government, which must possess authority by virtue of its responsibility for the administration of a provincial subject, and the High Court, which will also continue to exercise the powers conferred upon it by section 107 of the Government of India Act. It is of the highest importance that the relation between the Courts and the Local Governments should be those of mutual confidence and trust. The Local Governments must rely to a very large extent on the High Courts for the maintenance of a high standard of the judiciary in the Provincial Courts. These Courts cannot maintain such a standard without the support of the Local Government. One example will suffice. At present the High Court of Allahabad is empowered to remove a munsif without reference to the Local Government. If the High Courts are centralised, the question will naturally arise whether the Local Government will allow the High Court the exercise of these powers.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.—May I point out that, under the Bengal Civil Courts Act, the power of removal of Munsifs is given to the District Judge and then to the High Court.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.—I am only giving examples from the United Provinces.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.—That applies to Bengal, Assam, and the United Provinces and also, I believe, Bihar.

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Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.—Could the District Judge be removed ?

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : Yes.

Mr. Iyengar : Yes, in all Provinces.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : The Judge may be suspended ?

Mr. Iyengar : Or suspended, yes.

Mr. Zafarullah Khan : There is power to suspend or submit for enquiry.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I am using the exact words of the United Provinces Government to the Government of India. They must know what they are talking about. Again, the Oudh Chief Court has power to report or punish the ministerial staff of any Court subordinate to it. It is doubtful if the Local Government can allow any of its servants to be dismissed by an order of the Court which is under executive control by the Federal Government. Then, my third reason is that the new constitution will give the Ministry and the Legislature responsibility for the whole realm of Provincial administration. That range naturally includes the administration of justice. Even if the High Court is centralised, if the Council wishes to discuss the administration of the High Court it will have no difficulty in doing so when the Demand for Grants for the ordinary administration of justice is presented to it. Many of the demands placed before the Legislature will continue to be based on the recommendations of the High Court. I can say, from my experience of the Council, that it is difficult to prevent a discussion of the High Courts, even after they have been centralised. In the next place, Lord Chancellor, it is in the local Legislature that complaints regarding delays in litigation, the location of Courts in various places and other matters are ventilated ; and the procedure generally followed is that they are all passed on to the High Court, who, so long as they are under the control and administration of the Lord Government, do pay attention to them. Then, there will be a risk of friction and aloofness between the Local Government and the High Court, and a most unfortunate and unseemly conflict might develop between the highest judicial body and the Local Government. In the High Court itself, amenities and scale of establishment would tend to be set up which would be out of proportion to those fixed for persons, departments and establishments somewhat similar in character. The personnel, discipline and working of the subordinate judiciary will be seriously affected by this change. Finally, if the High Courts are centralised, the expenses of the High Courts will have to be borne by the Central Government. If this is done, then the Judicial Stamps, I suppose, will have to be given by the Local Government to the Central Government ; and if this takes place, it will be difficult for the Provincial Governments to pay their way, because in some Provinces Judicial Stamps form one of the greatest sources of revenue. For these reasons, Lord Chancellor, I am strongly of the opinion that the relation of the High Courts to the Local Governments should not be disturbed.

I will now take up the other point to which I referred, *viz.*, the methods which should be adopted for enforcing the safeguards. This subject bristles with difficulties, and one cannot be dogmatic about the remedy or the methods which one suggests ; but I can start by saying that we are not concerned here with the content of the safeguards. This is a matter which is and will be dealt with by another committee. All that we need consider here is the method or machinery by which the safeguards should be enforced. Whatever the safeguards may be, it is unquestionable that, if they are not to remain vague

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platitudes, and are intended to be enforced with the minimum of friction and delay and a maximum of effect, they should be laid down unambiguously and clearly. The agency or system or machinery, or whatever you may call it, for the purpose of enforcing these safeguards, will be the same with regard to all kinds of safeguards. The machinery will be, in the first place, the Central Executive. I use the words "Central Executive," in a much wider sense than that in which they have been used so far. The Central Executive, in the sense in which I use that term, includes the amalgam of powers, privileges, prerogatives and rights which the Crown will exercise over certain subjects—call them X—I will not mention the subjects. It will also include the powers with which the Federal Ministry will be endowed. The safeguards will, therefore, be enforced by this body. I am not discussing here which part of the Executive—the Crown or the Federal Ministry—will enforce the safeguards. An opportunity for that will, I hope, arise later on.

What, then, will be the chief categories of safeguards? In my humble opinion there will be three kinds of safeguards. In the first place, there are safeguards which affect interests such as the landlords and the European commercial community. In the second place, there will be safeguards which affect classes and communities such as the Depressed Classes and religious minorities in India. Finally, there will be fundamental rights for the subjects of Indian States. On this subject I need say nothing. I have placed these safeguards separately, as I think there is a possibility of these rights falling short of those exercised by or granted to citizens of British India. If they are assimilated to the safeguards granted to the subjects of British India nobody will be happier than myself. What, however, I should like to avoid is the possibility of our safeguards being brought down to the level of the safeguards which may be granted to the subjects of the Indian States. I am very much afraid that the fundamental rights which may be legitimately claimed by the British Indian subjects may be brought down to the level of those that may be conferred on the subjects of other States. Here I do not wish, and have never desired, to force the Indian Princes to grant their subjects fundamental rights of a particular kind or degree; but I am equally strong on the maintenance of such rights as are enjoyed now by or may be granted to the subjects of British India. My reason for separating these two kinds of safeguards is that, if they are mixed up, they will become so attenuated, they will be so watered down, as to become useless for all practical purposes. So, in order to preserve at least what I have got and to stick to what I claim, I have decided it would be best, only for the purpose of classification, to have the category of safeguards of British Indians in a separate class by itself. My Lord Chancellor, I have made my position clear. I should like all safeguards to be perfectly alike; but if there is a danger of our safeguards being brought down to the level of those rights which may be conferred on subjects of Indian Princes, then I should like to stick to what I have got or what I may get.

Having classified these safeguards, let me now indicate the method whereby they should be enforced. The matter does not apply to the safeguards as to the subjects of Indian States. I am leaving them completely out of account for the present—they apply only to the other two categories. There is one principle which governs and ought to govern all these safeguards, and it is this. The safeguards are fundamental. In other words, they cannot be amended, repealed or modified in any shape or form by anybody in India. No statutory self-governing body, no individual, and no Legislature, whether Pro-

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vincial or Federal, can change them without a procedure which is clearly laid down and unambiguously expressed. What that procedure should be—whether they should be changed if the community, class or interest affected thereby consents, or whether some other method, such as the passing of a parliamentary Bill, amending these safeguards should be adopted—it is not for me to say here. What I should like to emphasise is that these safeguards should not be amended without the consent of the community concerned in a definite, prescribed, clear manner. How, then, should they be enforced? There are two agencies which I should like to indicate for effectuating this. In the first place this can be done by the Governor-General in the case of the Central Government, and the Governor in the case of the Provinces; but as this question has not yet been properly discussed or exhaustively debated upon, I will assume that he will be the Governor-General. The power to be exercised by him must be exercised in all matters in which executive action is necessary. So far as the Governor of the Province is concerned, paragraph 6 of the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee's Report made the position clear, and I need say nothing about it. As regards the Governor-General, it is clearly essential to the efficacy of these safeguards that some power should be vested in him which will enable him to deal, not only with the laws actually made, but also with the executive action which is taken by or under authority of such law. The powers expressly conferred on the Governor-General for this purpose are to be exercised according to his deliberate judgment, after considering any advice which may be tendered to him by the Federal Ministry as well as by the Local Government and representatives of the class or community affected. Such a power for immediate action must be vested in his hands for the maintenance of rights guaranteed in the constitution. The right should be affirmative as well as negative. The class or community affected might draw the attention of the proper authority—here the Governor-General—to the violation of existing rights; or, if any change is needed in the working of safeguards, there should be a right of petitioning that authority and deciding the rights to be acquired by the community.

At what stage should the Supreme Court intervene? It is most difficult for me to say offhand and indicate the stage in a precise manner. I may say, in passing that I am alive to the danger of frivolous litigation if every aggrieved person of a particular class of the community is authorised to bring an action in the Supreme Court or petition the higher authorities for the enforcement of fundamental rights of his community or class. Some check ought most certainly to be imposed on the propensity of certain persons to litigation and contention. The only check I can think of is provided by laying down the rule that the Supreme Court can only intervene if it is petitioned, or if representation is made to it by a certain proportion of the representatives of the community in the Legislature. If two-thirds, for instance, of the total number of a particular class in the community apply or represent to the Supreme Court, then the Court should take action upon the petition.

Chairman : Of course, you had better say, having regard to the protection of minorities, two-thirds of those present and voting.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Yes. As regards the exercise of authority by the Supreme Court in such instances, I think it would be conducive to the peace and tranquillity of a Province if two-thirds of the representatives of a class or community voting, who are affected or think they are affected by a Bill, are allowed to ask the opinion of the Court on the validity of the Bill in question under discussion in the Legislature.

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Mr. Jinnah : That means that two-thirds of the members shall be parties to the litigation ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : No.

Chairman : No. I think Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan is speaking of the people in the Chamber.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Yes.

Chairman : Supposing, for the sake of argument, there were 100 people representing a certain interest of the community, he said if two-thirds wanted to go before this tribunal, they ought to have their way. Then I suggested to him that would have to be 66; but supposing 50 of them do not happen to be there through illness, it ought to be two-thirds of those present. It gives a much greater protection to all minorities.

Mr. Jinnah : I am much obliged to Your Lordship; but what I was trying to find out was this. Who will be in a position to move the Court—what number ?

Chairman : Yes, I see what you mean. I suppose it would have to be a sort of representative action.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : It would have to be a representative action certainly. One man will be chosen on behalf of the others.

Mr. Jinnah : Two-thirds may not be able to stand the racket of the costs as parties.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : I agree entirely with the suggestion put forward by Sir Muhammad Shafi on the subject. If this is done it will prevent agitation, disorder and conflict. If, on the other hand, a Bill to which a particular class or community takes very strong objection, or to a part of which they take very strong objection, is proceeded with, and no action is taken until the Bill has passed into law, there is a possibility of the whole Province, and, indeed, the whole of India, being convulsed by agitation. I think, therefore, that the suggestion made by Sir Muhammad Shafi is very sound and practical, and, if I may say so, very helpful. The Supreme Court will, consequently, be invoked in all cases of Bills or parts of Bills which violate, or which in the opinion of the community concerned seem to violate, the fundamental laws, as well as in all laws passed by the Legislatures and statutory self-governing bodies, which contravene these safeguards; but the Supreme Court cannot be asked to intervene in purely executive action, nor in matters which impose some positive duty on a body which has neglected to carry it out. Its function will be preventive. It will restrain a body—a Legislature, for instance, or self-governing body—from violating fundamental laws. For the positive work of protecting minorities, some other agency is needed, and that is apparently the Governor-General. The two will have to work together and will have to carry out the safeguards on principles to be determined. I acknowledge, Lord Chancellor, the difficulty in which the Governor-General will sometimes be placed. It is a very difficult position if he is asked from all sides to enforce safeguards of varying degrees of importance. It is a very difficult position for a Governor or Governor-General. I acknowledge the difficulty and I feel that in many cases it may be necessary to allow the Governor to get the matter decided by the Supreme Court, if the Governor is authorised to take the advice of the Supreme Court. I am fortified in this conviction by a provision in the

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Statute Book of Canada, which Your Lordship will find in section 4, repealing section 37 of the British North America Act, on a page 238 of Newton's book (on *Federal and Unified Constitutions*.) This is, in my opinion, a very important and, I think, a very effective, measure for carrying out this idea, and with your permission I will read it :

“Important questions of law or fact touching provincial legislation, or the appellate jurisdiction, as to educational matters vested in the Governor-General by the British North America Act, 1867, or by any other Act or law, or touching the constitutionality of any legislation of the Parliament of Canada, or touching any other matter with reference to which he sees fit to exercise this power, may be referred by the Governor-General in Council, to the Supreme Court for hearing or consideration ; and the Court shall, thereupon, hear and consider the same. The Court shall certify to the Governor-General in council for his information its opinion on questions so referred, with the reasons therefor, which shall be given in like manner as in the case of a judgment upon an appeal to the said Court ; and any Judge who differs from the opinion of the majority shall, in like manner, certify his opinion and his reasons.”

I have already said that, if a question arises which is of a very controversial character, and on which the Governor-General himself cannot form an opinion, or on which he is reluctant to come to a definite decision, he may be authorised to refer the matter to the Supreme Court for its opinion. I believe I am right in saying that this has been acted upon on a number of occasions ; and as Your Lordship knows, the history of section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867 is full of instances of various minorities affected by the provisions of that section bringing actions to the Privy Council, and also, I think, to the seat of Government in Canada. I suggest, therefore, that this principle may also be applied in the case of safeguards which it will be the duty of the Governor-General to enforce.

Lastly, Lord Chancellor, I shall deal very briefly with the advisory power of the Supreme Court. I regard this power as the pivot of the entire system of safeguards. I believe such power has been exercised in England with eminent success, and it has worked excellently in Canada. It has given uniform satisfaction in a number of American States, and it was provided for in Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1892, and in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. It is embodied in a number of new constitutions of Europe. In my humble opinion, it is impossible to make any safeguards effective without investing the Supreme Court with advisory power. The risk of conflict between the constitution and Statutes of the Provincial and Central Legislatures is so great, the inconveniences of a system under which the citizens cannot tell whether their obedience is or is not due to a Statute are so serious, that a more effective measure is necessary. How is an investor to judge if he may safely lend money which a Statute has empowered a Provincial or the Central Government to borrow when the Statute itself may be subsequently withdrawn and may be declared unconstitutional ? Hence, it is necessary that the opinions of Judges should be asked without waiting for these questions to arise and be determined in an ordinary lawsuit. It procures a judicial and nonpartisan interpretation, and procures it at once, before rights, interests, and, let me add, prejudices, have been created. This is also the opinion of the Commission on the working of the Australian Constitution. This is what they say :—

“In our opinion, the advantage of having the advice of the High Court upon the validity of legislation, before the community incurs the trouble and expense of acting upon legislation which may or may not be valid, outweighs the objec-

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tion to any judicial pronouncements being made as to the validity of legislation except in regard to a concrete case in litigation instigated between parties."

If any community or class raises any objection to any section of a Bill, and if it is not thought desirable to hold up the entire measure owing to such an objection, a provision may be made in the Act that it shall not come into force until a date to be fixed by the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, and the latter may refer the Bill then to the Supreme Court for its advice. The Australian Commission, in fact, recommends the alteration of the Australian Constitution and provision for the insertion of these amendments.

I will conclude by venturing to refer you to *the Explanatory Note on the Report of the United Provinces Simon Committee*, pages 330-370, which I wrote three years ago, and which is included in Volume III of the Report of the Simon Commission. I cannot go into details here, but I have quoted a number of laws and Statutes of different foreign Governments dealing with safeguards for minorities in that Note.

Mr. Jinnah : How will The Governor-General act ?

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : He will act as is necessary, or according to the advice he receives. How can he act excepting one way or the other ?

Governor-General and Fundamental Safeguards.

The next point raised by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan dealt with a point of supreme importance to the Muslim Community. It was delivered on November 4th, 1931.

The draft report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee would, if passed as it stood, have stultified all the fundamental safeguards, for it provided that "the right to refer matters (concerning fundamental safeguards for minorities and other safeguards) to the (Supreme) Court for an advisory opinion must be vested exclusively in the Governor-General, acting, no doubt, in the normal case, on his Minister's advice." Let me explain what the consequences of this provision would have been. A fundamental safeguard means a safeguard which cannot be repealed, amended, or in any way modified by any body in India, whether it is a legislative body such as the Federal Legislature or a Provincial Legislature, or an executive body, whether Central or Provincial. Had the Governor-General been obliged to act normally on the advice of his ministers, then as ministers must carry out the policy of the majority party, and, therefore, of the majority community, they will give advice mostly in accordance with the policy of the majority community dominant in the Legislature, and as the Governor-General would have been obliged to follow the advice of his ministers, all the fundamental safeguards for the protection of, *e. g.*, Muslim culture, education, *shariat*, religion and political individuality would have been rendered nugatory and utterly useless. This was, therefore, a question of supreme importance to the Muslim Community, otherwise their struggle for safeguards would have been futile. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan opposed this very strongly, and was supported by Sir Mohammad

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Shafi and Mr. Jinnah on this point. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan succeeded and the Lord Chancellor agreed to delete the obnoxious clause from the final report of the committee. This has been done.

FUNDAMENTAL SAFEGUARDS

Consideration of Draft Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee.

Chairman : Now, No. 58, please.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : May I draw your attention to the second paragraph :—

“In the first place, they are clear that the right to refer matters to the Court for an advisory opinion must be vested exclusively in the Governor-General, acting, no doubt, in the normal case on his Ministers' advice.”

I suggest that this last phrase should be deleted—“acting, no doubt, in the normal case on his Ministers' advice.” I think the hands of the Governor-General should not be tied by the advice of the Ministers. He may take the advice of other persons—the advice of representatives of the minorities and others. He will, of course, normally consult the Ministers ; but he should not be bound down by the advice that the Ministers may give. He should be free to do what he thinks fit.

Sir Samuel Hoare : I am not quite clear. Supposing there was a minorities case, which I should think is probably the case you have in mind, would the Governor-General not normally take it to the Ministers ?

Chairman : I think that is the reason why we put in the word “normal.”

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : That covers everything.

Chairman : You see, we are not legislating for the abnormal cases.

Sir Samuel Hoare : Can you not see the alternative, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad ? The Governor-General has got specific powers, or we assume that he has specific powers, in connection with minorities, and I think that would not be covered by the normal case. It would not be a normal case. A minorities case would be an abnormal case, so that in that case he would not have to take the advice of his Ministers. Is that your point ?

Chairman : What we will do is, if we have not made it quite clear there, we will make it absolutely clear. We are in agreement with you. The only point between us is whether our words express what we want. Shall we cross it out altogether ?

Mr. Jinnah : Yes.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : My Lord, It must not be understood that, at any rate so far as I am concerned, I agree. It would be most unwise to do away with that word “normal.” I think the draft, as it stands, absolutely meets the point of view which has been urged by my friends on the other side, because the word “normal” implies that, in certain cases, you give a discretion to the Governor-General himself. But why should not the normal practice be followed ?

Mr. Iyengar : Normally the Governor-General would consult his Ministers.

Mr. Jinnah : Would you refer to the Act of 1833 and see whether the King has got to act on the advice of his Ministers here ? Of course not.

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Chairman : Really the only point here is a drafting point. The question is how we ought to express our view. I must be wrong, because I see Sir Muhammad Shafi shakes his head. Anyway, we are agreed on this, as to what we want. The only point is whether this wording carries out what we all want.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : If I may venture to say so, it is not merely a drafting point. There is a great deal of substance in the point raised by my friend, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. If I may venture to say so, you are not only defining but you are limiting the Governor-General's power if you interpose these words in the Statute ; and it is undesirable, in view of the conditions obtaining in India, that the Governor-General's power in this respect should be limited. If I may venture to say so, it ought to be left to his discretion—the Governor-General's discretion—to take action in whatever cases he may think fit.

Sir Provash Chunder Mitter : Is it not left to his discretion as it is drafted ?

Sir Muhammad Shafi : No ; those words limit his discretion, limit his power.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy : Normally he takes the advice of his Ministers.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : Oh, he will do that, even if there is no statutory provision of that kind embodied in the Act.

Mr. Jayakar : The words must be given their normal meaning. It is not "acting on his Ministers' advice." The words "in the normal case" have a distinct meaning, that this is the ordinary or normal procedure ; but that does not bind the Governor-General in extraordinary cases or abnormal cases not to set aside the advice of his Ministers and act contrary to it. I submit, therefore, that the words "in the normal case" ought to remain there. It is the normal or ordinary procedure.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy : And it will be for the Governor-General to decide whether it is normal or not normal. If the minorities have confidence in the Governor-General, then it ought not to affect them. If they have not got that confidence, then they will be affected in any event.

Chairman : Would you like to say "acting in abnormal cases on his own responsibility" ? I think we appreciate what you mean. I agree it is not a drafting point. But we are all agreed that there must be cases where the Governor-General must take the responsibility himself. The only thing we want to do is to get this rather awkward phrase altered. Some people think it means what they want and other people think the opposite, but we can get it right. All we mean to say is that the Governor-General in some cases must act on his own responsibility and not on the responsibility of the Ministers. That is what it comes to. We will see that that is done.

Sir Akbar Hydari : Why not say "acting normally, though not necessarily" ?

Mr. Jinnah : You know what my view is. It is that the Governor-General should not be given this power. However, that is a different question ; but I do say that, if you are going to give him the power, then stick to the provisions of the Act itself which you are copying—the 1833 Act. If the King is at liberty to refer to the Privy Council any matter he may think proper, so the Governor-General should be at liberty to refer to the Federal Court any matter which he thinks it necessary to get an opinion upon.

Chairman : How about putting it "acting normally, though not necessarily" ?

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Mr. Jinnah : I do not understand the object of it.

Chairman : The object of it is this—to get everybody into line. Then it means what we all want it to mean.

Mr. Jinnah : Then you can do what you like.

Mr. Gavin Jones : This is a very important matter for the minorities, and it would be far better if the words were deleted altogether.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan : The right to refer matters to the Court for an advisory opinion must be vested exclusively in the Governor-General. The rest is only a hope, and I do not think it is necessary to express that in the form of words.

Sir Muhammad Shafi : What we suggest is that these words should be deleted.

Chairman : Very well.

We will now pass to paragraph 59.

Mr. Gandhi : Would you add here that the Congress opinion is, or it is contended on behalf of the Congress, that the Federal Supreme Court should be the final Court of Appeal ?

Chairman : "It was contended on behalf of the Congress that the Federal Supreme Court should be the final Court of Appeal."

Sir Samuel Hoare : I do not wish to be pedantic about it, but I should be a little sorry if we put that in. This is a Committee with members. If Mr. Gandhi likes to say that it is his opinion we can put it in that form.

Mr. Gandhi : I do not mind about that.

Sir Samuel Hoare : I do not go so far as to say that otherwise I have no objection, but I think it is a pity to put in something which does not emerge from this Committee.

Chairman : Shall we say "An opinion was expressed that" ? We will put that in.

Are there any remarks on paragraph 60 ?

Does anyone wish to raise anything on paragraph 61 ?

Sir Sultan Ahmed : There is one point I wish to mention on the last sentence, which is as follows :—

"With regard to the qualifications of the Federal Court Judges, the Committee suggest that any barrister or advocate of 15 years standing and any person who has been a Judge of a High Court or State Court for not less than three years should be eligible for appointment."

Is it any State Court ? There has been a case in which an Inspector-General of Police in a certain State has been made a High Court Judge.

Chairman : We mean the highest Court of the State.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : Of any State ?

Chairman : That wants consideration.

DEMANDS OF THE MUSLIM DELEGATION.**Declaration by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.**

The following statement was made by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee on November 17, 1931. It explains the Muslim position clearly and succinctly. The Muslim delegates refused to take part in the discussion of questions concerning responsibility in the central Government, as the Muslim Community does not know where it stands. The communal question had not been solved at either Conference, and their demands had not been met. Yet, in spite of this, the Committee proceeded to discuss questions, such as the Army, Financial Discrimination, Financial Safeguards and other matters, upon which the Muslim Delegation could express no opinion, for the simple and obvious reason that until they know how the Federal Ministry and the Federal Legislature are constituted, they cannot express their views on these questions. This declaration may not have been based on the logic of content, arrangement, or procedure but on the larger logic of history, reality, and experience.

It may be mentioned here that inspite of the protests of the Muslim Delegation, the Federal Structure Committee continued the discussion of these subjects, and passed *some sort of a Report* on these issues.

The Muslim members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, however, took no part in these discussions. The report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee on these subjects is, therefore, not binding on them, as they have reserved their opinion. As the Indian constitution cannot be passed over the head of a community of eighty millions, and as the Muslim community is vitally interested in many of these questions, it is essential that the Muslims should be given an opportunity to express their opinion on these issues *after* their demands have been met. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan emphasised this in a statement to the London *Times* dated December 8, 1931. He also pleaded for immediate provincial autonomy in the same statement. I may add that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's statement was mentioned by Lord Lamington in the House of Lords on December 9, 1931, in connection with the debate on Indian constitutional reforms.

Lord Chancellor :—**The Muslim Delegation has carefully considered its position with regard to the question of the Army, and, as was stated by you, that a section of members of the Committee were anxious to express their opinion with regard to defence and the three other questions which will come up for discussion hereafter,—we expressed our willingness that the discussion on these four points should proceed, subject to the essential and vital condition that until our demands and safeguards are incorporated in the constitution it will not be acceptable to us.**

We have felt all along that unless and until the communal question is settled, and we know where we stand, there is no reality about discussion of these matters.

However, in deference to your appeal and explanations, and those of the Prime Minister, we agreed to the course which you proposed. In these circumstances we reserve our opinion on the question of Defence that is being discussed now.

N.B.—The report of the Federal Structure Committee makes it perfectly clear that the Muslim Delegation has reserved its opinion on these subjects.

MUSLIM POSITION IN A NUTSHELL.

Speech at the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference on November 30, 1931.

The following speech delivered by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan at the plenary session sums up in the clearest possible language the policy of the Muslim Community in India. It is a remarkable effort and no more lucid statement of the Muslim case can be found anywhere. The first part of the speech is a masterly analysis of the reasons that compelled the Muslim Delegation to abstain from participation in the discussion of questions concerning responsibility in the Central Government. Who is going to take over responsibility, asked Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan? Will it be a partnership of Hindus, Muslims and other minorities? Or will it, on the other hand, place one party or community, in complete possession both of the federal legislature and federal executive? In other words, what is the composition of these bodies? What part are the Muslims assigned in the new dispensation? Had Muslims been guaranteed a reasonable and equitable share; had they been assured of an honourable existence in their homeland; had their reasonable demands been accepted by Mr. Gandhi, had Mr. Gandhi acted as a statesman, and had he not bolted and barred the door to Hindu-Muslim settlement in London last year, the Indian Round Table Conference would have been a striking success.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and, indeed, the whole Muslim community of India, could not have adopted any other attitude on such a momentous issue. The speech brings this out clearly enough.

The second point which Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan emphasised in his speech concerned provincial autonomy. At the time when he spoke, there were very few supporters of this idea in the Conference. True, the Muslim Delegation as a whole supported it. But a strong section in the Conference, without any backing in this country, and without any experience of provincial legislature or administration, organised intensive canvassing, and tried to force the hands of the British Government. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan opposed this move strongly, and pleaded strongly for immediate autonomy to the provinces. Since his return, the

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opinion he so courageously expressed is voiced from the length and breadth of India, and all communities are demanding it almost with unanimity. The speech is a brilliant defence of the provinces, and gives a masterly analysis of the working of reforms for the last 11 years.

The last point which he touched dealt with Muslims of his province. He is a native of these provinces, and has imbibed its culture, and breathes its spirit. He believes intensely on the destiny of U. P. Muslims, and has expressed on various occasions his abiding faith in their glorious mission. He pleaded for a fair field, and no favour, and strongly championed their present weightage. He showed that the Sikh contention was thoroughly unsound, and that the Muslims of these provinces owe their present weightage not to the Congress—League Pact of 1916, but to the solemn promises made by Lord Minto as far back as 1906. U. P. Muslims are perfectly willing to work shoulder to shoulder, if their present weightage, together with safeguards agreed to for the protection of minorities in the services, government and education by the various Sub-Committees of the Round Table Conference are given effect to. This is an eminently fair and reasonable defence of their position.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : My Lord, the empty benches here on all sides show that we have to be very brief ; otherwise we shall be taxing the patience of the House. My Lord, I do not wish to cover the ground which has been traversed by the previous speakers ; but I should like to make a few points for the consideration of the Conference. Before I deal with these points I should like to pay my tribute of praise, to the courtesy, the kindness and the geniality of the Chairman of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee. I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of the entire British Indian Delegation when I say that the work he has done for the arrangement of the Indian constitution and the pains he has taken will ever remain memorable in the history of India.

My Lord, the task of constitution-making for a continent like India is by no means easy. The task of reconciling the divergent interests and the claims of various communities and classes is admittedly a very difficult one. But, so far as the constitutional aspect of our problem is concerned, I think I am right in saying that the Federal Structure Committee has tried to solve the difficulty in the only way in which it can be solved ; that is to say, by way of compromise, give and take and sweet willingness to concede points on both sides. Your Lordship (*Lord Reading was in the chair at that time*) has contributed in no mean degree to the success of the Federal Structure Committee. It was, indeed, with great regret that the Muslim Delegates did not participate in the discussion of External Relations, Financial Safeguards, Defence and Communal discrimination. This attitude of the Delegates is likely to be misunderstood and I should like to explain our reasons for it.

Before I left Allahabad on the 14th August, we had a meeting of the Muslim Conference on the 9th, and at that meeting a resolution was passed which is binding on the whole Muslim community, and by which resolution we abide. The spirit of that resolution was to the effect that unless and until the Muslim demands were reasonably met, the Muslim delegates should not participate in any discussion of any question concerning the responsibility at the Centre.

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I claim My Lord—and I think I can claim—with justification and with complete agreement on the part of all sensible people, that without the settlement of this question it is quite impossible, not only for Muslims, but really for any minority, to discuss any question concerning for instance Defence, financial safeguards or any other fundamental issue bearing directly or indirectly on responsibility at the Centre. My reason is that if any question of such a kind is discussed we shall be confronted at almost every step by a problem which can only be solved when the communal problem is solved.

I will give an example. Take the powers of the Federal Legislature. You cannot discuss the powers of the Federal Legislature, or of the Federal Ministry, unless you know the composition of the Legislature. Before I am willing to confer any power on the Legislature I must know what the personnel, the composition of this Legislature is ; before I agree to vesting that Legislature with that power I must know that I have got men in whom I have confidence ; I must know that they are persons who will carry out my policy. So that it is for this reason which I hope will be understood as indubitably sound, that we could not participate in the discussion. I hope it will not be regarded as a mark of discourtesy to our popular Chairman but will be regarded as the bounden duty of all the Muslim Delegates to abide by the mandate which they have received. We are, in this matter acting in accord with the sentiment and the policy of the whole Muslim community.

This policy, My Lord, had not only been enunciated by the Muslims, but also agreed to by other communities. If I remember rightly, Mr. Gandhi, before he left India, had also preached the absolute necessity of settling the communal question before the discussion of a purely constitutional question could be launched, and Mr. Gandhi did this in Delhi in March. I think he stuck to it until the middle of July, when he was obliged, as he has explained in *Young India*, to give up that point and to come to the Conference in order to arrange a compromise between the different interests.

Therefore, My Lord, we are not alone in this contention. Our claim is based strictly upon equity, upon justice, upon the place we have occupied in the India of the past, and the position we now occupy in some of the most strategic places in the vast sub-continent.

My Lord, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has eloquently described the results achieved by the Federal Structure Committee during the second session of this Conference. I have no hesitation in saying that when the work of this Committee is properly assessed it will be found that we have covered a very wide ground in the best possible manner. We have dealt with the very difficult and extremely complex subject of Federal Finance. We have also solved the very intricate question of the Federal Judicature. We have come to almost unanimous conclusions—with the exception of two or three very important points—on the question of the relations of the two Houses.

When we think of the importance and momentous nature of the task entrusted to us, these three subjects which I have just enumerated may seem insignificant and even immaterial ; but I submit, My lord, that when a proper perspective of the work done by the Conference is attained, it will be found that our reports on those subjects—I cannot deal with the other subjects—will form a durable foundation for a sound and solid constitution for India.

AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

My Lord, it is now admitted that the idea of Federation which was regarded merely as a dream last year, is now reality. It is not merely a reality; it is a tremendous reality. It is a fact which challenges all preconceived notions, a fact which is bound to have tremendous importance in every sphere of our public life, a fact which, when fully worked out with regard to finance, judiciary and other subjects, will mould the destinies of millions of people for generations. And so, My Lord, I attach supreme importance to the way in which the principle of Federation has been consistently applied last year and this year. I have been, and am, in complete agreement with the principle of Federation, as I believe it is only by the co-operation, help, advice and assistance of the Princes, together with the people of British India, that a solid foundation and lasting unity for India can be found, and the fundamental division which now exists removed, so that we may build up an India which will be a source of pride to Asia and an ornament to humanity.

But, Sir, though I agree with the principle I, differ on a few minor details, and one point, which I have made clear, is that you cannot give to the Princes any weightage in either House of the legislature. They can only claim representation in the Lower House as in the Upper House by population. Again, I have made it clear in my speech that I want the representatives of Indian States to the Assembly to be elected, although I am not averse to their nomination in the transitional stage to the Upper House. It is clear, however, My Lord, that, though the principle of Federation has been applied, though every party has agreed to the idea, it will take a long time before it can be worked out consistently to its minutest details. Mr. Lees-Smith, in one of his speeches before the Committee, said it would take three years. Ordinarily that would not be a long time in the history of the provinces of India or in the history of India itself. It is on the other hand a very long time at a period when we are passing through crisis after crisis—crises on various matters, economical, political, social and others. I cannot say exactly how long it will take, but I think I am not far wrong in saying that it cannot take less than about three years.

It is perfectly clear to everybody who has had any experience that if we are really desirous of removing the grievances from which many of the Provinces suffer that it is absolutely essential that something should be done immediately to satisfy their legitimate claims.

Take, for instance, the Frontier province which has been waiting eleven years. Lord Reading will remember that it was under his auspices and with his advice and assistance that the Bray Committee was appointed and all of us know the interest he took and continues to take in the deliberations of that Committee. He knows the intensity and the volume of demand for provincial autonomy in that Province. She has been waiting expectant asking the British Government to do justice to her claims. She has done that for eleven years, and it seems as if she may have to wait for years more. I do not know what the political consequences of that long delay might be not only on the political programme of the Muslims, but also on the entire political policy of India. The Frontier Province cannot wait. She is determined not to wait. It is absolutely essential that satisfaction should be given to the people of that Province by conferring on them provincial autonomy without delay. Take other provinces. It was in 1924 that I urged provincial autonomy. Since that time every year almost in my own provincial legislature the demand for provincial autonomy has been repeated with the monotony of a pneumatic drill. But nothing has been done.

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In 1928 when we asked for autonomy we were told that the Simon Commission had then been appointed. I co-operated with that Commission for two years. We were told that we must wait. For two more years we waited. The recommendations of that Commission were published last year. Then we had the Round Table Conference. That means we have now waited altogether for four years. Now we are told that we must not have any provincial autonomy, that we should not have it until and unless it is coupled with responsibility at the centre.

If it had been merely the question of responsibility in British India that would have been an easy task. All there would be to do would be to transfer a number of reserved subjects. But this is not the type of provincial autonomy we want, or the type of provincial autonomy that anyone who knows the nature of the position will want, because the provincial autonomy we desire is provincial autonomy of a generous kind, provincial autonomy conferring complete power consistent with the relation of the Provinces to the Centre. If we want really to go ahead, we must in any case tell the Provinces, those parts of India which have been doing their best for the working of the reform within the last eleven years, that that can be provided immediately, in order that they might work out the various social, economic and educational problems which have been waiting for solution for so many years, and in the meanwhile during the next three years all the details of the operation can be worked out. I see no reason why immediately after the Conference is over, adequate machinery should not be set up to guarantee to all persons that this idea will be applied without the least possible delay, that India will not have to wait long, but, on the other hand, that in three years' time it will be possible to have a Constitution. You can give an assurance ; I know how difficult it is to press a time limit for the solution of a problem of such a character, but I do say that if you really give constitutional Government to India, responsible Government (at the centre) must be dealt with when the prompt arrangements are complete, and if your arrangements are adequate and then in that case I submit India will be satisfied and the Provinces will go ahead and work out their scheme of education and a number of other problems, a very important point to me and to everybody—I am speaking solely about the work of a Provincial Legislature. I know how important the beneficial the effect would be upon ministers who are responsible to the Provincial Legislatures and who have a new sense of responsibility, which has a very moderating influence upon the political programme, even in the most extreme part of India. As far as this question is concerned, I repeat that we must go ahead on the one hand, with our machinery for the carrying out of the principle of federation and applying it in the form of a constitution with the least possible delay. On the other hand, we cannot let the Provinces wait, and I do say now that the Provinces have been waiting too long, since 1924. Therefore, go ahead with the Provinces and at the same time carry out the promises, the pledges which have been given by the Prime Minister on the 19th January, 1931.

I am speaking after 7 years experience of a provincial legislature. If the police department is placed immediately in the hands of Ministers responsible to the legislature, much of the (present) agitation will die down, because when the Minister has to defend the policy of the police, he will have to have a majority of the Legislature, that is to say, the majority of the province, on his side, if law is to be maintained, and as the Minister supports the policy, automatically a party will be formed in the provincial legislature devoted to the maintenance of minister of police. The party exists now. It has always existed. But it has no

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control over the police, and possessing no control, it possesses no responsibility when the police department is being discussed.

My Lord, before I sit down I should like just to draw the attention of the Conference to the peculiar position of the Muslims in the United Provinces, whom I have the honour to represent here along with my other colleagues. The Muslim community in the U. P., is a minority of 14·8 per cent. Though they are merely 15 per cent, they hold their own in various spheres. In the public services, if your Lordship will look at the work done by the Muslims in the Executive Services, you will find that they have been really the backbone of the entire administration for decades. In higher education also they held their own. They do not want any privileges. They do not want any monopolies ; they do not want any special rights. I say this with a due sense of responsibility ; they desire a fair field and no favour. They only wish to keep the amount of weightage, the amount of representation that they have got. This representation is not the result, as is sometimes said, of the Lucknow Pact of 1916—not at all. So that the claim made by certain sections that the Muslims enjoy in the United Provinces 30 per cent. by virtue of the Lucknow Pact is not sound, because, after all it is not based upon that Pact. It can be traced back to 1906 when Lord Minto acknowledged the political importance of the Muslims. I want to place all my cards on the Table. It is true that a number of Muslims were apprehensive as to the result of the grant of complete Provincial autonomy. But we have never on any platform, on any occasion, or in the Legislature opposed complete Provincial autonomy in my own Province. We have never wished to put a spoke in the wheel of progress either on the Provincial side or on the Central side. If our rights are safeguarded, we shall be willing to come forward and help in the building up of the foundations of a sound constitution for India.

With these words, My Lord, I hope the Conference will take into account my suggestions regarding the grant of immediate Provincial autonomy coupled with pledges and earnest promises of responsible Government (at the centre).

PANCHAYETS

UNDER THE

PESHWAS



An original and detailed review of a very ancient system of local self-Government, based entirely on discoveries made during research in the Poona Residency Daftar with the special permission of the Government of Bombay

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By H. George Franks

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FOREWORD

By the Hon. Minister for Local Self-Government, Bombay

The researches in the Poona Residency Daftar have disclosed valuable information on the working of the Panchayets under the Peshwas; and this book seeks to summarise what the British Administrators found of their actual working at the time of the British conquest in 1818.

These chapters do not seek to chronicle the real character and functions of the ancient Hindu system of Village Panchayets,—the Council of Village Elders,—for the purpose of the administration of village affairs and the disposal of village disputes. They only record a phase of the Institution as it obtained under the Peshwas. The Compiler states that he has not come across any papers to show that the Panchayets functioned in any administrative capacity under the Peshwas. He has, however, found that they were utilised and favoured as the principal instrument of local judicial administration. Before the death of the Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, the Panchayets, or Panels of Juries, seem to have worked well, for the doors of justice were open to all and redress could be had without recourse to bribery and corruption; but thereafter there was considerable deterioration and corruption. In spite of it, the Institution was in popular as well as in administrative favour. In the selection of the Panchayet and the Sar Panch there was the germ of popular suffrage. Illiteracy was no bar to the creation of a really healthy public opinion. There was a sense of public morality and discipline as well as a desire to serve one's neighbour and the community. Justice was dispensed in the light of commonsense and local knowledge and no one troubled much about forms. Their decisions were often accepted without question. Reconciliation and compromise was the guiding spirit of their work; and the hatred of caste or community was rare.

Even in 1819 Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote about the Village Panchayets that “these communities contain in miniature all the materials of a modern State within themselves, and are almost sufficient

to protect their members, if all other governments were withdrawn." In fact, village communities in India seem to have survived the shock of wars, devastations and turmoil of changing Governments only on account of the ancient and indigenous Panchayet system.

In these days when one feels the need for rural uplift and to revive and intensify a sense of civic responsibility among the masses, a peep into the near past will indeed be thought-provoking and helpful. If Panchayets, or Panel of Juries, could function under the Peshwas as the principal instrument of local judicial administration, there is no reason why elected Village Panchayets on the basis of universal suffrage should not, with proper safeguards, successfully function for the administration of the village affairs and the disposal of local disputes and offences in these days of settled and well-organised administration.

I feel no diffidence about the prospects of the rehabilitation of the Village Panchayet as the unit of our modern democratic administration. The Institution deserves to be popularised and set to work in every village. With the village as the unit and the District Board at the top of it, the rural administration could, I believe, be made fully educative and efficient. I trust the public will sufficiently appreciate the importance of this valuable contribution as it seems to have been conceived in a constructive spirit.

Harilal Desaibhai Desai.

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PREFACE

The idea of this little book was conceived in the Poona Residency Daftar Office whilst the Author was engaged in sorting, copying, and handlisting the many thousands of English documents which had been lying there for many years. But the actual birth of the book has been amidst the throes of a busy newspaper life, a few precious minutes snatched here and there being all that could be spared for its compilation.

The main purpose of the study has been to place in simple and detailed form the exact nature of the panchayet system. The Author has had no theory to bolster up, no preconceived ideas to propound. He has merely sought to shed light on a subject which, despite its importance, has been very much misunderstood.

And, above all, in order that the facts which have been gleaned from dusty records should be available to all who are engaged in or interested in what is believed to have been India's earliest form of "Swaraj," the present work has been produced at a price which will not prevent anyone from possessing a copy. Such a policy might be responsible for blemishes of which a more expensive work would be free; but sufficient unto the need must be the price thereof.

Finally, the Author most warmly thanks the Government of Bombay for the permission so freely given to examine and reproduce the records, with an additional word of gratitude to the Hon. Minister for Local Self-Government for his goodness in writing the Foreword.

CHAPTER ONE

A Bird's-Eye View of the Subject

Amongst the many phases or branches of local self-government in India—and undoubtedly the earliest—is that of the village panchayet. Because of its great antiquity and its admitted success in all parts of India previous to the British conquest, it was only to be expected that the panchayet system would be given a place in the great experiment—or training course—of Swaraj in India as part of the Reforms. There was, of course, some opposition to its introduction on the part of those who maintained that no matter what the panchayet system had done in the past, it could never work in a "modern" democratic system because of the fact that such a modern system of government by the people depended entirely on a literate and interested electorate. There is naturally something to say for such an argument, but against such pessimism has to be put the unassailable fact that the panchayet is not only an indigenous form of self-government in India, but one which was exceptionally successful in times when illiteracy was even more general than it is to-day. For this latter reason alone, the experiment of introducing or reviving Swaraj in the villages was well worth the trying, whilst the results have proved remarkably interesting.

For more than half a century the eyes of administrators have been

turned towards that phase of local self-government, and various efforts have been made from time to time to introduce a modern system of panchayets which would be both practical and popular. Speaking generally, however, these efforts have not been crowned with success even up to the present time, although there are several outstanding examples of village self-government schemes which have astonished even their originators by their rapid growth in influence, success, and efficiency. But on the whole, failure has been recorded.

Students and politicians have succeeded in putting forward a few obvious reasons for this partial failure of an ancient institution which was so essentially democratic and so essentially a part of the Indian swaraj, but the real secret of the failure seems to have been missed. And perhaps it would have been missed for long years to come had it not been for the fortunate discovery a short time ago of a most historic and valuable document, or series of documents, in the old mums of the Poona Residency Records in the form of the original questionnaire issued by Mountstuart Elphinstone to his five Collectors on January 5, 1819, in order that he might obtain the most detailed account of the whole administration—civil, judicial, criminal, educational

and social—of the Mahratta country at the time of the final conquest.

It is well known, of course, that Elphinstone's *Minute on the Condition of the Conquered Territory* is still regarded as the classic on this subject, but this document is lamentably brief, and lacking in detail.

Like the "Guilds" of Europe

Before, however, outlining the main features of the remarkable documentary find just referred to, it is perhaps necessary to make a very brief mention of the origin and early operation of the panchayet system in India, a system which has been likened by many students to the ancient "guilds" of Europe and which is, in fact, probably directly related to them, as has been frequently shown by students of jurisprudence and constitutional history. A striking illustration of this is Sir H. Maine's assertion that the Indian and the ancient European systems of enjoyment and tillage of men grouped in village communities are identical in most points of essential detail, particularly in connection with the old-time Teutonic and Scandinavian rural life.

This similarity, moreover, finds a very logical explanation in the more recent historical discoveries that the council of village elders was an institution which flourished freely in the days of the ancient Aryas, some of whom brought it with them when they migrated into India from their central Asian home and some of whom took it with them further north to be developed later into the city republics of ancient Greece. The latter government apparently gave the greatest scope to republican or democratic de-

velopment, and gradually extended still further north into Germany and Scandinavia, whilst those who settled in the vast land-locked country of India fell an easy prey to mighty conquerors who practically crushed the common republican spirit except in the villages where the communal life was permitted to exist as such because it was the easiest way to guarantee a regular revenue to the State. As a general rule, it can be said that the institution of village self-government through its leading residents remained intact throughout India in every village unit, directing as a matter of custom a simple but organised system of government based on rules established by precedent or laid down by the Sovereign Ruler, although it must be admitted that in many cases the general administration of the village was conducted on the authority of traditional custom or fickle change rather than by legal contract or regular law.

Ancient Swaraj

For the purpose of this memoir the above brief historical survey will be sufficient, for, after all, what the modern student of democratic self-government desires to ascertain is the truth about the working of the panchayet system in later years when India really had "swaraj", and when it was carrying out a practical administration under more or less "modern" conditions—that is, modern as compared with ancient or mediaeval history. The rest of the survey, therefore, will be devoted to a detailed study of the character of the panchayet institution as it existed when the British took over the full administration of Maharashtra after the Battle

of Kirkee at the end of 1817. And fortunately, the records of the past which have recently been elaborately sorted and closely examined by the present writer have revealed an amazing mass of information regarding the social and economic life of the Marathas under the Peshwas, which not only gives in many respects an entirely new background to modern administrative problems but also throws a flood of new light on the habits and customs of a people and an administration which have been very much misunderstood.

In a nut-shell it can be said that in pre-conquest days the village panchayet was the one great and stable institution which, as an ancient and time-honoured system, alone of all other social systems has survived revolutions, change of dynasties, national conquests, and all manner of other internal and external disturbances. Through it came the only regular Court of Justice during centuries of upheaval and wars, and it survived because it was so eminently practical a system to prevent or to limit injustice and oppression in the villages far away from the watchful eye of the leading administrators whose attention was so frequently concentrated on aggressive or defensive measures. Shivaji found no cause to alter the constituent elements of the panchayet, but rather, as an integral feature of his administration of a new Empire, he saw to it that the decisions of the panchayets were enforced; whilst even the Mahomedan conquerors of the Mahrattas left this form of village swaraj severely alone.

It should perhaps be pointed out that there appears in the mediæval

administrations really to have been two different forms of village self-government. The one was the panchayet proper, selected as necessitated to arbitrate in disputes, and the other seems to have been a sort of hereditary council of representatives which attended to all other matters in the village. There is no doubt whatever from the reports of the Collectors who took charge of the conquered territories in Maharashtra that what was actually known as the Panchayet proper was solely a jury agreed upon by both parties in a dispute, and which automatically dissolved when the case was concluded. It is equally clear, however, that there was also a recognised permanent council of village representatives of the classes which had traditional rights and claims. But there does not seem to be one instance of an assembly or representative body of free adult males as such, this being the outstanding difference between the Indian village community and the Teutonic community.

Village Councils

In mediæval Maharashtra, for example, (and in many parts of India) this representative council consisted of twelve "officials" and twelve representatives of guilds of artisanship. The twelve "officials" or balutas consisted of (1) the Hindu priest, (2) the Muslim maulana, (3) the temple-worshipper, (4) the weaver, (5) the barber, (6) the washerman, (7) the shoe-maker, (8) the potter, (9) the carpenter, (10) the smith, (11) the messenger and postman, (12) the scavenger or disposer of dead cattle. The balutas, or guild delegates, varied with the composition and needs of

the villages, but were always notables who were, as far as can be ascertained, the direct successors of the original body which ruled the village as a community unto itself. True, in some parts of India, this congregation of elders sometimes delegated its executive and administrative powers to the village headman, but even he based all his actions on the generally accepted procedure outlined by the council of elders for that village as the recognised authority on all social and religious customs.

This council of elders varied in composition in different periods and in different districts, but it seems that in all places it conformed to the local precedent in the matter of membership. It was always a composite body consisting of the local villagers, including such people as the oilman, the gardener, and the goldsmith. The President of this council of 24 was the village Patel or headman, with his Kulkarni, or clerk, as a kind of vice-president or secretary, which meant that there was always an "official" majority. This assembly supervised all the local affairs and saw that religious and social customs and traditions were properly adhered to. It decided all points at issue on social and religious matters, but very rarely dealt with civil and criminal cases. It does not appear that there was any regular system for levying fresh taxation, although in addition to the recognised dues to the Head Government and the traditional dues for village upkeep, the assembly frequently ordered the Patel to have a "whip-round" the village for funds if any special work had to be undertaken. At the most, the council's power

seems restricted to religious and social laws.

The System X-Rayed.

Let us now return to the source of new light on the real functions and the powers of the Panchayet Proper, namely, the series of documents giving the replies to the elaborate questionnaire sent out by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1819. This questionnaire contained 128 questions dealing with the judicial administration, 16 with criminal justice, 43 on the work of the police, and 22 on general matters, including education; and it is indicative of his great interest in the village administration that practically all of the questions under the judicial head elicited information about panchayets. To enumerate, or even to summarise, the 800 replies from the Collectors on this very important subject is beyond the scope of this chapter. They outline with the greatest detail the working of the panchayets (with local differences) as gleaned by Robertson at Poona, Chaplin at Dharwar, Briggs at Khandesh, James Grant (later Grant Duff) at Satara, and Pottinger at Ahmednagar. They elucidate the methods of the constitution of the panchayet, the presiding authority, the attendance of members, the calling of witnesses, the declaration of the award, the nature of the decrees, the allowing of appeals, the nature of revisions, the fees paid to members, the essential differences of the urban and rural panchayets, the public feeling towards panchayets, the popularity amongst litigants, the character and intelligence of the members, and a score of other matters concerning which previously there has been all too little information.

Not Chota Municipalities

But perhaps the outstanding feature of the voluminous series of documents is the revelation that the village panchayets, as such, did not attend to any other matters than judicial functioning. According to the detailed accounts sent to Elphinstone, the only panchayets known to the Collectors of all the districts were those especially appointed to hear civil and a few criminal cases. That is to say, a panchayet was really a court of justice for all cases which could not be, or were not sufficiently important to be, decided by the individual State ministers or the high revenue State officials. Other documents found in the Daftar corroborate the view already expressed that really there were two different forms of panchayet for village government, the one being the panchayet proper selected to arbitrate in disputes, and the other the hereditary council of representatives which attended to certain other matters in the village, which, however, had almost fallen into decay by 1817. What Elphinstone and his Collectors knew as the panchayet was solely a jury agreed upon by both parties in a dispute and which automatically dissolved when the case was concluded.

It is very clear from this that there was really no such thing as a village panchayet to administer the local government and to try minor court cases. And it is just on this point that we seem to have been making the great mistake. It appears that sufficient attention has not been paid to the real functions of the two very distinct groups of villagers, with the result that most of the panchayet schemes which have been introduced have sought to give one elected or nominated body in the village the double

functions and responsibility of two totally different bodies under the old system. For such a system to be successful, our administrators will have to solve the great problem of joining together in village administration two vitally different institutions, namely, an hereditary representative council whose duty it is to maintain traditional customs and rights and to keep a general eye over the conduct and running of the village, and a sporadic jury system of civil arbitrators voluntarily selected by the parties to a dispute and automatically dissolving when the work was done. But as there was undoubtedly a very vital connection, at least in spirit, between these two forms of panchayet in ancient times, it is very possible that the fusion of their powers and responsibilities and functions is not beyond the capacity of the framers of modern democratic institutions. But this theme will be further elaborated after we have examined the details of the Peshwa's system.

The Representative Element

As a fundamental to be remembered during this detailed survey, there is the unassailable and most encouraging fact that the various reports in the Residency Daftar clearly show that in all social matters the representative element was the only regulating principle, even though in definite affairs of state control and responsibility none but the regular officers were allowed to interfere.

The recital of the foregoing facts gives a general bird's eye view both of the problem of panchayets and the scope of this memoir, incidentally revealing the real value of the Daftar documents and the part they could play in any future panchayet system.

CHAPTER TWO

Maharashtrian Administration in the 18th Century

“The principle I adopted for the civil administration was to preserve unimpaired the practice which I found established,” wrote Mountstuart Elphinstone to Government in submitting his valuable report on the Condition of the Conquered Territories in 1819; and hence even his bare skeleton outline of the Mahratta administration was obviously based on the prevailing customs and practices. His information, he further admitted, was “derived in a great measure from the Jammabundy reports of the local officers on Revenue subjects, and on judicial points from the answers of the same gentlemen to a series of queries which I circulated.” It was this statement that set the present writer on his treasure-hunt for the original questionnaire and the replies thereto, especially as Elphinstone himself “commended them to the attention of the Supreme Government,” making particular mention of the document of Mr. Chaplin as being “of particular value” and that of Captain Grant as containing “much information both on the points immediately in question and on the general character of the people.” And if those reports were considered so comprehensive and so important at that time, surely they are

considerably more valuable now. And it is from those Reports,—so complete, so honest, so sympathetic, and so practical,—that a great deal of this survey has been written.

The striking feature of this quintette of reports, however, is the disarming frankness of the replies to Mr. Elphinstone’s questions. There is no burking the issue or confusing the points, but at the same time it is obvious that the fullest sympathy and interest of the new British Officials was with the people. Every possible effort was made, by personal contact, to obtain the views and desires of the people, and in several places it is incidentally mentioned that a reply to a particularly important question was obtained only by the interrogation of several hundreds of local and influential people. Similarly, all the Collectors had no hesitation in admitting either that the information they had collected was doubtful and contradictory or that no information at all was available, even though in some cases special convocations of able men were called to give the required information. A notable instance of this was James Grant’s conference of Pundits or Shastrees at Wai to ascertain the exact difference between the regular authorised Hindu Law and the actual Mahratta practice.

The Need for Frankness

In view of this splendid example of refreshing candour, it is absolutely essential for the present writer to be equally frank when painting the actual conditions which prevailed when the British took over the Mahratta dominions. At first sight some of the descriptions of the conditions may appear too bitter and too harsh, but, after all, even England passed through its Dark Ages when torture was the only persuasion in religion and when death in its cruellest forms was the only sense of justice known. That is to say, the plain and truthful recital of conditions as they existed a century or so ago should never be looked upon as recriminatory or condemnatory. The true historian has to face facts, and at times has to take the risk of being misunderstood; but in this case it is (to some degree) a pleasure to recount the sterling character of the village institution and the village people and the way in which they triumphed over the most appalling conditions and the most stupendous difficulties. To maintain one's own against heavy odds is always an achievement to be desired; but to win through in spite of difficulties which have baulked and belittled and vanquished the peasantry of many another country is a triumph for the Maharashtrian villager which will find few equals in the history of the world.

Therefore the darker the background of the environment, the more arresting is the picture of the people's victories. And no greater victory is on record than the survival of the panchayet system at a time when corruption drove justice behind the

thicket of purdahs and when law was almost identical with the passing whims and desires of those in immediate control. And yet, in spite of this and in spite of the ravages of a predatory and grasping officialdom whose one delight seemed to be to outdo the dacoits of that age of terror, the famous first Commissioner of the Deccan could say in 1819, only about a year after the Mahratta standard had been struck by Bajji Rao to Sir John Malcolm at Mhow, "In whatever point of view we examine the Native Government in the Deccan, the first and most important feature is the division into villages or townships. These communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members, if all other governments were withdrawn. Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one; they prevent the bad effects of its negligence and weakness, and even present some barrier against tyranny and rapacity."

If Elphinstone could say this after his close association with all the defects and tyranny of the Peshwa's administration, then the Peshwa's system of village government, and village self-government, is worthy of the closest examination.

A Strange Inheritance

It is generally admitted now, however, that in many respects the inherited characteristics of the Mahratta people are, without serious modification, against a really democratic government. For example, even El-

phinstone had to write on one occasion that he could not converse for long with the Mahrattas "without being provoked with their constant selfishness and design, wearied with their importunities, and disgusted with their flattery." But probably even he remembered at times that he was dealing with a people whose very existence hitherto had depended entirely upon their ability to design, to flatter and to importunate, and that at the time he was in control he was conversing with representatives of a country which had been dispossessed of its inheritance.

But even though the conditions were not such as to bring out the best in the Mahrattas he was ruling, it must be confessed that under Baji Rao the Mahratta Empire declined most seriously. As Elphinstone wrote on one occasion: "If this were the state of things (regarding the difficulties of panchayets) under Nana Fadnavis, it was doubtless worse under Baji Rao. Justice was openly sold, and except as a marketable commodity it was never thought of. Government offered little justice to the rich and none to the poor. But with all these defects, the Mahratta Country flourished and the people seemed to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect Government. There must have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in the one fact that the Government, although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who were most out of

reach of their Rulers and most apt to be neglected under all Governments. By means of the Panchayet they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves."

Now what were the exact rural administrative condition under which these panchayets had to work in the time of the last Peshwa? ...

Let James Grant of Satara, William Chaplin of Dharwar, Henry Pottinger of Ahmednagar, John Briggs of Khandesh and Thackeray of the Southern Mahratta Country answer.

James Grant :—

"From the death of Shivaji until the period when Ballaji Wishwanath acquired the principal authority in the direction of affairs, there appears to have been the greatest anarchy in the civil government of the country.

"What little order can be traced, seems to have been upheld or established by the Peshwas, but the Mahrattas, even if they had understood the principles of good Government, never had leisure for regular arrangement. They were always in hurry and confusion; it was their haste to which they owed all their successes; everything depended on expedition and if they had taken time to consolidate their power, they must have stopped short in the full tide of their conquests.

"The late Peshwa had a better opportunity than any of his predecessors of amending the laws, or of fixing whatever was considered equitable by the generality of his subjects, but that Prince possessed neither ability nor inclination for a task of the kind; we

shall therefore look in vain for fair precedents and approved usages to the reign of Bajerao. Even the administration of Nana Furnaveese, corrupt and bad as it was, is now spoken of with applause, not that the bad practices of that period are unknown or forgotten, but Bajerao with so much less excuse, was so much worse than Nana Furnaveese.

“The course of events affords one useful lesson, and I cannot help thinking that had Bajerao been either more controlled or less supported by the British Government, he would have been a better Prince, or at all events, he would never have dared to commit many base acts which impunity in smaller crimes led him to perpetrate.

No Steady System

“From what I have learned in the course of my enquiries respecting the Mahrattas, both now and formerly, I believe that their Rulers and men in power have at all times been very corrupt, and though individuals are occasionally spoken of with high praises for their justice and impartiality, there never appears to have been any steady system. Every one in authority exercised judicial power to a certain extent, as far as his rank and consideration permitted. Hence if we say in England that wealth is another name for power, the remark, however applicable in all countries, may be reversed here, for authority under the late Government, and generally throughout the rise and progress of the Mahratta State, was a common source of nefarious emolument.

“During the last twenty years, matters in this respect were probably worse than at any former period. Bajerao raised mean men for disgraceful acts, and ruined respectable persons who had any value for their own honour and the fair reputation of their families and decisions therefore in most cases depended on the will of unprincipled individuals, who cared little for public opinion, and who had few restraints either upon their caprice or their avarice.

“The duties of the office called Nyadeesh were latterly exercised in Poona by a Shastree, who was appointed by Bajerao with a considerable establishment. This establishment cost the Government nothing; there was no salary, and the whole was supported by emoluments neither authorized nor forbidden.

“The first person who held this situation at the head of the Nyadeesh was Ram Shastree. He was, I believe, appointed by the first Mahadoo Rao, whose character as a judge stands higher than that of any other of the Peshwa's time. But even after the death of his patron, Ram Shastree continued to uphold the duties of his situation with becoming dignity and high honour; his memory is revered throughout the country, and many of the good acts of Nana Furnaveese are believed to have originated in the weight and respectability of Ram Shastree's opinion. Such a public character under a corrupt Government is beyond all praise, and a succession of such examples, even if they had stood alone in their generation,

would have prevented the general debasement of morals, which Bajee-rao and his Court effected so rapidly in Poona.

“Briefly, however, in regard to the matter now to be answered, Bajee-rao listened to no complaints, much less redressed them; every rich man and every man in office, however insignificant his place, assembled panchayets and decided civil suits. These decisions, however, were often reversed or a new panchayet ordered at the pleasure of any other greater man. The Nyadeesh Balshastree did not interfere with the panchayet convened by any powerful man, lest a superior influence to his own should have occasioned the loss of his situation.”

Henry Pottinger :—

“My enquiries and observations lead me to form the opinion that there was no such thing as Justice in Bajee Rao’s rule. Mock trials and Panchayets were sometimes held in the Talookahs, and the Peshwa himself at times gave orders on particular cases; but there was no enquiry on his part, no anxiety to know the real merits of the dispute, no examination of witnesses or papers, and consequently it happened much more frequently that he awarded in favour of the oppressor than the oppressed. This indeed was almost the inevitable result of his system, for he was guided by the reports and recommendations of his Hoojrees and other men of infamous morals and debased character, who were his usual companions and who were always ready to receive bribes for their voice with the Peshwa, and when two men had any dispute, he

who felt that his cause was the worst, was sure to pay best.

“The corruption was greater in and near the capital and other large towns than in the remote districts where there were only villages. The occasional presence, and in some cases the constant residence, of Sirdars or Chiefs or great Brahmins instead of having a good effect on the people were the surest means of fomenting discontent and leading to injustice and oppression, and in some situations the whole population would appear to have taken its tone from the example of a leading, and always an intriguing and unprincipled, Carkoon. In fact, this last remark may be safely extended to the Peshwa’s Durbar, where it was latterly well known that if a disputant could afford to purchase the influence of men of low and disgraceful connections and pursuits, but who were Bajee Rao’s associates, his case was secure. These men frequently connived and took different sides of the question merely to protract the matter and thereby to increase the pretence for extortion.”

And later on Pottinger adds: “This feeling of indifference to the ends of justice proceeded from the base means resorted to by every one about the Government, and through them to the members to turn duty to their advantage.”

John Briggs :—

In the course of a very long report on the working of the panchayet system over a period of four years, the Collector of Khandesh had this to say as a sort of background :—

“The Panchayet under the late Peshwa was naturally tainted with

the corruption of every other branch of the administration which was notoriously venal from the Prince to the Peasant. And because of their up-bringing, experience has shown that the people taken in a body have no particular motive or disposition to aid voluntarily in the administration of justice."

And in his replies to the questionnaire of 1818, Briggs curtly says: "Justice and injustice men always bought and sold under the Mahratta Government."

William Chaplin :—

Chaplin on the other hand, was very optimistic and apparently greatly impressed, because in replying to the question by Elphinstone as to who was eligible to sit as a panchayet member, he said without any qualification or criticism: "All castes are eligible, provided they are men of good sense and probity"; and to another query he replied: "Persons of the greatest respectability often accepted the duty."

Of the Peshwa's Government he does not say much; but it is to the point :—

"General corruption crept into every branch of the late administration, both fiscal and judicial.

"Notwithstanding the prevalence of bribery and corruption throughout the Mahratta State and the frequency of partial and unjust decisions procured by such means, panchayets have in general upheld their character of integrity, the awards for the most part being in conformity with the Hindu law and the established custom."

William Thackeray :—

An additional extract from a private account might also be quoted here to show what the Peshwa's administration was like. Mr. Thackeray, an official of the Southern Mahratta country, said :—

"All endeavours to discover the existence or remains of a regular Mahratta system of justice in the Southern Division of the Mahratta Country have hitherto failed, and the following remarks on the subject are necessarily mere inferences drawn from the general conduct and proceedings of the officers of the late Government, and the impression made thereby on the minds of its subjects and the sense and feeling of the people as to right and wrong.

"The few remains of law and justice that have survived the different revolutions by which this Country has been convulsed for the past three centuries are evidently relics of the Ancient Hindoo Institutions. The Mohammedan Kings of Beejapoor do not seem to have interfered much with the administration of justice beyond the seat of Government. The Laws and Regulations founded on the Koran chiefly referred to their own caste, and they were satisfied with deriving a high revenue without meddling with the religion of their Hindoo subjects, except when inflamed by wine or fits of holy zeal to make converts with the sword of the Prophet.

An Unfavourable Genius

"The military genius of the Mahrattas could never have been favourable to a system of justice, and since Hyder

invaded the Doab about 55 years ago the peace of the Country has been disturbed by so many wars, inroads and rebellions that even under a more regular Government it would have been vain to expect the observance of Civil regulations. The wars of Hyder and Tippoo, the incursions of Dhoondis and Freebooters, the treachery and rebellion of local officers, the dissensions among the Peshwa's nobility, the independence of Jaghirdars, and the rapacity of Sir Soobahs, Mamlatdars and inferior officers were evils which for so long a continuance would have shaken the foundation of the most substantial system had such a system been organized during any period of the Mahratta Empire

“The only institution that has survived these disturbances is the Hindoo panchayet, which has lived through all the changes that have occurred since the downfall of the Vi-jeanuggar Dynasty. This mode of trial, which resembles our English Jury, has been upheld by the same principle that enabled the latter to rise from its ashes, notwithstanding all the violent efforts of our Norman Conquerors to supercede it by substituting the trial by battle.

“Had legislation been more consonant with the Military disposition of the Mahrattas, they being Hindoos would naturally have revived the institutions prescribed by their own Shastris and rather adhere to the old system, than introducing a new one, but for the last fifty or sixty years there has scarcely been an Interval of Tranquillity, and the State has wanted time and opportunity as well as inclination for a Measure of Reform.

Justice Forgotten

“The first care of every Government must be the revenue of the State, and where we find that owing either to vice or weakness this vital branch of the constitution has been neglected, it is in vain to look for order and regularity in any other. We might as well look for motion and activity in a body the blood of which has ceased to circulate. From the last destructive system of renting the revenues, from the decayed and neglected rate of the tanks, water-courses, and all other public works, and from the character of the Mahratta Government impressed on the minds of its own subjects, we may confidently infer that the Peshwa's Officers in the Doab, if not every other part of his Dominions, so far from consulting the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country, did not even bestow common attention on the more immediate interests of the State. And what would be expected but Ruin and Disorder from the licensed plunder committed by the renters and managers, into whose rapacious hands the country had been delivered by its own Government? Under such a system the Peshwa could hardly have mocked the feelings of his subjects by affecting to introduce Courts of Law and Forms of Justice. This would have been worse hypocrisy than that of the Mahomedan King mentioned by Ferishtah, who, while the country was covered by his destroying army, effected out of his tender consideration for the property of the inhabitants, to have his vegetables conveyed from place to place on portable beds of earth, so that even the brinjalls

for the Royal Table might not be gathered with the hand of oppression.

“A State that has always been at war and regarded war as a fruitful source of revenue, could not be expected while setting examples of flagrant injustice to enact judicial rules and ordinances. Our own Government in this country has certainly shown that making war abroad is not inconsistent with the manufacture of regulations at home. But the Mahratta constitution was Military : ours is Civil ; they made war for plunder : we make it in self-defence or for the more exalted purpose of extending Civilization.”

A Miraculous Survival

From these extracts it is clear that one of the miracles of history, particularly Indian history, is the survival of the Panchayet. ...

But a system of enrolling the people to settle their own legal and social problems is an entirely different system from that of expecting them to take up at a moment's notice the more responsible and less precise task of running their own local administrations. In all the Poona Residency Daftar no trace has yet been found of a system by which any of the Peshwas ever delegated powers of self-Government to the people, except by appointing certain representatives of the people as State Officers. Of democracy as it is talked about today, there is absolutely no trace. The

Peshwa's rule was intrinsically and essentially autocratic ; and the people, as far as their pockets and consciences were concerned, would have felt all the evils of an indifferent autocracy had not the system of panchayets survived the many storms and kept alive to as certain degree the spirit of Justice.

And surely the village people who could so struggle against odds to maintain and sustain such a system possessed as well the characteristics which would make successful an extension of that system into the realm of local administration. Even the legal panchayets presupposed not merely a spirit of fairness and honesty but also a spirit of citizenship, for, as will be seen in the detailed survey of the system in the next two chapters, the panchayet institution fundamentally demanded a realisation of the need of civics as well as of justice. Panchayets occupied a good deal of time and occasioned considerable inconvenience ; and although in such an atmosphere of corruption as Bajirao created, it is not surprising to find that even the panchayets were at times tainted, yet in principle and in practise they remained ideal as a system of village self-Government on the judicial side.

And it is on that foundation of idealism that a much larger and much more imposing edifice embracing all the branches of local administration could be constructed.



CHAPTER THREE

Conduct of Civil Work

One of the finest training-grounds of citizenship is that which gives citizens the responsibility of settling the disputes of their neighbours and fellow-residents. For this reason the system in force under the Peshwas by which local civil suits were referred for settlement to juries of the disputants' fellow-citizens is well worth the closest examination, for if personal differences as to conduct and principle could thus be settled "without fear or favour", then surely it can be expected that similar assemblies of citizens could take the responsibility of administering, in a limited degree, the local affairs of the village, town or district in which they live. Where litigation can be entrusted to local arbitrators, so administration can be also, because in effect local self-government is nought but the arbitration of elected and selected representatives in connection with matters which affect the whole community instead of two or more individuals. The ideal simplicity of the ancient panchayet was that it brought about either a reconciliation of the disputing parties or a mutual accommodation; and the fact that both of these objects was obtained despite the many difficulties outlined in the preceding chapter reveals that the panchayet system has in it the essential fundamentals of an institution which may well serve to bring about civic accom-

modation and reconciliation for the general good.

But before taking this for granted, it is necessary to make a comprehensive survey of the exact manner in which the panchayet system was worked under the Mahratta rule; and to achieve that purpose, this chapter will analyse and summarise the detailed replies of all the Collectors to the elaborate questionnaire (already referred to) which Elphinstone sent out, although occasional notes will be added based on other letters and reports discovered in the Poona Residency Daftar.

As previously stated, this questionnaire contained 128 queries dealing with civil judicial administration, but for the sake of convenience they are here grouped together under the following main heads; case tryable by panchayets; their general constitution; their method of work; the witnesses; the method of award; appeals; enforcement of judgments; fees; pleaders; and popularity.

These will now be dealt with in that order.

1. Cases Tryable by Panchayets

As far as petty cases were concerned, the parties in rural areas usually referred the matter to the local judicial officer of Government, who in

theory at least settled it at once. After such reference had been made, there seemed to have been no option but to abide by his decision, although Mr. Briggs differs from all the other Collectors by saying that if discontented with the verdict, the parties "might sue for a panchayet which was sometimes granted."

But if the suit was intricate or if it involved a large sum of money, it was always referred by the Mamlatdar to a panchayet. In fact, Grant declares that "to decide on any important cause without the authority of a panchayet was unusual and perfectly unauthorised."

To summarise, therefore, it might be said that all suits founded upon contract, whether of account, covenant, or debt; cases relative to personal or real property; disputes about boundaries or distribution of water; all claims to land by occupancy or prescription; quarrels between partners; disputes between castes; infringement of established customs; breaches of promise of marriage; disregard of the rules of adoption; and all disputes about titles by gift and grants by inheritance were referred to panchayets. It might also be mentioned that all wise local officers appeared to have referred every case to a panchayet when no other mode of adjustment seemed likely to satisfy the parties.

On the other hand, there were a number of factors which determined the attitude of the disputants, and the mode of enquiry to be advocated was often based either on the advice of friends, the prospect of success by bribery, or the influence of any rela-

tions serving as officers either under the Peshwa or under a Sardar of distinction. Pottinger adds that although there was no alternative when the officer of Government ordered a panchayet, "he usually listened to any objections that were made to that mode of settlement, and was ready, for a few rupees, to authorise any other for adjusting the matter."

From this summary it is clear that panchayets wielded very wide powers in civil suits, the only cases which did not come before them being those which were too trivial to warrant calling a panchayet.

2. Their General Constitution

The most common method of constituting a panchayet was to ask the parties to name a certain number of persons (never less than two each, but sometimes twenty or more), and to appoint a karkoon of Government to superintend the proceedings; although there were cases in which the Kumavisdar (or Mamlatdar) of Government himself nominated those who were to sit. Government, however, seemed to have retained the right of sanction and confirmation to ensure (at least in theory) that those selected were (says Chaplin) "the most respectable people, and men of good sense and probity."

When a complainant either lived in Poona or took his case there, he first applied to the Shastree or to any important officer who was considered capable of assembling a satisfactory panchayet. If the case was to be investigated, the person in whose hands it had been placed retained it for personal superintendence if it was likely to prove sufficiently profitable, or

handed it over to a friend to whom he delegated his powers. The panchayet was then selected by this superintending officer, the parties concerned having the privilege of approval. The panchayet seldom seems to have been restricted to five, and there are many instances where it totalled fifty, especially where publicity was peculiarly necessary as in such cases as fixing disputed boundaries.

As a general rule, every man's panchayet was composed of persons of his own caste, trade, or situation, and no caste seems to have been either barred or exempted. In cases of money disputes, well-known Baniyas were often called in, whilst if the case largely concerned men of rank, then their compeers were chosen "to sit on the bench." When Shastrees were parties, when disputes were about religious infringements, or when the transgression of established customs was complained of, local Shastrees were ordered to sit on the panchayet; and when the case involved particularly knotty points of law, such as violation of caste rules or doubts as to the legality of an adoption, then the whole panchayet was composed of Shastrees. But in all cases when the Government officer appointed the panchayet, he usually tried to include one or more members well conversant with the Hindu law rather than risking an unsatisfactory decision or a deadlock which would ultimately necessitate his referring the case to a place where a number of celebrated Shastrees resided, or to Poona where a regular bench of learned men were kept in constant pay for the sole purpose of deciding points of legal difficulty.

As a general rule not even a great man could try a case himself or refer it to a panchayet, because (says Briggs) "the jealousy of the superior authorities on the spot would render it very unwise for him to exercise that power." Yet Chaplin adds that "great men within the limits of their jurisdiction often tried causes or referred them to panchayets," whilst Pottinger calls attention to the fact that some Brahmins and learned Shastrees used at times to settle disputes and then report what they had done to the Peshwa through the Ministers. But such settlements were usually more the result of advice than of authority.

In actual cases of caste disputes the people concerned usually assembled their own panchayet, although if a definite complaint was made to a Government officer, he formed a panchayet of a few of the most respectable and venerable men of the caste. Although Grant will not admit that there were definite heads of castes (but "heads rather of trades and professions who settled disputes"), Chaplin plainly declares that there were "heads of all castes who settled disputes not exclusively by their own sole authority but in conjunction with the most respectable members of the caste aided by the Shittu Gunacharee."

It seems fairly certain, however, from the general reports that there was no autocratic caste chief who decided questions entirely on his own authority, although there is no doubt that the recognised elders of the caste carried great weight. He always sought to compromise a dispute, and if that failed, he himself establish-

ed a panchayet. On this point Chaplin says: "The practice of settling disputes through the heads of castes appears well calculated to preserve the morals and discipline of the different classes. No regulation seems better adopted to prevent relaxation in this respect. The fear of public excommunication from the society of their fellows is of all others the best preventive of all bad conduct that can be invented. The abuse of authority by the heads of classes can be prevented, and its salutary use will always be allowed with manifest advantages." Pottinger adds that in his district (Ahmednagar) "there sometimes was a sort of committee voted by the caste to enquire into the affair, which proceeded along the usual lines of a panchayet."

In other words, it is clear that caste panchayets wielded a very great influence.

Government and Caste

There are cases on record where the Government actually summoned a caste panchayet, but as a general rule the leaders of the caste made the necessary arrangements. It was not unusual, moreover, for the Government to nominate an eminent Shastree to act as superintendent or chairman of such a panchayet, although the preponderance of evidence from the records is to the effect that whereas the mamlatdar or the village patil officially called for a caste panchayet, the most respectable head of a caste had the real authority to summon it subject to the regulations of the particular caste. Grant says: "When a Brahmin committed a crime or infringement of a serious nature cognisable by the rules of caste, the com-

plaint against him was made to the Government, whilst in similar circumstances other persons were complained against to the head of the caste or trade, or to the chowdry, patil, mukadam or whatever he may be locally styled. These heads of castes or professions are not regularly elected; the general suffrage establishes the power by the weight or respectability of the individual so chosen."

But there were no set regulations as to how they should proceed beyond the general observance of the rules of the Shastrees and the established customs of the country, and although the Government could interfere in minor matters, it never went so far as to compel a caste to alter a decision unless by the decree of a respectable independent panchayet of the same caste which esteemed the reason for interference right and proper. If, however, any caste panchayet's decision disturbed the peace, then Government intervened in an effort to effect a compromise. Pottinger adds that Government only interfered if a definite and bonafide complaint was made to it by the aggrieved party, in which case it could order a man who had been expelled to be received back into his caste.

In this connection also Grant's comments are interesting: "As a general opinion, a caste is said to be the best judge of what persons are fit or otherwise to remain in it, but native Governments, I find, have not been so tolerant in this respect as I had imagined. The Government has an undoubted right to take cognisance of wrongful expulsion from caste, and can punish a false informant or persons who have given an unjust or ma-

licious decision in an affair of this kind; but the Government could not do this of itself. It was necessary to have respectable and disinterested persons of the same caste, brought from whatever quarter, to reverse the decree. In an affair of caste where the delinquent may be partially to blame only, the Government can compel the caste to accept the usual atonement (by fine or penance) for the offence if of a less heinous nature than that which is usually punishable by expulsion." Redress for wrongful sentence could also be ordered by Government.

The decision officially announced was usually arrived at on behalf of the Government by Shastrees, and it was these who prescribed the penances for the one who was to be readmitted, such penances usually taking the form of feeding so many Brahmins, paying money to temples, or giving money to Government. And adds one Collector: "There was no escaping the forfeits, and the caste always caroused for a day, or even more, at the expense of the accused man."

There was very little difference in important points between the panchayets held in the town and those in the districts. In working, however, a village or rural panchayet was much more simple, particularly in that there was seldom any written record kept of all the proceedings, except the *raznamis* of the plaintiff and defendant and a memorandum of the *saronch* kept by the *kulkarni*. No regular district panchayet, however, could sit except with the consent of the *mamlatdar* or the *chaikdar*, the *patil* sanctioning the proceedings in a few cases

if the *mamlatdar* was inaccessible. District and village panchayets were encouraged because suits from villages heard in a town were generally troublesome and nearly always unprofitable. The *patil* readily contributed his assistance when he recognised that the suit could be settled locally, although sometimes (for reasons that might be guessed) he sought the assent of the *mamlatdar* or *karkoon* to have the case transferred to another village. But, generally speaking, all those who had the power preferred to reserve the decision to their own hands "as a source of private advantage."

The Patil's Power

Village panchayets were always actually assembled by the head *patil* or *mukadam* of the village, under special instructions or permission from the *mamlatdar*, the *patil* himself having no actual judicial authority. Pottinger, in describing the power of the *patil*, says: "When a dispute occurred in a village, the *patil* tried to settle it by amicable arbitration. If he failed in this and the parties demanded a panchayet, he gave his permission to one being assembled. He could not name the members himself unless he were a man of much importance in other respects; but he would order anyone whose testimony was required to be in attendance." But the *patil's* powers extended only to the assembling of the panchayet: he could not interfere with the award nor if the parties concerned agreed to submit to the arbitration or decision of their friends. At the same time he could decide if he thought a panchayet was unnecessary, but only then if

he had been given such special discretionary powers from the head of the district. In any case, if the parties were not satisfied with the patil's decision, they could always appeal to the shaikdar or the mamlatdar.

In village panchayets membership was open to all except the regular outcasts. Cultivators participated, says Chaplin, "when sufficiently well informed," and patils were frequently members, especially when there were boundary disputes under discussion. Briggs tells of more or less informal panchayets when he says: "It was usual with the ryots to refer the consideration of their disputes to the patil and elders of the village when they sat, as is customary, at the village gate in the evening." The decision of course, was rather one of general opinion than a judicial proceeding, for there was no power to enforce it; but the plan was frequently adopted with signal success. When the parties concerned selected the members of a panchayet, they usually chose their friends, of whatever rank they might be, although Pottinger states that "at the same time they naturally endeavoured to select men on whose talents and judgment they could rely." There seemed a decided tendency, on the whole, to select men who were reasonably well acquainted with life and who had a good knowledge, based on experience, of human nature.

In short, despite the proved assertions of the Collectors that justice was none too well meted out in the time of the later Peshwas, it seems fairly clear that in the panchayet system there was abundant opportuni-

ty for the best traits of individual and communal character to be brought to the fore; and the great care with which the panchayet constitution has been outlined by these Collectors reveals in itself that it was an admirable way of giving reasonable justice to the ordinary people in a very difficult period of national history.

3. Method of Work

As has been already suggested, the general principle of membership was by nomination, the parties usually having the choice (or at least the approval) of all the members, the umpire or president being nominated by the local Government officer. If the Government was in any way implicated in the case, then all the members were usually selected officially. The official nominees on all other occasions were generally chosen because they were conversant with the Hindu law rather than with the details of the plaint in question. Although the consent of both parties was usually considered necessary, (Grant says "indispensably necessary"), if the defendant perversely refused without just cause to agree to this mode of trial, his consent was superseded and the authority of Government was exercised in insisting upon his abiding by the decision of a panchayet.

It might be mentioned here that it is an interesting sidelight on the Maratha's sense of justice that such cases were not allowed to go by default, for although the defendant deliberately compromised his case by refusing to agree to an impartial enquiry, such action did not apparently justify the complainant winning the case.

The president or umpire was not as a rule a government officer. Another interesting point is that the panchayet always consisted of an odd number, "to render an equality impossible," which suggests that all members, including the president, were bound to vote. If by any unfortunate circumstance (such as a member being ill) the voting was equal, Chaplin says that "one amongst them, recognised as the most respectable for his talents or integrity, was sometimes chosen as umpire, but it does not appear that any person independent of the members acted in that capacity or was appointed." If during the meeting there was a deadlock or a difference of opinion causing hot words or abuse, the karkun who was present on behalf of government offered his advice: but otherwise the members were left entirely to themselves.

In matters of religion or in doubtful law cases, the president or the government officer or the panchayet as a whole could call for the opinion of a shastree, but his opinion was restricted to the question of principle or interpretation and not to the immediate cause at issue. His decision, however, was generally accepted as authoritative on points of law, but "in matters that came home to every man's judgment (says Chaplin), the opinion of the shastrees had no more weight than another's." It was very unusual for shastrees to sit in panchayets as ordinary members, although there was no rule to the contrary.

Attendance

We now come to the question of the attendance of members. In a word, all the members received a

summons from the chief local civil authority. When a panchayet was once ordered, or decided upon, the disputing parties (if they had the selection of the members) sent to apprise their friends that their presence would be required on a particular day. If any man thus selected declined to come, he was replaced, because no one would be so foolish as to force a person to sit for him against his wishes. But such a refusal rarely occurred at that stage of the proceedings, because disputants usually had taken good care to instruct and prepare their friends before they agreed to submit to the award of a panchayet. In cases where the official of government had ordered the members to sit, "if any of them refused to appear it was generally under the excuse, real or feigned, of important business, or indisposition of himself or one of his family, or its interference with some religious ceremony which he was bound to perform on a particular day; and such apologies were always accepted if believed to be true." Then the person who had named the members added another to take the place of the absentee.

In the main it was regarded as very complimentary to be asked to be a member of a panchayet, or, as Grant naively puts it, "it was both flattering and profitable." At any rate, the selection implied a good opinion of the individual's talents, or of his integrity, but, adds Chaplin, "if the honour came too frequently so as to interfere with his commercial or professional engagements, it would rather have been declined as a troublesome compliment."

No man was, however, obliged to be a member, although when frivol-

ous and idle excuses were produced in opposition to the wishes of a public officer, the attendance was insisted upon. But once a man had agreed to serve on a panchayet, attendance to the end was obligatory, unless, says Briggs, "evidence was required from a distance, in which case the panchayet closed its proceedings "sine die" when it often happened that the cause was eventually decided by another set of members." If, however, a man deliberately refused to attend after having consented or after the proceedings had actually started, he was liable to a fine, but more generally a sepoy from the officer who assembled or sanctioned the panchayet was sent to fetch the absent member, by force if necessary. But both fines and force were infrequent, as government orders were usually obeyed with alacrity.

If the parties selected members from another village in the neighbourhood, the patil of the village in which the case was to be heard wrote to the patil of the other village requesting that the members might be sent over at once, the party requesting such attendance being held responsible for the subsistence of the visitors. The patil had, however, no definite authority of compulsion, although as he was always backed up by the shaikdar and the mamlatdar, his orders were generally obeyed.

The Right of Challenge

A panchayet was not considered fair unless the parties concerned were allowed to challenge members as well as to appoint or approve of them, such right of challenge being even extended to the first half of the actual proceedings. But challenging had

always to be accompanied by a satisfactory reason for desiring a change of member, the objection usually being decided by the local government officer, and this officer always bore in mind that where the panchayet had been selected by the parties concerned each party had naturally selected his own direct friends or his opponent's implacable enemies.

Once the panchayet was assembled it got down to work in right earnest as soon as possible, and on the whole carried out the business with reasonable speed, unless the case was being heard in the slack season when the members did not have much of their own work to attend to.

The Question of Bribes

There was apparently no actual system of enforcing honesty or punishing corruption, and both Briggs and Grant say that they had heard of no instances of corrupt members being fined or otherwise dealt with "even though the crime was very common." Chaplin augments the situation by saying that "every department of Government was corrupt in every stage of it, and scarcely any point was gained without a bribe or fee for special services rendered. Corruption was not considered criminal but was at best a venial fault for which, in practice, no punishment was inflicted."

But Pottinger, apparently basing his remarks on the general principles that were practised more in the breach than in the observance, throws a little further light on the theory as well as the practice when he says: "When it was proved that a member had received money and afterwards awarded

against the person who paid him, he was forced to repay the amount of the bribe and to pay a fine. But both these sums generally went to the officer of government, and so they seldom had any other motive for this conduct than to make the most of the business.

4. Witnesses

Although serving on panchayets as members was optional, the records show that appearing as witnesses was absolutely compulsory, with due attention, however, being paid to the justifiable convenience of such witnesses. They were summoned to appear officially by a peon calling personally, and if they persistently refused to attend out of sheer malice or indifference, two or three sebundies (or horsemen) were sent to the house of the witness, and camped there at his expense. Naturally the plaintiff and the defendant frequently brought their own witnesses, but official assistance could always be procured to compel attendance. Government, says Grant, sometimes fined witnesses for non-attendance, but as a general rule both parties and evidences were excused on account of sickness or if attendance subjected them to the omission of any important religious observances of such nature as could not with propriety be dispensed with.

If the panchayet held its sitting and found an important witness absent without permission, the meeting was adjourned and a formal application made to the local officer. If for various reasons he still refused to attend, his evidence was regarded as being against the party who had wanted him.

Oath-taking

Before giving evidence, great men were not required to make oath, nor even common people unless one of the parties required them to do so, which was fairly frequent, particularly in watan disputes. A common occasion for one of the parties asking for a witness to take oath was when he knew that the evidence would be absolutely contrary to that already tendered.

But it would seem that the taking of an oath on trifling occasions was extremely repugnant to Hindu prejudices, and Chaplin says that it was prohibited by the Hindu Law. Because of this, oaths were not required in ordinary cases, whilst "in affairs of great importance the tone, manner, and character of the witness and the consistency of his evidence were weighed and considered, oaths being administered only when doubt or suspicion of the truth appeared to render it necessary to put the veracity of a witness to the test." Chaplin then adds: "The frequency with which, under the British System, oaths are administered in the most trivial cases is probably in a great degree the cause of so much perjury, and for such a total disregard of truth which is generally supposed to characterise the natives of India."

Yet there seems to have been under the Peshwa very little criminal punishment for perjury, although when a witness' word was doubted, he was almost bound to undergo the ordeal of the "dusrat panchrat" in which, if any of his cattle died within a certain period, his evidence was set aside.

The nature of the oath depended almost wholly on the caste of the witnesses, as the oath most binding upon one class had no efficacy with another. Similarly, the mode of taking oaths depended upon that distinction.

In general, the invocation of the express names of the particular deity of each class was considered the most impressive and most binding upon the conscience. When administered by a Brahmin, the common oaths were the bel bandar, tulsi leaves, the waters of the Kistna, the Godavery or the Ganges, laying the hand upon a cow or holding her tail, standing in any of the rivers just mentioned or giving evidence after having just bathed in them, swearing by the feet of a Brahmin and carrying one's own child to a temple and solemnly swearing by the head of a Brahmin, all of which were looked upon as binding, whilst the swearing by one's father or mother was a popular and ordinary way of verifying any promise.

But although the oath of bel bandar (Bel leaves and tumeric) was the most sacred oath of the Mahrattas, the usual mode of administering an oath to a Hindu was to place a few tulsi leaves in his hands with some pure water, after which the oath was taken and the leaves and water put into the mouth. The ceremony was performed by a Brahmin and the water was always contained in a copper pot.

Particular castes received the oath from the hands of a Jungum, a ball of burnt cowdung with other ingredients being substituted for the tulsi

leaves, and the forehead being rubbed with it. Generally when oaths were being taken the witness, in addition to participating in the ceremony, called upon the Deity to bring about some misfortune if the truth was not uttered. This was even done with the Kreesh or tulsi leaf oath, Pottinger saying that it was very common when taking that oath for the witness to swear that his testimony could be regarded as false if any domestic calamity befell him within a certain number of days (seldom more than ten), the importance and sacredness of the oath being estimated by the period selected.

Ordeals were not infrequent in order to establish both veracity and innocence, and a common ordeal was to take a ring from boiling oil without being scalded. The "dusrat panchrat," already referred to, was an ordeal by which all the evidence would be deemed false if any one of the witness' family or cattle or domestic animals should fall sick or die during the next week or fortnight.

Mohammedans, of course, swore by the Koran.

Perjury Infrequent

But despite, or because of this variety of oaths, it seems that perjury as a general rule was not very frequent. It is true that the most solemn oaths were sometimes disregarded when the party or the witness had any special object in view, but false evidence by disinterested members or witnesses was anything but common. Grant especially urged that "the only efficient check on perjury in the present state of the country would be a heavy fine of some stated proportion of the wit-

ness' whole property," and Pottinger cites several cases where there had been brought to him papers relating to mutual agreements made between people who had had disputes under the Peshwa, but who, in filing complaints against each other before the British Government, produced as a matter of course those same papers which concluded "with the most dreadful denunciations that a Hindu could imagine" against either of the parties who should re-agitate the quarrel!

And Chaplin is still more emphatic on the point when, after a lengthy summing up in one of his letters, he says: "In many Indian cases, false evidence is considered meritorious, vide the Eighth Chapter of Manu's 'Institutes on Judicature and the Law,' paras 102-104."

5. Method of Awards

It is an interesting fact that no panchayet could definitely decide ex-parte, although Chaplin says that if perchance there was no defendant present, the panchayet would first of all sign a paper agreeing to the procedure to be adopted and then receive and record the plaintiff's statement. Witnesses or other representatives of both sides, if available, would then be interrogated and a decision reached. If, on the other hand, either party absented himself once the proceedings had started, it would be taken for granted that he had given up the cause, and a decision would be given against him. Where, however, the subject of the dispute was landed property, the possession given was only temporary,

and the cause was open to further enquiry and a new settlement on the reappearance of the person against whom it had been decided. If the absence of one of the parties was due to sickness or marriage or any important domestic occurrence, the members of the panchayet adjourned for a few days until both the disputants appeared.

The actual conduct of the hearing was based on very simple and commonsense lines. The complainant's case was first stated, then the defendant's side of the question was taken down, and the witness on both sides questioned, whilst later on the substance of the evidence, the arguments used, and the decision and the reasons for that verdict were all fully detailed. Wherever possible all evidence, whether of the complainant or the defendant or the witnesses, was in the handwriting of the one tendering it. All documents and vouchers produced were copied down, and every member of the panchayet signed the complete case.

Just as the general rules for the assembling of panchayets in the districts were less complicated than those for town panchayets, even so was the actual mode of procedure. The parties in village dispute having agreed to submit their case to the judgment of their neighbours, a few of the most respectable men assembled and, in lieu of the usual practice, two straws were taken from the hands of the disputants and placed before them in token of their assent to that mode of adjustment. Their allegations and defence were then received, and any necessary witnesses and documents examined. Judgment was then given after due

deliberation, and although in most petty village panchayets the decree was not drawn up in writing, it frequently was recorded for future reference by the village karkoon. In all important cases, however, especially when the complaint had been directly referred to the patil or mamlatdar, the proceedings were regularly recorded and the award passed in the usual way.

In all panchayets the substance of all evidence was recorded, but Grant suggests with his usual perspicacity that though a member of a panchayet certainly based his decision "upon the evidence that was brought forward, it was more the manner than the matter which influenced his judgment coupled with a knowledge of the connection or enmity between the parties and witnesses." The cross-examination was conducted by karkoons, but as they seldom asked more than three questions, the taking of evidence was not a laborious affair, the confession and statements of the defendant and prosecutor being often the main guide to the members.

Eliminating Delay

One of the most interesting phases of the panchayet system is that which shows how the members were forced to come to a decision with the minimum of delay. Grant sees in that question "the grand defect of panchayets, the greatest obstacle to encounter in amending the system," for, in his opinion, "there was no compelling a decision except by an oppressive stretch of power, or what was considered as such." But Grant appears to have been carried away a little here, because there are many documents

available which show that the panchayet system made ample provision for speeding up, and that the system was, at least, as successful in preventing undue delays of the law as that of the present time.

Although there were no regular means adopted to expedite a decision, Briggs says that "an application to the authorities resulted in sentries being placed over the panchayet to prevent the members eating or drinking until they had reached a decision." Pottinger goes into this point a little more fully, giving it as his opinion that under the Mahratta Government the art of procrastination had been studied almost as a science, so that "when one of the parties in a panchayet considered himself to be secure of his cause and when he had influence with, or the means of adding to his previous bribes to, the officer by whose orders the panchayet was assembled, he could without much difficulty procure a speedy decision. This was done by representing to the officer of Government the hardship he suffered from delay, and begging that the members might be warned to finish by a certain day. The karkoon who went to see what passed then received instructions to inform the members that they must bring the affair to a conclusion by a certain time. Under such instructions this was usually effected with ease, because what we should look upon as a most tedious procedure was estimated by the natives to be one of extraordinary celerity. Thus, if a man had been waiting three months to know the award and could obtain a knowledge of it by the above method in another month, he thought himself the most favoured of mortals.

"In the extreme case, if the members of the panchayet neglected the injunctions they had received to close their proceedings with all convenient despatch, the karkoon reported their conduct, and the officer by whom they had been brought together (if he really wished to get the matter settled) then called them to his own cutcherry and obliged them to write out an award before his face. This, however, was looked upon, even by the Mah-rattas, as an arbitrary act of authority, and the loser on such an occasion seldom failed to appeal if his pecuniary means were equal to doing so."

Government's Confirmation

The written award was always deposited with Government; in the district cutcherry if in rural areas, or in Poona itself if in the towns. In all cases the award received the formal sanction of Government.

Some of the Peshwas, notably Madhavrao, who apparently did not consider it politic to take away at once from Sardars and Jahagirdars and other great men the power of assembling panchayets, advanced a considerable step towards it by rendering the whole panchayet awards subject to their approval and confirmation, but in later times the shastrees and other legal luminaries deposited them in their daftars and confirmed the award themselves. Both parties could always obtain copies if they chose to pay karkoon's fees, but the winner of the case always received what was called "doomal putra", or memorandum briefly stating the case and the final decree of the panchayet. In the district, the local furnavees or shirishtadar was the custodian of all awards.

Even in the case of village panchayets the local officer was bound to preserve the record and to produce it whenever called upon. As a general rule, village panchayet awards were confirmed by the mamlatdar or the head of the district if he happened to be touring in the vicinity.

Boundary Disputes

Before closing this section, perhaps reference should be made to the special system that was in force for the settlement of boundary disputes by panchayet. And because this system varied in detail in different parts of the Peshwa's territory, it will be necessary to differentiate by quoting from various documents and records of the several officials.

Grant says: "A boundary dispute was settled by assembling the patil and ryots of neighbouring villages amounting in number from 20 to 100. The disputing villages subsisted the whole of the persons called in. The Dhars and Mahars of the village had a great deal to say respecting bounds and land-marks, for it was one of their duties to take care that they were properly preserved. When the assembled members could come to no decision, a common way of settling the dispute was to cause a Dhar, after undergoing certain ceremonies, to take a pot of earth on his head and walk along the exact boundary. If, bare-footed, he did this without spilling the earth or being pricked by thorns, the village to which he belonged received the disputed land; but if, on the other hand, he stopped, hesitated, or limped, the opposite party were declared the rightful owners."

Briggs states that boundary disputes were generally referred to the

Government, who directed a panchayet of patils to call on the Dhars of the village to point out the true boundary which "they were usually able to do by a line of particular stones under which charcoal in pots, or money, was not unfrequently buried.

Chaplin also refers to the panchayet form of settlement and, in detailing the method adopted in such cases, says the decision was arrived at on a review of the accounts of the respective villages, of the testimony of the old inhabitants of the vicinity, of the proof of the time during which the disputed ground had been occupied by either party, and of any other evidence that was available. Chaplin then goes to some trouble to explain the exact details of the "ordeals" which were generally carried out as the more popular forms of settlement, particularly "an ordeal which was performed in several different ways"; and his account is so interesting that it is worth reproducing.

"A large clod consisting of equal parts of the soil of each boundary was kneaded together with some of the milk of each village by the hands of the potter, and the addition of cow's dung and urine, honey, and clarified butter (or ghee) gave consistency to this heterogeneous mass, before which was placed an offering of flowers. The patil who was about to take the oath then had his head, eyebrows and upper lip cleanshaven, went through his ablutions, and was invested with a garland of flowers around his neck. The prepared conserve of earth was then placed upon his head and he commenced walking towards a flag which he had previously erected for the purpose of marking what he had conceived to be the extreme of his

boundary. If the clod crumbled to pieces on the way, if a snake crossed his path, if his feet were pricked, or if any accident happened (which according to stipulation previously drawn up should not happen) he lost his cause; otherwise he gained the disputed ground."

Trial By Ordeal

Other modes referred to by Chaplin were the ordeal of picking a ring out of boiling oil unscathed; and walking over the disputed land either with a little of the soil on his hand or nine different grains wrapped in his garment, both of these actions being considered so solemn an oath as to cause the opposite party to relinquish his claim.

Pottinger similarly describes the patil's walk along the boundary line but says that an ordinary pot of water was used instead of a prepared clod of earth. He also refers to a settlement by panchayet in which the areas of the disputing villages are measured, and compared with the official records, the decision being given either according to the documents or by the overplus of ground being divided equally by the panchayet between the disputants.

Yet another interesting method is indirectly divulged in an official letter from Mr. Thackeray in the Southern Mahratta Country, who says that a patil carried a light on his head when walking along the boundary, only winning his case if he succeeded in carrying the light unextinguished to the end.

Boundary dispute were very frequent and the British for that reason found "large tracts of land unculti-

vated," which seems to suggest that the above modes of settling such quarrels were none too successful.

A Code of Laws

Another point which should be included in this section is that dealing with the code of laws which was the acknowledged authority on which to base all judgments.

The principal law book appears to have been the "Dhunne Shastre," although Briggs says that it was neither obligatory nor always conclusive. Chaplin refers at times to this matter and says that "the Shastras of the most acknowledged authority were a digest of Hindu law composed by Vignianeswuree, and a treatise on law called Paraserunadhawee." But as these seem to have been used only by the shastrees, Pottinger was compelled to regret that there was nothing really authoritative "and, what was still more distressing to the people, there were no well-defined customs regarding punishments, so that where two men were guilty of the same crime one man might escape with a fine of a few rupees whilst the other would be totally ruined. From all the evidence available, there does not seem any doubt that the Maharatta practice frequently differed from the regular law."

In trying to explain this, Grant says that the Mahrattas undoubtedly adopted many of the customs which they found in the countries they conquered, but he adds that he could not find out the real difference between the Hindu law and the Mahratta usage, "nor could a party of shastrees assembled at Wai give me the information I sought for."

Briggs says that the Mohammedans certainly materially altered the Hindu code of laws, although the Mahrattas seemed to have adhered to no particular code, "making expedience their doctrine and precedence (however unjust) their guide when it suited their convenience."

Chaplin sheds a little more light on the subject by definitely declaring that the Mahratta practice differed from the Hindu law in not inflicting capital punishment upon women, although he could not account for the change.

As a general rule, however, it seems that although even the shastrees all admitted that there was a difference between the theory and the practice, none of them had ever thought how it had occurred, most of them being quite satisfied to blame the Mohammedans for it.

6. Appeals

A rather surprising but complimentary feature of the panchayet system is the ease with which appeals were allowed, even after the award had received the formal confirmation of Government. In principle, it seems that an appeal was always admissible if the appellant gave good reason in making his statement, although in practice there were periods when the best reason was expressed in rupees. The general course of proceeding was for the appellant to make an official application for revision, agreeing therein to submit to any penalty Government thought fit to impose, either in the way of enhancement of sentence for the crime or fine as a punishment for a frivolous objection, unjust appeals always being severely

dealt with. When an appeal was thus made, a new panchayet was appointed. Sentence, however, was not usually suspended during the hearing of an appeal, and there is no mention of compensation being granted in cases where the award was subsequently reversed.

The first appeal lay with the mamlatdar in the case of village panchayets, or with the sirsoobhadar if it had been assembled by the Government. If in either case the decree or sentence had been the result of corruption or misbehaviour of the members, or if it contained any flagrant deviation from justice or custom, a new panchayet was at once ordered. This new assembly then examined the original proceedings and called for new evidence, although if the award was reversed, no action seems to have been taken to punish those responsible.

Revision Orders

Apart from definite appeals by the parties concerned, revisions could be ordered by any direct superior authority and by new mamlatdars, although (says Chaplin) if the appellant came empty-handed or unsupported by powerful friends, he would seldom be able to procure an order for revision. In most districts the only form of revision was a new panchayet from which all members of the old one were barred. There do not seem to be any instances of an appeal against the decision of an appellate panchayet nor any higher court of appeal unless the Poona Ministers could be reached. There was not any regular system of appeal direct to a superior judicial officer, as permission for such appeals was discretionary on the part

of the officer to be appealed against. Theoretically the line was from the patil to the shaikdar, the shaikdar to the kumavidar, the kumavidar to the mamlatdar, the mamlatdar to the sirsoobhadar, the sirsoobhadar to the Ministers, and the Ministers to the Peshwa; but in practice it was generally dependent upon the power and extent of the purse, especially as there was no fixed rule to receive appeals.

7. Enforcement of Judgment

In village panchayets the judgment was enforced by the patil, who was nearly always supported by the superior officers of Government unless there was anything oppressive or unjust in his conduct. The successful party usually received the award from the panchayet and at once proceeded to put it into execution himself, irrespective of whether an appeal was lodged or pending. If the panchayet's order was not obeyed, the help of the patil was called upon and the loser put under the restraint of the talati or the local peons. If no other recourse was left, the karkoon or the mamlatdar was applied to, although his interference was by no means obligatory.

The person who lost his case seldom had his property sold in civil cases, but in order to persuade him to pay up as quickly as possible he was generally compelled to submit to considerable personal violence amounting perhaps to a degree of torture, such as standing in one posture on one leg with a large stone on his head, or being exposed to the vertical rays of the sun, or temporarily incarcerated in a small room with scant food given at long intervals.

The reason behind this is fairly obvious. A ryot had no tangible property, and his bullock and implements of husbandry could not be sold without risk of reducing him to the rank of a hired labourer with a consequent loss of revenue to Government. Whatever he had saved was doubtless concealed, buried, or deposited with his relations, and the only way to get him to disgorge for the payment of his decreed debt was some arbitrary process which deprived him of his liberty or which caused him such personal inconvenience as would occasion him to settle up speedily.

In other words, this policy, despite its apparent cruelty, was in the long run an indication of foresight and wisdom on the part of the Government which prevented men from being irretrievably ruined. An interesting sidelight is thrown on this question by Pottinger who says that "the Mah-rattas are very tractable, and that although they may linger in obedience, they seldom refuse it altogether to their superiors without a very good cause. It excites the surprise of Europeans to behold their apparent inertness, but that is due more to habitual procrastination than to any definite disobedience."

8. Fees to Members

There were no fixed fees in connection with membership on a panchayet, but members took money generally from both parties which, if given in a just cause, was allowed. That is to say, in practice all fees were given at the pleasure of the disputants. But in all cases the expenses of the members were paid, usually by the losing party, although there seems to be ample

evidence that a disputing party treated his nominees on the panchayet and his witnesses as personal guests.

On the other hand, it was customary in all cases for the plaintiff to promise a certain sum to Government (that is, to the local official) upon his preferring his petition, whilst in the hopes of getting a reasonable measure of justice the defendant also frequently did likewise. But there was no scale fixed, except that of ability and inclination to pay. The one who ultimately gained the suit paid *hurkee* (or joy money), whilst the records seem to show that in later times the loser paid a fine (called *gonhagaree*) according to his ability and the pleasure of the local representative of Government.

If a more or less general rule can be cited, it is that in simple suits for petty debts, Government officially levied no fee, but that in disputes relative to large estates or to titles, a *nazarana*, amounting at times to about one-quarter of the value of the whole property, was taken from the complainant on the suit being referred to a panchayet. Yet it appears to have been the practice in Ahmednagar district for a quarter of all debts decreed to be paid to Government officially along with the indefinite sums to *karkoons*, *mootsuddies*, and other officers.

The plaintiff in an unjust cause was always made to make good the expenses of the defendant when the defendant was a poor man. A rich man as defendant received no recompense, although the Government always fined all unjust complainants according to their ability to pay. In many cases also panchayets themselves ordered

damages to be paid to the winner of the case, and the records seem to suggest that, theoretically at least, justice was kept as cheap as possible. Even witnesses were seldom called from a distance if their written testimony could be secured, despite the fact that all expenses were paid by the one who desired the evidence.

9. Pleaders.

One outstanding feature of the old system is the complete absence of vakils or pleaders. The business of legalism was not a separate and special profession in those days, and although a great man could always be represented by his own karkoon or goomastah, that privilege was accorded only because in regular administration the servant often knew more of the estate affairs than the master. Grant says that any great man could send his vakil, and any man his karkoon, but it is made very clear in the records that they were present in their business capacity as manager of their masters' affairs and not as specially engaged legal advisers. There was certainly no legal trade or profession, but it is interesting to note that Pottinger declares that in order to guarantee absolutely fair play and to ensure the real case being presented to a panchayet, "if a man's abilities were not equal to defending his cause himself, he might take any relation or friend to prepare his statements and to point out the main points in his favour."

A proposal was once brought forward to prohibit vakils or any other person from representing a defendant or a plaintiff, but there was an

unanimous declaration against it from all the district officers, who agreed that a man's business representative or head clerk and accountant should always be permitted to appear for his master. But there was an equally unanimous assertion that regular legal pleaders should not be allowed. Chaplin sums up the general view very well :

"The employment of vakils as a trade ought to be prohibited. The advantages which are supposed to follow from the vakil's being able to set forth in a clear point of view all the merits and bearings of a case are more than counterbalanced by the mischief they occasion. They are great excitors of brawls, and acquire, after some practice and experience of any code, much skill in embarrassing and entangling judicial proceedings. They serve greatly also to enhance the expenses of courts of judicature, and on this account alone may be considered a grievous evil which has been found to excite the litigiousness of persons possessing very slender claims who have entered upon actions in the hope that the uncertainty of the expense might deter parties from defending even just rights."

But although the friends of parties were allowed to be present in the panchayet and to present their claims, it was a regular rule that when the statements were being made, or any cross-examination was being carried on, no one was permitted to sit near the witness, although after all the statements had been recorded, then any friend could, and did, render all manner of assistance, even interested standersby frequently preferring suggestions. Panchayets were always

held open to the public, with the above precautions being taken against the course of justice being defeated or interrupted.

10. Popularity of Panchayets

There does not seem the slightest doubt about the fact that panchayets were popular. Indeed, it would be remarkable if they were not, because in addition to being the only available form of justice for the common people, they were also the least arbitrary. There was, in fact, no other mode of trying cases, and the lowest classes welcomed them even though justice was at times tempered with corruption rather than mercy. No encouragement of panchayets was ever needed, even in the Peshwa's days, which shows that despite its defects and the unfavourable atmosphere in which it was sometimes forced to work, the system was the most successful indigenous way of dispensing justice that had ever been devised for India, even though, to use Chaplin's words, "active zeal in promoting the dispensation of justice does not appear to have characterised the local functionaries under the Peshwa's Government."

Panchayets did not, it can be said, receive the fostering care of the local officers in Maharashtra except as a source of personal revenue; and yet the system lived, prospered, and succeeded where any other system would have been suffocated by bribery and interred beneath a load of indifference and cruelty.

Grant, who in more than one of his early communications said that he considered the panchayets were unpopular, later admitted that he was probably biassed in favour of the new

British system of ordinary courts (or the Adalat, as it was called). His final verdict on panchayets was that the system embodies "the old rule of the country, which, if well acted up to, would be a grand arm against injustice and oppression. It is a very satisfactory and respectable testimonial of character to a man who gains his cause by the suffrage of his peers, and, on the other hand, the loser is more fully satisfied and is more likely to acknowledge the justice of his sentence than if it had been given against him by one individual. However much better our system may be (of which there can be little doubt), yet if the opinions of the country are so much in favour of panchayets, it would be impolitic to attempt any radical alterations." And then he graciously concludes: "That panchayets should still be generally popular notwithstanding the corruption and dishonesty which have been usually practised, clearly shows that there is much more good than evil resulting from them."

Members' Integrity

Chaplin also was convinced of their popularity and usefulness. After declaring that he could not help noticing that public opinion was very much in their favour, and that the people would much prefer that mode of settling disputes to the other, he says that they were uniformly popular with the persons who were conscious of having a good cause and who were apprehensive that the cause of justice would otherwise be prevented by means of corruption. In the same strain as Grant, he then continues:—

"Notwithstanding the prevalence of bribery and corruption throughout the

Mahratta State and the frequency of partial and unjust decisions procured by such means, panchayets have in general upheld their character of integrity, awards for the most part have been in conformity with the Hindu law and established custom, whilst the recapitulation of the plaint and the answer and the evidence has, in all cases which I have seen personally, been drawn up succinctly and clearly, and the reasons assigned for decisions have been equally solid and perspicuous. There is no doubt that there has been fairness and intelligence used in the conduct of panchayets, that evidence is weighed and considered, that exhibits are duly examined and compared, and that the decree in the plurality of cases is just and impartial."

Briggs admits that they were popular, but at first seemed to think that the people themselves preferred the decision of a European officer in whom they had confidence. He states in one place that the villagers disliked the duty of serving, but he is the only district official who has expressed that opinion, and later records seem to show that he changed his mind, of which more will be said in a later chapter. He thought from the first, however, that panchayets were useful in matters of caste and family disputes, but as they were slow in making decisions, and as members and parties and witnesses were often careless in attendance, they needed careful supervision. Other district officers recognised these defects, but were not quite so pessimistic about their being remedied. Briggs' final conclusion however, was that they would probably be very useful if the system were slightly revised.

Why They Failed

A long and most valuable summary of panchayets was made by Pottinger, Collector of Ahmednagar, which bears repetition: "From many of the causes already enumerated, panchayets have of late years fallen into some disrepute. They opened (from the numbers of members employed) a larger field for bribery and corruption; they were not esteemed by the officers of Government because they would have acted as a check to their extortions, nor by the people of the country because all classes were aware of the state to which the moral character of their neighbours and even relations was reduced. Even a son could not depend upon his father giving evidence in his favour. People therefore preferred to sit down under injuries rather than expose themselves to plunder and rapacity. But (Pottinger adds significantly), this view of panchayets was exactly opposite to that of the good times of the Peshwa's rule, and so long as the Government was even tolerably upright, panchayets were the universal mode of settling disputes."

Dealing with their popularity with litigants, Pottinger says that panchayets were very welcome if conducted with probity and justness. "It is a common remark among the Mahrattas that the opinion of ten men of honesty must be better than the decision of one."

But perhaps the most valuable remarks are those in which this district officer urges the continuance of the panchayet system, although with certain modifications: "It will re-

quire, I fear, many years of example before the whole body of the population will be such as to render the panchayets universally desirable; but in the interim there are various subjects of contention which can even now be better settled by them than by any other kind of court. I allude to disputes of caste, wuttun, points of religion, and marriage, and most instances where dealers have differences about settlements of accounts. All these should be laid, in the first instance at all events, before a panchayet of persons of that class, because they, and they only, can fully comprehend the intricacies of such affairs. All simple debts, trespasses, assaults, broken contracts and, in fact, all the daily incidental disputes among the people of the country and the towns should be decided upon either by the Collector or his assistant, or by a panchayet superintended by one of them. The example will, I have no doubt, spread quickly amongst the people who ought to decide of themselves, and if we can only once feel assured that the members of panchayets are guided by truth in their decisions and are deaf to bribery (whether from fear or a better sentiment), it appears to me that no mode would be so well calculated to ensure the ends of justice and to give satisfaction to the parties concerned.

A Question of Duty

“The reason that weighs with me in preferring panchayets even now in some cases is that those cases are subjected to certain well-defined and well-understood customs, that a member cannot but feel that if he swerves from his duty on such points he exposes himself to the obloquy of his

colleagues and the contempt attached to ignorance, that he also lays himself open to have his own decision brought to bear against himself, for there is hardly a case that could be brought forward to which something similar could not be adduced in every family, and if the rules of wuttun or caste were once broken, all would be confusion. The intelligence of members is excellent; they always understand the matter before them, and if they award unjustly it is not from want of judgment but from absence of principle.”

Practical Wisdom

In another letter, Thackeray, who was holding an important post in the Karnatak, said: “The public opinion of panchayets must be very favourable, as it is this opinion that has made them so popular for so many ages. They are sought by all parties except those whose conscience of the weakness of their cause would prefer a more distant tribunal where the merits of the case are less intimately understood. It is true that the members often have little theory and little knowledge of written laws, but they have great practical experience with much good sense and understanding, so that perhaps the mamool or common law is better known by them than by any set of country gentlemen in the world, not excepting the farmers and fox-hunters of England. They are sometimes partial to a friend or a popular character, but this objection, which holds equally against all tribunals, is remedied in a great measure by the liberty given to the parties of challenging obnoxious members.”

Moslem Disfavour

Probably the only section of the general populace which did not view panchayets with definite favour was the Moslem community, for except in essentially religious causes, all Mohammedans were judged and sentenced according to Hindu law and Mahratta custom. If a case definitely related to the Moslem religion or if there was a suit between two Mohammedans, they were nearly always given the benefit of their own laws, provided they did not militate against the Hindu law; but in any disputes with any other community or caste, or in any infringement of the general laws of the country, they always had to submit to the overwhelming Hindu majority. Pottinger says that in actual practice no one took serious notice of a civil quarrel between two Mussulmans, "unless one or both of them had the means of bribery," so that the case could be made remunerative. If they could pay, they frequently could have any law they chose, "and perhaps the mamlatdar or an inferior karkoon would send a message to the Kazi ordering him to pronounce a decree in a certain one's favour."

Generally speaking, however, it is clear that the Mohammedans were not only entirely neglected, but

treated (says Pottinger) "with a degree of contempt and indignity which is hardly credible. When Bajirac was at Nasik, the Mussulmans of that town were not allowed to enter particular streets, or sometimes even to cross the Godaveri. If any of them, no matter what his station, infringed on their rules, he was confined and fined, and in some instances ordered to quit the place while the Peshwa was there, and the Kazi of the pargannah actually confessed that during that period he and all his family stayed the whole time in his house."

As a general rule it seems that Moslems endeavoured to settle all their disputes among themselves with the aid of the Kazi or, in his absence, of the man "best read in the Koran," whilst although inter-communal disputes were invariably referred to a Hindu panchayet, there does not seem to have been any objection to having one Moslem member, except of course his voice was a solitary one crying in the wilderness of opposition.

Thus ends the tale of the civil justice as meted out, both in theory and practice, under the Peshwa, a tale as interesting as it is educational, a tale that reveals so many lessons that it is well worth studying in the light of modern demands for a greater measure of local self-government.



CHAPTER FOUR

The Conduct of Criminal Cases

“Under the Peshwa’s Government no regularity appears to have been observed either in trying causes or referring them to panchayets.” This declaration by one of the district officers seems as true of criminal cases as of civil, if not even more applicable.

Civil suits affect two parties, one of whom is always sufficiently aggrieved to take definite measures to gain relief or compensation. But in criminal cases there is theoretically only one aggrieved party, namely, the Government; and if the Government is too busy fighting or too indulgent of corruption, then criminal justice is allowed to go its own sweet way, dependent largely on the ambition or the conscience of the local district officer. And with most local officials endeavouring to make as great a success of the revenue as they could, and with personal jealousies being amply supported by frequent bribes, criminal justice in the time of the Peshwas could more easily be dispensed with than civil justice. For that reason, there is only comparatively scanty material available regarding the system of criminal justice used in the Peshwa’s days, but even this material is sufficient to show that panchayets played a fairly important part in punishing offenders against public morality.

Perhaps the most important fea-

ture of this phase of this subject is the discovery that panchayets were in some places given the fullest powers to hear and decide on the most serious cases, even to the extent of awarding the death penalty. There are no definite papers available showing the details of how the panchayet conducted such cases in the days of Bajirao, but a most interesting set of judgments outlining the different verdicts and punishments awarded by panchayets in Khandesh in 1818 shows that by carrying out Elphinstone’s instructions, Briggs followed very closely the system which he had carefully studied.

Theoretical Justice

As far as can be ascertained from the scattered and incomplete documents relating to criminal justice, panchayets were frequently assembled by the local officer in cases which, for certain reasons, he decided not to try himself. As a general rule, criminal justice was theoretically administered by Government alone, a special officer being appointed in large towns to take cognisance of all crimes and to inflict punishments, whilst in the districts that power was given to the revenue officer, be he sirsoobhadar or soobhadar or mamlatdar or karkoon or patil. In later times, even the farmers of revenues and their servants were given the right of

punishing offences against the regular law.

The actual powers wielded by these different officers were not clearly defined, although the records show that all except the lowest had the right in general to inflict any punishment short of death, which was reserved in almost all cases to the Peshwa in Poona and to the sirsoobhedar in the districts, although the latter were bound, however, to report to the Peshwa before execution. But apart from that restriction, the local officers placed criminals in confinement in irons, or in the stocks, fined them, or punished them criminally *ad libitum*.

The patil, until late in the last Peshwa's reign, exercised what Grant called "extraordinary power," yet he frequently called upon panchayets to establish guilt or innocence, even though the panchayet did not actually determine the nature and extent of the punishment.

But because the system of criminal justice was by no means as comprehensive or as detailed as that for settlement of civil disputes, there often was no such thing as justice in later days. Pottinger says that murderers were often bought off for a few hundred rupees, although on other occasions people were seized, beaten, sent to hill forts and their property confiscated on the slightest suspicion. "Punishments were inflicted and fines levied on confessions that had been extorted by torture, although Bhils and other professional robbers were very frequently set at liberty on giving security to pay within a fixed time a stipulated sum, to obtain which it was perfectly understood they would have to plunder travellers."

Yet despite these depressing circumstances revealed by the British officials at the time of the conquest, it is absolutely clear that conditions were not always thus. Although in actuality the system was abused, the abuse was due only to the fact that the system itself was for a time either disregarded or forgotten. But the principles remained, so that when the system of panchayets was revived later as part of the British administration, it was found as suitable for criminal cases as for civil causes.

Panchayets as Detectives

Panchayets, however, figured largely in an unofficial character even in those most disadvantageous times. The records show, for example, that although the head of the police in Poona, and the local revenue officers in the rural areas, took cognisance of all serious crimes when reported, they frequently called a panchayet on the spot, not only as a witness to the original statement but also to make suggestions as to the possible perpetrator of the crime and his whereabouts. Similarly, the patils of the villages, in recording cases of petty assaults, abuse, defamation and the like, often early sought the advice of an unofficial panchayet, not on the question of the sentence but rather on the tracing of the crime and the fixing of the guilt.

It is probable, in fact, that the great frequency of confessions in criminal cases was due very largely to the certainty that escape was impossible when an independent panchayet was on the culprit's track as well as the police. That is to say, there was a public morality which survived all

the evils of the time and which kept ordinary crime (except violence) down to a minimum; for it is obvious that in many another land the sad state of internal politics and the long series of internal fighting would have destroyed, almost totally, any feeling of or desire for reasonable civic life in accordance with the moral laws of the land.

Social Crimes

Another form of the panchayet which was to be found in criminal cases was that relating to offences or misdemeanours against caste or social custom. It did not need any Government law against such offences as drunkenness, adultery, and such breaches of social life, because the Hindu law was itself against them, which meant that they were generally treated as direct crimes of caste, necessitating caste discipline. It might also be noted just here that the last Bajirao was a great enemy of drunkenness, and enjoined his police and revenue officers to punish that offence with severity, although it was not usually harshly dealt with by the caste panchayets.

At certain times these social crimes are said to have been tried, as test cases, by a Wootura Sabha, or Synod of Brahmins, the powers of which were superior to those of the highest of Acharee, or High Priest. At times even applications were made by the Ecclesiastical Power to the Civil Power "when the arm of the law was required to subdue refractory spirits who were not to be awed by the thunders of the priests." But as a rule the priests did their own work.

Punishment Optional

Wherever such "moral cases" were reported in the districts, the local officer almost invariably assembled a panchayet officially, or called together the heads of the caste concerned. Careful consideration was then given to the whole case along much the same lines as already outlined in civil causes, and then the caste panchayet either expelled the offender, fined him, or ordered the requisite penance. If the offence involved the definite degradation of a particular caste, the culprit was officially handed over to that caste for punishment. Shastrees were generally consulted on these occasions on points of law, as in all criminal cases, but they do not appear to have had any definite powers of fixing penalties, although they undoubtedly made suggestions.

In all cases the deposition of the evidences was always taken down in writing as well as the detailed statement or confession of the accused, but although guilt was adjudged according to the Hindu law and Mahratta custom, the extent of the punishment was purely optional with the local officer, with whom, of course, political expediency often weighed as heavily as financial persuasion. The records also show that with the exception of Ramoosies, Bhils and Mangs, confession was supposed to have been a prelude to conviction, but doubtless in later times this theoretical rule was more often infringed than observed.

Even where panchayets were not called, or where caste committees were not appointed, it was a common thing for the presiding officer of any ordinary trial to take the opinion of

the principal villagers present in court as to the probable guilt or innocence of the accused party; and if it was generally agreed that he was guilty, various means would be adopted to force him to make a confession which would later justify any sentence which the local officer would place on record.

When caste panchayets came to a decision on a criminal case, no confirmation of their judgment was necessary, although in the records there are instances of very important caste decisions being reported to Government. It was this wide power of caste, as manifested in caste panchayets, which was undoubtedly mainly responsible for the keeping down of crime. In fact, all the British officers declare that caste was a more powerful influence than either religion or the penal law, coupled (says Pottinger) with public opinion arising "from the general moral and decent habits of the Mahratta people at large." That is to say, the powers of caste to watch over morals were very extensive, for despite their manifold restrictions and trivialities, they at least created a public opinion amongst an illiterate and burdened people.

But, what is far more important, those powers were very seldom abused. Chaplin, who was by no means a champion of the Mahratta customs as he found them, says: "The powers of the heads of the caste were commonly exercised with much impartiality and moderation by their panchayets." Then describing the method adopted, he goes on to say that neither the panchayet nor the Chief Elder could take off the interdict.

That originally could only be done by the caste Guru or the full Council of Elders of the same caste; and then only with the sanction of the Gunacherry, or Inspector of Morals and Vice, appointed by Government. But, when the office of Gunacherry was farmed out to the highest bidder, it seems that, by the general consent of all the castes, his power decreased, and he was only permitted to investigate or adjudicate upon minor offences.

Punishments Inflicted

Before outlining a few of the criminal cases actually tried by panchayets, it will perhaps be fitting to summarise as exhaustively as possible the various forms of punishments used under the Peshwa's system.

In theory murder was followed by death to the culprit, but although the Mahrattas ostensibly believed in "a life for a life," they also had a common saying, "I do not care for the expense; I will pay the Rs. 350, but I will murder him." Probably owing to the turbulent times in which they lived, murder was, for a period of the Peshwas' rule, very common.

If a poor man killed a rich or powerful man, he was invariably put to death. If a poor man killed his equal and could not pay Rs. 350 either to Government or to the relations of the deceased as settled, he was generally deprived of a limb or an eye or an ear, or branded with a hot iron, or if the circumstances were atrocious he was executed. But if a rich man killed a poor man, he always paid the fine and not the penalty, both Government and the relatives of the de-

ceased profiting considerably by the rich man's desire to put an enemy out of the way. If the murderer was a Brahmin he was never executed, usually getting off with fifteen or twenty years' imprisonment, or before if there was a public festival, when he was released and sent to Benares to expiate his sins. But to murder a Brahmin was an unpardonable offence, although during Bajirao's time the life of a poor Brahmin was not nearly so precious as that of a rich Brahmin, especially if the murderer had plenty of money. Women guilty of murder were seldom executed in the later Peshwas' time, but after a period of imprisonment they were released minus their ears and noses.

Treason and rebellion was not apparently considered so serious a crime as in other parts of the world, for it was usually punished by imprisonment, solely on the grounds that it was dangerous for the rebel to be at large. In particularly impudent rebellions, however, treason resulted in death. If the rebel was a person whom it was deemed politic to conciliate for future co-operation, he was pardoned on payment of a nuzur or heavy fine, but if no consideration prompted this indulgence, he lost his lands and his freedom.

Highway robbery was punishable in various ways, such as exposure for months in the stocks, imprisonment in irons, mutilation, corporal punishment at intervals until the stolen property was restored, and occasionally by death. Ordinary theft and robbery were punished in degree according to the Shastras with a few days' confinement, a few stripes with

a rod, mutilation, or a heavy fine, the sentence being dependent entirely upon the whim of the judge.

Crimes Against Morality

Rape was punished by confiscation of goods and death, unless the offender was a Brahmin or person of some rank, when he would get off with a fine. A Brahmin who committed rape upon a Brahmin woman would be liable to expulsion as well as a fine, but could always obtain purification. A person of inferior class committing rape upon a Brahmin woman was liable either to mutilation or death, generally the latter. If a Brahmin woman went astray of her own accord, she would be ex-communicated and repudiated. Women of the Sooder and some other castes were liable to fine for their lubricity, but the husband frequently took it with resignation. If, however, he was unable to console himself, he tore the end of her saree "in token of eternal separation, and then and there dismissed his slippery helpmate." Married Hindu women cohabiting with Mussulmen were expelled from their caste. Women of all castes, however, except the Brahmins, could be restored to caste on passing through the necessary purifications of the caste to which they belonged, provided the proper fee was paid to the Government.

Such offences against morals as ordinary adultery and fornication were seldom punished by anything else except a fine, followed by purification ordered by the caste panchayet.

Previous to any punishment for great crimes, exposure on an ass was

generally included in the sentence, sometimes with the additional order that the face must be blackened with charcoal or soot.

Modes of Punishment

Death was inflicted in several ways. The offender was perhaps tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged around the town, or tumbled down a precipice, or hanged, or beheaded, or cut down with a sword, or shot with arrows, or torn with hot pincers, or blown from a gun, or (for women) drowned. Execution was always done in public after disgracing the culprit. When criminals were deprived of a finger, breast, or a limb, they were left on the spot, but there was no order preventing assistance from being rendered. Imprisonment usually meant confinement in a hill-fort, either with no food, or with bread made chiefly with salt. In fact, imprisonment generally meant a lingering death, as the offenders were often left there with no one to attend to them and no possible means of obtaining food and water. People of respectability, however, were not generally disgraced or badly treated in confinement, whilst persons of very high rank were generally placed under arrest in their own houses. Life prisoners were often chained and handcuffed and let out of the forts twice a week to beg for food in the neighbouring villages.

Moslem Woes

In view of the generally unsatisfactory state of criminal justice and the fact that even in civil cases preference and favouritism were frequently given to Hindus, it is really not surprising

to find that Moslems were not by any means satisfied with their treatment as criminals. Oaths were very rarely taken or demanded in criminal cases, confessions being largely depended upon; and so whenever outnumbered, the Moslems had little chance of clearing themselves and absolutely no trust in the consciences of their enemies. For this reason Pottinger says that in criminal cases "Mohammedans were treated with great severity and seemed to have had the benefit of no law whatever." Yet, in all fairness, it should be stated that in direct contradiction to this, Chaplin declares that "in criminal cases no distinction whatever was made between Hindus and Mussulmans."

From this rather depressing survey one point seems to stand out very clearly. Although the criminal justice of the Mahrattas was undoubtedly the worst of their institutions, the little good there is in its working is due to the fact that panchayets were used, either officially or unofficially, and that it was the panchayet system which enabled a semblance of justice to be meted out.

In closing this chapter, a tabular statement will be given showing a few of the criminal cases tried by panchayets in Khandesh in 1818, and the sentences passed. And it is only fair to emphasise the peculiar adequacy of the sentences in most cases, particularly that which drives a goldsmith out of his home town and deprives him from pursuing his trade in any other town because he received certain jewellery knowing it to be stolen.

TYPICAL PANCHAYET CASES IN KHANDESH IN 1818

Case	Sentence
A riotous affray (15 Brinjaries)	One to 1 year's imprisonment, fourteen others to 2 years' imprisonment in irons.
Theft	Hard labour in irons for fifteen months.
Theft	Twelve lashes with a Zer bund.
Throwing his daughter into a well and drowning her.	Acquitted, as guilt not fully proved.
Goldsmith accused of purchasing stolen property knowing it to be stolen.	Deprived of the privilege of exercising his profession in Malegaon and turned out of it in disgrace.
Theft.	Two years' imprisonment in irons.
Being associated with Bhils in systematic robberies.	Hard labour in irons for one year.
Highway Robbery.	Hard labour in irons for 2 years.
Causing an Arab to be put to death.	Confinement in Songhir Fort for two years. The accused was a woman.
Highway Robbery by two Bhils.	Death in both cases.
Highway Robbery.	Hard labour in irons for seven years. One accused was a Hindu and the other a Moslem; but they worked together in successful unity.
Being engaged in robbery and murder.	Death, later commuted by the Panchayet to life imprisonment.
Participating in spoils taken by robbery.	Kept in confinement as a dangerous member of society. No period given!
Stealing two gold mohurs and a venetian.	Hard labour in irons for one year. The accused was named Frederick and was therefore probably a Christian servant in a European House.
Severely beating some inhabitants of Kher.	Acquitted, as the accused, a munshi, was not properly identified.

Case	Sentence
Murder.	Death.
Conspiracy against the Government.	Hard labour in irons for 7 years. A Moslem.
Killing a Moslem in an affray.	Fined Rs. 300 each and imprisoned for 18 months. All accused were Rajputs who had been converted in- to Mahommedans.
Stealing.	Imprisonment in irons for 2 years.
Murder of wife.	Hard labour in irons for 14 years. A Mahommedan.
Robbery and murder by Bhil.	Death. Commuted to confinement for life in consequence of the peculiar circumstances under which he was captured.
Highway Robbery	Hard labour in irons for 3 years. A Bhil.



CHAPTER FIVE

Panchayets As Worked by Elphinstone

Having in previous chapters outlined in considerable detail the exact organization governing the assembling and conduct of Panchayets in the days of the Peshwas, it is now necessary to examine the system as it was worked under the British administration which succeeded the downfall of the Mahratta Empire.

One of the most striking decisions of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was Resident at Poona at the time of the Pattle of Kirkee and who immediately became Commissioner of the Conquered Territories, was that by which he ensured the continuance of the Mahratta customs and methods. "It becomes of the first consequence," he wrote, "to cherish whatever there is good in the existing system and to attempt no innovation that can injure the principles now in force, since it is so uncertain whether we can introduce better in their room."

Acting on that fundamental principle, Elphinstone proposed that the Indian system of village administration should be preserved, as it would be more welcome to the people than any distinct change in their means of obtaining justice. He recognised, however, that it would be necessary to take measures not only to remove the abuses which had become so serious, but also to revive its energy which had been flagging as the result

of the continued sapping of those abuses. Yet even the measures to be adopted to remove the abuses were, said Elphinstone, to be so slow "as to allow the amelioration of society to keep pace with that of the laws and thus escape the evil of having a code unsuitable to the circumstance of the people and beyond the reach of their understanding."

Yet although the retention of the Mahratta administration was admittedly a matter of expediency, Elphinstone was by no means slow in proclaiming that he saw in many features of the old administration excellent methods to be adopted or adapted by the British. One of these was the institution of the panchayets which, he said, would continue to be the principal instrument of local judicial administration. "It must be exempt from all new forms, interference and regulation on our part. Where the patil cannot personally settle disputes amicably, he must refer them to panchayets on the old model. If we retain this system we shall find that it has the advantage of leaving unimpaired the institutions, the opinions, and the feelings that have hitherto been kept together, and though the established practice might be worse than that which we have imposed in other parts of India, it will most certainly be less grievous.

to the people who have accommodated themselves to the present defects so that they are now scarcely aware of their existence. If our own system be unintelligible to the natives, the native system can seldom be thoroughly understood by any of us, so that we may act against its plainest rules from mere ignorance and at times be liable to strike at its vital principles when we think we are only removing its defects."

A Practical Trial

In short, the instructions sent out by Elphinstone to his district officers directed the civil authority to refer all causes of litigation to a panchayet, the decision of which was to be considered as final unless proof of gross corruption or palpable dereliction of justice was established; and that no new rules nor innovations of any sort were to be introduced unless it was found absolutely essential to remove certain abuses which were acknowledged even on the part of the people. The Commissioner's object, no doubt, was to give a practical trial to the system which prevailed under the late Government, either as a substitute for the British system of courts or as a temporary measure until it was deemed advisable on substantial proof to introduce a new system.

Elphinstone, however, was by no means blind to the necessity of making certain immediate improvements which would not in any way effect changes in the radical principles of the indigenous system. He particularly insisted that there should be as few forms as possible. An appeal from a village panchayet was to be

made to the Collector who, if he thought that the panchayet had not been freely chosen, or that it had not fully decided the case, or that it had been guilty of any gross error or injustice, should order a new panchayet to reconsider the case either at the original village or at a neighbouring one. But on no account was the Collector or a mamlatdar to go into an inquiry in an ordinary case merely because the panchayet appeared to him to decide erroneously.

Elphinstone apparently did not see very much difficulty in having ordinary village disputes adjusted in this way, but because there were many commercial people and tradesmen whose cases would perhaps be not so easy to decide by ordinary villagers, he provided for the summoning of special panchayets to deal with them, the membership of such assemblies to be very carefully selected not only for the sake of justice but also to guarantee that attendance was made as little inconvenient as possible.

Elphinstone also believed that a great secret in the future success of the panchayet system would be in an adequate superintendence, and for this reason he instituted a special class of officers who would appoint, instruct and encourage panchayets, not only by watching them closely to see that purity of justice was made universal but also in certain cases actually to establish the case in such a manner that the pleading, documents and evidence might all be brought in a connected way before the members and the case decided at one sitting. "It is chiefly by this superintendence," said Elphinstone, "that we can hope to purify and invigorate the native system so as to convert it

from an engine of oppression into an instrument for a more sound dispensation of justice than exists in our own provinces."

Elphinstone particularly guarded against the introduction of vakils who would protract and complicate cases to a point far beyond the necessity of either party, and, he added, "similar pains must be taken to guard against professional arbitrators, a description of persons who were not unknown under the Mahratta Government and who appear to becoming common under ours. This class adds to all the bad qualities of hired vakils that of corruption in the decision of the causes, and some rule should be fixed to compel officers to attend to this caution, although this is the only regulation I will venture to propose regarding panchayets."—

A Temporary Experiment

It is interesting to note that Elphinstone proved himself somewhat of a prophet by suggesting that, owing to the difficulties of establishing the panchayet system with a considerable sacrifice of form and even some sacrifice of essential justice, the panchayet institution might later prove so unsuitable to European ideas as to render it doubtful if the system could be maintained after the retirement of the officers to whom its retention was entrusted during those early days of administrative re-organization. That doubt, which was almost a prophecy, proved to be amply justified because, as we shall see later on in this chapter, the system gradually died out after it had been operating six or seven years. This decline, it appears, was due mainly to the objection taken by the people themselves to

the introduction of rules which compelled attendance under certain conditions and which sought to accelerate the decisions of the panchayets.

It seems rather strange, however, that it was deemed so necessary in later years to make attendance compulsory, because there are many suggestions in the old records that there was seldom any difficulty under the Mahratta rule in procuring the attendance of members. As one district officer concisely put it: "It was a duty they owed to society, and as a member of a panchayet to-day might be a suitor to-morrow, he could not refuse to his neighbours the same justice which he expects to receive from them."

Theoretically Ideal

There is not the slightest doubt that in theory the panchayet method of settling disputes in rural areas was far superior to the ordinary village courts of justice. As the Registrar of Ahmednagar stated in 1822: "There were no intricate forms and no difficulties of the law to deter the parties from appointing their own friends to hear and determine their disputes and from explaining the case in a clear and unsophisticated manner without the aid of those hired abilities which so often perplex rather than enlighten the minds of the hearers. The chosen of both parties meet at their own house, at the village office or elsewhere; the plaintiff's statement is first taken down on the left hand column of the paper, whilst on the right hand the answer of the defendant is entered; the cross-questioning and proof to the assertions made by either parties are written in detail according to the same order.

“This is the only form required throughout the proceedings and what could be more simple and at the same time more clear than to question by this means? The members of the panchayets have the whole of the proceedings, both the pros and cons, to bear upon each other, and the decision thereon can be made with the greatest facility. Surely this appears an expeditious and even beautiful as well as satisfactory mode of deciding cases, and may even be considered superior to our far-famed British Courts where the parties can only object to, and not choose, their jury, and where on account of the variety of forms and intricate questions few men are capable of pleading their own causes; with the result that counsellors are retained to make the best of their case and scrupulously to hide the truth of it should it in any way affect their client, and to grasp at every share of the mistake either in word or deed to bring the guilty off. That system which soonest brings the truth to light must be preferred to all others, and that is the panchayet system in theory.”

It was doubtless this theoretical system which impelled Elphinstone to adopt it even as it was the unfortunate series of abuses which became manifest in practice which ultimately sounded the panchayet's death-knell. Nevertheless, it was a courageous experiment on the part of Elphinstone, and a survey of its difficulties and its results sheds some enlightenment on the possibilities of carrying out such a democratic system of judicial administration in these modern days, when the masses of India are slowly but surely becoming more literate, more experienced and more cosmopolitan.

First Difficulties

In endeavouring to outline with any degree of accuracy the many difficulties with which those early administrators found themselves confronted, we must first go back to olden times. It then at once becomes apparent that the ancient Hindu system of panchayets was altogether subverted throughout Maharashtra following the death of Sawai Madhavrao the Peshwa, before which the doors of justice were open to all and redress could be had without recourse to bribery and corruption. But in the short space of half a century many of the essential principles were lost sight of, with the result that when Elphinstone and his group of British officials sought to retain the system on a more or less improved scale, they found themselves faced with the task (although perhaps they did not then realise it) of carrying out a system which differed materially from the originally successful indigenous system and which was therefore anything but ideal either in theory or practice.

As a matter of fact, it would seem from the historical records available that the very system of trial by panchayets had been lost under the lengthened period of Mahommedan rule in various parts of India. Particularly was this so on the Bengal side where Mahommedan courts seemed to be the only ones that were known, except perhaps in dealing with the questions of Hindu caste in which Moslem officers could not very well interfere, or did not bother to interfere even though they had the power. That is to say, in Northern and Eastern India the practice of

panchayets was, at least at the time of the early British in India, practically unknown.

The conquests of the Mahommedans, however, only extended partially over the southern parts of the provinces of India, and accordingly in many of the provinces under the Madras Presidency there were found at the beginning of the nineteenth century several of the ancient Hindu institutions still in existence. Yet it was also noticeable that the original Hindu system of panchayets had been trampled on and distorted not only by Mahomedan influence but also by a succession of ignorant and oppressive princes of the Hindu nation. Yet as another illustration of its vitality, the fact stands out that its name and some of its forms survived the rude check it experienced and that it was still venerated by the people, however much in practice it may have been mis-applied. Although it survived the ravages of time, its operation, like all other institutions in the iron grasp of tyranny, had assumed the form of the hand which wielded it, with the result that even the early officers of the British administration in Maharashtra admitted that as they were still ignorant of the true shape of this machine, "it is quite necessary to apprehend its structure and restore it to its original functions before we can hope to render it subservient to the purpose for which it is intended."

As Briggs himself wrote in 1822, after studying the various reports made by officers of the Madras establishment: "I am led to believe that they understand by a panchayet only

a simple court of arbitration brought together by the parties themselves to produce a reconciliation or to bring about some mutual accommodation to which both are bound to agree." He then points out, however, that although this was hardly sufficient in some cases to meet the ends of justice, there was no doubt that it has always been deemed desirable in all systems of jurisprudence to encourage such mutual accommodation. We ourselves cannot here pursue this particular phase of the subject any further, yet it is worth noting that one of the earliest editions of the famous Blackstone's Commentaries on Law deals with such a system very exhaustively and actually advised that some such plan should be introduced into England more than a century ago and given the definite power of a Court of law.

The Patil's Lost Power

One of the first difficulties which the new administration had to deal with, and which Elphinstone hardly seemed to recognise, was the fact that under the Peshwa Government no regularity appears to have been observed in practice either in trying causes or referring them to panchayets, although, as previous chapters have so clearly demonstrated, the whole system was in theory based on the most regular procedure. Yet the various officers in the different districts did their best to carry out the ancient system according to its theory, although from the outset of the British regime they were handicapped by the gradual loss of power sustained by the patil of the village in whose hands previously the success of the panchayets largely lay.

During the decline of the Peshwas, the legitimate authority of the patils was greatly shaken by the introduction of farmers of the revenue and their myrmidons, who apparently cared little for the consequences of the system they produced. Where, however, patils were shrewd, experienced and well-informed, they retained considerable influence among the ryots, although in other cases they were reduced to the most abject pitch of contempt and were often lorded over by the kunbis.

Another great blow at the respectability of patils, says Pottinger, had its source "in the nominations of hoojree and court karkoons as shekh-dars of villages, these people being particularly studious as to lower the patils in the estimation of the villagers and to foment disturbances between the patils and the people which eventually led to the expulsion of the patil from the village. A kulkarni likewise, being a Brahmin and having more or less education, usually found it advisable to side with the courtiers, and unless a patil had naturally a strong mind and superior talents to enable him to thwart their machinations, he fell into utter significance." There were, of course, many exceptions to that general decline, and there are references to villages where the word of the patil was as absolute as though it had been that of Baji Rao himself from the Gadi.

Professional Panchayet Members

Another great difficulty in making the panchayet institution more systematic was found in the fact that the people were unaccustomed to

regular attendance and rigid rules, and therefore it was found by no means an easy task to amend the system in such a way as would not be considered grievous. It was recognised that restraints and compulsion could not be too suddenly imposed, even though the very success of the system under the new conditions depended upon its being able to compete at least on equal terms with the growing system of Adalat (or Court) which was being introduced by the British Government. At first an attempt was made to overcome this difficulty by granting fees to members for attendance and levying those fees against either both the parties or the loser in any case; but this naturally resulted first of all in protracting the cases unduly, secondly, in producing a body of professional panchayet members who made quite a good living out of the fees, and thirdly in making the panchayet unpopular amongst those who had disputes to settle. In fact, the Collector of Khandesh in 1822 stated that the decision by panchayets had in some cases so tied the system, and the system had been so clogged in the whole course of its proceedings, as "to threaten the very overthrow of all substantial justice."

But perhaps the greatest difficulty of all was the abolition of bribery and corruption. So strong a hold had these abuses obtained on the system under the Peshwas that Elphinstone saw very little hope of reducing its strangling character until the people themselves had learned, as the result of adequate supervision and considerable education, that bribery and corruption were not only

enemies of morals but were also defrauding the majority out of justice for the benefit of a very small minority. For this reason Grant declared that the panchayet institutions, if worked properly, would be "a grand arm against injustice and oppression," although even he admitted that "in view of the difficult character of the task of cleansing a system from its abuses, corruption either on the part of the members or parties must not at first be declared severely punishable," adding that the fact of panchayets still being generally popular under the Peshwa, notwithstanding the corruption and dishonesty which had for several decades been practised, clearly showed that there was much more good than evil resulting from them.

Therefore the only effort that was made at the outset to prevent bribery and corruption was by the provision of immediate appeals against, and exposure of, such abuses; and it must be admitted that this method of tackling a very difficult problem proved very salutary on the whole.

Changes Made

Let us now turn to a consideration of some of the more important changes that were made by the British. In endeavouring to carry out Elphinstone's policy of general convenience, efforts were made to see that panchayet members were elected as seldom as possible from the trade and manufacturing classes, or at least to take care that the membership duty fell upon individuals only in rotation. All unnecessary harshness in compelling attendance was scrupulously avoided, although wilful neglect to attend after the panch-

ayet had been constituted was punishable by fine, not only with the view to expediting the administration of justice but also with the idea of preventing the inconvenience to which other members would be liable from the unnecessary prolongation of the sitting of the panchayet.

Of course the ideal panchayet was one in which there was neither venality nor coercion, when a panchayet was a court of arbitration where defendants were easily brought to meet the plaintiffs, where each party brought its own friends to decide its own cause of dispute, where persons without remuneration willingly abandoned all other occupations to sit for weeks and months to decide other people's causes, where witnesses were all ready to attend, and where the defendants at once agreed to pay whatever sum of money was decided upon by this ideal jury.

It is needless to observe here, however, that such a system neither did nor could prevail in actual practice. Nevertheless in those early days of the British administration, all attempts were made to reduce panchayets as nearly as practicable to these ideals and simplicity. Defendants were forced to attend to reply to the plaintiff's complaint; members of the panchayets were made to attend without using actual force; witnesses were called for at mutual convenience; the proceedings gone through by degrees according to rules; and the decrees enforced with as little embarrassment as possible.

Carrying out this ideal of arbitration with as little expense as possible, every encouragement was given to

compounding all cases except criminal ones even without a panchayet. Even under the Peshwas, it was no unusual thing when two inhabitants of a small village disagreed for all the men of the place to assemble together and prescribe some terms of agreement to the parties to which they generally acceded; similarly, under the British administration every effort was made for disputes to be settled without an official taking the case to a panchayet. For example, in one letter from Grant's assistant at Satara in 1822, it is stated: "Private arbitration has increased considerably owing to the expense in attending a panchayet granted by Government and to the endeavours which have been used to render it more common. Before referring a case to a panchayet, the mamlatdars are ordered to recommend amicable arbitration, and even after a panchayet has been assembled, the parties are at liberty to try and adjust their disputes through the mediation of any third person."

Another precaution taken against frivolous or unnecessarily cases was the system of levying of fines called hoorkee and goonagharee, which were established especially to deter people of a litigious disposition from bringing forward claims without any foundation. Under this system a security was required, previous to granting a panchayet, from the plaintiff and defendant for the payment of money according to a definite schedule. In disputes respecting mirasi, kunbava and all other sorts of assessed lands, the person losing the cause was to pay a goonagharee equal to one half of the yearly amount paid to Government;

in disputes about houses and all other kinds of personal property, a goonagharee was levied according to the value of the property at the following rates:—

From Re. 1 to Rs. 10,000	10 per cent
From Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000	8 per cent
From Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 1,00,000	5 per cent.

In disputes regarding Inams, Jagheers and other hereditary properties, one year's income was to be paid as hoorkee and goonagharee, one-third of which was levied on the successful claimant and two-thirds on the unsuccessful claimant. If the dispute was merely for some privilege, Government levied goonagharee according to its own discretion. It is noticeable from these facts that as a general rule only the person who lost his cause was affected, and the records show that the number of groundless complaints was greatly diminished.

In addition to these fines, when appeals were made against the decision of a panchayet, the appellant was obliged to bind himself by a written paper to pay such a fine as the Government thought fit if he was not able to make good his assertion, and for payment of which he had to give security. His complaint was not investigated until he had entered into such bond, and if it was then proved unfounded a fine was levied upon him according to the circumstances which may have induced him to make the appeal.

The taking of a bond from the plaintiff soon became a mere matter of form, although the defendant was obliged to give ample security for his attendance during the trial and for the amount claimed. If this was not done, the property in dispute was distrained and put under Government seal.

Before painting two pictures showing from the pens of district officers the "ideal" and the "actual" conduct of a panchayet under the British administration, it should perhaps be noticed that although minor cases were apt to be drawn out for a considerable period, it was found possible to expedite the settlement of boundary disputes by paying greater attention to the organization of a panchayet. For example, Grant points out in one of his letters that following the defeat of the Peshwa there were many large tracts of land lying uncultivated in the Satara District which for some time he found very difficult to deal with, but when he issued a proclamation directing all villagers having disputed boundaries to make an application for panchayets within one year from the date of the order, there was an immediate response either in the form of friendly settlements or in the form of definite panchayets. It should perhaps be pointed out that this sudden wave of popularity regarding panchayets was not due wholly to the people's desire to keep the panchayet system alive, but rather to the threat which Grant made that if any villagers did not settle up their disputes within the stipulated time, the villagers concerned would be called upon to pay up jointly the revenue of all land lying uncultivated as a result of their quarrellings.

Twin Pen Pictures

In order to place on record as clearly as possible the exact method of settling civil disputes by means of panchayets during the years that followed the end of the Mahratta rule, two extracts are here given. The first indicates what Briggs of Khandesh considered to be the true system of panchayet settlement, whilst the second outlines what Gibson, Registrar of Ahmednagar, described as "the present base practice of a really beautiful theory."

This is Briggs' pen picture: "When a person feels aggrieved by having his property illegally taken or detained from him, he procures a petition to be drawn out stating the subject of the complaint. This he submits to the chief civil authority, who issues an order or mandamus to the subhedar of the province wherein the defendant resides to call him before him and cause him to reply to the plaintiff or to give immediate justice. In the latter case, the plaintiff gives the defendant a deed of acquittance. If the parties come to an accommodation, then they enter into a raznama, or deed of reconciliation. In case the defendant refuses to comply with the demands of the plaintiff, the subhedar or the local officer requires them, if they cannot settle the affair by private arbitration by a certain day, to appear before him with an equal number of friends of both parties to allow them to investigate and decide upon it. In the meantime the defendant is obliged to enter into a bond by giving security for his appearance, and the plaintiff is bound to prosecute.

"The day appointed arrives and per-

haps the parties either will not or cannot procure members to sit and decide their case. All attempts at accommodation therefore having failed in procuring redress for the plaintiff, it is no longer apparent in which anything short of compulsion can effect justice. It is here where the whole of our present system (Europeanised) fails, but under the native government this was not without a remedy. The civil authority, whether subha nayadhish or whatever office he may hold, now becomes the efficient judge who calls a panchayet of disinterested persons and assembles them in public at his own house.

“The first stage of the proceedings is to cause the plaintiff to enter into two bonds (hoorkee and goonagharee) equal to the amount sued for, by which he is bound to prosecute and to make good his plea. By the hoorkee bond he binds himself to pay any costs that may be awarded by the Judge if he gains his cause, and it usually amounts to about twenty-five per cent of the money actually recovered; whilst by the goonagharee bond he consents to abide by any fine that may be imposed upon him if his plea is proved to be unfounded and litigious. The defendant then gives ample security for his attendance and for the amount claimed. Yet another bond is taken from both parties, called the rajnama or writ of assent, but this was only given after both parties had challenged the panchayet membership till they were satisfied that each member was unexceptionable.

would require a bail security from the plaintiff for performing whatever was awarded by the court, particularly in cases which affect local customs and privileges in virtue of certain landed tenures or hereditary offices. If such a security is refused, Government would immediately dissolve the court and reject the suit, probably fining the plaintiff on the goonagharee bond for litigiousness.

“All being well, however, the panchayet proceeds. First the original writ and the reply of the defendant with the rejoinder of the plaintiff are recorded. Witnesses procured through the means of the civil authority will be heard, although evidence would be considered the best when the witness gave it under his own hand. Each party then pleads his own cause, till at length the court, satisfied with the information before it, draws a complete summary of the whole case in which the members record what they consider to be the true state of affairs. They conclude by definitely outlining the reasons for coming to the decision, and then they sign the judgment and have it confirmed by the seal of the superintending Judge, who would probably award a sum to be paid by one or both of the parties to the panchayet for their trouble in addition to the fee to Government. An acknowledgment of his having been proved in the wrong ‘khote patra’ is then taken from the loser, with a ‘manya patra’ by which he consents to abide by the judgment. In practice, these latter documents were not of very great importance after a decree had been issued, but it appears they were always enforced.”

“In some instances before the panchayet opens its proceedings it

These, says Briggs, "are the real forms of the panchayet as I understand them to be, although as they have been entirely disregarded under Bajirao's Government and were even loosely attended to under that of Nana Furnaveese, it seems necessary that we should give the panchayet system a fair trial by reviving it."

"Briggs further admits that there were doubtless some other forms of the system which had been entirely lost sight of but which should in his opinion have been sought for. In order to get the most complete information on the subject, he suggested the assembling of a committee of those persons who were still living and who had been in the habit of attending panchayets in the time of Ram Shastree in the various courts of Poona; but there does not appear to be any record of a conference having been held.

Despite the many difficulties that were in the way and in opposition to the views of some of his colleagues, Briggs concluded by stating that he was of the opinion that unless some remuneration was paid to members of a panchayet, there would always be great difficulty in procuring their attendance so as to answer the ends of justice. He also believed that if they did not accept the adoption of measures compelling the attendance of parties and witnesses, as well as securing the objects for which bonds were originally taken at every stage of the business, they "must despair of rendering the institution efficient and of strengthening the hands of the court."

He believed, however, that it was to be made a matter of choice with

either of the parties to have the cause decided by a panchayet or by the Government munsiff, and the success of panchayets in Khandesh, both in regard to criminal as well as civil cases, suggests that if a little more attention had been paid to building up a panchayet system along the lines of the model institutions pictured by Briggs as a result of his individual researches, there might not have been that gradual decline in popularity which ultimately resulted in the people themselves sounding the death-knell of their own indigenous and democratic system of rural justice.

How Delays Were Caused

Let us now glance at the actual procedure which resulted from adopting the Peshwa's panchayet system with so few changes. This is in the words of the Registrar of Ahmednagar who, from experience, had to admit that the British system of adalat courts was as superior in practice to that of panchayets as in theory the panchayet was superior to the adalat. This is the picture:—

"In the first place, a person makes a complaint and shows good cause to have an investigation made into his case. The defendant argues the plaintiff's right, but at last a panchayet is ordered, the parties giving the necessary security to abide by the decision. They write the names of the members they select and a panchayet commences its sittings upon the question. But on one day half the members will attend, the next day not so many; the day after probably not one; for several successive days, perhaps even weeks, nothing available can be

accomplished. What is to be done? The custom is to send a peon to exhort them to attend; but this must be done four or five times a week, and even then the attendance is precarious, for at present there is no rule to compel the members to attend. For absenting themselves, the plaintiff and the defendant may be fined, or the investigation may proceed without them; but we believe it would be hard indeed to fine the members who are supposed to receive no remuneration for their trouble; for if fines are levied upon them, which they never were under the former government, what man of respectability and family would voluntarily consent to sit on a panchayet, subjecting himself to the risk of such punishment? The parties therefore would be at a loss in procuring persons to undertake their cause.

“Then there is another way of proceeding which is worse than the delay in the case of non-attendance. In some instances, absent members promise to sign their names and agree in toto to the investigation and the award made by the few who can be present. The parties injured hesitate to complain at the time as they imagine that of two evils it is the better policy to choose the lesser, and that it is better if the investigation should somehow proceed than that nothing should be done towards concluding it.

“In some cases persons are obliged to flatter and even to bribe members, who have consented, in the first instance, to make them attend; and the latter continue purposely to absent themselves on account of frivolous excuses, and delay to bring the

dispute to an adjustment until they have drawn from their entertainer all they can get. That is to say, the investigation proceeds as slowly as it is possible to imagine; indeed, the length of time that most panchayets take before they are concluded is incredible.

Awards By Auction

“But at length it is to be supposed that all the difficulties and delays are overcome and the bearings of the case are drawn up. This is the time when the members are supposed to make money. The award now hangs by the thread; it is to be put, as it were, to auction and to be knocked down to the highest bidder who takes too much care not to incriminate himself. All but that unfortunate being who is injured have an interest in keeping the truth concealed, and the result is that truth seldom sees the light of the day.

“The above-mentioned abuses of the system may probably originate in some degree in the character of the members chosen by the parties. It is certainly an object in the panchayet system for the parties to choose as members whomsoever they may think fit, but on almost every panchayet the same men are to be observed sitting as members, and as these men are of a description who could not afford to neglect their own affairs to spend their whole time in investigating the cases of others, it is clear that they find the trade a profitable one and do all they can to secure as much employment as possible. The parties have frequently been advised to take their own friends and not to allow these

sharks to have anything to do in the investigation of their claims, for such men are as bad as, if not worse than, the self-nominated vakils of our own adalats. The reasons they give for entertaining them are the same in both cases, that by the constant attendance in practice they understand the business much better than the stranger would, and moreover because they find it no easy matter to get disinterested persons to consent to become a member of the panchayet.

“This latter assertion, however, may appear overdrawn, for it has always been said that they esteem it an honour to be called to the panchayet, and this they might do if the present custom of requiring traders in panchayets did not exist. Thus we find this fine system, as in itself it is, lamentably abused, and instead of the respectable friends of the parties who might be supposed to be fond of principle and honour, we behold a number of men who make their livelihood by it, and whose first object is gain and not justice.”

The writer then goes on to outline still further abuses of the system which are apparent in the rural districts particularly, pointing out that as a general rule the local officers paid little or no attention to persons who in the first instance complained to them. If perchance the local officer orders a panchayet, it is frequently two, three or four months before the officer sends in his report, and even then that report contains only the rajnama of the parties, the actual settlement of the dispute being generally left to the imagination.

Likewise, when either the plaintiff or the defendant was dissatisfied with the decision of a panchayet, he frequently hastened to the adalat and declared that the panchayet had decided without paying the slightest attention to the merits of his case, either by not receiving such necessary documents as he could produce, or in calling his witnesses. An investigation had, therefore, to be made and the members of the panchayet had to be called to the head station, no matter what distance that may be, to answer an accusation. As a general rule it was found that the accusations were false and that the decisions of the panchayets were fair; but it was also found that people who had once been treated in that fashion and put to considerable expense for which they got no return, went home in disgust with the determination never again to sit under a panchayet.

Not a Total Failure

The two very distinct pictures just painted may at first glance suggest that panchayets in practice were a total failure; but yet the figures that are available in the official records show that there is no justification for coming to such a sweeping conclusion. Even the Registrar of Ahmednagar put forward suggestions which he believed would result in abolishing many of the abuses in what he himself described “as a fine system”, and freely admitted that the system of panchayets could be very much improved. For example, if the members of a panchayet, said he,

were allowed a certain sum in each suit when brought to a conclusion, either to be paid by their own party individually, or the whole to be paid by the person who loses his cause, they could not in those circumstances consider it unreasonable to be fined for absenting themselves, and if a required attendance could be once enforced the removal of the greatest abuse would be the result, and at the same time the means adopted to levy executions would be lessened. On the other hand, Briggs suggested that a day's subsistence should be paid to the members by Government in the first instance and eventually by the person who lost, but that was ruled out as being likely to hamper the working of panchayets rather than to accelerate them.

It might be mentioned here that another reason for the heavy decrease in the number of panchayet cases heard after the system had been in operation under British administration for several years was the decision to set a limit to the period when suits of a particular standing and nature were admissible; and in the Satara District it was stated that a diminution of about 35 per cent immediately resulted from this order. Grant sought to speed up panchayets by fixing a certain period of their existence for any particular case, and the plaintiff or the defendant was threatened with being cast if the delay was due to his negligence. When it arose from the remissness of the panchayets, they were officially summoned by the mamlatdars and threatened with the loss of their share of the fine which would be levied.

A Vivid Background

From the foregoing paragraphs it is very apparent, not only that the early British administrators in Maharashtra were faced with innumerable difficulties but also that they endeavoured to retain a system which had itself deteriorated and which had lost some of its most important principles. Nevertheless, a careful study of this review of their efforts to make panchayets successful will show that the modern student of politics is most certainly not justified either in demanding the immediate institution of the old-time panchayet system or on the other hand clamouring for its total abolition. Faded reports from busy Collectors of a century ago are certainly most useful to give a vivid background of the actual situation, but in this particular case we are especially fortunate in having a number of statistical returns available to give us real proof about the popularity, the work and the success of the panchayets in that momentous decade from 1817-1827. The second portion of this Chapter will, therefore, deal with a detailed study of these judicial returns from the various districts of the Bombay Presidency.

* * *

Explorations in Statistics

One of the most interesting of the documents giving statistics about panchayets is a torn and faded return of the "Provincial Collector of Poona" showing the suits preferred in the first six months of the administration following the downfall of the Peshwa in 1817. That return, now almost unreadable,

shows that in the very month (December) following the Battle of Kirkee, no fewer than 35 panchayets were instituted to hear ordinary suits in Poona itself, followed by 17 in January 1818, 7 in February, 20 in March, 25 in April, 21 in May, 22 in June, 20 in July, and 28 in August.

Some of these panchayets, it is pointed out, were assembled on the orders of the Government (provincial though it was), and others were described as "chosen by the parties." The following table shows the proportion of cases decided by panchayets as compared with the number by Government officers:—

though they later fell from their high estate.

Despite this transition stage already described and the various opinions officially expressed regarding the conflicting merits and demerits of the old revised panchayet system and the newly-introduced adalat system of regular courts, these does not seem my difference of opinion on the fact that litigation did not increase as a result of the continuance of the panchayet system in its adapted form. There were indications at first that they did encourage litigious habits, but it was soon found that such habits were not likely to be learned from serving as a

	Nov. 1817	Dec. 1817	Jan. 1818	Feb. 1818	March 1818	April 1818	May 1818	June 1818	July 1818	Aug. 1818
By Panchayets	...	35	17	7	20	25	21	22	20	28
By Govt. Officers	...	8	27	13	54	50	60	71	57	42
Total Instituted	...	11	63	37	66	67	85	88	79	64

Although the proportion fluctuates, it is clear that even in the earliest days of the British administration, every effort was made to encourage panchayets as much as possible, and it is obvious that their great usefulness under the personal eye of Elphinstone in those early days largely contributed to his decision to retain them on a slightly improved scale in his "model" administration which he so quickly organised, even

member of a tribunal whose interest it was to bring causes to an early adjudication and whose character for respectability was concerned in the impartial settlement of the affair in dispute. As a matter of fact, Chaplin maintained that "the spirit of litigation did not much exist amongst the natives under their own Government, for it was little observable except in those parties of the country where British Courts

are established, where much fraud, perjury, and chicanery have been introduced, and intriguing vakils, with the aid of voluminous regulations, often succeed in perplexing and confounding what would in itself be simple and intelligible, and by those same means influence the erroneous decisions of judges who do not always possess a knowledge of the language sufficient to enable them to comprehend all the niceties and windings of a difficult subject."

Pottinger admits, moreover, that men who frequently served as members of panchayets acquired the faculty of reasoning and weighing evidence to a fine degree, but suggests that this limited rather than encouraged unnecessary litigation.

Without again referring to the influence of vakils in the ordinary courts, it must, however, be confessed that at times panchayets were very long-drawn-out affairs. Cases are on record which show that the hearings have been strung out for a period of three or more years, one such prolongation being due entirely to the plaintiff himself going backwards and forwards, a distance of 80 miles at least, once a month complaining of the delays which were being occasioned by himself. Yet even that was apparently an improvement on the system as sometimes practised in the time of the Peshwa, because several cases have been discovered which lingered on for 20 years, whilst cases extending not merely over a generation but over a whole century were not unknown.

The Official Orders

The various judicial reports and summaries and statistical tables found amongst the piles of loose papers in the unsorted rumals of the Poona Residency Daftar reveal some very interesting and important facts concerning the actual conduct and results and powers of the panchayets under the British. Some of these facts will be briefly reviewed in the next few paragraphs, whilst those that are purely numerical will be summarised in a convenient form later on.

For several years every effort was made to carry out the standing instructions of Elphinstone that panchayets were to be considered the main instruments of civil judicature, and that all suits were referable to those tribunals, whose decisions were to be final (except in cases where corruption or evident partiality was later proved), and frequent circulars were sent out by Elphinstone's successors reminding all district officers of that policy and asking them to report from time to time the effect of the policy. Without repeating what has already been detailed in the first portion of this chapter, it should perhaps be mentioned that in 1822 a circular was issued by Chaplin, then Commissioner in the Deccan, that "in all cases depending upon local circumstances, complainants to the Collector must be compelled to show that they have done all in their power to adjust their disputes by panchayets before they claimed redress by a civil action." This was as equally applicable to assault as to marriage disputes, or to trespass as

to inheritance, or to adoption as to defamation. And although in criminal cases the mode of trial was more or less obligatory on the Collector as Magistrate, the records show that panchayets of five were to be called in. One special proclamation of 1822, for instance, runs in such a way as to prove that all large cases were, without exception, to be tried by panchayets. The order runs thus:—

“All complaints to be made to the mamlatdar if not previously settled by the patil. If the mamlatdar cannot settle the dispute, he must call a panchayet, and their decision is to hold good unless the party appealing can show some glaring impropriety on the decision of the panchayet. The panchayet is formed by calling over a roll of the inhabitants within reach of the Court, the parties challenging any to whom they object. When they have agreed on four, a fifth is to be appointed by the four, or by the mamlatdar, or by the parties, and this constitutes that panchayet. When the parties can get two men each of their own choice willing to serve, this is to be permitted, but the other is to be preferred. Original trials to be conducted by panchayet also, who are to try the cause, the Collector presiding and a Hindu Judge sitting by; they are to pronounce the fact, and the Hindu Judge the law. The Collector is to carry it into execution. This is for capital cases and important trials. Petty offences are to be tried summarily by the mamlatdar.”

Panchayets versus Munsiffs

Although district munsiffs were introduced after a few years of the new

administration, panchayets still retained considerable powers, and as was detailed in a previous chapter, were in some districts given the widest powers, both criminal and civil. But the general idea, particularly after Elphinstone's policy had demonstrated the need for still greater revision, was to have disputes adjusted as near as possible to the place where they arose and in full conformity with the common law of the country. For that reason, a circular was sent out on May 6, 1823, to all Collectors calling their attention to the new rules governing the work of panchayets and munsiffs, and summarising them for general publicity; and among these rules was one stating that panchayets were confined to particular classes of causes unless when both parties desired that mode of trial.

This shows anything but a tendency on the part of the Government to abolish the system if it was still wanted. The same set of rules, it is interesting to note, provided for membership in panchayets to be named from a rotation list when they could not be procured by the parties without objection; it was also made compulsory to serve on panchayets when thus called, whilst greater strictness and regularity of proceedings were also specially enjoined.

Although all cases could, on requisition of parties, be tried by a panchayet instead of by the munsiff, there were ten varieties of causes which the munsiff could not touch but which had to go to panchayets. These were cases relating to religion, marriage, peculiar cus-

toms of places, watans or haqs, division of property, maintenance, old and intricate accounts, disputes between two inhabitants of the same village within the sum of Rs. 50 of personal property, suits for damages for alleged personal injuries or personal damages of any nature, and boundary disputes. All these types were both cognisable and triable by panchayets, although later it seems that, if the parties voluntarily agreed in writing, they could be submitted to the munsiffs.

A Mixed Programme

Looking through the old judicial records and statistical tables found in the Daftar, it is not surprising, therefore, to find that panchayets frequently heard cases dealing with watan disputes, meeras, debts, family quarrels about shares of a house or field, inam, precedents, mortgages, adoptions, patilship, kulkarniship, marriage, deposits, village boundaries, site of a house, assault, tresspass, theft, adultery, maintenance, wills, suits for salaries, breach of promise, and slavery. In civil suits they had power to decide even when large sums were at stake, and in one return showing the number of prisoners confined in the Poona jail for civil actions there are instances of suits covering amounts from Rs. 136 to Rs. 4,008, the period of confinement apparently being indefinite but extending in cases well over two years. Some suits were for ordinary debts, whilst is one case of a marwari suing another marwari for Rs. 239. The same document incidentally shows that the panchayet ordered civil imprisonment in cases where a man would not accept its

verdict over the division of some unvalued property, and also that failure to obey a panchayets order relative to the return of some purloined secret papers also landed the defendant in jail.

A number of different statistical returns for the various districts further show the popularity of panchayets in special cases, and the examples referred to in the appendix tables give details regarding the two such widely-separated districts as Khandesh and the Karnatak, showing that disputes about debts, wills, and promises of presents were easily the most frequent suits heard by panchayets in 1825, proving also that, as the years rolled by, the celerity with which the local munsiffs disposed of cases resulted in a growing tendency for both complainants and defendants to make a special request for "panchayet" cases to be tried by munsiffs, either as a court, as a referee, or an arbitrator. This is particularly marked in Khandesh and Ahmednagar, where the regular courts handled cases which a few years before had been solely decided by panchayets. Yet the records make it amply clear that this change resulted solely from the desire of the people, because in 1825 circulars were sent to all the local officers reminding them of the rules by which as many cases as possible were to be decided through the medium of panchayets.

Panchayets versus Mamlatdars

Civil money suits also appear to have declined for the same reason, for a disjointed series of very long and complicated tables dealing with the judicial administration shows

that the local courts were as popular in those cases as in all others. There were no munsiffs in those days, but their place was filled by the mamlatdars and amildars, whose decision as a rule was more or less of the nature of an arbitration. But the figures in one of our Tables show that out of 13,189 civil suits decided in the four districts of Poona, Ahmednagar, Khandesh, and Dharwar in the three years between July 1, 1819, and July 1, 1822, over 10 per cent were decided by regular panchayet, about 17 per cent by raznamas or private arbitration after the case had been filed, about 19 per cent by mamlatdars and amildars, and about 17 per cent by decrees of courts. The exact percentages under these three heads for each of the districts are so illuminating as to demand their inclusion here in the first table:—

being a big drop in the number of court cases and an increase in the number of panchayets. But in the Khandesh and Dharwar districts panchayets were apparently always very popular and greatly helped the provincial average, even though Khandesh was populated very largely by illiterate aboriginals or Bhils.

The average number of panchayets held during each month of 1825 in the Poona district then rose to about 18, concerning which there were only six successful appeals. In fact, certain registers contain notes to the effect that the decisions of the panchayets were both fair and thorough, whilst in another case briefly cited in the rough Poona Appeal Register of 1824 the Commissioner states that in the appeal against the Collector's decision "the

District	Total Cases	By Panchayets	By Razanamas	By Mamlatdars	By Courts
Poona	8633	13%	35%	52%	1.5%
Ahmednagar	2753	9 „	17 „	9 „	65 „
Khandesh	326	78 „	7 „	5.5 „	9 „
Dharwar	1477	56 „	19 „	16 „	9 „

These figures show that with the exception of Ahmednagar district, the ordinary civil courts were not often called upon to decide cases, and even in Ahmednagar the panchayet accounted for nearly one-tenth of the total in the three years, whilst in the following year the percentages radically changed, there

case concerns such an intricate situation of accounts that it must be referred to a panchayet, and the Collector's must be suspended pending the panchayet's verdict."

Unsuccessful Appeals

It is particularly interesting to note in this connection that a docu-

ment dealing with Poona month by month for 1825 shows a much larger percentage of successful appeals against the judgments of regular European or Indian "agents" than against panchayets, the figures being 11 sentences confirmed and 10 reversed in European officials' verdicts, 18 confirmed and 13 reversed in Indian officials' verdicts, and 20

harvest many interesting facts.

In view of the suggestion made a few paragraphs ago to the effect that the decline of the popularity of the panchayet was due largely to the length of time these bodies took to come to a decision, a most interesting set of facts has been here compiled for the Satara district, a careful indexing of scattered letters having

Place	Nature of case	When taken to Mamlatdar	When referred to Panchayet	When settled by Panchayet
Koregaon	Watan Meeras Debts	27-2-1818	28-2-1818	2-2-1822
		1-5-1818	4-7-1818	17-9-1821
		13-4-1819	13-8-1819	Not settled by end of 1822
	Inam Precedence Adoption	13-6-1819	13-6-1819	19-12-1821
		12-9-1819	13-9-1819	4-11-1821
		17-12-1819	19-12-1819	Not settled by end of 1822
Wai	Patelship Property share Marriage Watan Adoption	7-5-1818	23-12-1818	Do.
		29-12-1818	12-2-1819	18-8-1821
		18-5-1820	28-5-1820	18-11-1821
		25-6-1819	27-8-1819	11-10-1820
		5-5-1818	16-7-1818	Not settled by end of 1822
Kattao Pandharpur	Debt Watan	16-9-1820	14-5-1821	14-8-1822
		26-7-1818	21-11-1820	Not settled by end of 1822
	Adultery Maintenance	26-9-1818	28-9-1820	Do.
		1-8-1819	1-9-1820	Do.

confirmed and 6 reversed in panchayet appeals. Full details are given in tables at the end of this chapter, all of which will give any particularly enthusiastic reader a most fruitful statistical field from which to

made it possible for the present writer to outline the exact life-history, as it were, of cases referred to panchayets. Out of this compilation, several typical and representative cases have been selected for reproduction on this page.

A complete summary of all the cases available for the Satara district shows that even by the end of 1822, no decision had been reached in nine cases which had been referred to panchayets in 1818, in 25 cases of those of 1819, and 26 cases of those in 1820, whilst altogether there were 133 cases at the end of 1822 which had been registered more than twelve months previously. A study of these cases, however, reveals that, in general, the cases were referred to panchayets within a very few days after they had been reported, and that in some cases the panchayet was formed the same day as the complaint was taken to the government official. But with a number of people to satisfy as to time, place, and personal convenience, it is not surprising to find that the hearings were protracted, although on the other hand an examination of the cases which were outstanding shows them to have been 45 relating to disputed ownership of property, 34 to debts, 32 to watan disputes, 16 to meeras claims, 10 to inams, 8 to sites of houses, 5 to adultery, 3 to adoption, 2 to assault, and 1 to maintenance.

At this distance of years from that period it would not be fair to attempt a criticism of the long time it took for those panchayets to decide their

cases, especially as some intricate watan and land disputes even now take many months,—and even years,—for a legal or administrative decision to be given. Nevertheless, it seems tolerably certain that it was the people and not the British Government who were responsible for that decline in the popularity of panchayets which later led to their abandonment. That is to say, the ordinary court system of the British ultimately proved a much more convenient and speedy way of settlement. Yet we are bound to admit that had the old-time principles of conducting the panchayets been adhered to strictly, it is possible, and even probable, that the system would have retained its popularity amongst the rural classes and masses, especially as the growing power of vakils and pleaders and other legal advisers so complicated the British court system and made justice so much more expensive.

But as this question of the cause or causes of the decline of the panchayets and their possible resuscitation in these modern times is such an important problem, it must be given a separate chapter in this work, particularly in order that the lessons learned from the Peshwas' system and Elphinstone's retention of it can then be more graphically outlined and more thoroughly discussed.



CHAPTER SIX

Lessons of the Past

Perhaps this last chapter should be prefaced with the very frank and explanatory statement of Mr. Hamilton, in temporary charge of the Poona Residency, in a letter dated September 13, 1809 :—

“The procurance of justice in the Mahratta Country depends upon circumstances so very peculiar in themselves and so characteristic of the people that failure is rather to be regarded as a fit subject for concern than suspicion.”

If therefore in this study, undertaken 120 years later, we see glaring defects and dangerous abuses, we must remember the conditions under which justice was sought to be meted out and realise that any system which could be even tolerably successful under such conditions must have had in it a potentiality well worth investigating.

In this final chapter of our detailed survey, we propose to summarise the main lessons which we can learn from the various facts and figures outlined in the foregoing chapters. These lessons, moreover, will be given at some length because we feel that they reveal so many fundamental essentials of the panchayet system and because they shed a flood of light on our modern efforts to revive panchayets in accordance with the democratic principles of the twentieth century.

It has probably come as a shock to many of our panchayet enthusiasts to learn that in no administration of mediæval or modern India (as differentiated from ancient India B.C.) have panchayets functioned in an administrative capacity. That is the outstanding feature of our researches in the Poona Daftar, for neither in the Residency Records nor in the Peshwas' Records is there a single reference to a village panchayet which controlled or supervised the internal economy or routine of a village. As a matter of fact, so far the special researches into the Peshwas' Daftar, which consists of vast numbers of accounts and daily diaries, have not revealed even the mention of the word panchayet : and it is clear that if panchayets had formed an integral part of the general administration, they would have figured in the records somewhere or other. This means that the only reliable information in existence regarding the working of panchayets, and of their actual constitution, over a century ago, is that which has been examined in detail in this book.

And all the evidence thus obtained forces us to admit that we cannot trace any form whatever of democratic self-government by which elected or nominated groups of villagers administered the civic affairs of the village community, so that any modern system which aims at establishing

panchayets as chota municipalities cannot be fairly regarded as a revival of India's ancient system of which we hear so much praise.

Yet when we announce this conclusion, it does not mean that the fundamental principles of that ancient system cannot be utilised as a basis for our modern democracy, and the following lessons which can be gleaned from this detailed study of the Peshwas' system prove most conclusively that panchayets can even to-day be rendered both useful and popular, even though the original system has to be adapted and modified to suit the totally different conditions of the India of today.

The lessons here enumerated, it might be mentioned, are taken more or less in the order in which they are derived from the different sections of chapters three, four and five, although where deemed advisable some of the lessons in the different chapters have been combined to save unnecessary duplication.

As a background to this final summary, however, we think it is advisable to remind all readers that the panchayet system could not have lived through more perilous and disadvantageous times; and no argument in its favour is greater than its own survival through conditions which would have completely abolished any other system of justice in any other country. A system which has such vitality, and which can prosper with tolerable cleanness in spite of evils and corruption, is a system which should be treated with respect; and if such a system could achieve its purpose throughout the time of the Peshwas and in spite of

civil wars and several complete breakdowns of administrative machinery, then that system has every possibility of being adaptable to such conditions as exist in India today.

And now for the lessons which our study has taught us.

Lesson No. 1.

All local disputes, no matter of what kind were referred to these panchayets, which sat as juries composed of the disputants' neighbours. From murder charges to petty quarrels over a few rupees' loan came under the jurisdiction of the panchayet, of which it was officially said by British district administrators, "the only semblance of justice in the Marhatta Empire was obtained by panchayets, for without them there was no justice at all, either for rich or for poor, nor for important or trivial cases."

This plain fact appears to lay the very best foundation for the idea that local administration to a limited degree is possible in rural areas, for where legal problems could be so safely entrusted to the people, surely local administrative matters could also be left in their hands, for, after all, civic problems are very little different in principle from personal problems.

Lesson No. 2.

The ideal of the panchayet system as ascertained by the early British administrators was to produce between two disputants a reconciliation and a compromise for the general good; and surely no better description of the essence of municipal adminis-

tration or general local self-government could be given than that.

This ideal made the system essentially a democratic one: or at least it showed that it possessed the fundamentals of our modern democracy. No caste, we are told, was barred or exempted, and although there were such things as caste panchayets, there was no trace of any autocratic caste chief to decide *ex parte* disputes. The panchayet, in fact, was the great leveller of all sections of the community and in all the records that have been examined in the Poona Daftar the present investigator has not found a single instance of that caste hatred and quarrellings that are so common in these days. The question of depressed classes does not enter into this particular investigation, but it is worth while mentioning in passing that not one of the many dozens of reports of British officials makes any reference to the problems which today confront the social reform of the people of India. It cannot, of course, be inferred from this that there was no such thing as untouchability, but the problem was evidently not nearly so acute as it is made to appear today.

Another illustration of the democratic nature of this system is to be found in the statement of one officer that in caste panchayets "general suffrage established the power of the head of the caste by the weight and respectability and intelligence of the individual." By means of this system, any such thing as tyranny of office was not tolerated, which suggests that our modern outworkings of local self-government have produced some totally different characteris-

tics among those participating in any form of local jurisdiction.

Lesson No. 3.

The panchayet system also contained in it the germ of modern popular suffrage, for although its general principle was that of nomination, there were many instances of direct selection and election, for there is no doubt about the fact that the plan adopted for the composition of the panchayet almost amounted to our modern elections on a small and simple scale. Similarly, the President or Umpire of a panchayet was very frequently not an official, and the method of choosing the President by the majority vote proves that even the villagers of India were admittedly conversant with the principle of election.

Lesson No. 4.

This question of the popularity of the voting method raises the sister-problem of civic responsibility. The present writer has several times been asked whether there are any signs in the old records of the general populace of the Mahratta Empire recognising or exemplifying the characteristic of the responsibilities of citizenship. In reply it is only necessary to refer to the details which have been given regarding the way in which attendance at panchayets was almost compulsory in the time of the Peshwa, for although there were no set rules governed by fines, the system worked in such a way that no man could get out of serving unless he had a very good reason for stopping away. The general idea seemed to be that a favour given to-day would most-

probably be needed in return tomorrow.

Then again, the very survival of the panchayet during the days of commotion and turmoil and corruption showed that amongst the masses there was, no matter how latent, a public morality which survived all the evils of the times. The panchayet system, indeed, was based solely on the agreement of a man to serve his neighbour and his community, and no matter in what light the system is studied it is very manifest that the simple duties of citizenship enter fundamentally into its practice and success.

Moreover, there is the additional point which has been brought to light revealing that leading citizens were frequently consulted in important criminal cases, thus showing that the Government recognised the value of a citizen's opinion even though that citizen might be an illiterate (but long experienced) villager.

It is also worth noting that the records show that illiteracy was most certainly not a bar to the creation of a really healthy and useful public opinion. In fact, towards the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century it was public opinion which almost killed the panchayet system through the methods employed making the cases so protracted.

Lesson No. 5.

The question of public opinion has another phase, namely, that of the way in which panchayets were amenable to it. Under the Peshwas there were methods of making the members of panchayets reach deci-

sions with reasonable promptitude, and although the patience and kind-heartedness of the later British officers unfortunately resulted in a change in this respect, the records show that it was panchayets which were responsible more than any other influence for nullifying the art of procrastination which among the Mahrattas had been developed almost to a science. The system must be remarkably elastic for it to be so amenable to public opinion as firstly to kill the baneful results of that procrastinating art, and, secondly, to be sufficiently strong to kill the popularity of panchayets when conditions were such that they could be strung out over an indefinite period.

Lesson No. 6.

Another remarkable thing about the panchayet system is that, as a general rule, it attracted a very good class of people. Towards the latter end of its career, the system admittedly produced a community of professional panchayet-wallas, but for the greater part of its history we find the system aiming at seeking the assistance as members of "the most respectable people, and men of good sense and probity," many of which were available in every district. The very system cultivated habits of reasoning and good judgment, and the fact that over a long period of years the selection in many parts of the Mahratta Empire was made according to a rotation list suggests still further that inefficient members were the exception rather than the rule. The character of the members was also shown most vividly by the facts outlined in the next two lessons.

Lesson No. 7.

In theory, and very often in practice as well, nothing could have been more simple than the procedure of the panchayet, which shows how eminently suitable it was for the illiterate villagers of rural India. Panchayets right the way through, indeed, have been marked by a simplicity of procedure which is worth a special study of its own, but which perhaps need not be entered into here. But because of their utter lack of complicated routine, their decisions were nearly always accepted, even in spite of the fact that such decisions were more often than not the exposition of the general opinion of the members rather than any regular judicial proceedings of a minor court of law.

There are many instances on record where the members of panchayets, for instance, depended more upon commonsense and local knowledge of facts than on regular routine. That is to say, it was more often the manner rather than the matter of the witnesses and parties. The Mahratta rulers undoubtedly realised that in any system which was to include the ordinary people, simplicity of form had to be the keynote, and for that reason we find panchayets being successful and popular in spite of the apparent lack of control and power of enforcement.

Lesson No. 8.

Probably the most fruitful source of their popularity, however, was the great fairness which almost universally marked their decisions. The system itself was such that it gave abundant opportunity for all the best traits of the individual and communal

character to be brought out, and in no respect were these traits more marked than in the justice which accompanied all their decisions. It is true that bribery and corruption were not absent from the panchayet system, especially during certain troublous periods, but the records clearly show that bribery was never advocated and seldom condoned when proved.

The great popularity of panchayets was undoubtedly due to the fact that they dispensed justice in the least arbitrary form. By far the majority of them were conducted with integrity and in a perfectly legal way according to the knowledge of the members, and the succinct and solid way in which the judgments were drawn up showed a perspicuity, a fairness, and an intelligence which should serve as a very great encouragement to those who are looking for arguments to support the claim for a greater measurement of local self-government to be given to even the poor and illiterate classes.

Elphinstone in many of his letters expressed the greatest faith in the judgment of a panchayet, and he frequently preferred it to the considered views of the mamlatdar or even the Collector. He found it the quickest and the safest revealer of truth in a difficult period of contradictions, and not once did he complain that the system was unfair, corrupt, or likely to promote injustice.

Lesson No. 9.

Yet another remarkable thing about the panchayet system was its extraordinary adaptability. It could be used for any and every kind of case, whether criminal or civil, whe-

ther simple or complicated, and incidentally showed that the people themselves possessed the same characteristic. Nor was it only in the matter of the kind of cases that the system proved so useful and so elastic. It was also adaptable to changing conditions, for it survived and prospered in all parts of India under various Rulers in different centuries among several religions and in spite of political rebellions.

The system itself, moreover, was such that those operating it profited by it and were themselves encouraged to adaptation and instruction. The panchayet system was, in fact, both a training-ground and a workshop, and its greatest secret probably was that it served the rich and the poor with equal justice. A system such as that is surely sufficiently adaptable to be stretched or twisted to meet even the changed conditions of these days.

Lesson No. 10.

A particularly striking feature of the system as practised under the Peshwas was that it made use of the "caste" element constructively rather than destructively. There is no need to deal with this point at length; but it should be noted that in the days of the Peshwas, caste was used to its fullest capacity without creating any of the turmoil and riots and bad feeling which is so common to-day. This proves that even the much-maligned caste system can be turned to advantage in local administration if only the right method is used.

Lesson No. 11.

Similarly tradition was used as a means to an end and not regarded

either as fact or as fiction. It was, in a word, adopted for what it was worth, and although it naturally had a greater influence then than it would have now in these days of widespread education, it must be admitted that the panchayet system utilised every possible agency and influence to assist it in carrying out its schemes for justice. We would not, of course, advocate a dependence upon tradition in these days, but not even the greatest iconoclast would be so rash as to declare that even to-day tradition has lost its full power and hold over the people of Indian villages. Rightly used, certain features of tradition could even now be turned to advantage, for, after all, nearly every country in the world boasts of and profits by its ancient traditions. But the fact that so much was made of tradition shows that care will have to be taken to see that the panchayet system is not permitted to keep alive such old ideas as those which let off the Brahmin from capital punishment simply because he was a Brahmin.

Lesson No. 12.

In spite of their great power and universal application, it should be noted that theoretically, if not always in practice, panchayets' decisions were subject to the approval and confirmation of the Government, thus showing that they were used to being ruled with a strong hand when necessary. There was no question of rural independence if by such independence we mean complete autonomy apart from any interference from Government officials; and although it was not often that Government did inter-

vene, the right to do so was kept alive. As one of the officers so clearly described it: "The Mahrattas are very tractable, and although they may linger in obedience, they seldom refuse it altogether to their superiors."

Lesson No. 13.

By its very simplicity and composition, the panchayet system was especially suited for village disputes and problems. For a long time, indeed, its success was dependent entirely upon the power and influence of the village patil and the continuance of the original village polity, and although to-day the village is not the isolated unit that it once was, the organisation is still so very identical that there seems no reason why the panchayet system should not still be utilised in a modern form to solve village problems, even though they be other than judicial.

Lesson No. 14.

Yet panchayets throughout their history have always needed considerable supervision. For many years it was the wide powers of caste which gave that supervision, and when the British took over, they quickly realised that special supervising officers would be needed to advise and to control the panchayets. Elphinstone actually issued special orders that local officers were to pay particular attention to panchayets, and for the first few years reviving the system was one of the first duties of the Collectors. To-day Government have so many different departmental organisations throughout the districts that it should not be difficult to exercise

the most useful supervision in addition to the work which the recognised local self-government bodies would do.

Lesson No. 15.

Yet despite this supervision, or because of lack of it under the Peshwas, the great defect of the system quickly became apparent to Elphinstone and his officials. That defect was that minorities suffered always. But with the Central Government either indifferent or engaged in war, such a defect was only natural; and there is little doubt that had the administration been stable and reasonably secure at the capital, the panchayet system in the rural areas would not have been so difficult to work amongst such minorities as the Mohammedans. The system itself had ample scope, with its adaptability, to cater for both majorities and minorities, and there was no reason why a panchayet composed entirely of Moslems, or at least a Mohammedan majority, could not have been appointed to try cases which were distinctly connected with the Moslem religion. In all other matters, where a common law prevailed, adequate supervision would, of course, ensure that justice was done to either Hindus or Moslems. It is apparent that in these days this particular problem would not present so many difficulties as it did a century or so ago, although when we think of utilising the panchayet system for local administration as well as for the dispensing of local justice, adequate safeguards must be introduced to guarantee that minorities do not suffer from communal

jealousy. It should be remembered that panchayets were very popular under Moslem rule.

Lesson No. 16.

“There must be no pleaders,” said the British officers. In other words, the members of panchayets were perfectly capable of understanding a case and deciding its merits without the aid of professional debaters and twisters of the law. There is no need to labour this point. But the old system certainly shows that even the ordinary villager was considered as competent to look after his own interests as his neighbours were considered capable of judging his complaint or his character. Therein lies a very important lesson.

Lesson No. 17.

Although the panchayet system provided for everything to be done according to a set of rules or customs, there were times when it was found that justice was more likely to be done by resolving the panchayet into a sort of round-table conference. And for the decision of such a conference to be accepted by the people concerned shows that they had the most explicit trust in such a method of settlement; and this is a striking suggestion that administrative matters, which are always settled by round-table conferences of Ministers, or district local board members, or municipal councillors, might just as easily be exemplified in the solving of village problems by panchayets along the lines already introduced in certain provinces and Indian States.

Lesson No. 18.

A lesson must also be learned as to why the panchayet system died out.

It was not killed or neglected by the British; but rather the people themselves killed it by their slack way of carrying on the system. Being so essentially democratic, its success is dependent entirely upon the will and determination of the people. And when they got tired of it, then the British Government could do nothing else but let it die a natural death. But at the same time, there seems to be no reason why, in these days of general desire for participation in the general administration of the country, some scheme might not be evolved based on the principles of the original panchayets by which even the villagers might take their part in dealing with simple judicial as well as administrative matters. If the people themselves desire to work panchayets, then there is nothing to prevent their revival being a great success. But a good deal of propaganda work and supervision will have to accompany any such revival.

“Cherish what is good,” said Elphinstone; and his advice is as true to-day as it was in 1819. The panchayet system has what he called “vital principles,” and once they are understood and adopted, there seems to be no reason why we should have to write “failed” across our modern efforts to take democracy to the villages. Elphinstone even realised that some of those “vital principles” at first looked like defects; and hence in reviewing the possibility of reviving the old panchayet system along the old lines the greatest care will be needed to see that real essentials are not scrapped. In other words, it will be now, as with Elphinstone, a case of “Safety First.”

Previous to the Conquest

Before closing this chapter, it should perhaps be mentioned that considerably before the time of the Battle of Kirkee and the conquest of the Mahratta country, Elphinstone and other British officials had demonstrated their faith in the panchayet system as a means of settling disputes of all kinds. There are many references in the old letters in the Residency Daftar which illustrate this point, and no better conclusion to this chapter could be given to show that panchayets were a regular form of administration throughout the Peshwa's dominions.

For example, on June 1, 1814, Elphinstone wrote to Chief Secretary Warden at Bombay that a dispute between two well-known Brahmins had been referred to a panchayet at Seroor "according to the custom of the country." In this particular case, the loser appealed to Elphinstone, then Resident at Poona, whose reply was that he did not feel himself justified in examining a case thus decided. So he rejected the appeal summarily. The Government of Bombay were then petitioned, but Elphinstone advised further rejection, as "full redress has been obtained by the complainant for the fraudulent practices from which he had suffered in his dealings with the defendant and other merchants of Poona." And Elphinstone's policy is supported by the fact so frequently emphasised in later reports that "it is one of the invariable rules of the panchayet as originally instituted for the object of doing justice not to enter upon business without having the consent of both parties to abide by the judg-

ment." This really precludes any appeal.

An 1807 Case

Two years before this, moreover, Elphinstone sent a letter to the Resident at Fort Victoria asking him to make arrangements "to transmit hither an original document which the panchayet have called for in order to compare it with a copy which has been produced before them." The letter further requested that "in order to prevent delay," the Resident himself should attend to the request so that the panchayet might "do justice as expeditiously as possible."

Further letters of a still earlier date shed a most interesting light on the difference between an ordinary band of arbitrators and a regular panchayet. This particular correspondence deals with the work of the Judge and Magistrate at Broach. It appears that a dispute arose over the boundary between the Peshwa's village of Uneeta in Oolpar and of the village of Bholao in the Company's territory in 1807, and for a long time there was much squabbling over the matter. Then the Collector took the matter in hand, and decided to appoint four arbitrators, two from the British territory and two from the other side. This did not suit the Peshwa's people, and so a further suggestion was put forward that the Peshwa appoint an Umpire to sit with the four. This brought no response, and so as the sowing season was fast approaching, the Collector, "in order to effect justice to both sides, and seeing that there appeared no progress towards settlement, arranged that Dearam Dessaye and the two patils of Bholao, being solemnly sworn, shall in consonance with the

custom of the country walk over the premises, and according to their track, the bounds of the land shall be fixed."

But even this did not suit the Peshwa, for later on in the year (September 1, 1807) Colonel Barry Close, Resident at Poona, wrote to Broach intimating that the Peshwa had appointed Hurry Trimbuk to go to the spot to settle the whole affair. Trimbuk's plan, we are further told in this letter was that the points in dispute should be determined (over the head of the four arbitrators who had already settled the question) "by a panchayet composed of 13 members, of whom 4 shall be from the Company's districts, 4 from Oolpar, and 5 from the Gaikwad's territory, and that the majority of voices should decide." Close replied that he was not aware of there being any objection to this plan, and he added: "I would persuade myself that the wishes expressed by Ballabah are sincere, and that if you can spare time to enter in again on an adjustment of the subject under consideration, you will find Hurry Trimbuk worthy of the honourable appointment conferred on him."

From this it is clear that a regular panchayet superseded any ordinary committee of arbitrators, and even was considered superior to the regular custom of the country in settling a boundary dispute.

But it should be noted that the only mention of Panchayets in these letters is to settle intricate problems such as these and not in any way as regular administrative or judicial bodies established by custom, heredity, or election.

A Candid Tribute

In view of these early references to panchayets it is not surprising that James Grant could write in 1818: "Panchayets are certainly popular. If well acted up to, the panchayets would always be a grand arm against injustice and oppression. That panchayets should still be popular, notwithstanding the corruption and dishonesty which have been usually practised, clearly shows that there is much more good than evil resulting from them."

England of old had a system or series of courts very similar to the panchayet system of India. But whereas in England their use was superseded, perhaps inadvertently, by the improved state of society which called for rules applicable to the more general and intricate relations which must take place as nations extend their connections, in India for a time they fell into disuse not from a general improvement in the condition of the people, but from a general abandonment of justice altogether. But they lived through it all, and when revived during the time of the Peshwas they formed the strongest defence against unfair treatment, incidentally revealing characteristics which lifted them entirely out of the general run of small citizens' courts, or trade guilds, or juries, or arbitrators.

Panchayets and Swaraj

Yet even to-day, their real nature has been forgotten. We have seemingly revived them, but it has been a revival in name only. They deserve the closest study of all who are in any way interested in, or plan-

ning for, the extension of local self-government, and even though such a study should bring about a complete revolution of ideas upon the original nature of panchayets, India must realise that they contain in them an amazing potentiality for Swaraj.

In fact, the words written by Briggs of Khandesh in May, 1822, are as applicable to-day as they were at that distant time :

“The conquests of the Moham-medans had only extended partially over the Southern parts of India, and accordingly in many of the provinces we have found several of the Hindu institutions in existence. And as our information has extended, **we have gradually become more open to conviction of the advantages to be derived by the employment of the upper classes of the people in directing, and of the mass of the people in carrying through, the duties of civil work al-**

most without the intervention of European authority. The ancient Hindu system of panchayet has been distorted and trampled on not only by the Moslems but by successive ignorant and oppressive Princes of their own nation. Its name and some of its forms have still survived the rude shocks it has experienced, and it is still venerated, however in practice it may have been misapplied. We, I conceive, are yet ignorant of the true shape of this machine, but it is quite necessary to comprehend its structure and restore it to its original functions before we can hope to render it subservient to the purpose for which it is intended.”

If this little survey has done anything to remove that ignorance and to reveal the work which panchayets can still do, then the research and the delving into dusty records will have been well worth while.



APPENDIX NO. 1

Portion of Elphinstone's Questionnaire

JUDICIAL

1. How was justice administered under the Peshwa's Government?

2. Were particular cases tried by officers of Government and particular ones referred to Panchayets?

3. Or was it at the choice of the Magistrate?

4. Or of the parties?

5. How was a Panchayet constituted?

6. Who were eligible to sit?

7. Were great men ever members?

8. Where there Panchayets of Shastrees alone and in what cases?

9. How were members elected or appointed?

10. How was a Panchayet procured?

11. Was the consent of both parties necessary to one?

12. Did any officer of Government preside?

13. Who was umpire?

14. Had they ever a Shastry along with them in cases of law, and if so was his opinion of more weight than another members?

15. How did Panchayets procure the attendance of witnesses?

16. How did they act if a party failed to attend?

17. Could they decide ex-parte?

18. How was their award drawn out?

19. Did they recantulate the arguments and the evidence?

20. Did it give reasons for the decision?

21. Where was the written award deposited?

22. Did it require confirmation and from whom?

23. Did any appeal lie from the award of a Panchayet?

24. How was a corrupt member punished, if at all?

25. Were revisions ordered and in what cases?

26. Were new Panchayets ordered on the same case and by whom?

27. How was the attendance of members procured?

28. How were they compelled to come to a decision? In other words, what means were taken to prevent delay?

29. Was it reckoned a compliment or otherwise to be selected as a member?

30. Was there any fixed fee to the members?

31. Or any not fixed?

32. Who paid it?

33. Was a man obliged to be a member?

34. Or was he only obliged to attend after he had once consented?

35. How was attendance compelled?

36. Were the parties allowed to challenge members?

37. How were Panchayets managed in the country?

38. Were they encouraged or otherwise?

39. Who assembled them?
40. What was the power of the Patil?
41. What is it now in this respect?
42. Who were the members of Country Panchayets?
43. Ryots?
44. Or Patils of other villages?
45. How did the Patil compel attendance of members?
46. Of witnesses?
47. Of parties?
48. How did he enforce his decrees?
49. Or by whom was he supported?
50. What was the next judicial authority to the Patil.
- Had the Shiakdar any authority in this way?
51. Was there any chain still higher up?
52. Had the Deshmuk or Deshpandes etc. any judicial authority?
53. Was there any regular appeal?
54. And to whom?
55. What is the public feeling regarding Panchayets?
56. Are they popular with the litigants?
57. With the members?
58. What is their real character?
59. As to intelligence?
60. As to honesty?
61. Is the attendance so much felt as to be grievous?
62. Does serving on Panchayets give habits of litigation and chicanery?
- The particular mode of proceeding now in force on the points alluded to both above and hereafter is invariably to be stated and all improvements that occur suggested.
63. What were the other modes of trying causes besides Panchayets?
64. Who were the Judges in the Town and Country?
65. What were the powers of great and small Jagirdars?
66. Of inamdars?
67. Were there any regular Courts?
68. How constituted and composed?
69. How named?
70. Where held?
71. What were the forms of pleading?
72. Were there any written pleadings?
73. What was the course from the commencement to the decision of a trial?
74. What was the form of process in all cases before judge or Panchayets?
75. Were Vakils allowed?
76. Is it a trade or did relations and common Karkoons in a man's service do the business?
77. Would much inconvenience result from prohibiting the employment of Vakils?
78. Were the friends of the parties allowed to be present at trials or was the Court open?
- The following questions refer to other Courts as the former ones of the same nature did to Panchayets.**
79. How were defendants summoned?
80. How witnesses?
81. In what cases did judgment go by default?
82. Were great men obliged to attend as defendants?
83. As Witnesses?
84. If they did not attend, how was their evidence procured?
85. Was giving evidence in itself considered degrading or only from its requiring attendance?

86. Was evidence ever taken down and when?
87. Were oaths required from witnesses in civil or criminal causes?
88. What were they and how administered?
89. How was perjury punished?
90. What oath is most binding?
91. Are oaths much regarded; in what cases are they so and in what disregarded?
92. Did a suitor pay any fee to Government and what?
93. Did a defendant and what did the party that lost pay any fine and what?
94. How were defendants and witnesses subsisted if kept away from their villages on a trial?
95. How were disputes about succession settled?
96. If by Panchayets, of whom did they consist?
97. How were boundary disputes settled?
98. Were they frequent?
99. How were disputes about cast settled?
100. Are there any heads of caste who settle disputes?
101. Or is it done by Panchayets?
102. Who summon these?
103. What regulations are they under?
104. Does the Government interfere and how far?
105. Did the Government ever listen to complaints for wrongful expulsion from caste?
106. How did a poor man recover a debt or obtain redress from a rich or powerful Man?
107. If there was no resource for a poor man against a powerful man, what prevented the utmost oppression such as was certainly not exercised in this Country?
108. What protected him in towns? What protected him in villages?
109. How far did dependence on great men or connections with their dependents protect people?
110. How far could Jagirdars, Mamlatdars, or even Court favourites interfere in the administrations of Justice?
111. Could any great man try a cause or order a Panchayet. If not, what prevented him?
112. Could one Judge or one great man try a cause which another had decided?
113. What was the practice in good times, those of Nana Furnavees, for instance?
114. What were the principal changes in Bajee Row's time?
115. How were obstinate debtors compelled to pay?
116. If great men?
117. If ordinary people?
118. Was imprisonment for debt practised?
119. Were any obliged to serve their creditors and who?
120. Were children and families kept as hostages for debts?
121. Were bankrupts set free from all their debts?
122. What constituted a bankrupt?
123. What checks against fraudulent bankruptcy?
124. What seem to have been the great subjects of litigation?
125. Are any new ones appearing since the introduction of our Government?
126. Was there any code of laws

or any law book of acknowledged authority?

127. If, as seems to be the case, the Mahratta practice differs from the Hindu Law, was the difference introduced by the Mahommedans?

128. Are Mahommedans allowed the benefit of their own law either in civil or criminal cases?

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

1. By whom was criminal justice administered?

2. What were the limits (whether defined or otherwise) of the powers of each person concerned in the administration of it?

3. Who had power of life and death?

4. Who had cognizance of serious crime not capital?

5. Who of petty causes, assaults, abusive languages, calumny, etc?

6. What were the punishments for each crime (murder, treason, theft, robbery rape, etc)?

7. Were they regulated by the Hindu law, or by custom?

8. Were there any forms of trial in criminal cases?

9. Were Panchayets used?

10. Were Shastrees consulted and on what subjects?

11. Who tried offences against morals, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, etc?

12. Were there any punishments for those offences?

13. Were they tried by the case and if so how were they punished?

14. Was the confirmation of Government required to the decisions?

15. What was the usual mode of execution for all crimes?

16. What of imprisonment?



APPENDIX NO. 2

Proceedings of a Criminal trial by Panchayet in the Court of the Political Agent in Khandesh, Dhulia, 23rd March, 1819.

Ram Row Bugajee
 Pand Rung Punt Dangurkar
 Madhoo Row Thalneir Kur
 Mulhar Punt Galnakur
 Yenkut Row Sinsalakur.

} Members of the Panchayet

Charge

Assah, a native of Furruckabad, charged with having stolen sundry silver articles from Lieutenant McPherson, H. M.'s 67th Regiment.

The prisoner is called into Court and the charge read over to him.

Evidence

Rutton, a servant of Lieut. McPherson, an evidence on the part of the prosecution, being duly sworn, is told: Relate to the Court what you know of the circumstances of the Charge.

"I am a convoy coolie in the employ of Lieut. McPherson. On the morning the force left Malligaon for Ammulnier I carried my master's trunk in which were the silver articles stolen. On the road, being unwell and exhausted with fatigue, I persuaded the prisoner, whom I accidentally met, and who told me he was a palankeen bearer, to carry the load for me to camp. Before we reached the camp, I quitted him for a few minutes to drink water, and on my return to the spot where I left him missed both him and the trunk; the latter having been taken up by the desire of an Officer who passing on the road saw it without any person to take charge of it, was restored to my master, but the following articles were missing from it:—

2 table spoons; 2 dessert spoons; 2

silver forks; 4 tea spoons; 1 marrow spoon; 1 looking glass; 2 neck handkerchiefs; 1 penknife.

"I immediately went in search of the thief to Malligaon whom after a few days I found with all the stolen articles in his possession, except the silver fork which had been sold to a silversmith at Malligaon from whom it was afterwards recovered."

Defence

The prisoner made no defence and confessed that the circumstances related by the witness were true.

Question : What was your employment in Colonel Huskisson's camp?

Answer : I had no employment; I am a convoy coolie, and was a few months' since in the service of an officer at Nagpore, but being thrown out of employment I came into this part of the country to seek for it, and had only been in Colonel Huskisson's camp ten days when the circumstance occurred for which I was made a prisoner.

Decision

The Court is of the opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

Sentence

The Shastry, on reference to the Poorans, sentences the prisoner to 15 months' imprisonment in irons and hard labour during that period.

Substance of the different articles of appeal made by Parashram Rao Bhagwat against the decree given by a Panchayet in the case of Sookrey versus Bhagwat for a shop erected in Vetal Peth, Poona. July, 1819.

Note.—Bhagwat had the management of the Vetal Peth during Baji Rao's time, which he entrusted to his karkoon Sookrey, a man who had been a dependant in his house for many years. Sookrey built a shop to which Bhagwat laid claim and of which he took possession, declaring that the expenses were defrayed from his money. Sookrey denied having employed Bhagwat's cash in this business, and states that he borrowed it and that the shop is consequently his own. On this point they joined issue, and the Panchayet passed a decree in favour of the Plaintiff. To this decree the following objections were taken by the Defendant:—

1. His karkoon was ignorant of the circumstances of the case and had no authority from him to advocate his cause.

2. He will disprove by the strongest evidence the objection stated by the Panchayet as to the promissory note in the handwriting of Sookrey for Rs. 16,936 having been extorted.

3. The Panchayet lay great stress on a deduction being made in the above sum for the expense of building the house, but have omitted to insert in their decree any mention of another item of Rs. 5,025 due to him in settlement of his accounts which, together with all the interest accumulated from his principal, was left in the possession of Sookrey, contrary to the general custom, and which must have been for the purpose of building this house, which rendered it unnecessary to subtract it from the other account. They have likewise passed over the letter from Ballanjee Asunt regarding the tax put on the erection of the house and have said nothing about his having paid for the ceremony of the Wastoo.

4. Sookrey states that he borrow-

and the Panchayet declare this assertion to be correct, but have not explained why.

5. The management of the Vetal Peth was entrusted by him to Sookrey, the accounts of which Sookrey affirms having given into the then existing Government, and the Panchayet admits his affirmation. But he has promised to give him an account in his letter to him (Bhagwat), which letter has not been examined.

6. Sookrey asserts that he was obliged to borrow the money to build the shop, and the Panchayet state that this is corroborated by the money being still due; yet Sookrey in another part of his examination says that he, being hard pressed by his creditors, sold his daughter's jewels to settle their debts.

7. The Panchayet have stated that the promissory note for Rs. 16,936 has been obtained by force and adduce as evidence that some of the items have been twice entered; but they do not specify the particular sums.

8. The Panchayet declare that the assertion of Sookrey of having given the accounts to Government is admitted by him (Bhagwat) but proof of this is not apparent in the face of the proceedings.

9. By the decision of the Panchayet in asserting that the promissory note had been extorted, this cause has been given against Bhagwat and that the debt is consequently negatived; for the proof of the one is the proof of the other. Sookrey, however, made no complaint on this subject, which he would have done if he had had any reason to do so, and no proper investigation of the debt has taken place.

The case was appealed to Captain Robertson (Collector of Poona), but given against the appellant (Bhagwat) who was fined Rs. 100 for raising

APPENDIX NO. 4

Original Suits Dealt with in Poona District, 1825.

Months	Cases dealt with on Merits	By Panchayet	Court decree	Sudar ameen	Indian Commissioners	District Commissioners and Mamlatdars
January	257	9	...	29	66	162
February	290	17	7	20	50	196
March	224	14	2	18	51	139
April	305	27	26	10	77	165
May	288	14	11	18	100	145
June	301	28	10	22	156	85
Total	1665	109	56	108	500	892

APPENDIX NO. 5

Appeals Decided in Poona District, 1825.

Month	European Officers		Indian Officers		Panchayets	
	Confirmed	Reversed	Confirmed	Reversed	Confirmed	Reversed
January	1	1	...	...	...	1
February	...	2	3	...	1	...
March	1	...	...	1	1	...
April	...	...	1	5	3	2
May	6	4	10	6	6	...
June	3	3	4	1	9	3
Total	11	10	18	13	20	6

APPENDIX NO. 6

The Variety of Suits Disposed of by Panchayets from January 1,
to June 30, 1825.

	By Collectors		By Mamlatdars	By Panchayets	By Munsiffs		
	Original	Appeal			Original	As Referee	As Arbitrator
KHANDESH							
1 Caste customs	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
2 Marriage and Breach of promise	1	...	...	1	2	...	...
3 Maintenance	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Adoption	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 Inheritance	3	1	...	6	6	1	...
6 Gifts and wills	...	...	...	...	4	1	...
7 Slavery	3	...	...	1	2	...	...
8 Contracts	4	2	1	18	45	...	...
9 Debtors	15	6	...	33	349	8	2
10 Bankruptcy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Boundaries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Injury	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
Totals ...	26	10	1	60	414	10	2
AHMEDNAGAR							
1 Caste customs	...	...	3	1	5	...	...
2 Marriage and Breach of promise	7	...	2	...	9	...	...
3 Maintenance	2	...	...	...	8	1	...
4 Adoption	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
5 Inheritance	104	...	7	8	42	3	...
6 Gifts and wills	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
7 Slavery	9	...	...	...	29	...	...
8 Contracts	15	1	8	1	73	1	3
9 Debtors	202	4	22	18	1329	24	3
10 Bankruptcy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Boundaries	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Injury	3	...	...	...	2	...	...
Totals ...	351	5	42	29	1498	29	6

APPENDIX No. 6—Contd.

	By Collectors		By Mamlatdars	By Panchayets	By Munsiffs		
	Original	Appeal			Original	As Referee	As Arbitrator
KARNATAK							
1 Caste customs	9	...	3	2	1	1	...
2 Marriage and Breach of promise	5	...	2	1	...	...	1
3 Maintenance	3	...	1	3	2	...	...
4 Adoption	2	1	1	2	...	...	...
5 Inheritance	7	...	5	2	1	1	2
6 Gifts and wills	10	1	4	10	2	...	5
7 Slavery	6	...	1	...	3	...	...
8 Contracts	5	...	5	6	55	16	...
9 Debtors	15	...	22	23	80	24	3
10 Bankruptcy	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
11 Boundaries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Injury	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals ...	62	2	44	49	144	42	11
DHARWAR							
1 Caste customs	8	...	6	4	17	13	9
2 Marriage and Breach of promise	13	...	8	7	13	3	7
3 Maintenance	7	...	2	4	3	...	1
4 Adoption	2	...	...	3	...	1	...
5 Inheritance	12	...	5	21	8	6	5
6 Gifts and wills	21	1	4	19	21	4	4
7 Slavery	6	...	1	3	25	2	1
8 Contracts	33	...	9	8	449	9	13
9 Debtors	90	7	37	76	1312	101	107
10 Bankruptcy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Boundaries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Injury	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals ...	192	8	72	145	1848	139	147

APPENDIX NO. 7

Comparative statement showing Civil cases decided from January, 1825 to July, 1825.

Districts	Decided by Munsiffs at special request of parties		Decided by Panchayet		Ex parte deci- sion due to absence of both parties		Dismissed due to absence of complainant		Compromised by Parties		Total cases	Fees received	Special cases sent to Panchayets at request of Parties concerned	
	Fees payable	Fees not payable	Fees payable	Fees not payable	Fees P.	Fees N.P.	Fees P.	Fees N. P.	Fees P.	Fees N.P.			Num- ber	Fees Recd.
Poona	2291	29	214	8	13	2	649	44	1168	4	4422	Rs. 7506	36	Rs. 447
Karnatak	2842	51	359	48	30	...	312	47	4306	83	8078	18071	88	2830
Ahmednagar	1320	19	116	3	7	...	229	5	3560	42	5301	9578	2	23
Sholapur	1117	...	156	4	7	...	74	1	823	...	2182	9118	133	2723

APPENDIX NO. 8

Grand Summary of Suits preferred, decided and remaining in the four districts
from July 1, 1819 to July 1, 1822.

		Suits Preferred			Suits Decided					Suits Dismissed by default thro' non-attendance of Plaintiffs	Total disposed of	Suits Remain- ing on file
		Balance	Insti- tuted	Total	Pan- chayet	Raz- nama	Court decree	Mam- latdar	Total			
Poona	1819-20	499	4104	4603	241	461	41	774	1517	2721	4238	365
	1820-21	365	2757	3122	113	568	13	682	1376	470	1846	1276
	1821-22	1276	2432	3708	170	372	5	761	1308	1241	2549	1159
	Total	...	9293	9792	524	1401	59	2217	4201	4432	8633	...
Ahmednagar	1819-20	255	1078	1333	54	163	285	111	613	...	613	720
	1820-21	720	1639	2359	118	100	749	104	1071	...	1071	1288
	1821-22	1288	1517	2805	78	205	757	29	1069	...	1069	1736
	Total	...	4234	4489	250	468	1791	244	2753	...	2753	...
Khandesh	1819-20	...	...	105	87	2	2	...	91	...	91	14
	1820-21	14	108	122	72	6	11	5	94	...	94	18
	1821-22	18	126	144	94	16	18	13	141	...	141	3
	Total	...	325	329	253	24	31	18	326	...	326	...
Dharwar	1819-20	68	413	481	255	47	2	...	304	...	304	177
	1820-21	177	590	767	219	52	34	140	465	...	465	302
	1821-22	302	629	931	360	163	89	96	708	...	708	223
	Total	...	1632	1700	834	262	125	236	1477	...	1477	...
Grand Total		...	15,484	16,310	1861	2155	2006	2715	8137	4432	13,189	...

THE WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY

AN APPEAL

SECOND (ABRIDGED) EDITION

by

J. W. PETAVEL (R. E. Ret.)
Late Lecturer on the Poverty Problem,
Calcutta University.

With Forewords

by

COMMISSIONER LAMB
International Social Secretary
Salvation Army

and by

W. A. MACKENZIE ESQ.,
Secretary General,
Save the Children International Union

communications in connection with this appeal and any subscriptions
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LARGE NUMBERS OF THIS APPEAL ARE BEING
CIRCULATED FREE. ANY HELP IN ITS CIRCULATION
WILL BE THANKFULLY RECEIVED. MANY REALISE
THE URGENCY OF MAKING KNOWN THE FACTS IT
DEALS WITH AND THE PIONEERINGWORK THAT
IS BEING DONE.

THE EDUCATIONAL COLONIES PLAN.

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ENQUIRY.

Extracts from some letters received from those to whom the University publications and circulars were sent.

From the Private Secretary to H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES: "Several books from Captain Petavel's pen have been brought to His Royal Highness' notice, and have been found of great interest."

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE: "I welcome the appeal you propose on behalf of the educated youths of our country... There is no doubt that your scheme if helped by a sufficient number.. will lead to far-reaching beneficial results."

The Private Secretary to the Late GENERAL BOOTH, Founder, Salvation Army wrote: General Booth is greatly interested, and would like to know how he can help.

The late Rt. Hon. LORD HALDANE: "There is much that is promising in the plan."

The late Rt. Hon. LORD SINHA (under Secretary of State for India): "I fully believe in the plan."

The Rt. Hon. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE: "There is a lot of very interesting material"... "It will be of great value..."

The Hon'ble SIR DINSHAW WACHA (Member of the Indian Council of State): "What you and a few others see as transparent as the mid-day sun is yet darkness to the millions... that darkness must be dispelled."

PROFESSOR T. N. CARVER (of Harvard): "Your suggestions seem to me entirely worthy and practical."

The Rt. Hon. LORD SYDENHAM (Late Governor of Bombay): "An idea well worth a full and fair trial."

Dr. ANNIE BESANT: "Since I read of the Swiss scheme I have believed in yours and I most heartily wish you success."

J. M. BECK ESQ. (Solicitor General U. S. A.): "I congratulate you heartily upon the good work you are doing."

PROFESSOR SIR MICHAEL SADLER (President of the Calcutta University Commission wrote): "I wish it were possible to find someone to try an experiment on your lines. A farm-school (Educational Colony) in some well-chosen rural district... would show what this part of your plan would do for the good of the agricultural community."

"I hope it will be possible to keep the idea before the Indian public, as I believe that, in the end, something of the kind will be tried in new developments of Indian education."

A PIONEER EDUCATIONAL COLONY.

A RESPONSE TO THE FIRST ISSUE.

A group of people, anxious to help carry on the work which the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had initiated when death stayed his hand,* have responded to the first issue of this Appeal† by joining together in an endeavour to establish a pioneer educational colony, and this new issue of it is being circulated in the earnest hope that the striking and very encouraging facts set forth in it will induce many to join them in their effort.

Sir Asutosh spoke of the educational colonies plan as "the only one anyone really believed in" for the solution of the problem of middle class unemployment, and for really hopeful rural reconstruction. He insisted also that if some good examples were given the idea would spread rapidly.

The group have secured an eminently suitable place in which to start the pioneering. They hope that then others will very soon be doing the same in other localities. Meanwhile they will welcome those who might be willing to join them on the five hundred acres they dispose of, where there is ample room for great developments on the lines on which they desire to advance.

Of the five hundred acres, four hundred about are within a mile from Kamshet station on the G. I. P. Bombay Poona line, about 90 miles from the former, and 30 from the latter place; and about one hundred acres are at nearly the same distance from the next station, Malawali. The distance from Lanovala is about ten miles. The climate is excellent, the soil is fairly good, some of it very good, there is a river that never dries, supplying irrigation, excellent well water can be had (about forty feet deep) and there is abundant good housing accommodation to be rented at very moderate rates.

The idea of the educational colony is to combine, with the schooling, practical productive work, the object of which is thus educational quite as much as economic—the Appeal explains why this is possible with modern methods, though it always failed when tried with the old ones. It also explains various kinds of educational colonies that are possible.

On the ample site chosen there is room for people who want to carry out the idea to do so in different ways, according to the class of boys, and to various educational plans, co-operating as regards the productive work.

* A co-operative society was registered in Bengal under the name of the Modern Co-operative Agricultural Association Ltd., with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as President of the Board of Directors, to establish educational co-operative colonies. His sudden death, however, rendered it impossible to go on with the scheme, which was too ambitious to be carried out without his influence.

† The first issue dealt with the question from a special point of view, this one does so from the general.

The pioneers, whilst welcoming all who will co-operate with them in any way, have their own scheme, and cordially invite others to join them with it. It is for a school which will prepare boys for the ordinary examinations; one that will differ from the ordinary school chiefly in respect to the fact that the school hours will be shorter by about one and a half daily, and the home tasks given will be reduced, so as to take about a half an hour less time; diminishing the school work by about two hours—on account of there being three hours of productive work. Thus the boys will work about an hour more than in an ordinary school but the variety will make the strain much less, and the life much healthier. It is expected thus that the progress will be as good as in the ordinary school, whilst the training, from the practical point of view will be incomparably superior. All that need be said further about the school is that, as it will appeal to practical people, the whole teaching will be made as practical as possible. English will be taught by an Englishman, Hindi will be a special feature, and the greatest possible advantage will be taken of the splendid opportunities the educational colony gives to apply the “project-method,” which is so strongly recommended by modern educationists.

“Colonists” are required to undertake the agricultural and industrial work.

For the productive work to be efficient the first essential is that the children should be employed helping adults. The adults should work with the children in little profit-sharing undertakings. These might be small holdings for intensive cultivation with or without some “subsidiary industry,” or else industries only.

“Colonists,” thus, are wanted who would work on that plan, taking perhaps four boys to work with them, but probably two only at a time.

Irrigated holdings, if looked after by someone living on the spot, working on them about four hours a day, so as to know the work, and to know exactly what is to be expected of hired workers—should yield about Rs. 1,000 a year to members of well-organized and sufficiently capitalized co-operating groups. But co-operating groups of people with very small capital only, will be able between them, to produce, with very little expenditure for hired labour, much of the food required for their families, whilst earning, by selling certain special classes of produce, and preparations from them, a small monthly sum that may increase.

The situation on the direct line to the markets of Bombay and Poona is of course an important advantage. The place is also advantageous in many ways for industries. The rent of the land is about Re. 1 per acre per annum. It may be taken on a permanent lease. Irrigation charges are of course according to crops, and to the water they require.

The colony, thus presents very special attractions to people interested in some way, either personal or philanthropic, in the plan of co-operative colonies of small cultivators and industrialists, with the advantages both commercial

and social that colony groupings can give and, in this case, the special educational advantages.

Some will join to make a living in the colony, by education and by some industry, all perhaps taking some part in the educational work; others will gain their first experience under the advantageous conditions a colony offers, with the idea of embarking on some more ambitious undertaking when they have the necessary experience,* others will join to have interesting work in retirement, or to supplement a small income with a hobby that will become increasingly profitable as they gain more experience. Some will look to building up a little undertaking that, developing, may give their son a means of livelihood. The first pioneers will probably earn by teaching.

Those who wish to help this colony are invited earnestly to consider all the reasons for which different classes of people would gladly join one in which good educational facilities are provided, and are asked to help to make the undertaking widely known.

The Appeal shows what strong reasons the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had for his firm belief that educational colonies would multiply rapidly when an example had been given. It shows specially how they might become the schools, demonstration farms, seed farms, industrial centres, and centres of co-operation for groups of villages. New and important openings would then occur for young men with educational colony training. As it has been expressed a new profession would be opened up for men of education.

The colony would train them for that "new profession."

But it would not be for the educational purposes alone.

Commissioner Lamb writes a foreword in which he speaks of the possibility of the modern colony organization putting an end to unmerited poverty. To many this may seem fantastic. But all, of course, will read his foreword. What we have to consider is the simple economic fact that progress has given us methods that enable the person who is working in a good organization to produce enormously more by his labour than the ordinary peasant or village craftsman produces. Thus economists say that a well-developed system of educational colonies, established throughout the country, in which the youths would work a very short day, leaving plenty of time for a thoroughly good elementary education, would very easily supply the cultivators with good seeds, implements, artificial manures where useful, manufactured articles of daily use, and foodstuffs where there was lack of them. Educational colonies for the town youths might supply food for school children whose parents were poor, supply maintenance for teachers, and thus solve the problem of schools for all; they might also easily produce foodstuffs and other necessaries for people who were unable to earn. Finally, when we had this organization, it would be possible to set the unemployed also to work, in the way Switzerland now

* See the Report of the Calcutta University Commission Vol. VII p. 18.

illustrates, helping to produce necessaries for themselves. Then indeed we should be able to say that the poverty problem had been solved.

That is the ultimate object in view.

Few, perhaps, may be able to believe this yet; but all who read the Appeal carefully, will be impressed by the immense possibilities, under modern conditions, of the colony organization, and hopeful therefore about the "new profession" that will be opened up to men with colony training.

The late Sir Ashutosh, realised that few people were prepared to listen to a suggestion that educational colonies could solve the poverty problem, so he insisted on the wisdom of concentrating on establishing them for their educational value, and then seeing how fast and how far we should be led in the direction of solving our economic problems. That is evidently the simple common sense of a great mind, and this appeal is addressed to those who want to follow the advice, given by that eminent man, after he had obtained the verdict of a world-wide enquiry on the plan.

All realize at all events, that our educational system is not suitable to our present time, and particularly that it is quite unsuitable to the classes to which education is now being extended. Everyone realises that the educational colony would give us a suitable system if it proved practically possible. What is wanted therefore is to try with the right class of boy, and under the right conditions. That is what the pioneering group intend to do. They therefore appeal to all social and educational reformers to help them.

It will be a valuable help to send them really good boys. Nothing could be more important at the beginning. Boys will not, of course, be able to earn at once. Moreover if the school remains for some time a small one it will be costly at first and the boys will have to be paid for as in other schools. But in these days of unemployment, all will appreciate the fact that educational colony trained lads would always be able to make a modest living by taking a plot of land in the colony that had trained them, until wider openings offered.

All thoughtful parents will study what is said on that subject in the Appendix Volume already mentioned of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, now that the educational colony solution has been so repeatedly recommended by the President of the Commission and by its most prominent members. Encouraged, thus, by the very highest authorities, parents will not neglect this hope for their sons, and will help the pioneers.

FOREWORD

By W. A. MACKENZIE Esq.

Secretary General,

Save the Children International Union

With praiseworthy devotion the author of this booklet has given up the greater part of his life to studying and calling attention to the possibilities of ameliorating social conditions in India through the adaptation to that country's needs of the labour-simplifying and labour-saving methods of modern industry. As a result of his studies and conclusions, which have been approved by economists everywhere, he is about to found an experimental, educational and co-operative organisation, in which children, from an early age up to 18, may learn, and work, and at the same time be self-supporting.

The scheme, at first sight, seems ambitious, yet it is not too ambitious, for one quality that should recommend it to all thoughtful men emerges from the lengthy explanations given in the following pages: its simplicity. Indeed, the plan is so simple that it must be a matter of astonishment to many that up to now no one has thought of putting it into practice, particularly in those so-called primitive districts where the furnishing of the daily bread of the body must nearly always take precedence over that of the daily bread of the mind. To many, it will seem a revolution, in that it seeks to wed Labour to Education, instead of keeping them apart as has been the tendency in modern Western states (a tendency, however, that is beginning to find opponents); but, if it is a revolution, it seems based on common-sense and will mean progress, which many revolutions do not.

The experiment which the author is about to begin is one that will be watched with hopeful interest by all those concerned with Child Welfare, and the more especially as it will be conducted in a country where co-operative effort has as yet done little, and where the need for a widespread and well thought-out Child Welfare movement is still marked. If the effort be successful—and with goodwill and patience it should — the author of these pages will reap the exceeding great reward of the man who sees his dream come true; and the reward will be sweetened by the knowledge that he will find many imitators, not in India only, but in all the great Colonies where, to-day, the child problem in all its aspects is crying to be solved.

Geneva, 11th February 1931.

FOREWORD

By COMMISSIONER DAVID LAMB,
International Social Secretary, Salvation Army.

The founder of the Salvation Army when he published (in 1890) his great book "In Darkest England and the Way Out" stirred the imagination and strengthened the faith of good men and women in all parts of the world. Hope for Everybody: Organisation of Workless: Emigration: Regeneration of Criminals: Co-operation in general: Food and Shelter for Every Man and the Right to Work—such were some of the ideas set forth in that remarkable volume.

In this book ("The Wonderful Opportunity") to which I have been asked to write a foreword, we see an indirect result of that great appeal of 1890. It does not surprise me that the author has been led to find, as I have done, another outcropping in the results of the Swiss State Colony at Witzwil. Here in the administration, for over 30 years Christian ethics have prevailed. We see not only the splendid moral and spiritual triumphs which always follow service inspired by Faith, Hope and Charity, but the effect of Christian ethics in an unheard-of financial result: a prison colony maintaining itself, paying profits to the State, and paying prisoners a bonus on discharge:

One naturally asks why we should not have larger and better equipped Witzwils for good workers, in which they would earn a comfortable maintenance and a substantial bonus. If we could there would be no more unemployment, and no more unmerited poverty, for an organisation that produces necessaries for its own workers can always have its doors open, and of course it need not be able to produce more than a proportion of the necessaries of life to be successful. Reasonable people would be quite willing to work in a labour colony equipped with modern machinery which any intelligent person can learn to handle efficiently if it is for a time, and to earn a little capital for an independent start. But it seems to most, too good to be true. On reflection one seems to foresee various difficulties and objections. Are they valid?

The author of this appeal has written a series of books to show that they are not; and that the establishment of such colonies would result in an immense and most hopeful development of co-operation.

His books having been favourably reviewed by eminent economists in the principal countries, it is time now to give the matter most serious consideration, and so it is to be hoped that this appeal for help in the first step toward realising the ideal which the author is seeking, will receive the most careful attention of all thoughtful people.

The principles expounded and such proposals as are set forth in this Book would have keenly interested and gladdened the heart of the Founder of The Salvation Army.

London, March 1931.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE SECOND ISSUE.

Those who have read the first issue of this appeal will say that its abridgment alters the meaning of its title: it does not, however, make it less appropriate. The object is to help call attention to one very obvious thing that thoughtful people ought to be doing in these times of unemployment, of insecurity, and of grave social problems of many kinds, and particularly to plead with them to give all the support they can to those who, in different places and in different ways, are doing some pioneering work in connection with that social duty; it tells indeed of a wonderful opportunity for all to help lay the foundations of what promises to be a very great work for human welfare.

In this issue we only change our point of view from the particular to the general.

The Appeal shows that the striking verdict of the Calcutta University enquiry has made many people feel that there is now no more than a paper wall between us and the solution of our great economic problems. It is painted by selfish fears, and by the misrepresentations of mutually jealous factions of reformers, to look like stone; but the belief is gaining ground that some great man, or perhaps some group of almost unknown people, will make a rent in it that will end our fatalistic illusions.

The great opportunity seems to present itself for a few earnest people to show the way out of the intolerable position.

We all realise now that progress has given us such power to obtain all we need from the land and the workshop, also to bring things from where they can be produced most advantageously, that we might now have superabundant supplies of everything we need. We know also that progress has given us wonderful labour-saving machinery with the help of which the labour of production and transport can be reduced to extremely little, so that we might now all live at ease enjoying abundance. But under our present social system superabundant supplies result in glutted markets and depression, and labour-saving machinery in unemployment. That is the unparalleled irony and tragedy of our age.

What is needed of course, as one might briefly state it, is that step by step with increasing productive power, the standard of living should rise, so that the total demand should keep pace with increasing power to supply, and that with improving labour-saving machinery, hours of work should be reduced, so that there should still be employment for all. But our system fails to do the simple things needed and so falls into chaos as we improve our methods.

Many reformers have insisted that what is required is a co-operative system by the side of the individualistic, to set the pace in the matter of

remuneration and hours of labour, and to give work to anyone wanting it—its members producing the main necessities of life for themselves. Reformers, however, have been too divided in their councils to carry out this plan, or any other to solve the problem.

But a recent eminent Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, boldly and energetically championed the idea, too apparently sanguine for anyone to have dared before to do much more than give it his general approval and blessing—that we might now have the co-operative state within the state we need, because we could lay its foundations with educational co-operative colonies; that at the same time they would be the very best thing we could do for child welfare, and would also solve the great problem of giving us an education system suitable to the conditions progress has created. The educationist, thus, may rouse us to action.

That is their “wonderful opportunity.”

This plan raised great questions educational as well as economic, but the eminent judge and scholar set on foot a world-wide enquiry to ascertain the opinions of prominent educationists and economists on it. The result was a unanimous verdict that this remedy for our great evils ought to be tried, and might indeed turn the present situation of gloom and apprehension into one of hope and confidence.

But there is nothing harder than to bring the world to believe that an immense problem that has baffled all previous attempts to solve it, has at last become soluble. Thus Sir Asutosh's untimely death, soon after he had taken the matter up was a grave set-back to the movement that had been initiated, to establish educational co-operative colonies.

Now however, after further lengthy consideration of the great plan in its widest aspects, the secretaries of the international organisations are helping the work to go forward again, having recognised the hopefulness of the educational co-operative colony as a solution of the problems of unemployment and education in all countries. Commissioner Lamb's foreword deals with it from the first-named point of view, Mr. MacKenzie's from the second.

Meanwhile the a group has been formed to start the pioneer educational colony which all can help in the ways referred to.

This pamphlet contains reprinted, practically as they were originally issued two appeals—one of which was specially addressed to people of Western countries, to co-operate with Indian patriots in this matter, for the good of all. There is in consequence some repetition, for which the author apologises, hoping however that it will have some compensating advantages.

THE WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY IN INDIA.

First Issue	April 1929
Second Issue	August 1929
Third Issue	November 1930
Fourth Issue	March 1931

The first issues were sent by subscription to missionaries, and made a special appeal to them. This abridged edition makes a general appeal.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

ALLEN & UNWIN, LONDON

ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY AND WHAT IT MIGHT GIVE US.

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Shows how the co-operative colonies of the young might revolutionise the armies of all countries and enable them to be self-supporting, and how they would bring about other changes that would inaugurate a new social era. The possibilities of the "self-supporting" Army are of special interest to India just now.

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THE WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY

IN INDIA.

The reader is reminded that these appeals are reprinted practically as they were originally issued, dealing with the subject from particular points of view, and that they consequently go to some extent over the same ground. This one presents the Indian view in its full simplicity and hopefulness.

When countries are stirred and agitated as those of the East are at this moment, situations arise in which people who can do the right thing and do it promptly, may accomplish as much for a great cause by a timely effort as could often be done by years of toil in ordinary times.

This appeal calls attention to such a situation.

The different forces that have recently come into play in India have created a situation comparable to that which occurs sometimes when a stream is in flood and a few men with a spade, knowing where to dig, can cause it to flow in a new direction. Timely action might easily cause the main stream of Indian nationalist activity to flow in the direction of certain constructive work that some of India's greatest men have agreed would help her to progress and be strong, and that would also give object-lessons of the greatest value to all countries suffering from unemployment.

The constructive work would begin by an attack on unemployment and poverty, and include a great child welfare scheme that is of universal application, and is therefore one which might well unite in all countries, those who are working for progress.

The opportunity that has arisen in this connection has attracted Government notice, Government committees have investigated it from different points of view.

This appeal calls attention to certain facts which show that a situation has arisen in the East and in the West that calls loudly for co-operation between them for objects that are of the greatest importance to human welfare. In connection with it all, in different ways, are able to give valuable help.

TOWARDS FREEDOM, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

To sum it up briefly, the situation in India is as follows: British rule has spread Western education in the land, awakening new ideals, and a longing for democratic institutions, which has given rise to great problems.

At the same time terrible unemployment and appalling poverty exists, which may be attributed to a variety of causes; among the educated classes

mainly to the overstocking of all non-manual occupations, owing to the same spread of education; among the peasants, to the insufficient size of holdings owing to the increase of the population; the consequent "pressure on the land" being rendered more acute by the ruin of village industries by the competition of the factory. The prevailing idea among the educated classes is that "self-government" is the only remedy for these evils. The present agitation is inspired by that belief.

The difficulties of the situation cannot be overlooked however. India is inhabited by people of different religions, castes and even races, often mutually hostile. The extraordinary difficulty of self-government under those conditions led to the state of affairs in which an army of British adventurers was able to conquer that vast continent, and British rule was able to last so long. Unfortunately also over nine-tenths of the population are still illiterate, so that many feel that democratic institutions are not possible; and poverty makes it difficult to establish schools on the ordinary plan to remove this illiteracy.

A BRIGHT HOPE

But one has often seen, in the affairs both of nations and of individuals, the brightest light shine out from perplexity, and there is hope of its being so with India.

To realise this we must first understand rightly the constructive side of the nationalist movement that was led by Mahatma Gandhi, and what it promises to bring about if it keeps to its ideal of constructive work.

Very different opinions are held about it, but really Gandhi upholds the principles of the Sermon on the Mount namely that good is more powerful than evil, and that therefore if we will apply our whole strength to doing good things, instead of wasting our energies in combating those who oppose us, victory is assured to us.

The truth of this principle is singularly clear in the case of the fight for India's emancipation. It was with the help of the people of the country, dissatisfied with their own governments, that the British established their rule there, and the continuance of their government depends on the same help. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, appealed first to his fellow countrymen to apply themselves earnestly to becoming economically independent, by producing everything they needed; saying they would then be able to bring about the downfall of the foreign government simply by refusing to take any kind of post under it. This idea has taken deep root in India. It remains to convince India that the similar principles hold also as regards economic emancipation.

One thing that is perhaps not generally known is that Gandhi and the best of his followers were thinking of the whole world, and not of India alone. Their idea was to show the world how moral forces can overcome material ones.

But the simple ideas prophets give do not lead at once to practical results. The enthusiasm of the first movement, was spent in vain. The agitation has now become more political in the ordinary sense.

Another great Indian upheld the same principle in its most interesting applications in the domain of economics, of financial emancipation, and what is called capitalistic domination. This was the prominent judge and scholar the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, the first Indian to hold the position of Chief Justice of Bengal. He pleaded that there was constructive work for patriotic Indians to do that might indeed free them economically and politically. This was the restoration of the old economic system of India in a new and better form, which modern progress seems to have rendered possible. The plan had already been suggested, and had interested the poet Rabindranath Tagore, but a great popular movement was necessary to make a useful start in the direction of carrying it out. The non-co-operation movement seemed to be the opportunity.

THE OLD SYSTEM CAN BE RESTORED

It is of course well known that in India, where requirements are few and tastes are simple, the original village community was essentially a co-operative organisation of people supplying each other's wants. Many say that this plan is the only one that suits the country. They attribute the present poverty to the fact that contact with the West has interfered with its working. Modern means of communication and production, however, seem clearly to have rendered possible a virtual restoration of the old system, but with groups of villages instead of single ones. It has been argued that in this manner, well-being might be ensured to the Indian peasant. It is of the greatest importance that, for every reason, the different groups of villages would co-operate. Then famine would be prevented. Crop failures are generally local. A great co-operative organisation of villages could feed those who had lost their crops, in exchange for the industrial produce or labour. Such an organisation would be able, in India, to give every one food in exchange for labour.

A HOPEFUL FIRST APPLICATION

The circumstance that makes this vast project very hopeful in practice is that we could begin with an organisation of the young.

In the rural districts of India the young may, from the economic point of view be said to be unemployed. That is to say that for want of sufficient land their parents cannot generally set them to work of really appreciable value. For want of money there are generally no schools for them to go to. The pitiful economic condition is testified to with terrible eloquence by the fact that the hand-spinning industry advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, which a great

national organisation encourages, enables people to earn only a pice (practically a farthing) an hour—in a country in which charitable institutions for destitute children hardly manage to feed them at less cost than sixteen pice (four annas), a day, and generally find that more is needed. The Indian peasant, though he knows his business, very often cultivates his land under wretched conditions, and cannot employ his family really well, because he lacks capital, has too small a holding, terribly “fragmented,” so that he is at every disadvantage. Many adults, thus, are only half employed.

The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee supported the view that, as a first step, there should be farm-schools, situated normally between the villages, where very often the land yields little for the above reasons and for the additional one of its being distant, and liable—especially in India—to depredations of many kinds. In these farm-schools the young would work, under the guidance of a sufficient number of adults, on a convenient holding and, taking every possible advantage of modern methods, should be able to pay for their schooling, and bring home contributions in kind of really appreciable importance. It is argued thus that the economic value of the plan would be so great that compulsory purchase of the necessary land would be possible as soon as practical demonstrations had been given. Very soon the adults, as well as the young, would work in farm-schools, which would begin to link up the villages for co-operative production.

Industries in these “educational colonies” would produce mainly things used by the rural population. Their economic strength would reside, first in the fact that they would turn the least productive land into the most productive, and secondly that they would form a strong rural industrial organisation. Rural colonies could be fairly well equipped to produce something useful, and the different ones would exchange their produce mutually.* In that manner they would be placed in a position to pay in kind, on the ancient principle of the country—their young workers entirely, and their adult ones mainly so. All would thus have the produce of a great co-operative system of industrial and agricultural colonies to choose their remuneration in kind from.

That true Indian patriot had two thousand copies of a book on that plan printed* by the Calcutta University Press and over a thousand copies distributed among educational establishments of Bengal and India generally, telling the non-co-operators to study the plan if they wanted to see how they could become independent of government employment.

Those who know him realise that he was not the man to act on impulse. The question was one for economists and educationists to give their opinions on. He had it thoroughly studied from every point of view.

* Self Government and the Bread Problem,” Calcutta University. See also “Man and Machine Power.”

Both may be obtained from Messrs Luzac, Oriental Publishers, London. The second named, it should be mentioned, is a series of lectures delivered to people more or less familiar with the subject, so that the first named may be the more suitable for the general reader.

In Calcutta University his power was all but autocratic. It was he who had brought it into existence in its present form of a teaching university. Formerly it had merely held examinations and awarded degrees. Setting its press to work, he carried out an extensive propaganda and enquiry.

All the principal papers of India published long articles on the subject.‡ Even those that were against non-co-operation said that if it could take that constructive form it would do the country good and would help in every way to make the desired political progress possible. Several of the most prominent papers reproduced their articles at their own cost in pamphlet form to help the Calcutta University propaganda.

It was then that he established in his University a lectureship and department which he called the "Poverty Problem Study." It took charge of the subject and of the great enquiry that was held. Soon after he had besides three thousand books printed, over ten thousand pamphlets circulated and copies were sent with printed letters from the University to eminent people and leading economists in every part of the world asking for their opinions.*

All agreed that India might seek both economic and political freedom in that way. All agreed also that Indian conditions were singularly favourable to the success of the plan of beginning with the young; all agreed further that India would render an eminent service to the world by giving in the matter a lead that might prove of the greatest value to every country. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, equally with Mahatma Gandhi, looked not to India's economic welfare alone but to the world's.

But it is India we are concerned with at present. The plan seemed to suit her in every way. Self-government might become a comparatively very simple matter with a simple economic system. In that manner, among many others, the plan promises to make the struggle for self-government more hopeful.

The attitude of the Government was as sympathetic as that of the Indian Press. Four official bodies soon examined the plan and reported well on it.† One provincial government, that of Bihar and Orissa, promised its support to anyone who would give a practical example of an "educational colony."‡ The bold and public-spirited action of Calcutta University for which it was said there was no parallel in the annals of any university, gave rise to world-wide admiration.

‡ Special mention must be made of "Capital" the premier financial journal of the East, the "Statesman" which commands the greatest circulation in India, the "Englishman," the "Indian Daily Mail," the "Forward," the "Times of India," the "Times of Madras," the "Amrita Bazar Patrica," the "Swaraya," all leading papers in India.

In Great Britain, the "Times," in its Educational Supplement followed the movement, devoting many long articles to it, as did other leading publications not only in Great Britain but on the continent of Europe and in America. All expressed their enthusiastic approval of this new departure.

* See the footnote p. 24.

† See the Reports of the Calcutta University Commission (Appendix Vol. VII); of the Bihar and Orissa Vocational Education Committee; of the Bengal Government Unemployment Enquiry Committee; and of the Assam Secondary Education Committee.

‡ See Bihar and Orissa Government Resolution 365D of Feb. 10, 1925, Sect 25.

But if it is true that light sometimes shines forth out of despair it is no less true that the very brightest hopes are as often followed by the bitterest disappointments. Prejudices soon arose against the effort to do in a deliberate and systematic way what the non-co-operators wanted to accomplish by a great national religious movement.

The crowning disaster to the movement was the sudden death of the great Vice Chancellor, just as an association formed under his presidentship to establish an educational colony was hoping to obtain the necessary funds to give a good practical example.

His death was soon followed by attacks on much of what had been done to give a practical direction to the movement.

Such incidents deserve only to be forgotten. The fact must be mentioned, however, so that readers shall not ask why much more was not heard of an enquiry that yielded such results. They may be referred not only to the fact that the leading papers of India gave the propaganda support that was hardly, if indeed at all, less remarkable than the action of Calcutta University itself, but also to the way in which the publicity they gave to the matter was echoed in leading papers throughout the world.*

But India became engrossed in politics; those are the circumstances that give a wonderful opportunity for useful and helpful service to all who sympathise with a people proud of their ancient culture, asserting itself, but faced by great difficulties, and with its millions in wretched poverty.

India needs friends who can look dispassionately at the facts, and see that if a country counting its population by hundreds of millions can be ruled by one of tens of millions only, situated moreover at a great distance, and therefore placed at an immense disadvantage, there is constructive work needed in the country itself. India must clearly establish an economic system suitable to her, and find a way of educating her masses, before she can have true democratic government.

The great Vice-Chancellor was one of the most fervent of Indian patriots, but one whose intellect placed him above being blinded. True friends of India will follow in his constructive lead. The position now is clear. Prejudices cannot alter facts. To quote the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's words: "I had a series of lectures on this subject printed and sent to many professors of Economics in every university in the Empire, and many foreign ones, for criticisms, and the result was entirely satisfactory; there were in fact, only favourable comments." We must take up his watch-world: Try, with the young to re-establish the old economic system.

* In the *Hibbert Journal* several mentions were made. Professor J. W. Scott's article in the Oct. 1924 issue may be named; there were long references in the *Times Educational Supplement* (15 Jan. & 19 Feb. 1920, 6th & 13th May 1922, 2nd Sept. 1923, 17th Jan. & 26th Oct. 1925); whilst, *The Spectator*, *Nature*, and of course economic publications can be specially mentioned for their appreciative references. Notices extending from the (London) *Daily Mail* to the *San Francisco Journal* testified to world wide interest. A monthly journal *Bread and Freedom* was started under the patronage of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee specially for the propaganda. It is entering now on its seventh year.

What then really remains for earnest people to take up now is the hopeful fact that a world-wide enquiry, which obtained the replies of many of the most eminent people, secured the unanimous verdict that there is every reason to think that, if some good farm-schools (educational colonies) were established in India, they would multiply as railways did when once they had been proved to be practical. These educational colonies promise to be for India's progress what railways were for rapid communication. The prejudices that alone bar this way to advance would vanish if a few good examples were given.

The position seems to be a parallel of that which existed when railways were first introduced and when the Suez canal was first suggested. For a long time sheer obstinacy made people say that both were "impossible." India says that to-day of the self-supporting and paying farm-school, despite the verdicts of all the enquiries. By breaking the prejudices, thoughtful reformers might be the most helpful of all the pioneers of India's emancipation, and of the solution of great world-problems.

That, in a word, is our great opportunity.

India has succeeded in village and sometimes in small unit government, despite her peculiar difficulties. If she solves her educational and economic problems she may advance, her units drawing into ever closer confederation.

WITH CHILDREN FIRST, THEN WITH ADULTS

The economic problem of to-day is fundamentally the same in all countries so a solution applied in one is valuable to all.

The general position, of course, is as follows: Industrial progress has given colossal productive power to organised labour. It has been mentioned, for instance, that authorities say that modern methods have increased the amount of wheat a day's work can produce to twenty-four times what it used to be, the amount of iron it can produce fifty times, and almost everything in similar proportions. Progress has, at the same time, simplified the work so that skill is hardly needed in connection with much of it. Looking at things from the point of view of man and machine power, poverty is now an anachronism.

But our social system is anachronism. It is an out-of-date system under which we make production depend on "effective" demand, and complete with each other to reduce each other's effective demand! An aphorism is always open to sophistical replies. This one nevertheless describes the modern position correctly. A series of absurdities results from this fundamental one.

Great wealth-creating power is made to result in poverty, as unemployment becomes an inevitable consequence. Progress gives insecurity instead of security, because super-abundant supplies result in cut-throat competition.

Whatever wonders progress may have wrought, the productive power actually and usefully developed in a country is limited arbitrarily under our

system by the purchasing power of its home and foreign markets—by trade and capital, both of which really depend on world-purchasing power; and when productive power is developed beyond purchasing power, poverty results. In a word, except under a co-operative system we may say that exchange, markets, and not potential productive power, is the ruling factor; markets, not productive power, determine prosperity. With great productive power competitive individualism, by itself, goes wrong.

But the farm-school exemplifies a practical form of co-operation, or communism. In it productive power rules. There it is strength and nothing but strength, unaffected by any other factors. If progress halved the labour required for the productive work of the educational colony the result would not be that it would dismiss half its boys, or that there would be “cut-throat competition” between the various schools, but simply that the young workers would have more time for their games and studies; also, perhaps, that, giving more time to cultivating intensively, they would produce more and contribute more useful things to their homes. Similarly with the adult workers.

Speaking from the economic point of view, we might put an end to unemployment in every country simply by employing youths in educational colonies, in which they would produce abundantly for their homes, and not enter the labour market till it needed recruits.

In all countries alike nothing that we could do for the good of our urbanised and industrialised civilisation could possibly be more far-reaching in its beneficial effects than to demonstrate the possibility of educational colonies for the children to go to by turns, and thus have frequent turns in the country, with every opportunity for the best games and for healthy work, making often the whole difference between happy childhood and the more or less pitiful existence of children in our great industrial towns.

Great things have been rendered possible by the fact that, under modern conditions, when operating on a sufficiently large scale, much of the work of cultivation is done by machinery. This makes cultivation possible for, and instructive to, every type of boy—not alone to those who have the taste and inclination to become agricultural workers. The fact that machinery reduces the work to so little is a decisive feature also. In these modern “labour armies” of the young the productive work would be no more than would be healthy and instructive training leaving time for education.

Educational colonies would lead quite naturally to the establishment of similar organisations for various kinds of adult training. In them adult workers might be employed, paid in the ordinary manner; but the organisation would sell them its own produce on the spot very cheaply; then about half the wages paid would come back for food, house-rent, and other items such organizations would need only some suitable industry producing things for sale to people who would support the undertaking for its social value, to enable them to pay the other half of the wages and salaries, and meet general

expenses. The Calcutta University publications deal with the details of such "multiple employment industries which could end unemployment."

In taking up "waste-land" people working in such colonies could have their "homcroft"—a little land on which to produce some of their own food-stuffs. A six-hour day of work for the "colony" ought to suffice to give people with such a "homcroft" a living. Gradually, as they acquired more experience, they would take more land, reducing, if they wished, their daily hours of work for the colony. The "homcroft" could grow into a farm, or single workers, or groups, might arrange to do some industrial work independently, working for the colony as much or as little as they wanted, but, in proportion to the work they gave, enjoying the same privileges as its whole-time workers. In that manner people might gradually equip themselves, both with the knowledge and the necessary capital in order to become independent in now undeveloped countries.

Then we might anticipate the plan resulting in equally important "home-colonisation"; causing decentralization of population in old countries: causing, in a word, homcrofing garden cities to spring up rapidly giving employment for numbers of people. But the first examples should be given with the young.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The need for this co-operation, which has always been recognised, and expressed by the words *Ex Oriente lux ex Occidente lex* is, thus, very strikingly apparent at the present moment.

The East might give a most important lead in the direction of the study of the new view that has now to be taken of the social question and of giving examples of the purely constructive measures now required.

The new study of economics started in Calcutta University, taking it from the point of view of preventing poverty due to the abnormality and maladjustment of the social system, is greatly needed in all countries.

It was remarkable that a great Hindu educator should have been the first to have established a special lectureship for this new study of economics, and to make known the extraordinarily interesting practical solutions it shows us to be possible.

The Hindu's mentality fits him to understand the modern social question in which we have to look not at matter but at power; to directing great power, as we might express it, into the right channels. By doing so we should bring about the regeneration of our entire social system. In this way we might remove difficulties that the materialistic mind imagines to need a revolution to remove them, just as by a cleverly conceived lever one might move a rock that seemed to need blasting by dynamite.

Nothing could be more encouraging than the verdict of the great enquiry which was that if we applied our great power intelligently to doing our most elementary duty really well, that is to say, to saving the young from all

unnatural debilitating and demoralising conditions during their infinitely precious years of plasticity, when they are being formed for life, we should obtain immediate economic results of the greatest importance and still more important human ones later when the children grew up better influenced by better surroundings.

Reformers have yet to learn that though our social system is full of injustices as well as of anomalies, the former as much as the latter arise and continue only because of effective demand remaining far below potential productive power. When that anomaly is removed—as it might be by the simple means of establishing strong co-operative organisations of the young—our problems will solve themselves as, we might say, the problem of the navigation of a river full of rocks might solve itself by the rising tide covering them with sufficient water. The fact of practical importance and hopefulness is that we have not to persuade people that it is so, but to get to work and give demonstrations and those which we seem specially to be called upon to give are of the most striking interest and hopefulness.

Nothing could be more hopeful than to let the young lead us towards, co-operation and progress.

THE PIONEERING WORK IN INDIA

Under the conditions we have already spoken about the national party is not giving sufficient attention to economic problems. Therefore, with every circumstance in our favour, we have now to direct the attention of Indian patriots to the fact that their eminent fellow-countryman, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, indicated a true direction for a great patriotic movement. Restoring the ancient economic system on the new plan promises, not only to give prosperity to the rural districts, but also to free India from financial obligations.

But actual demonstrations are needed, and if we give them India will soon recognize that we have rendered her the very best of services.

The opportunity that lies before us now is so vast that it seems to take us beyond what the imagination can grasp adequately, but it is hoped that many will feel themselves called upon to help those who have set themselves to the pioneering work following Sir Asutosh's great slogan, Try and do not vainly argue and Try with the young.

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MIGHT BE PREVENTED**

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A WORLD-WIDE ENQUIRY
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HOW UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNMERITED POVERTY MIGHT BE PREVENTED.

THE RESULT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ENQUIRY

A very eminent Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, a great scholar and prominent judge, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, realising the gravity of the situation that had arisen in his country as in many others by unemployment, realising that poverty was driving reformers and philanthropists to impatience and rashness in a situation that demanded clearly, on the contrary, patient constructiveness, established in his university a special department which, in the words of the Minutes relating to its foundation, was to study, "The ways of applying the enormous productive power which progress has given us to putting an end to unmerited poverty." (See the Proceedings of the Executive Committee of Post Graduate Studies, No. 29, 10th of March 1920).

Thus the new department was formed primarily to enquire whether there were not ways of applying such productive power as we possess now simply to combating poverty, without attacking existing institutions, or in other ways encountering the "human difficulties" that have presented hitherto an insurmountable obstacle. In other words, it was formed to study in an up-to-date an entirely practical, or as we might well express it, opportunist way, the economics of preventing poverty, as distinct from the more general study of the subject as the science of the creation of wealth. In this respect it was a new departure.

The university publications point out that this is the strictly scientific plan to work on. Selfishness and egotism in human nature seem to place every obstacle in the way of our realising the great possibilities now opened up. On the one hand they make those who feel some security under existing systems timid about changes, and ready to take a fatalistic attitude towards social problems. On the other hand, they cause division in the ranks of reformers. But there is also generosity in human nature which leads some people to devote themselves wonderfully, and make great sacrifices to help the poor, and classes of sufferers they are interested in, and it is that force we should use to help us to progress in the direction of benefiting by the enormous commodities producing power we now possess.

The plan, thus, might be truly scientific, as well as immediately practical.

Foremost among the questions that interest all people of goodwill is that of the welfare of the young. The new department concentrated attention on the fact that if we applied ourselves to using our power to doing the best we can for child welfare and for the training of the young, we should find ourselves to be on the straight road towards solving many other problems; including specially that very great one of what we are to do now that machines are ousting men from their employment: in a word the modern problem of unemployment.

This is a fundamental question for India also. She has her millions of peasants semi-unemployed wretchedly poor owing to their holdings being too small and their rural industries having been ruined by the competition of machine-made articles; she has her great workless middle classes. The university publications department issued two books on these subjects,* describing a plan to deal with both problems on the lines it advocates.

An essential feature of the plan they advocate is that a group of people understanding it could do the pioneering work—as was the case with garden cities in England.

The University circulated, besides the books, over ten thousand copies of pamphlets dealing with the subject in its various aspects. It appealed to people of education and scientific training everywhere to study in an up-to-date way, modern social problems which had been rendered entirely different from what they were in the past by the new factor of colossal undeveloped productive power of which, as yet, we are making very inadequate use.

It sent its publications with printed circular letters to prominent economists and leading people throughout the world asking for their opinions.† The result, quoting the great Vice-Chancellor's words, "Was entirely satisfactory; there have been only favourable comments." An appeal made to other universities was noted with approval in the Press in all parts of the world.

But if the popular response was less than might have been hoped for in the circumstances, the fact can be explained in many ways. For one thing the appeal was issued at a time when conditions existed which seemed to be threatening the very stability of the social order. People were not inclined to pay much attention to a plan that presented itself first as one for education, co-operative colonies, and child welfare, even if, as was represented, it would lead on very rapidly to the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Then even as regards child welfare, it went against some strong popular prejudices.

We propose here to reverse the order followed in the Calcutta University publications and deal first with the general principles on which the great social problem of unemployment, of the ousting of men by labour-saving

* *Man and Machine Power and Self-Government and the Bread Problem*, Calcutta University and Luzac, London.

† Two of these letters, C. U. Press No. 815—23-6-20 and 964—21-7-21 were sent to prominent people in the principal countries; others: 811—22-6-20, 765—6-6-21, 1341—25,10-22, 513—9-3-23 were sent out widely in India with university publications.

machinery, could be solved, and later with the manner in which a child welfare scheme proposed would put us on the way to applying those principles.

TO END UNEMPLOYMENT: SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

To illustrate some of the main principles let us imagine a number of immigrants arriving in a country finding trade slack and employment impossible to obtain, resolving to solve the problem of their existence in Robinson Crusoe's simple way, producing what they themselves needed, but on an improved plan. Let us imagine them forming themselves into a guild, going out to work in the fields and the workshops to produce what they needed by working for remuneration in the goods—in kind—bringing the goods to their guild, which would distribute them among all in the needed variety.

If we imagine simple conditions of production like those of the primitive Indian village, we see at once that the plan might be put into operation, provided only that there were some people with enough land and surplus produce to be able profitably to employ some of our "guildsmen" paying them in their produce. These "organised Robinson Crusoes" might then, not only solve their own problem, but do something useful for the rest of the community and so be welcome. If, for instance, there were dwellings available we could imagine their owners being quite willing to let them to the "guildsmen" for rent paid in the form of credit with this guild supplying most of the ordinary necessities of life.

Let us carry our illustration further and consider how payment in kind would work in our highly complicated Western civilisation in which we might say that no one seems really to make anything, but only to carry out some process of an almost countless number in the production of things.

As it will do for our purpose we shall simplify the illustration by thinking for the moment only of manufactured articles. Our "guildsmen" might not work at more than a tenth of the processes connected with the production of their goods. It might therefore seem only absurd to speak of them as organised Robinson Crusoes, as they would not really make the goods they would receive and consume or use.

But if we look to the total effect they would have on the labour-market, we see at once that they would not be ordinary competitors and that the comparison with Robinson Crusoes would hold, to some extent at least, as regards the fact that they would not be competitors in the labour-market like people working in the ordinary way for money.

Normally—we shall consider cases other than normal presently—the practical difference modern complexities would create would be merely that the "guildsmen," instead of making their goods themselves, would do someone else's job, whilst other people worked at the various processes connected with

making their goods. There would, thus, be compensating and neutralizing effects with people taking goods for their pay, not money.

We see this when we come to consider how things would work in practice.

Let us imagine the "guildsmen" working in some factory in one only out of ten departments that carried out different processes in connection with the production of the goods they would receive. Then they would indeed take jobs from other men in that one department. But obviously, of course, they would take people's jobs in the one department only to allow the employer to save the money he would spend employing extra labour working on their goods in the nine departments in which they would not work. This would be the process of compensation and neutralisation. Where a "guildsman" closed one door he would open another. The "guildsmen" would reshuffle employment, not diminish the total for others. The manufacturer would have to buy the extra raw materials, the semi-manufactures, and meet all the other charges connected with production. To enable him to meet these the "guildsmen" would have to give him some labour to enable him to make some savings on his total wage-bill. Thus also they would throw some of his men out of work. But the compensation in this case would be in the extra labour that would be employed producing the raw materials, and doing the work of various kinds these "charges" involved. Finally the employer would make the "guildsmen" do some work to save him some money representing his profit. This would increase his private expenditure or investments, giving people employment in that way.

The cases other than what we have described as normal might be numerous under modern conditions. We must assume that our "guildsmen" would be a very small proportion only of the workers in any establishment, so producing their goods might often involve no extra labour, they might even come out of a dead-stock. But in that case the whole saving would simply be brought under the heading of employer's profits. The same "tendencies" would still operate. We can be sure at all events that the "guildsmen" would not be like people taking jobs in the ordinary way and that is all we need know for practical purposes.

What concerns us practically is that people who would take jobs, but take as their payment goods to consume, not to sell, would not be ordinary competitors in the labour-market viewed as a whole; for though they would take jobs, they would always tend—and in the domain of economics we deal with tendencies—to give one for one they took. In actual practice they could not but increase employment for the rest of the community under modern conditions but we have no need to go into this at present, nor into details like that of imported raw-materials. The general "tendencies" only are of practical importance to us as we shall see when we consider applications.

But there is one detail we shall mention at once, because it is of fundamental importance in connection with practical applications of the principle: People working on the guild plan we have illustrated would be

at a great economic advantage in that they would save the costs and profits of commercial distribution. To put it simply they would have things at the producers' prices, not the retailers.

APPLICATIONS MORE AND LESS PROBABLE.

But now what solutions does this point to? First it shows how a co-operative organization producing the main necessities of life for its own workers might use the machinery of private enterprise. This is of very great importance; we shall return to the subject later. The co-operators would work as "guildsmen" in privately owned concerns.

Secondly it illustrates how currency reforms might solve the problem.

Currency reform is not advocated in the Calcutta University publications as the most hopeful first step, but we shall say something about it, especially as it gives another illustration of the principles on which we might deal with unemployment and unmerited poverty.

For the sake of illustration then, let us imagine a country in which trade was slack, and people were unemployed, and the Government authorising a co-operative society (formed, we shall assume, for the purpose), to purchase stocks of the various commodities the people needed, paying for them with a paper currency. Let us then imagine this paper currency being used by those receiving it to pay their workers and to defray their other costs, and imagine their keeping part for their profits. Let us imagine finally the various workers and organizers using it to buy the goods from the co-operative organisation. All these people would then have been set to work on our "guild" principle, worked in a simpler way. People whose work was slack might, in that manner, have got to work in their slack time as the "guildsmen" did; the paper currency doing all that the "guild" would.

Such a currency would, on being issued, bring its own backing into existence; the evil of "inflation" would not arise with it, because it would come back and be cancelled when the goods were made over to the purchasers to be consumed. It could, be banked, however, by those who wanted to save.

It is, of course, clear how such a currency could be used to enable a country to utilize all its man-power and resources on works of public utility. For that it could be issued in the way described but in giving goods in exchange, a percentage could be kept back as a (quite legitimate) profit. Workers might then be employed on the public works, and paid with a currency issued to them "against" those goods that had been kept back. Stores and requisites might be paid for in the same way. Housing, and all such works, might be carried out in that manner, costing the nation nothing — employing people doing the work and producing necessities for one another, on the plan illustrated by the "guild," as "organized Robinson Crusoes."

Why then, one naturally asks, do we not adopt this natural currency system which so many are now warmly advocating. Why do we adhere to

a currency based on one commodity, gold, that cannot, on being issued bring its backing into existence, placing ourselves at such a disadvantage that we have poverty despite our now colossal productive power?

The answer is simply that removing all the present handicaps would have such far-reaching effects that no government dare do it. It would change our social system.

It is unfortunately a fact that, owing to the importance in all economic questions of the quite incalculable human factor, such questions lend themselves to endless argumentation. Currency questions more than others. Currency reformers are consequently making but slow progress with their advocacy. Simple facts are lost sight of in a fog of argument.

Certain complications would indeed occur, but they would help the efficacy of the plan rather than hinder it.

If, for instance, we imagine the merchant who sold wheat to the organization, and the farmer he bought it from, not needing any extra labour, we should have an example again of what, in the "guild" illustration, we called the "other than normal" case. Both perhaps would use their currency to buy things for themselves from the organization, or perhaps to pay their ordinary employees part of their salary with it. But, as the first illustration showed, these people would then be enriched, and in some way, employ more labour. As long as there remained people unemployed the organization would issue more currency to employ them. The example, if it does not show the way to a practically hopeful reform, is none the less instructive. It shows one of the reasons for which poverty continues though we have colossal productive power; and though the work of production has been made easy, requiring, in many of its branches, so little either of skill or of strength, that in a good organization the cripple, the invalid and even the child doing a little productive work as a useful part of his training, can easily be self supporting. Owing to exchanges of produce and services depending on a currency which is not used as a simple and direct means of effecting exchanges, these powerful means are socially useless to us, and poverty continues. But there are other anomalies in our system which in conjunction with it, neutralise the effects of progress—so reformers are not united.

The Calcutta University publications, therefore point out that it seems more hopeful to work for the establishment of a great co-operative organization, which would probably issue a currency an exchange as one of its activities.

Thus it was that the eminent Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University realized that the great need of our day was to find some plan to use our great power that could be put into operation by a few well-informed and intelligent people, supported by those whose generous hearts made them wish to do something immediately towards relieving human suffering.

Having practically autocratic power in his University he made his great appeal through inviting thoughtful people throughout the world to join

in the study; and suggested a plan eminently suited to unite all who have a sense of social duty: that of the co-operative organization of the young.

The most elementary duty of any creature is the care of its young, and all will agree that our first thought should be to make the children benefit by the power progress has given us. The suggestion was for a colony and "guild," organisation for them. Later it might develop co-operation and exchange by means of a paper currency. People were invited to consider it first from the education and child welfare point of view apart from any other.

A "GUILD" ORGANISATION FOR EDUCATION

The greatest educationists of all times have insisted on the fact that the most valuable element that can enter into the training of the young is practical productive work if of the right kind, and in moderate amount. The reasons they give are clear and strong and universally recognised. The difficulty however has been hitherto that, as Plato says, it must be work "in association with their elders," a child's labour having economic and generally educational value only if it is helping an adult. This has seemed hitherto to educators to have presented practically insurmountable difficulties.

The Calcutta University publications invite people to study the manner in which progress seems to have created all the conditions necessary for the success of productive organisations connected with the schools in which the young would be able to work, and just as educationists wish them to work for the good of their education and for "vitality training." School industries as a first step, would lead on to "guild" employment of the young.

The facts are as follows: First progress has simplified most of the processes connected with all kinds of productive work so much that in many branches youths even of sixteen can be as good as adults, with some adult supervision. Secondly it has enabled the work to be done very expeditiously in a well-equipped establishment. In other words it has enabled a little labour to produce a great deal. Thirdly, by introducing machinery, it has made most work very much less special than it used to be, so that any kind of productive work, even agriculture, is suitable now to give a general training. With that it has, fourthly, brought about conditions under which, whilst production is comparatively simple, distribution is often complicated and costly. This gives a great advantage to people producing for themselves; and the school industries would, on the co-operative plan, produce, for the children themselves, their parents and their teachers. Fifthly we may add, progress has created conditions of work that are not good, at least in the sense of being too mechanical, and from which we should endeavour to save the young during the whole of their formative years; up to eighteen if possible.

The first four of the above facts combine to remove the old and fundamental difficulty in the way of having good productive work with

education. Owing to the first-named facts we might now have school industries if only they were well enough equipped for the young people to remain in them till about eighteen, earning good remuneration in kind. The cultivation of the soil, and the many industries directly and indirectly connected with it, and with turning the various raw-materials into consumable articles, would of course constitute the main employment of young people producing things for themselves and their homes. Many of the seniors would be able to do adult's work, and owing to the second and third named facts the youths would not have to work more than a half day shift to earn very good remuneration in kind. Thus the adults, working of course a full day, would work with two shifts, this further reducing the small proportion now necessary. It is quite certain that the young people would be incomparably better educated at eighteen despite shorter hours in school. Owing to the fourth-named fact they would begin very early to make valuable contributions to their homes, merely by bringing produce back with them, and help their homes very much more than they can now by leaving school early to earn a money wage.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT

The fundamental educational fact, of course, is that the really important thing is not to teach, but to do all that can be done to develop the young during their formative years. If they are developed they will be susceptible to culture, and be capable in every way. To develop them, the one important thing is to keep them keenly interested, so that they will exert themselves vigorously. For this variety is necessary and practical productive work is an item of the most vital importance in making up the variety required.

Town children would go on a system of rotation to schools in which they would have all facilities for the best games and sport, which is the essential element for health and physical development, a short half day of the healthiest kind of productive work, which is as essential for character-training, and very short hours of class-work, rendered interesting and instructive by being systematically related to the practical work on the project-method. Then they would be constantly interested, exerting themselves vigorously under the influence of joy; the whole secret of what is called development and "vitality-training." As the adolescent learns very much more quickly than the young child, the plan is right culturally as well as from the point of view of the general welfare of the young. They would in fact be as much better off as regards their schooling as they would be as regards health and training, and the variety would make the system a "vitality-training" in every sense of the term.

It is of course evident that even turns in such country schools would make the difference between happy childhood and the too often pitiful existence of children in our industrial towns, and very often between their growing up strong and vigorous or weak and perhaps sickly; indeed in many

cases the difference also between morally healthy surroundings for them during their formative years and morally bad influences.

Children whose homes were in any respect undesirable for them would be able to live entirely in the country schools, easily paying for their own extra costs before leaving—in an organisation in which, producing things to consume them themselves, they would earn (save) the distributor's costs and profits automatically whilst earning the producer's by their labour. This again is the important economic fact. It is the strength of all guild or colony organisations.

Then we should contemplate such schools multiplying rapidly and the children spending more and more of their time in them, ultimately those living in the great towns spending their days in them, returning home perhaps alternate nights. On that plan the spacious class-rooms that could easily be provided in an educational colony could serve as dormitories. The benefits would be incalculable. The children would thus spend about thirty-six out of every forty-eight hours in the country, whilst large families would send their children alternately, relieving the overcrowding that is so often a great evil in the town worker's home. Thus the great co-operative state within the state might come into existence composed of the adolescents, with the children helping them, and a few adults guilding them and develop from that.

We might contemplate then as an early development, all youths engaged in any of the uninstrucive occupations, of which there are unfortunately so many in modern industry, working in pairs so that, on a suitable plan of rotation, one would be at the work and one at the educational colony, bringing home just as valuable a contribution, but in kind. This plan would have many advantages from the employers' point of view also. If educational colony lads wanted to learn a skilled trade whilst young they would do it on that plan, without losing the priceless benefits of the "colony" life. It might solve the whole problem of juvenile unemployment and be a first step towards working on the "guild" plan.

Before considering details, which are not quite simple in the case of Western countries, because there are so many different kinds of "guild" work and school industries that might be combined, we shall sum up the general position as stated in the Calcutta University publications, and then consider Indian applications as the simplest exemplification of the principles.

The general position may be summed up by saying that productive work combined with schools has become possible now by reason of the fact that, owing to progress having simplified production, children could now be "associated" with their elder brothers in work connected with the school, instead of with their fathers working outside it. The result is that the invaluable element of "helping in making things" might now be introduced into education and the young might form the basis of the co-operative commonwealth of "guild" workers that would enable progress to do the masses good. It would be a junior state in which all new ideas would be tried.

We could now make the children and adolescents taken together, self-supporting, which means that we could do everything that is best for them in every respect. We could do everything that would tend to develop them best during the infinitely precious years of plasticity, which last to eighteen.

The unanimous verdict of the great enquiry was that there was no visible reason why we should not do all this now and that in a matter of such vital importance every sincere person should agree we ought to be trying and not vainly arguing; for in the domain of human affairs one does not know what one can do till one has tried. After the enquiry the great Vice-Chancellor placed himself at the head of an organisation formed with an ambitious plan to give demonstrations, but disaster supervened, he died suddenly. An Indian provincial Government, however, that of Bihar and Orissa, after having enquired independently into the matter, offered help to those who would undertake some pioneering work.

NECESSARIES FOR PAYMENT IN LABOUR.

In India, where four Government committees examined the plan* and recommended its trial, economic conditions seem to determine clearly the form that educational colonies should take; and we shall here consider the economic questions first.

India's great problem is that of enabling the peasants to have more abundant and better food and greater security than they enjoy now in a country that depends so largely on seasonal rains.

More food is the great need. The Indian peasant cultivates under severe handicaps of too small and too subdivided holdings, and insufficient capital, and thus generally obtains from the land a fraction only of what it might yield. The simplest of all plans to make it yield more would be to establish, in central places, between the villages—normally in the distant fields that now yield very little because they are “outfields”—well-equipped farm-colonies that would obtain from the soil whatever it could best yield. The peasants with too little land would send not only their children to them, but also some adult members of their joint family groups. For work in them on the “guild” plan they would receive foodstuffs. By this plan the least productive land could often be made the most productive, giving the peasants immediately more food. Elementary education would be given in the colonies, to adults and to children. Illiteracy might thus be rapidly removed.

The next economic question is that of enabling the peasants to have the few manufactured things they need, a little money, some medical care, and of course education, the problem of elementary education being still unsolved in India.

* The Calcutta University Commission, the Bihar and Orissa Vocational Education Committee, the Bengal Government Unemployment Enquiry Committee and the Assam Secondary Education Committee see their Reports.

Small industrialists producing things used in the rural districts might establish their industries by the side of the farm-colonies, also paying their workers in products, so that exactly like the “guildsmen” of our illustration, the peasants would have many kinds of useful produce paying for it by their labour, in their local industry or else farm-colony.

The next obvious step would be to establish such farm-colonies near big factories, for some of the peasants to work in the factories as “guildsmen”; that is to say for remuneration in kind. Thus, a great “guild” making exchanges, the peasants would be able to obtain the products of distant factories also, paying for them by working in the farm-colony near their village.

So the organisation would in a second way help solve the fundamental food problem. It would enable the peasants to have the products of industry they needed in exchange for their labour, instead of having to sell the produce of their too small holdings to have money to buy them.

A third way would be by helping the peasants in each locality to grow crops it might be particularly suited to grow, the “guild” organisation similarly making the exchanges. In that manner the risks of crop-failure would sometimes be lessened. Fourthly the “guild” organisation would do for the peasants everything that co-operative societies do, obtaining for them the best prices for what they would sell.

Ultimately, with a well-developed “guild,” and with the great productiveness of organised labour under modern conditions, the most important result in connection with the solution of the food problem might be that the peasants, getting useful articles and some money by working in the different industries, would no longer be inclined to waste their labour cultivating awkwardly situated fields of their holdings. They would make arrangements with their neighbours, or perhaps often with the farm-colony, for joint cultivation, in one of the many ways in which it can be carried out, in order to have more time for “guild” work. Thus the evils of fragmentation which is one of the great obstacles in the way of the most productive cultivation of the land might be mitigated.

In connection with the solution of the last-named very difficult problem, it is important that the organisation would help industrial development in the ordinary sense of the word, in the rural districts, and help the peasants to earn money as well as goods for their labour. It would sell produce in the villages and in the towns where it would have its commercial agencies for the purpose.

The various farm-colonies with their industries would have their workshops, and the organisation would be able to develop new industries by arranging at first for different parts of articles to be manufactured in different workshops, till the necessary experience was gained, and the new industry was established. This is described fully in the Calcutta University publications.

The "guild" organisation would also enable people to bring waste land into cultivation, which they cannot do now for want of capital. Peasants would be able to settle on certain kinds of waste land making arrangements for the organisation to take the special crops it could yield whilst it was being brought into condition, or to take certain products of their industries. The "guild" organisation would also be able to capitalise irrigation.

It is of the greatest importance in India that a "guild" organisation would prevent famine by enabling the peasants in the stricken districts—crop-failures being generally local in India—to do industrial work, receiving foodstuffs in exchange.

PROSPERITY WITH INDIA'S OLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM

It is of special interest finally that the "guild" organisation would really restore the primitive economic system of India in a new form in which it would enable advantage to be taken of modern methods.

In considering the peasants' other needs we see how the "guild" plan might solve the second great problem of the country, that of the unemployed middle classes. With a "guild" organisation the peasants would employ them and pay the fees by transfers of their credit with the "guild," as people of all classes would be able to get nearly everything they required from it.

Remunerated in that manner the doctors and others would need but very small money earnings to be comfortably off. Apart from the possibility of professional partners doing turns in the country, the "guild" could see that they had a sufficient money income, by giving them if necessary cash instead of goods for part of the "guild" credit paid to them as fees.

Looking at things from the financial point of view it is pointed out, and is moreover obvious, that immense wealth would be created by the better economic organisation of the rural districts, and by utilising an enormous amount of now unutilised or extremely badly utilised labour. The increased value of property would represent new wealth created on a colossal scale. The bringing of new land into cultivation might by itself represent in India the creation of almost incalculable wealth.

Everything combines to call us to prompt action at this moment when India is on the threshold of a new era. As is pointed out in the Calcutta University publications colonies co-operating and exchanging produce, would form a co-operative productive organisation which might very soon enable rural workers in India to obtain most of the few things they need paying for them with their labour. Further the Calcutta University enquiry resulted in unanimous agreement that such organisations by bringing waste-land into cultivation, developing irrigation, and promoting ordinary, as well as co-operative trade and industry, would promise to bring about an increase of prosperity and development on a scale that would be without a parallel.

Colony organisations promise in addition to reduce expenditure by making armies and other national services less costly to maintain.* They would furnish a really effective and economical method of dealing with famines. They promise not only to simplify the problems self-governing India will have to face, but to result in developments that would enable her to start brilliantly, giving contentment to all classes, and then to go forward avoiding the dangers that usually beset countries making radical changes in their government. They promise even to result in developments of such value that India would be enabled to free herself from foreign financial obligations and become financially independent. They promise finally to lead to her giving the world an object lesson of inestimable value.

The difficult thing often to grasp is that educational colonies can be paying undertakings.

The farm-colony would be the point of departure and it could pay well because, producing what everyone uses and consumes, it would be able to pay shareholders' interest in kind. Shareholders would, in practically every case, take from the colonies far more than the value of their dividends, paying the balance in money. They might thus help the colonies to earn the small money income they would require making them safe and profitable investments.

Such colonies would be managed like an ordinary business undertaking. One in Switzerland at Witzwil near Berne so managed has been working successfully for about a quarter of a century and is a source of income to the State, although it employs "unemployables."

The first farm-colonies would be looked upon as philanthropic not as business undertakings, because they would be an enterprise of a new kind and therefore subject to the difficulties inseparable from any new venture. But they would be at an enormous advantage in many ways, particularly through being able to make practically all their payments in kind.

Summing up then, an organisation on the general principle illustrated by the "guild" might do all the things that are recognised to be needed for the well-being of the Indian peasant, giving at the same time ample employment for the middle classes, whilst being from the purely financial point of view an undertaking of incalculable promise for India advancing towards her goal of autonomy.

THE FIRST STEPS: COLONIES THAT SHOULD PAY.

Facts are what we want in the domain of immediate possibilities, and the Calcutta University publications call attention first and foremost to this fact that the Swiss, by taking good advantage of the methods progress has given us, make the very worst workers, those even who are classed as unemployables, work profitably in a commercially managed farm-colony.

* See "Administrative Efficiency and What it Might give us."

Its success is generally attributed to the ability of its manager who is also its founder. The very greatest credit is undoubtedly due to him, and to his wife who has helped him so well in this wonderful pioneering work, but they would not have been able to make the colony pay but for certain modern factors having made economic success possible, and which would enable other colonies to succeed also under the right conditions.

The Swiss colony gives us simply a striking illustration of the use modern methods allow us to make of unskilled labour with a really astonishingly small proportion of skilled leading hands, also of the immense economic advantage of producing for oneself under modern conditions.

The Swiss unemployables manage to earn their maintenance on a plain scale of course but still one that, with the more expensive food and clothing needed in the European climate, is much more costly than that of the ordinary Indian peasant. Over and above this maintenance they earn a small surplus that is paid to them on leaving.

With this brilliant example before us an obvious thing to try for the relief of poverty in the rural districts is to establish similar colonies for the families with too little land to send some of their members to work in, and come back from, after a time, with produce both for use in the home and for the better cultivation of the family holding; and there would be every prospect of a "guild" organization developing rapidly on the foundation these colonies would give if their numbers multiplied.

The various Government committees examined the plan from the point of view of the problems both of education and of unemployment, with the practical result of the offer from the Government of Bihar and Orissa. The remaining difficulty, however, is that of obtaining the capital for a new kind of undertaking, the Government not feeling itself justified in providing all the capital for the pioneer attempts. But it was admitted that in the case of India there are no *prima facie* difficulties. The only strange thing indeed is that such an obvious method of helping the peasant in his poverty, and of solving the great problem of illiteracy, has not been tried yet in some simple applications. There are many places in which land could be had easily for the pioneer colonies, and if they succeeded more of them could be established. The difficulty of obtaining land for a colony near every group of villages is not one that would be fatal at the outset. It is evident that the plan might develop very considerably with only a few farm-colonies at some central places, and at first with industries only in the villages in which peasants would not lease the land required for agricultural colonies.

When the peasants had seen what such colonies were able to do, owing to the immense advantage modern methods give, they would soon demand that more should be established. The difficulty of obtaining the land—which the peasants are so unwilling to part with—could thus be gradually overcome as more and more striking demonstrations were given, the land being taken at first on lease.

Practically the interest in the plan has centred hitherto chiefly in the fact that such colonies promise to solve the great question of popular education, and that they could give elementary education to adults as well as to children, but the economic side is also of the greatest possible importance.

WESTERN PROBLEMS: SIMILAR SOLUTIONS NEEDED

In the United States of America more than in any other country we see the great problem of our day in its true light.

We are perfecting labour-saving machinery to a point at which there ceases to be employment for everyone, if working the customary hours, producing all that there is effective demand for; and we may now add to the point at which, if we eliminated waste, there would not be employment for all, if working those hours, to produce everything we could really have use for. But the solution, an all-round shortening of working hours, will hardly be possible until we have increased our social efficiency to the point at which the shorter hours will give people as much real-wage as they will care to work for. By then education should have so advanced that the workers would want abundant leisure for occupations that would be to their taste. In some cases this might be at work of skill and art pursued partly for its own sake and partly as a means of some additional earning. This ideal may be a distant one, but it is evident that the splendid education system a "guild" organisation would enable all to have would combine with its economic effects to lead us in the direction of its attainment.

It is of the very greatest interest in this connection that atavistic tendencies are very powerful in the young and that they take readily to a natural occupation provided only that it is offered to them, not forced upon them with disregard of their other strong tendencies: their love of variety, of novelty and their imitative faculties. Brought up in the right manner to work on the land, they normally retain the whole of their lives a strong attachment to it. We may therefore hope to see educational colonies give us a generation of workers who will want to work short hours only in the factory and live in garden suburbs where they will practise homecrofting, and beautify their homes with gardens. As is of course well known, it is under those conditions of close contact with fellow-men and with nature that the most wholesome influences seem to be combined, producing the very best human results.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

Meanwhile, the urgent problem of our time is that of finding some relief for the evil of unemployment.

The young, by working in a "guild" or colony organisation, would be able to form the basis of an organisation, a "labour-army," that would enable us to deal very effectively with the whole problem of unemployment.

of our problems, even without any of the other developments we have been considering, and promise to give practical examples to overcome ignorant opposition.

The “guild” principle of our first example is of course absolutely elastic as regards industrial work and the production of manufactured commodities. The lads would be able to go to such work at any moment when trade became slack, and leave at any moment when it revived. The same elasticity would not of course exist as regards agricultural work and its produce, but the young would be the permanent element in the organisation to do work of that kind in proper season. It is evident also that under modern conditions the fact that the agricultural produce of the “guild” could not be increased at a moment’s notice would be of no practical consequence.

THE YOUNG “GUILDSMEN” WOULD NOT BE COMPETITORS

We must understand also the economics of “guild” workers, organised Robinson Crusoes as we have called them, who, instead of taking away and consuming the goods they produced, might often bring some of them home to share with the families of which they were members. They would certainly take trade from people who otherwise would have supplied the goods, just as the “guild” workers of our first example would take employment from people in some departments of productive work. But in this case again it is to the total effect that we must look. If they brought boots or vegetables home their families would have more money to spend on something else, so that some trade would gain what the boot trade or the vegetable trade lost.

In a word some people would be kept at “guild” work to leave to those of mature age and sound health all the commercial employment there was to be had, and to enable them to earn all the wages that were to be earned and spend the money somehow or other in trade. Trade therefore taken as a whole would receive all the wages money. In this case also the “guild” (and colony) workers would reshuffle employment, not take anything from the total.

THE PIONEERING WORK

The organisation of the young would become a “labour-army” rendering other national services, also of the very greatest importance, but we shall consider first how the pioneering work of the educational colony might be done.

We have now not only the example of the Swiss “commercially managed” colony, which is a paying concern despite the handicap of having the very worst workers, but also that of the American colony at Llano succeeding, despite its handicap of a communal basis. Llano has been in existence nearly twenty years and has demonstrated the need for more colonies.

The difficulty in starting colonies for the young is always in the fact that they cannot work usefully except as helpers to experienced workers. But when one has studied the modern economic facts, one sees that no social work that could be undertaken could be of richer promise than that of establishing colonies on the general economic lines of the successful Swiss one to include classes of adult workers who, for a variety of reasons would be much better off in them than in commercial employment.* We might begin with delicate people, people threatened with different kinds of illness to whom ordinary employment is unsuitable, people with members of their family so threatened who want to place them in the most favourable surroundings; and especially perhaps such people who have families of an age to be useful in the colony whilst the good training would be just as valuable to them. In such colonies too widows with families might easily be self-supporting living under the very best conditions. There are also many people who, for a variety of reasons would be very glad to do a half a day's work for a half day's remuneration in kind; they would be able to do it in a colony taking also adults.

As the Swiss colony pays despite the enormous handicap of having the very worst workers, a similar commercially managed and administered co-operative colony for good workers should certainly be tried. In connection with pioneer colonies the university publications insist on the special advantages which the colony organization would have from the fact that it would be producing a number of articles that everybody uses daily.

As we have already noticed in considering the Indian applications it might be established commercially and the shareholders would normally be the best customers, not only taking their dividends in kind, but also purchasing produce from the colony. It would be relieved of the difficult part of business: the selling. This would be particularly important in connection with the pioneering work. The speculative element would be eliminated, so when one colony had succeeded another would have only to imitate it to succeed also, which of course is not the case with an organisation that has to depend for success on selling things. The very management could be standardised. One would know what to expect of every colony.

The first colonies would be privileged in a still more remarkable manner. There are many people whose very lives would be saved by them, through the opportunity they would give them of earning by healthy work. Some also would be saved by them from the necessity of breaking up their homes. Many in such situations have friends willing to help them with money. Thus even if inexperience at first caused the balance to come out on the wrong side so that the pioneer ventures would have, at first, to be subsidized, they might still be a very great success by making some people, with friends to help them, partly self-supporting, with prospects of soon becoming entirely so. The

* See Commissioner Lamb's foreword p. 6.

colonies for consumptives are examples. These would be industrially more developed ones for the young and adults able to work.

It is an important detail also that we should foresee that such colonies would take the shape of groups of separate undertakings under people managing for themselves. The colony would be under some regulations that would ensure a suitable grouping of industries and conditions of working that would carry out its plan of production for the group of workers but it might be by independent but co-operating little industries. The details are dealt with in the university publications.

Ultimately well developed colonies might consist of suitably grouped little productive organizations, which might be separately, and even individualistically owned, but grouped to work on the "guild" principle of mutual exchanges.

The Calcutta University publications show clearly that in the advanced countries of the West just as much as in India, we have only to make known the modern economic facts which, have been so brilliantly illustrated by the Swiss colony, and enlightened philanthropists or groups of philanthropists will certainly finance the pioneering work of the modern colony, beginning perhaps with organisations to help in the best possible way deserving people they are personally interested in.

In this the countries of the West with their wealthy philanthropists might well give a lead.

From the moment we had colonies of suitable adult workers we should begin to receive town children in them starting probably with delicate ones. We should anticipate educational and other colonies then increasing rapidly.

CO-OPERATION MIGHT THEN SAVE THE SITUATION

The university publications insist also that in the West as in India commercially managed educational and other colonies, producing many necessities of life, would draw a number of people into co-operation with them in ways that would make those people practically "guild" workers, and that the result might very soon give the co-operative movement a new impetus, which might prove the most important it has ever had.

Many people would work for such colonies part of their time, or for certain periods, without actually joining them.

Many also would arrange to co-operate with them by doing some work, or producing articles for them, for payment in kind. Among these people might be some who would work in that way to supplement their ordinary earnings, some would work for the colony to supplement a pension, or other small private income. People in such positions might indeed be a very important factor in helping pioneer educational colonies, established in a way that would inspire confidence; indeed one of the most important of the immediate services colonies might render might be that of furnishing a solution to the problems of many people of small, but insufficient, private means. As the colony's credit would be as good as cash to most people to the extent to which they would

want what it supplied, many also would do occasional barter business with it, to their own advantage and to that of the organisation. Among these would be, not only people who could do some useful work, but also traders with something to give the colony in barter. Thus the colony might become a centre or clearing house of a considerable barter trade. The more it traded in that way the more it might because the greater would be the variety of articles it would be able to offer in exchange for its credit. This also is simply illustrated by the Indian example.

It is of special importance that colonies might obtain the produce of the bigger farms on the "guild" plan, instead of having their own big farms.*

Farmers can often undertake to grow more valuable crops, to lay out more money on them, and can avoid risks of loss, if they can be quite sure of having extra workers at certain seasons.

Nothing could be better for some of the older colony children, as also for some of the adults, than to go systematically and do seasonal work on farms; and in these days of machinery it would be suitable work for many people. The adults might soon follow every lead by the young.

The farmers would be able to pay these "guild" workers in kind, and therefore on a liberal scale.

There are other industries in which some colony workers would be able advantageously to do seasonal and emergency work for good remuneration in kind. People might also become half colony workers in times of slack trade. All this would increase the colony's barter trade and therefore the variety of articles it would be able to supply. Some might barter services or goods for commodities which they would sell.

HOME AND OVERSEAS COLONISATION A SOLUTION

It is of special interest in connection with the solution of the problem of unemployment in Great Britain that some successful "commercially managed" colonies giving the public confidence in the plan, might open up most wonderful new possibilities in the direction of colonisation in the ordinary sense of the word. The university issued a booklet on this subject.

It is of interest to India also. Here again the young might lead.

We shall enter into a better era in the settlement of new countries when pioneering is carried out by organisations which, like the Swiss colony, will take the fullest possible advantage of modern methods, so that large numbers of people of no more than average capacity and strength, and of ordinary tastes, will become efficient as organized "mass-pioneers." †

When public confidence had been gained, an obvious thing to do would be to establish such colonies in the Overseas Dominions in which people would work well organised and equipped, clearing the land and building homes for themselves using the best machinery. On properly selected sites it would be

* People might work for remuneration in kind to barter it with the colony for various produce.

† "Unemployment," Calcutta University, 33 pp. 1920.

a matter of sound finance to supply such enterprise with the necessary capital on mortgage. If the undertaking were carried out in an equitable way the workers would be able to have handsome rewards from the "increment value" that would be created, as well as the improvement values the fruits of their well-organised and well-equipped labour. Producing for themselves, co-operating in every way, buying their requirements wholesale, they would be able to have every economic advantage and soon to pay off the mortgages on their holdings, the security for the advances to the colony. Such colonies would thus gradually transform themselves into colonial townships or suburbs, as the case might be, but retaining their original co-operative character as much as the members wished them to retain it. Thus the modern commercially administered co-operative colony might promote "mass-emigration," training people, capitalising them and ensuring them a living in the new country; it would promise to bring about Imperial development on a scale that has never yet been dreamt of, and which might have important reactions both direct and indirect on the solution of the problem of unemployment.

GARDEN-SUBURB BUILDING

Obviously also "home colonisation" might be carried out on exactly the same principle. Colonies could be formed in the same manner to build homecrofting garden-suburbs in the home land; the experience of the Swiss colony, once more, having shown building and development work generally to be among the best industries for a well-organised modern colony. We might thus be put on to the direct road towards another of the most hopeful solutions of the problem of unemployment, namely homecrofting. The university publications insist strongly on the garden-city building possibilities of modern colony organisations and the solution they offer for the whole problem of unemployment in Western countries, and for the solution of that of the educated classes in India, by promoting homecrofting.

It is of course obvious that there would be limits to these latter possibilities. The time would come when it would cease to be good business to finance such "building colonies" either overseas or in the home country, but by that time other developments would have begun. These also are dealt with fully in the university publications in their relation to educational colonies.

OTHER NATIONAL SERVICES OF THE "LABOUR ARMY"

Turning now to the question of other national services this labour-army of the young might render, we might revert to the help its adolescents could give to agriculture. The colony and "guild" organisation of the young might give such important help in the manner we have been considering, as well as in connection with the distribution of produce, that we might anticipate in the West as well as in India the organisation bringing about ultimately a great co-ordination of agriculture, the prosperity of which is so vitally important for the welfare of every country.

The educational colony might easily inaugurate, for agriculture, a new era.

The idea of the "labour-army" of the young is an old one which is admitted on all hands to be good. Hitherto however people have not realised how it might be carried out. With the educational colony organisation this would become obvious, and in industrial as well as rural surroundings.

If the young remained in the organisation till they were twenty, working under its great economic advantages, they would be able very easily to produce enough to give an allowance of food-stuffs to every poor child below school age, to ensure, as far as such a thing can be ensured, that it would be thoroughly well fed. They would be able to pay allowances in kind to girls who, as their "national service," would take care of young children in "nursery-schools," as also to mothers whose children needed them at home, but who would otherwise have been compelled to go out to work. In a word, the young, organised in that way to use our enormous productive power economically, would be able to do all that can be done to ensure that the child and adolescent had all that was desirable at every age to enable him or her to grow up strong, and in every respect well developed and trained. That again it will be admitted is the very first thing to which we ought to apply the power progress has given us. It will also be admitted that, of all national services, that which the young would be able to render in this way would be the most valuable; it is also the most obvious and the easiest to organize.

The educational aspect of the "labour army" of the young can not be over-emphasised. The lads themselves would be the greatest gainers.

A big city might well give a lead, by favouring young volunteers.

It has always been the strongest argument of the most earnest advocates of socialism that the socialist state would improve mankind as well as its means of production, because it would take full advantage of the wonderful plasticity of the young human being; of the way in which the young can be moulded and formed both in character and in body by placing them under the best and most natural conditions during their precious "plastic" years.

When however we understand the educational facts, and the modern economic facts, we see that the "labour-army" of the young would enable us to do all this without waiting for the establishment of socialism. Once more the whole science of education is to keep the young keenly and joyfully active. For the best development of the child three perfectly simple things are needed; first good influences, as given by the right variety of occupations to keep him keenly interested, and therefore exerting himself vigorously and happily; secondly plain wholesome and natural food, and contact with nature. All those conditions could be combined in the educational colony.

Games and sport, useful productive work and class work would figure about equally on the daily programme, and would give the variety and induce keenness. As regards the supremely important, if less understood, question of influences, and moral education, the conditions it would give are also what are needed. Good opportunities for play give the child the sense of being

lovingly cared for, whilst useful work gives it the sense of owing loving service in return, inculcating the ideas of love, of fairness and of duty which are the foundations of morality.

THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SOLIDARITY

As the youths in educational colonies would be self-supporting, those of all neighbouring countries would be able, with great advantage, to serve for a time in each other's "labour-armies," so that they would become internationalised, opening up the most hopeful possibilities tending towards international solidarity and good-will. We might even advance in that way towards realising the idea of an international force to prevent war; in India towards "nation building."

It is pointed out also that the labour-army of the young might reduce military expenditure to a fraction of what it is now, as armies of men who had been trained in educational colonies could be self-supporting. This is of great interest to India. * Moreover military training, on whatever plan it might be, could very well be given in the educational colonies. It is of great interest that that system would be altogether against militarism and in favour of an army to keep peace.

PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The Calcutta University publications insist on the fact that modern developments have opened the way to entirely peaceful solutions of all our social problems, and that the co-operative organisation of the young would take us in the direction of class co-operation instead of class war.

They particularly stress the fact that the individualistic and capitalistic system is not necessarily wasteful, or unjust to the workers; but that it becomes wasteful and involves hardships on them when the total effective demand is not proportionate to the total potential power to supply. They show that to be the thing that must be remedied.

A co-operative or co-ordinated system existing by the side of it would prevent those conditions arising. † With it the individualistic system would be both able and obliged to remunerate its workers well; leaving however ample margin for clever organisers to reap rewards for the services they render.

They lay great stress on the fact, which they point out has not yet received a fraction of the attention it ought to have, that with the colossal undeveloped

* As long as India needs a European army it might be made nearly self-supporting if it consisted of the right kind of men employed in various kinds of civil work, in which Europe-trained men would be useful, there being two for each post, so that, on a system of rotation, one of the two would always be with his regiment. Whilst with the regiment, these men would take part in the work of the production of many commodities for themselves. The plan will be possible as long as India has need of European trained technicians. See "Administrative Efficiency," p. 10; also the University publication "Unemployment."

† It is of very great interest that individualistic enterprise also might organize itself co-operatively. This is dealt with in the Calcutta University publications as being one of the most probable developments of the future.

productive power we now have, all sound reforms would have the effect of bringing immense latent powers into activity that would yield abundantly the means to compensate any vested interests adversely affected by changes; and that therefore the reforms that are really needed now-a-days do not involve fighting and "overcoming vested interests." This may be referred to as one of the most important things from the scientific point of view to which the Calcutta University publications draw attention.

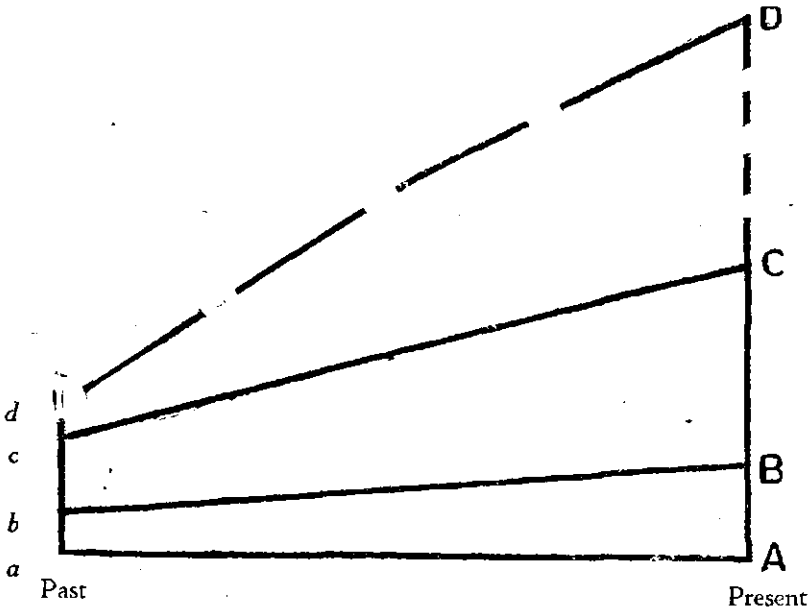
A CHANGED SITUATION

The failure of effective demand to increase with rapidly increasing productive power has created the situation illustrated by Fig. 1, which revolutionizes the social question.

We have to utilize immense unused power—C D. The co-operative organization of the young would lead us to using it, so would be a radical solution.

We have now to advance intelligently through an open door at C, instead of still thinking of forcing our way through b. The modern state should enrich itself, both directly and indirectly, by relieving distress, not spend money to do so. That is the economic gospel those publications preach to a world still incredulous, though Switzerland has given a wonderful practical illustration of its truth.

FIG. 1.



In the past a b might have represented that part of the community's productive power used for the benefit of the privileged classes, b c that used for the benefit of the workers, and c d the undeveloped power. In the present they might be represented by A B, B C, and C D respectively.

Owing to effective demand not having increased as rapidly as potential productive power, C D is proportionally very large now. This fact makes the modern social question **ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE PAST.**

The Calcutta University publications call upon educated people to dispel two fallacies: The first that social reformers have necessarily to "attack and overcome the power of vested interests"—which in the past they had to do but have not to do under modern conditions, as illustrated by the figure.

The second, the very great absurdity, that we cannot but fail to make good use of our power because, in order to utilise it well, we should need a better social system, which would be possible only with better men and women.

SIMPLE ADJUSTMENT TO BE MADE

The truth is that we need only make two elementary and obviously necessary adjustments in our system.

It is clear that when progress increases from four to five the amount an hour's labour can produce on an average, we must either have working hours reduced by one fifth, without any diminution of average "real" wages and incomes, or else have the average "real" wages and income increased, or both changed in the right proportion, for opportunities of employment to be maintained.

But the separate interest of each employer is to keep his wage-bill low. Often he must do it to be able to compete.

Changes must be all-round and in every competing country. All should move forward together and keep step. We have no adequate means of securing this, so each unit opposes the increases of wages, and indeed increases would in many cases be fatal as producers must be able to sell at competitive prices.

Thus the tendency of individualism, without a co-operative system by its side, is against adjustment. Our failure to utilize our immense power is due simply to our having retained in an age of rapidly increasing productive power a system which, with its tendency to restrict remuneration, and therefore effective demand, to slowly changing custom, and to the conditions imposed by competitive selling, was workable only in an age of small and slowly advancing productive power.

Thus reformers have been pleading for the establishment of the "co-operative state within the state," or advocating socialism or communism.

A CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM BY THE SIDE OF THE INDIVIDUALISTIC IS NECESSARY NOW

In an age of rapid increase of productive power, a co-ordinated system in every country is a necessity. The failure of progress to do us good is due to our not having established it, or done something else, to make "real wages" increase all round and in every country with steadily increasing productive power.

Many have suggested that, as voluntary co-operation has failed to develop sufficiently to do what is needed, we should establish the co-operative state within the State in the shape of the "labour army" of the young. It has been pointed out that it would be easy for every young man, equipped with the best machinery to produce, in addition to his maintenance, enough to provide for all disabled and unfortunate citizens. Thus all might pay, by their labour, in a "labour-army," an insurance against the possibility of destitution. People might have the option of paying a premium instead of serving. The well-to-do, presumably, might elect to do that.

This would give us the economically necessary co-ordinated system.

In the "labour-army" young people studying might work productively for a very few hours only, their scholarships or other means, being used to pay a compensation; otherwise they might give a longer period of service.

All the facilities progress has given us unite to make such a plan possible in some form or other, to use our immense productive power and put an end to destitution. Stress is laid on the fact that the plan were it adopted in one country would be adopted generally, in various forms suitable to different countries, and that their "labour armies" might make mutually advantageous exchanges of products. Then the standard of living would improve everywhere; world-trade would increase, and the evil of competition from countries where the worker has a low standard of living would cease. The less developed a country was the more rapidly such co-operative production of necessaries might raise the standard of living in it. Trade would then keep pace everywhere with increasing power to supply.

With the powerful means we possess now, the young people, by serving in the "labour-army" to the age of thirty, might easily produce the necessaries consumed in an average life-time. At that age, thus, they might leave the "labour-army" entitled to receive necessaries from it for life. They would work then to satisfy their various ambitions.

Enterprising people would then have alternatives to taking ordinary employment. They would be able to work for any undertaking they considered to be hopeful, for remuneration in the capital values they would be helping to create.

They would be able to commute their pensions, or return to the "labour-army," as volunteer workers, to accumulate a little capital in order to start on some enterprise of their own. They would also be able to invest such capital in ordinary undertakings, as many concerns might be willing to take payment for shares in the form of transferred credit with a great "labour-army" organisation. People attracted to some profession would work in it without the necessity of earning at first. Others might devote themselves to intellectual or artistic pursuits, working a few hours weekly in the "labour-army" if they wanted more than their allowance. Those wishing to pursue higher studies would all be able to do it.

There is a great variety of ways in which we might establish the co-operative or socialistic organization which is necessary by the side of the individualistic to make individualism workable under the conditions of rapidly increasing productive power and bring about peaceful reform.

EVERY SOCIAL SYSTEM IS AN ALLOY

The Calcutta University publications point to the fact that no social system is, or ever could be, anything but an alloy of individualism, socialism and even communism. The only question in every case is how the alloy is to be made up. In industrially advanced countries now it is of individualism

with the worst, the non-productive, elements of communism. Those who earn are made to share their earnings with those who cannot get employment. People are compelled to give up considerable parts of their earnings for the benefit, in a variety of ways, of those who earn but little. What we have to do, to make individualism workable again, is to introduce into the alloy the active, the productive elements of socialism which will expel the bad, the unproductive elements.

The university publications insist that the greatest error is to suppose that a strong co-operative organization would render individualistic enterprise difficult or precarious. The reverse seems likely to prove true.

But with failure, and a hopeless outlook, a bitter class spirit has arisen, so that neither this fact nor the hopeful one illustrated by Fig. 1, receive much attention. The Calcutta University publications insist that when educational colonies have opened the way to constructive reforms, people will pay attention to these facts, will study constructive measures of reform instead of pick-pocket ones, and the spirit of class co-operation will take the place of that of class war and an outlook of bright hope will take the place of the present gloom.

A THIRD INDEPENDENT WAY OF SOLVING THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

The simplest of the three solutions mentioned in the Calcutta University publications, for the problem of unemployment, is the adoption of a currency free from the fatal handicap of being based on one commodity, and which on being issued, could bring its "backing" into existence. This however, is not considered to be the most hopeful solution, for reasons that are well known. The second solution is the establishment of some kind of co-operative or co-ordinated system of production by the side of the individualistic. The third is land reform.*

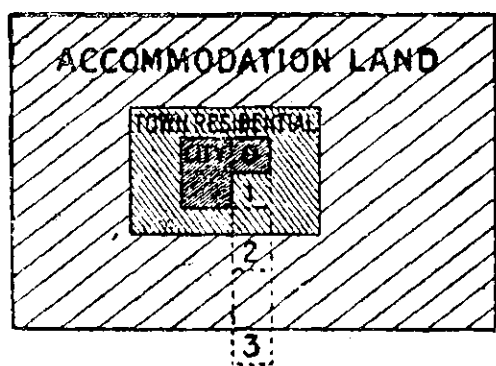
Owing to the immense apparent difficulties of land reform, we have advanced into an age of great urban development with a crude land system which belongs to a primitive rural age. This the second gross maladjustment is also preventing progress from having its normal beneficial results. In this case also there are disastrous consequences apart from the one we are specially considering. The social consequences are more deadly even than the economic.

All who have studied town planning know that, with the means of communication we now possess, we ought to be transforming most towns into garden cities, and developing "satellite-towns" and suburbs. Fig 2 shows at a glance how easily this might be done with a suitable land system. On good town planning depends, in an enormous degree, not only the health, but also the morality of the urban population, therefore no maladjustment could

* Merely abolishing the gold standard, as Great Britain has now done, is not currency reform in the constructive sense; see again p. 27.

be more deadly in its social effects than the retention in an age of towns, of the land system of a primitive age. There is no sociological study more important than that of the manner in which well-planned towns and housing for industrial workers, with open spaces, gardens and allotments, combine the various conditions that are morally bracing and physically healthful; and the way in which crowded dwellings combine the conditions that are morally depressing and physically detrimental. Drunkenness, which is held to be a measure of moral degradation, and insanity and tuberculosis which are an index of physically bad conditions exist to an appalling extent wherever there is crowding of dwellings.

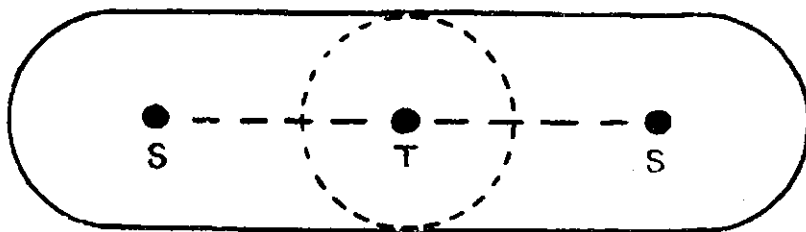
FIG. 2.



Illustrating the general principle, the figure shows how the value of a site 0 kept open in the business part of a town might be transferred to 1, which would become business quarters instead of it, whilst the value of 1 would be transferred to 2, which would become residential quarters in its stead, and that of 2 to 3 which would then become "accommodation land." The value of a site kept open is distributed among a number of sites which may be adjacent or may be distant therefore, under a rational land system, our towns would soon be made healthy and beautiful, because keeping a site open would cost no more than (approximately) the agricultural price.

Good town-planning depends on sites being kept open where it is in the public interest; then keeping them open should be, financially also, a sound proposition. Fig. 2 illustrates the principle on which the value of a site kept open is transferred to others, so that, finally, creating an open space should involve the sacrifice only of the agricultural value of the land—the other values being transferred, like that of 0 to 1, 2 and 3. Fig. 3 illustrates how decentralisation, which is not only possible but eminently desirable under modern conditions, from every point of view, would give immense advantages to agriculture, and so increase the value of the land.

FIG. 3.



Agriculture is at a great advantage in proximity to a populous centre. If population is concentrated in one town T, there will be only the land within the dotted circle favourably situated—classed as "accommodation land." But if population is spread out in suburbs and "satellite towns" S S much more land will have the higher agricultural value. It would be advantageous in every way to decentralize population in "satellite" towns or, better still, in "lineal" or "chain" suburbs.

Keeping sites open is rendered costly only by the anomaly, fantastic as it is fatal, that the public has to bear the expense—it compensates the owner of O—and private owners, *e.g.* those of 1, 2 and 3, receive the transferred values, and the improvement values, and have them as windfalls, gifts, at the public expense.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM PREVENTS THE IMPROVEMENTS

Remedying this anomaly need not attack vested interests, because the effect of the present state of affairs is generally to prevent the improvements which might otherwise create these great land values. It only gives a windfall to a very few individuals, and in a haphazard manner, instead of a harvest for the nation.

All that is necessary to remedy the anomaly is that, after a valuation of the land, all subsequent increases should be wholly absorbed in the land-tax, but that each landlord should be guaranteed his share according to what the valuation made had shown him to be entitled to.

Then a site could be cleared or kept open wherever it was desirable and the owner would lose nothing. The public making good to him his income from his land according to the valuation would recover the amount from the sites to which its value had been transferred: *e.g.* from values created on 1, 2 and 3. These would be in excess of the “expectations” allowed for in the valuation so would supply means to compensate the owner of 0.

The “improvement values” would be retained by the public. These would be created by the better planning (Fig. 3) which the reform would render possible; also not estimated for in the previously made valuation.

It would be as though the public had purchased the landlord's right to increase his rents in future. In other words as though it had purchased the “speculative value” of the land. In any case we may assume that the reform would be carried out by issuing Government Stock to the landlords for the amount of this “speculative value” of their land then we should stop the windfalls and have the great harvest.

Nothing more than that is needed to give the public a control over the development of towns that might result in their being rapidly turned into garden cities.

Then as regards the values that would be transferred, the public would be collector and distributor. It need not incur any financial responsibility *e.g.* for general depreciations of value.

It cannot be contended that the reform is difficult. In reply to any such contention the author may be excused for mentioning the fact that the book, “A Coming Revolution,” in which he dealt with this question, was reviewed with approval by the Press representing all parties.

Manifestly then the time is much more than ripe to point out to nations of town-dwellers that they must take the necessary measures to enable towns to be systematically planned.

IMMEDIATE EFFECT ON EMPLOYMENT

The removal of the deadly anomaly would give at once an enormous amount of employment, and create conditions that would affect the whole problem in important ways.

Under a sane land system garden-city and garden-suburb undertakings would become profitable, through the land values they would create, in the manner illustrated by Fig. 3. Existing towns would rapidly be improved. If it were in the public interest, public or private corporations and companies, or even private individuals wishing to acquire land would be able to obtain it at approximately the agricultural value. The public, recovering then the transferred values, would pay the compensation above the approximate agricultural rate, and might make great profits by these transactions.

Urban roads and railways would then be immensely improved; industries would acquire more convenient premises; private individuals would create gardens. Such improvements whilst employing people at once would rapidly render towns more convenient and beautiful, as well as healthier.

The reform would enable us to determine plans for future urban extension and development. Then conveniently situated land which according to the plans made, was not to be buildt upon, would be available at current agricultural prices for small holdings. Small holdings near populous centres combine every advantage. They offer an attractive occupation to many because they unite the advantages both of town and country, as well as combining trading with production.

The creation of "satellite towns" in the manner that is advocated by modern town-planners—see again Fig. 3—gives advantages to agriculture that would be of the greatest importance in connection with the solution of the employment problem.

Good town-planning could enable the industrial workers to have homes with land to cultivate, from which they would be within easy reach of the towns. Under such conditions the cultivation of a small plot may become an important second string to their bow.

It has been pointed out by sociologists that the workers are better off morally, intellectually, and physically, not only economically, where industry and the cultivation of the soil proceeds side by side. Apart from that, the combined economic results of good modern town-planning might suffice to increase opportunities of employment to an extent that would have an important effect on real wages; thus helping powerfully to solve the problem of adjusting demand to an ever-increasing supply.

We may well ask how future generations will contemplate our having entered into an age of towns with the land system of a rural age, with probably the most disastrous consequences for which human error has ever been responsible.

Crises like that through which we are now passing demand energetic measures. The removal of this defect in our system would give immediate employment to large numbers of people, by stimulating enterprise of the most beneficial kinds. Never was the opportunity clearer than at the present moment.

Thus a very complete answer to the question: What are we to do for unemployment? is, Adjust the land system to our urbanised age.*

THE EDUCATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE COLONY THE KEY

In this matter also many who have pondered the facts ask how they can help. Again the answer is that if we but do the best we can for the young we shall be on the straight road to the reform. Experience has shown that among the best works for colony organisations to undertake are those of building and estates development. It seems clear that were we to establish educational colonies, and the variety of colonies that should come into existence with them, the result would be a rapid development of garden cities and suburbs. A situation would, it seems, then be created which would compel us to reform our land system, and landlords would themselves demand reform to be saved from great loss through the depreciation of their property. The simplest thing would lead to the great reform. The pioneers of the educational colony might be the pioneers of land reform.

A hideous anomaly which has disfigured our modern civilization might then be removed.

MACHINERY IS LEADING US TOWARDS THE BEST SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Calcutta University publications insist that a feature of our age of machinery seems to be that it is destined to take us through a very Slough of Despond to conditions that promise to be the best that have ever existed. The labour-army of the young, they point out, would help alike economically, socially and educationally to bring us out of the slough to the happy conditions. The first social effect of the machine has been in some ways deadly. It has been to deprive the workers of natural and morally good conditions both of life and of work. Among the most wholesome and strongly moralising and invigorating influences are contact with nature, and natural free work in which people use their intelligence and their judgment. Far before all comes work they do independently, with the energy and application with which one works when freely. Machine production seems to be taking us as far as possible from those conditions and its stultifying effects are among the great causes of unemployment.

* Making the same apology as before the author may be allowed to mention that a series of articles in the "Westminster Gazette" in which he insisted on the above facts was followed by a correspondence that continued for six weeks, wherein he maintained that the reform would make it a paying proposition to turn our towns into garden cities. The articles were reprinted in booklet form under the title of "The Other Great Illusion; the Folly of Class War."

But progress is leading us in the direction of what may prove the best possible conditions in the shape of very short hours in the factory or office, leaving ample time to work for oneself.

Things move one step at a time in the sociological domain, but we have already reached the stage in which many countries acknowledge the right of the citizen to maintenance. Soon it will be recognized that there are some classes we ought in any case to keep out of commercial employment, and others we might easily induce to remain out of it, and that if we spent our money on arranging for “guild” and colony employment for these, we should have to spend but very little, and should really solve the problem in a humane as well as socially useful way.

Next it would be seen that the “guild” organization would enable us to prevent unemployment, by means of an exchange supplementing when necessary the commercial exchange, and that this will open the door for progress of many kinds leading to radical reform of our system.

Thus unemployment will lead us to solving the fundamental problem.

As a method of illustration let us consider things in this way: If only a small part of the money now spent on maintaining the unemployed in idleness and often in hopelessness, were handed over to the education department, it would be able to provide educational co-operative colonies for the young which would prevent unemployment by keeping them out of the labour-market. With such colonies as a foundation, it would be possible to use some more of the relief money that is now so badly used from the social point of view, to develop a parallel colony organisation for elderly and delicate works, taking many of them out of the labour-market to give them lives of hopeful activity. In any modern colony organization those who had ambition would be able to save money to start undertakings of their own, either in conjunction with the colony organization or independently. All would be able then to live, in the full sense of the word. None would be in hopeless dependence.

This would give us at once the organized system we need by the side of the competitive to solve our various problems.

Thus in order to transform our civilisation, and at the same time to do what the most thoughtful reformers have always admitted to be the most hopeful thing that could be done to solve our economic problems—*i.e.* to promote world-trade and prosperity, to save ourselves from the danger of competition from countries where labour is cheap—we have, it would seem, only to use intelligently a fraction of the money we already spend on social purposes. First and foremost to relieve unemployment, not by maintaining in idleness those who fail to find work, but by helping those who are not of the right age for commercial employment, or who have no immediate desire to enter it, to earn their living usefully in a co-ordinated productive organisation.

THE BEST PALLIATIVE WOULD LEAD TO A RADICAL SOLUTION

The need is to bear in mind the great and hopeful fact, that the organisation which promises to enable us to do the best welfare work, promises at the same time, to be the most hopeful for the radical solution of our economic problems. Thus, the special message of the Calcutta University publications is that a new era will commence when we do our duty to the young; for, once more, to make a "guild" organization of some kind possible all that is needed is to make it ubiquitous. An educational organization would be ubiquitous.

This is only the modern singularly hopeful aspect of the solution thoughtful reformers have always advocated, notably Ruskin in "Unto This Last."

There are many to whom these simple facts are clear, but who ask what they can do. The answer is that, in a variety of ways, all can help those who set themselves to do the pioneering work of the educational colony.

HARMONY THROUGH DIVERSITY

One would not attempt to prophesy how a co-operative productive organisation would develop in industrially advanced countries or how it would react on individual enterprise.

It is certain however that the misgivings commonly expressed are due to ignorance. People do not reflect on the altered conditions our immense modern productive power would create.

The examples we have been considering illustrate how a fully developed co-operative or co-ordinated productive organisation would make everyone's potential "effective demand" actually effective; how it would have branches in every locality and would undertake work of all kinds, and so would be able to supply people with commodities and services, accepting as payment the labour or service each person was best able to give. Modern methods have rendered payment in labour possible, first, by enabling almost anyone to work usefully in many branches of production; secondly by making very little labour yield abundant results in a good organisation; thirdly by giving us means of cheap travel. With a large and well developed organisation many or most people would be able conveniently to travel as often as necessary from their homes to a place where they would be able usefully to make their "labour-payments."

It has been objected sometimes that we could not equip two great economic systems. That the workers might turn perhaps capriciously, from the one to the other. It has been argued that if we had such a strong co-operative organization individual enterprise would become impossible, because the workers would become unreasonable in their demands.

But, in the first place the co-operative organisation would be able, under modern conditions, to use the machinery of private enterprise: in the manner

illustrated by the "guild" the workers working in private undertakings for remuneration in kind, and the co-operative organisation taking the goods. We should not have to foresee objections from the owners of the undertakings because the workers themselves would be the principal owners. If we had such an organisation, wages would be so high that the workers would form the main bulk of the shareholders in concerns of all kinds. There would, in fact, not be the division there now is between the capitalist and labouring classes.

The division would then be between the bigger capitalists and the smaller. The latter including all steady and thrifty workers, would have all the power.

Under those conditions also if the workers were unreasonable and went on strike they would be striking against concerns of which they would be the main owners; secondly if they worked for the co-operative organisation whilst on strike the private productive establishments would be as busy as ever. The main difference the strike would make would be that the workers and the establishments would then work for credit with the co-operative organisation instead of for money. If a strike reduced the volume of production and exchange, the workers would suffer, and thus be led to recognise the limits of what they could reasonably demand.

One cannot prophesy but there is every reason to believe that a great development of co-operation would lead to conditions under which there would be incomparably more private enterprise than there is now. The only question is whether we are capable of developing co-operation to the extent to have that effect. We can only try.

BEGIN IT WITH THE YOUNG

But we can begin with the educational co-operative organisation; with the young everything would be very simple.

It seems certain that educational colonies would send their adolescent workers to work in private industrial concerns on a rotation plan, two of them taking one job and working at it turn about. This would, it seems, form a necessary part of their training.*

It also seems clear that the cultivators of the soil for whom they would work would pay them in kind for their labour, and that the industries producing articles the organisation and its young workers used would pay also in kind. Then we should have, established with the young for educational purposes, the co-operative organisation using the machinery of commerce and supplying commodities for payment in labour. We might then proceed naturally to the application of the principle for the solution of economic problems also.

To argument and speculation there is no end, that is so especially in connection with sociological questions. Those who are in earnest will look to facts. Brilliant results were obtained by the first systematically carried out attempt to apply the co-ordinated system of production to the solution of a social

* See p. 31 middle.

problem. The Swiss colony enables those we call unemployables to earn, not only their maintenance but a bonus as well. We have but to imitate what has already been done, trying to improve on it, amplifying the same principle in educational co-operative colonies. That, again, is the main theme of the Calcutta University publications.

BACK TO NATURE

Similarly in every way progress has wrought the remedy for every evil it has created.

The position as regards the restoration of natural conditions of life is similar. Whilst the age of the machine has created the modern town which, as sociologists know only too well, combines so much that is debilitating morally as well as physically, the means of transport and communication it has given us unite with sociological requirements in demanding that towns should develop in a lineal or as we might express it star shape; in narrow "limbs" or chains of garden suburbs, or perhaps more properly villages, radiating out to the surrounding country. On that plan houses might have their fronts on an urban boulevard, whilst their backs would look out upon village scenery, on small dwellings with their gardens and homecrofts; or else, if further from the centre, upon the open country. Whilst such a plan would be suited to modern means of communication, it would give everyone all the advantages of the town and of the country combined. It would prevent disfigurement of the country, as the "limbs" would be series of well-planned villages with only their gardens and orchards visible in the landscape, the trees being overtowered at places by the higher buildings of the boulevards.

In towns so planned, or indeed in garden suburbs of any description, the workers with ample leisure and with educational colony training, would not neglect their gardens, which in return for the most not agreeable and interesting work, can yield so many things to embellish life and increase its comfort, and give one who has the knowledge many luxuries that are costly to buy. Educational colony trained people would demand such towns and with them unemployment could hardly arise. The labour-army of the adolescents might do much to help; for among the immense national services it could render might be that of applying its well and economically employed labour to building dwellings for the working classes; so that housing, which is of primary importance, not only for health but also for the moral welfare of the community, would become more of a national affair, and there would be none but good houses in good situations and at rents all would be able to pay.

By that alone the labour-army of the young might transform our modern industrial civilisation.

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PROPAGANDA

The Calcutta University publications on these subjects deal with facts so that university did not go outside the proper sphere of activities of a learned body in carrying out its propaganda.

Summing up the world-wide appeal made by Calcutta University, after establishing its new department, it calls attention to the facts, first that progress has wrought a remedy for every one of the evils it has brought about; secondly that only glaring anomalies, gross maladjustments, in our system, prevent it from applying its remedies; thirdly that when these remedies have been applied we shall have the conditions which experience has shown are the best of all for human welfare; finally that when we reform our education system to make it suit modern conditions, and conform with what great educationists have always insisted is best, we shall make a beginning that will promise to lead us rapidly towards the application of all the natural remedies.

Then also we shall be on the high road to the solution of the economic problem. Sound palliatives will lead to the radical cure.

Summing up the facts on which the appeal was based:—

The machine first debases human labour, making men “slaves of machines,” instead of artizans or healthy labourers, taking some pleasure in their work; but it emancipates its slaves later; as we improve it, it demands less and less human attendance for a given output; now only an insignificant part of our time should be spent tending machinery of production; a monstrously wrong social system alone prevents our having nearly the whole of our time for free, improving and natural work.

The great development of towns has severed many people from nature; but means of communication have been so perfected that we might, and for economic and other reasons should, spread population in lineal or “chain” towns, which would combine every advantage; only a land system belonging to another age prevents our doing it.

The spread of population which has now become possible, will give us a new era. All sociological studies show us that the workers are at their best, not under purely rural conditions, but where they have the great diversity; contact with nature and with human society and its organized activities.

Decentralization of population is of primary importance, both economically and socially.

In new countries the spread of population will take the shape of organized and socialized “mass-emigration”; in the old countries that of “home-colonization,” and garden city development, restoring the prosperity of agriculture, and making “homecroft” general.

The eminent Vice-Chancellor who made himself responsible for the great propaganda saw that we were in a time of severe crisis, but from which there was a clear and natural issue that might turn despair into the brightest hope.

It was in those circumstances that he established the new department and lectureship. In taking the action that was described as “probably without a parallel in the annals of any learned body,” he felt that the circumstances not only justified it, but demanded it. Consistently with his belief in pioneering the new era with the young he took the lead in connection with an organization

that was registered in Bengal under the name of the Modern Co-operative Agricultural Association Ltd., to do the pioneering work; but then disaster supervened; death struck him down at the moment when it was about to begin operations.

Events have shown that he foresaw correctly.

He foresaw that unemployment would increase till it threatened the stability of the social order, but saw that a few people doing the right thing might show the way to solving, not only that great problem, but our other great problems along with it. It was with this belief that, after having held a world-wide enquiry, he placed before the Council of Post Graduate Studies of Calcutta University the daring proposal for a department which was to study the means of putting an end to unmerited poverty—see again page 23.

The appeal is addressed to people who encouraged by the indeed dazzling vista, will turn their backs upon vain argumentation and useless speculation, and help those who are taking the first steps by establishing educational co-operative colonies which eminent authorities and bodies of experts recommended for a “fair and full trial.”

The thorough investigation that was held showed that nothing could be more hopeful than the simple plan of keeping the lads under the educational authorities in their adolescence, allowing them to go to commercial employment only in pairs, taking a job between them, working on some plan of rotation, so that they would have half their time in educational colonies, bringing home from them as good remuneration in kind as a day's wage would have purchased.

Exceptions might be made in cases demanding them, if really experience proved them to be necessary.

The benefit to the lads would be incalculable. The immediate effect on employment would, of course, be immense. The indirect effects might easily prove more important still. There would be every reason to foresee that very many would wish to go on working on that plan. The colony organization would then be a very big one, supplying great variety of articles, and the whole problem of unemployment might be solved in that simple and most beneficial way.

We might hope also that once the plan had been seen in operation, many adults would find it possible, to work on the rotation plan, with a system suitable to each case; then the problem of unemployment might soon be solved.

State Karbhari's Office.

Jamkhandi 20th July 1928.

From,

G. L. GAJENDRAGADKAR, ESQ.

M. B. E., B. A.

State Karbhari.

JAMKHANDI.

To,

MAJOR, L. E. LANG,

C. I. E., M. C.,

Resident at Kolhapur and
Political Agent S. M. C. States,

KOLHAPUR.

Sir,

I have the honour, under instructions from the Chief, to submit the annual Administration Report of the Jamkhandi State for the Faski year 1337, ending 5th June 1928.

2. At the outset I am desired by the Chief to convey his sincere and cordial thanks to your Goodself, to your predecessor, Colonel E. O' Brien and to Captain E. M. Gastrell, the then Assistant Political Agent S. M. C. States, and his deep sense of gratitude to Government for the valuable suggestions and advice given to the State from time to time in all important administrative matters.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

STATE KARBHARI.



ADMINISTRATION REPORT

OF

THE

JAMKHANDI STATE

For

Fasli Year

1337



1927—28

Administration Report
OF
THE JAMKHANDI STATE

For

The Fasli Year

1337

(Ending 5th June 1928)



CHAPTER I.

GENERAL AND POLITICAL.

The area of the State is 524 square miles and it is divided for administrative purposes into two Talukas, Jamkhandi and Kundgol, and three Thanas, Wathar, Patkhal and Dhavalpuri. The total population of the State, according to the Census of 1921, is 1,01,195. Based on the average of past five years, the gross revenue of the State,

Area and population.

exclusive of Inams is estimated at Rs. 9,57,985. The State pays a tribute of Rs. 20,516, annually to the British Government.

2. The Chief, Meherban Shrimant Shankarrao Parashuramrao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, is a Konkanastha Brahmin. He is a First Class Sardar of the Deccan and a Treaty Chief, and continues to be Honorary A. D. C. to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. His age is 22. He has a son, named Shrimant Parashuramrao Bhausahab, who is now in his 4th year and a daughter named Shrimant Indira Raje alias Taisahab, who is now in her 3rd year. The Chief his noble consort Shrimant Saubhagyavati Lilawati Ranisahab and all the other members of the Chief's family are enjoying excellent health.

Ruling Chief and his family.

3. The most noteworthy event of the year under report is the visit of His Excellency the Governor Sir Leslie Wilson and of his noble consort Lady Wilson to Jamkhandi on the 29th October 1927. They could stay here only for a couple of days. His Excellency immediately after his arrival inspected the Guard of Honour and was given an address by the Municipality of Jamkhandi in the splendid Darbar Hall. Later on in the evening of that day His Excellency with Lady Wilson paid a visit to the site of the Town Service Reservoir and was pleased to lay the corner stone thereof. A State Banquet and a display of Fire Works were the important functions of the night of the 29th October. In the morning of the 30th October His Excellency the Chief Scout of this Presidency paid a visit to the P. B. High School, Jamkhandi where the Boy Scouts received him with all honours; and in the afternoon the usual official visits and return visits were paid with all befitting ceremonies; subsequently a number of sports with varied programme were held and prizes were distributed to the winners. The distinguished guests left Jamkhandi at 9-15 P. M. on 30th October. It is pleasant to

His Excellency the Governor's visit to Jamkhandi.

record that His Excellency was highly pleased with the arrangements made for his reception and expressed complete satisfaction with the administration and the general discipline of the State. It is a matter of great pride to the Chief to have this testimonial from the Head of the Presidency as regards the efficient working of all the departments of the State administration. In his reply to the Toast proposed in his honour His Excellency said " I entirely agree with the very kind remarks you have made about Colonel O'Brien. He is indeed a very great loss to me and to the Presidency, and in him you certainly lose a very good friend. He tells me—and he is in the best position to know—that, in the short time you have ruled over your State, you have already shown yourself a worthy successor of your father, the late Chief Sir Parashuramrao. Higher praise than that I cannot think of. Your father was a most distinguished and enlightened ruler, a generous host and a loyal friend and one who kept a very able watch and a careful control over every department of the State. Under his guidance Jamkhandi flourished exceedingly. To your good father and to yourself, belongs the credit of undertaking the water supply scheme which we have inaugurated this afternoon. The liberal educational policy, and the generous medical facilities which have been afforded by the State, are all evidence of your watchful care and anxiety for the well-being of your subjects". To quote the very words of His Excellency, higher praise than this I cannot think of.

4. Another important event of the year under review is that the Chief was declared a duly elected member of the Chamber of Princes to represent the States of Group No. IV *viz.* Miraj Senior, Miraj Junior, Kurundwad Senior, Ramdurg, Sondur and Savanoor. He had been to Delhi for the Session of the Chamber of Princes in February last and took part in the discussions.

Chiefs' election to the
Princes' Chamber.

5. The Chief had the honour of paying visits to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay at Bombay, and subsequently at Mahableshtar, when he had been there in the Summer. He had also been to Bombay to attend the function held in honour of the visit of His Majesty the Amir of Afganistan. The Chief also attended the Darbar of the Sardars of the Deccan held in Poona and frequently visited Kolhapur to consult the Political Agent.

Chief's Visit to His Excellency &c.

6. The Chief paid his official visits to Kundgol on 15th March and stayed there for two days. The public of Kundgol gave him a warm reception. The Chief visited all the schools in Kundgol with a view to see what their needs were and tried to meet them as far as possible. He also gave interviews to the leading men amongst the rayats and listened to their grievances.

Chief's tour in his State.

7. Colonel O'Brien, the then Political Agent, S. M. C. States, paid his official visit to Jamkhandi during the year. He was also present at the time His Excellency the Governor visited Jamkhandi at the end of October last.

Political Agent's visit to Jamkhandi.

8. Appendix I shows the names of the High Officials of the first Grade in the State.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAND.

9. Revision Survey has been extended to the whole of the State except Benkanhalli, Kop, and Hanchinal, the three Inam villages in Kundgol Taluka. The pot Hissa measurement work of the Kundgol Taluka is completed and that of Jamkhandi is in progress now.

Revision Survey etc.

10. The area under cultivation first taken up for and
 Cultivated Area. thrown out of cultivation during the
 year is shown in the Table marked
 " A " at the end of this report.

11. The table marked " B " at the end shows the land
 Land Revenue, revenue demands and collections during
 the year under report, and also the
 out-standings at the close of the year.

12. The dues on the whole were collected without
 Revenue Collection. resort to coercive measures. Notices of
 demands had to be issued in some
 cases only.

13. Dhavalpuri is a village in Nagar District and lies
 in a tract which can be called precarious. There are suspen-
 sions in that village for three years aggregating Rs. 3923.

14. Tagai loans were advanced to the extent of Rs. 3828 to
 Tagai. the needy rayats during the year under
 report against Rs. 3852 of the last year.

CHAPTER III.

PROTECTION.

Legislation.

15. Appendix II shows the Acts and Regulations in
 force in the State.

16. Military Force. The State maintains no military
 Force.

17. The details regarding the strength, discipline, and
 Police. education of the police are given in
 Appendix IV.

18. Of the three hundred and eleven (311) foot police 304 are armed of whom 140 carry breech loaders and 107 muzzle loaders and 57 carry swords. The remaining 7 are unarmed.

Police Arms.

19. The Sowars are armed with breech loading guns, swords and lances. Strict discipline was maintained in the force. Two sowars were dismissed on account of gross negligence while on duty.

Mounted Police.

20. The ratio of police to the entire population of the State is 1 to 283 souls and to area 1.4 square miles.

21. The strength of the Police Patils and Sanadis is 328. They do ordinary police work in their respective villages and assist the District Police in the detection and prevention of crime. A set of printed instructions for the guidance of Police Patils in the State has been distributed to all villages with a view to secure good and efficient work from these village officers.

Police Patils and Sanadis.

22. The results of the working of the Police and Magistracy are given in Appendix V to VII. There were 124 cases for disposal as against 131 last year. 34 cases were excluded as false and 15 remained undisposed of by the police at the end of the year. 75 were found true and 27 were classed as undetected. In the 48 cases that were detected 120 persons were arrested and 119 sent for trial by Magistrates. Of these latter 66 were convicted, 28 discharged or acquitted and 25 were awaiting trial at the end of the year. The percentage of convictions to the accused sent for trial this year has improved to 74.15 from that of 63.8 of last year and speaks well for the efficient work of the police. Of the serious crimes against property some remain undetected. This is due to the fact that in many of these, either no property worth mention

Working of the Police and Magistracy.

was stolen or the stolen property was found dropped by the thieves. In two cases the offences occurred on the border villages. In three cases information was laid two months after the offence. One house-breaking and one dacoity are strongly suspected to have been committed by a gang of Korchas or kaikadis whose activities extended from Poona to Belgaum and who have been in June 1928 detected and some arrested by the C. I. D., and the Sangli Police; Investigations in the matter of the offences committed by the gang are taken up by the C. I. D. assisted by the Police of this State as also of the other States and it is contemplated to try the gang under I. P. C. Sections 400 and 401. Of the offences shown as undisposed of in column 10 of statement 7, 5 thefts, 1 robbery and 5 house breakings were reported at the end of the year and all these have since been disposed of. The percentage of property stolen to property recovered also shows a substantial increase from 40.83 to 50.9. The work of the police on the whole is satisfactory. Attempts are being made to improve the work of the force by giving them regular training under an experienced and trained officer. These figures reflect the creditable work done by the late Police Inspector of the State—Mr. S. N. Bhave—whose unfortunate death at the end of February last deprived the State of the services of a very able and honest officer. The District Superintendent of Police, Dharwar has rewarded one Police Sub-Inspector and two constables for the valuable help rendered by them to the Dharwar police. Steps have been taken to select a suitable officer for the office of Police Inspector in the State.

23. Of the 97 direct cases taken up by Magistrates 91 were disposed of and in them 291 persons appeared as accused. Of these 23, were convicted and 235 acquitted or discharged. The cases that bulk largely under this class are mostly cases of hurt (47 cases with 131 acquitted or discharged out of 158 sent up—) and miscellaneous cases (18 with 47 discharged or acquitted out of 64 sent up—) as 5 Steps are being taken to impress on the Mag. All of , the year

the urgent need of their making a searching examination of the complainant under C. P. C. Sec. 200. Imperfect verification without asking questions to disclose the real facts of the case and the real extent of the alleged offence leads to an unnecessary waste of time and energy of the Magistracy and orders are issued to impress on the Magistrates the need of a searching verification and a free use of sections 95 I. P. C. & 203 C. P. C. and of a liberal use of C. P. C. sec. 250 in the case of vexatious and frivolous complaints.

24. Non-cognizable crime shows 42 cases for disposal with 65 accused for trial; Of the latter two are pending trial and 23 dealt with by fines and 40 acquitted or discharged. Most of these offences are compoundable offences of no importance.

25. The number of accidental deaths and suicides was 47 as against 45 of the last year.

26. The number of accidental fires was 39 as against nil of the last year and the property destroyed was worth Rs. 5,105 as against nil of the last year.

Criminal Justice.

27. Appendix VIII shows the work done by the various criminal courts during the year under report.

28. Particulars of the work of the Criminal Appellate Courts in the State during the year under report are given in Appendix IX. The small number of appeals goes to

show that the contending parties found that their complaints and grievances received due consideration at the property of the courts of first instance. that in it.

Civil Justice.

29. The details of the suits filed and disposed of by the several Courts of original Civil Jurisdiction are given in Appendix X.
Original work.
30. Appendix XI gives the details of results of applications for the execution of decrees in all the Civil Courts.
Execution of decrees.
31. Appendix XII shows the disposal of the civil appeals in the year under report, compared with that of the last year.
Civil Appellate Work.
32. 9 accused persons were made over for trial to the State by British Government during the year under report and they were all convicted. No persons were surrendered by the State either to the British Government or to any Indian State.
Extradition.
33. Appendix A gives the details of all the estates under the management of the Court of Wards. There were 17 estates under the management of the Court of Wards at the end of the last year, and three new estates were taken under its management during the year under report. The Kundgol Nadgir estate (item No. 13 of last report) was restored to the owner's adopted son in May 1927 as a Trustee for his father with a view to enable him to learn the work of management, by way of a trial. The experiment however proved a failure as the son was found to be unable to do the work of management satisfactorily and so the estate had necessarily to be taken back again under the Court of Wards in April last. The health, education and general interest of the Wards were carefully watched by the Manager.
Wards' Estates.
34. The number of suits filed in the Courts of all the Mamlatdars and Vahivatdars was 5 as against 13 of the last year. All of them were disposed of during the year.
Mamlatdars' Courts.

under report. One application for revision in a Vahivati suit was filed during the year under report and in it the Mamlatdar's decision was upset.

35. Appendix XIII gives the number of Jails and Lock-ups in the State. The central Jail is located at Jamkhandi and the Chief Medical Officer at Jamkhandi is its Superintendent. It has sufficient accommodation and is well ventilated. A separate Ward in it is set apart for female convicts. The jail was every month visited by the State Karbhari and District Magistrate, and periodically visited by the visitors appointed for the purpose. The general health of the prisoners was good. No death took place in the jail during the year.

36. Remissions were awarded to 16 prisoners according to the rules in the jail Manual. On the happy occasions of the Birth-day of the Chief and the anniversary of his Installation in November and June last respectively 5 male prisoners and 1 female prisoner were released during the year under report.

37. There were 9 civil prisoners and no lunatics.

38. The total expenditure of the Central Jail and lock-ups was Rs. 6711 as against Rs. 6799 of the last year.

39. The dietary cost in the central Jail was 3 annas per head per diem.

40. Rations and clothing were given to the prisoners according to the scale obtaining in the Yeravada Central Jail.

41. Weaving of silks and cottons (such as coarse cloth, carpets and towels) was carried on, on a moderate scale during the year under report.

42. The full details of the work done by the Registration department are given in appendix XIV. and XV. The figures on the whole do not show any striking variations.

43. There are six Municipalities in the Jamkhandi State. Appendix XVI shows their financial condition. Their principal sources of income are Octroi, House-tax, tolls, and water tax, while sanitation, general conservancy, lighting, Road repairs, water supply, contribution towards education and Vaccination are the principal heads of expenditure. All the six Municipalities exercise the right of election. The State Karbhari, is the Ex-Officio President and the Mamlatdar the Ex-Officio Vice President of all the Municipalities except Jamkhandi which has the privilege of electing its own President. Sanitation is well looked after by all the Municipalities. The working of all the Municipalities was satisfactory.

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

44. Appendix XVII shows the distribution of rainfall by Talukas and by months. The rainfall during the year was below the normal. At first the kharif crops seemed to be at their best owing to timely rainfall but the subsequent rains were insufficient and made the kharif crop wither away. The late rains however were seasonal for the Rabi sowing and their yield was passable, except cotton, the outturn of which owing to unseasonable and unexpected rains at the end was unsatisfactory to such an extent that instead of the 3 normal pickings there was only one picking during the year under report. The crop further yielded low prices in the market. Wheat crop also during the year failed to some extent. The anna valuation of cotton, wheat and Jowari was 6, 7. 8 respectively. Fodder

supply was sufficient on the whole and the supply of water was sufficient throughout the State except in Kundgol where at the latter end of the hot season, owing to a scanty rainfall there was a dearth of drinking water. The condition of Agricultural stock was on the whole fair as would be seen from Appendix XX. There was no cattle disease during the year under report.

45. The prices of food grains were easier during the year of report, than those prevailing during the last year.

Prices and wages.

46. Rates of wages have remained stationary.

Wages.

47. The area under forest is 27,209 acres and 24 gunthas of which 1510 acres and 29 gunthas are reserved forests. The income and expenditure of the forests in the State was Rs. 5984 and Rs. 3132 respectively during the year. The State forests are poor in quality as no rich teak is available in them. They produce only fuel for local consumption and afford in places grazing for cattle.

Forest.

48. There were two offences against forest rules with four offenders who were fined. There were no forest fires.

Forest Offences.

49. The number of excise shops and the revenue realised therefrom are given in Appendix XXI: there is no change in the number of shops.

Excise Revenue.

50. Agriculture is the main industry in the State. There is no important trade worth mention in the State and

Trade & Manufacture.

there are no prospects of its increase till the State is conveniently connected with the outside business centres by rail. Sugar, rice, salt, colours, spices, cocoanuts, timber, stationery, yarn, cloth, metals and kerosene are the principle imports while food grains, cotton, cottonseeds coarse cloth, sarees, karadi oil, and oil cakes are the chief articles of export. The figures taken from the Municipal records show roughly that the value of imports and exports amounted to Rs. 18,05,862 and Rs. 339060 respectively, during the year under report.

51. At Jamkhandi, Banhatti, Asangi and a few adjoining villages the industry of dyeing yarn and silk and the weaving of sarees and coarse cloth is carried on on a large scale.

Village Industries.

The total number of handlooms working is 2630 of which 148 are used for weaving coarse cotton blankets while the rest are used for the manufacture of cotton goods.

52. The State owns a Ginning Factory and a cotton press at Jamkhandi. About 378 khandis of cotton were ginned and 2743 bales were pressed with the result that the State realised a net income of Rs. 18, 242. These two factories had not sufficient work this year as the cotton crop was poor owing to the unexpected and untimely rainfall as stated above in para 44.

State Ginning and Pressing Factory.

53. Besides these two factories there are 6 Ginning factories at Jamkhandi and 12 in Kundgol Taluka owned by private persons. All of them had not sufficient work during the year under report.

Private Gins.

54. Jamkhandi is well known for the production of, karadi oil of good quality. This oil is pressed from karadi in country oil Mills, The number of such Mills is 75.

Oil industry.

55. The following four fairs were held in the State
Fairs and Shows &
 Agricultural Exhibition. as usual during the year.

- (1) The Cattle fair at Jamkhandi was held in the month of April. The number of cattle brought for exhibition and sale was 8475 as against 4675 of the last. On the last day of the fair the Chief addressed the assembled Agriculturists on the importance and necessity of good cattle breeding and urged that good farming depended mostly on healthy and well-bred cattle. 35 prizes for well-bred animals were distributed at the Darbar. In connection with this fair an agricultural exhibition was held at a very-short notice. The exhibits were numerous and of a varied nature. The whole show was of great interest and benefit to the assembled agriculturists for whose sake it was specially held.
- (2) The Bramhadeva Fair at Kundgol was held in the month of June.
- (3) The Basavanna Fair at Kadapatti was held in the month of August.
- (4) Shri Venkoba Fair at Kalhalli was held in the month of October.

56. There are in all 9 Post offices in the State which are under the control and management of the British Government. Of these two are combined Post and Telegraph

Post Offices.

Offices, one at Jamkhandi and the other at Ramtirth. Kundgol and Saunshi being Railway Stations have no separate telegraph offices. A telephone service is maintained at Jamkhandi and Ramtirth. The Post Master General has been requested to open a Post Office at Shiravade. (Thana Head Quarter of Wathar). and a telegraph office at Kundgol.

57. There is no mint in the State.

58. Appendix XIX shows the details of expenditure on Public Works from State and local funds.

Public Works.

59. The total expenditure on public works (Water works excluded) was Rs 2,32,434 as against of Rs. 1,70,205 of the last year. The more important works executed were:—

Outlay on Public Works.

(1) The Darbar Hall erected at a cost of Rs. 31,600/- and opened at His Excellency the Governor's visit in October 1927.

(2) Road to Sanal (the place where the new water works are located). costing Rs. 16,000/-.

60. In addition to the aforesaid works, annual repairs to various roads, schools, temples, Chawadis, Dharamshalas and Ferries were carried out.

Annual Repairs.

CHAPTER V.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

61. Appendix XXII shows the different heads of receipts and expenditure as also the general condition of the finances of the State as compared with that of the previous year.

62. The gross Income and expenditure of the State in the year under review amounted to Rs. 976835 and Rs. 1380835 respectively as against Rs. 9,52,172 and Rs. 9,95,848 respectively of last year. This year's expenditure contains in it the amount spent on the Sanal Water Works now nearing completion.

Income and expenditure of the State.

63. The State Bank is working satisfactorily and is much appreciated by the subjects of the State. Many agriculturists and needy persons took advantage of it, the average rate of interest being $7\frac{1}{2}$ P. C. though the current rate among the local bankers was 12 to 18 P. C. During the year under review the State Bank advanced Rs. 25,650 on the security of the gold and Rs. 39,950/-on that of lands.

Working of the
State Bank.

CHAPTER VI.

MEDICAL RELIEF AND VITAL STATISTICS.

64 The State maintains 4 medical institutions (at Jamkhandi, Savalgi, Banhatti, and Kundgol) where medical aid is given gratis. The details of the work done and the expenses incurred on their account are given in Appendix XXIII. The attendance of patients in all these charitable institutions as compared with that of last year shows an increase of 217. At these institutions 1587 operations were performed during the year. All the medical officers are qualified men, two being University Graduates, and four Sub-Assistant Surgeons, of whom one is also qualified as a Veterinary Doctor. Besides these, one qualified Lady Doctor is attached to the central Hospital at Jamkhandi who with her staff of nurses is very useful for female patients. The State in year 1336 has opened a free Veterinary Dispensary at Jamkhandi which is being well attended.

Medical Relief.

65. The Jamkhandi Municipality maintains an Ayurvedic Dispensary which also is found to be very useful to the public.

Ayurvedic Dispensary.

66. Appendix XXIV shows the number of births and deaths and their rate per thousand of population. The death rate has again arisen this year: this is due to the

Vital Statistics.

prevalence of plague at Shiravade, in Wathar Thana and of cholera epidemic in Kundgol and Jamkhandi Talukas. The vigorous measures taken to combat these epidemics in time did not allow them to continue long. They took toll of 340 souls.

67. One death occurred from small-pox and that was amongst the non-vaccinated.

68. There is no special sanitary department. The Municipalities look after the work of sanitation in Municipal areas. In villages it is looked after by village and taluka officers. Sanitary Committees exist in eleven important villages and the villagers have begun to realise the utility and benefits of such Committees and take some interest in the work.

69. The table marked " C " at the end shows the work done by the vaccination department, as compared with that of the previous year.

70. Revaccination was done in 67 cases out of which 6 proved unsuccessful and 6 did not present themselves for inspection.

CHAPTER VII.

Public Instruction.

71. Appendix XXV gives the details of the different Schools with the particulars regarding attendance &c.

72. The remarkable feature of education in this State is that not only is its primary education free but that its secondary education

also is free. Instances of such a generous policy are rare on this side of India. To continue these traditions of the State the Chief wanted to start a Second grade Arts College in Jamkhandi for a limited number of students from the limits of the State where also the education to be imparted was to be completely free. It was a severe disappointment to him to find that the present policy of the Bombay University in the matter of giving permission to start Second Grade Colleges came in his way. He has however achieved his end in this direction in a happy and commendable manner as explained below in para 92. The percentage of school going boys and girls to the entire population in the State is 6. Female education is well looked after in the State. Free boarding and scholarships are given to poor and deserving students irrespective of caste and creed. The number of such free boarders is 50. Clothes and books are also given free to the boys of backward classes with a view to encourage education amongst them. A special class for the untouchables is attached to the Vernacular School No.2 at Jamkhandi and it meets in the same building. This building is known as Dhed School.

73. Last year there were 73 primary schools, 69 for boys and 4 for girls. At the urgent request of the villagers new schools were opened at Chamkeri, Gundenkatti and Patkhal, during the year under report. Now there are 76 primary schools. The average number of pupils throughout the year and the average daily attendance were 5393 and 4017 against 5393 and 4252 for the last year. Of the 77 schools only 4 teach the full primary course while the others teach the first three or the first five standards according to the local requirements.

74. The Scout movement received a great impetus during the year owing to the visit of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, the Chief Scout of the Presidency in

Scouting.

October last. He visited the P. B. High School, at Jamkhadi and had very graciously attended the Boy Scout's Rally and their exhibition. He was taken round the camp by the Chief, the Chief Scout of the Jamkhandi State. A Training Camp was held under the supervision of Mr. D. P. Joshi and 13 teachers were trained. Ten Scout Teachers and 50 boys were present at the Jambori at Bombay in December.

75. The State maintains a separate Urdu School at Jamkhandi for Mahomedan boys and girls. There are 65 boys and girls in this School. This small number is due to the fact that a number of mahomedan boys attend the Marathi school as it is the court language of the State. An Urdu class is attached to the Marathi School at Kundgol for the benefit of the mahomedan boys there.

Urdu Schools.

76. From Vernacular schools 3942 students appeared for the various examinations and 2995 passed. The number sent up for the vernacular final examination was 12 of whom 5 passed.

Vernacular Examination Results.

77. The number of boys in the Sanskrit Patshala at Kundgol is 11 as against 7 of the last year.

Sanskrit Patshala.

78. The number of schools for girls remained the same as last year. The number of girls in these schools was 493 as against 451 of the last year. There are 11 female teachers: the Head Mistress is a trained teacher. The State is prepared to take into consideration the question of starting a female High School as soon as the need for it is established by a rise in the number of girls desiring High School education. In other places the girls are taught along with the boys as their number is very small and not sufficient to enable the opening of a separate class for them.

Female Education.

79. There are four institutions imparting Secondary Education in the State. They are:—

Secondary Schools.

1. P. B. High School, teaching the full High School course at Jamkhandi.
2. The H. B. High School, teaching the full High School course at Kundgol.
3. The Banhatti F. G. A. V. School.
4. The Savalgi S. G. A. V. School.

The total number of boys receiving English education in these Institutions was 781 against 790 of the last year.

Matriculation Results.

80. 36 students from the P. B. High School at Jamkhandi and 13 students from the Harbhat High School Kundgol were sent up for the School Leaving Certificate Examination of whom 27 and 9 respectively came out successful. These results are very creditable and are an index to the excellent teaching given in the two High Schools. Stipends to deserving students are awarded in both the High Schools.

Scholarships for Higher Education.

81. 15 Scholarships have been awarded by the State to deserving students for prosecuting their College studies at an yearly outlay of Rs. 5000. The total expenditure on public Instruction was Rs. 87984 as against Rs. 84490 of the last year.

Indigenous Schools.

82. There are 5 private vernacular schools as against 6 of the last year. The total strength of these schools is 161 as against 131, of the last year.

Municipal Night School.

83. The Jamkhandi Municipality maintains a Night School. It is attended by boys and adults of the depressed classes under a teacher of their own class and is a promising institution.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

84. The State maintains a Printing Press of its own
Printing Presses. purely for State work. There is one private printing press at Jamkhandi known as the 'Hanuman Press' which does job work only.
85. No newspaper or periodical is published in the
News papers. State.
86. The number of libraries and reading rooms remained
Libraries. the same as that of last year *viz* 11. Seven of these are registered institutions and receive State aid. All of them are being taken advantage of by the literate public. The use of proscribed books is strictly prohibited in all these institutions.
87. There were six deaths in all, five from snake bites
Destruction of wild animals. and one from scorpion. No panthers or other wild beasts were killed during the year.
88. The nearest railway station which connects
Railways, Markets and Water supply. Jamkhandi the capital of the State with the outer world is Kudchi. It is 34 miles from Jamkhandi. The introduction of Motor service has facilitated passenger traffic only. It is not possible to improve the general trade and commerce of the State unless Jamkhandi is made easily accessible to the outside world by connecting it directly with railway. This question is one which should engage the attention of Government with a view to their supplying this long felt want.
89. The benefits of the Cotton Market established
Jamkhandi Cotton Market. here are being appreciated by all concerned and the working of the Cotton Market was fairly satisfactory. Ade-

quate Measures are taken to see that there is no adulteration of the local Cotton by worthless stuff. Steps are being taken to attract to the cotton Market all the cotton growing in the State limits. A new village market on Fridays was established in Kasaba Gote in the State during the year.

90. The first noble act of the Chief after his installation on the Gadi was to decide to devote a sum of six to seven lakhs of rupees to relieve the distress of his subjects in Jamkhandi in the matter of water. These water works are located at Sanal on the Krishna River, five miles from Jamkhandi and are connected with Jamkhandi by a good metalled road made at a cost of Rs. 16,000 /-. These works were actually taken in hand from the 14th March 1927 and are likely to be completed before the end of the Fasli year 1338. The total expenditure during the year under report on the works amounted to Rs. 3,13,435. These water works are so projected as to supply water both to the town of Jamkhandi and to the Chief's palace at Ramtirth. After these works are fully over it is under contemplation to take up the question of the water supply of Kundgol; plans and estimates for the first stage of these costing Rs. 1,50,000. are ready.

91. Mr. G. L. Gajendragadkar M. B. E., B. A., State Karbhari made an annual tour of inspection in the Talukas and thanas of the State and examined the village accounts and daftars carefully at his visit. Schools and dispensaries are also visited. All wants of the rayats were satisfied as far as possible and their complaints were removed. All State offices under his control were inspected and the irregularities discovered were brought to the notice of the officers concerned.

**“ Memorial of the late Chief
Shrimant Captain Sir Parashuramrao
Bhausahab K. C. I. E.,”**

92. The question of a fitting memorial to his father, the late Chief always occupied the present Chief's mind ever since his accession to the 'Gadi' in May 1926. The Policy of the University in the matter of Second Grade Colleges however caused severe disappointment to him in-as-much-as he had to abandon his long cherished object of starting a Second Grade Arts College imparting free collegiate education to his subjects in his capital town in surroundings healthy and free from congestion. The University suggested the starting of a First Grade College. The cost of financing such a College was absolutely beyond the capacity of the never-too-expanding revenues of this State, and the Chief therefore was unable to embark on the contemplated College scheme. He however very happily solved the difficulty and achieved his object in another way. In consideration of paying the amount of the Memorial Fund one lakh rupees down now, and of a payment of Rs. 5,000/-per year for 20 years to come, the Council of the Shikshana Prasarak Mandali Poona agreed (1) to change the name of their College to “ The Sir Parashuram Bhau College, Poona ” and to conduct the same for ever in memory of that renowned Chief, and (2) to admit free of tuition fees 50 students at a time in all the classes of the College recommended for admission by this State as Jamkhandi State Endowment Scholars. Accordingly the actual change in the name of the College has now been effected. The Managing body of the Mandali deserves to be congratulated on their having thus succeeded in enlisting the active sympathy of the Chief by securing this munificent gift. In this way the Chief has been enabled to connect his father's name indissolubly with a great collegiate institution established in Poona. It augurs very well for this project, that within a fortnight after its details were announced in a

Memorial of the late Chief
The Sir Parashuram Bhau
College Poona.

public Darbar in Jamkhandi on the 2nd Anniversary of the Chief's installation, no less than 65 students offered to take the benefit of the scheme and it was with great difficulty that a selection of 50 students from this number was made on 1st July 1928 for being admitted to the College.

93. After a series of bad years the expired year was the first which from the rayats' point of view could be called, though not quite a propitious, still a fair year. The strain of the past bad years has been cheerfully born by the State subjects. The high prices were eased during the year by a fall in them, and though the kharif crop was disappointing, the Rabi crop was passable. The out-turn of the cotton crop was disappointing, and the prices realized for it were low. The rain-fall was deficient when compared with the normal, but it was in the large majority of villages very timely, and fairly well distributed and it was on that account that it was beneficent and thereby a tolerable harvest was reaped. The wage-earning classes had no difficulty or distress. The land revenue recovery was satisfactory and no coercive process had to be resorted to for its recovery. The masses are law-abiding, loyal, and contented.

94. This in brief is the record of events connected with the administration of the State and the condition of the people during the year. All the needs and comforts of the people were promptly attended to. Justice was well and promptly administered and protection of life and property was ensured as far as possible.

95. The Chief has been taking a very keen and lively interest in all the branches of the administration of the State and no department escapes his vigilant eye. By his assiduous work for the happiness and betterment of his subjects, and by his noble nature he has endeared himself

to all. He has begun very well and has a great future before him.

96. The State Karbhari, would be lacking in his duty if he failed to record here an expression of his deep sense of gratitude for the help rendered to him in all matters by the Chief.



TABLE A.

Name of Talukas	Occupied area at the end of 1926—27		Unoccupied area at the end of 1926—27	Area taken up for cultivation in 1927—28	Area thrown out of cultivation in 1927—28	Occupied area at the end of 1927—28		Unoccupied area at the end of 1927—28
	A.	G.				A.	G.		A.	G.
Jamkhandi.	219659	—34	177—11	...	...	219659	—34	177—11
Kundgol.	61044	—10	6—21	...	...	61044	—10	6—21
Wathar.	4783	—21	3—29	...	...	4783	—21	3—29
Patkhal	6679	—11	...	...	...	6679	—11	...
Dhavalpuri .	19066	—26	306—15	...	...	19066	—26	306—15
Total.....	311233	—22	493—36	...	...	311233	—22	493—36

TABLE B.

Name of Taluka	Arrears	Land Revenue demand	Total demand	Collections	Outstandings
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Jamkhandi.	48085	314270	362355	326004	36361 §
Kundgol.	7629	213711	221340	219784	1556
Wathar.	1244	12489	13733	12504	1229 *
Patkhal.	957	4099	5056	4973	83
Dhavalpuri.	6115	3392	9507	4803	4704
Total ...	64030	547961	611991	568068	43923

§ Of this an amount of Rs. 12000 has to be adjusted, and steps are in progress for the recovery of the balance.

* Of these Rs. 1178 and 4471 respectively are suspension.

TABLE C.

Operations by whom performed	Number of persons vaccinated in		Results				Remarks
			Successful		Unsuccessful		
	1926-27	1927-28	1926-27	1927-28	1926-27	1927-28	
Jamkhandi town vaccinator.	942	946	933	941	...	...	5
Jamkhandi Taluka vaccinator.	948	975	948	975	...	...
Bidri vaccinator.	1020	970	1020	970	...	...
Kundgol vaccinator.	860	978	958	977	...	...	1
Total ...	3770	3769	3759	3763	...	...	6 ¶

¶ 6 did not present themselves for inspection.

APPENDICES

FROM

I To XXV-A.

*List of Appendices to the Annual Administration Report of the
Jamkhandi State for the year 1927-28.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of Appendix.</i>
1	High officials of First Grade in the State.
2	Laws in force in the State.
3	Military force. (Nil)
4	Police Strength.
5	Working of the Police.
6	Stolen property recovered.
7	Crimes.
8	Magisterial work.
9	Criminal Appeals.
10	Civil Work.
11	" Execution of decrees.
12	" Appeals.
13	Jails and Lock-ups.
14	Registration work.
15	" Receipts and Expenditure.
16	Municipalities.
17	Rain-fall.
18	Prices of food-grains.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of Appendix</i>
19	Public Works.
20	Agricultural Stock.
21	Excise shops and revenue.
22	Revenue receipts and disbursements.
23	Medical Relief.
24	Vital Statistics.
25	Education.
A	Wards' Estates.

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX I.

JAMKHANDI STATE.

Names of high Officials during 1927—28.

(*First Grade*).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Rao Bahadur A. K. Kulkarni, B. A.	State Karbhari.	1-4-27	27-5-27	
Mr. B. B. Mahabal, B. A., LL. B.	Ag. State Karbhari.	28-5-27	31-7-27	
G. L. Gajendra- gadkar. M. B. E., B. A.	State Karbhari.	1-8-27	31-3-28	
" B. B. Mahabal, B. A., LL. B.	Sar-Nyayadhish.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" S. V. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	Huzur Chitnis.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" K. B. Anikhindi, B. A.	Vidyadhikari & Principal P. B. High School.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" B. C. Patwardhan, M. B. B. S.	Chief Medical Officer, Jamkhandi.	1-4-27	31-3-28	

APPENDIX I. (*Continued*).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. N. A. Mannur.	State Engineer.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" G. S. Gore.	Khasgi Kamagar & Private Secretary.	1-4-27	31-1-28	
" H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Do.	1-2-28	31-3-28	
" W. M. Sohoni, B. E.	Water Works Engineer.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Daftardar & Huzur Treasury Officer.	1-8-27	31-3-28	
" A. V. Dhareshwar, M. A., LL. B.	Nyayadhish, Jamkhandi.	1-4-27	31-5-27	
" V. A. Arbatti, B. A., LL. B.	Joint, F. C. Sub- Judge, Jamkhandi.	1-4-27	31-5-27	
" V. A. Arbatti, B. A., LL. B.	Nyayadhish, Jamkhandi.	1-6-27	31-3-28	
" S. H. Khasnis, B. A., LL. B.	I/C. Munsiff, Kundgol.	1-4-27	31-5-27	
" A. V. Dhareshwar, M. A., LL. B.	Munsiff, Kundgol.	1-6-27	31-3-28	

APPENDIX I. (*Continued*).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Mamlatdar, Jamkhandi.	1-4-27	31-7-27	* This Post was abolished from 1-8-27 † Died on 25-2-28
" N. G. Datar.	Do.	1-8-27	31-3-28	
" N. G. Datar.	Mamlatdar, Kundgol.	1-4-27	31-7-27	
" R. K. Kale.	Do.	1-8-27	31-3-28	
" G. S. Gore.	Court of Wards Manager & Sarvey Officer.	1-2-28	31-3-28	
" R. K. Kale. *	Huzur Treasurer.	1-4-27	31-7-27	
" G. B. Datar.	Personal Assistant to the State Karbhari.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" S. N. Bhave. †	Inspector of Police.	1-4-27	25-2-28	
" M. S. Joshi.	I/C. Do.	26-2-28	31-3-28	
" A. M. Ghorpade.	State Mechanical Engineer.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" S. G. Mangal- wedhekar.	Khasgi Karbhari.	1-4-27	31-3-28	

APPENDIX I. (*Continued*).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. A. G. Paranjape, B. A.	Head Master Har- bhat High School Kundgol.	1-6-27	21-3-28	
" S. T. Desai, L. M. & S.	Medical Officer, Kundgol.	1-4-27	31-3-28	
" T. S. Tonapi, L. C. P. S.	Palace Surgeon.	1-6-27	31-3-28	
" S. A. Apte, B. A., LL. B.	Public Porsecuter.	1-4-27	31-3-28	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX II.

JAMKHANDI STATE.

Laws adopted from British Legislature in force during 1927-28.

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When intro- duced	Remarks
1827	Reg. VIII	Local	Heirship Certificates.	1890	
"	" XII	"	Police.	"	
1841	Act. XIX	Imperial	Curators.	"	
1850	" XVIII	"	Judicial officers Protection Act.	1922	
1852	" IX	Local	Inam Commission.	1913	
1860	" XLV	Imperial	Indian Penal Code, amended up to date.	1890, 1914, 1915 1922	
1861	" IX	Local	Custody of Minors.	1890	
1863	" II	"	Inam Summary Settlement.	1913	
"	" XX	"	Religious Endowments.	1890	
1866	" VII	"	Hindu Heirs Relief.	"	
"	" VIII	"	Poisons.	"	
1867	" "	"	Village Police.	"	
"	" XXV	Imperial	Press and Registration of Books.	1909, 1914	
1868	" II	Local	Ferries.	1890	
1869	" XIV	"	Civil Courts, amended up to date	1890, 1915, 1918	
"	" III	"	Local Funds.	"	
1870	" VII	Imperial	Court Fees.	1890, 1905, 1914, 1915	
1871	" I	"	Cattle Trespass, amended up to date	1890, 1922	
1872	" "	"	Evidence.	1890	
"	" IX	"	Contract.	"	
1873	" X	"	Oaths.	"	
1874	" III	"	Watans, amended up to date.	1876, 1915	
"	" II Part III	Local	Civil Jails.	1919	
1875	" IX	Imperial	Majority.	1890	
"	" III	Local	Tolls.	1907	
1876	" X	Imperial	Revenue Jurisdiction.	1890	
1877	" I	"	Specific Relief.	"	
1878	" "	"	Opium, amended up to date.	1890, 1914	
"	" XI	"	Arms. " "	1890, 1920	
"	" V	Local	Abkari, amended up to date.	1904, 1913	
1879	" "	"	Land Revenue Code. " with rules thereunder	1890, 1913, 1914	
"	" VII	"	Irrigation.	1913	
1881	" V	Imperial	Probate and administration.	1914	
1882	" IV	"	Transfer of property.	1913	

APPENDIX II. (Continued).

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remarks
1883	Act XXI	„	Immigration.	1913	
1885	„ XIII	„	Telegraph, amended up to date.	1915, 1918	
1887	„ I	„	Jails.	1901	
„	„ VII	„	Suits Valuation Act.	1918	
„	„ IX	„	Provincial Small Cause Courts	1905	
„	„ IV	Local	Prevention of gambling.	1914	
1889	„ I	„	Village Sanitation.	1913	
„	„ VII	„	Succession Certificate Act.	1918	
1890	„ II	„	Salt, amended up to date.	1906, 1914	
„	„ IV	„	District Police.	1890	
„	„ VIII	Imperial	Guardian and Wards.	1901, 1915	
1891	„ II	Local	Boiler Inspection, amended up to date & rules regarding inspection fees of boilers.	1912, 1925	
✓1894	„ I	Imperial	Land Acquisition.	1901	
„	„ IX	„	Prisons.	1919	
1897	„ VIII	„	Reformatory schools.	1915	
1898	„ V	„	Cri. Pro. Code. as amended by Act XVIII of 1923.	1901, 1924.	
1898	„ VI	„	Post Offices, amended up to date.	1915, 1918	
1899	„ II	„	Stamp.	1901, 1905, 1914	
„	„ XII	„	Paper Currency.	1903, 1914	
1900	„ III	„	Prisoners.	1919	
1903	„ III	Local	District Municipal	1904, 1913	
„	„ XV	Imperial	Extradition.	1905	
✓1905	„ I	Local	Court of Wards.	1913	
1906	„ II	„	Mamlatdars Court.	1908	
1908	„ V	Imperial	Civil Procedure Code.	1914, 1920	
„	„ VI	„	Explosive Substances.	1912	
„	„ IX	„	Limitation.	1914	
„	„ XVI	„	Registration.	„	
1909	„ IV	„	Whipping.	1915	
1911	„ III	„	Criminal Tribes, amended up to date & rules under Section 20.	1913, 1915, 1918, 1925	
„	„ XII	„	Factories.	1912	
✓1912	„ II	„	Co-operative Society's Act.	1925	
„	„ IV	„	Indian Lunacy.	1914	
1914	„ VIII	„	Indian Motor Vehicles Act, amended up to date and Rules thereunder.	1914, 1918, 1925	
1920	„ V	„	Provincial Insolvency Act.	1920	
„	„ XVII	Local	Bombay Pleaders Act.	„	

APPENDIX II. (Continued).

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When intro- duced	Remarks
1879	Act XVIII	Imperial	Sections 3 and 36 of the Legal Practitioners Act.	1922	+ Applicable to Kundgol Taluka only.
1923	,, I	Local	Opium & Intoxicating Drugs Law of the Jamkhandi State together with Rules and Regulations thereunder with amendments	1923, 1925.	
1923	,, III	,,	Cotton Transport Act and Rules made thereunder. +	1924	
1925	,, I	,,	The Jamkhandi Cotton Market Act, with amendments.	1925, 1926	
1926	,, I	,,	Ginning & Pressing Factories Act of the Jamkhandi State with Rules thereunder.	1926	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX IV.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing Strength, Discipline and Education of

Grade	Number	Pay of Grade	Total Expenditure
Police		Rs.	Rs.
Inspector of Police.	1	250	} 1,00,844
Sub-Inspectors.	3	100, 100, 50.	
Jamadars.	4	50, 40, 30.	
Head-Constables.	22	25, 20, 19, 17, 15	
Constables.	146	15, 14, 13, 12, 11.	
Body-guard.			
Subhedar.	1	75	
Jamadars.	2	30	
Head-Constables.	19	20, 17, 15.	
Constables.	113	15, 14, 13, 12, 11.	
Risala.			
Risaldar. } Mounted	1	107	}
Dafedar. }	1	46	
Naik. }	1	41	
Sowars. }	44	42, 40, 39, 38.	
Total.....	358		

IV.

STATE.

Police during 1927-28.

Punishments			Rewards by		Education		Remarks
Dismissed	Fined, degraded, or suspended departmentally	Judicial	Promotion	Money	Able to read and write	Under instruction	
...	Rs. ...	1	...	
...	1	3	...	
...	4	...	
...	1	22	...	
...	1	77	69	
...	1	...	
...	2	
...	10	9	
...	65	48	
...	1	...	
...	1	...	
...	1	...	
2	3	...	24	20	
2	3	3	210	148	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the results of Police work

Name of State	No. of offences including arrears		No. of			
			Arrested		Sent for trial	
1	2		3		4	
	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
Jamkhandi.	131	124	112	+120	72	÷ 119

APPENEDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the value of property stolen and

Name of State	Amount stolen		Amount
	Past year	Present year	Past year
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Jamkhandi	3,769	7,692	1,539

V.

STATE.

during 1927—28.

accused				Percentage of convictions to arrests		Percentage of convictions to accused sent for trial		9 Remarks
Convicted		Discharged or acquitted		7		8		
5		6		7		8		
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	
46	66	56	^x 28	46·9	55·46	63·8	74·15	

+ One under Police investigation,

‡25 under trial in Court.

× Of these 5 were discharged as the 2 cases in which they were concerned were compounded at the request of the parties.

VI.

STATE.

amount of recoveries during 1927—28.

recovered	Percentage of recoveries to Property stolen		Remarks
Present year	Past year	Present year	
Rs	Rs	Rs	
3,914	40·83	50·9	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing crimes committed, cases disposed of

Number	Description of Offences	No of offences.			Number of cases disposed of				Remaining undeposed of.	Persons apprehended including those awaiting trial from last year.	Persons convicted.
		Balance on 1 st April 1927.	Committed during 1927-1928	Total.	Proved false or requiring no investigation.	True cases		Total.			
						Undetected.	Detected.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	<i>Cognizable- (Arrested by Police.)</i>										
	Murder ... ..	...	2	2	...	...	2	2	...	7	5
	Culpable homicide ... ..	...	2	2	1	...	1	2	...	2	1
	Dacoity ... ..	...	4	4	...	3	1	4	...	10	7
	Robbery	2	6	8	1	4	2	7	1	7	7
	Grievous Hurt ... ..	...	7	7	1	...	4	5	2	14	13
	Theft	2	32	34	8	3	18	29	5	27	15
	Mischief	3	5	8	5	2	...	7	1	...	...
	House-breaking	7	31	38	16	14	3	33	5	8	2
	Breach of trust ... ..	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous	1	19	20	1	1	17	19	1	45	16
	Total, A ...	15	109	124	34	27	48	109	15	120	66
B	<i>(Cases taken up directly by Magistrates)</i>										
	Hurt	1	50	51	...	...	...	47	4	158	9
	Wrongful restraint ... ..	...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	3	...
	Grievous Hurt	1	2	3	...	...	...	2	1	4	...
	Theft ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	13	...
	Special or Local Acts ... ..	...	9	9	...	...	...	9	...	13	9
	Mischief ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	Insult ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	6	...
	Cri. Intimidation ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	...
	Assault & hurt ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	3	...

VII.

STATE.

and cases awaiting trial during 1927—28.

Number of persons sentenced to.		Terms of imprisonment.													Remarks	
		Under one month.	From 1 to 2 months	From 2 to 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 5 years	Above 5 years	Transportation.	Capital punishment.	Awaiting trial.			
Simple.	Rigorous.	Total.														
Imprisonment.	Imprisonment and fine	Acquitted or discharged.													Whipping.	Total.
		Simple.	Rigorous.	Fine only.	Whipping.	Total.	Acquitted or discharged.	Confined being insane.	Died during or before trial							
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	
	

* One under Police investigation.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing crimes committed, cases disposed of

Number	Description of Offences	No of offences.			Number of cases disposed of			Remaining undeposed of.	Persons apprehended including those awaiting trial from last year.	Persons convicted.
		Balance on 1 st April 1927.	Committed during 1927-1928	Total.	Proved false or requiring no investigation.	True cases				
						Undetected.	Detected.				Total.
	Criminal trespass ...	...	5	5	...	...	4	1	8	...
	Cri. Br. of Trust... ..	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	...
	House trespass ... ..	...	2	2	...	...	2	...	9	...
	Rioting ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	6	...
	Miscellaneous ... ..	...	18	18	...	...	18	...	64	5
	Total B...	2	95	97	...	...	91	6	291	23
	Total A & B...	17	204	221	34	27	48	200	411	89
C	<i>Non-Cognizable</i>									
	Hurt... ..	...	16	16	...	...	15	1	29	1
	Special or Local Acts ...	...	19	19	...	...	19	...	23	19
	Cri. Intimidation: ... ..	...	4	4	...	...	4	...	10	3
	Miscellaneous ... ..	...	3	3	...	...	3	...	3	...
	Total C...	...	42	42	...	...	41	1	65	23
	Total A, B & C ...	17	246	263	34	27	48	241	476	112

VII.

STATE.

and cases awaiting trial during 1927—28.

Number of persons sentenced to.							Acquitted or discharged.	Confined being insane.	Died during or before trial	Terms of imprisonment.										Transportation.	Capital punishment.	Awaiting trial.	Remarks
Imprisonment.		Imprisonment and fine		Fine only.	Whipping.	Total.				Under one month.	From 1 to 2 months	From 2 to 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 5 years	Above 5 years					
Simple.	Rigorous.	Simple.	Rigorous.																				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	5	...	5	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
...	23	...	23	235	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33
...	11	1	43	34	...	89	263	...	...	8	3	1	5	17	5	12	...	...	4	...	...	...	58
...	1	...	1	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	19	...	19	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	3	...	3	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	23	...	23	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	11	1	43	57	...	112	303	...	...	8	3	1	5	17	5	12	...	...	4	...	...	...	60

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the number of offences reported

Number.	Name of Court.	Number of Offences	
		Past year	Present year
1	2	3	4
1	The Sessions Court	3	4
2	The District Magistrate, Jamkhandi ... ..	...	8
3	The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Jamkhandi.	4	2
4	The Nyayadhish & Magistrate F. C. Jamkhandi	16	15
5	The Daftardar & Magistrate F. C. Jamkhandi ... ..	...	33
6	The Munsiff & Magistrate F. C. Kundgol	13	3
7	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate F. C. Jamkhandi	2	1
8	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate F. C. Kundgol... ..	8	2
9	The Mamlatdar and Magistrate S. C. Jamkhandi	28	26
10	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate S. C. Kundgol	3	8
11	The Avalkarkun & Magistrate T. C. Jamkhandi	73	73
12	The Avalkarkun & Magistrate T. C. Kundgol	9	6
13	The Vahivatdar & Magistrate T. C. Vathar... ..	9	9
14	The Vahivatdar & Magistrate T. C. Patkhal	2	8
	Total	170	198

VIII.

STATE.

and offences dealt with during 1927-28.

Number of Persons dealt with								Persons disposed of						Remarks
5 Remaining at the end of the last year	Brought to trial					Total		13 Discharged without trial	14 Acquitted	15 Convicted	16 Committed or re- ferred	17 Died, escaped or transferred	18 Remaining at the end of the year	
	6 Arrested by Police	7 Upon warrant	8 On summons	9 Voluntarily	10 Arrested in the presence of the Magistrate	11 Past year	12 Present year							
...	11	...	...	...	...	4	11	...	4	7	...	...	...
...	31	...	...	...	...	...	31	15	...	14	...	...	2
1	2	...	...	...	...	5	2	...	1	1	...	...	...
1	16	7	5	3	...	29	32	7	2	10	5	3	5	
...	6	32	26	...	...	...	64	15	11	22	1	...	15
...	2	2	5	...	...	17	9	2	...	...	5	2	...
8	...	...	...	...	...	14	8	...	...	8	...	...	...
...	...	...	3	...	...	30	3	...	...	1	...	2	...
1	29	11	19	3	...	54	63	12	15	23	...	10	3	
...	...	...	13	...	...	9	13	8	2	2	...	...	1
10	28	44	139	...	...	238	221	52	117	21	...	2	29
...	...	...	13	...	...	25	13	13	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	14	...	...	23	14	6	2	1	...	...	5
...	1	...	20	...	...	4	21	4	15	2	...	...	...
20	126	96	257	6	...	452	505	134	169	112	11	19	60	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the result of appeals against the decisions

Number	Tribunal	Number of applications	No. of Persons											
			Applications rejected				Sen-							
			Persons		Cases		Confirmed				Modified			
			Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
			1	High Court...	7	1	...	1	...	3	6	2	6	...
2	The Sessions Court	18	...	1	...	1	2	18	2	16	2	1	2	1
3	The District Magistrate's Court	17	...	2	...	2	8	9	6	5	7	...	7	...
		42	1	3	1	3	13	33	10	27	9	1	9	1

IX.

STATE.

passed by the Criminal Courts during 1927-28.

and Cases																	
tence		Proceedings quashed				Referred				Further inquiry &c. ordered				Pending			
Reversed		Persons		Cases		Persons		Casse		Persons		Cases		Persons	Cases		
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year		
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1
2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	5	8	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	5
11	5	10	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	6

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Nature and value of original suits filed

Number	Tribunal	Opening Balance		Filed during		Total		Disposed of during		Closing balance	
		Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
		1	The District Judge Jamkhandi.
2	The Nyayadhish of Jamkhandi as:—										
	F. C. Sub-Judge	7	10	9	7	16	17	6	12	10	5
	× S. C. Sub-Judge	242	141	329	346	571	487	430	398	141	89
	Small Cause Court Judge...	14	...	327	510	341	510	341	495	...	15
3	The Munsiff of Kundgol as:—										
	F. C. Sub-Judge	3	8	7	4	10	12	2	8	8	4
	S. C. Sub-Judge	30	32	137	153	167	185	135	167	32	18
	Small Cause Court Judge...	1	...	27	66	28	66	28	65	...	1
4	The Munsiff of Vathar... ..	6	2	7	15	13	17	11	15	2	2
5	The Munsiff of Patkhal... ..	2	...	9	10	11	10	11	10	...	...
	Total...	305	193	852	1111	1157	1304	964	1170	193	134

X.

STATE.

and disposed of during 1927-28.

Value	Suits filed in 1927-1928								Suits disposed of 1927-1928				Average Duration			Remarks	
	Nature			Value					Ex-parte	Admitted and compromised	Struck off the file	Otherwise disposed of	Value	Years	Months		Days
	Suits regarding lands and houses	Suits for money transactions	Suits for other rights	No. of Suits under Rs. 100	No. of Suits above Rs. 100 and under Rs. 500	No. of Suits above Rs. 500 and under Rs. 1000	No. of Suits above Rs. 1000 and under Rs. 5000	No. of Suits above Rs. 5000									
Rs.	Rs.	Includes suits of the S. C. Sub-judge court for the respective years. X
221042	130	194	22	49	172	87	38	...	85	128	10	175	160659	...	1	24	
	..	510	...	362	148	...	...	...	214	195	29	57				
14,5302	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	8	113360	...	3	12
	59	87	7	23	86	23	21	...	31	48	2	86					
	...	66	...	21	45	...	...	...	20	36	2	7				
1847	3	12	...	9	6	...	...	...	2	8	...	5	1221	...	3	3
1510	...	10	...	...	10	...	...	...	9	...	1	...	1475	...	11	...
369701	202	880	29	464	467	110	59	11	362	416	44	348	276715	...	...	...

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Results of Applications for

Number	Tribunal	Opening balance		Value of opening balance for the present year	Applications brought to the Register			Total	
		Past year	Present year		Past year	Present year	Value for the present year	Past year	Present year
				Rs.			Rs.		
1	The District Judge Court Jamkhandi...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	The Nyayadhish Court Jamkhandi.*	303	270	2,29,051	970	1030	2,38,865	1273	1300
3	The Munsiff Court Kundgol	33	44	786,25	121	174	55,165	154	218
4	The Munsiff Court Wathar ... ..	...	...	...	6	4	1,555	6	4
5	The Munsiff Court Patkhal	8	1	168	3	5	800	11	6
	Total...	344	315	3,07,844	1100	1213	2,96,385	1444	1528

XI.

STATE.

Execution of decrees during 1927-28.

Value for the present year	Disposed of		Value for the present year	Closing balance		Value of closing balance for the present year	Nature of applications pending disposal at the close of the present year			Remarks
	Past year	Present year		Past year	Present year		Below 6 months	Below 12 months	Above 12 months	
Rs.			Rs.			Rs.				
...	
4,67,916	1003	1020	1,54,893	270	280	3,13,023	210	41	29	
1,33,790	110	177	82,332	44	41	51,458	27	8	6	
1,555	6	3	1,481	...	1	74	1	...	...
968	10	6	968	1	...	...	...	...	...
6,04,229	1129	1206	2,39,674	315	322	3,64,555	238	49	35	

* Serial No. 2 includes those of S. C. Sub-Judge, Wathar for the respective years.

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State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Number and results of

No.	Name of Court	Opening Bal- ance		Filed during		Total		Disposed of during		Closing bal- ance		Value of
		3	4	5	6	7	8					
1	2	1926—27	1927—28	1926—27	1927—28	1926—27	1927—28	1926—27	1927—28	1926—27	1927—28	1926-27
1	The Huzur or the Chief's Court	8	3	23	27	31	30	28	4	3	26	Rs. 26077
2	District Judge of Jamkhandi	11	21	56	83	67	104	46	78	21	26	20472
Total.....		19	24	79	110	98	134	74	82	24	52	46549

XII. STATE.

appeals in Civil suits during 1927-28.

8	How disposed of										Average duration						16 Remarks
	9 Decisions confirmed		10 Decisions reversed		11 Decisions amended		12 Cases re-manded for trial		13 Compromised or otherwise disposed of		14 1926-27			15 1927-28			
	1926-27	1927-28	1926-27	1927-28	1926-27	1927-28	1926-27	1927-28	1926-27	1927-28	Years	Months	Days	Years	Months	Days	
1927-28																	
Rs. 53447	14	4	4	...	1	...	9	...	...	...	...	4	17	...	6	14
63113	23	41	4	5	11	13	6	13	2	6	...	3	10	...	4	22	
116560	37	45	8	5	12	13	15	13	2	6	...	3	29	...	5	18	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the number of persons confined in the Jails

Station	No. of prisons	Number of Prisoners			
		Remaining from the last year	Admitted during the year	Total	
				Past year	Present year
The Central Jail, Jamkhandi...	1	41	91	149	132
Kundgol Sub-Jail...	1	...	...	8	...
Lock-up at Vathar...	1	...	2	3	2
Do. Mudhavi... ..	1	...	...	...	...
Total.....	4	41	93	160	134

XIII.
STATE.

and Lock-ups during 1927-28.

Daily average in Jail		No. of prisoners remaining at the end of the year	Total cost of jail and prisoners	Average period of accused under trial	Remarks showing mortality among convicts in Jails
Past year	Present year				
49·15	44·34	47	} Rs. 6,711	50	
·07	...	...		...
·009	·005	...		...
...	
16·41	22·12	47	50		

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Registration of Documents

Number	Sub-Registry Office	Documents presented for registration		Nature of Documents registered							
				Mortgage deeds		Sale-deeds		Wills		Money-bonds	
		Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	2	3		4		5		6		7	
1	The Jamkhandi Taluka Sub-Registry	2087	1988	1222	1168	452	439	20	11	...	1
2	The Kundgol Taluka Sub-Registry	601	658	294	306	135	157	20	4	...	...
3	The Thana Vathar Sub-Registry ...	90	85	63	57	7	13	...	...	...	...
4	The Thana Patkhal Sub-Registry	19	5	4	2	12	3	...	...	...	...
	Total...	2797	2736	1583	1533	606	612	40	15	...	1

XIV.

STATE.

during 1927-28.

Miscellaneous		Total Documents registered		Value of Documents registered		Documents refused to be registered		Documents remaining unregistered pending inquiry at the close of the year		Remarks
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	
8		9		10		11		12		13
393	369	2086	1986	10,12,806	10,70,089	1	3	§ 1 Document of the last year registration of which was refused, was registered this year + 1985 of the Present year = 1986
152	192	599	655	5,30,058	5,00,641	1	3	1	...	
20	15	90	85	23,244	46,115	...	...	...	...
3	...	19	5	5,741	2,800	...	...	...	...
568	576	2794	2731	15,71,849	16,19,645	2	3	1	3	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the receipts and expenditure

Description	Past year		
	Number of deeds	Value of property	Fees realized
		Rs.	Rs.
Mortgage deeds... ..	1583	8,62,255	4,744
Sale deeds	606	4,09,316	1,925
Wills	40	7,228	107
Money bonds ... ..	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	568	2,93,050	1,686
Total...	2,797	15,71,849	8,462
Deduct Expenditure	...	...	23,06
Net profit.....	...	...	6,156

XV.**STATE.***on account of Registration during 1927-28.*

Present year			Remarks
Number of deeds	Value of property	Fees realized	
	Rs.	Rs.	
1,533	8,08,270	4,651	
612	4,90,836	2,109	
15	1,500	41	
1	3,100	10	
576	3,15,950	1,760	
2,737	16,19,656	8,571	
...	...	2,375	
...	...	6,196	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Receipts and Expenditure of

No	Name	Opening balance on the 1st April 1924	Receipts during the year	
			Past year	Present year
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Jamkhandi	5,364	27,030	26,264
2	Hunnur... ..	928	1,218	1,262
3	Banhatti... ..	1,483	6,554	9,242
4	Kundgol... ..	1,908	4,943	4,937
5	Saunshi... ..	399	4,507	5,569
6	Kamdoli... ..	921	2,593	3,471
	Total...	11,003	46,845	50,745

XVI.
STATE.

the Municipalities during 1927-28.

Total in current year	Expenditure during the year		Balance on the 31st March 1927	Remarks
	Past year	Present year		
Rs. 31,628	Rs. 25,150	Rs. 28,400	Rs. 3,228	
2,190	1,323	1,444	746	
10,725	7,111	8,825	1,900	
6,845	4,623	5,753	1,092	
5,968	5,416	5,190	778	
4,392	2,386	3,977	415	
61,748	46,009	53,589	8,159	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of

No	Taluka Head- quarter Station.	1927 April	1927 May	1927 June	1927 July	1927 August	1927 September
1	Jamkhandi	I. C. 0—20	I. C. 1—0	I. C. 3—22	I. C. 1—75	I. C. 0—73	I. C. 9—60
2	Kundgol	0—81	1—72	0—88	3—19	0—91	6—53

XVII.

STATE.

Rain-fall during 1927-28.

October 1927	November 1927	December 1927	January 1928	February 1928	March 1928	Total	Total of past year	Average of past 5 years]	Remarks
I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	
1—85	2—35	0—0	0—0	1—55	0—0	21—5	8—73	20—15	
0—21	1—87	0—0	0—0	1—74	0—0	15—33	18—61	29—42	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of prices of

Taluka.	Article.	During March (past year.)		
		Seers.	Tolas.	Per rupee.
Jamkhandi...	{ Jowari... ..	8	...	1
	{ Bajri... ..	9	20	1
Kundgol...	{ Jowari... ..	11	...	1
	{ Bajri... ..	...	...	...

XVIII.**STATE.***staple food-grains during 1927-28.*

During March (present year)			Remarks.
Seers.	Tolas.	Per rupee.	
11	...	1	
11	20	1	
11	...	1	
...	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Expenditure on Public

Description of works	State Funds	
	Original	Repairs
	Rs.	Rs.
I. Buildings-		
(1) State Buildings	58598	83230
(2) Offices	38	2679
(3) Dharamashalas & Temples	...	999
(4) Schools ... ..	...	472
(5) Chawadis ... ..	...	...
(6) Others	2498	7049
Total.....	61134	94429
II. Roads and Road-side trees ...	5026	271
III. Water-supply ... ..	...	8
IV. Establishment	21804	...
Grand Total.....	87964	122500

XIX.
STATE.

Works during 1927—28.

Total	Local Funds			Total
	Original	Repairs	Total	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
141828	...	386	386	142214
2717	...	...	...	2717
999	...	836	836	1836
472	85	2826	2911	3383
...	...	1331	1331	1331
9547	...	33	33	9580
155563	85	5412	5497	161061
32221	...	11691	11691	43912
876	...	2093	2093	2969
21804	2688	...	2688	24492
210464	2773	19196	21969	232434

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Agricultural Stock

Name of State	Year	Horses and				
		Bullocks	Cows	Buffaloes		Horses
				Male	Female	
Jamkhandi...	1926-27	12,256	6,959	409	9,528	471
	1927-28	12,685	6,689	306	8,549	520

XX.**STATE.***during 1927-28.*

cattle				Ploughs		Carts		Remark
Mares	Colts and fillies	Asses	Sheep and goats	With two bullocks	With four bullocks	Riding	Load carrying	
246	88	415	30,602	4,270	745	314	3,675	
194	84	433	28,425	3,976	579	329	3,735	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Excise-shops and Excise-Revenue

Name of Taluka	Country spirit		Opium		Ganja		
	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	
Talukas.							
Jamkhandi	10	Rs. 75,000	3	1053	7	Rs. 14,120	
Kundgol	8		1	385	8		
Thanas.							
Vathar ... ..	...		2	2480	1	
Patkhal ... ..	...	2	3086	...		
Total...	18	75000	8	7004	16	14,120	

XXI.**STATE.***during 1927-28.*

Toddy		Total		Remarks
No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	
			*75,000	* Includes Spirit and Toddy.
			14120	
6	...	26	1053	
2	...	19	385	
...	...	3	2480	
...	...	2	3086	
8	...	50	96124	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing receipts and disbursements

INCOME.

No.	Receipts.	1926—27	1927—28	Increase.	Decrease	Remarks
H	Debts.					
	1 Deposits. ...	235480	208875	...	26605	
	2 Advances. ...	81558	77653	...	3905	
	3 Loans.... ...	633894	1388572	754678	...	
	Total H...	950932	1675100	754678	30510	
	Total Income.	1903104	2651935	788474	39643	
	Grand Total...	2048727	2926918	917834	39643	

XXII.

STATE.

during the year ending 5th June 1928.

EXPENDITURE.

No	Disbursements	1926—27	1927—28	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
M	Debts.					
	1 Deposits ...	248166	205850	...	42316	
	2 Advances ...	192534	216720	24186	...	
	3 Loans. ...	337196	1055055	717859	...	
	Total M ...	777896	1477625	742045	42316	
	Total Expenditure...	1773744	2858460	1183315	98599	
	Closing Balance ...	274983	68458	...	206525	
	Grand Total ...	2048727	2926918	1183315	305124	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of Medical

Dispensary	No. of patients treated	
	Out-door	In-door
Prince of Wales Hospital, Jamkhandi ...	14,684	52
Sa valgi Dispensary	3983	...
Banhatti Dispensary	6,300	...
Kundgol Dispensary	5,468	15
The State Charitable Veterinary Dispensary ...	825	...
Total. ...	31,260	67

XXIII.

STATE.

Relief afforded during 1927-28.

Results of patients In-door				Expenditure	Daily average	Remarks
Discharged	Absented	Died	Remaining under treat- ment			
42	2	5	3	} Rs. 22,242	239.33	The prevailing di- seases were Malarial fever, Influenza, bo- wel complaints, & complaints of the Respiratory system Rheumatic affect- ions, Eye, Ear & Skin diseases.
...	...	...	..		39.3
...	...	...	...		58
12	...	2	1		50.58	
810	2	2	11		15	
864	4	9	15		...	

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Vital Statistics

Name	Population according to census of 1921	Births		Increase	Decrease	Deaths
		Past Year	Present Year			Past Year
Jamkhandi State	1,01,195	3880	4060	180	...	2592

XXIV.

STATE.

during 1927-28.

Present Year	Increase	Decrease	Ratio Per 1000 of Population				Remarks
			Births		Deaths		
			Past Year	Present Year	Past Year	Present Year	
3026	434	...	38·3	40·1	25·6	29·9	Due to cholera & plague.

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Particulars as to the schools

Number of Schools		Description of schools			
Past year	Present year				
1	1	Parashuram Bhau High School, Jamkhandi	...		
1	1	Harbhat High School, Kundgol			
2	2	First Grade Anglo-Vernacular School, Banhatti and Second Grade A. V. School Savalgi			}
1	1	Sanskrit Path shala, Kundgol	...	...	...
69	72	Vernacular Schools (Boys' )	...	...	}
		Marathi	10		
		Kanarese	60		
		Urdu	1		
		Depressed classes } School	1		
			72		
4	4	Girls' Schools	...	...	...
		Marathi	2		
		Kanarese	2		
78	81		4		Total.....

XXV.**STATE.***maintained during 1927—28.*

No. of pupils on rolls on 31 st March		Daily average attendance		Expenditure	Remarks
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year		
499	411	437	397	Rs. 87,984	
	194		159		
291	176	234	158		
7	11	7	5		
4942	4900	3877	3571		
451	493	375	446		
6190	6185	4930	4736		

G. L. Gajendragadkar.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A				B		C
		Date on which the estate came under State management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of		
						Person	Property	
1	Limbana Basalingapa Jirli of Jamkhandi.	14-8-1914	20	1929	No. 596	Virupaxapa Shivlingapa Jirli.	Manager of Wards' Estates	Good
					14-8-14			
2	Bhimapa bin Laxmana Nyamgouda of Kunchnur.	29-1-1919	8	1943	No. 2373	Father Venkapa Nyamgouda	"	"
					29-1-19			
3	Allapa Dhodtamapa Kalyanshetti of Jamkhandi.	11-11-16	20	1929	No. 443	Grand mother Gangava kom Gurapadapa Kalyani.	"	"
					9-11-16			
4	Kadapa Virabhadrapa Maloji of Jamkhandi.	27-3-18	19	1930	No. 890	Mother Bhagava Maloji	"	"
					27-3-18			
5	Shidaraya Malakapa Telsang of Jamkhandi.	1918	19	1930	No. 1445	Allapa Kadalepa Mudhol.	"	"
					1328Fasli			
6	Nilawa and Parvateva father's name Shivarudrapa Halbhavi of Jamkhandi.	20-4-17	17	1931	No. 1227	Ramapa bin Siddapa Chimmad	"	"
				15 1933				
7	Sonu, Subhadra and Tunga father's name Vishnu Sadashiva Joshi all of Jamkhandi.	8-12-17	20	1929	No. 590	Maternal uncle Narayan Ambaji Nivargi	"	"
				18 1931				
8	Keshevroao Khanderao Raste of Jamkhandi.	1-8-20	...	...	No. 308	...	...	...
				8-1-20				

A.

STATE.

during the year 1927-28.

		D							Remarks
How far edu- cated	Where Educated	Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
							Rs	Rs	
...	...	8910	1329	10239	1088	9151	...	27400	
...	...	2121	519	2640	489	2151	2400§	2400	§ In Govt. Pro- missory Notes.
Eng. 5th std.	Jam- khandi	5812	5894	11706	1429	10277	13000‡	8500	‡ Do.
...	...	531	1579	2110	759	1351	...	2000	Rs. 1000 withdraw n
...	...	76	759	835	106	729	1500†	2000	† In Govt. Pro- missory Notes & Rs. 500 withdrawn.
...	...	1123	471	1594	352	1242	...	2800	
...	...	1512	1065	2577	304	2273	...	5000	
...	...	30437	10717	41154	11664	29490	...	10000	This man being unable to manage his estate it is taken under State manage- ment.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A				B		C
		Date on which the estate came under State management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of		
						Person	Property	
9	(1) Sangapa (2) Gurapa Gurusangapa Madgouda of Kavatgi.	4-12-19	21 18	1928 1931	No. 1594 4-12-19	Nilgangava Kom Rayapa Gavaroji of Kavatgi.	Manager of Wards' Estates	Good
10	Satyapa Rangapa Lendi of Hosur.	22-4-21	15	1934	No. 2934 22-4-21	Ramapa Tipana Amalzari	"	"
11	Basaprabhu Basapa Murabatti of Hulug-bali.	7-10-21	15	1934	No. 723 7-10-21	Malapa Sidapa Magdum	"	"
12	(1) Rachapa (2) Gandapa Basgauda Awaknawar of Shegunshi	17-1-22	12 10	1937 1939	No. 1214 17-1-22	Grand mother Nilava Gouda pa Awaknawar	"	"
13	Baldixit Yadneshwar-dixit Honwad of Jamkhandi.	6-8-27	14	1935	No. 662 6-8-27	Grand mother Gojarabai Joshi	"	"
14	(1) Ramchandrao (2) Vasantrao (3) Krishnarao Nilkanthrao Chinchnikar Patwardhan of Jamkhandi.	3-10-27	6 2 1	1943 1947 1948	No. 1100 3-10-27	Mother S. Shalinibai	"	"
15	Laxmangauda Devangauda Patil of Kundgol.	28-3-16	24	...	No. 431 1916	Mother Bhagirathibai	"	"

A.

STATE.

during the year 1927-28.

How far edu- cated	Where Educated	D								Remarks	
		Financial condition of the Estate							Value of pro- perty		
		Opening balance Rs	Receipts during the year Rs	Total Rs	Expen- diture Rs	Balance at the end of the year Rs	Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash Rs	Immove- able Rs			
...	...	2792	1804	4596	1284	3312	2500*	10000	* In Govt. Pro- missory Notes		
...	...	9504	1489	10993	627	10366	253	8700			
...	...	753	1260	2013	1453	560	...	16400			
...	...	412	261	673	585	88	73	3600			
English 3rd St- andard	Jam- khandi	...	37	37	...	37	130	1000	Taken under State management during the year under report		
...	3483	3483	2033	1450	22439	64700	Taken under State management during the year under report.		
...	...	926	1836	2762	2306	456	...	55000	Unwilling to take Estate under ma- nagement owing to family disputes.		

A.

STATE.

during the year 1927-28.

How far edu- cated	Where Educated	D							Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able	Rs	Rs	
Kana- rese 5th std.	Hubli	535	2114	2649	2069	580	...	10000	
Verna- cular 3rd std	„	790	568	1358	775	583	...	10000	
Eng. 2nd std.	Kund- gol	1502	2467	3969	3599	370	...	50000	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	† This estate was restored to owner's son in May 1927 and had to be taken back in April 1928 under Court of Wards as the son's manage- ment as a trustee for his father proved un- satisfactory. Details of the estate are awaited.

G. L. Gajendragadkar.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

NO. 954 OF 1930.

State Karbhari's Office.

Jamkhandi 23rd August 1930.

FROM,

R. K. Dal, Esq.

B. A. LL. B.,

State Karbhari.

J A M K H A N D I.

TO,

Major L. G. Lang,

C. I. E., M. C.,

**Resident at Kolhapur and
Political Agent S. M. C. States,**

K O L H A P U R.

Sir,

I have the honour, under instructions from the Chief, to submit the Annual Administration Report of the Jamkhandi State for the Fasli Year 1339, ending 5th June 1930.

2. I am desired by the Chief to convey his sincere and cordial thanks to you, and his deep sense of gratitude to Government for the valuable help and advice given to the State from time to time in all important administrative matters.

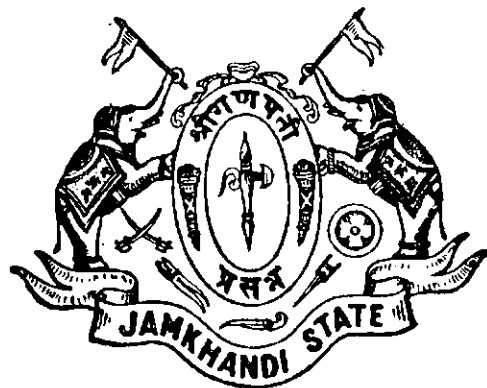
I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RKBal.

STATE KARBHARI



ADMINISTRATION REPORT

OF

THE

JAMKHANDI

STATE

FOR

THE FASLI YEAR

1339

1929-30

ADMINISTRATION REPORT

OF

THE JAMKHANDI STATE

FOR

THE FASLI YEAR

1339

(*Ending 5th June 1930*).



CHAPTER, I.

GENERAL AND POLITICAL.

The State comprises an area of 524 square miles. It is divided for administrative purposes into two Talukas, Jamkhandi and Kundgol and three Thanas Wathar, Patkhal and Dhavalpuri. The total population of the State as per census of 1921 is 1,01,195. The gross revenue of the State exclusive of Inams based on the average of past five years is estimated at Rs. 9,92,518. An annual Tribute of Rs. 20,516 is paid to the British Government.

Area and Population.

2. The Chief, Meherban Shrimant Shankarrao Parashuram-
rao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan is a Konka-
nastha Brahmin. He is a First Class Sardar of
the Deccan and a Treaty Chief. His age is 24.

Ruling Chief and his
family.

He has a son, named Shrimant Parashuramrao Bhausahab who is now in his 6th year and a daughter named Shrimant Indira Raje alias Taisahab, who is now in her 5th year. The Chief, his noble consort Shrimant Saubhagyavati Lilavati Ranisahab and all the other members of the Chief's family enjoyed excellent health during the year under report.

3. The Chief paid visits to His Excellency the Governor Sir Frederick Sykes in Poona and Bombay. He visited Delhi in February to attend the Session of the Princes' Chamber as a Representative

Chief's visits to Poona,
Bombay and Delhi.

Member elected by the Rulers of Miraj (Senior), Miraj (Junior), Kurundwad (Senior), Ramdurg, Savanur and Sondur. While at Delhi, he had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy and also saw Sir Charles Watson, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department and Sir John Thomson, the Commissioner of Delhi. He spent the last hot weather season in Mahableshtar.

4. The special features of this year's report are:—

- (1) The establishment of a High Court,
- (2) The creation of a new post under the designation of ' Revenue Officer '.
- (3) The change made in the financial year of the State.

(1) The High Court consists of a bench of two judges. The State Karbhari is one of them. The other judge works as the Chamber judge to dispose of miscellaneous and routine matters. A chief ministerial officer called the ' Registrar ' has been appointed for administrative purposes.

Constitution of the High
Court.

(2) Up till now the State Karbhari used to exercise the powers of the Collector and District Magistrate and also the powers of the District Superintendent of Police of the State; as he is now principally a judicial officer, those executive powers have now been entrusted to the newly created Revenue Officer with a view to advance a step further in the direction of the separation of the judicial from the executive branch of the State administration.

Revenue Officer's post.

(3) So long the financial year used to begin from the 6th of June and end with the 5th of June. It now begins from the 1st of April and ends with the 31st of March. This change has been introduced for the sake of budget convenience. The figures of income and expenditure, given in the Appendix XXII are hence those ending 31st of March 1930.

Change made in the financial year.

5. The Birth Day of His Majesty the King Emperor of India was observed as a public holiday throughout the state on 3rd June 1929. All the schools and offices were closed in honour of that day.

Emperor's Birth-day.

6. Two minutes' silence was observed throughout the State at 11 A. M. on 11th November 1929, to commemorate the Armistice day in accordance with the wishes of His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor of India.

Armistice Day.

7. P. A's visit to Jamkhandi. The Political Agent paid his official visit to Jamkhandi in the month of January 1930. He visited Schools, Hospitals and the Central Jail.

8. Appendix I gives the names of the High Officials of the First Grade in the State.

CHAPTER, II.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAND.

9. All the villages in the State except three Inam villages *viz.* Benakanahalli, Kop and Hanchinal in Kundgol Taluka are surveyed and settled. The Pot Hissa measurement work of Jamkhandi and Kundgol Talukas and Wathar and Patkhal Thanas was completed during the year under report.

Revision Survey &c.

10. The area of land taken up for and thrown out of cultivation during the year under report is shown in the table A at the end of this report.

Cultivated Area.

11. The table B at the end shows the land revenue demands, collections and outstandings at the close of the year.

Land Revenue.

12. The land revenue dues this year were collected without much resort to coercive measures.

Revenue Collections.

13. Dhavalpuri is a village in Nagar District and lies in a tract which can be called precarious. There are suspensions in that village for four years aggregating to Rs. 3,957.

14. Tagai loans were advanced to the extent of Rs. 200 to needy ryots during the year. This does not solely represent the volume of the loans to ryots as the State Bank advanced considerable amounts on the security of lands charging moderate interest at the rate of 8 to 9 percent per annum.

Tagai.

CHAPTER, III.

PROTECTION.

Legislation.

15. Appendix II shows the Acts and Regulations in

force in the State.

16. Military Force. The State maintains no Military Force.

17. Police. Appendix IV shows the details regarding the strength, discipline and education of the Police.

18. Police Arms. Of the 311 foot police, 304 are armed of whom 123 carry breech loaders and 137 muzzle loaders and 44 carry swords. The remaining 7 are unarmed.

One foot police was dismissed on account of breach of discipline during the year under report. Last year the Police Inspector and the two Sub-Inspectors of the State were given one revolver each for their personal safety, the three revolvers having been purchased by the State with the sanction of Government.

19. Mounted Police. The Sowars are armed with breech loading guns, swords and lances. Strict discipline was maintained in the Force.

20. The ratio of Police to the entire population of the State is 1 to 283 souls and to area 1 to 1.4 square miles.

21. Police Patels and Sanadis. The Police Patels and the Sanadis form the village Police; their number is 328. They do ordinary police work in their villages and assist the District police in the detection and prevention

of crime. A set of printed instructions for the guidance of police Patels in the State has been distributed to all villages with a view to exact good and efficient work from them.

22. Working of the police and Magistracy. The work of the police and the Magistracy is exhibited by its results in Appendices V to VII. The cases for disposal by the Police numbered 120 with a balance of 10 at the year's commence-

ment against 114 in the year 1928-29; of these 28 were excluded as false and 29 remained undisposed of by the Police at the end of the year; true cases numbered 73 and of these 33 remained undetected. In the detected 40 cases, 154 persons were arrested. Of these 148 were sent for trial to Magistrates and the

remaining awaited trial pending the completion of police investigation. Of the 148 persons sent up for trial 94 were convicted, 20 were discharged or acquitted and 34 awaited trial by Magistrates at the end of the year. The percentage of convictions to the accused sent for trial this year increased from 55.5 to 71.2.

23. Direct cases taken up by the Magistrates numbered 41; of these 35 were disposed of. In all these cases 97 persons appeared as the accused. Of these 23 were convicted and 55 acquitted or discharged and 19 were awaiting trial at the end of the year.

Direct Cases.

24. As regards non-cognizable crime there were 124 cases for disposal with 293 accused for trial. Of the latter 8 are pending trial. 172 were discharged or acquitted and 110 were let off with fine only. Most of these offences are compoundable offences of not much importance.

Non-Cognizable Crime.

25. The number of accidental deaths and suicides was 54 as against 47 in the previous year.

Accidental deaths.

26. There were 41 cases of accidental fires destroying property worth Rs. 2812 as against 31 cases destroying property worth Rs. 848.

Accidental fires.

Criminal Justice.

27. Appendix VIII shows the work done by the various Criminal Courts during the year under report.

28. Particulars of the work of the Criminal Appellate Courts in the State during the year under report are given in Appendix IX. The small number of appeals may be taken to indicate that the contending parties realised that their complaints and grievances received due consideration at the hands of the courts of first instance.

Criminal Appellate work.

29. Two accused persons were surrendered to this State for trial one by the British Government and the other by Sangli State. Their trial resulted in the conviction of both of them. This State surrendered one accused person to the British Government and three accused persons to Mudhol State for trial.

Extradition.

Civil Justice.

30. The details of the suits filed and disposed of by the several Courts of Original Civil Jurisdiction are given in Appendix X.

Original work.

31. Appendix XI gives the details of the results of applications for the execution of decrees in all the Civil Courts.

Execution of Decrees.

32. Appendix XII shows the disposal of the Civil Appeals in the year under report, compared with that of last year.

Civil Appellate work.

33. There were 19 estates under State management at the end of the last year. During the year under report 4 new estates (Nos. 15, 16, 22 and 23) were taken under State management. Appendix A shows the details of all the estates. The health, education and general welfare of the wards were very carefully watched by the manager of the ward's estate.

Wards' Estates.

34. During the year under report Mamlatdars' Courts including those of the Wahiwatdars had on their files 11 Wahiwati and 31 Madati cases all of which were disposed of before the close of the year.

Mamlatdars' Courts.

35. The number of Jails and Lock-ups is given in Appendix XIII. The Central Jail is at Jamkhandi and the Chief Medical Officer is its superintendent. It affords sufficient accommodation and is well ventilated. A new Jail building will be constructed when funds permit. A separate ward is set apart for female convicts. The

Prisons.

Jail was every month visited by the State Karbhari, and periodically visited by the Jail visitors. The discipline of the prisoners was good and so was their health.

36. Remissions were awarded to 23 persons during the year according to the system prescribed in the Jail Manual. On the happy occasions of the Anniversaries of the birth day of the Chief and

Prison remissions.

his Installation 5 male prisoners were released during the year under report.

37. The total expenditure of all the jails was Rs. 5806 as against Rs. 5502 of the last year.

Jail expenditure.

38. The number of civil prisoners during the year was 22.

39. The dietary cost per head per diem in Jamkhandi Central Jail was annas 2 and pies 9 only.

40. Rations and clothing to prisoners were given according to the scale obtaining in the Yeravada Central Jail.

41. Weaving of silks and cottons (such as coarse cloth, carpets and towels) was carried on, on a moderate scale in the central jail during the year under report.

Jail industry.

42. Appendix XIV shows the work done by and XV shows the receipts and expenditure of the Registration Department. The total number of documents presented for registration was 3681 as

Registration.

against 3161 of the last year. The gross income and expenditure respectively amounted to Rs. 9096 and 1804 as against Rs. 10355 and Rs. 2102 of the last Year.

43. Appendix XVI gives details of income and expenditure of all the 6 Municipalities in the State. The principal sources of income of all of them are house-tax, octroi, tolls, and water tax. General

Municipal administration.

conservancy, lighting, road repairs, water supply, sanitation, contribution towards education and vaccination are the chief items

of expenditure. All the six Municipalities have the right of election; the Municipality of Jamkhandi elects its own president, and the Revenue Officer is the president and the Mamlatdar the Vice-President of the other Municipalities. Sanitation is well looked after by all the Municipalities. The working of all of them was satisfactory.

CHAPTER, IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

44. Appendix XVII gives figures showing the rainfall in both the Talukas of the State. The rainfall of the year on the whole was seasonable for the Rabi and Cotton crops. These crops at first were at their best but unusual weather set in, in the month of January and it had a bad effect on these crops. On the whole the season was a fair one. The anna valuation of cotton, wheat and jowari was 6, 8 & 8 respectively. Fodder and water supply were sufficient throughout the State except in Kundgol town where there was a scarcity of water for a few days as usual. The condition of the agricultural stock was on the whole fair as will be seen from the figures in Appendix XX.

Rainfall and Crops.

45. Prices of food grains, as will be seen from the figures in Appendix XVIII were easier than those prevailing during the last year.

Prices.

46. Rates of wages have remained stationary.

Wages.

47. Out of the total area of the state forests 10 acres and 21 gunthas were given for cultivation during the year under report. There thus remained 27,199 acres and 3 gunthas including 1510 acres and 29 gunthas under reserved forests. The income of the forest in the State was Rs. 8143 as against Rs. 5584 of the last year. The

Forest.

forest growth is very poor. No timber is available. The forests supply only fuel and serve as pasture lands. There is no forest in Kundgol.

48. There were 14 offences only against forest rules with 47 offenders who were fined. There were no forest fires.

Forest offences.

49. Appendix XXI shows the number of excise shops in the State and the revenue realised from them.

Excise revenue.

50. Jamkhandi is not an important trade centre and in the absence of a Railway line connecting the capital of the State with the outside world there are no prospects of trade increasing in the near future. Sugar, rice, salt, colours, spices, coconuts, timber, stationary, yarn, cloth, metals and kerosene are the principal imports while food-grains, cotton, cotton-seeds, coarse cloth, sarees, karadi-oil, and oil cakes are the chief articles of exports. The figures taken from the Municipal records show roughly that the value of imports and exports amounted to Rs. 21,45,546 and Rs. 5,46,315 respectively as against Rs. 24,87,271 and Rs. 1,98,125 of the last year.

Trade & Manufacture.

51. Dyeing of yarn and silk and weaving of sarees, coarse cloth &c. are carried on, on a considerable scale at Banhatti, Asangi and the adjoining villages of the State. The total number of handlooms working is 2630 of which 148 are used for weaving Gudars (coarse cotton blankets), while the rest are used for the manufacture of cotton goods

Village industries.

52. The State owns a Ginning Factory and a Cotton Press at Jamkhandi. The two factories had sufficient work during the year under report. About 320 khandies of cotton were ginned and 2593 bales were pressed with the result that the State realised a net income of Rs. 13, 816 as against Rs. 28,351 of the last year.

State Ginning and Pressing Factory.

53. Besides these two factories there are three ginning factories at Jamkhandi and 14 in Kundgol Taluka owned by private persons. All of them had fairly sufficient work during the year under report.

Private Gins.

54. Karadi oil is exported in large quantities from Jamkhandi. It is pressed out from karadi seeds by means of crude country oil presses. The number of such presses is 75.

Oil industry.

55. The following four fairs were held in the State as usual during the year:—

Fairs, Shows and Agricultural Exhibition.

- (1) The cattle fair at Jamkhandi was held in the month of April. The number of cattle brought for exhibition and sale was 8187 as against 7465 of the last year. 44 prizes for well-bred animals were distributed at the Darbar. Attached to this fair an agricultural exhibition also was held. The exhibits were numerous and of a varied nature, some of them being sent by the Deccan Industrial Union Ltd. Karad. The whole show was both interesting and instructive to the assembled agriculturists for whose benefit it is being specially arranged every year.
- (2) The Bramhadeva Fair at Kundgol was held in the month of June.
- (3) The Basavana Fair at Kadapatti was held in the month of August.
- (4) Shri Venkoba Fair at Kalhalli was held in the month of October.

56. There are in all 9 Post Offices in the State under the control and management of the British postal department. Of these, two are combined Post and Telegraph Offices, one at Jamkhandi and the

Post offices.

other at Ramtirth. Kundgol and Saunshi being Railway Stations have no separate Telegraph Offices. The Post Master General has informed this Darbar that an experimental Post Office will soon be opened at Shiravade (head quarter of Wathar). A Telephone service is maintained between Jamkhandi and Ramtirth by the State. It has proved to be very useful in facilitating communications between the several offices and the palace.

57. Mints. There is no mint in the State.

58. Public works. The details of expenditure on public works from the local and state funds are given in Appendix XIX.

59. Outlay on Public works. The total expenditure of public works (water works excluded) was Rs. 97,569 as against Rs 20,1464 of the last year. The more important work under construction is the new Gymakhana for H. B. High School at Kundgol.

60. In addition to the aforesaid works annual repairs to various roads, schools, temples, chavadies, dharama-shalas and ferries were carried out as usual.

CHEPTER, V.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

61. Appendix XXII shows the different heads of receipts and expenditures as also the general condition of the finances of the State as compared with that of the previous year.

62. Income and expenditure of the State. The gross income and expenditure of the State in the year under report amounted to Rs. 4,91,655 and Rs. 7,35,095 respectively as against Rs. 9,88,968 and Rs. 13,39,942 respectively of the last year.

The expenditure covers the amount spent on the Sanal Water Works also.

63. The State Bank is working satisfactorily and is much appreciated by the subjects of the State. Many agriculturists and needy persons have been taking advantage of it, the average rate of interest being $8\frac{1}{4}$ p. c. though the current rate charged by local Sawakars was 12 to 18 p. c. During the year under report the State Bank advanced Rs. 10,569 on the security of gold and Rs. 27,975 on that of lands.

CHAPTER, VI.

MEDICAL RELIEF AND VITAL STATISTICS.

64. The State maintains 4 medical institutions (at Jamkhandi, Savalgi, Banhatti and Kundgol) where medical relief is given gratis. The details of the work done and the expenses incurred on their account are given in Appendix XXIII. The attendance of patients in all these charitable institutions as compared with that of the last year shows a decrease of 2579. In these institutions 2329 operations were performed as against 1855 of the last year. All the medical officers are qualified men. The Chief Medical Officer is a University Graduate under whom there are four Sub-Assistant Surgeons, one of whom is also a qualified Veterinary Doctor. Besides these, one qualified lady doctor is attached to the Central Hospital at Jamkhandi who with her staff of nurses is very useful for female patients. Since the year 1336 the State has opened a free veterinary dispensary at Jamkhandi which is being well attended.

65. The Jamkhandi Municipality maintains an Ayurvedic Dispensary which also is found to be very useful to the public.

66. Appendix XXIV shows the number of births and deaths and their rate per thousand of population. During the year under report plague and small-pox broke out in both the Talukas and carried off 174 souls out of 337 attacks. The measures taken promptly to combat these epidemics did not allow them to continue long.

67. There were 24 deaths from small-pox in the State during the year under report.

68. There is no special sanitation department. The Municipalities look after the work of sanitation in Municipal areas. In villages it is looked after by village and Taluka Officers. Sanitation Committees exist in 10 important villages and the villagers have begun to realise the utility and benefits of such Committees and to take some interest in the work.

Sanitation.

69. The table C at the end of this report shows the work done by the vaccination department as compared with that of the last year.

Vaccination.

70. Revaccination was done in 3652 cases out of which 332 proved unsuccessful and 78 did not present themselves for inspection. The Inspector of Vaccination inspected the vaccination work of his subordinates.

Revaccination.

CHAPTER, VII.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

71. Appendix XXV gives the classification of the different schools with particulars regarding their attendance &c. The percentage of school going boys and girls to the entire population in the State is 6. Female education is well looked after in the State. Free boarding and scholarships with expenses on them aggregating to Rs. 5738 a year, are given to poor and deserving students irrespective of caste and creed. The number of such free monthly boarders is over 40. Clothes and books are also given free to the boys of backward classes with a view to encouraging education amongst them. A special class for untouchables is attached to the vernacular school No. 2 at Jamkhandi and it meets in the same building. This building is called " the Dhed School. " The noteworthy feature of the educational system of this State is that

Education in the State.

not only is its primary education free but that its secondary education also is free. Instances of such a generous policy are rare on this side of India.

72. As regards the higher education of State subjects the Chief has happily solved the problem by providing a fitting Memorial to his father, the late Sir Parashuramrao Bhausahab of revered memory. A handsome donation of a lakh of rupees to the New Poona College brought about a change in its name. It was renamed " Sir Parashuram Bhau College " after the late Chief. To crown this beneficent work the Chief has endowed since the year 1928-29, 50 free studentships in that College at Poona for students going in for higher educations, the State contributing to that institution Rs. 5000 annually for 20 years, thereby conferring on Jamkhandi subjects the great boon of a free college education. The number of students who were given such freeship last year was 50.

Jamkhandi endowment
Scholarships, in memory
Of Sir Parashuram Bhau
sahab, the late Chief,

73. There are four Institutions imparting secondary education in the State. They are:--

secondary schools.

- (1) The P. B. High School Jamkhandi teaching the full High School course sends up students for the S. L. C. Examination of the Bombay University.
- (2) The Harbhat High School Kundgol also teaches the full High School course and sends up students for the S. L. C. Examination of the Bombay University.
- (3) The Banhatti F. G. A. V. School teaches up to 5th standard.
- (4) The A. V. class in Shrimant Shakuntala girls' school Jamkhandi teaches girls in the first three standards only.

74. The A. V. class for girls has been added to Shrimant

Shakuntala girls' school Jamkhandi, since the last year. A very modest beginning was made with five girls in the class with a view to providing a separate A. V. School for girls. The class is steadily showing progress in attendance.

75. The total number of boys receiving English education in these institutions was 819 as against 858 of the last year.

76. 41 students from the P. B. High School and 19 students from the Harbhat High School were sent up for the School Leaving Certificate Examination of whom 21 and 12 respectively came out successful. Stipends to deserving students are awarded in both the High Schools.

Matriculation results.

77. Scouting has been made part of the school work by setting apart one period in the week for scout drill and other training for all boys of standards ranging from the 3rd to 6th.

Scouting.

78. Besides the scholarships referred to in para 71 some scholarships have been awarded by the State to deserving students for prosecuting their College studies at an yearly outlay of Rs. 1,750. The total expenditure on public instruction was Rs. 77,925 as against Rs. 86,144 of the last year.

Scholarships for higher education.

79. Primary Schools. The State maintained 67 primary schools during the year as against 67 of the last year.

80. Of these primary schools four are exclusively for girls. The schools for girls are rapidly developing and have shown great progress especially in Jamkhandi and Banhatti. The number of pupils reading in primary schools during the year was 5,011 as 5,230 of the last year.

81. There has been an improvement in the daily average attendance. It was 4,680 as against 4,063 of the last year. Of the 67 schools only four teach the full primary course while the

others teach the first three or four or five standards according to local requirements.

82. The primary schools presented 3,640 pupils for examination out of whom 2,782 passed giving a percentage of 76. The four full primary schools sent up 22 students for the Vernacular Final Examination and out of them 10 passed.

Vernacular Examination results.

83. The State maintains a separate Urdu School at Jamkhandi for Mohamedan boys and girls whose number is one hundred. Besides this number, many Mohamedan boys and girls also attend the schools teaching Marathi as it is the official language of the State.

Urdu school.

84. The number of boys in Sanskrit Pathashala at Kundgol is 10 as against 8 of the last year.

Sanskrit Pathashala.

85. The Veda Anhik Pathashala at Jamkhandi is going on well. The State pays an annual grant of Rs. 125. The average attendance in it during the year was 20.

Veda Anhik Pathashala.

86. The number of schools for girls remained the same as in the last year. The number of girls in these schools was 543 as against 531 of the last year. There are 12 female teachers in these schools.

Female Education.

87. There are five private Vernacular schools. The total strength in them is 150 as against 153 of the last year.

Indigenous Schools.

88. The Jamkhandi Municipality maintains a night school. It is attended by boys and adults of the depressed classes under a teacher of their own class. This school is thriving well.

Municipal Night-School.

89. During the year under report the most needed medical examination of the boys has been arranged for in the Ferris School with a view to watch their physical development and to render them medical aid when required. This has proved to be of immense use as the result of such examination is brought to the notice of the parents or guardians in good time so as to avert danger from any delay in giving them proper treatment. It is a matter of pleasure to note here that this measure was very kindly suggested by Major Lang, the Political Agent, for which thanks are due to him.

Examination of the
Medical boys in the
Ferris school.

CHAPTER, VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

90. The State maintains a printing press for such work as the printing of the State Gazette, forms, circulars &c. There is also a private press "The Hanuman printing press" at Jamkhandi. It does not print any news-papers, but undertakes job work only.

Printing presses.

91. No newspaper or periodical is published in the State.

Newspapers.

92. The number of libraries and reading rooms remained the same as in the last year *viz* 11. 7 of these have been registered and received State aid. All of them are being taken advantage of by the literate public. The use of proscribed books is strictly prohibited in all these institutions.

Libraries.

93. One panther was killed during the year.

Destruction of
wild animals.

94. The nearest Railway Station which connects Jamkhandi, the capital town of the State with the outer world is Kudchi. It is 34 miles from Jamkhandi. The starting of motor service to Kudchi has

Railways & Markets.

facilitated passenger traffic only. It is not possible to improve the general trade and commerce of the State unless Jamkhandi is made easily accessible to the out-side world by connecting it directly with the Railway line.

95. The benefits of the cotton market established here are being appreciated by all concerned and the working of the market was satisfactory. Adequate measures are taken to see that the local cotton is not adulterated by the mixture of worthless stuff. The cotton market was reorganised on a new basis mainly with the view of attracting to it all the cotton from the villages situate within an easy reach of Jamkhandi; this was done by measures calculated to inspire confidence in the cotton growing ryots about the correctness of weighments and the adequacy of prices. The most important of these measures was the introduction of the system of sales through dalals which has proved to be a step in the right direction in view of the satisfactory results of its working during the last two seasons.

96. The Sanal water works are now completed and the river water will begin to flow in the taps within a month or two. The total outlay on the scheme proper is calculated to be Rs. 5,96,448. The strain of this heavy expenditure on State finances is great but the Chief has borne it cheerfully as he has the satisfaction to see that it has secured to the residents of his capital the boon of a whole-some and ample water supply.

97. Kundgol too has a defective water supply and it is under contemplation to take up the project for that Taluka head quarter town after the preliminary investigation of that project is completed. That project is estimated to cost Rs. 1,50,000.

98. As the Revenue Officer exercises the powers of a Collector and District Magistrate, he toured in all the Talukas and Thanas of the State; inspected the subordinate offices, heard grievances of the

people and brought them to the notice of the State Karbhari and the Chief with a view to redressing them as far as possible.

99. The year under report was slightly worse from the ryots' point of view than its predecessor; A couple of years with propitious seasons would help a great deal in the recuperation of the agricultural classes. Prices were still further easier during the year. The cotton crop was not better than last year's. The trade which was not encouraging even from the beginning received a set back at about the end of the season by a fall in the cotton prices. The wage earning classes were happy and contented. The masses were law abiding and loyal and there was no agitation or discontent among them.

100. This in short is the narrative of events connected with State administration and the condition of the people during the year under report. The comforts and needs of the subjects received due attention. Justice was well and promptly administered and protection of life and property was ensured as far as possible.

101. The Chief takes a great interest in all the various Branches of the State administration and it is happy to note that nothing escapes his vigilant eye. He takes special interest in manly sports & games. Twice during the year once in December and again in June a varied and interesting programme of sports with substantial prizes is gone through, which attracts amateurs and professional sportsmen from distant places even like Baroda. **Scouting** receives its due attention at his hands and help is given freely to authors and deserving aspirants in the field of literature. Thoughts about the happiness and betterment of his subjects are uppermost in his mind at all times and by his noble nature and generous impulses he has endeared himself to all classes. As an illustration may be cited the project undertaken by him entirely out of his Khasgi funds to supply electric

light and energy for the use of the townsmen of Jamkhandi at moderate charges. The good start he made at the commencement of his career has been steadily and very creditably maintained and there is every reason to expect that he has a great and glorious future before him.

102. The State Karbhari records here the great pleasure he found in working under the Chief and is extremely obliged to him for all the help received by him at his hands in all important matters of State administrative work.



TABLE A.

Name of Talukas	Occupied area at the end of 1928—29		Unoccupied area at the end of 1928—29	Area taken up for cultivation in 1929—30		Area thrown out of cultivation in 1929—30	Occupied area at the end of 1929—30		Unoccupied area at the end of 1929—30			
	A.	G.		A.	G.		A.	G.				
Jamkhandi.	219659	—34	177	—11	20	—11	15	—23	219664	—11	172	—23
Kundgol.	61044	—10	6	—21	...	...	...	...	61044	—10	6	—21
Wathar.	4783	—21	3	—29	0	—23	30	—22	4767	—22	33	—19
Patkhal	6679	—11	...	...	...	...	...	...	6679	—11	...	...
Dhavalpuri.	19066	—26	306	—15	...	...	...	...	19066	—26	306	—15
Total.....	311233	—22	493	—36	20	—34	46	—5	311222	—0	518	—38

TABLE B.

Name of Taluka	Arrears	Land Revenue demand	Total demand	Collections	Outstandings
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Jamkhandi.	17524	284271	301795	161381	140414
Kundgol.	1103	219555	220658	64961	155697
Wathar.	1584	12303	13887	5182	8705
Patkhal.	265	4014	4279	2048	2231
Dhavalpuri.	3838	3398	7236	3279	3957
Total ...	24314	523541	547855	236851	311004 *

* These figures appear higher than those of the last year as owing to the change, in the financial year they have been given only to the close of March 1930, much of these outstandings have been recovered by the end of July 1930 when the village Revenue year closes.

TABLE C.

Operations by whom performed	Number of persons vaccinated in		Result				Remarks
			Successful		Unsuccessful		
	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	
Jamkhandi town vaccinator.	988	1510	988	1510	...	...
Jamkhandi Taluka vaccinator.	976	941	976	941	...	...
Bidri vaccinator.	935	811	935	811	...	...
Kundgol vaccinator.	918	760	918	760	...	...
Total ...	3817	4022	3817	4022	...	...

APPENDICES

FROM

I TO XXV-A.

*List of Appendices to the Annual Administration Report of the
Jamkhandi State for the year 1929-30.*

No.	Name of Appendix.
1	High Officials of First Grade in the
2	Laws in force in the State.
3	Military force. (Nil)
4	Police Strength.
5	Working of the Police.
6	Stolen property recovered.
7	Crimes.
8	Magisterial work.
9	Criminal Appeals.
10	Civil Work.
11	" Execution of decrees.
12	" Appeals.
13	Jails and Lock-ups.
14	Registration work.
15	" Receipts and Expenditure.
16	Municipalities.
17	Rain-fall.
18	Prices of food-grains.

No.	Name of Appendix.
19	Public Works.
20	Agricultural Stock.
21	Excise shops and revenue.
22	Revenue receipts and disbursements.
23	Medical Relief.
24	Vital Statistics.
25	Education.
A	Wards' Estates.

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX I.

JAMKHANDI STATE.

*Names of high Officials during 1929—30.**(First Grade).*

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. G. L. Gajendra- gadkar, M. B. E., B. A.	State Karbhari.	1-4-29	31-7-29	
" B. B. Mahabal B. A., LL. B.	Ag. Do.	1-8-29	31-8-29	
" R. K. Bal, B. A., LL. B.	State Karbhari.	1-9-29	31-12-29	
"	State Karbhari & High Court Bench Judge.	1-1-30	31-3-30	* Post newly created
" B. B. Mahabal, B. A., LL. B.	Sar-Nyayadhish.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Revenue Officer	1-9-29	* 31-3-30	Post newly created
" S. V. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	High Court Bench & Chamber Judge.	1-1-30	31-3-30	

APPENDIX I.

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(First Grade).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. G. L. Gajendra- gadkar, M. B. E., B. A.	State Karbhari.	1-4-29	31-7-29	
" B. B. Mahabal B. A., LL. B.	Ag. Do.	1-8-29	31-8-29	
" R. K. Bal, B. A., LL. B.	State Karbhari.	1-9-29	31-12-29	
"	State Karbhari & High Court Bench Judge.	1-1-30	31-3-30	* Post newly created
" B. B. Mahabal, B. A., LL. B.	Sar-Nyayadhish.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Revenue Officer	1-9-29	* 31-3-30	Post newly created
" S. V. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	High Court Bench & Chamber Judge.	1-1-30	31-3-30	Post newly created

APPENDIX I. (Continued).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. S. V. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	Huzur Chitnis	1-4-29	§ 3-12-29	
" A. V. Dhareshwar, M. A., LL. B.	Vidyadhikari & Principal P. B. High School.	1-4-29	31-3-30	§ Vacant onward.
" B. C. Patwardhan, M. B. B. S.	Chief Medical Officer, Jamkhandi	1-4-29	31-3-30	§
" N. A. Mannur.	State Engineer.	1-4-29	31-3-30	† Vacant onward
" K. N. Bapat. B. A., LL. B.	Private Secretary.	1-4-29	† 31-8-29	†
" W. M. Sohoni. B. E.	Water Works En- gineer.	1-4-28	30-9-29	* Post of Daftardar is abolished
" N. A. Mannur.	I/C Do.	1-10-29	31-3-30	
" H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Daftardar & Huzur Treasury Officer.	1-4-29	* 31-8-29	
" V. A. Arbatti, B. A., LL. B.	Nyayadhish, Jam- khandi.	1-4-29	31-3-30	

APPENDIX I. (Continued).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. S. H. Khasnis, B. A., LL. B.	Munsiff, Kundgol.	1-4-29	31-12-29	This post is abolished.
" K. N. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	Do.	1-1-30	31-3-30	
" N. G. Datar.	Mamlatdar, Jamkhandi.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" R. K. Kale.	Mamlatdar, Kundgol.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" G. S. Gore.	Court of Wards Manager, & Survey Officer.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" H.C.Patwardhan, B. A.	Personal Assistant to the State Kar- bhavi.	1-4-29	31-8-29	
" K. N. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	Huzur Record Kamagar and Huzur Treasurer.	1-9-29	31-12-29	
" W. T. Apte. M. A , LL. B.	Do.	1-1-30	31-3-30	
" B. R. Apte.	Inspector of Police.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" A. M. Ghorpade.	State Mechanical, Engineer.	1-4-29	31-3-30	

APPENDIX I. (Continued).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. S. G. Mangalwedhekar.	Khasgi Karbhari.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" A. G. Paranjape, B. A.	Head Master, Harbhat High School, Kundgol.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" T. S. Tonapi, L. C. P. S.	Palace Surgeon.	1-4-29	31-3-30	
" S. A. Apte, B. A., LL. B.	Public Prosecutor.	1-4-29	31-3-30	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX II.

JAMKHANDI STATE.

Laws adopted from British Legislature in force during 1929-30.

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remarks
1827	Reg. VIII	Local	Heirship Certificates.	1890	
"	" XII	"	Police.	"	
1841	Act. XIX	Imperial	Curators.	"	
1850	" XVIII	"	Judicial Officers Protection Act.	1922	
1852	" IX	Local	Inam Commission.	1913	
1860	" XLV	Imperial	Indian Penal Code, amended up to date.	1890, 1914, 1915 1922, 23, 24, 28	
1861	" IX	Local	Custody of Minors.	1890	
1863	" II	"	Inam Summary Settlement.	1913	
"	" XX	"	Religious Endowments.	1890	
1866	" VII	"	Hindu Heirs Relief.	"	
"	" VIII	"	Poisons.	"	
1867	" "	"	Village Police.	"	
"	" XXV	Imperial	Press and Registration of Books.	1909, 1914	
1868	" II	Local	Ferries.	1890	
1869	" XIV	"	Civil Courts, amended up to date	1890, 1915, 1918	
"	" III	"	Local Funds.	"	
1870	" VII	Imperial	Court Fees.	1890, 1905, 1914, 1915	
1871	" I	"	Cattle Trespass, amended up to date	1890, 1922	
1872	" "	"	Evidence.	1890	
"	" IX	"	Contract.	"	
1873	" X	"	Oaths.	"	
1874	" III	"	Watans. amended up to date.	1876, 1915	
"	" II Part III	Local	Civil Jails.	1919	
1875	" IX	Imperial	Majority.	1890	
"	" III	Local	Tolls.	1907	
1876	" X	Imperial	Revenue Jurisdiction.	1890	
1877	" I	"	Specific Relief.	"	
1878	" "	"	Opium, amended up to date.	1890, 1914	
"	" XI	"	Arms. " "	1890, 1920	
"	" V	Local	Abkari, amended up to date.	1904, 1913	
1879	" "	"	Land Revenue Code. " with rules thereunder	1890, 1913, 1914	
"	" VII	"	Irrigation.	1913	
"	Act XVIII	Imperial	Sections 3 and 36 of the Legal Practitioners Act.	1922	

APPENDIX II. (Continued).

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remark
1883	Act XXI	Imperial	Immigration.	1913	
1885	„ XIII	„	Telegraph, amended up to date.	1915, 1918	
1887	„ I	„	Jails.	1901	
„	„ VII	„	Suits Valuation Act.	1918	
„	„ IX	„	Provincial Small Cause Courts	1905	
„	„ IV	Local	Prevention of gambling.	1914	
1889	„ I	„	Village Sanitation.	1913	
„	„ VII	„	Succession Certificate Act.	1918	
1890	„ II	„	Salt, amended up to date.	1906, 1914	
„	„ IV	„	District Police.	1890	
„	„ VIII	Imperial	Guardian and Wards.	1901, 1915	
1891	„ II	Local	Boiler Inspection, amended up to date & rules regarding inspection fees of boilers.	1912, 1925	
1894	„ I	Imperial	Land Acquisition.	1901	
„	„ IX	„	Prisons.	1919	
1897	„ VIII	„	Reformatory schools.	1915	
1898	„ V	„	Cri. Pro. Code, as amended by Act XVIII of 1923.	1901, 1924.	
1898	„ VI	„	Post Offices, amended up to date.	1915, 1918	
1899	„ II	„	Stamp.	1901, 1905, 1914	
„	„ XII	„	Paper Currency.	1903, 1914	
1900	„ III	„	Prisoners.	1919	
1903	„ III	Local	District Municipal	1904, 1913	
„	„ XV	Imperial	Extradition.	1905	
1905	„ I	Local	Court of Wards.	1913	
1906	„ II	„	Mamlatdars Court.	1908	
1908	„ V	Imperial	Civil Procedure Code.	1914, 1920, 1928.	
„	„ VI	„	Explosive Substances.	1912	
„	„ IX	„	Limitation.	1914	
„	„ XVI	„	Registration.	„	
1909	„ IV	„	Whipping.	1915	
1911	„ III	„	Criminal Tribes, amended up to date & rules under Section 20.	1913, 1915, 1918, 1925	
„	„ XII	„	Factories.	1912	
1912	„ II	„	Co-operative Society's Act.	1925	
„	„ IV	„	Indian Lunacy.	1914	
1914	„ VIII	„	Indian Motor Vehicles Act, amended up to date and Rules thereunder.	1914, 1918, 1925	
1920	„ V	„	Provincial Insolvency Act.	1920	
„	„ XVII	Local	Bombay Pleaders Act.	„	

APPENDIX II. (Continued).

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remarks
1881	V	Imperial	Probate and administration.	1914	+ Applicable to Kundgol Taluka only.
1882	IV	,,	Transfer of property.	1913	
1923	I	Local	Opium & Intoxicating Drugs Law of the Jamkhandi State together with Rules and Regulations thereunder with amendments	1923, 1925.	
1923	III	,,	Cotton Transport Act and Rules made thereunder. +	1924	
1925	I	,,	The Jamkhandi Cotton Market Act, with Amendments.	1925, 1926	
1926	I	,,	Ginning & Pressing Factories Act of the Jamkhandi State with Rules thereunder.	1926	
1926	XXVII	Imperial	Transfer of Property Amendment Act.	1928	
1927	X				
1927	II	,,	Indian Registration Amendment Act.	1928	
1856	XV	,,	Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act.	1928	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX IV

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing Strength, Discipline and Education of

Grade	Number	Pay of Grade	Total Expenditure
Police		Rs.	Rs.
Inspector of Police.	1	250	} 67,936
Sub-Inspectors.	3	100, 80, 50.	
Jamadars.	3	50, 40, 30.	
Head-Constables.	23	20, 17, 15,	
Constables.	146	15, 14, 13, 12, 11.	
Body-guard.			
Subhedar.	1	75	
Jamadars.	2	30	
Head-Constables.	20	20, 17, 15.	
Constables.	112	15, 14, 13, 12.	
Risala.			
Risaldar.	1	122	} 67,936
Dafedar.	1	59	
Naik.	1	54	
Sowars.	44	53, 52, 41, 40.	
Total.....	358		

IV.

STATE.

Police during 1929—30.

Dismissed	Punishments		Rewards by		Education		Remarks
	Fined, de- graded, or suspended departmentally	Judicial	Promotion	Money	Able to read and write	Under in- struction	
...	Rs. ...	1	...	
...	2	3	...	
...	1	3	...	
...	2	23	...	
1	6	12	118	28	
...	1	...	
...	2	
...	3	1	8	12	
...	12	5	64	48	
...	1	...	
...	1	...	
...	1	...	
...	7	...	28	16	
1	21	6	7	17	252	106	

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APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the results of Police work

Name of State	No. of offences including arrears		No. of			
			Arrested		Sent for trial	
1	2		3		4	
	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
Jamkhandi... ..	99	130	90	×138	90	×132

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the value of property stolen and

Name of State	Amount stolen		Amount
	Past year	Present year	Past year
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Jamkhandi	7,635	20,115	1375

V.

STATE.

During 1929—30.

accused.				Percentage of convictions to arrests		Percentage of convictions to accused sent for trial		Remark
Convicted		Discharged or acquitted						
5		6		7		8		9
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	× 6 Persons under Police investigation.
50	94	24	20	55.55	68.1	55.55	71.2	

X. 18 awaiting trial in courts.

VI.

STATE.

amount of recoveries during 1929—30.

recovered	Percentage of recoveries to Property stolen		Remarks
Present year	Past year	Present year	
Rs	Rs	Rs	
12033	18.009	59.8	

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State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing crimes committed, cases disposed of

Number	Description of Offences	No of Offences			Number of cases disposed of				Persons apprehended including those awaiting trial from last year	Persons convicted	
		Balance on 1st April 1929	Committed during 1929-1930	Total	Proved false or requiring no investigation	True cases		Remaining undisposed of			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	<i>Cognizable- (Arrested by Police.)</i>										
	Murder ... ..	...	8	8	1	...	4	5	3	15	11
	Culpable homicide × ...	1	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Dacoity	2	...	2	...	1	...	1	1	...	...
	Robbery ... *	1	8	9	2	1	3	6	3	7	5
	Grievous Hurt ...	1	2	3	...	...	3	3	...	13	5
	Theft	3	25	28	6	6	8	20	8	21	9
	Mischief ... ..	...	9	9	4	1	2	7	2	3	1
	House-breaking ...	...	43	44	9	24	7	40	4	23	10
	Breach of trust ...	1	1	2	...	...	2	2	...	2	2
	Miscellaneous ...	...	24	24	5	...	11	16	8	70	51
	Total, A ...	10	120	130	28	33	40	101	29	154	94
B	<i>(Cases taken up directly by Magistrates)</i>										
	Hurt	1	12	13	...	...	...	12	1	27	12
	Worngful rstraint ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	Grievous Hurt ...	..	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	Theft	1	3	4	...	...	...	2	2	16	...
	Mischief	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	3	...
	Cri. Intimidation ...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	2	3	...
	Criminal trespass ...	2	3	5	...	...	...	5	...	15	4
	Cri. Br. of Trust ...	...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	3	2
	Rioting ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	5	...

VII.

STATE.

and cases awaiting trial during 1929--30.

Number of persons sentenced to							Acquitted or discharged	Confined being insane	Died during or before trial	Terms of imprisonment										Transportation	Capital punishment	Awaiting trial	Remarks	
Imprisonment		Imprisonment and fine		Fine only	Whipping	Total				Under one month	From 1 to 2 months	From 2 to 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 5 years	Above 5 years						
Simple	Rigorous	Simple	Rigorous																					
12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35		
1	1	...	9	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	4		
...	
...	...	...	3	2	...	5	2	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	1	4	...	5	8	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1	2	2	1	3	...	9	1	...	...	3	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11		
...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1		
...	...	...	7	...	...	7	3	...	...	1	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10		
...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	14	...	1	30	...	45	5	...	...	...	...	...	11	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8		
2	17	2	24	40	...	85	20	...	...	4	2	12	12	...	4	...	...	11	...	...	...	34		
...	...	...	...	12	...	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	
...	...	...	...	4	...	4	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Released on bail.
 † Under Police investigation.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing crimes committed, cases disposed of

Number	Description of Offences	No of Offences			Number of cases disposed of				Remaining undisposed of	Persons apprehended including those awaiting trial from last year	Persons convicted
		Balance on 1 st April 1929	Committed during 1929-1930	Total	Proved false or requiring no investigation	True cases Undetected	Detected	Total			
	Miscellaneous ...	1	10	11	...	...	...	10	1	23	5
	Total B...	7	34	41	...	...	...	35	6	97	23
	Total A & B...	17	154	171	28	33	40	136	35	251	117
C	<i>Non-Cognizable</i>										
	Hurt ...	...	47	47	...	...	...	43	4	140	13
	Special or Local Acts	2	61	63	...	...	...	63	...	105	100
	Cri. Intimidation ...	...	8	8	...	...	...	8	...	32	...
	Miscellaneous ...	...	6	6	...	...	...	6	...	16	...
	Total C...	2	122	124	...	...	...	120	4	293	113
	Total A, B & C...	19	276	295	28	33	40	256	39	544	230

VII.

STATE.

and cases awaiting trial during 1929—30.

Number of persons sentenced to							Acquitted or discharged	Confined being insane	Died during or before trial	Terms of imprisonment										Transportation	Capital punishment	Awaiting trial	Remarks
Imprisonment		Imprisonment and fine		Fine only	Whipping	Total				Under one month	From 1 to 2 months	From 2 to 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 5 years	Above 5 years					
Simple	Rigorous	Simple	Rigorous																				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
...	...	...	...	5	...	5	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	23	...	23	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19
2	17	2	24	63	...	108	75	4	2	12	12	...	4	11	53	
3	10	...	13	119	3	8
...	100	...	100	5
...	32
...	16
3	110	...	113	172	3	8
5	17	2	24	173	...	221	247	7	2	12	12	...	4	11	61	

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State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the number of offences reported

Number	Name of Court	Number of Offences	
		past year	Present year
1	2	3	4
1	The Sessions Court	2	6
2	The District Magistrate, Jamkhandi	5	1
3	The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Jamkhandi ... ..	...	...
4	The Nyayadhish & Magistrate F. C. Jamkhandi	6	31
5	The Daftardar & Magistrate F. C. Jamkhandi	33	15
6	The Munsiff & Magistrate F. C. Kundgol	9	9
7	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate F. C. Jamkhandi ... ..	...	...
8	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate F. C. Kundgol ... ..	...	...
9	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate S. C. Jamkhandi	51	53
10	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate S. C. Kundgol	19	16
11	The Avalkarkun & Magistrate T. C. Jamkhandi	53	63
12	The Avalkarkun & Magistrate T. C. Kundgol	11	10
13	The Vahivatdar & Magistrate T. C. Vathar	4	4
14	The Vahivatdar & Magistrate T. C. Patkhal	9	7
	Total.....	202	215

VIII.

STATE.

and offences dealt with during 1929-30.

5	Number of persons dealt with						Persons disposed of						19	
	Brought to trial					Total		13	14	15	16	17		18
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12							
Remaining at the end of the last year	Arrested by police	Upon warrant	On Summons	Voluntarily	Arrested in the presence of the Magistrate	Past year	Present year	Discharged without trial	Acquitted	Convicted	Committed or referred	Died, escaped or transferred	Remaining at the end of the year	
...	13	...	...	...	...	3	13	...	...	11	...	...	2
1	...	...	...	...	...	8	1	...	...	...	...	1	..
...	
1	29	...	15	8	...	17	53	10	...	34	6	...	3	
6	26	10	8	4	...	66	54	...	14	29	5	6	...	
2	7	2	4	...	...	22	15	1	3	4	...	...	7
...	
...	
5	35	12	103	...	...	128	155	42	25	85	...	...	3
4	20	2	19	1	...	40	46	8	15	10	...	1	12	
15	5	1	146	5	...	172	172	27	83	40	...	...	22
3	4	...	12	21	19	1	8	5	...	1	4	
3	8	...	4	12	15	...	4	3	8	
9	7	22	16	4	2	9	1	
49	147	27	318	18	...	511	559	86	161	230	12	3	61	

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State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the result of appeals against the decisions

Number	Tribunal	Number of applications	No. of Persons											
			Applications rejected				Sen-							
			Persons		Cases		Confirmed				Modified			
			Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases	
			Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	High Court ... Bench... ..	3	...	...	...	...	1	6	2	2	...	...	...	...
2	The Sessions Court... ..	5	2	...	2	...	6	8	5	4	4	1	4	1
3	The District Magistrate's Court... ..	26	5	...	5	...	3	26	3	11	16	8	3	4
	Total ...	34	7	...	7	...	10	40	10	17	20	9	7	5

IX.

STATE.

passed by the Criminal Courts during 1929-30.

and Cases																			
tence				Proceedings quashed				Referred				Further inquiry &c. ordered				Pending			
Reversed																			
Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases		persos		Cases		persons		Cases	
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
..	2	5	1	1
3	..	3	1	..	1	..
1	14	1	10	1	..	1
4	14	4	10	3	6	2	2

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APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Nature and value of original suits filed

Number	Tribunal	Opening Balance		Filed during		Total		Disposed of during		Closing balance	
		Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	The District Judge Jamkhandi.	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
2	The Nyayadhish of Jamkhandi as:—										
	F. C. Sub-Judge	5	6	7	11	12	17	6	10	6	7
	× S. C. Sub-Judge	89	146	465	442	554	5·8	408	438	146	150
	Small Cause Court Judge...	15	28	594	457	609	485	581	464	28	21
3	The Munsiff of Kundgol as:—										
	F. C. Sub-Judge	4	2	2	10	6	12	4	3	2	9
	S. C. Sub-Judge	18	30	202	195	220	225	190	170	30	55
	Small Cause Court Judge...	1	...	16	8	17	8	17	7	...	1
4	The Munsiff of Vathar...	2	1	8	6	10	7	9	5	1	2
5	The Munsiff of Patkhal...	...	1	8	8	8	9	7	9	1	...
	Total...	134	214	1302	1138	1436	1352	1222	1106	214	246

X.

STATE.

and disposed of during 1929—30.

Value	Suits filed in 1929—1930								Suits disposed of 1929—1930				Average Duration			Remarks	
	Nature			Value					Ex-parte	Admitted and compromised	Struck off the file	Otherwise disposed of	Value				
	Suits regarding lands and houses	Suits for money transactions	Suits for other rights	No. of Suits under Rs. 100	No. of Suits above Rs. 100 and under Rs. 500	No. of Suits above Rs. 500 and under Rs. 1000	No. of Suits above Rs. 1000 and under Rs. 5000	No. of Suits above Rs. 5000					Years	Months	Days		
Rs. ...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. ...	...	...	...
} 441909	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	1	3	...	6	} 248887	...	3	3	
	109	289	44	95	223	74	50	...	127	115	3	193					
	...	457	...	300	157	...	...	...	189	235	...	40					
} 125966	5	4	1	...	...	...	2	8	...	...	1	2	} 60416	...	2	20	
	24	156	15	35	123	25	12	...	37	78	3	52					
	...	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	1					
948	3	3	6	2	1	...	2	601	26	
...	...	8	...	5	3	...	7	...	1	1	2507	...	6	...	
568823	152	926	60	443	509	100	67	19	363	438	8	297	312411	1	...	19	

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APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Results of Applications for

Number	Tribunal	Opening balance		Value of opening balance for the present year	Applications brought to the register			Total	
		Past year	Present year		Past year	Present year	Value for the Present year	Past year	Present year
1	The District Judge Court Jamkhandi..	...	...	Rs. ...	...	...	Rs. ...	1	...
2	The Nyayadhish Court Jamkhandi.	280	366	4,07,377	1232	1095	2,81,668	1512	1461
3	The Munsiff Court Kundgol	41	51	33,163	198	181	81,869	239	232
4	The Munsiff Court Wathar	1	4	1,151	6	5	713	7	9
5	The Munsiff Court Patkhal	9	1,420	17	8	1,456	17	17
	Total...	322	430	4,431,11	1453	1289	3,65,706	1775	1719

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XI. STATE.

Execution of decrees during 1929—30.

Value for the Present year	Disposed of			Closing balance			Nature of applications pending disposal at the close of the present year			Remarks
	Past year	Present year	Value for the Present year	Past year	Present year	Value of Closing balance for the Present year	Below 6 months	Below 12 months	Above 12 months	
Rs.			Rs.			Rs.				
...	
6,89,045	1146	1192	1,02,713	366	269	5,86,332	216	41	12	
1,15,032	188	173	83,416	51	59	31,616	33	18	8	
1,864	3	7	1,560	4	2	304	2	
2,876	8	12	2,270	9	5	606	3	2	...	
8,08,817	1345	1384	1,89,959	430	335	6,18,858	254	61	20	

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APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Number and results of

No.	Name of Court	Opening Balance		Filed during		Total		Disposed of during		Closing balance		Value of
		1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	
1	The Huzur or the Chief's Court and High Court Bench	26	35	30	14	56	49	21	26	35	23	Rs. 87,860
2	District Judge of Jamkhandi ...	26	15	47	65	73	70	58	46	15	24	15,479
Total...		52	50	77	69	129	119	79	71	50	47	1,03,339

XII.

STATE.

appeals in Civil suits during 1929-30.

appeals	How disposed of										Average duration						Remarks	
	Decisions confirmed		Decisions reversed		Decisions amended		Cases remanded for trial		Compromised or otherwise disposed of		1928-29			1929-30				
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	Years	Days	Months	Years	Days	Months		
Rs.																		
86,664	19	20	...	2	1	4	1	2	14	...	9	17		
19,212	21	32	14	4	...	3	7	7	16	5	14	...	5	11		
1,05,876	40	52	14	6	1	7	8	7	16	7	28	1	2	28		

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APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the number of persons confined in the Jails

Station	No. of Prisons	Number Of Prisoners			
		Remaining from the last year	Admitted during the year	Total	
				Past year	Present year
The Central Jail, Jamkhandi	1	42	148	148	190
Kundgol Sub-Jail ...	1	3	3	3	6
Lock-up at Vathar ...	1	...	9	...	9
Do. Mudhavi... ..	1	...	...	...	...
Total...	4	45	160	151	205

XIII.**STATE.***and Lock-ups during 1929—30.*

Daily average in Jail		No. of prisoners remaining at the end of the year	Total cost of Jail and prisoners	Average period of accused under trial	Remarks showing mortality among convicts in Jails
Past year	Present year				
40.3	48.2	44	Rs. } 5806	40	× 3 were let on bail & 6 were sent to F. C. mag. for trial.
.008	.01	...		31	
...	.16	...		× ...	
...	
20.15	16.12	44	5806	71	

R. K. Bal.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Registration of Documents

Number	Sub-Registry Office	Documents presented for registration		Nature of Documents registered							
		Past year	Present year	Mortgage deeds		Sale deeds		Wills		Money bonds	
				Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	2	3		4		5		6		7	
1	The Jamkhandi Taluka Sub-Registry	2407	2907	1170	1170	634	790	16	23	...	...
2	The Kundgol Taluka Sub-Registry .. .	656	636	312	267	127	144	2	1	...	1
3	The Thana Vathar Sub-Registry ...	82	103	44	61	14	25	...	1	...	...
4	The Thana Patkhal Sub-Registry .. .	16	35	2	2	12	22	...	...	...	...
	Total...	3161	3681	1528	1500	787	981	18	25	...	1

XIV. STATE.

During 1929-30.

Miscellaneous		Total Documents registered		Value of Documents registered		Documents refused to be registered		Documents remaining unregistered pending inquiry at the close of the year		Remarks
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	
8		9		10		11		12		13
				Rs.	Rs.					
587	922	2405	2905	12,44,266	15,74,558	4	...	1	2	
215	222	648	635	5,36,374	5,26,421	7	...	1	1	
24	15	82	102	35,247	41,759	...	...	...	1	
2	11	16	35	8,980	15,800	...	...	...	...
828	1170	3151	3677	18,24,867	21,58,538	11	...	2	4	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the receipts and expenditure

Description	Past year		
	Number of deeds	Value of property	Fees realized
		Rs.	Rs.
Mortgage deeds	1,528	8,65,954	4,948
Sale deeds	787	5,99,928	2,714
Wills	18	...	52
Money bonds ... ..	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	828	3,58,985	2,261
Total...	3,161	18,24,867	9,975
Deduct Expenditure...	...	...	2,098
Net profit...	...	...	7,877

XV.
STATE.

on account of Registration during 1929—30.

Present year			Remarks
Number of deeds	Value of property	Fees realized	
	Rs.	Rs.	
1500	917889	4863	
981	704143	3283	
25	...	72	
1	1700	7	
1170	534806	3271	
3677	2158538	11496	
...	...	1908	
...	...	9588	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Receipts and Expenditure of

No.	Name	Opening balance on the 1st April 1928	Receipts during the year	
			Past year	Present year
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Jamkhandi.....	4,988	24,998	30,696
2	Hunnur... ..	511	1,377	1,202
3	Banhatti... ..	3,546	6,199	7,283
4	Kurdgol... ..	1,288	6,656	7,999
5	Saunshi... ..	1,351	4,579	3,218
6	Kamdoli... ..	41	3,136	2,836
	Total...	11,725	46,945	53,234

XVI.
STATE.

the Municipalities during 1929-30.

Total in current year	Expenditure during the year		Balance on 31st March 1929	Remarks
	Past year	Present year		
Rs. 35,684	Rs. 23,238	Rs. 23,499	Rs. 12,185	
1,713	1,612	1,444	269	
10,829	4,553	7,277	3,552	
9,287	6,460	7,178	2,109	
4,569	4,006	4,336	233	
2,877	3,510	2,706	171	
64,959	43,379	46,440	18,519	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of

No.	Taluka Head-quarter Station	1929	1929	1929	1929	1929	1929
		April	May	June	July	August	September
		I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.
1	Jamkhandi	1-80	0-45	1-73	1-20	0-80	4-15
2	Kundgol	2-61	3-96	1-74	2-61	1-13	3-98

XVII.

STATE.

Rain-fall during 1929-30.

October 1929	November 1929	December 1929	January 1930	February 1930	March 1930	Total	Total of past year	Average of past 5 years	Remarks
I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	
11-42	0-60	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	22-15	19-35	18.09	
5-14	2-9	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	23-26	25-60	22.42	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of prices of

Taluka	Article	During March (past year)		
		Seers	Tolas	Per rupee
Jamkhandi...	{ Jowari... ..	11	...	1
	{ Bajri... ..	9	...	1
Kundgol...	{ Jowari... ..	12	...	1
	{ Bajri... ..	...	...	...

XVIII.

STATE.

Staple food-grains during 1929-30.

During March (present year)			Remarks
Seers	Tolas	Per rupee	
11	40	1	
9	40	1	
11	...	1	
...	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Expenditure on Public

Description of works	State Funds	
	Original	Repairs
I. Buildings-	Rs.	Rs.
(1) State Buildings	28319	3859
(2) Offices	4209	1373
(3) Dharamashalas & Temples.	...	781
(4) Schools ... ..	...	436
(5) Chawadis ... ..	...	...
(6) Others	12179	2878
Total...	44707	9327
II. Roads and Road-side trees...	...	3569
III. Water-supply ... ..	...	54
IV. Establishment	16207	...
Grand Total...	60914	12950

XIX.

STATE.

Works during 1929-30.

Total	Local Funds			Total
	Original	Repairs	Total	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
32178	...	421	421	32599
5582	...	354	354	5936
781	...	790	790	1571
436	4680	3006	7686	8122
...	...	1826	1826	1826
15057	...	...	...	15057
54034	4680	6397	11077	65111
3569	...	8758	8758	12327
54	...	1742	1742	1796
16207	2118	...	2118	18325
73864	6798	16897	23695	97559

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Agricultural Stock

Name of State	Year	Horses and				
		Bullocks	Cows	Buffaloes		Horses
				Male	Female	
Jamkhandi.....	1928-29	12,578	6,434	496	3,982	252
	1929-30	12,412	5,822	456	9,035	393

XX.
STATE.

During 1929-30.

Cattle				Ploughs		Carts		Remarks
Mares	Colts and fillies	Asses	Sheep and goats	With two bullocks	With four bullocks	Riding	Load carrying	
591	72	438	77,133	392	573	342	3,654	
521	31	403	21,952	4,097	708	397	3,031	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Excise-shops and Excise-Revenue

Name of Taluka	Country spirit		Opium		Ganja	
	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue
Talukas.						
Jamkhandi.. ...	10	Rs. 75,000	3	1252	7	Rs. 14,120
Kundgol	7		1	50	7	
Thanas.						
Vathar ... ..	...	Rs.	2	3525	1	Rs.
Patkhal ... ..	...		2	2410	...	
Total...	17	75,000	8	7237	15	14,120

XXI. STATE.

during 1929-30.

Toddy		Total		Remarks
No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	
			* 75,000	* Includes Spirit and Toddy.
			14,120	
6	...	26	1252	
2	...	17	50	
...	...	3	3525	
...	...	2	2410	
8	...	48	96357	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing receipts and disbursements

INCOME.

No.	Receipts	1928—29	1929—30	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
	Opening Balance.	68458	61352	...	7106	
A	Land Revenue ...	558633	241697	...	316936	
B	Forest Do ...	5584	8141	2557	...	
C	Agriculture ...	...	...	...	...
D	Excise Do ...	130455	83387	...	47068	
E	Stamp Do ...	70748	59051	...	11697	
F	Law & Justice...	5110	10099	4989	...	
G	Miscellaneous					
	1 Registration ...	10355	9096		1259	
	2 Interest. ...	78915	29204	...	49711	
	3 Refunds. ...	574	229	...	345	
	4 Local Funds ...	51375	19458	...	31917	
	5 Others.	77219	31293	...	45926	
	Total G...	218438	89280	...	129158	
	Total of A to G...	988968	491655	7546	504869	

XXII.

STATE.

during the year ending 5th June 1930.

EXPENDITURE.

No.	Disbursements	1928—29	1929—30	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
A	Tribute. ...	20840	20840	...	...
B	Refunds. ...	159	2372	2213	...	
C	Administration— charges					
	1 Revenue esta— blishment. ...	87488	62505	...	24983	
	2 Police. ...	95360	67936	...	27424	
	3 Jail.....	5502	5806	304	...	
	4 Law charges ...	17695	15823	...	1872	
	5 Forest + ...	...	...	...	...
	6 Agriculture ..	1532	...	...	1532	
	7 Others ...	13496	11762	...	1734	
	Total C ...	221073	163832	304	57545	
D	Public Instruction....	87464	77925	...	9539	
E	Dispensary charges...	20842	19570	...	1272	
F	Domestic charges ...					
	1 Khasgi. ...	151544	118593	...	37951	
	2 Paga ...	12124	12000	...	124	
	Total F ...	163668	125593	...	38075	
G	Religious charges....	74830	46945	...	27885	
H	Public works. ...	432018	153008	...	279010	
I	Mech. Engr. Dept.	7950	5831	...	2119	
J	Stamp. ...	2312	1838	...	474	
K	Pensions. ...	51752	42624	...	9128	
L	Miscellaneous.					
	1 Registration.	2102	1804	...	298	
	2 Others ...	254932	72913	...	182019	
	Total L ...	257034	74717	...	182317	
	Total of A to L ...	1339942	735095	2517	607364	

*The unexpended department having been
abolished there is no expenditure*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing receipts and disbursements

INCOME.

No.	Receipts	1928—29	1929—30	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
H	Debts.					
	1 Deposits. ...	313062	150675	...	162387	
	2 Advances. ...	399628	140237	...	259391	
	3 Loans.... ...	1241520	390825	...	850695	
	Total H...	1954210	681737	...	1272473	
	Total Income.	2943178	1173392	7546	1777332	
	Grand Total...	3011636	1234744	7546	1784438	

XXII.

STATE.

during the year ending 5th June 1930.

EXPENDITURE.

No.	Disbursements	1928—29	1929—30	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
M	Debts.					
	1 Deposits ...	240833	167616	...	73217	
	2 Advances ...	349694	128182	...	221512	
	3 Loans ...	1019815	152076	...	867739	
	Total M ...	1610342	447874	...	1162468	
	Total Expenditure...	2950284	1182469	2517	1769832	
	Closing Balance ...	61352	51775 52275	...	9577	
	Grand Total ...	3011636	1234744	2517	1779409	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of Medical

Dispensary	No. of patients treated	
	Out-door	In-door
Prince of Wales Hospital, Jamkhandi ...	16,275	52
Savalgi Dispensary	4,332	...
Banhatti Dispensary	8,161	...
Kundgol Dispensary	6,537	...
The State Charitable Veterinary Dispensary ...	750	...
Total. ...	36,055	52

XXIII.

STATE.

Relief afforded during 1929—30.

Results of patients In-door				Expenditure	Daily average	Remarks
Discharged	Absented	Died	Remaining under treatment			
45	1	3	3	Rs.	219.58	The prevailing diseases were Malarial fever, Influenza, Bowel, Complaints, Respiratory System, Rheumatic fevers, Eye, Ear & skin diseases during the year under report.
...	...	...	...		35.1
...	...	...	...	19,570	53
...	...	...	...		65.49
...	...	...	...		13
45	1	3	3		...	

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Vital Statistics

Name	Population according to census of 1921	Births		Increase	Decrease	Deaths
		Past Year	Present Year			Past Year
Jamkhandi State ...	1,01,195	4117	3982	...	135	2699

XXIV.

STATE.

during 1929—30.

Present Year	Increase	Decrease	Ratio Per 1000 of Population				Remarks
			Births		Deaths		
			Past Year	Present Year	Past Year	Present Year	
3586	887	...	40.6	39.3	26.7	35.4	

R. K. Bal.*State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.*

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Particulars as to the schools

Number of Schools		Description of Schools
Past year	Present year	
1	1	Parashuram Bhau High School, Jamkhandi ...
1	1	Harbhat High School, Kundgol ...
2	2	First Grade Anglo-Vernacular School, Banhatti } & Second Grade Girls' A. V. School, Jamkhandi }
1	1	Sanskrit Path shala, Kundgol
63	63	Vernacular Schools (Boys') } Marathi 12 Kanarese 49 Urdu 1 Depressed classes } 1 School } <hr/> 63
		Girls' Schools
4	4	Marathi 2 Kanarese 2 <hr/> 4
72	72	4
		Total.....

XXV.

STATE.

maintained during 1929—30.

No. of pupils on rolls on 31 st March		Daily average attend ance		Expenditure	Remarks
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year		
521	525	467	470	Rs 77,925	
185	175	154	151		
152	119	128	110		
8	10	4	10		
4,699	4,468	3,624	4,236		
531	543	439	424		
6,096	5,840	4,816	5,401		

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A				B		C
		Date on which the estate came under State management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of		
						Person	Property	
1	Limhana Basalingapa Jirli of Jamkhandi.	14-8-1914	22	1929	No. 596 14-8-14	Virupaxapa Shivlingapa Jirli.	Manager of Wards' Estates	Good
2	Bhimapa bin Laxmana Nyamgouda of Kunchnur.	29-1-1919	10	1943	No. 2373 29-1-19	Father Venkapa Nyamgouda	"	"
3	Allapa Dhodtamapa Kalyanshetti of Jamkhandi.	11-11-16	22	1929	No. 443 9-11-16	Grand mother Gangava kom Gurapadapa Kalyani.	"	"
4	Shidaraya Malakapa Telsang of Jamkhandi.	1918	21	1930	No. 1445 1328 Fasli	Allapa Kadalepa Mudhol.	"	"
5	Nilawa and Parvateva father's name Shivarudrapa Halbhavi of Jamkhandi.	20-4-17	19 17	1931 1933	No. 1227 20-4-17	Ramapa bin Siddapa Chimmad	"	"
6	Sonu, Subhadra and Tunga father's name Vishnu Sadashiva Joshi all of Jamkhandi.	8-12-17	22 20 18	1929 1931 1933	No. 590 8-12-17	Maternal uncle Narayan Ambaji Nivargi	"	"
7	* Keshavrao Khanderao Raste of Jamkhandi.	1-8-20	...	...	No. 308 8-1-20	...	...	...

A.

STATE.

during the year 1929-30.

How far edu- cated	Where educated	D								Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate						Value of pro- perty		
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
..	...	9758	3262	13020	1313	11707	...	27400		
...	...	2653	939	3592	694	2898	2400†	2400	† In Govt. Prom- issory Notes.	
Eng. 6th std.	Jam- khandi	11122	2794	13916	1301	12615	10000‡	8500	‡ In Govt. Promissory Notes, the minor has attained Majority but estate has been kept under the management by his admission.	
...	...	680	94	774	699	75	1000	2000	Released from manage- ment during the year.	
...	...	1370	447	1817	703	1114	...	2800		
...	...	2357	610	2967	330	2637	...	5000	Please vide note at the end.	
...	...	30614	9934	40548	11650	28898	...	100000	* This man being unable to manage his estate it is taken under State manage- ment.	

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A				B		C State of health
		Date on which the state came under state management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of		
						Person	Property	
8	(1) Sangapa (2) Gurapa Gurusangapa Madgouda of Kavatgi.	4-12-19	23 20	1928 1931	No. 1594 4-12-19	Nilgangava Kom Rayapa Gavaroji of Kavatgi.	Manager of Wards' Estates	Good
9	Satyapa Rangapa Lendi of Hosur.	22-4-21	21	1930	No. 2934 22-4-21	Ramapa Tipana Amalzari	" "	" "
10	Basaprabhu Basapa Murabatti of Hulugbali.	7-10-21	17	1934	No. 723 7-10-21	Malapa Sidapa Magdum	" "	" "
11	(1) Rachapa (2) Gandapa Basgouda Awaknawar of Shegunshi.	17-1-22	14 12	1937 1939	No. 1214 17-1-22	Grand mother Nilava Goudapa Awaknawar	" "	" "
12	Baldixit Yadneshwar-dixit Honwad of Jamkhandi.	6-8-27	16	1935	No. 662 6-8-27	Grand mother Gojarabai Joshi	" "	" "
13	(1) Ramchandrao (2) Vasantrao (3) Krishnarao Nilkanthrao Chinchnikar. Patwardhan of Jamkhandi.	3-10-27	8 4 3	1943 1947 1948	No. 1100 3-10-27	Mother Shalinibai	" "	" "
14	(1) Shridhar (2) Vasant Vaman Pote of Jamkhandi.	5-6-28	15 13	1936 1938	No. 2797 5-6-28	Maternaluncle Krishnaji Vasudev Ghorpade.	" "	" "

A.

STATE.

during the year 1929-30.

How far edu- cated	Where educated	D								Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate						Value of pro- perty		
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
...	...	4399	2373	6772	1103	5669	2500*	10000	* In Govt. Pro- missory Notes kept under State manage- ment until Gurapa, attains majority.	
...	...	10391	849	11240	10810	430	253†	8700		
...	...	2256	1155	3411	1446	1965	...	16400		† Released from the management during the year, please vide note at the end.
...	...	19	1167	1186	553	633	73	3600		
English 5th St- andard	Jam- khandi	349	292	641	289	352	930	1000		
Marathi 3rd St- andard Nil Nil	"	2051	8154	10205	7000	3205	...	64700		
English 5th ,, 4th Std.	Jamkh andi.	75	735	810	380	430	...	11000		

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

		A				B		C
		the nder ment	ir's	h ma- be	r tar- ment	Guardian of		alth
15	Pandurang Abaji Devadhar of Jamkhandi.	20-12-29	12	1939	No. 804 20-12-29	Ramchandra Narayan Phadake	Manager Court of Wards	Good
16	Damodhar Appaji Pote of Jamkhandi.	11-1-30	14	1937	No. 897 11-1-30	Mother Anpurnabai	"	"
17	Rangangauda Kenchan- gauda Nadgir of Kundgol.	7-4-28	71	...	E.No.70 7-4-28	...	"	"
18	Laxmangauda Devan- gauda Patil of Kund- gol.	28 3-16	26	...	No. 431 28-3-16	Mother Bha- girathibai	"	"
19	Lingaya bin Basvaneya Kaddever Matha Yeliwal.	8-12-24	16	1935	No. 397 8-12-24	Grand father Kaddever Matha.	"	"
20	Godasani Jamanasani Kalavant of Kundgol.	20-7-25	11	1938	No. 264 20-7-25	Manager Court of Wards	"	"
21	Narayan Gurunath Balannavar of Kundgol.	16-8-26	16	1935	No. 715 16-8-26	Adoptive mother Savitribai	"	"
14	(1) Shridhar (2) Va- sant Vaman Pote of Jamkhandi.	5-6-28	15 13	1936 1938	No.2797 5-6-28	Maternaluncle Krishnaji Va- sudev Ghor- pade.	"	"

A.

STATE.

during the year 1929-30.

How far edu- cated	Where educated	D							Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
							Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
Eng. 4th std.	Miraj	...	...	...	...	...	...	10000	§ This estate has been taken under the management of the Court of Wards du- ring the year.
Eng. 3rd std.	Jam- khandi	...	13519	13519	843	12676	...	100000		‡ Do.
...	...	37097	70864	107961	36914	71047	...	1800000	
...	...	90	2942	3032	2752	280	...	55000	Unwilling to take estate under ma- nagement owing to family disputes.
Kana- rese 6th std.	Hubli	1398	606	2004	744	1260	...	10000	
Verna- cular 4th std	„	23	911	934	878	56	...	10000	
Eng. 3rd std.	Jam- khandi	1799	5504	7303	6908	395	...	50000,	

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	A					B		C
	Which the estate is under management	Minor's day	which ma- jority should be	Year	Year	Guardian of	of health	
15	Pandurang Abaji Devadhar of Jamkhandi.	20-12-29	12	1939	No. 804	Ramchandra Narayan	Manager Court of	G
22	Yirapax Suro Kul- karni of Kundgol	22-6-29	11	1939	No. 47 22-6-29	Atyabai Gangabai Desai	Managar Court of Wards	Good
23	Basaya Knakapa Tuba- kad of Kundgol	9-10-29	...	...	No. 509 9-10-29	"	"	"

Note about S. No. 9 Lendi.

It seems that the age of the minor was wrongly stated at the time when the estate was taken under State management recently at the time of handing over the estate to the said ward the age of the minor was verified from the extract of birth register and after satisfying ourselves that the minor has completed his 21 years the estate is handed over to him.

Note about S. No. 6 Sonu & two others.

The estate of the three minors (sisters) was taken jointly under State management of the three sisters Subhadra and Tunga have not completed their 21 years besides the elder sister Sonu, having completed her 21 years has not demanded her estate hence the estate of the three sisters together is still under State management.

A.

STATE.

during the year 1929-30.

How far edu- cated	Where educated	D							Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Movca- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able	Rs.	Rs.	
Eng. 1st std.	Kund.	...	461	461	300	161	...	30000	‡ This estate has been taken under the State management during the year.
...	...	960	1295	2255	1102	1153	...	20000	§ This man being unable to manage his estate it is taken under State management.

R. K. Bal.

State Karbhari, Jamkhandi.

No. 683 OF 1931.
DIWAN'S OFFICE.
JAMKHANDI, 16TH JUNE 1931.

From,

R. K. Bal. B. A., LL. B.,

Diwan, Jamkhandi State,

Jamkhandi.

To,

Shrimant

*Shankarrao Parashuramrao
alias Appasahel Patwardhan,*

Chief of Jamkhandi,

Jamkhandi.

Respected Sir,

*I beg to submit the State Administration
Report for the Fasli year 1340 ending 5th
June 1931.*

The relevant details and statistics are embodied in the accompanying Appendices.

The seasonal conditions of the year were not favourable and the prevalent trade depression has had its economic effect upon our agriculturists. Your assurance of a sympathetic attitude in the matter of the collection of assessment given to the people in the recent Durbar, held to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of your installation on the Gadi and the sympathy expressed by you have been a source of satisfaction to the ryots.

You were pleased to order the sinking of bore-wells for the town of Kundgol and the work will soon be taken up. This generous act of yours should go a great way in allaying the misery of water-scarcity in that town.

The relations between the different communities continued to be cordial.

The traditional loyalty of the people to your

person and the State continues.

I beg to offer you my warmest congratulations on your election to the Chamber of Princes for the second time in succession.

In submitting this report I also deem it my pleasant duty to give expression to my deep sense of gratitude to you for the kindly help and advice extended to me from time to time in all matters of administration.

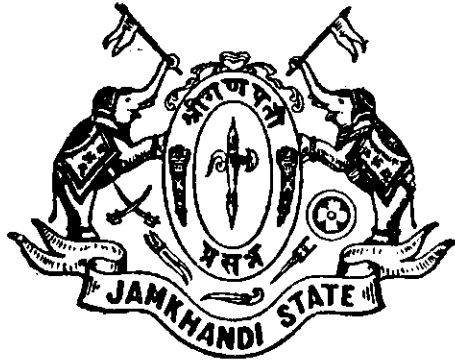
I beg to remain,

Respected Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RK Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi State.



ADMINISTRATION REPORT

OF

THE

JAMKHANDI STATE

FOR

THE FASLI YEAR

1340



1930-31

ADMINISTRATION REPORT

OF

THE JAMKHANDI STATE

FOR

THE FASLI YEAR

1340

(ENDING 5TH JUNE 1931).



CHAPTER I.

GENERAL AND POLITICAL.

Historical. Jamkhandi represents the senior branch of the Tasgaon Jahagir of the Patwardhan Family and the share of Ramchandrarao Appasaheb, the eldest of Parshuram Bhau's sons. The founder of the ruling Patwardhan families was a Kokanastha Brahmin named Harbhat of the village of Kotawada, in the Ratnagiri District. Harbhat

migrated to Maharashtra, it is said, under divine inspiration to seek his fortune. He accepted the family priesthood of the Chief of Ichalkaranji and with the marriage of the Chief's son with the daughter of the first Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath, his son Ramchandrarao rose to prominence as a Commandant of Horse under the Peshwa's brother, Chimaji Appa.

Ramchandrarao had an only son, Parshuram Bhau who distinguished himself as a great soldier when only in his teens. His services to the Peshwas and later to the British fill one of the brightest chapters in the History of India, in the 18th century. Parshuram ' Bhow ' received the Tasgaon Jahagir as a Saranjam grant from the Peshwa in 1763-64 and to this were added fresh grants in 1772 in recognition of signal military services. He reached the pinnacle of martial glory in the wars with the Nizam, when as the Commandar-in-Chief of the combined Maratha Forces of Scindia, Holkar and other Maratha Sardars, he led his side to a decisive victory in the battle of Kurdla in 1795. He also rendered signal services to the British Forces under Captain Little in the wars with Tippu Sultan and in the words of Lieutenant Edward Moer, under his brilliant leadership, the Mahrattas, " in the then state of the British Army proved to be the most important friends that fortune ever sent to their relief, since they took the field in Hindoostan." The traditional spirit of ' respect ' and ' almost personal attachment ' ' to the British nation ' established by Parshuram ' Bhow ' showed itself again in the prompt and spontaneous offer of personal services by his namesake and worthy descendant the late Captain Sir Parshuram Bhau K. C. I. E., in the recent World War. He actually went to the western front with an ambulance and later served on the Red Cross Commission in Mesopotamia. The present Ruler, his son, is the sixth in descent from the great General Parshuram ' Bhow ' of the ' Duke of Wellington's Dispatches. '

2. The State consists of three towns, Jamkhandi, Kundgol and Banhatti, 77 villages and 11 hamlets. They are divided for administrative purposes into two talukas, Jamkhandi and Kundgol, and three thanas Wathar, Patkhal and Dhavalpuri.

Situation, Division and Physical Aspects.

The Jamkhandi taluka consisting of 59 villages and 7 hamlets is situate to the east of Belgaum District. The river Krishna flows through this taluka from the west to the east. Quite a number of villages are situate in the fertile Krishna valley producing Cotton, Wheat and Jawar. The climate on the whole is salubrious, though rather hot from the middle of March to the end of May, the temperature sometimes reaching 110 to 112 degrees Fahr. The average rainfall is 18 inches.

The Kundgol taluka is in the midst of Dharwar District and is close to Hubli. This taluka consists of 16 villages and 4 hamlets. The soil is rich and produces a fine variety of ' Kumta ' cotton in abundance. The climate is milder than that of Jamkhandi taluka and the temperature never goes beyond 104 degrees Fahr. The average rainfall is 22 inches.

Jamkhandi, the Capital town of the State, is situate at a distance of 34 miles from Kudchi, the nearest Station on the M. & S. M. Railway. There is a metalled road and motor services ply regularly between Kudchi and Jamkhandi.

Jamkhandi enjoys almost all the amenities of a modern town—good roads, a Municipality, a Charitable Dispensary, a full-fledged High School with magnificent premises and a popular public Reading Room and Library. The present Chiefsahab has also been pleased to add to these a perennial source of pure and plentiful supply of water by successfully completing the Krishna Water Supply Scheme at a cost of about six lakhs of rupees and thus removing once for all the fear of water scarcity.

The residence of the Chiefsahab and his family is at Ramtirth, a hill about one and a half miles from the town. Ramtirth is studded with fine buildings and temples and presents an attractive sight. It has also a magnificent library, belonging to the Chiefsahab, containing some rare manuscripts.

3. The total area of the State is 524 square miles.

Area.

4. The population of the State as per the last Census of 1931 is 1,14,282 and means an increase of about 13 thousand over the figures of 1921.

Population.

5. The gross revenue based on the average of the last five years is Rs. 9,92,518.

Revenue.

6. The tribute payable annually to the British Government is Rs. 20,516 and this was paid as usual in the month of March.

Tribute.

7. The Chiefsahab Shrimant Shankarrao Parshuramrao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan is a Konknanastha Brahmin. He is a First Class Sardar of the Deccan and a Treaty Chief. He has the honour of being an Honorary A. D. C. to his Excellency the Governor of Bombay. He is 25 years of age. He has a son named Shrimat Parshuramrao Bhausahab, who is now in his seventh year and a daughter named Shrimant Indira Raje alias Taisahab, who is in her sixth year. Both of them have commenced their primary education under an experienced teacher. The Chief, his noble consort Shrimant Soubhagyavati Lilavatibai the Ranisahab and all the other members of the Chief's family enjoyed excellent health during the year.

Ruling Chief and his family.

8. During his visit to Delhi, in March, the Chiefsahab attended the session of the Princes' Chamber. He has been elected for the second time in succession as the Representative Member by the Rulers of Miraj Senior, Miraj Junior, Kurundvad Senior, Ramdurg, Savnur and Sandur, a fact showing the well-deserved confidence of his brother Rulers in him and in his earnest and conscientious efforts in the interests of his group in the Chamber.

9. The Chiefsahab twice visited Mudhol to inquire about the health of the Yuvaraja, and again in January to offer the Raja-sahab heart-felt condolences at the sad bereavement caused by his untimely demise.

He had also the pleasure of meeting in March the Chiefs of Miraj Senior, Miraj Junior and Sangli at their capitals.

He had also the pleasure of interviews with the Political Agent, in Kolhapur and with Mr. Turner, the Political Secretary to the Bombay Government, in Bombay and Poona.

The Chiefsahab had also the pleasure of three interviews, during the year, with His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in Poona, Bombay and Mahableshwar.

He had the pleasure of receiving His Highness the Chief of Sangli and the Chiefs of Miraj Senior, Ramdurg, Bhor, Phaltan and Jath in his 'Red Castle' and of returning their visits at their residences, in Mahableshwar.

In March, the Chiefsahab had the privilege of an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in the Viceregal Lodge, in New Delhi. He and the Chief of Phaltan also led a Deputation and waited on His Excellency the Viceroy together with the Chiefs of Miraj Senior, Ramdurg

and Jath in connection with their Joint Memorial regarding admission to the Chamber of Princes.

While in Delhi, he had also the pleasure of interviews with Sir Charles Watson, Political Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Metcalfe, the Deputy Political Secretary, Mr. Cunningham, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, Colonel Harvey, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir James Crerar, Home Member to the Government of India and Sir John Thomson, Commissioner of Delhi.

The Chiefsahab was also present in Bombay to welcome His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy and Governor General of India on his arrival and to give a hearty send-off to His Excellency Lord Irwin on the eve of his departure.

10. The Chiefsahab of Bavada and the Yuvarajasaheb of Miraj Junior visited Jamkhandi in December and were the guests of the Chiefsahab. The Chief of Ramdurg also paid a flying visit to Jamkhandi in January.

Distinguished Visitors to
Jamkhandi.

11. C. W. A. Turner Esqr. C. I. E., I. C. S., the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay visited Jamkhandi in the month of October 1930. It was the first visit of a Political Secretary to this State. Referring to his visit to the State Mr. Turner said " Judging from the warm welcome which I have received here from the Chiefsahab and the many interesting activities of the State administration which I have been able to witness during my visit I can only say that I think my predecessors missed their opportunities of obtaining a very pleasant and instructive interlude from the weary hours of office work which fall to the lot of all Secretaries to Government."

Political Secretary's
visit to Jamkhandi.

During his brief stay in Jamkhandi he readily acceded to the request of the Chiefsahab to kindly open the Krishna Water Works. In requesting Mr. Turner to release the water the Chiefsahab pointed out how the previous incessant efforts of his forefathers in building tanks had proved of no avail as the supply depended upon the uncertain monsoons and how it was his proud privilege, following in the foot-steps of his illustrious father, to put through the Krishna Water Supply Scheme "conceived, delivered and fostered under the active and benevolent guidance" of Colonel Lang, the Political Agent and for some time in charge of the administration of the State after the demise of the late Chief. In complimenting Mr. Maddocks on the successful completion of the project the Chiefsahab referred to the Water Works as a "triumph of modern engineering in its attempts to alleviate the misery and add to the happiness of mankind." In releasing the water Mr. Turner congratulated the Chiefsahab on the successful completion of such a benevolent project, blessed in 1927 by His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson who had then graciously laid the Corner Stone of the reservoir on the hill, and referred to it as a happy augury of the continued self-sacrificing efforts of the Chiefsahab in the future for the welfare of his subjects.

12. In order to afford facilities to the people to get authoritative information and thus extend
Director of Information, to them the benefit of gathering useful knowledge of the working of the machinery of internal administration, the Chiefsahab has been pleased to appoint a Director of Information. He is authorised to attend to inquiries and afford such information as may be in the interests of the public to know or acquire.

13. The decennial Census was taken on the 26th of February 1931. The Census operations were successfully conducted with the aid of State officials and the records
Census.

show an increase of about 13 thousand over the population of the State in 1921.

14. A survey of the Jamkhandi town was commenced during the year and is awaiting completion. The Mamlatdar of Jamkhandi has been appointed Inquiry Officer to settle survey disputes. The charges incurred during the year on this account were Rs. 3000.

City Survey.

15. The Record of Rights has been introduced in the State. The forms used are those in force in British India. Maxwell's system newly started in the Bombay Presidency has also been introduced.

The Record of Rights.

16. There was a dispute over the limits of land lying on the borders of the village, Pur in Kundgol Taluka of this State and the adjoining village of Shirewad in Dharwar District. Survey work in this connection was undertaken jointly by the British and the State Surveyors and the dispute was amicably settled.

Boundary Dispute.

17. The birth day of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor was observed as a public holiday throughout the State on the 3rd of June 1931. All schools and offices were closed in honour of that day.

Emperor's Birthday.

18. Two minutes silence was observed throughout the State at 11 A. M. on the 11th of November 1930 to commemorate the Armistice Day in accordance with the wishes of His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor.

Armistice Day.

19. Three important Durbars were held during the year.

State Durbars and
Cattle Show.

One was in honour of the Chief's birthday. The second was on the Anniversary of the Chief's Installation. The people exchanged cordial greetings with the Chiefsahab and reiterated their feelings of loyalty and love for the person of the Chiefsahab and for his Gadi. The third Durbar was held in connection with the Jamkhandi Cattle Fair and the Chiefsahab gave away several valuable prizes for well-bred bulls, cows and horses. There were also other minor Durbars as usual when the people gathered to pay their respects to the Chiefsahab.

20. The Political Agent paid his official visit to Jamkhandi in the month of February

Political Agent's
Visit.

1931. He visited the Hospital and the Central jail and was pleased with their management. He also visited schools in the town and expressed satisfaction with the state of primary and secondary education.

21. The personnel of the staff of High Officials of the First Grade and the changes therein during the year are shown in Appendix I.

Officers of the State.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAND.

22. All the villages in the State except three Inam villages *viz.* Benkanhalli, Kop and Hanchinal in Kundgol Taluka are surveyed and settled. The Pot Hissa Mea-

Revision Survey &c.

surement work of Jamkhandi and Kundgol Talukas and of Wathar and Patkhal Thanas was completed during the year under report. The Revision Survey rates are not high and there are no complaints in this respect. The ryots pay them with ease.

23. The area under cultivation and waste land during the year are shown in table A at the end of this report.

Cultivated Area.

24. The land revenue dues this year were collected without much resort to coercive measures.

Revenue Collection.

There are suspensions amounting to Rs. 3,559 in Dhawalpuri, a village in Nagar District, as it lies in a precarious tract.

25. No Takavi loans were advanced to the ryots during the year. The State Bank however advanced considerable amounts to ryots on the security of lands charging

Tagai.

moderate interest at the rate of 8 to 9 per cent per annum thus indirectly serving the purpose of Takavi Loans.

26. Taluka records were sorted during the year and those due for destruction were destroyed.

Sorting & Destruction of Taluka Records.

CHAPTER III.

PROTECTION AND LEGISLATION.

27. The acts and Regulations in force in the State are shown in Appendix II.

28. The State maintains no Military force; Appendix III therefore is not given.

Military Force.

29. The strength, discipline and education of the Police are shown in Appendix IV.

Police.

30. Of the 311 foot-police 304 are armed, of whom 123 carry breech loaders, 137 muzzle loaders and 44 carry swords. The remaining 7 are unarmed. Two foot-police were dismissed on account of breach of discipline during the

Police Arms.

year. Their duties include the guarding of the town, the Palace, the Treasury and the Jail. Year before last, the Police Inspector and the two Sub-Inspectors of the State were given one revolver each for their personal safety, the three revolvers having been purchased by the State with the sanction of Government.

31. The Sowars are armed with breech loading guns, swords and lances. They assist the regular Mounted Police Police Force and on occasions are also employed on escort, patrol and other miscellaneous duties. Strict discipline was maintained in the Force.

The ratio of the police to the entire population of the State is 1 to 320 souls and to area 1 to 1.4 square miles.

32. The Police Patels and the Sanadis who form the village Police are 328 in number. In Police Patels and Sanadis. order to exact careful and efficient work from the Police Patels in the State, a set of printed instructions has been distributed to them. They are to do ordinary police work in their villages and also to assist the District Police in their duties of detection and prevention of crime.

33. The work of the Police and the Magistracy is shown in Appendices V to VII. The Working of the Police and Magistracy. cases for disposal by the Police numbered 126 with a balance of 29 at the year's commencement against 120 in the year 1929-30; of these 33 were excluded as false and 32 remained undisposed of by the Police at the end of the year; true cases numbered 90 and of these 37 remained undetected. In the detected 53 cases 160 persons were arrested. Of these 158 were sent for trial to Magistrates and of the remaining two, one awaited trial pending the completion of police investigation and one was released. Of the 158 persons sent up for trial 84 were convicted, 51 were discharged

or acquitted and 24 awaited trial by Magistrates at the end of the year. The percentage of convictions to the accused sent up for trial this year decreased from 71.2 to 62.69.

34. Direct cases taken up by the Magistrates numbered 47 of these 41 were disposed of.

Direct Cases.

In all these cases 111 persons appeared as the accused. Of these 15 were convicted and 77 acquitted or discharged and 19 were awaiting trial at the end of the year.

35. As regards non-cognizable crime there were

Non-Cognizable
Crime.

208 cases for disposal with 406 accused for trial. Of the latter, 17 are pending trial. 226 were discharged or acquitted and 163 were let off with fine only. Most of these offences were compoundable.

36. The number of accidental deaths and suicides was 45 as against 54 in the last year.

Accidental Deaths.

37. There were 40 cases of accidental fires destroying property worth Rs. 22,269 as against

Accidental Fires.

41 fires destroying property worth Rs. 2,812 of the last year.

Criminal Justice.

38. The work done by the Criminal Courts this year is given in Appendix VIII.

39. The work of the Criminal Appellate Courts is detailed in Appendix IX. The small

Criminal Appellate Work.

number of appeals may be taken to indicate that the contending parties realised that their complaints and grievances received due consideration at the hands of the Courts of First Instance.

40. In all 6 accused persons were surrendered to this State for trial under the Extradition Act, 3 by the British Government and the rest by Sangli, Kurundwad Senior and Miraj Senior States. Their trial resulted in conviction with the exception of one accused surrendered by the Kurundwad Senior State, who was acquitted. This State surrendered two persons to the British Government for trial.

Extradition.

Civil Justice.

41. Appendix X gives details of the suits that were filed and disposed of by the several Courts of Original Civil Jurisdiction.

Original Work.

42. Appendix XI gives details of the results of applications for the execution of decrees in all the Civil Courts.

Execution of Decrees.

43. Appendix XII shows the disposal of the civil appeals in the year under report as compared with that of the last year.

Civil Appellate Work.

44. During the year under report 7 Vahivati and 32 Madati cases were filed in Mamlatdar's Courts including those of Vahiwatdars. All of them were disposed of before the close of the year except 2 Vahiwati and 13 Madati cases in Jamkhandi Mamlatdar's Court.

Prisons.

45. Appendix XIII gives the number of Jails and Lockups in the State. The Superintendent of the Central Jail at Jamkhandi is the Chief Medical Officer. It affords sufficient accommodation and is well ventilated. A new jail building will be constructed when funds permit. A separate ward is set apart for female convicts. The Jail was every month visited by the State Karbhari, and periodically by jail visitors. The discipline of the prisoners and their health were good. There was no casualty among them during the year.

46. According to Jail Manual 45 persons were given remission during the year under report. Two prisoners, one male and one female were released on the happy occasion of the anniversary of the Chief's installation.

Prison Remissions.

47. The total expenditure on all the Jails amounted to Rs. 7,928 as against Rs. 5,806 of the previous year.

Jail Expenditure.

The number of civil prisoners during the year under report was 23.

The dietary cost was annas two and pies nine only per head per diem in Jamkhandi Central Jail.

Rations and clothing to prisoners were given according to the scale obtaining in the Yervada Central Jail.

48. Weaving of silks and cotton (such as Sarees and Dhoties and some coarse cloth also and durries and towels) was carried on on a moderate scale, in the Central Jail.

Jail Industry.

Wards' Estates.

49. Appendix A shows the details of all estates. The health, education and general welfare of the wards were very carefully watched by the Manager of the Wards' Estates.

Registration.

50. Appendix XIV shows the work done by, and Appendix XV shows the receipts and expenditure on the Registration Department. The total number of documents presented for registration was 2,898 as against 3,681 of the previous year. Gross income and expenditure respectively amounted to Rs. 2150 as against Rs. 9096 and Rs. 1804 of the last year.

Municipal Administration.

51. Appendix XVI gives the details of income and expenditure of the 6 Municipalities in the State. Their chief sources of income are house-tax, octroi, tolls and water-tax. General conservancy, lighting, road repairs, water supply, sanitation, contribution towards education and vaccination are the chief items of expenditure. All the Municipalities enjoy the right of election; the Municipality of Jamkhandi elects its own President; the Revenue Officer is the President, and Mamlatdars in their talukas the vice-presidents of the other Municipalities. Sanitation is well looked after by all the Municipalities and their working was satisfactory.

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

52. Figures of rain-fall during the year are given in Appendix XVII. The monsoon began in June and gave sufficient rain for Kharif sowings. There was good rain also at the time of Rabi. These crops at first were at their best but the out-turn did not reach the expectations, owing to unusual bad weather. The anna valuation of cotton, wheat and Jowari was 6 in each case. Fodder and water-supply were sufficient throughout the State except in Kundgol town where there was scarcity of water for a few days. The condition of agricultural stock was on the whole fair as will be seen from the figures in Appendix XX.

Rainfall & Crops.

53. There was a great fall in the prices of food-grains as compared with those of the last year. Figures are given in Appendix XVIII.

Prices.

- 54.** Rates of wages remained the same as before, and the condition of the labouring class was good throughout the year.

Wages.

Forest and Excise.

55. Out of the total area of the State forests 6 acres and 29 gunthas were given for cultivation during the year under report. 27,192 acres and 14 gunthas including 1510 acres and 29 gunthas remained under reserved forest. The income of forest was Rs. 6497 as against Rs. 8143 of the previous year. The forest growth is very poor. No timber is available. The forests supply only fuel and serve as pasture lands. There is no forest in Kundgol Taluka.

- 56.** There were 29 offences against forest rules with 72 offenders who were fined. There were no forest fires during the year.

Forest Offences.

57. The number of excise shops in the State and the revenue realised from them is given in Appendix XXI. The right of manufacture of country spirits and hemp has been leased to the British Government for a period of ten years, in consideration of an annual provisional payment of Rs. 75000 for hemp. Opium is imported from British Government Depots at a fixed rate.

Excise Revenue.

Trade and Manufacture.

58. Jamkhandi is not an important trade centre and in the absence of a railway line connecting the Capital of the State with the outside world there are no prospects of trade increasing in near future. Sugar, jaggery, rice, salt, colours, spices, cocoanuts, timber, stationery, yarn, cloth, metals and kerosene are the principal imports, while food grains, cotton, cotton-seeds, coarse cloth, sarees, karadi oil, and oil cakes are the chief articles of export. The figures taken from the Municipal records show roughly

that the value of imports and exports amounted to Rs. 15,79,410 and Rs. 4,46,400 respectively as against Rs. 21,45,546 and Rs. 5,46,315 of the previous year.

59. Dyeing of yarn and silk and weaving of sarees, coarse cloth &c. are carried on on a considerable scale at Banhatti, Asangi and the adjoining villages of the State.

Village Industries.

The total number of hand-loom is 2630 of which 145 are for weaving Gudars (coarse cotton blankets), while the rest for the manufacture of cotton goods.

60. The State owns a ginning factory and a cotton press at Jamkhandi. The two factories had fairly sufficient work. About 319 khandies of cotton were ginned and 2533

State Ginning and Pressing Factory.

bales were pressed with the result that the State realised a net income of Rs. 11,865 as against Rs. 13,816 of the previous year.

61. Besides these two factories there are three other ginning factories at Jamkhandi and 14 in Kundgol Taluka owned by private persons. All of them had fairly

Private Gius.

sufficient work.

62. Karadi oil is exported in large quantities from Jamkhandi. It is pressed out from Kardi seeds by means of crude country

Oil Industry.

oil presses whose number is 75.

Fairs and Shows.

63. (1) Cattle Fair at Jamkhandi was held in the month of April. The number of cattle brought to the fair was 8026 as against 8187 of the previous year. 43 prizes for well-bred animals were distributed at the Durbar.

- (2) The Bramhadeva fair at Kundgol,
- (3) The Basavanna fair at Kadpatti, and
- (4) Shri Venkoba fair at Kalhalli were held respectively in the months of June, August and October.

Post Offices.

64. There are in all nine Post Offices in the State under the control and management of the British Postal Department. Of these two are combined Post and Telegraph Offices, one at Jamkhandi and the other at Ramtirth. Kundgol and Saunshi being Railway Stations have no separate Telegraph Offices. As an experimental measure, a post office has lately been opened at Shirawade, the head quarters of Wathar Thana. A State Telephone Service is maintained between Jamkhandi and Ramtirth. It has proved greatly useful in facilitating communication between the several offices and the palace.

65. ^{Mint.} There is no mint in the State.

Public Works.

66. The details of expenditure on public works from the State and Local funds are given in Appendix XIX.

67. The total expenditure on public works (Water Works excluded) was Rs. 2, 87, 969 as ^{Outlay on Public Works.} against Rs. 97, 569 of the last year. Some important State buildings and works of public utility were constructed during the year under report. Besides, the work of decorating the front of the palace and making additions and alterations to the same was in progress.

In addition to the aforesaid works, annual

repairs to various roads, schools, temples, chavadis, dharmashalas and ferries were carried out as usual.

CHAPTER V.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

68. Appendix XII gives the receipts and expenditure of the year as compared with those of the last year.

69. The total receipts amounted to Rs. 8,30,596 as against Rs. 4,91,655 of the previous year. The total expenditure comes to Rs. 12,05,001, as against Rs. 7,35,095 of the previous year.

Income & Expenditure
of the State.

70. The State Bank is working to the great satisfaction and appreciation of the State subjects. It has been availed of by needy persons as it lends money at the rate of $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, and this rate of interest is much easier than the current rate of local 'sowcars.' The amount advanced on the security of gold and lands comes to Rs. 8875 and Rs. 24850 respectively. To encourage thrift and confidence in banking, better rates of interest are now allowed on fixed deposits.

Working of the State
Bank.

CHAPTER VI.

MEDICAL RELIEF AND VITAL STATISTICS.

71. Appendix XXIII gives the details as regards the work and expenses of Medical Institutions which are four in number, at Jamkhandi, Kundgol, Savalgi and Banhatti. The number of patients who took advantage of these charitable Institutions amounted to 34772 this year as against

Medical Relief.

36107 of the last year. Qualified men have been appointed to be in charge of all the dispensaries. There are five Medical Officers, the Chief of whom is a University graduate and four others are Sub-Assistant Surgeons, one of whom is also a qualified Veterinary Doctor. Since the Fasli year 1336 the State has opened a free veterinary dispensary at Jamkhandi which is being well availed of. In all these Institutions Medical relief is given gratis.

72. The most common and prevailing diseases were Malarial fever, Influenza, Bowel complaints, complaints of the Respiratory system, Rheumatic fevers, and Eye, Ear and Skin diseases.

Common Diseases.

73. There is one Ayurvedic dispensary at Jamkhandi maintained by the Jamkhandi Municipality. It is very useful to the public.

Ayurvedic Dispensary.

74. Appendix XXIV gives the details of births and deaths as well as the ratio per thousand of population, compared with the previous year. There was an increase in births and decrease in deaths. Small-pox prevailed on a large scale this year as it did in the surrounding British Districts. It affected 15 villages. The number of attacks and deaths were 296 and 22 respectively. Prompt measures were taken to revaccinate the people in affected and non-affected areas the result of which was that the epidemic soon disappeared. Plague and Cholera also prevailed on a large scale in some villages of the State during the year under report. Arrangements were made by the State for inoculation free of cost, by sending a medical officer to the part affected. The Taluka Officers made every effort to persuade the people to get themselves inoculated, with the result that the progress of the epidemic was soon checked. There were in all 415 and 566 attacks and 246 and 245 deaths due to plague and cholera respectively.

Vital Statistics.

Deaths due to plague were among persons who had not availed themselves of inoculation.

75. There is no separate department of sanitation. The work of sanitation goes on under the supervision of Municipalities in Municipal areas and of village and Taluka Officers in villages. In some important villages there are Sanitary Committees and the villagers have begun to realise their utility and benefits and to take interest in their work.

76. Table C at the end of this report shows the work done by the vaccination department as compared with that of the previous year. The vaccination work is done by the State Vaccinators under the direct supervision of the Inspector of vaccination. The Superintendent of this department is the Chief Medical Officer of the State. Glycerined lymph is bought from Belgaum and is giving good results.

77. Revaccination was done in 1687 cases out of which 260 proved unsuccessful and 51 did not present themselves for inspection. The number revaccinated was large this year owing to the outbreak of the small-pox epidemic in some places in the State which rendered revaccination necessary. The Inspector of Vaccination supervised and checked the work of his Subordinates.

CHAPTER VII.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

78. There were no administrative changes during the

Control of the Department, year under report. The Vidyadhikari continued to be the head of the department and was assisted in the work of inspection of schools by the Deputy Educational Inspector and by the Head Master of Shri Harbhat High School, Kundgol.

79. The details as regards the number of schools in the State and particulars regarding attendance of students &c. are given in Appendix XXV. The percentage of school-going boys and girls to the entire population of the State is 6. Female education is well looked after in the State. Free boarding and scholarships are given to poor and deserving students irrespective of caste and creed. The number of such free boarders was 42. Clothes and books are also given free to the boys of backward classes with a view to encouraging education amongst them. A special class for the untouchables is attached to the Vernacular School No. 2 at Jamkhandi. This building is known as Dhed School. The remarkable feature of education in this State is that not only is its primary education free but that its secondary education also is free. Instances of such a policy are rare on this side of India.

The State has provided for higher education of State subjects by endowing 50 freeships in Sir Parashuram Bhau College, Poona, in memory of the Chief's late revered father.

80. There are four Institutions imparting secondary education in the State. They are:—

Secondary Schools.

(1) Parashuram Bhau High School, Jamkhandi, which teaches the full High School course and sends up students for the Matriculation of the Bombay University;

(2) The Harbhat High School, Kundgol, which

teaches the full High School course and sends up students for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University;

- (3) The Banhatti Ramchandrarao Appasaheb F. G. A. V. School which teaches up to 5th Standard; and
- (4) The A. V. classes in Shrimant Shankuntala Girls' School, Jamkhandi, which teach girls in the first two standards only.

The Parshuram Bbau High School, Jamkhandi, is the biggest Educational Institution of the State. It is perhaps one of the oldest institutions in this part of the country. It began as a small A. V. school in 1868 and was raised to the status of a full-fledged High School in 1888 in which year the school sent up boys for the Matriculation Examination for the first time. The school maintains a reputation for efficiency and good work and has been able to hold up its head triumphantly even during the worst years of University results.

Shri Harbhat High School, Kundgol, is the next important Institution in the State. It was first started as an A. V. School and was raised to the status of a High School in 1927, and was recognised by the Bombay University in 1930 for one year. During the year under report the University Commission again visited this school in January 1931. The University Senate has again recognised the school for two years.

The A. V. School, Banhatti, continues to maintain its efficiency. It teaches up to the 5th standard.

Both the A. V. Classes attached to the Shrimant Shankuntala Girls' School in 1929 were maintained during the year. They showed no progress in the number of girls though the standard of teaching was fairly satisfactory.

The total number of boys receiving English education in these Institutions was 769 as against 819 of the last year.

81. 32 students from the Parshuram Bhau High School, Jamkhandi and 12 students from the Harbhat High School, Kundgol, were sent up for the Matriculation Examination of whom 22 and 10 respectively came out successful. One of the students of Jamkhandi High School stood thirteenth in the list of successful candidates of the year. These results are very creditable and are an index of the excellent teaching given in the two High Schools. Stipends to deserving students were awarded in both the High Schools.

82. In the Drawing Grade Examinations 8 out of 16 passed the Elementary and 9 out of 18 passed the Intermediate. One of the students secured a prize (silver medal) in the Poona Art Exhibition, in November 1930, for Nature Drawing.

83. Scouting has been made a part of the school work by setting apart one period in the week for scout drill and other training for all boys of standards ranging from 3rd to 6th.

84. Scholarships of Rs. 1700 were awarded by the State to deserving students for prosecuting College studies at an yearly outlay of Rs. 1700. The total expenditure on Public Instruction was Rs. 92,542 as against Rs. 77,925 of the last year.

85. The State maintained 67 primary schools there being thus no variation in the number of such institutions during the year under report.

86. Of these primary schools four are exclusively

for girls. The schools for girls are gradually developing and have shown great progress especially in Jamkhandi and Banhatti. The number of pupils reading in primary schools during the year was 5,107 as against 5,011 of the last year. Of the 67 schools only 4 teach the full primary course while the rest teach the first three or the first five standards according to the local requirements.

87. In all the Vernacular Schools 3,698 students appeared for the various examinations and 2,813 passed. The number sent up for the Vernacular Final Examination was 11 of whom only 1 passed.

Vernacular Examination Results.

88. The State maintains a separate Urdu School at Jamkhandi for Mahomedan boys and girls. The strength of the school was 80. Some of the Mahomedan boys attend Marathi Schools as Marathi is the court language of the State.

Urdu School.

89. The number of boys in the Sanskrit Pathashala at Kundgol was 8 as against 10 of the last year.

Sanskrit Pathashala.

90. The Veda Anhika Pathashala at Jamkhandi is going on well. The State pays an annual grant of Rs. 125. The average attendance during the year was 26.

Veda Anhik Pathashala.

91. The number of schools for girls remained the same as in the last year. The number of girls in these schools was 528 as against 543 of the last year. There are 13 female teachers in these schools.

Female Education.

92. There are five private Vernacular Schools. The total strength in them was 269 as against 150 of the last year.

Indigenous Schools.

93. The Jamkhandi Municipality maintains a night-school. It is attended by boys and adults of the depressed classes under a teacher of their own class. This School is thriving well.

Municipal Night-School.

94. The system of medical examination of boys was continued during the year. A complaint that the parents do not realise the importance of such an examination is made, by the Chief Medical Officer, Jamkhandi. The system is not likely to be really useful unless the parents or guardians take advantage of the medical examination and adopt timely remedial measures.

Medical Examination of boys in the Ferris School.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

95. There are three printing presses in the State, two at Jamkhandi and one at Rampur of Jamkhandi Taluka. The State Printing Press which is at Jamkhandi is generally used for printing all kinds of forms required for the several departments of the State, as well as courtfee and general stamps. The State Gazette and the Administration Report are also printed in the State Press. The other Printing Presses owned by private persons and called "The Hanuman Printing Press" at Jamkhandi and "Mitra Samuha Mudranalaya Printing Press" at Rampur are used for job work only.

Printing Presses.

96. No newspaper or periodical is published in the State.

Newspapers.

97. The number of libraries and reading rooms remained the same as in the last year, *viz.* 11. Of these 7 have been registered and receive State aid. All of them are being taken advantage of by the literate public. The use of proscribed books is strictly prohibited in all these institutions.

Libraries.

98. *Destruction of Wild Animals.* One Panther was killed during the year.

99. The nearest railway station which connects Jamkhandi, the capital of the State, with the outer world is Kudchi. It is 34 miles from Jamkhandi. The introduction of Motor Service has facilitated only the passenger traffic. It is not possible to improve the general trade and commerce of the State unless Jamkhandi is made easily accessible to the outside world by connecting it directly with railway. The scheme of a branch line from Raibag to Bagalkot is, it appears, yet hanging fire for want of funds.

Railway and Markets.

100. The benefits of the cotton market are being appreciated by all concerned and the working of the market was satisfactory.

Jamkhandi Cotton Market.

Adequate measures are taken to see that the local cotton is not adulterated by the admixture of worthless stuff. The cotton market was reorganised on a new basis mainly with a view to attract to it all the cotton from the villages situate within an easy reach of Jamkhandi; this was done by measures calculated to inspire confidence in the ryots about the correctness of weighment and the adequacy of prices. The most important of these measures was the introduction of the system of sales through 'dalals' which has proved to be a step

in the right direction in view of the satisfactory results of its working during the last 2 or 3 seasons.

101. The Sanal Water Works are now completed. The Krishna Water Supply was commenced from the month of October 1930. The ceremony of releasing water as stated in Chapter I, was kindly performed by C. W. A. Turner, Esq. C. I. E., I. C. S., Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay. The total outlay on the scheme proper is calculated to be Rs. 5,96,448. The strain of this heavy expenditure on the State finances is great but the Ruler has borne it cheerfully as he has the satisfaction to see that it has secured to the residents of his capital the boon of wholesome and ample water-supply.

102. In keeping with his policy of forging ahead on progressive lines the Chiefsahab has been pleased to undertake a scheme of electric supply for the town of Jamkhandi. This scheme which is estimated to cost about a lakh of rupees will be a personal ' Venture ' of the Chiefsahab from his Khasgi. Work is in progress and by the end of the year, it is hoped, Jamkhandi will have electric supply. Colonel Lang, C. I. E., M. C., the Political Agent, kindly laid the Foundation Stone of the Power House during his recent visit to Jamkhandi.

103. Kundgol too has a defective water supply and a project for that taluka is under consideration. In the meanwhile, wells are being bored under orders of the Chiefsahab to meet the immediate needs of the town.

104. As the Revenue Officer exercises the powers of a Collector and a District Magistrate he toured in all the Talukas and Thanas of the State and inspected the subordinate

offices and heard the grievances of the people and brought them to the notice of the State Karbhari and the Chief-sahab with a view to redress them as far as possible.

105. The year under report was bad for the ryots.

Condition of the People. A couple of years with propitious seasons would help a great deal in the recuperation of the agricultural classes. The prices were still easier during the year, though kharif and rabi crops were disappointing. The cotton trade which was not encouraging even from the beginning received a setback about the end of the season by a fall in the cotton prices. The wage-earning classes were however happy and contented as there was no appreciable fall in wages. The masses were law-abiding and loyal and there was no agitation or discontent among them in general. Only in Jamkhandi and Banhatti there was some agitation which was however put down by timely measures.

106. This, in brief, is the record of events connected with the administration of the State

Concluding Remarks. and the condition of the people during the year. All the needs and comforts of the people were promptly administered and protection of life and property was ensured as far as possible.

107. The Chief has continued to take a very keen and lively interest in all the branches of the administration of the State. He takes special interest in manly sports and games. Scouting receives its due attention at his hands and help is given freely to authors and deserving aspirants in the field of literature. By his assiduous work for the happiness and betterment of his subjects and by his noble nature he has endeared himself to all.

108. In conclusion, the Diwan, on behalf of the Durbar, has the pleasure to accord sincere and cordial thanks to Colonel Lang, C. I. E., M. C., the Political Agent and to acknowledge his deep sense of gratitude to Government for the valuable help and advice received from time to time in all important administrative matters.



TABLE A.

Name of Talukas	Occupied area at the end of 1929—30		Unoccupied area at the end of 1929—30	Area taken up for cultivation in 1930—31		Area thrown out of cultivation in 1930—31	Occupied area at the end of 1930—31		Unoccupied area at the end of 1930—31		
	A.	G.		A.	G.		A.	G.		A.	G.
Jamkhandi.	219664	—11	172	—23	6	—29	...	219671	—0	165	—34
Kundgol.	61044	—10	6	—21	...	...	...	61044	—10	6	—21
Wathar.	4767	—22	33	—19	...	...	...	4767	—22	33	—19
Patkhal	6679	—11	...	...	...	...	...	6679	—11	...	...
Dhavalpuri.	19066	—26	306	—15	...	...	...	19066	—26	306	—15
Total.....	311222	—0	518	—38	6	—29	...	311228	—29	512	—9

TABLE B.

Name of Taluka	Arrears	Land Revenue demand	Total demand	Collections	Outstandings
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Jamkhandi.	140414	285263	425677	371963	53714
Kundgol.	155697	219555	375252	192308	182944
Wathar.	8705	12430	21135	11066	10069
Patkhal.	2231	4018	6249	4588	1661
Dhavalpuri.	3957	3398	7355	3796	3559
Total ...	311004	524664	835668	583721	251947

TABLE C.

Operations by whom performed	Number of persons vaccinated in		Result				Remarks
			Successful		Unsuccessful		
	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	
Janakhandi town vaccinator.	1510	1108	1510	1108	...	...
Janakhandi taluka vaccinator.	941	962	941	962	...	...
Bidri vaccinator.	811	920	811	917	...	1	2
Kundgol vaccinator.	760	833	760	833	...	...
Total ...	4022	3823	4022	3820	...	1	2†

† 2 Did not present themselves for inspection.

APPENDICES

FROM

I To XXV-A.

*List of Appendices to the Annual Administration Report of the
Jamkhandi State for the year 1930-31.*

No.	Name of Appendix.
1	High Officials of First Grade in the State.
2	Laws in force in the State.
3	Military force. (Nil)
4	Police Strength.
5	Working of the Police.
6	Stolen property recovered.
7	Crimes.
8	Magisterial work.
9	Criminal Appeals.
10	Civil Work.
11	" Execution of decrees.
12	" Appeals.
13	Jails and Lock-ups.
14	Registration work.
15	" Receipts and Expenditure.
16	Municipalities.
17	Rain-fall.
18	Prices of food-grains.

No.	Name of Appendix.
19	Public Works.
20	Agricultural Stock.
21	Excise shops and revenue.
22	Revenue receipts and disbursements.
23	Medical Relief.
24	Vital Statistics.
25	Education.
A	Wards' Estates.

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX I.

JAMKHANDI STATE.

*Names of High Officials during 1930—31.**(First Grade).*

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. R. K. Bal, B. A., LL. B.	State Karbhari & High Court Bench Judge.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" B. B. Mahabal, B. A., LL. B.	Sar-Nyayadhish.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" H. C. Patwardhan, B. A.	Revenue Officer.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" S. V. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	High Court Bench & Chamber Judge.	1-5-30	31-3-31	
" A. V. Dhareshwar, M. A., LL. B.	Vidyadhikari & Principal, P. B. High School.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" B. C. Patwardhan, M. B. B. S.	Chief Medical Officer, Jamkhandi.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" N. A. Mannur.	State Engineer.	1-4-30	31-3-31	

APPENDIX I. (Continued).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks.
		From	To	
Mr. V. A. Arbatti. B. A., LL. B	Nyayadhish, Jamkhandi.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" K. N. Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	Munsiff, Kundgol.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" N. G. Datar.	Mamlatdar, Jamkhandi.	1-4-30	30-11-30	
" M. B. Mahajan, B. A., LL. B.	Do.	1-12-30	31-3-31	
" R. K. Kale.	Mamlatdar, Kundgol.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" G. S. Gore.	Court of Wards Manager & Survey Officer.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" W. T. Apte, M. A., LL. B.	Huzur Record Kamagar & Huzur Treasurer.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" B. R. Apte.	Inspector of Police.	1 4-30	31-3-31	

APPENDIX I. (Continued).

Name of Officer	Appointment	Period		Remarks
		From	To	
Mr. A. M. Ghorpade.	State Mechanical, Engineer.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" S. G. Mangal- wedhekar.	Khasgi Karbhari.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" A. G. Paranjape, B. A.	Head Master, Harbhat High School, Kundgol.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" T. S. Tonapi, L. C. P. S.	Palace Surgeon.	1-4-30	31-3-31	
" S. A. Apte, B. A., LL. B.	Public Prosecutor.	1-4-30	31-3-31	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX II.

JAMKHANDI STATE.

Laws adopted from British Legislature in force during 1930-31.

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remarks
1827	Reg. VIII	Local	Heirship Certificates.	1890	
"	" XII	"	Police.	"	
1841	Act. XIX	Imperial	Curators.	"	
1850	" XVIII	"	Judicial Officers Protection Act.	1922	
1852	" IX	Local	Inam Commission.	1913	
1860	" XLV	Imperial	Indian Penal Code, amended up to date.	1890, 1914, 1915 1922, 23, 24, 28	
1861	" IX	Local	Custody of Minors.	1890	
1863	" II	"	Inam Summary Settlement.	1913	
"	" XX	"	Religious Endowments.	1890	
1866	" VII	"	Hindu Heirs Relief.	"	
"	" VIII	"	Poisons.	"	
1867	" "	"	Village Police.	"	
"	" XXV	Imperial	Press and Registration of Books.	1909, 1914	
1868	" II	Local	Ferries.	1890	
1869	" XIV	"	Civil Courts, amended up to date	1890, 1915, 1918	
"	" III	"	Local Funds.	"	
1870	" VII	Imperial	Court Fees.	1890, 1905, 1914, 1915	
1871	" I	"	Cattle Trespass, amended up to date	1890, 1922	
1872	" "	"	Evidence.	1890	
"	" IX	"	Contract.	"	
1873	" X	"	Oaths.	"	
1874	" III	"	Watans, amended up to date.	1876, 1915	
"	" II Part III	Local	Civil Jails.	1919	
1875	" IX	Imperial	Majority.	1890	
"	" III	Local	Tolls.	1907	
1876	" X	Imperial	Revenue Jurisdiction.	1890	
1877	" I	"	Specific Relief.	"	
1878	" "	"	Opium, amended up to date.	1890, 1914	
"	" XI	"	Arms. " "	1890, 1920	
"	" V	Local	Abkari, amended up to date.	1904, 1913	
1879	" "	"	Land Revenue Code. " with rules thereunder	1890, 1913, 1914	
"	" VII	"	Irrigation.	1913	
"	" XVIII	Imperial	Sections 3 and 36 of the Legal Practitioners Act.	1922	

APPENDIX II. (Continued).

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remarks
1883	Act XXI	Imperial	Immigration.	1913	
1885	" XIII	"	Telegraph, amended up to date.	1915, 1918	
1887	" I	"	Jails.	1901	
"	" VII	"	Suits Valuation Act.	1918	
"	" IX	"	Provincial Small Cause Courts	1905	
"	" IV	Local	Prevention of gambling.	1914	
1889	" I	"	Village Sanitation.	1913	
"	" VII	"	Succession Certificate Act.	1918	
1890	" II	"	Salt, amended up to date.	1906, 1914	
"	" IV	"	District Police.	1890	
"	" VIII	Imperial	Guardian and Wards.	1901, 1915	
1891	" II	Local	Boiler Inspection, amended up to date & rules regarding inspection fees of boilers.	1912, 1925	
1894	" I	Imperial	Land Acquisition.	1901	
"	" IX	"	Prisons.	1919	
1897	" VIII	"	Reformatory schools.	1915	
1898	" V	"	Cri. Pro. Code. as amended by Act XVIII of 1923.	1901, 1924.	
1898	" VI	"	Post Offices, amended up to date.	1915, 1918	
1899	" II	"	Stamp.	1901, 1905, 1914	
"	" XII	"	Paper Currency.	1903, 1914	
1900	" III	"	Prisoners.	1919	
1903	" III	Local	District Municipal	1904, 1913	
"	" XV	Imperial	Extradition.	1905	
1905	" I	Local	Court of Wards.	1913	
1906	" II	"	Mamlatdars Court.	1908	
1908	" V	Imperial	Civil Procedure Code.	1914, 1920, 1928.	
"	" VI	"	Explosive Substances.	1912	
"	" IX	"	Limitation.	1914	
"	" XVI	"	Registration.	"	
1909	" IV	"	Whipping.	1915	
1911	" III	"	Criminal Tribes, amended up to date & rules under Section 20.	1913, 1915, 1918, 1925	
"	" XII	"	Factories.	1912	
1912	" II	"	Co-operative Society's Act.	1925	
"	" IV	"	Indian Lunacy.	1914	
1914	" VIII	"	Indian Motor Vehicles Act, amended up to date with Rules thereunder.	1914, 1918, 1925	
1920	" V	"	Provincial Insolvency Act.	1920	
"	" XVII	Local	Bombay Pleaders Act.	"	

APPENDIX II. (Continued).

Year	Regulation or Act No.	Imperial or Local	Subject	When introduced	Remarks
1881	Act V	Imperial	Probate and Administration.	1914	+ Applicable to Kundgol Taluka only.
1882	" IV	"	Transfer of Property.	1913	
1923	" I	Local	Opium & Intoxicating Drugs Law of the Jamkhandi State together with Rules and Regulations thereunder with amendments	1923, 1925.	
1923	" III	"	Cotton Transport Act and Rules made thereunder. +	1924	
1925	" I	"	The Jamkhandi Cotton Market Act, with Amendments.	1925, 1926	
1926	" I	"	Ginning & Pressing Factories Act of the Jamkhandi State with Rules thereunder.	1926	
1926	" XXVII	Imperial	Transfer of Property Amendment Act.	1928	
1927	" X				
1927	" II	"	Indian Registration Amendment Act.	1928	
1856	" XV	"	Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act.	1928	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing Strength, Discipline and Education of

Grade	Number	Pay of Grade	Total Expenditure
Police.		Rs.	Rs.
Inspector of Police.	1	250	} 81,653
Sub-Inspectors.	3	100, 80, 50.	
Jamadars.	3	50, 40, 30.	
Head-Constables.	23	20, 17, 15,	
Constables.	146	15, 14, 13, 12, 11.	
Body-guard.			
Subheddar.	1	75	
Jamadars.	2	30	
Head-Constables.	20	20, 17, 15.	
Constables.	112	15, 14, 13, 12.	
Risala.			
Risaldar.	} Mounted	1	122
Dafedar.		1	59
Naik.		1	54
Sowars.		44	53, 52, 41, 40.
Total.....	358		

IV.

STATE.

Police during 1930—31.

Punishments			Rewards by		Education		Remarks
Dismissed	Fined, de- graded, or suspended departmentally	Judicial	Promotion	Money	Able to read and write	Under in- struction	
...	1	...	
...	2	3	...	
...	3	...	
...	3	23	...	
2	11	118	28	
...	1	...	
...	2	
...	12	8	
...	3	...	...	...	64	48	
...	1	...	
...	1	...	
...	1	...	
...	26	18	
2	3	...	...	16	254	104	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the results of Police work

Name of State	No. of offences including arrears	No. of				
		Arrested		Sent for trial		
1	2	3		4		
	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
Jamkhandi	130	155	138	*160	132	× 158

* 1 Released on bond by the Police. * 1 under Police investigation. × 24 Awaiting trial in courts.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the value of property stolen and

Name of State	Amount stolen		Amount
	Past year	Present year	Past year
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Jamkhandi	20,115	7,832	12033

V.

STATE.

during 1930—31.

accused.				Percentage of convictions to arrests		Percentage of convictions to accused sent for trial		Remarks
Convicted		Discharged or acquitted						
5		6		7		8		9
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	
94	84	20	50	68.1	52.5	71.2	62.69	

VI.

STATE.

amount of recoveries during 1930—31.

recovered	Percentage of recoveries to Property stolen		Remarks
Present year	Past year	Present year	
Rs	Rs	Rs	
3551	59.8	45.3	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing crimes committed, cases disposed of

1 Number	2 Description of Offences	No of Offences			Number of cases disposed of				10 Remaining undisposed of	11 Persons apprehended including those awaiting trial from last year	12 Persons convicted
		3 Balance on 1st April 1930	4 Committed during 1930-1931	5 Total	6 Proved false or requiring no investigation	True cases		9 Total			
						7 Undetected	8 Detected				
A	<i>Cognizable- (Arrested by Police.)</i>										
	Murder	3	4	7	...	1	3	4	3	8	2
	Attempt to suicide ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	1	1
	Dacoity	1	2	3	1	2	...	3	...	...	...
	Robbery	3	10	13	1	2	5	8	5	10	4
	Grievous Hurt ... ..	...	5	5	...	...	2	2	3	5	3
	Theft	8	34	42	10	8	13	31	11	28	10
	Mischief	2	6	8	2	2	4	8	...	25	17
	House-breaking	4	47	51	14	20	12	46	5	28	15
	Miscellaneous	8	17	25	5	2	13	20	5	55	32
	Total, A	29	126	155	33	37	53	123	32	160	*84
B	<i>(Cases taken up directly by Magistrates)</i>										
	Hurt	1	16	17	...	...	...	16	1	34	8
	Wrongful restraint ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	Kidnapping ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
	Theft	2	4	6	...	...	...	4	2	26	...
	Cheating ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	Mischief ... ..	...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	3	...
	Cri. Intimidation	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	5	...
	Criminal trespass ... ..	...	3	3	...	...	...	3	...	4	...
	Cri. Br. of Trust ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	Robbery ... ..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	2

VII.

STATE.

and cases awaiting trial during 1930--31.

Number of persons sentenced to							Acquitted or discharged	Confined being insane	Died during or before trial	Terms of imprisonment											Capital punishment	Awaiting trial	Remarks
Imprisonment		Imprisonment and fine		Fine only	Whipping	Total				Under one month	From 1 to 2 months	From 2 to 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 5 years	Above 5 years	Transportation				
Simple	Rigorous	Simple	Rigorous																				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
							4															10	
					2			2	3													2	
																							3
					4			4	3														
					3			3	1						2								
					4			4	8														
					4	13		17	8			2	1										
				10		2		12	12							3							
	1		5		6	20		32	12			4	1										
	1		5		33	39		78	51														
												6	2		15	3	5	6					
					8			8	25														
									1														1
									19														1
									1														7
									3														
									5														
									4														
									1														
				2				2															

* 1 Released on bond.
* 6 Under Police investigation.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing crimes committed, cases disposed of

Number	Description of Offences	No of Offences			Number of cases disposed of				Remaining undisposed of	Persons apprehended including those awaiting trial from last year	Persons convicted
		Balance on 1st April 1930	Committed during 1930-1931	Total	Proved false or requiring no investigation	True cases		Total			
						Undetected	Detected				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Rioting ...	...	4	4	...	...	...	3	1	25	...
	Miscellaneous ...	1	7	8	...	...	...	7	1	8	5
	Total B...	6	41	47	...	...	...	41	6	111	15
	Total A & B...	35	167	202	33	37	53	164	38	271	99
C	<i>Non-Cognizable</i>										
	Hurt ...	4	50	54	...	...	...	52	2	170	4
	Special or Local Acts ...	...	18	18	...	...	...	18	...	70	70
	Cri. Intimidation ...	...	8	8	...	...	...	7	1	20	...
	Miscellaneous ...	...	77	77	...	...	...	73	4	136	86
	Total C...	4	153	157	...	...	...	150	7	396	160
	Total A, B & C...	39	320	359	33	37	53	314	45	667	259

VII.

STATE.

and cases awaiting trial during 1930--31.

Number of persons sentenced to							Acquitted or discharged	Confined being insane	Died during or before trial	Terms of imprisonment										Transportation	Capital punishment	Awaiting trial	Remarks
Imprisonment		Imprisonment and fine		Fine only	Whipping	Total				Under one month	From 1 to 2 months	From 2 to 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 5 years	Above 5 years					
Simple	Rigorous	Simple	Rigorous																				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	
...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	
...	5	...	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	2	13	...	15	77	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	
1	5	...	35	52	...	93	128	...	...	6	2	...	17	3	5	6	...	2	...	...	...	43	
...	4	...	4	162	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	
...	70	...	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	
...	11	75	...	86	33	...	...	...	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	
...	11	149	...	160	212	...	...	...	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	
1	5	...	46	201	...	253	340	...	...	6	11	2	17	3	5	6	...	2	...	...	...	67	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the number of offences reported

Number	Name of Court	Number of Offences	
		past year	Present year
1	2	3	4
1	The Sessions Court	6	8
2	The District Magistrate, Jamkhandi	1	...
3	The Huzurr Treasurer & Magistrate F. C., Jamkhandi Circle ... ..	...	62
4	The Nyayadhish & Magistrate F. C., Jamkhandi	31	12
5	The Daftardar & Magistrate F. C., Jamkhandi	15	...
6	The Munsiff & Magistrate F. C., Kundgol	9	10
7	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate S. C., Jamkhandi	53	78
8	The Mamlatdar & Magistrate S. C., Kundgol	16	15
9	The Avalkarkun & Magistrate T. C., Jamkhandi	63	110
10	The Avalkarkun & Magistrate T. C., Kundgol	10	14
11	The Vahivatdar & Magistrate T. C., Vathar	4	7
12	The Vahivatdar & Magistrate T. C., Patkhal	7	4
Total.....		215	320

VIII.

STATE.

and offences dealt with during 1930-31.

Number of persons dealt with								Persons disposed of						Remarks
5 Remaining at the end of the last year	Brought to trial					Total		13 Discharged without trial	14 Acquitted	15 Convicted	16 Committed or referred	17 Died, escaped or transferred	18 Remaining at the end of the year	
	6 Arrested by police	7 Upon warrant	8 On Summons	9 Voluntarily	10 Arrested in the presence of the Magistrate	11 Past year	12 Present year							
2	10	13	...	...	...	13	25	...	9	8	...	...	8
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	21	...	...	..	...
...	32	12	32	24	...	...	100	4	...	54	6	...	15
3	24	...	1	...	...	53	28	8	...	14	1	3	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7	5	17	1	...	...	15	30	3	1	2	13	7	4
3	39	28	108	...	...	155	178	32	20	111	...	...	15
12	4	3	12	...	...	46	31	7	4	16	...	...	4
22	9	28	189	...	...	172	248	125	41	51	13	...	18
4	6	1	18	5	...	19	34	...	29	2	...	2	1	
8	...	...	24	...	...	15	32	16	16	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	5	...	...	16	5	...	4	1	...	...	...
61	129	102	390	29	...	559	711	195	145	259	33	12	67	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the result of appeals against the decisions

Number	Tribunal	Number of applications	No. of Persons											
			Applications rejected				Sen-							
							Confirmed				Modified			
			Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases	
			Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	High Court ... Bench... ..	8	...	...	...	...	6	12	2	8	...	...	...	...
2	The Sessions Court... ..	14	...	...	...	...	8	21	4	9	1	...	1	...
3	The District Magistrate's Court... ..	24	...	1	...	1	26	12	11	10	8	...	4	...
	Total ...	46	...	1	...	1	40	45	17	27	9	...	5	...

IX.

STATE.

passed by the Criminal Courts during 1930-31.

and Cases																			
tence				Proceedings quashed				Referred				Further inquiry &c. ordered				Pending			
Reversed																			
Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases		Persons		Cases		persos		Cases		persons		Cases	
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	...
...	6	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	8	10	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	3	...	3	1	2	1	2
14	14	10	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	6	2	2	2

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Nature and value of original suits filed

Nuraber	Tribunal	Opening Balance		Filed during		Total		Disposed of during		Closing balance	
		Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
		1	The District Judge, Jamkhandi.	...	1	1	...	1	1
2	The Nyayadhish of Jamkhandi as:—										
	F. C. Sub-Judge.	6	7	11	11	17	18	10	5	7	13
	× S. C. Sub-Judge.	146	150	442	394	588	544	438	391	150	153
	Small Cause Court Judge. ...	28	21	457	655	485	676	464	647	21	29
3	The Munsiff of Kundgol as:—										
	F. C. Sub-Judge.	2	9	10	3	12	12	3	7	9	5
	S. C. Sub-Judge.	30	55	195	256	225	311	170	256	55	55
	Small Cause Court Judge. ...	...	1	8	21	8	22	7	22	1	...
4	The Munsiff of Vathar... ..	1	2	6	10	7	12	5	9	2	3
5	The Munsiff of Patkhal... ..	1	...	8	5	9	5	9	4	...	1
	Total...	214	246	1138	1355	1352	1601	1106	1341	246	260

X.
STATE.

and disposed of during 1930—31.

Value	Suits filed in 1930—1931							Suits disposed of 1930—1931				Average duration					
	Nature			Value				Ex-parte	Admitted and compromised	Struck off the file	Otherwise disposed of	Value	Years	Months	Days	Remarks	
	Suits regarding lands and houses	Suits for money transactions	Suits for other rights	No. of Suits under Rs. 100	No. of Suits above Rs. 100 and under Rs. 500	No. of Suits above Rs. 500 and under Rs. 1000	No. of Suits above Rs. 1000 and under Rs. 5000										No. of Suits above Rs. 5000
Rs. 511	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. ...	...	...	...
} 521934	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	2	...	3	} 359812	...	...	...
	104	248	42	96	206	48	44	...	116	128	4	143		2	18
	...	655	...	493	162	...	...	...	258	310	5	74					
} 130756	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	5	} 69352	...	...	...
	39	204	13	34	149	46	27	...	83	121	9	43		2	9
	...	21	...	21	...	...	...	...	9	11	...	2					
1557	1	8	1	2	8	...	...	...	...	3	2	4	1978	...	3	8	
1435	...	5	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1200	...	3	14	
656193	157	1142	56	647	529	94	71	14	466	577	20	278	432342	0	11	19	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Results of Applications for

Number	Tribunal	Opening balance		Value of opening balance for the present year	Applications brought to the register			Total	
		Past year	Present year		Past year	Present year	Value for the Present year	Past year	Present year
				Rs.			Rs.		
1	The District Judge Court Jamkhandi..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	The Nyayadhish Court Jamkhandi.	366	269	5,86,332	1095	1005	2,85,990	1461	1274
3	The Munsiff Court Kundgol	51	59	31,616	181	202	1,12,236	232	261
4	The Munsiff Court Wathar	4	2	304	5	2	150	9	4
5	The Munsiff Court Patkhal	9	5	606	8	13	2,058	17	18
	Total...	430	335	6,18,858	1289	1222	4,00,434	1719	1557

XI.

STATE.

Execution of decrees during 1930—31.

Value for the Present year	Disposed of		Value for the Present year	Closing balance			Nature of applications pending disposal at the close of the present year			Remarks
	Past year	Present year		Past year	Present year	Value of Closing balance for the Present year	Below 6 months	Below 12 months	Above 12 months	
Rs.			Rs.			Rs.				
...	
8,72,322	1192	994	1,62,651	269	280	7,09,671	198	58	24	
1,43,852	173	181	67,432	59	80	76,420	51	18	11	
454	7	3	278	2	1	176	...	...	1
2,664	12	16	2,446	5	2	218	1	1	...	
10,19,292	1384	1194	2,32,807	335	363	7,86,485	250	77	36	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

CIVIL WORK—Number and results of

No.	Name of Court	Opening Balance		Filed during		Total		Disposed of during		Closing balance		Value of
		1929—30	1930—31	1929—30	1930—31	1929—30	1930—31	1929—30	1930—31	1929—30	1930—31	
1	The Huzur or the Chief's Court and High Court Bench	35	23	14	19	49	42	26	23	23	19	Rs. 86,664
2	District Judge of Jamkhandi ...	15	24	55	50	70	74	46	58	24	16	19,212
Total...		50	47	69	69	119	116	72	81	47	35	1,05,876

XII.

STATE.

appeals in Civil suits during 1930-31.

appeals	How disposed of										Average duration						Remarks
	Decisions confirmed		Decisions reversed		Decisions amended		Cases remanded for trial		Compromised or otherwise disposed of		1929-30			1930-31			
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
1929-30	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	Years	Months	Days	Years	Months	Days	
Rs.																	
39,969	20	19	2	2	4	...	...	1	...	1	...	9	17	...	11	23	
18,945	32	39	4	7	3	6	7	4	...	2	...	5	11	...	3	22	
58,914	52	58	6	9	7	6	7	5	...	3	1	2	28	1	3	15	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the number of persons confined in the Jails

Station	No. of Prisons	Number Of Prisoners			
		Remaining from the last year	Admitted during the year	Total	
				Past year	Present year
The Central Jail, Jamkhandi	1	44	149	190	193
Kundgol Sub-Jail ...	1	...	5	6	5
Lock-up at Vathar ...	1	...	1	9	1
Do. Mudhavi... ..	1	...	...	...	...
Total...	4	44	155	205	199

XIII.

STATE.

and Lock-ups during 1930—31.

Daily average in Jail		No. of prisoners remaining at the end of the year	Total cost of Jail and prisoners	Average period of accused under trial	Remarks showing mortality among convicts in Jails
past year	Present year				
48.2	49.2	53	Rs. } 7928	19	No death occurred during the year.
.01	.01	...		13.8	
.16	.03	...		...
...	
16.12	16.41	53	7928	10.9	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Registration of Documents

Number	Sub-Registry Office	Documents presented for registration		Nature of Documents registered							
				Mortgage deeds		Sale deeds		Wills		Money bonds	
		Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	2	3		4		5		6		7	
1	The Jamkhandi Taluka Sub-Registry	2907	2355	1170	1074	790	687	23	26	...	...
2	The Kundgol Taluka Sub-Registry .. .	636	397	267	185	144	118	1	4	1	...
3	The Thana Vathar Sub-Registry ...	103	106	61	66	25	19	1	1	...	...
4	The Thana Patkhal Sub-Registry .. .	35	40	2	7	22	28	...	...	...	...
	Total...	3681	2898	1500	1332	981	852	25	31	1	...

XIV. STATE.

During 1930-31.

Miscellaneous		Total Documents registered		Value of Documents registered		Documents refused to be registered		Documents remaining unregistered pending inquiry at the close of the year		Remarks
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year	
8		9		10		11		12		13
				Rs.	Rs.					
922	568	2905	2355	15,74,558	14,04,096	...	1	2	1	
222	90	635	398	5,26,421	3,56,761	...	...	1	...	÷ 2 of last year × 1 of last year + 1 Do.
15	20	102	107	41,759	34,944	...	...	1	...	
11	5	35	40	15,800	13,295	...	...	...	...
1170	683	3677	2900	21,58,538	18,09,096	...	1	4	1	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the receipts and expenditure

Description	Past year		
	Number of deeds	Value of property	Fees realized
		Rs.	Rs.
Mortgage deeds	1,500	9,17,889	4,863
Sale deeds	981	7,04,143	3,283
Wills	25	...	72
Money bonds	1	1,700	7
Miscellaneous	1,170	5,34,806	3,271
Total...	3,677	21,58,538	11,496
Deduct Expenditure...	...	...	1,908
Net profit ...	...	...	9,588

XV.
STATE.

on account of Registration during 1930—31.

Present year			Remarks
Number of deeds	Value of property	Fees realized	
	Rs.	Rs.	
1,332	7,54,391	4,161	
852	7,24,267	2,718	
31	200	93	
...	...		
683	3,30,238	1,700	
2,898	18,09,096	8,672	
...	...	2,194	
...	...	6,478	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Receipts and Expenditure of

No.	Name	Opening balance on the 1st April 1930	Receipts during the year	
			Past year	Present year
1	Jamkhandi.....	Rs. 12,185	Rs. 30,696	Rs. 26,537
2	Hunnur... ..	269	1,202	1,413
3	Banhatti... ..	3,552	7,283	7,260
4	Kundgol... ..	2,109	7,999	5,850
5	Saunshi... ..	233	3,218	6,130
6	Kamdoli... ..	171	2,836	2,456
	Total...	18,519	53,234	49,646

XVI.
STATE.

the Municipalities during 1930-31.

Total in current year	Expenditure during the year		Balance on 31st March 1931	Remarks
	Past year	Present year		
Rs. 38,722	Rs. 23,499	Rs. 23,184	Rs. 15,538	
1,682	1,444	1,384	298	
10,812	7,277	10,324	488	
7,959	7,178	6,507	1,452	
6,363	4,336	6,281	82	
2,627	2,706	2,557	70	
68,165	46,440	50,237	17,928	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of

No.	Taluka Head-quarter Station	1930 April	1930 May	1930 June	1930 July	1930 August	1930 September
		I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.
1	Jamkhandi	0—35	2—90	2—85	0—55	0—0	6—20
2	Kundgol	0—0	6—36	1—49	2—49	1—1	5—22

XVII.

STATE.

Rain-fall during 1930-31.

October 1930	November 1930	December 1930	January 1931	February 1931	March 1931	Total	Total of past year	Average of past 5 years	Remarks	
I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	I. C.	
3-37	2-20	0--0	0--0	0--0	0--0	18-42	22-15	18.76		
5-76	0--0	0--0	0--0	0--0	0--24	22-57	23-26	22.44		

R. K. Bal.

Divan, Jamshandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of prices of

Taluka	Article	During March (past year)		
		Seers	Tolas	Per rupee
Jamkhandi...	{ Jowari... ..	11	40	1
	{ Bajri... ..	9	40	1
Kundgol...	{ Jowari... ..	11	...	1
	{ Bajri... ..	...	...	...

XVIII.
STATE.

Staple food-grains during 1930-31.

During March (present year)			Remarks
Seers	Tolas	Per rupee	
20	...	1	
22	...	1	
21	...	1	
...	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Expenditure on Public

Description of works	State Funds	
	Original	Repairs
	Rs.	Rs.
I. Buildings-		
(1) State Buildings	200594	22625
(2) Offices ... ..	...	1078
(3) Dharamashalas & Temples.	...	6745
(4) Schools ... ..	...	319
(5) Chawadis ... ..	...	...
(6) Others ... ..	...	7530
Total...	200594	38297
II. Roads and Road-side trees...	...	2098
III. Water-supply ... ..	...	963
IV. Establishment	23076	...
Grand Total...	223670	41358

XIX.
STATE.

Works during 1930-31.

Total	Local Funds			Total
	Original	Repairs	Total	
Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
223219	...	468	468	223687
1078	...	31	31	1109
6745	...	902	902	7647
319	...	3139	3139	3458
...	1000	1593	2593	2593
7530	...	...	...	...
238891	1000	6133	7133	246024
2098	...	11796	11796	13894
963	97	1308	1405	2368
23076	2607	...	2607	25683
265028	3704	19237	22941	287969

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Agricultural Stock

Name of State	Year	Horses and				
		Bullocks	Cows	Buffaloes		Horses
				Male	Female	
Jamkhandi.....	1929-30	12,412	5,822	456	9,035	393
	1930-31	8,946	2,163	597	4,072	340

XX.
STATE.

During 1930-31.

Cattle				Ploughs		Carts		Remarks
Mares	Colts and fillies	Asses	Sheep and goats	With two bullocks	With four bullocks	Riding	Load carrying	
521	31	403	21,952	4,097	708	397	3,031	
338	26	480	20,200	3,718	649	246	2,690	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Excise-shops and Excise-Revenue

Name of Taluka	Country spirit		Opium		Ganja	
	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue
Talukas.						
Jamkhandi.. ...	10		3	1000	7	
Kundgol	7		1	75	8	
Thanas.						
Vathar ... ..	...		2	3590	1	
Patkhal ... ..	...		2	2297	...	
Total...	17	75,000	8	6962	16	14,120

XXI.

STATE.

during 1930-31.

Toddy		Total		Remarks
No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	
			* 75,000	* Includes Spirit and Toddy.
			14,120	
6	...	26	1000	
2	...	18	75	
...	...	3	3590	
...	...	2	2297	
8	...	49	96082	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Excise-shops and Excise-Revenue

Name of Taluka	Country spirit		Opium		Ganja	
	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue
Talukas.						
Jamkhandi.. ...	10		3	1000	7	
Kundgol	7		1	75	8	
Thanas.						
Vathar ... ..	...		2	3590	1	
Patkhal ... ..	...		2	2297	...	
Total...	17	Rs. 75,000	8	6962	16	Rs. 14,120

XXI.
STATE.

during 1930-31.

Toddy		Total		Remarks
No. of shops	Revenue	No. of shops	Revenue	
			* 75,000	* Includes Spirit and Toddy.
			14,120	
6	...	26	1000	
2	...	18	75	
...	...	3	3590	
...	...	2	2297	
8	...	49	96082	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing receipts and disbursements

INCOME.

No.	Receipts	1929—30	1930—31	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
	Opening Balance.	Rs 61352	Rs. 51775	Rs. ...	Rs. 9577	
A	Land Revenue ...	241697	494015	252318	...	
B	Forest Do ...	8141	6575	...	1566	
C	Agriculture ...	...	...	...	...
D	Excise Do ...	83387	90371	6984	...	
E	Stamp Do ...	59051	64970	5919	...	
F	Law & Justice...	10099	8038	...	2061	
G	Miscellaneous					
	1 Registration ...	9096	9191	95	...	
	2 Interest. ...	29204	43651	14447	...	
	3 Refunds. ...	229	330	101	...	
	4 Local Funds ...	19458	36030	16572	...	
	5 Others.	31293	77415	46122	...	
	Total G...	89280	166617	77337	...	
	Total of A to G...	491655	830586	342558	3627	

XXII.

STATE.

during the year ending March 1931.

EXPENDITURE.

No.	Disbursements	1929—30	1930—31	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
A	Tribute.	20840	20840	...	...
B	Refunds.	2372	3700	1328	...	
C	Administration— charges					
	1 Revenue esta- blishment. ...	62505	85652	23147	...	
	2 Police. ...	67936	81653	13717	...	
	3 Jail.....	5806	7928	2122	...	
	4 Law charges ...	15823	21288	5465	...	
	5 Forest ...	...	...	...	...
	6 Agriculture ..	...	1223	1223	...	
	7 Others ...	11762	19714	7952	...	
	Total C ...	163832	217458	53626	...	
D	Public Instruction....	77925	92542	14617	...	
E	Dispensary charges...	19570	21044	1474	...	
F	Domestic charges ...					
	1 Khasgi. ...	113593	133734	20141	...	
	2 Paga	12000	12000	...	...
	Total F ...	125593	145734	20141	...	
G	Religious charges....	46945	55257	8312	...	
H	Public works. ...	153008	325445	172437	...	
I	Mech. Engr. Dept.	5831	5200	...	631	
J	Stamp.	1838	2348	510	...	
K	Pensions.	42624	52236	9612	...	
L	Miscellaneous.					
	1 Registration.	1804	2150	346	...	
	2 Others ...	72913	261047	188134	...	
	Total L ...	74717	263197	188480	...	
	Total of A to L ...	735095	1205001	470537	631	

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing receipts and disbursements

INCOME.

No.	Receipts	1929—30	1930—31	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
H	Debts.					
	1 Deposits. ...	150675	279529	128854		...
	2 Advances. ...	140237	439395	299158		...
	3 Loans.... ...	390825	531819	140994		...
	Total H..	681737	1250743	569006		...
	Total Income.	1173392	2081329	911564		3627
	Grand Total...	1234744	2133104	911564		13204

XXII.

STATE.

during the year ending March 1931.

EXPENDITURE.

No.	Disbursements	1929—30	1930—31	Increase	Decrease	Remarks
M	Debts.					
	1 Deposits ...	167616	286510	118894	...	
	2 Advances ...	128182	245114	116932	...	
	3 Loans ...	152076	372148	220072	...	
	Total M ...	447874	903772	455898	...	
	Total Expenditure...	1182969	2108773	926435	631	
	Closing Balance ...	51775	24331	...	27444	
	Grand Total ...	1234744	2133104	926435	28075	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement of Medical

Dispensary	No. of patients treated	
	Out-door	In-door
Prince of Wales Hospital, Jamkhandi ...	14,423	47
Savalgi Dispensary	4,875	4
Banhatti Dispensary	8,040	...
Kundgol Dispensary	6,760	...
The State Charitable Veterinary Dispensary ...	623	...
Total....	34,721	51

XXIII.

STATE.

Relief afforded during 1930—31.

Results of patients In-door				Expenditure	Daily average	Remarks
Discharged	Absented	Died	Remaining under treatment			
39	2	2	4	Rs. 21,044	211.92	
3	...	1	...		32.34	
...	...	...	...		51	
...	...	...	...		68.68	
...	...	...	...		12	
42	2	3	4		...	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Vital Statistics

Name	Population according to census of 1931	Births		Increase	Decrease	Deaths
		Past Year	Present Year			Past Year
Jamkhandi State ...	1,14,282	3982	4099	117	...	3586

XXIV.

STATE.

during 1930—31.

Present Year	Increase	Decrease	Ratio Per 1000 of Population				Remarks
			Births		Deaths		
			Past Year	Present Year	Past Year	Present Year	
3220	...	366	39.3	35.86	35.4	28.17	

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Particulars as to the schools

Number of Schools		Description of Schools
Past year	Present year	
1	1	Parashuram Bhau High School, Jamkhandi ...
1	1	Harbhat High School, Kundgol ...
2	2	First Grade Anglo-Vernacular School, Banhatti } & Second Grade A. V. School, Jamkhandi }
1	1	Sanskrit Pathshala, Kundgol
63	63	Vernacular Schools (Boys') } Marathi 8 Kanarese 53 Urdu 1 Depressed classes } 1 School } <hr/> 63
4	4	Girls' Schools } Marathi 2 Kanarese 2 <hr/> 4
72	72	<hr/> 4
		Total.....

XXV.

STATE.

maintained during 1930—31.

No. of pupils on rolls on 31 st March		Daily average attend ance		Expenditure	Remarks
Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year		
525	488	470	431	Rs. 92,542	
175	161	151	143		
119	120	110	102		
10	8	10	6		
4,468	4,471	4,236	3,509		
543	528	424	434		
5,840	5,776	5,401	4,625		

R. K. Bal.

Diwan, Jamkhandi.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A				B		C
		Date on which the estate came under State management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of		
						Person	Property	
1	Limbana Basalingapa Jirli of Jamkhandi.	14-8-1914	23	1929	No. 596 14-8-14	Virupaxapa Shivlingapa Jirli.	Manager of Wards' Estates	Good
2	Bhimapa bin Laxmana Nyamgouda of Kunchnur.	29-1-1919	11	1943	No. 2373 29-1-19	Father Venkapa Nyamgouda	"	"
3	Allapa Dhodtamapa Kalyanshetti of Jamkhandi.	11-11-16	23	1929	No. 443 9-11-16	Grand mother Gangava kom Gurapadapa Kalyani.	"	"
4	Nilawa and Parvateva father's name Shivarudrapa Halbhavi of Jamkhandi.	20-4-17	20 18	1931 1933	No. 1227 20-4-17	Ramapa bin Siddapa Chirmad	"	"
5	Sonu, Subhadra and Tunga father's name Vishnu Sadashiva Joshi all of Jamkhandi.	8-12-17	23 21 19	1929 1931 1933	No. 590 8-12-17	Maternal uncle Narayan Ambaji Nivargi	"	"
6	* Keshavrao Khanderao Raste of Jamkhandi.	1-8-20	...	...	No. 308 8-1-20	...	...	...

A.

STATE.

during the year 1930-31.

How far edu- cated	Where educated	D							Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
							Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
..	...	11707	886	12593	1411	11182	...	27400	
...	...	2898	904	3802	694	3108	2400†	2400	† In Govt. Prom- issory Notes.
Eng. 6th std.	Jam- khandi	12615	2359	14974	2587	12387	10000‡	8500	‡ In Govt. Promissory Notes, the minor has attained Majority but estate has been kept under the management by his admission.
...	...	1114	1086	2200	494	1706	...	2800	
...	...	2637	254	2891	191	2700	...	5000	Please vide note at the end.
...	...	28898	8883	37781	9737	28044	...	100000	* This man being unable to manage his estate it is taken under State manage- ment.

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A			B		C	
		Date on which the estate came under State management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of Person Property		State of health
1	Limbana Basalingappa							
7	(1) Sangapa (2) Gurapa Gurusangapa Madgouda of Kavatgi.	4-12-19	24 21	1928 1931	No. 1594 4-12-19	Nilgangava Kom Rayapa Gavaroji of Kavatgi.	Manager of Wards' Estates	Good
8	Basaprabhu Basapa Murabatti of Hulug- bali.	7-10-21	18	1934	No. 723 7-10-21	Malapa Sida- pa Magdum	"	"
9	(1) Raachapa (2) Gar- dapa Basgauda Awa- knawar of Shegunshi.	17-1-22	15 13	1937 1939	No. 1214 17-1-22	Grand mother Nilava Gouda pa Awaknawar	"	"
10	Baldixit Yadeshwar- dixit Honwad of Jam- khandi.	6-8-27	17	1935	No. 662 6-8-27	Grand mother Gojarabai Joshi	"	"
11	(1) Kauchandrarao (2) Vasantrao (3) Krishnarao Nilkanthrao Chinchni- kar. Patwardhan of Jamkhandi.	3-10-27	9 5 4	1943 1947 1948	No. 1100 3-10-27	Mother Shalinibai	"	"
12	(1) Shridhar (2) Vasan- tant Vaman Pote of Jamkhandi.	5-6-28	16 14	1936 1938	No. 2797 5-6-28	Maternaluncle Krishnaji Vas- udev Ghor- pade.	"	"

A.

STATE.

during the year 1930-31.

How far edu- cated	Where educated	D							Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able	Rs.	Rs.	
...	...	5669	1342	7011	1280	5731	2500*	10000	* In Govt. Pro- missory Notes kept under State manage- ment until Gurapa, attains majority.
...	...	1965	1149	3114	1839	1275	...	16400	
...	...	633	444	1077	654	423	73	3600	
English 6th St- andard	Jam- khandi	352	285	637	49	588	930	1000	
Marathi 4rd St- andard Nil Nil	"	3205	4318	7523	5944	1579	...	64700	
English 5th 5th Std.	Jamkh andi.	430	331	761	444	317	...	11000	

APPENDIX

JAMKHANDI

Statement showing the particulars of the Wards' Estates

No.	Name	A				B		C State of health
		Date on which the estate came under State management	Age of minor's last birth day	Date on which majority would be attained	Authority for taking management	Guardian of		
						Person	Property	
1	Limbana Bas...							
13	Pandurang Ataji Devadhar of Jamkhandi.	20-12-29	13	1939	No. 804 20-12-29	Ranchandra Narayan Phadake	Manager Court of Wards	Good
14	Damodhar Appaji Pote of Jamkhandi.	11-1-30	15	1937	No. 897 11-1-30	Mother Anpurnabai	" "	" "
15	Rangangauda Kenchangauda Nadgir of Kundgol.	7-4-28	72	...	E.No.70 7-4-28	...	" "	" "
16	Laxmangauda Devangauda Patil of Kundgol.	28-3-16	27	...	No. 431 28-3-16	Mother Bhagirathibai	" "	" "
17	Lingaya bin Kaddever Yeliwal. Basvaneya Matha	8-12-24	17	1935	No. 397 8-12-24	Grand father Kaddever Matha.	" "	" "
18	Godasani Jamanasani Kalavant of Kundgol.	20-7-25	12	1938	No. 264 20-7-25	Manager Court of Wards	" "	" "
19	Narayan Gurunath Balannavar of Kundgol.	16-8-26	17	1935	No. 715 16-8-26	Adoptive mother Savitribai	" "	" "

A.

STATE.

during the year 1930-31.

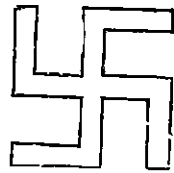
How far edu- cated	Where educated	D							Remarks
		Financial condition of the Estate							
		Opening balance	Receipts during the year	Total	Expen- diture	Balance at the end of the year	Value of pro- perty		
							Movea- ble ex- clusive of cash	Immove- able	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
Eng. 5th std.	Miraj	...	598	598	343	255	...	10000	
Eng. 4th std.	Jam- khandi	12676	18724	31400	27279	4121	...	100000	
...	...	71047	42338	113385	74637	38748	...	180000	
...	...	280	2916	3196	2578	618	...	55000	Unwilling to take estate under ma- nagement owing to family disputes.
Left the School	...	1260	1536	2796	396	2400	...	10000	
"	"	56	618	674	494	180	...	10000	
Eng. 3rd. std.	Jam- khandi	395	2901	4296	1612	2684	...	50000,	



Women who attended the 1st Asian Women's Conference.

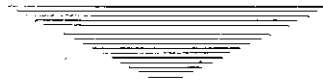
ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

FIRST SESSION



LAHORE

19th to 25th January 1931.



BOMBAY:
THE TIMES OF INDIA PRESS

1931.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

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All the Asian Delegates.

PREFACE

THE All-Asian Women's Conference was held at Lahore from the 19th to 25th January 1931. This historic Conference was the result of a suggestion made by the Women's Indian Association of Madras. Feeling the necessity of establishing a closer contact between the various Asian countries for the purpose of bringing about a keener realisation of their cultural unity the organizers of the Conference considered that as a first step they should endeavour to bring the women of the different countries of Asia together, it being their belief that women "were fundamental custodians of the cultural life of a Nation." But little did they dream that their proposal would meet with the ready response that it did; much less did they expect that before 12 months were over, the Conference would actually meet. This unexpected success proved beyond doubt that a common awakening was taking place throughout our great continent and that this Conference was but one of the manifestations of that general awakening. One may even say that it was a definite step in the process of self-realization, which is going on in the Orient.

It is more than clear that Asia is coming into her own. She is no longer content placidly to remain in a state of tutelage. She is now struggling to re-attain her former position of the Giver of Light to the World. It, therefore, behoves all lovers of peace and advancement—spiritual and intellectual—to bend their energies to the achievement of a purpose which seems ordained by Providence.

Western ethic has already been weighed in the balance during the last war and found wanting, and Asia has realized that there was not the supposed substance in the much-vaunted Western concepts of fellow-feeling and humanitarianism. She has further realized that it is time that she should emerge once again with her old doctrines of peace and world brotherhood. New conceptions of service have sprung up, which are impelling every Asian country to carry patriotism beyond the narrow limits of the so-called 'National' borders, and it is more than likely that before long Asia will be united in a comity of Nations, determined to deliver the message of peace and good will to the world. The object in view is not world domination or the reversal of the progress of exploitation which has lasted so long. Our object is to evolve a culture based upon the doctrine of "Live and let live."

There has been some criticism of the All-Asian Women's Conference on the ground that it was not truly "All-Asian," and that very few delegates from foreign countries had come, but such criticism ignores the ancient saying which warns us "against despising the day of small beginnings."

In the following pages is given a resume of the proceedings of the Conference. It is true that the number of foreign delegates was small but it must not be forgotten that nearly all the great movements in History were initiated by a small number of persons inspired by a great idea. So is it with this movement. The idea of an All-Asian synthesis of culture and civilization is undoubtedly a great one, and we are confident that it will in course of time find adequate expression through such Conferences as this.

It is earnestly hoped that this Conference will soon grow in importance, and will become the foremost institution of its kind *viz.* an institution representing the culture of the East and carrying its message of solace and peace to the West, which is seething with deadly jealousies and is torn with fratricidal dissensions. Let us pray that this Conference may succeed in its mission of creating a world brotherhood.

LAKSHMIBAI G. RAJWADE.

List of Delegates.

President—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

SIGNATORY DELEGATES.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.	Mrs. Hamid Ali.
Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal.	Srimati Rameshwari Nehru.
Dr. Punon Lukhose.	Srimati Protima Devi.
Lady Abdul Quadir.	Miss Khadija Begam Ferozuddin,
Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji.	M.A., M.O.L.
Srimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani.	Srimati Padmabai Sanjiva Rao, B.A.
Lady Hydari.	Rani Lakshmibai G. Rajwade.
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.	

Chairwoman of the Reception Committee: H. H. The Maharani Sahiba of Kapurthala.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE DELEGATES.

The following were elected members of the delegation from the Reception Committee :—

Mrs. Ram Lall.	Mrs. Shuffi Tyabji.
Mrs. A. K. Rafi.	Mrs. Sultan Singh.
Mrs. Hansa Mehta.	Mrs. P. K. Sen.
Mrs. Ammu Swaminadhan.	Mrs. Srivastava.
Miss S. Sorabji.	Mrs. Bhola Nath.

The next names in order of voting were :—

Miss H. Mayadass.	Mrs. N. C. Sen.
Mrs. Dr. Shave.	

These were to act if any of the first ten could not be present.

DELEGATES WHO WERE PRESENT.

FOREIGN DELEGATES.

Afghanistan.

Mrs. H. A. Hakam.	Mrs. Mohad Kamaluddin.
-------------------	------------------------

Burma.

Miss May Oung.	Miss Ram Pearey Paul.
Miss Dwa Hta.	Mrs. A. S. Tyabji.
Miss Ma Mya Shwe.	

Ceylon.

Lady Bandaranaike.
Mrs. F. B. De Mel.
Miss Cissy Cooray.
Mrs. H. M. Guneshekara.

Mrs. S. S. Gunewardhane.
Mrs. S. W. Ilangakoon.
Mrs. S. M. N. Perumal.
Miss A. Rajapakse.

Japan.

Miss Makiko Hoshi.

Persia.

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar.
Begum Maula Baksh.

Mrs. Mustafa Khan.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE DELEGATES.**India.**

Mrs. A. K. Rafi.
Mrs. Ram Lall.
Mrs. Ammu Swaminadhan.
Mrs. Shuffi Tyabji.
Mrs. P. K. Sen.

Mrs. Bholanath.
Miss H. Mayadass.
Dr. Mrs. Shave.
Mrs. Srivastava.

SIGNATORY DELEGATES.**India.**

Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal.
Lady Abdul Quadir.
Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji.
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

Mrs. Hamid Ali.
Miss Khadija Begam Ferozuddin.
Mrs. Padmabai Sanjivarao.
Rani Lakshmibai G. Rajwade.

FOREIGN VISITORS.**Great Britain.**

Miss Shepherd.

Java.

Mrs. Santoso.

Miss Sunyarti.

New Zealand.

Miss Robertson.

U. S. A.

Miss Ruth Woodsmall.
Miss Gates.

Miss Nor Wood.
Miss Lucky.

Ireland & India.

Mrs. M. E. Cousins.

LIST OF PATRONS.

H. H. Maharani Gajrarajasaheba Scindia of Gwalior.	Princess Drupadkunwarba of Baria. Lady Bandranaike.
H. H. Maharani Saheba of Tra- vancore.	Lady Angre. Mrs. Mohd Kamaluddin.
H. H. Maharani Saheba of Baroda.	Sardar Sir Appa Saheb Shitole.
H. H. Maharani Saheba of Kotah.	F. E. Dinshaw, Esqr.
H. H. Maharani Saheba of Dhar.	Messrs. Hiralal Amritlal.
H. H. The Rani Saheba of Baria.	Motilal L. Parekh, Esqr.
H. H. The Rani Saheba of Sangli.	Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade.

LIST OF DONORS.

Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai.	Mrs. Anwar.
S. Rajabai Saheba Phalke.	Col. D. S. Wagle.
S. Lakshmibai G. Rajwade.	Dr. Tirodkar.
Mrs. Hamid Ali.	Sardar M. R. Phalke Sahib.
Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji.	G. D. Birla, Esqr.
Mrs. D. N. Khandke.	L. S. Awad, Esqr.
Begum Farookh Sultan.	Shantidas Askaran Shah, Esqr.
Begum Raza Ali.	Messrs. Bhanumal Gulzarilal.
Mrs. Lakshmibai Vartak.	Manager, Dodge Bros., Lahore Branch.
Mrs. Khushedji Linji.	Messrs. Bhao Kashinath & Company.
Mrs. Bulkley.	

**THE FIRST LETTER SENT TO THE PRESS AND
PROMINENT PEOPLE ALL OVER INDIA.**

DEAR SIR
MADAM

I request you to read the accompanying proposal that an All-Asian Conference of Women should be promoted. You will then see that the first step to be taken towards the organisation of such a Conference is to scatter far and wide in India this statement concerning the need for it, and to secure the opinions of leaders of thought and of Women's Associations on the suggestion that Indian women should send forth the invitation to their sisters in all other countries of Asia. The experience of Far Eastern women in the Pan-Pacific Conference and of the All-India Women's Conference has shown that the successful organisation of such a gathering is well within the capacity of Asian women.

This call to service is therefore sent out only initially from the Women's Indian Association to the Press, to prominent people, to Women's Conferences, to the Secretaries of Women's Associations and others throughout India with the request that those in favour of holding this Conference and willing to co-operate in forming a joint All-Indian Committee in whose name the invitation to meet in India would be sent forth, should communicate with me.

I am willing to place the experience and knowledge obtained in my world tour at the service of this proposal and to undertake the initial work of its organisation if a sufficient amount of support is forthcoming.

Kindly let me know your opinions and the desire of your Association with regard to co-operation in this project.

THE NEED FOR AN ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Each Continent of the world has its own distinctive characteristics. Europe, Asia, America—what different feelings they call up in our minds! Asia, which contains more than half the population of the world, is utterly different from Latin and Teutonic Europe, or futurist young America. Each has its gift for the world. Each must retain its individuality for the enrichment of human unity.

The world "oriental" best expresses the quality of Asia. It calls up quietness, simplicity, agriculture rather than industrialism, arts and crafts rather than mass factory production, a realisation of Time stretching behind and before in aeons, an ever-present sense of a world of the spirit interpenetrating this world of the senses, poverty, pain, poise, patience, peace.

In the extremes of honour and of serfdom accorded to its Womanhood Asia is one. In its worship of the Family, in the hopes of the here and the hereafter that it places in the Child, in its marriage codes, in its illiteracy, in its present renaissance Asia is one. It has messages concerning the sanctity of life; the vocation of woman as race nourisher; ideals of art, philosophy and spirituality of a complementary nature to the views on these subjects entertained by other continents. None hold this oriental culture more tenaciously, more authentically than its women. But the Chinese woman sees more of her American sister than of her Burmese neighbour, the Hindu woman knows more of her British sister than of her Arabian or Afghan relative.

The tides of Western influence are pouring in on the oriental woman from all sides. They are already putting a modernist veneer over Japan. They have swept away cultural landmarks of Turkestan women. They seek to cast a glamour over India. The power to sift what is essential, what is appropriate for Asia from this surging life can only be wisely gained if ASIA AS ASIA gets together to review her own uniqueness, if she takes stock of her own assets of civilisation.

How can Asia's gifts be preserved? By bringing together the closest custodians of her inherent life, the women of Asia, that they may discuss their own cultural problems, and through a better knowledge of their fundamental differences from women of other lands may the more valuably be able to solve their difficulties, appreciate at its legitimate value the interchange of gifts from other lands and through keener appreciation of human relationships be the better fitted to preserve the peace of the world. It is essential that they meet face to face to know their common heritage, so that they may become self-conscious of the spiritual gifts with which they can serve the world.

The women of India have already experienced the inspiration of gathering together from all parts of India, and have realised the power of united service of the needs of this country. The women who met at the Women's Pan-Pacific Conference in Honolulu joined the hands of East and West. Women of Europe have many times rejoiced in their solidarity. The women of the America made vital contracts in their Pan-American Conference but Asia lags behind in unified self-consciousness.

Cannot Bharatamata, Mother India, the foster mother of Asia's cultures, the caravanserai of Islam from the West, of the Aryan from the North, of the Buddhist returning from the East, cannot she call her daughters to her shores so that in a joint family they may review their oriental qualities and defects ; organise the first for their own and world service ; strengthen one another by understanding, knowledge of data, interchange of experience ; remedy the evils of their illiteracy, their high death-rate, their infant mortality, their unequal national status ? Such a union of Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Burmese, Javanese, Indian, Afghan, Tibetan, Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Jewish and other Asian women can be brought together if a loving, wise, call to unity is sent forth bravely, strongly, unselfishly. Through such a Conference of Asian women more easily than in any other way can oriental gifts of spiritual consciousness, the fundamental value of the family, the holiness of Motherhood, the restfulness of simplicity, the happiness of unselfish service, be organised and made available for the helping of humanity.

Shall not we awakened and unified women in India invite the representatives of all the Asian family to meet in this focal, magnetic point of Asia as soon as possible ? Honolulu will see another Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in August 1930, and in China in 1932. Let us plan for an All-Asian Women's Conference for 1931.

Offers of co-operation with this proposal, and opinions and suggestions concerning it are requested to be sent to Mrs. Cousins, International Representative of the Women's Indian Association, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras, who is willing to undertake the preliminary organisation of the Conference if sufficient approval of it is expressed.

LETTER OF INVITATION SENT TO WOMEN ALL OVER ASIA.

SISTERS IN ASIA,

We, the undersigned representatives of the women of India, having experienced the value of meeting in conference from all parts of India believe that the time has come when women representatives of the various countries of our common continent, Asia, can similarly derive and confer much benefit from meeting together in an All-Asian Conference of Women.

Each continent has its own distinctive characteristics, which should be fostered for the enrichment of human unity. Behind the vast and varying divergences of life in Asia there is a fundamental cultural unity. In the extremes of honour and of serfdom accorded to its womanhood, Asia is one. In its worship of the Family ; in the hopes of the here and the hereafter that it places in the Child ; in its marriage codes ; in its illiteracy ; in its present renaissance, Asia is one. The oriental civilisation has ideals concerning the sanctity of life ; the vocation of woman as race-nourisher ; conceptions of art, philosophy and spirituality, all of a complementary nature to those held on these subjects by other continents.

Yet unfortunately the circumstances of our political groupings make the women of Asia, who are the fundamental custodians of this oriental culture, practically unknown to one another. Thus, a Hindu woman knows nothing of the Chinese woman ; the Burmese woman is ignorant of the conditions in which her Persian sisters live. Secluded within the geographical limits of our particular country, we only know of those who come to us. The Chinese woman knows more about Americans, the Javanese about the Dutch, and the Indians about the English, than we know of one another.

The tides of western influence are pouring in on us on all sides in increasing volume. In our opinion it is fully time that we oriental women should make a determined effort to understand one another, and to develop among ourselves a spirit of Asian sisterhood, with the object of preserving all that is valuable in our age-long national and social cultures, and of discriminating what is best for us to assimilate from outside Asia. This can best be done by our uniting and meeting to review our common heritage and destiny.

With this object in view, we Indian women take the initiative in placing before our sisters in Asia a proposal that an All-Asian Women's Conference should be held in 1931.

Further, having at our immediate disposal the facilities and experience necessary for organising such a gathering, we propose that the Conference should be held in India.

If you are in favour of this project, we shall esteem it a high privilege if a Delegation up to the number of ten women from your country will accept the invitation to attend such a Conference which we hereby heartily extend

through you. The same number of Delegates is being invited from each of the thirty countries of Asia. We shall also be very happy if you will at the same time accept our offer of hospitality for such Delegates during their stay in India.

We further propose that the Conference be held in the month of January. This time seems specially suitable, as the International Association of Teachers will hold an Asiatic Teachers' Conference in Benares, India, from December 25 to 31, 1930, and it may help some of the Delegates to the Women's Conference if they are able to travel with Delegates to the Teachers' Conference with whom they are acquainted. We also propose 1931 because the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, which women from the Far Eastern countries attend, will meet in Honolulu in August 1930, and in China in 1932.

The women of Lahore, Punjab, have offered to make all arrangements for the proposed Women's Conference during the week of January 1931, either preceding or following the All-India Women's Conference, which will be held in the same city.

Sisters in Asia : We hope that a warm response of welcome will rise in your hearts to this call to bring together our scattered communities and our oriental cultures for the service of Asia and the world.

We request your co-operation in making this call for an All-Asian Women's Conference a success by giving it all possible publicity and support through your national newspapers and magazines, through Women's Associations and individual women likely to interest themselves in this movement.

We ask you to help it also by collecting materials as regards the cultural data of your country, and by being prepared to put the same before the Conference. We shall also welcome all suggestions regarding methods by which the Conference can consolidate the common ideals and aspirations of oriental womanhood as an essential factor in the growth of international understanding, world peace, and the regeneration of humanity.

As there is little time to spare, we request you to communicate your reply as soon as possible to Rani Lakshmibai G. Rajwade, care of Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras, India.

Srimati Sarojini Naidu.	Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of Kapurthala.
Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal, M.L.C.	Mrs. Hamid Ali.
Dr. Poonen Lukhose, Ex-M.L.C.	Srimati Rameshwari Nehru.
Lady Abdul Qadir.	Srimati Protima Devi.
Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji.	Miss Khadija Begam Ferozuddin,
	M.A., M.O.L.
Srimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani.	Srimati Padmabai Sanjiva Rao, B.A.
Lady Hydari.	Rani Lakshmibai G. Rajwade.

Dated 12th March, 1930.

PERSONALIA.

SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU.—The foremost poetess of India and internationally known orator, Ex-President of the Indian National Congress, elected member of the Bombay Corporation and proposed Mayor of Bombay City, President of the 1930 All-India Women's Conference on Educational and Social Reform.

DR. MUTHULAKSHMI AMMAL, M.L.C.—Deputy President of Madras Legislative Council; the first woman member of a Legislative Council in British India; also only Deputy President in the world of a Legislative Body; Ex-President of the Indian Social Reform Conference; Vice-President of the Women's Indian Association.

DR. POONEN LUKHOSE.—The first woman member in India of a Legislative Council, member of the Syrian Christian community, Minister of Health for three years of the Government of Travancore State (now retired).

LADY ABDUL QUADIR.—A leader of Muhammadan society, connected with all forms of philanthropy in Lahore, the Punjab.

MRS. RUSTOMJI FARIDOONJI.—Honorary Secretary of the All-India Women's Education Fund Association, prominent member of the Parsi community.

SRIMATI SARALA DEVI CHAUDHRANI.—Noted Bengali musician and nationalist leader; member of the Senate of the Indian Women's University.

LADY HYDARI.—Leader of Muhammadan society in the Indian State of Hyderabad; Promoter of Girls' Education; Ex-President of the Muslim Women's Conference.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR.—Prominent member of the Indian Christian community of North India.

MRS. HAMID ALI.—Honorary Treasurer of the All-India Women's Conference; prominent Muhammadan social reformer.

MRS. RAMESHWARI NEHRU.—A Kashmiri Brahmin, resident in Delhi, Social Reform Secretary of the All-India Women's Conference; member of the Age of Consent Committee.

SRIMATI PROTIMA DEVI.—Noted artist; daughter-in-law of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

MISS KHADIJA BEGAM FEROUZUDDIN, M.A., M.O.L.—First woman graduate from the North-West Frontier Province; noted linguist in eight languages, including Arabic, Persian, Urdu.

MRS. PADMABAI SANJIVA RAO, M.A.—Principal, Theosophical Women's College, Benares; eminent educationist; Ex-President of the Social Reform Conference of the United Provinces.

RANI LAKSHMIBAI G. RAJWADE (Née Miss Dr. Joshi).—Formerly a popular and talented Doctor of Bombay, now resident in Gwalior State, a member of the deputation which first asked for Woman Suffrage for India in 1917; member, Historical Records Commission.



Delegates from outside India.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

Bulletin No. 1, July 1930.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS.

A preliminary call to hold an All-Asian Conference of Women was published on December 25th, 1929, and circulated only in India to find whether India would welcome such a proposal, and the holding of the Conference in India. This was received by the press and by representative men and women with favour and encouragement.

An invitation to women of all Asian Countries to co-operate in an All-Asian Women's Conference was sent out on 12th March to 250 addresses of representative women and some influential men in 33 countries of the continent of Asia. This invitation was signed by fourteen of the best-known Indian women, representing every caste, creed and race.

First Intimation to the Press : The Associated Press of India on the 29th April announced that the first reply to the invitation was from Mrs. Mohl of Jerusalem, Palestine, stating that she would be happy to participate in the Conference which she hoped would be "truly of assistance in the growth of international understanding and of the social betterment of all peoples of this continent." This intimation also recorded the translation of the invitation into Persian and its publication in 12 Persian newspapers, and its appearance in almost all Indian and Burmese newspapers with comments of welcome and appreciation. It announced the invitation to the Arabian Conference to be held at Damascus on July 3rd, under the auspices of the Oriental Arabic Feminist Academy for purposes similar to those of the All-Asian Women's Conference, but confined more particularly to Arabic women's conditions. It announced the names of the women's Associations in India willing to co-operate directly with the Conference.

Second intimation to the Indian Press, May 27th, quoted the letter of Mons. M. Jemil Behyum, President of the Libanese Academy, Syria, a noted writer and supporter of women's organizations, in which he promised the attendance of his wife, an Arabian leader. The names of other Syrian ladies interested in the Conference were also given. He reported the translation of the invitation into Arabic and its publication in the newspapers of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria.

DETAILS OF THE CONFERENCE.

As a sufficient number of favourable replies have been received to the proposal initiated by the women of India that the women of the countries of Asia should come together in Conference in India, arrangements are now in full swing for welcoming delegates and preparing programmes.

The organisers of the Conference do not consider that the political conditions of India are, or will be, such as to prevent the holding of the Conference or to cause any discomfort to the delegates.

Place of Conference : Lahore City, Punjab, North India.

Date of Conference : Last week of January, 1931.

Objects of Conference :—

1. To promote the consciousness of unity amongst the women of Asia, as members of a common Oriental culture.
2. To take stock of the qualities of Oriental civilisation so as to preserve them for national and world service (simplicity, philosophy, art, the cult of the family, veneration for motherhood, spiritual consciousness).
3. To review and seek remedies for the defects at present apparent in Oriental civilisation (ill-health, illiteracy, poverty and underpayment of labour, infantile morality, marriage customs).
4. To sift what is appropriate for Asia from the Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas, machinery).
5. To strengthen one another by exchange of data and experiences concerning women's conditions in the respective countries of Asia (economic, moral, political, and spiritual status).
6. To promote world peace.

Delegates are requested to state on which of the objects they desire to speak in order of preference for three subjects.

Composition of the Conference: A quota of ten delegates is allowed to each of the 33 countries in Asia. It does not seem probable that all these countries will send even one delegate each, but it is hoped that there will be between 50 and 100 women present representing the chief racial divisions of Asia. The delegates may be either direct representatives of Women's Organizations, or nominees of Governments, or private individuals. The Indian organisers

of the Conference will secure hospitality for the delegates at the port nearest to Lahore (Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi), will pay their return fare second class between that port and Lahore, provide board and quarters for them in Lahore during the week of the Conference, and will do everything possible to give them an enjoyable visit to India. All other travelling and residence expenses must be met by the delegates themselves.

Women of non-Asian birth will be welcome as visitors to the Conference, but will not have the right of speaking or voting at the Conference sessions. Board and lodging will be provided for them at Lahore for between Rs. 3 and 5 per day—or possibly free of charge. The meetings will be open to all women visitors, Indian and Foreign. Special arrangements will be made for Members of the Reception Committee.

	Rs.
Fees : Delegates	10
Non-Asian Visitors	10
Reception Committee Members	5

Draft method of conducting the Conference.—The primary objective of the Conference being to promote a sense of consolidated Asian sisterhood as a distinct component of world-sisterhood and human kinship, all subjects will be discussed on broad general lines by the delegates sitting in common open session. It is proposed that the first two days will be spent in this method, the third day will be devoted to specialised committee meetings for synthesising the views expressed, the fourth day for giving reports of these Committees and formulating resolutions in open sessions, the fifth for discussing future work of a synthetic Asian character. Two sessions will be reserved for delegates only, without the presence of visitors or the general public. One day will be given for sight-seeing.

President of Conference.—Each delegate is requested to send in her vote for one of the following women as President of the Conference or to suggest some other nominees (The knowledge of languages is important).

Madame Nour Hamada (President, Women's Arabian Conference).

Madame Nasik Abed (Madame M. Jemil Behyum, noted Arabian Leader).

Madame Sarojini Naidu (Indian Leader, Poetess and Orator).

Mrs. Inouye (Japanese Educationist and Organiser).

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen (Chinese Leader)

The Conference proceedings will be carried on chiefly in English, with Arabic, Urdu and French as supplementary languages, for all of which there will be interpreters when necessary. Replies promising co-operation have to date been received from Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan, Burma, Iraq, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya.

Organisers of the Conference.—The list of the Indian women who are acting as the provisional and preliminary organisers of the Conference is given on page 8.

SIGNATORIES TO THE INVITATION.

(Same as in Bulletin No. 1, Page No. 10).

Each country is now requested through this Bulletin to send to the Secretary the name of the National representative it chooses to be included in the *All-Asian Committee* which will be responsible for the Conference from the time of the complete formation of the Committee (conditions of distance making it necessary for the Indian Organisers to carry forward arrangements till then, consulting as far as possible with national correspondents). The Secretary for this Committee will be Rani Lakshmbai G. Rajwade, Gwalior.

THE CITY OF THE CONFERENCE.

Lahore, the capital of Punjab Province, is a typical city of Indian culture with a long history as a meeting place of the races of all Asia. It is on the direct route from the Khyber Pass into India, and is linked up with the trade routes into Central Asia, and thence to China. It has a population of 282,000, half and half of Muhammadans and Hindus. The Indian National Congress met last year in this City when over 50,000 visitors were housed and cared for in the depth of December weather. It will still be very cold at night during this Conference. Delegates must bring warm clothing, rugs and hot water bottles. Except in Benares, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, the climate in other parts of India will be ideal in January and February. The All-India Women's Conference for Education and Social Reform will directly precede the All-Asian Women's Conference, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu will by that time have completed her sentence of political imprisonment and expects to be able to attend the Conference. Women's Associations in India which have publicly promised to co-operate in making the Conference a success are the Women's Indian Association, the All-India Women's Conference for Educational and Social Reforms, the National Women's Council of India, the Lady Chelmsford Child Welfare and Maternity League (Delhi), the Lady Hardinge Women's Medical College (only one such in India), the Vigilance Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union of India, the Delhi Women's League Social Reform, and the All-India Federation of Teachers' Association, the University Women's Federation, and others will join when their Committees meet which have been

disbanded for the summer months. Special entertainments will be arranged during the Conference week, including an Indian Drama.

Some Facts about Asia.—The population of Asia is 850 millions as contrasted with Europe 360 millions, North and South America 170 millions, Africa 210 millions. It is the source of all the great religions, the origin of all sacred scriptures (except those of Egypt). India is the present experimental ground for non-violent passive resistance as an alternative method of physical warfare for achieving national self-government. Asian architecture, the paintings of Ajunta in India, of China and Japan and Tibet, the ceramics and textiles of Persia, the art crafts of Asia generally, command the admiration of the whole world. Palestine gave Christianity to the Western Continents and Australia, Arabia gave Muhammadanism to 240 millions of people to-day of whom 70 millions are in India. India gave Buddhism to 350 millions, and Hinduism to 210 millions.

OPINIONS OF PROMINENT PEOPLE.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.—The consolidation of the cultural consciousness of the Orient is the preliminary step for the enrichment of world culture and as women are the fundamental custodians of the cultural life it is most valuable for them to meet and strengthen their understanding of the gifts which Asia has to offer to the world.

DR. ANNIE BESANT.—I earnestly support this Conference in its self-assertion of Asia as Asia, the Continent that has done more for the world than all the others put together.

SIGNOR SCIALOJA (*Italian ex-representative to the League of Nations*).—The political centre of the world is now in Asia and the awakening of National consciousness among the vast population of China was a prelude to similar developments in other States, thus presenting a great unknown problem of the future. They must not forget Japan without whose assent neither the United States nor Britain could move in naval affairs.

LADY DRUMMOND HAY, *only woman passenger on the Graf Zeppelin World Flight*.—Gandhi is shaking Asia. After Genghis Khan, Kubla Khan, Tamerlane, Confucius, Buddha, Christ, Mahommed, Zoroaster, China's Dowager Empress, Ghezi Kamal Pasha, Chang Tso-his, Chiang Kaishek—Asia now confronts the world in general.

MISS TAKI FUJITA (*Correspondence Secretary, Japan Women's Committee for International Affairs with eight affiliated Societies*).—The Committee is happy and grateful to the women of India for taking the initiative in this matter. It is really time when we, the women of Asia, should make a determined effort to understand one another and work together.

ALL-INDIA RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

A Standing Invitation.

To join the All-India Reception Committee is extended to all men and women who are in sympathy with the aims of the Conference, and who are willing to co-operate in according All-India hospitality to delegates and visitors from outside India for this unique experiment at Asian synthesis.

It is expected that a Princess of one of the Indian States will be the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee. Donors of Rs. 500 or more will be classed as Patrons. The Membership fee for the Reception Committee is Rs. 5.

Duties of the Reception Committee :—

1. To welcome delegates at the ports and give them hospitality there.
2. To arrange meetings which the delegates may address.
3. To collect their travelling expenses to and from that port to Lahore (Railway concessions have been requested and a reply is pending).
4. To arrange the General Programme for the visit of delegates in co-operation with the Lahore Local Reception Committee.
5. To collect funds for the Conference at Lahore.
6. To elect ten representatives to the Conference, and Officers for the Reception Committee.

Secretary to the All-India Reception Committee :—

Mrs. M. E. COUSINS,
Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras.

**TO ALL PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE CONSOLIDATION
OF ASIA AS A UNITY.**

Please help the Conference by joining as a Delegate, Visitor or Member of the Reception Committee and by sending your name, address, fee and special line of interest to its Secretary.

Please attend the Conference and persuade others also to do so and send general requirements as regards food and lodging.

Please bring the Conference to the notice of the public in every possible way, especially to those interested in internationalism, world peace, the problems and assets of Asia, an international health service, an international child welfare service, reforms concerned with sex and narcotics.

Ask people to join the Reception Committee.

Send names and addresses of nationals of non-Indian countries resident in India. Invite them to join the Conference as Delegates or Members of the Reception Committee.

Send suggestions for carrying the Conference to success.

The problem of fusing Asia is difficult in the extreme, but some one must make a beginning,—why not its women, its mothers? Give your help by influence, ideas, money, encouragement.

The next Bulletin will be published after replies have come from other countries.

All further information to be had from *the Honorary Organising Secretary*: RANI LAKSHMIBAI G. RAJWADE, GWALIOR, CENTRAL INDIA.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

Bulletin No. 2, November 1930.

Place of Conference.—Lahore City, The Punjab, North India.

Date of Conference.—January 19th to 25th, 1931.

Objects of Conference.—

1. To promote the consciousness of unity amongst the women of Asia as members of a common Oriental culture.
2. To take stock of the qualities of Oriental civilisation so as to preserve them for national and world service (simplicity, philosophy, art, the cult of the family, veneration for motherhood, spiritual consciousness).
3. To review and seek remedies for the defects at present apparent in Oriental civilisation (ill-health, illiteracy, poverty and underpayment of labour, infantile mortality, marriage customs).
4. To sift what is appropriate for Asia from the Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas, machinery).
5. To strengthen one another by exchange of data and experiences concerning women's conditions in the respective countries of Asia (economic, moral, political, and spiritual status).
6. To promote world peace.

Signatories to the Invitation for the Conference.—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Dr. Poonen Lukhose, Lady Abdul Quadir, Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudrani, Lady Hydari, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Hamid Ali, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs. Protima Devi Tagore, Miss Khedija Begum Ferozuddin, Mrs. Padmabai Sanjiva Rao, Rani Lakshmibai G. Rajwade.

LAKSHMIBAI G. RAJWADE,

Honorary Organising Secretary,

GWALIOR, (Central India).

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME.*Monday, 19th January.—***Morning Session.**

Registration of Delegates. Informal meeting of Delegates as Subjects Committee.

Afternoon Session.

Opening of the Conference. Address of Welcome to the Delegates by the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee. Address of the President.

*Tuesday, 20th January.—***Morning and Afternoon Sessions.**

Family Relationships :

Including The Cult of the Family, Ceremonies for Ancestors, Marriage, Motherhood, Polygamy, Traffic in Women.

*Wednesday, 21st January.—***Morning Session.**

Health.

Afternoon Session.

Education and Religion.

*Thursday, 22nd January.—***Morning Session.**

Labour Conditions.

Arts and Crafts. Agriculture. Industrialism.

Afternoon Session.

Women and Government.

Woman Franchise, Nationality of Married Women, Women's Rational Status. Laws directly affecting Women.

*Friday, 23rd January.—***Morning Session.**

Sub-Committees to formulate Resolutions, especially as regards Occidental influences.

Afternoon Session.

Social Outing or Visits to Institutions.

*Saturday, 24th January.—***Morning Session.**

Passing of Resolutions.

Afternoon Session.

Future work and closing Addresses.

Sunday, 25th January.—

Special Historical Expedition to another city.

Composition of the Conference.—A quota of ten delegates is allowed to each country in Asia. It does not seem probable that all these countries will send even one delegate each, but already 10 Asian countries have promised representatives, two non-Asian countries are sending special visiting representatives, and communications are in progress with seven other countries, which are still seeking delegates. The number of delegates will certainly be between 50 and 100, and they will represent the chief racial divisions of Asia. Delegates may be either direct representatives of Women's Organisations, or nominees of Governments, or private individuals. The All-India Reception Committee will secure hospitality for the delegates at the port nearest to Lahore, (Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi), will pay their return fare second class between that port and Lahore, provide board and quarters for them in Lahore during the week of the Conference and will do everything possible to give them an enjoyable visit to India. Delegates must be prepared to meet all other travelling and residence expenses themselves. The Indian delegation will consist of ten available signatories, and ten representatives of the All-India Reception Committee.

Women of non-Asian birth will be welcome as visitors to the Conference but will not have the right of speaking, or voting at the Conference session. Board and lodging will be provided for them at Lahore for between Rs. 3 and 6 per day, or possibly free of charge. The meeting will be open to all women visitors, Indian and Foreign. Special arrangements will be made for Members of the Reception Committee.

<i>Fees.</i> —	Rs.
Delegates	10
Non-Asian Visitors	10
Reception Committee Members ..	10
Patrons	200

The organisers of the Conference do not consider that the political conditions of India will prevent the holding of the Conference or cause any discomfort to the delegates, though national conditions have so changed since the invitation of the Conference was first sent out that it will be possible to show Indian hospitality only under a shadow and with notable absences of prominent women leaders, but still strong to promote inter-Asian goodwill and mutual understanding.

Each country is now requested through this Bulletin to send to the Secretary the name of the national representative it chooses to be included in the All-Asian Committee which will be responsible for the Conference from the time of the complete formation of the Committee (conditions of distance making it necessary for the Indian Organisers to carry forward arrangements

till then, consulting as far as possible with national correspondent). The Secretary for this Committee will be Rani Lakshmibai G. Rajwade, Gwalior.

Replies have to date been received from Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan, Burma, Iraq, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Hawaii, Persia, Baluchistan and Java. Correspondents from these countries have written to the Secretaries stating that their people are deeply interested in the promotion of the Conference and are co-operating in various ways. Their local newspapers have printed the translated invitation and all desire to publish the Reports of the Conference activities; organisations have held meetings on the subjects, in one case broadcast lectures have been given; there have been articles in the Press and much correspondence is circulating.

Delegates of the following nationalities have definitely promised to attend: Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Burma, Baluchistan, Nepal, Persia, Japan, Java, India. Non-Asian visitors have already arrived from New Zealand and the United States and communications are being exchanged relative to delegates arriving from Siam, Georgia, Afghanistan, China, Indo-China, Iraq and Turkestan.

Speakers on Subjects, and Written Papers.—Delegates are requested at once to send three subjects in order of preference on which they will be willing to speak or read a paper. The Secretaries of women's associations in the different countries are also invited to send written statements giving their experience and ideals on the objects of the Conference and these will be read or printed as circumstances permit.

National Dress and National Art.—Delegates are requested to wear national dress throughout the Conference and to bring on loan some representative products of the country as the art expression of their national culture. These will form a small Asian Exhibition entirely chosen by women as typical of Oriental beauty without reference to production for Western markets.

Delegates are requested to send their names and addresses immediately; though places will be reserved for late eleventh-hour representatives. Delegates should at the same time send their vote for the President of the Conference (giving three names in order of preference). Up to date Srimati Sarojini Naidu has received the largest number of votes. As it is quite uncertain whether she will be released from prison before the date of the Conference, it seems most fitting that the delegates should choose the President at their first meeting preliminary to the Conference sessions. This is specially necessary as replies have not been received from some of the nominees for the Presidency and yet they may be able to attend.

Detailed Information for Delegates and Visitors.—Please note that the dates of the Conference have had to be changed by a few days owing to local circumstances. The dates are now from January 19th to January 25th instead of the dates first announced January 23rd to January 30th. It will be necessary to bring plenty of rugs to travel in India and for the Conference it is necessary also to bring bedding, but this can conveniently be bought at the ports if desired, and warm clothing as Lahore is then extremely cold though sunny and pleasant in the daytime. The journey from Karachi, Bombay or Calcutta to Lahore takes 36 hours so delegates must arrive in India not later than January 16th. The All-India Women's Conference takes place in Lahore from January 12th to 16th and delegates to the Asian Conference will be heartily welcome to attend it as special delegates. They will be met at Bombay by Mrs. Fiaz Tyabji, at Karachi by Mrs. Homi Mehta, at Calcutta by Miss Richett.

Personnel of Delegates.—Amongst the delegates will be Madame Nasik Abed (Madame Mahomed Jamil Begum), noted Arabian patriot and social worker who has consented to stand for election as President of the Conference. She speaks English, French and Urdu. Her husband, a noted writer, President of the Libanese Academy, Syria, and supporter of the women's cause in Muhammadan society will accompany her to India. Madame Nasik Abed Begum in the course of her letter writes, "I esteem very highly your great work in trying to make women of all Asia meet in one place. I can understand the difficulty in this work as much as I know well how much it will give a good result to women of the East and the whole humanity. I am very eager to accept your invitation and come with my husband to join you in this great work."

Madame Nour Hamada, President of the Eastern Women's Conference held in Damascus last July, is deeply sympathetic with the Conference and, if she cannot come herself, is arranging to send a delegate.

Madame Hibino, wife of the Professor of Anthropology in the Government College of Formosa, is urging the Japanese Government to send delegates from Formosa where she has been arousing interest in the Conference by lectures, press publicity and broadcasting. Miss Taki Fujits, Correspondence Secretary of the Japan Women's Committee for International Affairs with eight affiliated societies, wrote that her committee is grateful to the women of India for taking the initiative in this matter and that it is really time the women of Asia should make a determined effort to understand one another and work together. The Japan Advertiser gave special prominence to the Invitation and later to the No. I Bulletin.

Madame Soondhi of Bandoeng, Java, writes, "We have elected some women to be the delegates of our women's associations and they will represent

the women of Indonesia. In response to your call to bring women of our scattered countries and our Oriental cultures together for the service of Asia and the world there arises not only a warm response in us, but it also seems a result of our own desires.”

Two women’s associations in Ceylon have promised to send at least three delegates. Lady diaz Bandaranaike, President of the Women’s Franchise Union of Ceylon, has already enrolled as a delegate. She is leader of all philanthropic and women’s movements in Ceylon, and mother of the leader of the Independence Party in the Ceylon Legislative Council.

Begum Sultan Ferrukh, M.A., Special prize winner in Persian of the Calcutta University, promises to attend as a representative of Persia. Madame Mastroore-e-Afsear, writing from Teheran, Persia, as President of the Persian Patriotic Women’s Association, says, “Your printed letter, sisters, which meant a happy message as regards fundamental reforms and union of the women of the East, reached me duly and was read with pleasure and regard inasmuch as it proved a source of great hopefulness in connection with the salvation and happiness of the women of different Eastern nations. It is quite natural that we have long been in need of such a union and as you, dear sisters, have succeeded in convening an important international conference of the women of the East, I and the members of the Persian Women’s Society tender you our most cordial congratulations and supplicate the Almighty to grant you all success. I will do my best to see that a Persian delegate attends the Conference. I have had your letter published in the local press and in the *Shafeke Sorkh*, a well-known local journal. We shall be highly gratified to be in touch with you and to have the pleasure of receiving your communications and while tendering our best regards to you, unitedly acclaim, with no ordinary gratification. ‘Long live our union of the women of Asia’.”

Mrs. Pradhwan of the Kallimpong Buddhist Association promises three delegates from Nepal and will seek other from Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet.

Promises of delegates from Burma have come through the National Council of Women, Burma. China is conspicuous through lack of reply of any kind to letters sent to over thirty very varied and representative addresses. Indo-China and Siam fear that no delegates will be so enterprising as to travel alone to India, and lack of funds prevents possibility of more than one attending.

It has to be noted that the Pan-Pacific Women’s Conference secured delegates from eight countries after two years’ preparation and with large financial

resources and a fully equipped organisation as its sponsor. It is therefore remarkable that delegates from ten countries are already promised for the All-Asian Conference.

Interest shown by Non-Asian Countries.—Foremost amongst the sympathisers with the Conference outside Asia are Dame Rachel Crowdy of the League of Nations, Madmoiselle Capy of "L'Oeuvre", Paris, Madame Madeleine Doty, editor of "Pax International", the Secretary of the Bahai Movement, Geneva, Miss Balch, President of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, Chicago, U.S.A., Miss Power and Miss Harrison of the Whitley Labour Commission, Dr. Miss Henny of the Codification of Law Committee, Geneva, Mrs. Fisher (wife of Bishop Fisher recently of Calcutta) now in Ann Arbor, U.S.A., in touch with the 400 Asian students studying at the University there, Mrs. Bolus, Secretary of the London Branch of the Women's International Council, Miss Betty Lundy of U.S.A. and Miss Isabel Robertson of New Zealand who have already arrived in India. The latter is an active member of the New Zealand and India Welfare League.

All-India Reception Committee.—H. H. The Junior Maharani of Travancore, Rani Rajwade and Sardar Sir Shitole have become Patrons of the Conference. Amongst those who have joined the Reception Committee are Mrs. Fiaz Tyabji, Mrs. Premchand, Dr. Sukhtankar, Dr. Nowrange, Judge Madgaokar, Col. Irani, Dr. Pennell, Miss Mary Campbell, Miss Mayadas, Miss Sushila Ram of Delhi, Mr. Hamid Ali, General Rajwade, Mr. and Mrs. P. K. Sen, Dr. Thungamma, Professor Seshadri, Sir Moropant Joshi, Mr. Khattry, Professor Mohan Singh; and further information has especially been requested by residents in the Indian States of Indore, Bikanir, Kapurthala, Kolhapur, Travancore and Kotah.

**A Standing Invitation to join The All-India Reception
Committee is extended to all men and women**

who are in sympathy with the aims of the Conference, and who are willing to co-operate in according All-India hospitality to delegates and visitors from outside India for this unique experiment at Asian synthesis.

It is expected that a Princess of one of the Indian States will be the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee. Donors of Rs. 200 or more will be classed as Patrons. The Membership fee for the Reception Committee is Rs. 10. Special arrangements will be made at the Conference for Reception Committee Members.

Duties of the Reception Committee :—

1. To welcome delegates at the ports and give them hospitality there.
2. To arrange meetings locally which the delegates may address.
3. To collect their travelling expenses to and from that port to Lahore (Railway concessions have been requested).
4. To arrange the General Programme for the visit of delegates in co-operation with the Lahore Local Reception Committee.
5. To collect funds for the Conference at Lahore.
6. To elect from the members of the Reception Committee ten representatives to the Conference, and Officers for the Reception Committee. Only members who have joined before December 15 will have the opportunity of voting by post for ten of their fellow-members from the whole list of members which will be sent to them.

Provisional Secretary to the All-India Reception Committee, Mrs. M. E. Cousins, c/o The Town Hall, Lahore, the Punjab, to whom the Fees of Reception Committee Members should be sent and from whom further information can be obtained.

WAYS OF HELPING.

The problem of fusing Asia is difficult in the extreme, but some one must make a beginning,—why not its women, its mothers? Give your help by influence, ideas, money, encouragement.

Please help the Conference by joining as a Delegate, non-Asian Visitor, Patron or Member of the Reception Committee and by sending your name, address and fee.

Please attend the Conference and persuade others also to do so and send general requirements as regards food and lodging.

Please bring the Conference to the notice of the public in every possible way, especially to those interested in internationalism, world peace, the problems and assets of Asia, an international health service, an international child welfare service, reforms concerned with sex and narcotics.

Ask people to join the Reception Committee.

Send names and addresses of nationals of non-Indian countries resident in India. Invite them to join the Conference as Delegates or Members of the Reception Committee.

Send suggestions for carrying the Conference to success.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR ENROLMENT.

LAHORE, *January 19th to 25th*, 1931.

To

RANI LAKSHMIBAI RAJWADE,
HONORARY SECRETARY,
ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE,
GWALIOR (Central India).

MADAM,

I shall be obliged if you will enroll me as a (1) Delegate, (2) Non-Asian Visitor, (3) Patron, (4) Member of the Reception Committee.

I am sending M. O. for

Yours sincerely,

Signature.....

Full Address.....

.....

.....

Date 1930.

PROGRAMME OF THE ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Date.	Time.	Programme.
Sunday, 18th Jan. 1931	Evening	.. Asian Delegates arrive.
Monday, 19th Jan. 1931	9 a.m. to 10 a.m.	.. Registration of Delegates.
" " "	10 a.m. to 12 or 1 p.m.	.. Informal meeting of Delegates to elect President and discuss programme.
" " "	4-30 p.m.	.. Opening Ceremony in the Town Hall. (By Invitation Tickets for men and women).
" " "	9-30 p.m.	.. " At Home " by University women at Queen Mary's College. (Delegates only).
Tuesday, 20th Jan. 1931	9 a.m. to 12 a.m.	.. First Sitting of the Conference. Subjects for addresses : Cult of the Family. Ceremonies for Ancestors. Marriage.
" " "	2 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.	.. Second Session. Motherhood. Polygamy. Traffic in Women.
" " "	4-30 p.m. to 7 p.m.	.. " At Home " by Municipal Committee at Town Hall. (By Invitation to men and women).
" " "	9 p.m.	.. Concert by the Punjab Orchestral and Dramatic Club.
Wednesday, 21st Jan. 1931	9 a.m. to 12 a.m.	.. Third Session. Health.
" " "	2 p.m. to 5 p.m.	.. Fourth Session. Education. Religion.
Thursday, 22nd Jan. 1931	10 a.m. to 1 a.m.	.. Visit to Institutions.
" " "	2 p.m. to 5 p.m.	.. Fifth Session. Labour Conditions.
" " "	6 p.m.	.. Public meeting to be addressed by non-Asian visitors and men speakers.
Friday, 23rd Jan. 1931	9 a.m. to 12 a.m.	.. Sixth Session. Women and Government.
" " "	2 p.m. to 5 p.m.	.. Private Session of Delegates only (to formulate Resolutions).
" " "	5 p.m. to 7 p.m.	.. Purdah " At Home " by Lady Abdul Qadir.
" " "	6-30 p.m.	.. Continuation of Private Sessions.
Saturday, 24th Jan. 1931	9 a.m. to 12 p.m.	.. Seventh Session. Passing of Resolutions.
" " "	1-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.	.. Eighth Session. Future work. Closing addresses.
" " "	5 p.m. to 7 p.m.	.. " At Home " by the Cosmopolitan Club (Delegates only).
" " "	9 p.m.	.. Play by Government College Dramatic Club, at Government College (Delegates Free).
Sunday, 25th Jan. 1931	Whole-day	.. Excursion to Historical Monuments in Lahore (Delegates Free).

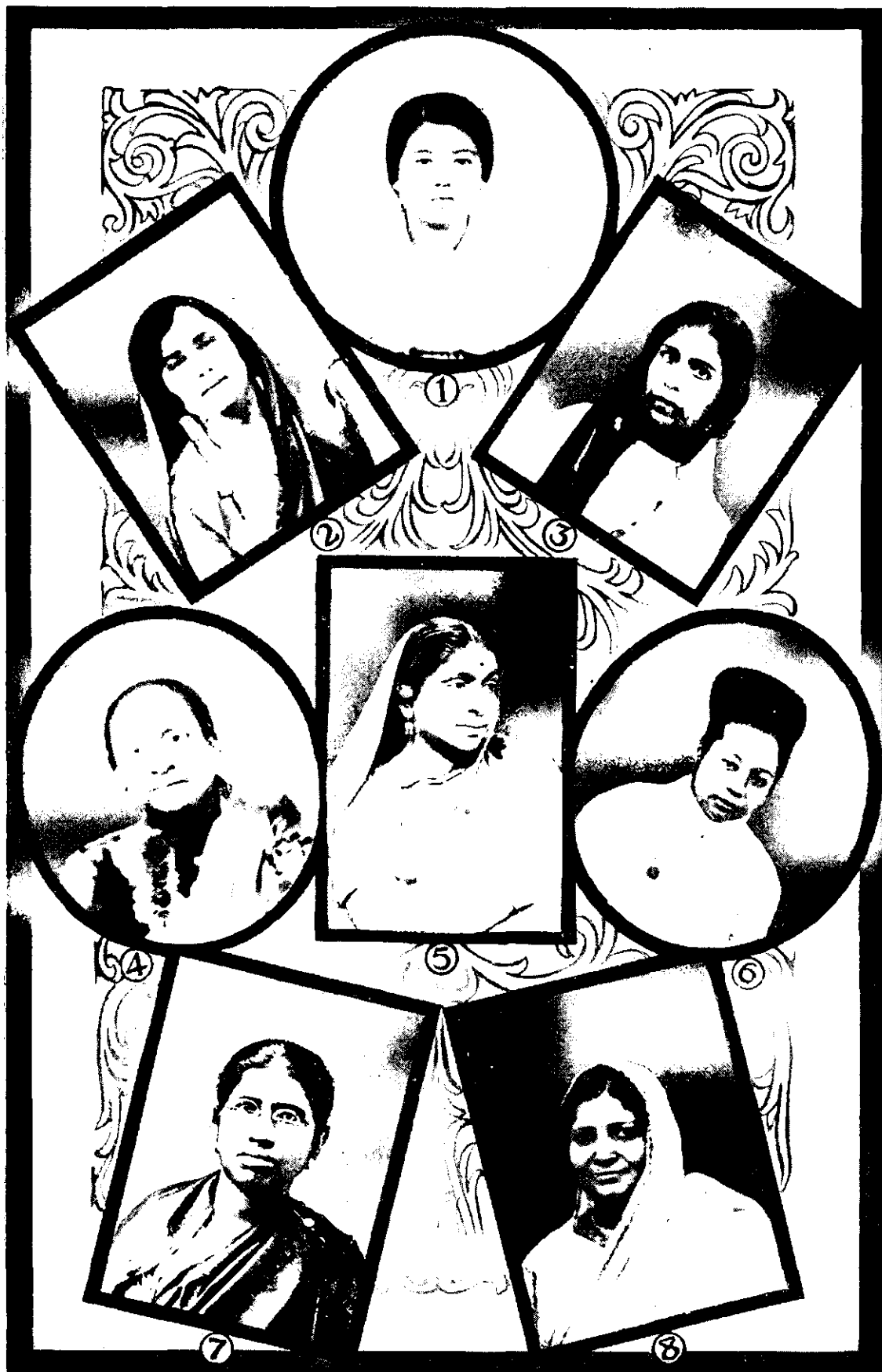
INFORMAL MEETING.

Soon after the registration of delegates and before the formal sessions of the Conference actually began an informal meeting of the delegates was held on the 19th January 1931 to consider the election of the President and discuss programme. This was the first occasion on which the delegates coming from Java, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Persia, Burma, Japan and India assembled in one place. It was a delight to see representative women of diverse Asian Nationalities, meet together inspired with the one common ideal of creating an All-Asian Alliance of Women. Introductions being over, the delegates sat down to consider the various names that were proposed for the Presidency, these being Madame Nour Hamada (Syria), Madame Nasik Abed (Beirut Syria), Madame Sarojini Naidu (India), Mrs. Inouye (Japan), and Mrs. Sunyat Sen (China). The Organizing Secretary then read out a letter from Madame Nur Hamada of Syria in which the latter had suggested that since India had convened this Conference it was in the fitness of things that an Indian woman should preside over it and that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was the most suitable person even though she was in prison. To get over this difficulty she proposed that having formally elected her, the work could be carried on by a Vice-President who should also be an Indian, and who should take the chair on the first day. For the subsequent days her suggestion was that women of other Nationalities should be asked to preside by turns. This suggestion was accepted unanimously and it was decided informally that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu should be elected President.

The tentative programme was then placed before the delegates. In adopting it it was decided that the first six sessions of the Conference should be devoted to collecting information and exchanging views regarding the subjects mentioned therein. It was hoped that this procedure would enable the delegates to arrive at the greatest measure of agreement on the questions discussed after which it would be possible to crystallize those ideas and put them in the form of formal resolutions which could be adopted formally at the 7th Session.

Names of ladies to act as President on each of the six days of the Conference were suggested and accepted, and they were as follows :—

Opening Ceremony, Monday, 19th January 1931 . . Lady Bandaranaike (Ceylon).
 First Sitting, Tuesday, 20th January 1931 . . Miss May Oung (Burma).
 Second „ Wednesday, 21st January 1931 . . Madame Hoshi (Japan).



1. Miss Hoshi (Japan).
2. Mrs. Kamaluddin (Afghanistan).
3. Mrs. Fozdar (Persia).
4. Lady Bandaranaike (Ceylon).
5. Mrs. Naidu (India).
6. Miss Oung (Burma).
7. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi (India).
8. Mrs. Hamid Ali (India).

- Third Sitting, Thursday, 22nd January 1931 .. Mrs. Kamaluddin (Afghanistan).
- Fourth ,, Friday, 23rd January 1931 .. { Mrs. Hamid Ali (India).
 Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy
 (India).
- Fifth ,, Saturday, 24th January 1931 .. Mrs. Shirin Fozdar (Persia).

Mrs. Santoso and Miss Sunayarti had come to attend the Conference as delegates from Java. On arrival they found that the Conference had among its body of helpers some European women. Both these women from Java belonged to the Self-Help League of their country. This Organization had given them a mandate to refrain from participating as delegates in the Conference in the eventuality of co-operation and help from European women. They, therefore, decided on principle to attend as visitors only. The other delegates present at the Informal Meeting appreciating their position welcomed them as visitors.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

Proceedings of the Opening day, the 19th January 1931.

Lively scenes were witnessed at the Town Hall Gardens this afternoon, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the All-Asian Women's Conference. The place had been specially decorated and the delegates, in their beautiful national costumes—rendered more beautiful in the artistic settings, presented a spectacular sight. The Conference opened with the following Vedic Hymn :—

VEDIC HYMN.

United in progress

United in speech, united in thoughts

Let our minds approach Thee

With the same objects before us in this great gathering.

Her Highness The Rani of Mandi then read out the following address on behalf of her Mother H. H. The Maharani of Kapurthala, the President of the Reception Committee, who could not be present at the Opening Ceremony :—

SISTER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the greatest pleasure in having this opportunity of reading to you this Presidential address on behalf of H. H. The Maharani of Kapurthala, who was unfortunately not able to be present here to-day. I am fully conscious of my limitations and would have hesitated to undertake the task but for the belief that the shortcomings of a member of your own sex would be treated with leniency and indulgence.

This gathering is, I believe, the first of its kind ever held in Asia. There are assembled here to-day representatives of the women of practically every important country in our continent, to whom I, on behalf of the women of India, extend the warmest welcome. (*Cheers*). This Conference which owes its existence to the brilliant imagination and labours of the women in this country, is a striking indication of the spirit which now animates the womankind of the East. It is, indeed, a tangible illustration of that cultural unity of Asiatic women which,

so far, has only found expression in the uniformity of the conception of their position in the domestic and social life of the countries composing our huge continent. Living practically under identical conditions, sharing the good or ill effects of similar customs and traditions and cramped psychology, and actuated in an equal measure by a longing for a change for what may be described as the renaissance of the women of Asia, no organization existed for them to come together, to exchange ideas and devise measures for achieving their common aims and objects. This Conference, I need scarcely point out, is designed to provide such a medium, a nucleus for the regeneration of our womankind on an intellectual bias.

Our programme is ambitious but is not impossible of achievement. We aim to promote cultural unity among the women of Asia, to place at the service of humanity those qualities which are peculiar to our oriental civilization, to stamp out those evils which have crept into our civilization through sins of omission or commission, to pick out and adapt to our use those virtues of civilization and culture which have elevated the West to a high pinnacle of social and material prosperity, to benefit ourselves by exchange of knowledge and experience of women's conditions in our respective countries, and lastly, to advance the cause of world peace. (*Loud cheers*). In short, we desire not merely to regenerate ourselves but through that regeneration we mean to promote human progress and happiness at large. (*Hear, hear*). I am sure you will agree that the ideals we have set before ourselves are eminently noble and they must rouse the enthusiasms of every thinking woman of Asia. (*Cheers*).

But let me sound a note of warning. It is not enough to have ideals or to cherish them in the abstract. Unless you make up your minds to make them as articles of faith, allow them to influence your daily lives and pursue them actively, your ideals, however laudable they may be, will be of no earthly use to you, or your countries. (*Cheers*).

Just try and picture to yourselves what a glorious future there is before us if we honestly endeavour to carry out the programme which is chalked out. Imagine the sum of human misery we can put an end to, the joy we can bring to millions of our fellow women, the health and happiness we can ensure for countless children who would otherwise grow, or perhaps die in the attempt, through sickness and squalor, into miserable specimens of humanity. Think of what contribution we can make towards the progress of a large portion of human race, with vast potentialities for good to the whole world. Are such ideals

only to secure mere lip-service? Are we not endowed with brains that will think sanely and sensibly and with hearts capable of boundless sympathy for our own race and an imagination vivid enough to envisage the glorious resurrection we can be instrumental in bringing about in Asia? (*Cheers*). Sisters, we cannot afford to watch and sit idle; to have ideals and not to strive our utmost to attain them. Let our hearts beat in unison, in response to the pulsation of ideas of social and cultural advancement and let us join hands firmly in eradicating the evils that beset the womankind of Asia and let us show, by results, that the women of Asia instead of being mute and helpless ornaments are as capable as their sisters of the West, of holding aloft the beacon of enlightenment and culture. We are naturally anxious to share as copartners the cares, anxieties and responsibilities of our menfolk. Hence let us equip ourselves efficiently for the assumption of this new position. Let us discard the customs and traditions which have been strangling our domestic lives, and be an inspiring and noble influence in our households, in the countries and in the world at large. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

In accordance with the informal decision of the delegates Mrs. Hamid Ali then rose to propose the name of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for formal election as President. This being unanimously accepted she further said that since Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in prison the delegates had decided to elect a new president for each day of the Conference. Accordingly she proposed that for the opening day Lady Bandaranaike of Ceylon should take the chair. In introducing her Mrs. Hamid Ali apprised the audience of the excellent work Lady Bandaranaike had done for securing equal franchise for women in Ceylon, and also that she had devoted her life for the uplift of the women of that Island. Mrs. Hamid Ali expressed the hope that Lady Bandaranaike's example will be emulated in India.

Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji in seconding the proposal expressed her conviction that the time was ripe for Indian women to demand their right to work side by side with men and congratulated Lady Bandaranaike on having achieved such a great success in her country.

Lady Bandaranaike then took the chair amid loud and prolonged cheers.

S. Lakshmibai Rajwade then read out the messages of sympathy received from prominent persons and institutions, chief among which were from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Shrimati Sarladevi Chaudhrani, H. H. The Maharani Regent of Travancore, A. B. Effendi of Egypt, leader of the Bahai Movement, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Professor Radhakrishnan, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, H. H. The Rani Sahib of Sangli, Sir M. V. Joshi, The Jewish

Women's Equal Rights Association of Jerusalem, Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, The British Section of the International League of Peace and Freedom, The Servants of India Society, The Committee of International relations in Japan, The Persian Patriotic Women's Association, The Bombay Bahai's and others. All these messages were full of sympathy with the movement and hopeful of the issue of the Conference. They are printed separately in Appendix C.

The following telegram was then sent to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu :—

“ YOU ARE UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED PRESIDENT ASIAN CONFERENCE. KINDLY SEND MESSAGE FOR OPENING TO-DAY. INTIMATE WHEN ABLE TO JOIN US”.

“ RAJWADE, ORGANIZING SECRETARY.”

S. Lakshmibai Rajwade, the Organizing Secretary, then read out the following report :—

SISTERS FROM ASIA AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Rani Amrit Kaur of Mandi, on behalf of her mother H. H. The Maharani of Kapurthala, the President of the All-India Reception Committee, has just extended India's welcome to you who represent Asia as a continent. As Honorary Organizing Secretary, it is my duty to lay before you and this gathering the manner through which the Conference has come into existence, the ideals which have inspired it and what has already been accomplished.

Due to the many facilities of communication provided by modern science and as a result of the realization of the ever-increasing necessity of closer co-operation between races and races, the women of India like their Western sisters were inspired by the idea of creating an Asian organization whose sole aim would be to bring about solidarity among the women of many nations inhabiting this vast continent. The Pan-Pacific Women's Conference had succeeded in bringing about this result amongst the women round the Pacific—the American women achieved a similar success through their Conference—but we in India felt that Asia was lagging behind in unified self-consciousness, with the result that her culture, which was quite different from those of Latin and Teutonic Europe and America, could not, for want of solidarity, be utilized for the service of humanity.

The proposal to hold an All-Asian Women's Conference was originated by Mrs. Cousins (*cheers*), International Representative of the Women's Indian Association of Madras after her world tour during which she came in touch with other women's organizations and brought

back messages of sympathy and co-operation from the women of many lands. The idea of organizing an All-Asian Women's Conference was taken up by the Women's Indian Association of Madras and circulated to the Press, to prominent people, The All-India Women's Conference and to the various Women's Associations throughout India, with a request that those who were in favour of holding this Conference and were willing to co-operate should give the organisers the benefit of their suggestions. In this circular the needs of holding this Conference were vividly described and the lack of solidarity amongst Asian women and their ignorance of one another was particularly stressed. It was regretfully pointed out that despite their heritage of common culture and oneness of outlook and ideals, they—our Asian sisters—were so unhappily circumstanced, that an Indian woman knew nothing of the Chinese woman, the Burmese woman was entirely ignorant of the light of her Persian sister, the Japanese and the Indian women knew more about the Dutch and the English respectively than they did about each other. The proposal to hold an All-Asian Women's Conference in India, took definite shape at the time of the All-India Women's Conference on Education and Social Reforms in Bombay, in January 1930, when a number of prominent women met together and decided to send out to their sisters in the various countries of Asia, an invitation to combine in creating an All-Asian Conference of Women. This invitation was signed by 14 of the women best known in various spheres of activities, and representing every caste, creed and race in India. It was issued on the 12th March 1930 to over 300 individuals connected with the women organisation and to other well-known women in the 33 countries of Asia. The invitation met with a remarkably sympathetic response. As expressed by our Javanese correspondent "there arises not only a warm response of welcome in us, but it also seems the result of our own desire." (*Cheers*). It was translated into 40 different languages all over the Asian continent and through these mediums we have already accomplished a great deal in the dissemination of the ideal of concerted action and oriental unity for which this Conference stands. (*Cheers*). The objects of the Conference as communicated in this invitation and in the Bulletin were as follows :—

1. To promote the consciousness of unity amongst the women of Asia as members of a common oriental culture.
2. To take stock of the qualities of Oriental civilisation so as to preserve them for national and world service (simplicity, philosophy, art, the cult of the family, veneration for motherhood, spiritual consciousness).

3. To review and seek remedies for the defects at present apparent in Oriental civilisation (ill-health, illiteracy, poverty and underpayment of labour, infantile mortality, marriage customs).
4. To sift what is appropriate for Asia from the Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas, machinery).
5. To strengthen one another by the exchange of data and experiences concerning women's conditions in the respective countries of Asia (economic, moral, political and spiritual status).
6. To promote world peace.

The interest aroused by this invitation was most encouraging, suggestions and offers of help poured forth from all directions. Indeed, all thinking people realised the importance of preserving what was best in the Asian culture and sifting before absorbing what came from the West. Everybody agreed that for the preservation of the special gifts of Asia, nothing could be more helpful than bringing together the closest custodians of her inherent life—the women of Asia—so that they may discuss their own culture and problems, and through a better knowledge of their fundamental unity, may be able to solve their problem in their own ways, rather than helplessly apply Western panaceas which were ill-adapted to cure their social and other evils. Having seen the endless strife and misery caused by the highly materialistic and artificial life in the West and the pitiable struggle for existence consequent thereupon, it was felt that the time had come when Asia should once again deliver her message to the world, this time through its women—the message of peace, simplicity, serenity and unselfish service of humanity. (*Loud cheers*).

We have now tried to grapple with difficulties of long distance, finance and postal irregularities, and have thus succeeded in bringing here to-day 18 women delegates from Japan, Burma, Afghanistan, Ceylon, and Persia. (*Cheers*). The interest shown by our non-Asian sisters has brought as visitors ladies from New Zealand and America. The mere fact that so many of our Asian sisters have responded to our call and leaving their distant homes have come here for the purpose of exchanging cultural data is proof positive of the fact that there is a wide awakening throughout the Continent, which, with the aid of a Conference like the present one, may well be organised and directed

to consolidate the common ideals and aspirations of Oriental womanhood as an essential factor in the growth of international understanding, world peace and regeneration of humanity. Our thanks are due to all our brothers and sisters who have come from abroad at great sacrifice of their personal convenience, and we feel sure that if we fail adequately to provide for their comforts, they will look upon this shortcoming with the same magnanimity of mind, which prompted them to leave their homes to render service to the cause of womanhood. (*Cheers*). We have limited ourselves in this initial experience to women of Asia only but in future we hope to extend so as to include amongst our members women of other Continents who have shown by their understanding, sympathy, and service of the Orient, their complete unity with our ideals (*cheers*), and later we hope to have the presence of our brothers at all our sessions (*loud cheers*) which has regrettably not been possible in this city. A later vision sees us having broken through even the limit of a Continent, and fully self-conscious of being one with the great federation of the world. (*Cheers*).

Lady Bandaranaike then delivered the following Presidential address:—

SISTER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you most sincerely for the great honour you have done me in electing me as the President of this day's function.

It is a privilege and pleasure to be among you in a gathering which represents the whole of Asia.

Asia as we all know is the oldest of all continents and is the birth-place of the great religions of the world: Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism. Its culture and civilization extends beyond a period that has been touched by any human history. (*Cheers*). All the nations of the world claim Asia as their birth-place.

We are very grateful to our Indian sisters for taking the initiative in this matter and in having brought us all together for the benefit of the world and humanity. (*Loud cheers*).

We in Ceylon are aware of the fact that India is the home of our origin. The majority of the Sinhalese hold India sacred as the birth-place of the Buddha. (*Hear, hear*). So we are happy to come here and to share with you the joy of common deliberations, that we may conserve the best in our civilization and give the best as our especial gift to the world. (*Cheers*).

Sisters let us discuss these problems and exchange our views on these matters and try to understand each other's point of view in a spirit of give and take. Let us benefit ourselves and benefit others.

When we return home, each to our own country, we will have the satisfaction and the joy of having known the Asian point of view in our problems relating to women and children.

The delegates from different countries then conveyed their greetings in their own languages translating the same in English. The audience much appreciated the chance of hearing strange and new languages and accents and were specially amused at the strenuous endeavours of General and Poet Lien Yen Hon of China to express himself in English about his life-work "The Feminist World Democracy" of which he is the founder.

The Hon'ble Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Minister of Agriculture, then addressed the Conference as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

May I express on behalf of the Punjab our sense of gratitude to be associated with this movement which is going to bring together all the women of Asia. I consider it a great privilege and honour which the Punjab is at the present moment enjoying.

The Conference of to-day is a symbol and has significance peculiarly its own. While men are still engaged in idle pursuit of discovering some method of unity, without sacrificing aggrandisement of self, you women with your unfailing intuition have realised that a world that is linked by aeroplane, the wireless, the steamship cannot held together unless hearts are linked with hearts and competitive ideals are replaced by a spirit of helpfulness. (*Cheers*). It is a long and weary road on which we are entering to-day. I say we, for men will follow where you lead. (*Laughter*). It will require all the patience and endurance that we can exercise to attain the goal and realisation will come when all nations, great and small, stand in their proper places as equals and members of one family. It is given to you to lay the foundations of new understanding in the hearts and homes of all our people. Perchance, women of India will be inspired to put their own house in order and bring to the All-Asian Conference when it meets again, the gift of communal understanding and good-will and a larger understanding between English and Indian women, as a prelude to world peace. (*Loud cheers*). Dreams, yes, but world would be dreary a place, without dreams of true love, heroism and happiness. I ask you, why should it be impossible in the dawn of realisation, the recognition of the fact that we are limbs of one another ?

I know of no parallel in the history of the world of such a movement as this Women's Conference representing the whole of Asia. (*Hear, hear*). This Conference shows that a new dawn is breaking in the East, with its promise of renewed life, refreshment and glory. The women of Asia are right in taking control of the new forces at the start, with a view to inspire and guide the new awakening and bring harmony to the countries of the rising Sun which might have dispersed their powers without using them for common good. The women of Asia as custodians of our old civilization have come to save it, and free it of debilitating influence.

Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji a few moments ago said that women and men should walk together and that women should have a Franchise, too, I am tempted to ask whether women want it as man's equals or as his masters.

Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji. "As equals, of course."

Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji says so, but I am afraid I still believe her heart swells with the desire to employ those whom she can employ to carry out her wishes. (*Laughter*).

You have been always ready to wait and to suffer, to surrender and to mourn, the new world is calling upon you to be heroic in freedom, and to bear yourself in the same way, as you have done throughout the age with becoming gravity in the dazzling light which now sweeps the world. The law of love has governed you so far, must govern you in future and though the Purdah must go, it is my hope, you will transfer it to the mind of man himself, so that he may behave in true modesty before the face of all maidens and in reverence for all womankind. The need of a new asceticism is no less upon you to-day than it was yesterday. In these days of finery, it is given to you to make the simplicity the fashion, the things made in your own homes, articles of infinite value. It is in your strength, and in your practice of what I may call a new asceticism, that future of our civilization and our happiness rests.

You can help the East to preserve its joy in simple life, and its strength in self-denial and if you fail in your part, we cannot fulfil ours, such absolute helpmates as you are. The whole course of character of your lovers, husbands, sons is in your hands. They are but mirrors and reflect your minds, if you love God they will be perfect in the fear of God, if you are wise they will be wise, if you mock at their counsel they will be even fools for you ; in short they will listen to no other inter-

pretation of life than uttered from your lips. You have been told so often, that a wife's rule should be over her husband's house. Indeed, it is in his heart that a wife is the queen.

Ladies of Asia, I don't wish to detain you any more, I am sure you would forgive speaking one his mind, in.

I am sure that the Conference that has met to-day will continue to meet not only in all countries of Asia, but also in all countries of Europe and help in that good cause on which you have embarked to-day. Men may go round, men may make mistakes, but you with your unfailing instinct can bring that peace, that joy of living together which the human race at the present moment desires. (*Hear, hear*).

I can only pray that this Conference may bring us all together, and as in the past, so in the future, you may, whatever is dark for us, fill us with light, what is impure, free it of all impurity, and strengthen men to banish poverty and helplessness, from our vast Continent and in our diversity of race and religion infuse a new spirit of unity. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi warmly thanked the President on behalf of the Punjab and extended the heartiest welcome to the delegates, hoping that they would take to their countries the gospel they were preaching, *viz.* of humanity and understanding not only of India or Asia, but the whole world.

Lady Bandaranaike thanked the audience for being so patient and the organizers of the Conference—specially Mrs. Cousins—for the excellent work they had done with regard to the Conference.

The session then closed with the following prayer of Dr. Ravindranath Tagore recited by a chorus of girls, led by Mrs. P. K. Sen everybody standing:—

“ Glory to Thee, Lord of the destiny of Ind,
 Guide of the minds of men
 The Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Maharastra, Madras, Orissa, Bengal,
 The Vindhya, the Himalayas, the Ganges, the Jamna, and the
 swelling waves of the sea.
 Awake at Thy holy name craving Thy blessing
 And sing the chant of Thy glory.
 Glory to Thee, Lord of the destiny of Ind,
 Thou Giver of good unto men
 Glory, Glory, Glory unto Thee, Glory for evermore.

II

Thy call sounds day and night. Hearing thine lofty word
 Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, Mussalman, Christian
 East and West gather round thy throne
 And weave a garland of love
 Thou maker of unity among men,
 Lord of the destiny of Ind
 Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory unto Thee for evermore.

III

Lo, the night breaks into dawn, the
 Eastern sky is glowing red at the approach of sunrise,
 The birds break into song, the blessed breeze blows the breath of
 new life.
 In the young sunlight of Thy mercy
 Smiles sleeping Asia.
 Bowing her head at Thy feet
 Glory, Glory, Glory ! Lord of Universe
 Lord of destiny of Asia
 Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory unto Thee for evermore."

All-Asian Women's Conference.

Proceedings of the 20th January 1931.

The first sitting of the All-Asian Women's Conference was held on the morning of the 20th January at the Town Hall with Miss May Oung (Burma) in the chair.

Miss Daw Hta a delegate from Burma proposed Miss Oung to the chair and introduced her to the Conference as a graduate of Rangoon and Oxford Universities; she said Miss Oung was one of the Burma's best social and uplift workers. The proposal was seconded by Lady Bandaranaike of Ceylon.

Miss May Oung in taking the chair thanked the Conference for electing her to preside over its deliberations and declared that Burma had responded to the call of Indian women in the firm belief that anything initiated by them was sure to be an unqualified success.

The Chairwoman then called upon the various speakers of the day to address the meeting, the subjects fixed for the session being "Cult of the Family; Ceremonies for ancestors; Marriage."

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras then delivered the following address :—

THE CULT OF THE FAMILY.

The Hindu society was based upon the joint family system in which the eldest member of the family carried on the management of the household and on him rested the responsibility of looking after the members of the family.

The joint family in olden days had its own advantages. It was a self-contained unit. The two bases on which the system rested were (a) co-operation or mutual help between those who were nearest in blood and bound by ties created by nature herself, (b) the care and protection of the weak, the old and the young among them.

Now after the advent of the British rule, joint family system is fast breaking down owing to the changed conditions of the present day life in Indi-

The younger generation are not willing to submit blindly to the rule of their elders. They desire for freedom, and for individual responsibility, in preference to joint responsibility and old ideas ; customs and conventions are losing their hold upon the people for which modern education, foreign influences and easy means of present day communications, the unavoidable separation of family members due to employment in different parts of the world, are responsible.

The other was the caste-system primarily divided into four castes with well defined duties and now those four castes have sub-divided themselves into 2,000 and more.

The four castes were :—

- (1) Brahmans, teachers or gurus and preachers of religion who devoted their lives to study and research and who led a life of renunciation, piety and purity ; in short who lived for the good of others.
- (2) Kshatrias or warriors or protectors of the people who were versed in the art of warfare and were rulers.
- (3) Vaishyas or merchants or traders.
- (4) Shudras or ryots or cultivators.

These four castes were not exclusive of each other, very often they were members of the same family and one did not claim superiority over the others. “ The Hindu scriptures themselves illustrate this feature of the Varnashrama system. This was a system worked very well at one time as it was based upon the principle of ‘ Division of Labour ’ ; but it has gradually degenerated into the present innumerable castes and communities with its own exclusive codes and conventions and thus has divided the Hindu society into so many water-tight compartments every caste claiming exclusive rights and privileges for themselves unmindful of the interest of the other communities. We can now safely say that reformation and reconstruction of the Hindu society has begun and is rapidly progressing. More and more the Hindus realise that united and free India would be possible only when the thousands of sub-castes forget all their differences and work jointly for the betterment of the country. With the national movement set on foot by our great leader and saint Mahatma Gandhi the caste barriers are being rapidly broken down and people are beginning to think in terms of the country and nation rather than in the interest of their own communities and castes.

CEREMONIES FOR ANCESTORS.

The Hindus believe in the existence of the soul or spirit after death in the transmigration of souls. After a death in a Hindu family the son or the nearest blood relations observe mourning for 16 days, the body having been cremated. During those 16 days certain ceremonies and rites are observed by the sons and the blood relations to please the departed soul and to promote his happiness in the other world.

The Hindus practise ancestor worship as they believe that the soul continues to live even after the destruction of the physical body. The soul of a man or "Jiva" is considered to be a part and parcel of universal spirit and "Parabrahman"—the all-pervading the eternal-being and the author of all life. Therefore the son performs "Shradha" the annual ceremony not only to propitiate his immediate dead ancestors but also the 21 generations of ancestors. During all these ceremonies the priest plays a dominant part.

Again every family or clan has a family deity—a god or goddess which the members of the family and their immediate relations have to propitiate on auspicious occasions such as the marriage of a son or a daughter in the family to receive their blessings.

Again throughout the year there are number of festival days which are considered sacred by every Hindu. Every festival day commemorates the name of a saint or a dead warrior or is the birthday of an Avatar such as Sri Krishna Jayanti, Sri Ramnavami, Ganpati Puja, Gouri Puja, and Durga Puja, etc.

MARRIAGE.

Hindu marriage is sacramental and it is indissoluble. "The virtuous women should have but one husband, as the right minded man should have but one wife", and from this point of view the lives of Ram and Sita, Nala and Damayanti, Savitri and Satyavan are the Hindu ideals.

"In the ideal of Hindu marriage we find most perfect, most unbounded love, the deepest reverence, as parts of the character of a wife; then on the side of the husband we find unflinching tenderness, continued protection, power and will to guide unflinching love!" (*Dr. Annie Beasant.*)

Here is the definition of a wife given in Mahabharata :—

“ A wife is half the man, his truest friend ;
 A loving wife is a perpetual spring
 Of virtue, pleasure, wealth ; a faithful wife
 Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss ;
 A sweetly speaking wife is a companion.
 In solitude, a father in advice,
 A mother in all seasons of distress,
 A rest in passing through life's wilderness.”

Even though the monogamous marriage has been the ideal form for the Hindus, from ancient times, still the Hindu Law allows polygamy—polygamy was perhaps the result of economic pressure. Owing to the needs for man-power in war-like India, this custom has been practised but now its existence cannot be justified. A reference to Manusmriti the greatest and most ancient code of the Hindus will convince any reader that the wife in Hindu society enjoyed equal rights with the husband so far as the question of marriage was concerned.

Mrs. Hamid Ali, who followed, said :—

The Muslims of India have adopted many Hindu customs and there is hardly any difference in many of the ordinary Hindu and Muslim households. The women are more or less in seclusion. The inner apartments being exclusively the woman's domain where she reigns supreme. Her authority is recognised within the 4 walls of the home and her—word is law—just as much as it is of the women of other nationalities. It is a mistaken notion that some people have, that Muslim women are nonentities in their homes. We too have the joint family system where two or three generations live together in one house.

We have also the custom of giving community dinners to celebrate the anniversaries of ancestors—and of having the Koran Shariff recited for the benefit of the departed souls.

We have not, generally, adopted the Hindu system of inheritance. There are however a few land owning classes amongst the Muslims whose laws of inheritance are similar to those of the Hindus. Curiously enough they entirely ignored the Shariat laws in this respect and prefer to decide their property according to “ Customary Laws.” This Customary law bears hardly on the women of the family, for it deprive them of their shares in the land, and landed property. As far as the

ordinary Muslim woman is concerned she is fortunate in having better rights of inheritance than women of any other religion ; and is moreover, entirely independent in the management of *her own property*. It is only lately that Europe has organised the rights of women in this respect—while the Muslim woman had enjoyed it for thirteen centuries.

The home life of the Muslim woman is full of responsibility ; she is the head of the household and its treasurer also. I have known women who have had the management of lands and carried on their business remarkably well. The Muslim woman is a self respecting and much respected member of the community. She fulfils her destiny with that dignity and grace and fortitude which her family bestow on her and her knowledge of Islam grants to her.

Although the right of marrying four wives is allowed by Shariat it is hedged in with so many conditions and instructions—conditions impossible to fulfil—that no true Muslim can marry more than one wife—inasmuch as any special favour shown to any of the wives would be against the injunctions of the Koran.

Having heard the other speakers describe their customs in the different parts of Asia we realise the fact that we all really belong to one great family and there are many bonds of unity amongst us.

Lady Abdul Quadir of Lahore (India) detailed the three great rights allowed to women by Islam, *viz.*, the right to choose their husbands ; the right to rescind their marriage on attaining age if they had been married while minors, and the right of inheritance. She deplored that these rights were not put into practice in India and stressed the need for agitation in this regard, to enable Muslim women to again come into their own. (*Loud applause.*)

Mrs. Ammu Swaminadhan of Madras (India), said :—

In Malabar women had absolute right over the property and had equal, if not more, freedom than men. (*Cheers.*) Their family system consisted of the grandmother or mother and children and the husband had no right whatsoever in the family, (*Laughter*) although he happened to be the father of the children. (*Renewed laughter.*) Legally, woman was everything ; although she was sorry to say the customs of other parts of India and Western civilization were making themselves felt in Malabar also, to their cost. In her part of India women were always served before men ; men and women had equal rights to

separate whenever they desired ; the husband always had to go to the wife's house to see her. (*Laughter.*) In the old days girls were not allowed to go to their husbands' houses, except on very short visits ; children always took the family name of the mother ; ceremonies for ancestors were performed by the children not for their fathers or grandfathers, but for their maternal uncles or great-grand-maternal uncles, etc., in fact women in Malabar legally had all the freedom which the women of the rest of the world were fighting for. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

Miss Ma Mya Shwe (Burma), said :—

The women of Burma had equal rights, and in their families, the father or the mother was the head—whomsoever's will happened to be predominant. (*Laughter.*) She said that the Burmese ladies were not hot-house plants, but mostly led lives economically independent of their husbands. Marriage, in her country, was not a religious ceremony and the priest did not come into the play at all ; in fact, no ceremony was necessary, and any man and woman consenting to do so publicly went and lived together as husband and wife. No lunatic or minor could, however, give his or her consent in marriage. Divorces could also be arranged by mutual consent by the wife or the husband having no communication with each other for one and three years respectively.

Mrs. S. W. Ilangakoon of Ceylon then delivered the following speech :—

If there is one thing in which the East differs from the West it is its conception of the family. The matriarchal system is of the essence of the East.

In the West individuality has been carried on to such a point that observers admit that the family system has broken down. We see it in the worst form in the increase of divorce, in estrangements between husbands and wives ; in the declining birth-rate, and the reluctance of men and women to take the responsibilities of parenthood. In the face of these stern facts, it used to be the fashion in the West to disparage Eastern civilisation. Miss Mayo's "Mother India" is a notorious example of the libels perpetrated on Indian civilisation. The suggestion behind the book is the time-honoured libel that the women of India are helpless chattels bought and sold, according to the whims of their masters, the men. Nobody who knows anything of the East could make such a stupid mistake. The women of the East have, usually, not ventured to cross the seas, and have preferred to exert their influence in shaping, influencing and directing the

destinies of their husbands, sons, and daughters over the sea of life. But they have seldom been backward, when the need arose, in the more perilous adventures of life to play their part bravely and selflessly. Quite recently, the women of India have shown that they yielded to none in the unflinching courage with which they faced suffering in the cause of their country.

The secret of this sudden and unexpected demonstration of bravery is not that the women of India surprised themselves and their critics by discovering qualities, the existence of which was unexpected. On the contrary it is the natural outcome of the part which the women of the East have always played in the life of the Nation. Herein lies the distinctive difference between the attitude of the women in the West which is to a greater or lesser degree the result of feminine antagonism to man's claim of overlordship. In the East, women are in no sense antagonistic to men, but they are now only exerting in the political field the benevolent influences they have always exerted in the home for the betterment, upliftment, and preservation of their country and nation. I will give you my idea of the ideal woman for Ceylon to-day in a piece I adopted sometime ago. It will apply equally to each Asian race or nation :—

THE IDEAL WOMAN.

“ What does our country need,—not armies standing
 With forces mustered, ready for the fight ;
 Not constitutions strong, reforms amazing,
 And iron wills hard fighting for our right ;
 Not haughty men, with glutted purses trying
 To purchase souls, and keep the power of place ;
 Not fashion's dolls with one another vying
 For palms of beauty, elegance and grace,—
 But we want women, strong of soul yet lowly
 With that rare greatness born of nobleness,
 Women, whose lives are pure, and clean and holy
 The women whom, our land and brethren bless,
 Brave, earnest women, helpful to each other
 With *finest scorn* for all things low and mean,
 Women who hold the name of wife and mother
 Far nobler than the title of a queen.

For these are they who mould our men of story,
 These mothers of times shorn of grace and youth,
 Who worn and weary ask no greater glory
 Than making some young soul the home of Truth;
 Who sow in hearts all fallow for the sowing
 The seeds of virtue and of scorn for sin,
 And patient watch the beauteous harvest growing
 And weed out tares which other hands cast in ;
 Women who do not hold the gift of beauty
 As some rare treasure to be bought and sold,
 But guard it as a precious aid to duty,
 The outer framing of the inner gold ;
 Women who steadfastly our land defending
 Bid Flattery's voice go by, and give no heed
 While their pure prayers like incense are ascending
 These are our country's pride, our Lanka's need ! "

As such women are our need, they are each nation's need throughout the world. Unless the women of each Asian country work side by side with their men to preserve the national and moral qualities of their individual civilisations, it is not only possible but probable that every nation or race in the East will be effectively wiped out in the near or distant future. Therefore, it is up to us, women of Asia, to be up and doing, before it is too late for action and for remedy. With the grant of the Franchise to us, women in Ceylon, a new field of opportunity and activity has opened up before us, and we do not mean to be slow in undertaking and fulfilling our share of work for the benefit and preservation of our country and nation. I am glad that this great Conference is at this moment turning its attention to the most essential and important work of uniting, helping, and educating all the women of Asia, with a view to make them a strong and united whole. "Unity is strength" and when unity has been established, co-operation and strength will follow in its wake, the women of Asia will be a blessing and a crown to the world.

Mrs. R. S. S. Gunewardhane, another delegate from Ceylon, said that their customs were very much like those of Hindus and that they paid the same respect to their mothers as to Buddha himself. Marriage was considered in her country as a civil contract and women could retain their names even after getting married. (*Cheers.*)

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar of Persia said :—

MARRIAGE.

Formerly the Zoroastrian parents in Persia used to marry their daughters at a rather early age of 12 or 13, the reason for this being the tyranny of the ruling class namely the Mohammedans. In this practice of early marriages the parents did not consult their daughters at all. The choice lay with the parents only.

Mohammedans too in former days used to marry their daughters early and here too the consent of the girls was of no consequence. But now the affairs are changed, both people and the Government of Persia have learnt to become tolerant towards the people of other faiths and thus fright and dread have vanished and the recent advancement of Persia has played a great part in educating them to abolish early marriage. Persia has now risen from her age-long slumber and besides her old civilization and greatness she has now given to the world a new religion "Bahai Movement". This faith has taught them the significance of marriage, the advantages and the spirit of monogamy. It has made consent of girls a necessary condition for marriage, and divorce is rendered well nigh impossible though it could be obtained under certain stiff conditions.

Mrs. Kamaluddin from Afghanistan informed the Conference that early marriage was very rare in her country and although girls were now usually married at about 18 or 19 some 50 years ago at least 30 was considered the marriageable age for a girl. The Afghan women had also the benefit of Shariat Laws.

Miss Mustafa Khan (Persia) spoke as follows :—

With perfect courtesy I do appeal to the revered respected Purdah ladies that though from a standpoint our defects are innumerable to-day, each of which has proved detrimental in its place, yet only I wish to draw your attention towards that essential affair which is closely connected with the progress and the degradation of our future generation. These are problems of our Indian matrimonies. If we were to dive deep into this problem and make a close scrutiny, we shall find that these are the very problems which are creating hindrances in the advancement of our future progeny, nay more than this, they are enticing us towards the mirage of nonentity in the declining and enfeebling wilderness. I am quite sure that all respected ladies here are perfectly aware of it and perhaps might have observed it that owing to the absence of perfect guidance and physical fitness, our

minor girls get involved into thousands of chronic and fatal maladies and diseases, and at last march off from this vale of tears with a thousand unfulfilled desires leaving their bereaved relatives to weep for ever in the anguish of their separation. When we cast a glance upon the commandments and prohibitions which have been issued for us by the Holy law-giver of Islam, we find that He (may peace be upon Him) has exposed and described the minutest affair with a great simplicity either from a religious or from a social point of view. In all the books on Islamic ecclesiastical laws the Ulamas have unanimously fixed the age of matrimony to be after pubescence and after the completion of the instructions by which is meant that one may not be weak of brain and physically unfit, *i.e.*, his limbs may not be feeble and weak. In short he must have the ability of husbandry as was the case amongst the Quaraish and other tribes of Arabia when the effulgent sun of Islam was just rising from the Eastern horizon. In these days the results of marriages which are performed before the girls reach the age of puberty, are that at a very early age they have given birth to sickly, weak and lean children. It has been observed that even if one reaches the age of 50, a greater part of his age elapses in diseases and maladies. The reason for it is no other than this fatal custom, the harms of which cannot be sufficiently expatiated upon in a short time. In my opinion even a girl of 20 who is physically weak should not be considered fit for marriage.

I sincerely hope that my respected and revered sisters shall think over this matter and devise a proper course for this great evil which is sapping the very blood of our future generations.

I conclude my speech by a prayer (. . . .) " May the Salutations and peace of God be upon Mohommed, His progeny and His companions, for ever and for ever ". Amen.

Madame Makiko Hoshi (Japan), informed the Conference in her own language that the marriages of the girls of her country were either arranged by themselves or their parents when they were about 13 to 20 years of age. With regard to " Cult of the family ", she said: that only the eldest son remained with the family and the younger sons had to make homes of their own.

Miss Feroz-ud-Din told the Conference that in Islam women were given the highest position, that there was no child marriage, that the Islamic inheritance laws were the best in the world, and that Islamic women had the right to divorce their husbands. (*Loud cheers.*) She further explained

Islamic inheritance laws, and some ladies asked question on the various customs prevailing in various countries.

Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade said :—

Marriage to a Hindu is a sacrament—a Holy union for the performance of civil and religious duties. With a Hindu it is not merely a question of contract which can be broken at will.

The ancients having divided the normal span of life into four distinct periods with fixed duties appertaining to each, the institution of marriage has been ordained to be one of the compulsory obligations of one of these periods of life namely the second stage of life or "*Grihasthashram*". It was believed that one of the most important functions of the individual was the propagation of the race ; so much so that it was considered to be a sin not to have children. The Hindu view in the matter was that "there was no heaven for a sonless man". Any man trying to avoid matrimony was considered to shirk one of the spiritual duties of life. He was like a soldier who runs from the battlefield.

According to Shastras there are eight forms of marriage, Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya, Asur, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paishacha. The first four were found to be prevalent amongst the refined classes and were called the approved forms of marriage whereas the rest were called unapproved.

"In the Brahma form the father gave away his daughter to a suitable man versed in the Vedas ; in Daiva the father gave away his daughter to the priest who officiated at the sacrificial fire. In Arsha the daughter was given away to the man from whom the father received a pair of kine or two for uses prescribed by law. In Prajapatya the father gave away his daughter to a suitable man saying "May you perform civil and religious duties together".

The Asur form of marriage was that in which the girl was given away to a man in lieu of some money or valuables and Gandharva was that form of marriage in which a man and a woman united by mutual consent. When the bride was kidnapped from her kinsmen the form was known as Rakshasa, and when a man taking advantage of sleep, intoxication or insanity of a maiden seduced her, such a union was called Paishacha. This of course was the lowest form of marriage which was admitted as valid only from practical considerations so that the injured woman may have the status of wife and the off-springs legitimacy. In the above description it must have been noticed that

it was a very thoughtful classification based on subtle distinction between the one form and the other, and this could not have been done without a great deal of experience extending over a very long period.

The idea underlying the Hindu view of marriage was that a man or a woman in their individual and isolated capacities did not form a complete whole unless they were united by marriage.

Even our gods of the Hindu pantheon have their consorts and one cannot think of Vishnu without Lakshmi or Shiva without Parvati. “*Ardhanarishwar*” image of Shiva which is half male and half female is nothing but a symbol adopted to signify the supreme import of the co-operative interdependence of the male and the female.

The ideal marriage according to the Hindus is monogamous—but under exceptional conditions polygamy was tolerated, and considered valid. But polygamy has always been looked upon with a certain degree of reproach and to-day among the higher classes it carries with it a social stigma, which most men will not care to invoke.

As stated above the Hindu marriage was not a case of contract, and being considered to be a spiritual union no provision was made for divorce in pure Hindu Law. Divorce is however practised among the lower classes even to-day, and for them it is allowed by custom and recognised by law. There is nevertheless a wave of thought in favour of divorce to-day among the younger generation, and it is possible that through their efforts we may—in the near future—have a statute law permitting and recognising divorce among the higher classes of Hindus just as re-marriage of widows, which was not allowed by the ancient Hindu Law, has now been recognised as legal.

Already one Indian State, *viz.*, the ever progressive State of Baroda has passed a law permitting divorce amongst the higher classes of Hindus and there are other States where such legislation is being contemplated.

The Conference then adjourned.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

SECOND SESSION.

20th January 1931.

The afternoon session of the All-Asian Women's Conference was devoted to speeches by delegates from different countries on Motherhood, Polygamy and Traffic in Women.

Miss Ma Mya Shwe (Burma), on Polygamy, said :—

There is not much to talk about in regard to polygamy in Burma because although it is in existence, it only exists to a very small extent. And polyandry does not exist in Burma at all. This is because although polygamy is allowed, it is looked down upon; the public opinion is so strong against it, that there are very few cases where a man really has the courage to marry more than one wife. This privilege of having many wives—if privilege it can be called—only belongs to kings and nobles, although the last King of Burma was not even allowed this privilege, because he had only one wife, who evidently ruled him well. (*Laughter.*) Even then the custom is that, however many wives there may be, the first wife is the only one who is allowed to accompany the husband on ceremonial occasions.

The present-day tendency is in favour of monogamy. It is now a recognised practice that if a man takes another wife the first wife has the right of divorcing her husband. Besides, the second wife is not entitled to anything on the death of the husband except what has been naturally given to her during his life-time.

I think that is all I have to say. Public opinion is so strong against polygamy that there is no need of passing any special laws at the present moment. (*Cheers.*)

Lady Bandaranaike (Ceylon) spoke as follows :—

We Sinhalese are a monogamous race and there is not very much of polygamy to speak about.

We used to have, however, polyandry to a certain extent—one woman lived with two or three brothers although she was married to only one of them. Of course, it led to a lot of complications—nobody could say who was the father of the children, but they always carried

the name of the husband. Now, of course, it does not exist, and that is all I have to say about polygamy in Ceylon.

Miss Khadija Feroz-ud-Din (N.W.F.P.) said :—

To such a large scale are men more than women—only the other day we heard that in Punjab alone 112 boys for every 100 girls were born—that it is not possible to practice polygamy to any great extent. On the Frontier, which is my home, it is allowed no doubt, but women there are very expensive—they have to buy their wives and it is not possible for a man to buy three or four wives. A man may have to spend his whole income—the savings of a life-time—to get a wife and the Afghans consider it a great honour that their daughters have fetched or their wives cost them great sums of money. “ My daughter (or wife) is so pretty ”, they would say, “ that each of her big eyes alone is worth a thousand rupees.”

This is, however, custom. As far as religion is concerned, Islam has laid down strict rules against polygamy. It has only allowed it in the case of war, when thousands of widowed and unprotected women fall in the hands of the victors and there is a danger of horrible crimes being perpetrated, or there is an overwhelming surplus of women at the time as after the Great War in Europe and there is danger of immorality. It is at such times only that man may marry more than one wife simply for her protection. And even then if he can maintain justice and equality between his two mates. A little further on the Holy Koran, well aware of human nature, says :—“ Surely you will not be able to maintain justice, therefore, have one and one wife alone.” The Holy Koran instead of bluntly prohibiting polygamy gently proves the problem to his devotees by saying :—“ Marry more than one wife (in time of war) but maintain justice between the two—but it will not be possible to maintain justice, therefore marry one and only one wife.” (*Cheers.*) It is not possible to maintain justice (as it is not) it becomes a sin to practise polygamy. It is under such circumstances that this rule was laid by Islam and far from being otherwise it is a strictly prohibitive rule.

It is wrong similarly to say that Hindu religion allows polygamy without rhyme or reason. It lays similarly strict conditions on Hindus, *e.g.*, if there are no issues or at least no male issues. Then the Hindu Rishis have always laid great emphasis on the purity of character and life. They have themselves lived lives of saints, of absolute seclusion—away from women and temptation—and it is impossible to believe that they could have advocated polygamy. It cannot simply go down that

such a religion could allow man to marry a number of wives simply for enjoyment, a religion which emphasises so greatly purity of mind and character.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, on Polygamy, said :—

I am glad that Miss Feroz-ud-Din has put before you the Hindu customs of marriage regarding polygamy ; I am very proud of it. In future, Asian Conference will have only one special delegate to represent a particular creed or province and three would represent India as a whole and all its communities. Miss Feroz-ud-Din has given us a lead in this matter and I congratulate her in being able to place before you so ably the Hindu idea of marriage.

The monogamous marriage has been said to be the ideal marriage in Hindus, but the sad fact remains that we do have polygamous marriages. Even to-day public opinion is against it—but public opinion is not enough ; we want very strong laws to prohibit polygamy. It is an injustice to women—it is cruelty. In this respect I think Burman Law is much better and we should fight for effective legislation of similar nature.

I was not able to give you this morning the Hindu idea of motherhood, and I would just like to say a few words.

The position of women in Hindu religion can be understood by the unique form of motherhood and the veneration for it which is nowhere so strongly expressed as in India. A mother is so highly honoured in India that Hindus are not satisfied unless they see and touch her feet first thing in the morning. Mothers are the supreme authorities in a Hindu house ; nothing can be done without their consultation. Indeed, this is the view of all religions and happily Hindus are not the only exception. And rightly so. Woman is the creator of race, is responsible for everybody's being and deserves it all.

Mrs. Ganpat Rai (in Hindi) said :—

The social position of Hindu women is unique. A perusal of the Manu Smriti and the Shastras will show what a great place has been allotted to them. Mothers are to be worshipped just as goddesses are worshipped. Even in the ordinary course of events a girl is much more honoured than a boy. Virgin girls are not allowed to do menial jobs or to touch remains of foodstuff—much less eat them. It is deplorable that on account of foolish customs girls have come to be treated as dolls ; early marriage has crept in, polygamy has come to be tolerated and their inheritance rights are tampered with.

And, still, if things are considered, how can we only blame the men? Even if they deprive our daughters of inheritance rights, can't we make it up by giving them better dowries? It is a fact, however, that at the time of marriage the ornaments given to a daughter-in-law are heavier and worthier than those given to a daughter. The dowry given to the daughter is very much inferior than that given to the daughter-in-law. I do not mean, however, that the daughter-in-law should not be given good things—far from that. I only mean let your daughter-in-law's father or her mother provide for her as best they can. It should be your duty to place the rights of your own daughter before all.

With regard to polygamy, too, I am afraid the major portion of the blame rests with us women. It is mainly our concern to marry our daughters. We go and see the bridegroom, we prosecute enquiries about him, and we finally fix up the marriage. It is up to us, therefore, to firmly resolve not to give our daughters to persons already married, and stick to it. After all men do not marry men; they have got to make you a party to the transaction and you can very well refuse to be implicated in the matter.

In regard to early marriage, also, it is only the women who begin to cry out after the 7th year of their daughters that they are getting old and arrangements should be made for their marriage. I have never seen men clamouring for it or at all anxious to give away their child at such a tender age.

I am perfectly sure, therefore, that the solution to all these problems is in our own hands and that we should resolve to face our difficulties courageously and unitedly in the firm belief that the goal is near.

Lady Bandaranaike (Ceylon) said :—

In Ceylon, since olden times and in pursuance of ancient customs, marriages are arranged by our parents. There are cases in history when girls chose their own husbands and asked for the consent of the parents afterwards. This is even now the case, but usually matches are arranged for the children by their parents.

In regard to motherhood, I might say that from their very infancy children are taught to revere and worship their mothers. Everyday children have to fall down at their mother's feet and pray that she may have long life. They also perform all ceremonies, religious or other-

wise, for their ancestors. Children are, therefore, considered as a great blessing. Indeed, a woman without a child is considered unfortunate, and it is considered unlucky to see anything in the morning but one's own children. This love of children is, I should think, responsible for the celestial sort of veneration in which mothers are held.

In Ceylon polygamy is practised in Mahommedans only and unfortunately to quite a great extent. I think this is due to the fact that it is allowed in their religion. Divorce also is very usual among them and mutual consent in such cases is not considered necessary.

There is no organised traffic in women to speak of in Ceylon. Of course, I dare say, in a private sort of way traffic is carried on but that is unfortunately no exception to Ceylon. Otherwise, the laws in regard to age-limit and circulation of obscene literature are satisfactory. There is also a law against the brothels and it is illegal to carry on such practices in private houses. There are, however, still some people who run the show on the quiet. They seduce innocent girls out of villages and give them over to brothels. I know of a society in Upper Ceylon which assists in rescuing girls, houses them for some time, sends those who are diseased to hospitals for treatment and finds employment for the rest. Indeed, the Vigilance Society has been instrumental in the closing down of all such houses in Ceylon and getting effective legislation passed, but of course there are private brothels.

Miss Daw Hta (Burma) said :—

I should like to say something about traffic in women and relate to you a few examples of how poor village girls are seduced. A village girl was married to an imposter who happened to stay in the same village as one of the paddy brokers of a certain big firm. He took the girl to Rangoon and after a week's happy time she was forced by her husband to join an immoral house. Luckily the relations of the girl prosecuted some enquiries, the matter came to light and the poor girl was rescued. Such cases, as a matter of fact, frequently happen in the outer Ports where girls are brought from the surrounding villages and sold to vice.

In another case, a few young women of respectable families were somehow or other kidnapped and forcibly kept in an immoral house. One of them tried several times to escape by the backstair but found the door always locked. One day, however, she was successful and the whole thing came out.

There was another girl also who was found to be living a life of vice because her husband refused to support and maintain her and allowed her to earn a living in that way.

The most regrettable part of it is that our police, far from co-operating with us in rescue work and discharging their duties, actually put all possible hindrances in our way. The fact of the case is we want women police to look to the interest of our poor misguided sisters, to rescue them from the clutches of brothel-keepers and what is more to prevent their ever falling into their hands. (*Cheers.*)

The present state of affairs is deplorable. When I tried to save some of the girls who were longing for liberty from the life of vice which they were being forced to lead, and asked some of the police officials to help me in the task, the village police told me that they could not interfere with the town police, and when I approached the town police, I got a similarly evasive reply. The fact is that the police in charge of the quarters, where brothels are kept, makes about Rs. 2 per head from the brothel house and shares it even among some of the police officers. The shameful part of the business is that the police have been and are making money over the matter and that is why we have assembled here to insist on getting women police for women offenders.

The evils of prostitution and the horrible consequences thereof are only too well known to need to be described, but in my opinion the subject is worthy of description.

Firstly, there is loss of health, happiness and motherhood to the girl who becomes a prostitute. I actually saved a girl once and kept her in my house. (*Cheers*). I kept her for three weeks and put her up separately in a sort of verandah—a sort of side-house. Being quite new to this kind of work I never knew she would contract a disease or might spread it. She, however, actually got diseased and on my discovering the fact I had to send her to the hospital. The poor thing, although recovered from the devastating effects of the disease, was never herself again. She lost the proud privilege of motherhood, always kept worse and became an absolute nervous wreck.

Secondly, prostitution destroys manhood and debases people not only in others, but their own estimation, with the result that far from being a useful asset to the nation, they become useless drags. Thousands of respectable lives are wrecked in this fashion.

What pains me most in these circumstances is that poor girls have to bear the brunt of the blame while the wicked men, who, in order to satisfy their carnal desire and for the sake of a momentary pleasure, seduce these poor girls, go scot free. I consider that the sanctity of womanhood should be forcibly brought home to all and sundry, if we wish to be respected by the rising generation. As you all know, if a man marries a woman or a woman marries a man who is diseased, some physical infirmities as well as the disease is likely to go down to their poor children. How can such children have the slightest respect for their parents who handicapped them for life from their very birth? The obvious and the only remedy is, of course, to save our womankind and to promote intellectual, moral and social advancement of Asia. The first step in this direction to my mind is to give religious education to our children and to stress the importance of chastity both of body and of mind. Men, along with women, must have the custody of each other's honour and all should go along life's highway with the firm conviction that nothing matters but character. (*Cheers.*)

Mrs. Hamid Ali said :—

Before briefly describing the conditions existing in regard to traffic in women, I must appeal to all of you ladies—born and bred in affluence, and one could comparatively say, in the lap of luxury—to view the lot of your poor and misguided sisters not contemptuously but pityingly. Everything more or less depends upon one's circumstances in life and their only misfortune is that they were not born in happier circumstances. If they had also had your opportunities it is more than likely that they would have grown up to be as pure, as noble and as accomplished as yourself. Do not, therefore, condemn them. Give them instead your sympathy, your pity and I assure you they need it all.

There is no disputing the fact that there is a huge amount of traffic in women and children going on in all parts of India. The Brothel Act is unfortunately not very comprehensive and not equally applicable to all the Provinces. Girls and boys are seduced or kidnapped from outlying villages, railway stations and fairs, etc., and kept in brothels. Of course, we are doing all we possibly can to counteract the evil. The Missionary Society at Rangoon has got a very good Rescue Home. The Bombay Municipality is also doing something in this direction. It has established a Rescue Home and opened Industrial Schools to equip the rescued girls with necessary training to start a new life. In a modest sort of way, I must admit, the

constituencies of the Women's Conference are also doing their bit. I myself remember that when I was at Sind I received a letter from Jaipur asking me to look out for a girl who had been seduced from the State and was being taken away to be used for immoral purposes. We managed to discover the girl at the Railway station and she was properly rescued.

I do hope effective legislation will be enacted and enforced to root out the evil.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi said :—

Traffic in women and children exists in two forms in India. One is similar to the traffic in any other part of the world and the other is peculiar only to this country. At no time in the written history of India do we read of the state-licensed prostitution similar to the state regulation of vice in the European countries against which the great woman Josephine Butler fought so valiantly till it was abolished in England in the year 1886 and in some of the continental countries afterwards ; never were the prostitutes persecuted, segregated and denied the ordinary citizen rights. It is only recently that we hear of segregated areas in Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Singapore while in Madras, which is the city I come from, from the British regime, there existed licensed streets where the prostitutes were kept, medically examined and certificated, which area was closed through the noble efforts of the famous woman Josephine Butler.

Now towns and cities in India are growing, the village population are attracted to the cities in large numbers and therefore in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras a number of brothels have sprung up. Laws to suppress the traffic have been in force in Calcutta and Bombay for the last 6 years and there are rescue homes also in those cities for the minor girls and other adult women who are rescued from the brothels.

Only in 1930, an Act has been passed in Madras to close up the brothels, to punish the brothel-keepers and to rescue the minor girls, but it has not yet been enforced.

What we need is a large number of women welfare workers to do rescue work ; to organise and manage rescue homes and also money is badly wanted to finance these schemes.

The other kind of traffic is prostitution under a religious custom. That is confined to certain Hindu castes in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, in Assam and in Orissa. Now in the Madras Presidency

among certain communities the young girls are taught music, dance and after a certain age, are made to undergo a kind of mock marriage with an idol, or with a dagger. Thereafter these girls do not marry, and the majority amongst these have to make out their living either by dancing or singing or by a life of shame, while a certain number do service in the temples for which from time immemorial they have been enjoying some cultivable lands or they have been receiving monthly cash payments. Some of these women if they are accomplished and handsome contract permanent alliances with men of high position and live a pure and respectable life. At one time, these unions were recognised as normal by the Hindu society but now owing to the impact of Western influences, these alliances are not considered respectable by the majority of our people.

There has been agitation from the year 1859 by the Indian reformers to put down this evil in British India. The Indian State of Mysore has abolished this system in their temples even as early in 1909. Now recently after the passing of the Act to free the *devadasis* from the obligation of service in the temples in the Madras Legislative Council, the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin and the Portuguese settlements have completely abolished this practice in their States.

Those *devadasis* differ in many respects from the ordinary prostitutes. A lady Missionary in South India, Miss Carmichael, has described them in the following words :—

“ So let us deal gently with those that least deserve our blame and reserve our condemnation for those responsible for the creation of the temple woman. Is it fair that the helpless child who has never once been given the choice of any other life should be held responsible afterwards for living the life to which alone she has been trained? Is it fair to call her by a name which belongs by right to one who is different, in that her life is self-chosen? No word can cut too keenly at the root of this iniquity; but let us deal gently with the mishandled flower. Let it be remembered that she is not responsible for what she is.”

However, that was not the original idea of the inventors of the Devadasi Institution as the name ‘*dasi*’ itself signifies.

The following is an extract from a speech of Dr. Annie Besant regarding the origin of the dancing class woman attached to the temples :—

“ There is a band of pure virgin devotees attached to the ancient Hindu temples. They used to preach religion like any

other religious teacher to the common people that resort to the temple for their daily worship. In those days they were held in high esteem and respect and were very well looked after. They would spend their time in doing religious service to the Gods and devotees of the temple as the word '*dasi*' itself signifies. They would follow the procession of Gods dressed in the simplest *sanyasi* garbs and singing pious hymns suitable to the occasion. This is the history of the *Devadasi* class."

So there are authentic records to prove these *Dasi* girls were pure virgins spending their time in religious study, meditation and devotional service in the temples akin to the Roman Catholic nuns of the present day.

Therefore the *Devadasis* do not belong to the category of brothel-prostitutes, or neither are they the destitute poor nor women out-casted by society. These *Devadasis* live in families among their own relations and have to abide by their caste-rules and caste conventions.

A *Devadasi* mother having four daughters may marry three of her girls to men of her own community or men of another caste and dedicate the other girl to the idol. The girls who are married will be wonderfully chaste and pure, while the girl who is a *devadasi* will be leading quite a different life in accordance with the teaching that has been given to her ; that is, that once she is married to the God and becomes the God's damsel, she cannot marry but she can choose her own partner and live any life she likes.

With the spread of education and enlightenment among those communities (Kalavanthulus in Andhradesa and Sengunthars and Isai Vellalars in Tamil Nadu) marriage of these girls are becoming more and more popular.

Another encouraging phenomena is that many social reform associations of men and women having sprung up among these communities such as the Andhra Kalavanthulu Association and the Tamil Nadu Sengunthars and Isai Vellalars are carrying on vigorous educative propaganda among the backward sections or these communities. Hundreds of *devadasi* men and women associations have supported all my reform measures for their amelioration and have been appealing to me to get laws passed for the efficient protection of their minor girls.

I know that a few of the reformed *devadasis* are employed as nurses, teachers and handicraft tutors and their conduct and character have been exemplary.

As they are only the victims of a wrong tradition or custom or a mistaken religious fervour and as there is no innate tendency in them to vice, once they realise the gravity of the social evil they turn a quite different chapter in their lives and having readily given up their fashionable life devote themselves to useful and honourable occupations in life. Therefore no rescue home is needed for them.

LEGISLATION TO SUPPRESS THE EVIL.

Now the women member in the Madras Legislative Council has been responsible for the Act to enfranchise the Inam lands held by *devadasis* in temples and thus free them from the obligation of service in the temples. She has also moved in the same Council a Bill to abolish the dedication of girls which has received a wide public support; all the Women's Conferences and Associations and meetings have been pressing for this reform and with the spread of education among women, these evil customs are bound to disappear. Groups of committees pledged to suppress traffic in women and children and to promote a high equal moral standard among the sexes have been established at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Ceylon, Rangoon and Lahore which centres have joined together under the title of the All-India Vigilance Association.

Calcutta has been able to secure a trained worker from the Josephine Butler's Home, London, through the Moral and Social Hygiene Association. She has done much good work by visiting the chief cities, by holding Conferences with men and women suggesting amendments to the existing acts and by publishing pamphlets in the vernaculars.

A large number of trained women social workers are needed. Legislation for the protection of minor girls and for the suppression of traffic in women and children is still not adequate. The Indian reformers and social workers have to combat against not only poverty and ignorance of the masses but also have to struggle along with these inadequate and imperfect laws made by an alien Government observing strict religious neutrality even in matters concerning the moral and spiritual welfare of the innocent minor children.

Therefore our needs are :—

- (1) The spread of mass education.
- (2) Suitable legislation to suppress traffic in women and children, to protect the minors and to punish the third party living on the earnings of a prostitute.
- (3) Educative propaganda which should receive liberal financial support from Government.
- (4) The training and the employment of women probation officers and women-police to investigate brothels and to strictly carry out the provisions of the existing laws.
- (5) Children's courts, women honorary magistrate and women juries to deal with these offences.

The help and co-operation of women in the operation of all laws to suppress traffic in women and children, to protect children to enter brothels and to rescue women, is essential to success, and also the public has to be educated to realise the fact that "without male chastity, female chastity is impossible" and that continuance and purity is conducive to a good health and a long life.

Miss Shepherd (from Calcutta) said :—

I feel that Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi has too clearly put the subject before you and there is very little more now that any one need say.

It is, however, my conviction that no one can be more sure of the fact that there is great traffic in buying and selling of women and children in India than myself. Reports from the other Asian countries—Burma, Ceylon, Persia, etc., etc.—also go to show that this vice is very prevalent there. There are also the customary rights of prostitution in certain tolerated areas, which further indicate how modernized is the fact that there is a great deal of buying and selling of women and children—and quite definitely I say "children" because little boys are included. The question for consideration, therefore, is : How are we women going to help? Surely, one of the things which would help the women of all nations is to demand an equal moral standard. Are we women not greatly mistaken in expecting so little of men in this regard? Are we not entitled to insist upon a higher standard from all our men as they do from all women? This double standard of morality must go in the interests of justice and equity, if nothing else. Secondly, I should think rescue homes should be

established all over the world where rescued girls could take shelter and learn to earn for themselves. Thirdly, I consider that more hospitals—especially for women—should be opened and diseased persons should be adequately and privately treated.

Miss Khadija Ferozuddin (Lahore) :—

(Translated into Urdu the speeches of Dr. Reddi and Miss Shepherd and added.)

I would like to express my conviction that all these tyrannical standards in regard to morality are just man-made. God who views men and women alike, never laid down such standards, in force, e.g., Afghanistan, Persia, Hyderabad, etc., equal and very severe treatment is meted out to both the offenders. Men are stoned to death, and there is a case on record where Kalif Omar himself dealt out this sentence on his own son.

We must really insist on a high standard of morality and let us say, once and for all, that we are not the weaker sex, as we have the stronger will. *(Cheers)*.

Mrs. Patwardhan (Baroda) addressed as follows :—

Sisters, we have all heard what the deplorable facts are in regard to traffic in women and children, but the real thing is how to face the problem. I am not satisfied with only the suggestion that more Rescue Homes should be opened. I wish that strong public opinion be created against the practice. How many times has it not happened that you know of certain instances but like to keep quiet? That is indeed the worst of the matter. You know that such and such a thing is happening, that a girl has been captured by a human fiend who carries the traffic, but you have not got the moral courage to report to the police. Every woman should look out for any such cases, find them out, report the matter and take that girl to the Rescue Home—that is the sort of understanding which should be created in the heart of all women who sympathize with the movement—and who does not? That also is not all. When those girls have been rescued, attempts should be made to find out the person who seduced them, put them in bad ways and ruined their lives. That seducer should then be forced to marry the girl he has thus treated. Even if he already possesses a wife, he should be made to maintain the wife and the child rather than force them to fall back upon a life of shame and dishonour. They do this in Germany and there is no reason why India should not follow suit. Indeed, the progress of Indian States in this respect

would seem to be far better, inasmuch as in Baroda a similar bill is going to be passed, in accordance with which if a man is bad in morals, the wife should be entitled to ask for divorce or separation and if he happens to be a Government servant, his pay would be reduced and be looked as a man not worth keeping.

Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji (Hyderabad, Deccan) said :—

I am not going to speak to you any more about any of these subjects, which have been fully discussed. I only want to ask : “ Are we only going to draw up a Resolution on the subject, pass it and forget all about it forthwith ? ” Of course, a resolution will be duly drawn up and passed, but I feel that everyone should take this matter up, each delegate, member of the Reception Committee or visitor, in short anybody present here in any capacity should take this resolution each to his own province or country and do all that can be possibly done for it.

My friend Mrs. Fyaz Tyabjee—she has just gone out, I believe—was remarking a few minutes ago that prostitution was nothing but a disgrace to both men and women—so why only blame the men ? I would like to tell her that in this case man is the active person ; the woman is only a passive agent, if at all she is an agent. You cannot do it without the two.

It is, therefore, for us to realize and resolve in what way we are going to organize the establishment of Rescue Homes, Social Service Work, etc., etc., which are the crying need of India these days. That is the only suggestion I wanted to make.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddy said :—

Mrs. Fyaz Tyabjee says : “ Why blame the men ? ” I submit we are not blaming them at all ; we only ask them to share the blame. When there is no denying the fact that they are as much responsible for it as we are, there is no reason why they should be allowed to shirk the responsibility.

Mrs. S. W. Ilangakoon, spoke as follows :—

As the subject under discussion is “ Marriage ”, in our respective countries, I would like to mention that many of our low-country marriage laws, in Ceylon, are the same as the Roman-Dutch marriage laws. There is something unique, I wish to state in this connection. No other delegate has mentioned that polyandry has ever existed in her country. In Ceylon, at one time, polyandry existed, in villages

and rather uncivilised areas. By that system, the woman, and mother, was the only considered entity, as the fathers of the children were very often indistinguishable. That being the case, the woman acquired great power.

The custom was not brought into existence by any immoral tendencies of the women, but was really established by the men through property and financial considerations. Usually it was the several brothers of one family who married and had one wife among them so that the movable property and estates of that family should not be divided and sub-divided until there was nothing left of them. It was a sort of 'joint-family system' by which one woman became the head of so many families with the consequence that she was entitled and able to wield unlimited power.

Even now in some of the remote and *uncivilised Kandyan* districts, this system exists, though not legally, but it is, from my point of view, a most demoralising and undesirable custom which the women of Ceylon should fight against and remedy if possible.

The Burmese delegate, Miss Ma Mya Shwe, has explained how the woman in Burma is all-powerful, and how their laws even allow a woman to divorce her husband, and to keep her own name after marriage. Under the *joint-family system* of polyandry, I should think, the women in Ceylon must have been even more powerful than their sisters of Burma, as they would have the opportunities of influencing and ruling so many families. But still, it cannot fail to have the tendency of demoralising the nation, and as one of the great Eastern ideals is purity—as those who are familiar with the great Indian Epic poem of the Ramayana, where the sweet and pure Sita is the heroine, and other Eastern stories and poems of that standard, are well aware—we must try to wipe out these evils and establish purer and better laws and customs in all our Asian countries.

Another great evil that is overtaking our country of Ceylon, is mixed marriage of the East and the West. Many of our young men who are sent abroad for their education, so that they may be able to keep pace with outside nations, are bringing back foreign wives from the West, who are helping to promote and establish this denationalisation and *wiping-out of the nation*. The young men are sent out at a very difficult age, when they have not gained any self-control, and if they are warm-hearted, headstrong or innocent, they fall an easy prey

to the wiles or charms of the foreign women they come in contact with, as the case may be.

With the establishment of our University College in Ceylon, where parents will have a better chance of educating their sons without this danger, we shall be able to fight against this evil to some extent—if the education to be obtained at the local University College reaches the required standard of efficiency ; *not otherwise*. By the women of each Asian country studying, realising and fighting against these dangers that are menacing, not only Ceylon, but nearly every Asian country, we can uplift, strengthen and save our own, which others have no business or right to usurp or appropriate. It is the result of the short-sightedness and weakness of our men, who have hitherto had all the power in their hands ; but with more power, if there is unity, we women of Ceylon may be able to do much to remedy for all these existing misfortunes or evils. I wish All-Asian Conference a success—particularly the women, who are so nobly working for all Asia at this Conference at Lahore. Your invitation to us was opportune at the present juncture, and I, for one, am most grateful for the knowledge and experience I am gaining here.

Mrs. Hamid Ali (Bombay), on the Abolition of Polygamy, said :—

Sisters, you know how degraded is the state of woman when her home is divided with a co-wife. The children are neglected, there is a continuous feeling of discomfort and disharmony—the home is ruined and the husband suffers from economic and other disabilities. The sooner we do away with this baneful custom the better it will be for us all. Polygamy is a word which is curiously misunderstood in this land. It is always associated with the Muslims, and Islam, although it existed in India long before Islam spread its influence over India. You have only to study our old books such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana to find that polygamy existed in the land. Even now amongst a certain class of monied people, Hindus and Muslims, Jagirdars, Sardars, Inamdars, Rajas, Maharajas, Raisas, Talukadars, Nawabs and all others who have a good deal of money and very little work to do, polygamy is practised largely irrespective of religion. I should like to make a general survey of this question in both Asia and Europe. In China where a large population is guided by the teaching of Confucius and by our Holy Prophet and by Hazarat Isa polygamy has always existed and it still prevails. Whether the wives are called by same one name or another—legal or illegal—the practice is the same. In Japan Shintoism and other religions have not prevented the people from practising customs akin to polygamy. In Persia,

Arabia, Afghanistan and Central Asia the custom of polygamy is practised widely in spite of the strict instructions given by the Holy Prophet which, if carried out faithfully by men, would make it impossible to marry more than one wife. In Europe and in all its countries the teaching of Christ has not prevented people and especially the monied and leisured classes from degrading their homes in the same manner. If you have read the history of, say, England and France you will find that extra-legal marriages amongst Kings and nobles were practised in spite of the displeasure of the Pope and the Church. The illegitimate children of Kings are the founders of many of the princely, ducal and baronial houses in European countries which exist to-day. Even Popes are supposed to have had illegitimate children upon whom were conferred princely titles. Amongst the wealthy middle classes in all European countries, the practice, though not the name of polygamy, exists to a wide extent. The only difference is that while in India there is generally one household and it is done openly, in Europe there are separate establishments and it is done more or less clandestinely. To my mind this makes it more degrading still, and the status of the children born of such connection is far worse than in India, where heritance and maintenance and human rights of society have the same social standing and self-respect as their brothers and sisters. We in Asia have not yet found it when we go further afield leaving what is called the " Old World " and step into the " New World " we find a still more curious anomaly. America as you know is a very rich country and life there is most luxurious. There marrying, divorcing, re-marrying, and again divorcing has become as easy almost as changing one's clothes. This happens in a country which is practically entirely under the teaching of Christ—that pure and great Teacher. There is also a sect of Christians who call themselves Mormons and who deliberately and openly practise polygamy on a large scale contending and denying that Christ has ever laid down the law of monogamy.

Modern America looks with a sceptical smile on our old world nations and you have only to read Judge Lindsay's Books " The Revolt of Youth and Companionate Marriage " to understand how the wind is blowing there and in what direction the waves are insistently surging.

How can we prevent our young people from being affected by these new waves of thought and action ? My sisters, we have amongst us a great teacher, a World Teacher—Gandhi. Read his book " Talashi-i-Huq " (the translation of his English Book " My Experiments with Truth ") and you will then learn to teach our youths how to kill the

passion that degrades, or at least teach them to keep it within reasonable bounds, to practise that self-denial on which spirituality is founded. A profound love of and devotion to the Creator, Purity, Self-denial and service to Mankind is what Gandhi has come to teach the world. Let us take advantage of this teaching ; it will save us from many pit-falls. I come back to the question of polygamy in our land. If Muslim study their religion they will find that our blessed Prophet has laid down such strict injunctions of equality of status and of treatment of co-wives that it is humanly impossible to put into practice by any man ever created. He really bound down the wild and passionate Arabs of his time (in practice if not in theory) gradually and deliberately into practising monogamy. The great majority of Muslims all over the world practise it to-day, and the more they study their religion through the Koran the more they will realise the sinfulness of marrying more than one wife.

As for our brothers, the Hindus if they study the Bhagavad Gita given to the world by the profound Teacher and great Thinker Shri Krishna, their homes and hearts would never be polluted by anything akin to polygamy. I say again we must rid our land of this degrading custom once and for all time to come. We women must join force and make a supreme effort to do so.

Mrs. DeMel, of Ceylon speaking on Traffic in Women said :—

Traffic in women is confined to women of Ceylon. There is no foreign trade in this.

Brothels have been declared illegal. It was mainly through the Vigilance Society that brothels were closed down 15 to 20 years ago. But in spite of this private brothels and houses of ill-fame were carried on, usually with the connivance of the Police. But proprietors of these houses and procurers can be charged and punished by law if found out. These houses are supplied with young girls usually decoyed from the villages on pretence of domestic service in rich houses in the towns. These girls are not paid—only fed and clothed, as long as they are useful. When old or diseased they are turned out on the streets. The only chance of escape from these houses is if the police raid the place.

Some private social workers and the Salvation Army look after these rescued girls—get them treated—cured if they are diseased, train them and find honest employment for them. One prominent social member in Colombo who is very interested in these girls—has started a home for about 50 girls.

Prostitutes if found in private grounds or enclosures can be charged but the man—her partner in sin—goes off scot free unless there is any eye-witness of the actual fact.

S. Lakshmibai Rajwade said :—

India is the birth place of two of the greatest religions of the world, *viz.*, Hinduism and Buddhism. It is a land of very ancient culture and has given to the world a philosophy which is quite as sublime as it is profound. The ancient sages of India have left behind them a lore, which might well be the envy of the world. All this could not be possible unless there existed a very well regulated and extensive system of public education in the country. There exist authentic records which show that in ancient India there were residential universities large enough to accommodate, feed, and educate 10,000 students at a time, the State, of course, bearing the entire cost.

There were several such universities all over the land. There was also a very widely diffused system of elementary education, but that organization, began to show signs of decay under the Mohammedan rule, inasmuch as not only was State support withdrawn from those institutions, but the institutions themselves were condemned as fountain-heads of heresy. This process of disintegration was accentuated during the early days of British rule, and even the indigenous system of elementary education which had survived the onslaughts of the foregoing regime, began slowly to disappear, as will be seen from the following quotation from L. Lajpat Rai's Book, "The Unhappy India."

"There was before the British Government took over control of education in India, a wide-spread, popular, indigenous system. It was not confined to one or two Provinces, but was found in various parts of India, though some districts were more advanced than others. In the inquiry made for the Madras Presidency in 1822-26, it was calculated that rather less than one-sixth of the boys of school-going age received education of some sort. In the similar inquiry made for the Bombay Presidency (1823-28) the number of boys under instruction was put down as about one in eight. In one of the districts in Bengal, where Adam carried out his inquiry, he found 13·2 per cent. of the wholemade population receiving instruction."

I shall quote another passage which shows how the problem of finance which baffles many of our present-day educationists was solved in those days :—

“ We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.”

Now let us see what is the position in our own day, after more than 150 years of British Rule in India. The extent of education in India to-day is extremely low and at the time of the Census of 1921, we could only boast of one literate male in every seven of more than 5 years of age, and only one literate female in every 50 ; even though the test of literacy is incredibly elementary. The standard of education among women is even worse than among men. In Burma which is supposed to be the best in this respect, the percentage of literacy among women is only 11·2 while Bombay comes next with only 2·7 per cent. The Government was spending 6·95 crores of rupees on education in 1927, which is about 1/14th of its total revenue.

One drawback of the present system is that most of the village people who receive elementary education through Municipal or other public bodies cannot, even if they want to do so, prosecute their studies further owing primarily to want of means and secondly to lack of facilities.

“ During recent years ” says an observer of Indian conditions “ a wave of educational enthusiasm has swept through Indians of public conscience, and both the Hindu and Muslim communities are seeking to extend schools and are establishing Universities The Indian Ministers for Education in the Provincial Councils have endeavoured to develop village schools, but have been seriously hampered owing to absence of finance ” All the Provinces of India except Assam have got at least one University each. These are all, more or less State institutions and are alike in their aims, methods, and outlook. The products of these Universities were in demand in the early days of British rule, for running the Government machinery and hence these Universities specialised in producing what may safely be called superior clerks. Their graduates lacked initiative, originality and self-reliance, and what was worst, they developed a mentality which despised all manual labour. Arts and crafts thus deteriorated and the only thing these graduates scrambled after was government employment, failing

which they turned towards the over-crowded professions of law and medicine. This state of affairs gave rise to a struggle for existence in which the upper and the lower middle classes suffered badly.

Of late, however, institutions have sprung up which aim at providing real education, *viz.*, an education which, in addition to imparting knowledge also seek to build character and develop the artistic sense. But their endeavours to move out of the time-worn groove are meeting with scant success. Outstanding examples of these Universities are the Benares Hindu University with one of the most enlightened and orthodox Hindus, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at its head, and the Aligarh Muslim University founded by the illustrious Mohammedan educationist Sir Syed Ahmad. These institutions attract students not only from all the Provinces of India but also from outside. At Shantiniketan Bolepur in Bengal our great poet and sage Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has established another institution which attracts students from all parts of the world. Mention may also be made of a University founded on the munificence of a single individual, Sir Annamali Chettiar at Chitambaram and of the Indian Women's University at Poona founded by the veteran educationist, Professor D. K. Karve, and endowed by the great philanthropist the late lamented Sir Vithaldas Thakersay.

Copies of the highly interesting poem recited by Mrs. Illangkoon of Ceylon in the morning were freely distributed among the audience.

With a vote of thanks to the chair the Conference rose for the day.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

THIRD SESSION.

Proceedings of 21st January 1931.

The proceedings of the All-Asian Women's Conference were resumed on the morning of the 21st January 1931 at the Town Hall, with Madame Hoshi of Japan in the chair. The subjects fixed for discussion for the day were Health, Education and Religion.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi introduced the President to the audience in a few words, as Madame Hoshi wanted to introduce herself. In a pretty little speech, free of all conventions of grammar, she declared that she was one of the few women of Japan who had come to India and was now learning Sanskrit at Dr. Tagore's School at Shantiniketan—not that it was necessary to come to India to learn Sanskrit as there were many Pandits in Japan, but she had come because she wanted to understand and study Indian womanhood at first-hand. (*Loud cheers*).

The following is a verbatim reproduction of **Madame Hoshi's** speech:—

SISTERS,

I am very glad to meet you—various countries' sisters in this Conference. I am a Japanese, but not a representative who have been sent for this Conference from Japan. I am staying in Shantiniketan, Bengal India, there is Viswa-Bharati of Tagore, in there I am learning Sanskrit.

Now-a-days many Japanese stay in India or travel to India. They are diplomatists or merchants or religious men or artists and sometimes scholars. They observe and understand India on their own standpoints, diplomatical, political, artistic, etc. They introduce India which they understand to Japan.

They, all, are men. Myself a Japanese woman came to India not to know economical conditions of India, nor only for religious feeling. One of the reasons which brought me to India was to understand India especially Indian women immediately essentially. On this purpose I am trying best in Shantiniketan, on the same purpose I wanted to come for this Conference when Mrs. Cousins had asked me to go to this Conference in Benares in last December. I should thank Mrs. Cousins who gave this opportunity.

So, I have no representation for this Conference, besides I have only poor English expression. I am very anxious I cannot tell you about Japan sufficiently, though you wish to know so much about Japan.

To-day I am receiving the President chair, for no delegate came from Japan. Please excuse my poor work.

Miss Oung, a delegate from Burma, addressed as follows :—

HEALTH.

Medical aid for women and children is still inadequate in Burma except in Rangoon and 5 or 6 big cities where it is fairly well provided for. Rangoon has one Women's Hospital, two female dispensaries and four general dispensaries where women and children can get medical aid and advice.

2. INFANT MORTALITY.

Birth rate	..	..	..	21.49
Death rate	..	..	..	33.83
Infant mortality	..	..	..	340

{ (rural 175-264).
 { (urban 108-633).

Still births—7.85% of total births registered.

Maternal mortality—11.18% of total confinements registered

Puerperal fever—0.09%

Infant mortality is very high, being highest in small towns.

Most big cities have Infant Welfare Societies. Burma branch of Indian Red Cross has special fund for Infant Welfare work. Twelve Infant Welfare Societies are affiliated to the Burma branch of the Infant Welfare Society of Rangoon with 4 maternity shelters with 100-120 beds and 8 nurses attend to normal confinements of the very poor of the city.

Rangoon Corporation has 2 nurses attending child births in the poor homes. In spite of such a fairly well-developed infant maternity welfare work the infant mortality rate is still very high. We would like to know of activities and methods of other cities having better results.

3. VENEREAL DISEASES.

In spite of the fact that venereal diseases are prevalent and according to the opinion of practising doctors that they are on the increase,

we have no venereal disease hospital or even venereal disease wards in the Hospitals. There is no way of checking the spread of the disease in the early stages, nor a full course of treatment and cure.

There is a venereal disease out-patient department in the Rangoon General Hospital but it is nothing compared to the magnitude of work necessary.

4. MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS.

Introduced in recent years is a part success. It reveals the highest defects in nose, throat (21 per cent.), teeth (20 per cent.), eyes (14 per cent.) It is of decided help to improve the general health of the school population getting defects and diseases corrected and treated in the early stages.

5. TUBERCULOSIS

Is on the increase. There is no sanatorium provided for cases in the early stages. There are no funds and no hospitals for advanced cases.

Miss Oung further informed the Conference that although opium and alcohol, etc., were forbidden by their religion and were not manufactured or sold in Burma before the advent of the British Government, licenses were now freely given and although only Chinese were allowed to purchase them, it was quite easy for Burmese to get hold of them. She was sorry that these drugs were, therefore, commonly used by Burmese men and women.

Miss Cissy Cooray of Ceylon (on Infantile Mortality) said :—

The citizen of the future is with each succeeding generation becoming a matter of greater and greater concern. It is a deplorable fact that great numbers of infant children perish every year who might very well have been spared to grow up into healthy men and women, to be a comfort and support to their parents and useful members of the State. It has been clearly proved that where the Public Health Administration of a country is satisfactory and child welfare work has been well organised, a considerable improvement in the death-rate has been effected.

Let us examine the reasons for this comparatively high infant mortality in Ceylon. I should like to submit a few facts and figures especially relating to the country from which I come and its capital, Colombo.

Ceylon as most of you are doubtless aware has been amply blessed with nature's store. It is an Island some seven degrees removed from the Equator, enjoying a fairly equable climate, suffering from neither

arid equatorial winds nor freezing blasts, where vegetation thrives with a tropical luxuriousness and water is adequate if not abundant everywhere.

Such being the environment in which our children are born, to what may we attribute the disease and resultant death which dogs the feet of many a new born babe? In most cases it is *poverty*, grinding poverty. It cannot be denied that most of the ills which are responsible for this high death-rate can be traced to this melancholy fact. Where poverty exists we inevitably find the vicious circle, Defective Housing, Ill Health, Unemployment, Defective Feeding, Malnutrition, Lower Wages, Defective Education, Inefficiency, etc.

The remuneration of labour is much lower in the East than in the West, though the cost of living may perhaps be equally low in proportion. As in the case of most other countries poverty is more striking and more sordid in Urban localities. The conditions in Tea and Rubber areas where Indian coolies are extensively employed, though not ideal, are not to be condemned entirely. The Minimum Wage Ordinance passed in December 1927, which came into force in January 1931, has special reference to Indian labour and exercises an indirect influence on the fixation of rates of other kinds of labour, while appreciably affecting his moral and material welfare. The rate of wages for adult man is about 50 cents and for adult females about 40 cents. The Sinhalese villager finds this wage too low and many migrate to the towns to seek employment. This naturally brings down the wages in the towns and consequently the standard of living of the average labourer. The struggle for life for children born to such parents is very hard indeed and many have to pay the penalty of death.

The death of 36,963 infants under one year of age were registered in Ceylon in 1929 which amounted to 27 per cent. of the total deaths registered and was equivalent to a rate 187 per thousand births registered during the year. Mortality of Indian infants represented a rate of 213 per thousand births. But substantial work is being done to reduce these appalling figures by opening Child Welfare Centres, Mill Depots, Provision of Midwives, Free Dispensaries and doing health work generally. A review of the Statistics of the last two decades shows that the mortality from diseases resulting in convulsions has increased steadily. Improper feeding may be a responsible factor. Poverty prevents the purchase of suitable milk foods often the milk procured is adulterated, therefore, a controlled supply of pure milk seems an urgent necessity. Expectant mothers are obliged through

force of circumstances to work to the last. This should as far as possible be avoided by making it incumbent on the employer to release a woman from work during the last month of pregnancy without her having to forfeit her wages. Debility is stated as the chief cause of infantile deaths both in the urban areas and on the estates; this cause was mentioned frequently where death occurred during the first week of life suggesting ante-natal causes.

Welfare schemes initiated by our Government are not as extensive as in Western countries. Maternity Hospitals are all too few, midwives inadequate and welfare centres insufficient. The Government has recently passed a Midwives' Ordinance bringing Ceylon into line with other civilized countries and every effort is being made to have Government Certified Midwives in sufficiently large numbers to cope with the demand for pre-natal attention.

Public opinion and public interest in the welfare of the country was slowly roused in Ceylon and we made our first serious effort to combat these bad social conditions by the establishment of a Ceylon Social Service League in 1914, to which was added ten years ago a Women's Branch which has as its objective Child Welfare work. Gradually the movement spread throughout the Island and voluntary Welfare Schemes are taking a very prominent place in the fight for the decrease of Infantile Mortality. In many places voluntary workers materially assist in the working of Health Units which are run by Government and this combination is much to be desired for the services of all are needed to reap a lasting benefit. In large towns Social Service Leagues are doing splendid service. This is not the place to discuss whether voluntary Welfare Schemes are economically advantageous, but they are a real boon to underfed unemployed derelicts of society. In Colombo a Clinic and several Milk Depots have been opened by the Ceylon Social Service League and free milk is distributed. In case where mothers if properly nourished could nurse their babies, such nourishment is provided for the mother free of charge. The Colombo Municipality, besides making contributions to such societies, has opened free milk depots and centre of its own. An equally important aspect of welfare work which has far-reaching results is the establishment of sewing classes for young girls—the future mothers of the race. Here, besides the instruction and material help supplied, they are incidentally given a training in housewifery, cleanliness, punctuality and thrift—qualities necessary for the successful building of a home. Above all they realise the value of self-help and their obligation to the State in the rearing of healthy citizens.

There is also the *lack of education in general*, which is responsible for so much ignorance—another important item in the list of evils against which we have to contend. What is absolutely essential is a more extensive and intensive health education and a special training in the art and practice of mother-craft. Health units and baby shows serve to inculcate correct ideas of health hygiene and sanitation into the rustic mind of the countryman. Quite recently Women's Institutes have been started in rural areas, and it is hoped that they will prove a real help in the elevation of the conditions of life in the villages.

Bad Housing and Insanitary Conditions are twin evils which also exist to our shame and constitute a most formidable problem, the successful solution of which will effect the alleviation of many of the ills we have considered, not to speak of the drop in expenditure now incurred in combating disease. At present Sanitary Officers do what they can to improve conditions but their task is an uphill one in the absence of stringent legislation. I quote from the Administration Report of the Medical Officer for Health of the Public Health Department, Colombo, on the subject of housing: "First the Government and the Municipality should provide decent housing for all its labour. Then private employers of labourers exceeding, say 100 in number, should be called upon, or in default compelled by legislation, to provide decent housing for their workmen. Over a thousand cases of chicken-pox occurred last year, the great majority of these cases was due to direct contact with infection in the crowded chumeries occupied chiefly by immigrant labourers employed by various private firms Under present conditions a single house with two or three rooms is occupied by twenty or thirty or more men. Employment offered by private firms attracts labour from India and the slums areas of the city are getting more crowded every year The area to the South and East is growing in a more or less haphazard manner and when these areas are some day included within the town we shall be faced with still greater problems of town planning, sanitation, drainage, road widening, etc."

As has been indicated above *Poverty, Ignorance, Bad Sanitation and Housing* lead to disease which each year carries away a large portion of the future citizens of the country. One cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity for the enforcement of legislation and co-operation on the part of the State without which the Child Welfare Movement cannot hope for success. Now that our women have got the vote

they are beginning to take an interest in these subjects which concern them most and it is to be hoped they will utilize their newly won power for the amelioration of the hardship of their less fortunate sisters.

It is well to remember that "The children of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow." A race of sturdy, strong-willed, kind and thoughtful children is the highest result of a nation's greatness and best guarantee of its future prosperity. We need, as citizens, to see that the homes in which the children, our tiny fellow citizens, dwell are more sanitary. We need, as citizens, to combine together to prevent, as far as lies in our power, sickness and death and crime among the children, so organising the life of the town that they shall be surrounded by fair sights and sounds and examples of high living, and shall be shielded from all that demoralises the soul or deteriorates the body.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, on Health, spoke as follows :—

Medical aid to people in India is most inadequate. Every year 6 to 7 millions of people die from preventible diseases and a large number become invalidated for life and thus become a burden to the society. Fifty per cent. of the children born in India never live to see their first birthday. Thousands and lacs of people are carried away by periodical recurring epidemics—cholera, plague, malaria, small-pox, dysentery, kala-azar. Provincial vital statistics are mostly inaccurate and no special officers are employed in the villages and districts to gather reliable statistical figures.

At the end of 1927 there were 4,422 state, public, local fund, private, aided general hospitals and dispensaries in British India or roughly one for 56,000 of the population. (Annual Report, Public Health Commissioner.) Most of the hospitals are located in big cities and towns. Villages which are over 5,000,000 in British India suffer from lack of adequate medical relief and medical preventive measures.

Maternal mortality is calculated roughly as 20 per 1,000 births. Less than 3 per cent. of women in rural India are attended during childbirth by trained midwives. Owing to the custom of purdah and the forced seclusion of women, women do not take medical aid from men nor do they consult them for ailments associated with pregnancy and childbirth, the result being that many mothers die from preventible diseases, from complications during childbirth and from preventible sepsis and many more become chronic invalids.

For the whole of India "there are now in existence 96 hospitals and 43 dispensaries staffed by women medical missionaries, 26 hospitals

in charge of members of the Women's Medical Service, and women's wards in the most of the civil hospitals or dispensaries which are generally under the care of lady sub-assistant Surgeons." (Quoted from *The Work of Medical Women in India.*)

MEDICAL EDUCATION.

In almost every province, there is a medical college attached to the big hospitals for men and women but except in Madras and Bombay women do not join the men's colleges in any appreciable number. But there is the Lady Hardinge Medical College at Delhi exclusively for women, and four medical schools entirely staffed by women for the whole of India.

Nursing and midwifery profession are now attracting candidates from the better classes of the Indian people but the total numbers are still very inadequate to supply the demand.

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE.

In 1918 the Lady Chelmsford All-India League for Maternity and Child Welfare was founded in order to undertake further preventive medical work by means of the training of health visitors and maternity supervisors and by extended propaganda in connection with the promotion of maternity and child welfare.

There are now seven health schools for the training of health visitors. The total number of health visitors at work are only 250 for a number of births which exceeds 8 millions, while in England and Wales in 1926, 3,963 women were engaged in health visiting for 700,000 births.

In England and Wales with a population of 39,482,000 the number of maternity and child welfare centres amounted in 1928-29 to 2,522. The number of maternity centres in three Indian Provinces in 1927 (the latest date for which figures are available) was as follows:— 33 in United Provinces, 55 in Madras, 21 in Central Provinces, with respective populations of 45,375,787; 42,318,985 and 13,912,760. Statistics for the other provinces are not obtainable. (Quoted from *The Women of India Survey.*)

In every province the report of the Public Health Department as well as that of general medical service plead lack of funds to promote and extend measures for medical relief and medical prevention. India has no legislation to save the child and mother's life. No province has yet enacted the Public Health Act similar to that of the other civilised countries. There is no Maternity and Child Welfare Act to enforce the

provisions of ante-natal attention to expectant mothers and trained help to mother and child during childbirth and after. School medical service has not yet been recognised as a State concern. The total expenditure on public health (both central and provincial) is only 0·01 and therefore it is no wonder that India's health records are very poor as compared with those of the other progressive countries.

There are no doubt a large number of indigenous practitioners both Ayurvedic and Unani and an attempt has been made in certain provinces to give them training in recognised Indian Schools of Medicine and to qualify them for a diploma. Also certain indigenous chemical firms such as the Bengal Chemical Works under Sir P. C. Ray and the Mysore Pharmaceutical Company are trying to produce an Indian Pharmacopœia. Whether for instituting research into the causation of diseases peculiar to the East or for the extension and improvement of medical relief and medical preventive measures, financial provision on a liberal scale is necessary. But India is not wanting in intellects with scientific bent. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose's discoveries in the plant world have revolutionised the world's thought in that subject. Sir C. V. Raman has recently been awarded the Nobel Prize for his distinction in Physics. Sir P. C. Ray's original work in Chemistry has been admired by the world.

Therefore there is every hope that in the near future India will come up on a level with other civilized countries in the provision of facilities to promote the health and sanitation of her people.

Miss Robertson, of New Zealand, spoke on Health as follows :—

Most of the cities of India, and of Europe also, date back to the Middle Ages, when the protection of walls was necessary. This was the narrow streets and general overcrowding which we find in these old towns, and which makes the introduction of modern system of sanitation so expensive and so difficult. New Zealand is so young a country that she escaped these difficulties, yet 30 years ago our death rates both for mothers and for infants compared unfavourably with those of the leading European countries. A special effort was made to remedy this state of affairs and the best methods of these other countries were studied. Then in 1907 Doctor (now Sir) Turby King came forward with an entirely new system of Infant Welfare, the simplest and best the world has yet known. He started from the idea that the thing to aim at was, not to restore lost or impaired health, but to maintain all young, growing things in their natural state of good health. First he studied the young

things on his farm, both plants and animals ; he studied the nature of each, found what that nature required, and supplied it with that and with nothing else. Thus he produced specimens which took prizes at all the local shows. He then felt ready to study Baby nature and took into a special ward 20 sickly babies. These received no medicines, only their mother's milk, but each meal was at a definite time and of a definite duration. A daily timetable of washing, feeding, sleep, exercise, etc., was drawn up and strickly adhered to. Each baby had a bed of its own and was left in it as much as possible. In a few months these sickly babies were much sturdier than ordinary health babies. At first the idea of a timetable for a baby was ridiculed, but one had only to see a baby reared by this method to become an ardent supporter of it. A Baby Welfare Society was formed called the "Royal New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children," but commonly known as the "Plunket Society" after its first patroness Lady Plunket, wife of the Governor, Lord Plunket. Nurses were trained in the care of healthy babies by the Plunket methods, and also in the treatment of babies suffering from digestive troubles or from mal-nutrition. Of course it took some time to spread the methods throughout the country. Each district had to have a nurse, who instructed as many mothers as she could reach, and they in turn instructed their friends. The mothers benefited nearly as much as the babies did, for their arms were no longer tired by day nor their sleep broken by night by restless babies. In about twenty years the New Zealand Infant Mortality Rate had so fallen that it broke the world's record, and since then it has broken its own record year by year. It is now under 35 per thousand. The system is subsidized by the Government but they have not taken over the administration of it, as it is thought better to keep such things out of the hands of the Government. It is more in the hearts of the people when they administer it themselves.

Many countries are adopting this New Zealand system of Baby Welfare, and as there is a very general desire to hear of it the Plunket Society sent me Pamphlet and Reports of their work of distribution at this All-Asian Women's Conference. I understand that India is even now negotiating to get a Plunket Nurse from New Zealand and that she is to begin work in Calcutta.

Miss Maya Dass, on Drink and Drugs, said :—

Since November 1928 to the end of 1929, I have travelled 12,500 miles in the interest of Temperance, visiting various places in the following Provinces :—

Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Assam and Rajputana.

The condition of the labouring class in Assam, especially in the Tea plantations, was most pitiable. The women drugged their babies, left them in their damp hovel-like homes. The mothers spent a good part of the day in picking tea, for they were paid by bulk. One of my chairwomen said that Assam had been ruined by Opium. Some of the wealthy have lost all they had and some were too poor to buy nourishing food for the family. Of the one crore rupees gained by Government as Excise Revenue, seventy-five lakhs were derived from Opium.

In Rajputana as in all other Provinces great emphasis was laid on work among schools and colleges, through scientific temperance charts, literature, songs, dramas, magic lantern shows, thousands of young people were reached.

In the Kholi mahalla where all are addicted to the use of drink and drugs, fine young lads promised never to use any more intoxicants, three years later Miss Campbell and I visited the same people again, the cleanest, the best dressed and the most healthy young men came up to the table and showed the pledge they had signed and were grateful for the teaching received. These men I have just met after five years, they are married, doing well, never out of work and bringing up their children with a dislike for drink.

I am supported in this work by one lakh and seventy-five thousand of women in England. This organisation has a membership of ten lakhs of women and girls spread over in fifty-two countries. The watch-words are "Agitate, Educate, Organize", our motto "For God and Home and every Land."

In India we have printed literature in sixteen languages, at 24 Rajpore Road, Delhi, which is our national headquarter. We stock books, leaflets, etc., in English and some in Urdu and Hindi each language area prepare their own literature for their section.

The work is all over India, but for convenience sake we have divided the country in nine divisions, namely, Punjab, Rajputana, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Gujerat, Bombay, Bengal, Assam and Madras. Our unions are found all over the country with a membership of ten thousand women and girls (boys and men are in the minority, because this is a women's organisation).

The second time that I spoke I urged each country to make an effort to produce scientific literature (if they did not have it already) to see that it was taught in their respective countries. It seems to be

lot of women to conduct this activity all the world over. It has been the case in the U. S. A., in England and other Western countries.

Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade delivered the following speech on “Drink and Drugs” :—

It is an irony of fate, that though all the religions of India condemn the use of this narcotic, and other similar drugs, this country should be the largest producer of opium in the world. Opium seems to have been unknown to ancient India, as one does not find a word for it in her oldest classical language, *i.e.*, Sanskrit—nor is there any mention of this drug in the old works on Ayurvedic Medicine. Though it would be difficult to fix the exact date of its introduction in this land, it is almost certain that it was brought in by the Arabic medical men, who came to India long before the Mohammedan invasion of the country. Medically opium is the finest drug we have in the Pharmacopœia but when used indiscriminately it is one of the most terrible evils from which humanity suffers.

India to-day produces five times as much opium as is needed for the medical needs of the whole world. About half of this amount is consumed in the country and the other half is exported to other lands, and wherever it goes it has proved to be one of the greatest curses of humanity. The only way to successfully and effectively overcome this evil is to stop the extra production of opium and its export to foreign lands.

India thus stands before the world charged with the guilt of being the poison supplier of the world. Although this would seem so, at a superficial glance, yet I want my sisters from other Asian countries to realize that the opium policy like all other vital questions that affect the welfare of this country is in the hands of an alien Government, and I have not the least doubt in my mind, that as soon as we acquire an effective and decisive voice in the management of the affairs of our own land, it would not be necessary for the League of Nations or any other extraneous agency to formulate conventions for the eradication of this evil.

In 1926 the Government of India decided to reduce the sale of opium to foreign countries by 1/10 every year, thus ending its export completely in 10 years. How fine it would be if some such regulation could be made applicable to local consumption in India, so that after 10 years we shall produce opium just enough for medical purposes only.

The latest figures show that excluding some of the large Indian States there are about 17,22,213 acres of the best and richest culturable land under opium cultivation producing 40,896 maunds of the drugs. The League of Nation has after very careful investigation, fixed 12 lbs. (6 seers) as the quantity needed for medical purposes for a population of 10,000 persons. Let us now compare the quantity consumed by every 10,000 of the population in the various Provinces of India. These figures are for 1924-25 (*In Seers*) :

Ajmer Merwara	..	62.38	Coorg	..	..	2.31	
Assam	..	..	48.61	C. P.	..	..	22.28
Baluchistan	..	..	7.78	Delhi	..	..	25.29
Behar & Orissa	..	..	7.50	Madras	..	..	8.26
Bengal	..	..	8.59	N.W.F.P.	..	..	10.74
Berar	..	..	16.38	Punjab	..	..	16.28
Bombay	..	..	16.64	Sind	..	..	18.27
Burma	..	..	22.35	U. P.	..	..	5.13

The drug is generally taken in or smoked. Once the habit is formed it is almost impossible to get out of its deadly grip. It produces physical and moral debasement of the lowest type and opium has thus been rightly looked upon as a *poison*.

In the year 1926, 8,115 chests each weighing 140 lbs. were exported. The export is however showing a steady decline as the Government of India is under an agreement that by 1935 it will not send out opium for other than medical purposes. The total gross revenue accruing to Government from this source is Rs. 3,94,52,254 (1927-28) though on account of the gradual reduction in export alluded to—it is showing a steady decline. Strict Laws exist in England to regulate the sale of Opium and its active principles even to the medical profession. In India the medical profession has been latterly brought under equally strict rules and although fixed quantities of crude opium can be brought from licensed shops only, it is quite easy for a person wanting a larger quantity to walk into the same shop once again and bring an equal amount and in this way all the amount he wants.

China, I believe, once nearly succeeded in bringing the sale of opium under control. The Philippine Islands and Formosa have succeeded in wiping it out altogether from their countries.

ALCOHOL.

Now turning to the question of the liquor trade, we find the same tale of woe repeated. The evil is very widespread all over the country

in spite of strict temperance enjoined by Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. The liquor production is the monopoly of the Government and as it is a source of a very large revenue, very little is being done to stop the consumption and its attendant evil consequences. The total amount of country liquor consumed in India in 1927-28 was 62,09,758 gallons—the average consumption per 100 of the population ranged from 15.30 gallons to 89 in the various centres.

There are about 44,035 shops spread all over the country which sell country and foreign liquor. I need hardly draw the picture of a home devastated by drink—it is too well known.

There is great need of creating public opinion in favour of temperance and thus compelling the Government to enforce complete prohibition. Any revenue which is based on the moral and physical degradation of a people is tainted and not worth having. It is true that Government does not force any one to drink, but this is not enough. They should associate themselves definitely on the side of prohibition.

I am glad to be able to say that some of the Provincial and Municipal Bodies are moving in this direction—notably Bombay. Mahatma Gandhi has preached temperance and has led an anti-alcohol campaign which is showing signs of great success.

Miss Mustafa Khan spoke as follows :—

As some of the respectable ladies requested me to talk about the advancement and progress of knowledge and education in Persia at present day, I am willing to relate to you as much as I know. Indeed, we Persians in particular and all Mohammedans in general have to render much thanks to the Almighty, that His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, May his kingdom be perpetual, has paid a great deal of attention to the education of the boys and girls in Persia in order to spread knowledge throughout the whole of his dominion ; he has issued an order to construct numerous primary schools, high schools, and colleges in cities, towns, and even in small villages. According to my information until two years back, there were forty thousand girls in schools in Persia. Besides this, every year about one hundred boys are sent to Europe, by the order of His Majesty and the Parliament with sufficient stipends and monetary grants for the study of subjects like Mathematics, Medicine, Agriculture, Mineralogy, Astronomy, Engineering and Cultivation, etc.

In the same way many other praiseworthy reforms are made for the good of the people. I hope that within a short period, Persia would become quite an independent country, by means of the said reforms. If we refer to history, we will find that Persia was the centre of the civilization of the ancient world. So we desire that in a very short time she may re-attain her former position in the world.

Moreover His Majesty shows a great and special desire towards the extension of agriculture, training of the army, and the construction of roads. He is now engaged in the construction of a Railway from the North to South with Persia's own capital.

This road will add to the prosperity of cultivation and will improve the condition of the Persian commerce. If we compare the rule of His Majesty with that of his predecessors we will find that vast improvements have been made in all directions.

Rest-houses provided with guards for the security and protection of travellers have been built on almost all the roads traversing the country. Travellers can travel with great ease and facility in all parts of the dominion.

One distinguished art and handicraft of Persia is the well-known Persian Carpet, which is chiefly made by women, and it is famous in the whole world. Although many other arts such as cloth and silk manufacturing, etc., are numerous, everything of Persia is worth to be praised, and in all ages and centuries they had attained a high position among others. As for instance the famous poets of this land are independent of being praised, like His Holiness "Lessan ul ghaib" Hafez of Shiraz Sheikh Saadi and Fardousi of Tus, "May the mercy of God be on them."

To-day also His Imperial Majesty Pahlavi has promoted and will improve the Persian nation to a high degree with a great kindness, compassion and patriotism.

The service of this great and glorious King is beyond our description and writing :

Long Live Shahanshah Pahlavi.

The illustrious Persian nation be everlasting.

Mrs. Kamaluddin of Afghanistan informed the Conference that although the women of her country were against hygiene, their health was very much above the average. She was sorry that the drainage

of the cities and the conditions of the roads were very bad but was glad that King Nadir Khan was devoting his attention to the matter and had already opened a Maternity Hospital for women.

Miss Sen Gupta from India was distressed to find that their Government, instead of being an institution for the welfare of the people, had become a powerful instrument of oppression. She was sorry that, in spite of health being the foremost concern of the country, the Government spent only one per cent. of its revenues on it, and derived revenues—immoral revenues—at the expenses of people's health by giving licenses to opium and liquor shops. She declared that opium and liquor were the worst scourges that they had to contend against, the Government, instead of helping them in their task, chose to earn twenty-five crores of rupees out of the business, knowing full well that the health of people was being ruined and the most it did it was to spend 1 per cent. of its revenues in an attempt to restore to life the people it had killed. (*Loud cheers.*)

Dr. Shave also spoke about the insanitary conditions in North India, with particular reference to the city of Lahore.

Miss Makiko Hoshi speaking on Education of Women in Japan said :—

1. PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Compulsory primary school is provided for every girl and boy in the same school for six years from seven years old.

2. EDUCATION ON THE LEVEL OF MIDDLE SCHOOL.

- A. General ordinary middle school for girls—for four or five years after the primary school in the almost same level for boys' middle school.
- B. A girls' normal school for four or five years in the same level for boys' normal school.
- C. Special practical schools for girls. In this kind of school girls learn domestic work especially.

3. HIGHER EDUCATION.

- A. There is no high school for girls and girls cannot be admitted to enter the boys' high school—for three years after middle school.
- B. Two women's high schools for four years after finishing girls' middle school.

C. Women's college. Special professional colleges (dental, medical, economical, etc.)

Two general colleges. They have junior and senior parts (for three years each) after middle school.

Note :—

Every girl can enter or matriculate into school or college after passing an entrance examination. Some colleges for men admit entrance of girls. Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities never admit matriculation for women. Other Imperial Universities admit matriculation for women. There is no Women's Imperial University. There is no degree for women's colleges.

Rate of girls who study in any kind of middle school is almost same for boys. By some people it is said that women study too much. The general education may be enough for girls, but, I think, all the universities for men should admit matriculation for special women who want the pure deeper studying, not honour nor degree.

Besides by learning "Flower arrangement" and "Tea ceremony" which are special Japanese arts, and have no educational system, only privately under masters, artistic feelings of girls are grown and their personality is cultivated.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

FOURTH SESSION.

21st January 1931.

The afternoon session of the All-Asian Women's Conference was held in the Town Hall at 2-30 p.m. Miss Oung of Burma took the Chair till the arrival of Miss Hoshi.

Miss Alice Paul, Chairwoman of the Equal Rights International, had written to Mrs. Cousins on December 27th suggesting that the Asian Women's Conference should pass resolutions at its sessions in line with the women's desires in regard to The Hague findings. She followed it up by a letter which arrived on the eve of the opening day of the Lahore Conference requesting that cables should be sent to the Persian and Japanese Members of the Council of the League just then about to sit in Geneva. In reply to this urgent call for help the Conference took the subject of the Nationality Status of Women from its place at the end of the Conference into the proceedings of this day and Mrs. Cousins was invited to place the question before the Conference as she was personally acquainted with Miss Paul, and had written on the subject in the Women's Magazine, *Stri Dharma*. Her explanation brought forth support from the Burmese delegates and the Persian delegate who gave instances of the detriment which women experienced in their lands through the discrimination made against women in the nationalities' laws. The Conference voted unanimously in favour of supporting the Women's Nationality Committee in their request to the Council.

NATIONALITY.

The following cable was sent to the Persian and Japanese Members of the Council :—

“ ALL ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE REQUEST YOU TO SUPPORT THAT LEAGUE OF NATIONS COUNCIL SHOULD FORM A WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON NATIONALITY OF WOMEN TO ACT AS A LEAGUE COMMISSION TO STUDY WOMEN'S NATIONALITY QUESTION.”

A cable was sent also to the Headquarters of the Inter-American Commission, on whose behalf Miss Paul had written to Asia, telling of this action of the Conference.

The following are the Resolutions passed at this Session :—

1. The All-Asian Conference records its opposition to the Hague Convention on Nationality because of distinctions based on sex at that Convention and it urges the women of Asia to do everything possible to prevent ratification of this Convention or adherence to this Convention by any country in Asia.

2. The Conference records its support of the draft Convention on the Nationality of Women proposed at the Hague Convention on the Codification of International Law by Dr. Cruchage, delegate from Chile, namely:

“ The Contracting States agree that from the going into effect of this treaty there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality.”

3. The Conference urges the women of Asia to do everything possible in their respective countries to establish complete equality between men and women in the law and practice relating to nationality.

In moving the resolutions on the question of nationality of women **Mrs. Cousins** said that there should be equal nationality for all women, and that the All-Asian Women's Conference should be represented in the Council of the League of Nations appointed to enquire into the matter.

Mrs. Fozdar, a delegate from Persia, seconded the proposal and illustrated the point by saying that although she was Persian by birth she was not entitled to the property of her father as she had married a British subject. It was therefore doubly incumbent upon her to agitate in the matter. (Laughter.)

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi and **Miss Dwa Hta** of Burma lent their whole-hearted support to the proposal which was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mrs. Shuffi Tyabji speaking on Education stressed the importance of compulsory education and regretted that the parents did not seem to realise their responsibility towards their children. She exhorted the audience to try to educate public opinion in this direction.

Miss Ma Mya Shwe, from Burma, regretted that there was lack of lady teachers in her country and that the parents, therefore, hesitated to send their daughters to school. She gave other facts and figures of the educational conditions in Burma.

Mrs. Kamaluddin of Afghanistan declared that Asia being the home of all religions was the most civilized country of the world. She asked the women to fight for their rights, but reminded them at the same time their duties in regard to pleasing their husbands, management of homes, upbringing of children, etc., etc. She was sure that for all man may say to the contrary, he was still a puppet in the hands of the woman, and they should use him as best they could. She praised the late King Aman Ullah for opening schools and sending girls to Turkey and Europe to learn medicine, nursing and teaching, etc., and was sorry that on account of the revolution all the schools in her country were still closed.

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar spoke as follows on Religion :—

The ancient land of Persia has been the dawning place for mighty civilizations and religions in the past. Zoroastrians were the ruling nation there before the advent of Mahomed. Every cycle has its end so had the Zoroastrian religion. The faith of Mahomed swept over the whole of Persia soon and they became the rulers of Persia's destiny. It is always an undeniable fact that followers of the State religion do oppress people of other religions to a greater or lesser extent. Exactly the same thing happened in Persia and that too to a very marked degree. The clergy in that land were very dominant in the government of the country, so much so that in the last century and until the overthrow of the last dynasty of Persia the voice of the mullah was competent enough to nullify even the laws of the land and the royal decrees. These clergy reviled other religions and created an atmosphere of fanaticism and bigotry among their followers. Thus a non-Muslim was treated by a Muslim like a dog. A Muslim cooly or a beggar was deemed competent to extract obedience or money or wife or daughter of a non-Muslim at his sweet will. But the hands of oppression are short. Persia was a pauper and an impotent state. Disorder and chaos were prevalent. The clergy reigned supreme but their power was short-lived. A new light shone from the horizon of Persia and dispelled the clouds of fanaticism and religious bigotry. Bathed in the blood of its martyrs this new religion, "The Bahai Cause", spread from one end of Persia to the other in less than a decade. This light broke the man-made barriers between religions and nationalities. False patriotism was untaught and discouraged by the great world teacher Bahauddin who taught "Let not a man glory in this that he loves his country let him rather glory in this that he loves his kind." He taught if religion be the cause of quarrel and strife, let there be no religion. A sincere seeker after truth could not but be convinced of this truth. Degenerate Persia was again quickened and regenerated through this

great teacher and now we find Persia progressing at rapid strides towards greatness and civilisation. A Persian Muslim through this teaching, loves a Zoroastrian or Christian as his own brother. Through this teaching of love and universal brotherhood Persia has emerged from chaos and corruption and now stands before the world as a powerful and united nation.

Regarding Education **Mrs. Shirin Fozdar** said :—

Persia is now beginning to realise the benefits of Education. We now find there schools managed by the State, private bodies, and by Missionaries. Girls are still hampered in their education because of their having no special high schools for them. Also the frantic struggle for existence on part of the remnant of purdah system plays some part in keeping these girls without proper education. Boys are sent by the State to foreign universities to receive training in various branches of Arts and Science. But the girls are not encouraged by State in this direction, and no such facility is made for them. There is no law enforcing compulsory education.

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar also read a very interesting paper on the "Position of Women in Asia" which is appended at the end of this Report, as Appendix B.

Miss Perumal spoke on Education as follows :—

In dealing with the subject I shall restrict my observations to the special needs of Ceylon. A cursory and superficial knowledge of other Asiatic countries does not justify my laying pretence to any competency to speak in general terms about all Asiatic countries. The delegates from other countries, too, assembled in convention, will place before us their special needs and how best they can be remedied, so that in the end by a mutual understanding not only of our common, but also of our special problems, we might be able to arrive at a solution that will cover the whole range of our difficulties.

Ceylon as some of you perhaps know, has passed through various vicissitudes in evolving the present Ceylonese nation. The page of her story is chequered with wars with the Tamils from India, on the one hand and internal feuds, on the other. But still there was unbroken succession of kings till she finally became an English possession in 1815. The Tamil wars had a beneficial effect in that they welded the people together and awakened in them a strong national consciousness. These wars were followed by a period of peace and prosperity and an Augustan Age in Literature. But with the advent of European domination the people gradually began to lose their national consciousness and their

pride in the arts and crafts and literature of the land. It is not difficult to trace the cause of such a reaction to occidental influences. The cause lies in the baneful system of education now obtaining in Ceylon. The main end of education should be the development of personality in the individual and the preservation of individuality in the nation. It must, on the one hand, draw out the creative genius of the people and on the other, it must provide channels for free self-expression.

The definition that would best serve a subject-race like ours is that of Ruskin when he said that education means finding out what people have tried to do, and helping them to do it better. At the same time we must not lose sight of the vocational side. Education should also form the basis of a preparation for life and good citizenship—a want, which is so seriously felt just now in the country that the remedying of it should take precedence over all other questions confronting the Ceylonese people to-day. Some might consider this a narrow and purely “utilitarian” point of view which tends to vitiate the true theory of education, but we have to bear in mind that an education which tends towards academic and scholastic attainments alone helps only the few, while life has to be lived by everyone. Instead of finding out what our people have tried to do and helping us to do it better, the government, in its educational policy, has succeeded in effecting a complete change in values. We are given a superficial education which, though it has its attractions, ultimately leads us nowhere. It is unrelated to the needs of the country and the traditions of the people. There is in fact the danger that in time the already existing gulf between the ideal of the home and the ideal of the school will become incapable of being bridged.

Turning now to the means of education, we find that quite a sufficient number of schools has been established in various parts of the country both by government and by private bodies. Almost all the schools run by private bodies are assisted by government grants and therefore the government exercises the right of controlling the mode and the nature of education imparted to the children. A code of instruction is drawn up by government and it insists on all schools satisfying the requirements of the code.

So whatever praise and whatever discredit the system brings in its wake, the charge has to be primarily laid at the door of the government as it is clearly seen how it is ultimately the government that controls the policy of education in the country.

In examining this policy, let us first turn to the types of schools that we have in Ceylon. As a rule co-education does not exist in Ceylon, except in a very modified form, and that very rarely. There are separate schools for the boys and girls, but the number of boys' schools far outnumber that of girls' schools. The vast majority of the schools teach only the vernaculars (namely, Sinhalese and Tamil) and these are situated mostly in the country; while those that impart an English education are comparatively few in number and are for obvious reasons situated in the towns. Even in the country the government has recently made provision for an elementary English education by the establishment of a few bilingual schools here and there, while in the towns the code insists on all secondary schools adopting a very elementary course of instruction in the vernacular. Then we have a Government Training College for Teachers in Kindergarten and Elementary work only, and a University College which prepares students for the London Examinations. There is a Medical College open to both men and women students, and it is a matter that is engaging the attention of our Councillors at present. The W. F. U. of Ceylon has also taken steps in the matter, and at a meeting of the Committee held recently a resolution was passed unanimously requesting the Councillors to have the law so amended to enable women students to enter the Ceylon Law College.

So far as to types. Let us now consider the nature of instruction given and see whether it meets the growing needs of and the conditions peculiar to the country, whether it helps her to keep pace with the changing demands of the day, how far it is a preparation for life and how far it tends to make the boys and girls of to-day the useful citizens of tomorrow.

In the vernacular schools, the main subjects of instruction are reading, writing and Arithmetic; History and Geography are also taught and of late Drawing and Handwork have been included in the school curriculum. When the students come of school-leaving age, however, although they can read and write, they are hardly able to appreciate the literature of the land. Those who have developed a taste for literature and who desire to express themselves well in the language either have to take private tuition from Buddhist priests or attend one of the "Pirivenas" which are primarily meant for the instruction of priests. This perhaps explains the dearth in modern Sinhalese literature, as the Buddhist priests restrict their writings to translations and annotations of the Pali scriptures.

Though Drawing and Handwork are recent introductions, results already show that there is unlimited scope in this direction. But there is a lamentable scarcity of competent critics and teachers and here we have to look to other countries for guidance and instruction, and it is to be hoped that those who are at the helm of affairs in the country will soon take the necessary steps to further the study of art in this country and to create greater facilities for instruction in and demand for such crafts as Handwork.

In the English schools a variety of subjects are imparted to the children, mostly for examination purposes. However, the subjects that are taught are necessary, though they may not be as perfectly imparted as one would wish. History is taught, but it is chiefly English or European History. And if a religion is taught for examination purposes, it is only Christianity. What young minds should know is that History does not begin nor end with England and Europe, nor religion with Christianity. They should know that other countries have equally fascinating histories, histories older than theirs, that other religions have as devoted followers and even a greater number of followers.

Religious instructions should be the first essential in child education, for there must be a moral standard of action for the child to follow. It will be Buddhism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism or Christianity as the faith of the parents may be. Later on other religions should be explained so that the child may know that others have different faiths and beliefs which to them are as sacred as its own. And side by side with religion must follow the study of the vernacular tongue. In the present system of education there are no facilities for developing either. More emphasis should be laid on the study of vernaculars, and the educational authorities should be persuaded to extend the range of study, and make it compulsory for Ceylon children to continue the vernacular, instead of ceasing it after the 4th Standard as is done now in most English secondary and elementary schools. Such an extension would mean the study of Buddhist and Hindu Philosophy, as the literature of the Sinhalese and the Tamils is primarily religious.

It will now be seen that the chief aim of this system of education is to pass examinations and seek employment in the offices and professions that are already overcrowded. It has hitherto failed to draw out the creative genius of the people to produce its poets, artists and authors.

Another great disadvantage in this system of education is that it gives no proper educational training for the masses. "The right

kind of education for the masses is a vocational education, one that trains them up to some definite occupation to earn their living by. I consider it important that we should press upon Government the urgency of legislation, and side by side with it the necessary institutions in which the children of the labouring classes can be taught a trade, art or craft, while they are at the same time given an elementary education."

Some of the conditions in Europe afford us good examples. In Denmark where the natural conditions are very similar to those of Ceylon, the standard of education is very high. Primary education is gratuitous. Every child is bound to attend the parish school at least from the seventh to the thirteenth year unless the parents can prove that it receives suitable instruction in other ways. Amongst numerous other institutions for the furtherance of science and training of various kinds may be mentioned the large polytechnic schools, the high school for agriculture and veterinary art. In Germany and some other parts of Europe they have what is called "Continuative education". Here children of the working classes who leave school at fourteen years of age (upto seventeen) are given education to suit the needs of the country. Attendance at "Continuation" schools have been made compulsory by law. In Scotland elementary education is generally rendered free and they also have compulsory continuation classes, where crafts and industries practised in the district are taught to the children upto the age of seventeen. Even in England there was at one time the fear that a considerable part of the national expenditure upon elementary education was wasted for want of an effective system of continuative instruction to be given out of working hours to adolescents engaged in industrial employment. The whole subject was exhaustively treated by the report 1909 of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. This report set forth an efficient continuative system upon the improvement of elementary education by reducing the size of the classes in the elementary schools according to the regulations of 1909; and by increasing the amount of instruction in handwork with a view to rendering the curriculum less bookish and more efficient as a training for industrial and agricultural life. Ceylon is an agricultural country and if it is to rank among the nations in commerce it should revive its agricultural and industrial pursuits.

Co-education in secondary schools is another point I would like to stress upon. The Director of Education in his report for 1929 states thus:—"There is no strong social objection in this country to the co-education of young children, though customs of the communities vary with regard to the attendance of the elder girls." Eighty per cent.

of the vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools are mixed or co-education schools. English education on the other hand is not free. Out of 257 assisted English schools only 55 are mixed or co-education schools. Co-education schools are steadily on the increase as the figures for the last three years show.

In 1927 there were 1,929 co-education schools, in 1928, there were 2,033 and in 1929 there were 2,188 co-education schools. It must be remembered that these are mostly elementary or primary schools. The report of the Director of Education leaves us no room to conclude that co-education has not been a success in the vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools. Now if it has not been a failure where the conditions are difficult, we have no reason to anticipate that something untoward will mar its success in Secondary schools where the conditions are distinctly more favourable than those obtaining in the vernacular schools.

In practically all European countries co-education exists in some form or other. In schools for infants and younger children co-education is approved by all authorities. It is increasingly favoured on educational grounds for smaller schools for children upto 12 or 13 years of age. In the Universities co-education of men and women in the same institution is fast becoming a rule. After all men and women have to face life together and the earlier they begin to understand each other the better it will be. Co-education in secondary schools should be encouraged for it tends to a closer conformity of the conditions of healthy, unself-conscious home life. It is a protective against uncleanness of talk and school immorality. It is a most effectual way of putting girls in a possession of reasonable equality with boys in respect of intellectual and civic opportunity. It means vast economy of expenditure; a return to the natural system; discipline is made easier; it gives an intellectual stimulus, a better balance of instruction, improved manners, prevents extremes of masculinity or femininity and is a safeguard against moral danger. Mary Wollstonecraft in her book "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" contends that both sexes ought not only in private families but in public schools to be educated together.

J. H. Badley on the possibilities of co-education in English preparatory and other secondary schools is strongly in favour. He says:— "In co-education . . . half-heartedness means failure. The more completely both sexes are brought together upon an equal and natural footing the less the difficulties grow."

The Guide and Scout movements are doing excellent work in educating the younger generation. Service is the watch-word, and

the movement brings with it a spirit of comradeship, friendliness and unity which helps to break down the barriers of race, caste and creed. I have made a few suggestions which are by no means exhaustive. I have endeavoured to show you that all is not well with the present system of education in Ceylon. To say that our school system is entirely wrong would obviously be unsound. But one cannot resist the conclusion that a complete re-adjustment of the system, and therefore, of the administrative machinery cannot but result in the betterment of this country and in the creation of a more virile and prosperous nation.

Mrs. P. K. Sen's speech on Education and Religion :—

SISTERS,

I wish to say a few words on the subject "Education and Religion". In my humble opinion the two are so closely linked that they cannot be separated—without the one you cannot have the other in its true sense. It will interest you to know that a special Committee of Women was appointed last year and was held at Pachmarhi to enquire into and report upon the feasibility of establishing a Central Home Science Teachers' Training College. I had the privilege of being appointed Chairwoman of the Committee. Women from all parts of India sat on this Committee, and it is particularly interesting to note although there was at first some divergence of opinion the Committee ultimately sent up a unanimous report. I shall just quote one or two passages from this Report to give you an idea as to how the women of India are thinking on the same lines and I may say making for the same fundamental goal, namely, that the formation of character is necessary from the earliest stages of education. The following passages will make the position clear to you :—

EXTRACT FROM PAGE 1.

"Education is a human birthright. Life should be whole and complete and education is one of its essentials. In its fundamental conception education is the ideal adjustment of an individual synthesis of its environment. In India education in this comprehensive sense had an early origin, and an uninterrupted tradition. It accounts for the character and culture of the Indian people, and the reverence paid to the teacher of old who was responsible for the up-building of life.

"The heritage of this great past remains, but in contact with India's past is its present tragic illiteracy, and the inadequacy and unsuitability of its system of education. The cause of education has

' suffered by the ignoring of the inner genius of the people in relation to its environment. The problem is how to help forward the fulness and wholeness of life through education. The solution lies in broadening the basis of education and making it at once natural and national '."

EXTRACT FROM PAGE 1.

" 3. *Home Science Training*.—The findings of the Committees made it obvious that the subjective method of research through the Research Bureau and the Experimental School should be extended to indigenous conditions of life and home so that a science of living (Home Science) might become a fundamental in an educational plan governing all stages of school life and continuing the post-graduate research and training. This fundamental is imperative to enable Indian women to liberate the power of science in the home, to add to the beauty of art to that home, to confer the best of tradition and culture in life and religion and in so doing, to realise a fuller, freer and happier life, and to raise the society to a higher standard of life and thought."

Home Science.—The general term that covers the study of all the problems connected with the home and family, offers a group of courses in the field of human activities in which the subject-matter is not strictly limited. To gain an intelligent understanding of the problems of the modern family and its setting in the home, with the more intensive study of the problems involved in its relation to the community, demands a wide background of study in the natural and social sciences. For these purposes the formation of character will be essential of the Home Science training, and will be sought by the inclusion of moral training based on spiritual ideals, and a course on Religion and Philosophy, which will comprise a study of comparative religion and the lives of great spiritual personalities. The Committee's view on this aspect is elsewhere well expressed thus * :—

" Call it moral, spiritual or religious teachings, whatever you like. No education can be complete if it is dissociated from the daily life of the people and if it takes the pupil away from the cherished thoughts and ideals of his ancestors ; and no education can fulfil its chief purpose if it is not going to train patriotic, useful and selfless citizens to serve humanity."

It is a fact that conditions in India have changed a great deal since the olden times when India had her own national education. Especially

* Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi's note appended to Hartog Auxiliary Committee's Report, p. 174.

is this the case in modern times when the ocean has become a roadway instead of a boundary. India is almost a museum of races, creeds and social formations. Thus her problem is vastly more difficult than other countries. The different religious conceptions that have grown have made it yet more difficult to harmonise education and religion, till we see at the present moment that religion is almost effaced from education. This is to my mind is the root of many of the present day evils. The question before us is, could we not all unite on a common universal religion, which would be acceptable to all communities, and thereby form the true basis of education? I would with your permission try very briefly to explain the Brahma faith, which has endeavoured to accept and assimilate the essence of all religions.

It was over a century ago towards the beginning of the British Rule—when Western civilisation, Western education and Western culture began to spread their first influence over the minds of the people of India and there was a great chaos in the minds of our young men and women, faith in their own religion was gone, idolatry they could not believe in, truth they did not know where to find. Some took to Christianity, many became agnostics. Out of this chaos came out a new religion with a new idea, a new light and a new hope, to show to the people of India—nay to the whole world—that God is one. It was Raja Rammohan Roy of Bengal, who was the founder of this religion. He mastered all the principal languages of India and abroad in order to learn the truths of all religions, and found out the God of Upanishads—the Allah of the Mohammedans—the Christ of the Christians—the Lord of the Buddhists and of the Zoroastrian faith—the one Creator—*Brahma ekamevadwitiyam*. After Raja Rammohan Roy came Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, father of our great poet Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, who spread this religion further by his own life *yoga* and spiritual communion and preached that Brahmaism was nothing but the essence of the Hindu faith. After him came Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. He gave new life to this religion by laying down new methods of worship and spiritual discipline, creating new rites or reviving the old with a new meaning all its own. He laid special stress not only on the truths embodied in every religion but on the lives of all the message bearers of all ages and gave it a new name—the New Dispensation of God—the Harmony of all Religions. Its creed is not only to tolerate all religions but to appreciate, assimilate and practise the truth and beauty in all religions that came at different times for the salvation of mankind. This spirit of Brahmaism—the Harmony of Religions—is the spirit of the age. This spirit, I think, is working in the spirit of our Conference, of the Peace movements of the

League of Nations etc. The creed is the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Amongst various social reforms Keshub Chandra Sen broke down all barriers of castes—even 50 years ago. He had foreseen this need for universalism which we are all seeking to-day. Regarding women's emancipation and women's education too he gave the first lead and established the first Normal Training College for women and one of the first girls' schools in Calcutta—which still exists and which is known as the Victoria Institution. In this school he tried to introduce a special course of studies suitable for girls only—the studies of the lives of great men and women and comparative religion, and he set up a standard for girls' education which he said would be national and natural. This Institution has tried all along to keep up the ideal set up by its founder, but owing to the stereotyped courses of studies in our Universities in these days making no distinction between studies for boys and girls this Institution has not succeeded so far in carrying out its own scheme of education.

But we see signs of new light again on the horizon and I am happy to say that the Special Committee, which was appointed to frame a scheme for girls' and women's education to which I have alluded to in the beginning, has laid special stress on education for girls and women being carried on from the Home Science angle, and has pointed out that the fundamental essential of true education is that an important place must be given at all stages of education to the formation of character. Since there seems such a consensus of opinion in favour of the scheme framed by the Special Committee, I am filled with hope and happiness that the day is not far when the true type of education will become a reality.

India to-day has in herself every element of self-recovery. “The bare fact of an actual, social, historical, religious and geographical unity is waiting for a synthesis as the national consciousness. The sacrament of a growing nationality would be in the development of her old art—a new application of her old power of learnedness, new and dynamic religious interpretations—a new idealism. The test of success would be the combining of renewed local and individual effort with a power of self-concentration and self-expression hitherto unknown.”* In order to attain this result we must have the sons and daughters of every province and every sect and creed fused with the love of motherland—Sikh, Maratha, Musalman, Hindu, Jain, Christian must recognize each with reference to India—nay to the whole of Asia and not his group only. We must sink all differences and have to-day the strength for such a unity—for a universal unity, through which we may attain our ideals in education and religion.

* Sister Nivedita.

English translation of a speech delivered in Persian by **Begum Maula Baksh** at the meeting of All-Asian Women's Conference at Lahore on the 21st January 1931.

RESPECTED LADIES,

It was expected that two or three ladies would come as delegates from Persia to attend this Conference to acquaint the ladies of all Asia assembled at Lahore with the conditions of the women in Persia. Since those ladies have been unable to come, I, who am a Persian, have been requested by certain ladies to enlighten them regarding the condition of the women in Persia. Although I came to India about thirty-two years ago, I made an extensive tour in the whole of Persia three years ago, when I had opportunities of making myself acquainted with the conditions of the women in that country. Moreover I carry on constant correspondence with my relations in Persia and my information regarding Persian women is quite up to date. I am, therefore, able to say something on the subject.

So far as the objects of this Conference concern Persia I may say that the religion of the whole of Persia is Islam, and Islam is intended to establish real peace in the whole world. In every Islamic Institution whether it is associated with the private or public life, the chief object aimed at is to bring about eternal peace between man and his Maker or between man and man. Islam recognises the individuality or separate independent existence of woman possessing every right and equally with man equipped with capability for intellectual, spiritual and moral attainment.

VERSES.

Ba'zi goyand Zi rui Islam zanan
 Nachiz-o-zabunand Khuda ra buthan
 Dar jumla maratub-i-huquq-i-bashari
 Yaksan zan-o-mardand bahaqq-i-Quran.

TRANSLATION.

Some say that according to Islam women are insignificant and contemptible. By God this is slander, because in all kinds of human rights women and men are equal according to the Quran.

Since the most important weapon in the hands of those opposed to the association of Muslim women with men in public gatherings and assemblies is that it is against the teachings of the Muslim religion, it will perhaps, for this reason, be better to discuss this question at the outset.

If we refer to the early history of Islam and look at the traditions, customs and habits of early Muslims, we find that women used to associate with men in all gatherings and assemblies.

At the beginning of Islam women had votes even in the most important political affairs of the State such as the election of the Khalifa. This power and right have been truly conferred on women by Islam.

At the beginning and during the early periods of Islam the gatherings of men were confined to the following three occasions :—

Firstly, in mosques which were in fact places of daily meetings of the Muslims. Emigrant and Ansar women used to associate with men in the Prophet's mosque and all other Muslim mosques. Even at present women join men in prayers in the mosque attached to the Shrine of Imam Raza at Meshed and in the Juma mosques of Teheran, Qum and other towns in Persia.

Secondly, Muslims used to assemble temporarily on occasions of religious wars. Notwithstanding the fact that Islam has exempted women from taking part in Jihad (religious wars) numbers of women used to accompany Muslim armies into camps to nurse and dress the wounds of wounded men and to encourage men to fight in the cause of the religion and to reprimand them if they showed any inclination to retreat or flight.

Thirdly, the most important gathering of Muslims is on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca for the performance of the different ceremonies connected therewith. On this occasion also from the earliest period up to now, Muslim women from Persia and all other countries freely associated with men.

In these circumstances it cannot, with any truth, be asserted that the association of women with men in public gatherings and assemblies is forbidden by the Muslim religion.

From what I have mentioned it is perfectly evident that the exposing of faces and hands and feet of women in the meetings of men is permissible according to the Muslim religion.

Islam lays it down as law that men cannot in any way oppress women. The husband cannot force his wife to perform domestic work for him if she is not willing to do so. Even if the wife is unwilling to suckle her child the husband cannot compel her to do so. That Islam recognises the individuality or separate independent existence of women is proved by the fact that in Islam a woman is recognised and called

by her own name such as Fatima, Aisha, Zainab, Kulsum, etc., and not by the name of her father or husband as in other religions.

According to the commands of Islam a woman is authorised, on the occasion of her marriage, which is a civil contract, to make any conditions as to her rights, and she is legally justified in obtaining a divorce if those conditions are not fulfilled by her husband.

The question of early marriage is also thoroughly settled by Islam. Marriage in early age is unlawful. It is unlawful to marry a girl who may be grown up but who has not reached a mature intellectual age. Mature intellectual age means that she should be able to discern what is good and what is bad for her in her future life. Islam has conferred upon a woman the right to select her husband. In other words no marriage is lawful without the consent of the woman and no one has the right to give a girl away in marriage without obtaining her previous permission. Consent means that the woman must have approved the man and must be willing to her marriage with him. According to the laws of Islam it is impossible for any one to give a girl away in marriage by force.

Persian women have not yet made much progress in worldly sciences ; but they are not unacquainted with the laws of their religion which is Islam. Most of the Persian women strictly follow the commands of their religion, *viz.*, they know their rights and always insist on preserving them. Persian culture is over six thousand years old. Persia is the oldest civilised country in the world, and it has never been the case that Persian women should remain confined within the four walls of their houses all their lives and never go out in fresh air like Muslim women in India.

From the most ancient times Persian women have been in the habit of going out in the bazars and streets to transact their own business. They visit places of pilgrimage daily, and attend the sermons and listen to the preachings of the priests. They go to gardens and places of public parties and freely associate and exchange ideas with each other.

Although the priests to some extent obstruct the freedom of women in Persia, these obstructions are being gradually removed by the personal attention of His Majesty Raza Shah. Moreover Persian men have learnt by experience that among civilised nations, in every assembly where women are associated with men, the moral and cultured tone of that assembly becomes much more improved and civilised than that

of the assemblies which are confident to men only, and that if Persian women associate with men in places of public resort, cinemas, theatres, morality does not suffer in any way, provided women are properly dressed.

Persian girls now go to France and other European countries for education and for the purpose of learning foreign languages. They return to Persia after completing their education and take up the work of teaching in the girls' schools that have recently been established in all important towns in Persia. With the increase of education which is now making rapid progress, the social, moral and civic regeneration is steadily going on among women in Persia.

In all villages in the whole of Persia there is no *Purdah* at all and women go freely out of their houses with their hands, feet and faces exposed to attend to their business, and their moral condition is free from any blame.

In cities also when women go out into the streets to transact their business, men carefully refrain from staring at them or uttering any improper words by way of derision, ridicule or disrespect, because the old established Persian civilization prevents them from committing such objectionable acts. The general public attach great importance to and appreciate good behaviour and detest any acts that are opposed to good morals. Politeness and good manners are great virtues of civilised Persians and they very carefully follow their religion which commands encouragement of the good and discouragement of the bad.

I must not, however, conceal the truth, and must say, in conclusion, that for lack of proper education and training many Persian women are not yet fit to associate with men in their public gatherings and assemblies. Measures are, however, being adopted by the Persian authorities under the wise guidance of His Majesty Raza Shah to educate and train girls and to make them acquainted with the requirements of social intercourse with men in order to make women fit to meet men equally in all public gatherings and assemblies. It will not, therefore, be long before franchise is extended to women in Persia and Persian women become by law entitled to take part in elections for the House of Parliament and are elected as representatives of the public in the Majlis and Municipal and District Boards. In short Persian women cannot much longer be deprived of their rights to take their equal share with men in all public affairs and to attend all gatherings of men in places of public resort and pleasure grounds.

Miss A. Khemchand of Hyderabad (Sind) said :—

It is obvious that a knowledge of the lives of the great religious leaders of Asia who were really the teachers of the world will tend to promote the spirit of toleration. How often when studying the religious books of another creed, we find the self-same teachings in different words, but through all the great scriptures one cannot help noticing that the spirit is the same. In real practice many who profess to be the followers of certain teachers may fail because that is merely human nature, but always the same precepts are taught. In a land with such varying shades of thought, if it is brought home to the children that all religions really teach the same thing, that all great teachers tried to live and act according to the self-same ideal, it would conduce greatly to the growth of peace and harmony. This is the training advocated for children, but in the college stage, it would further improve the mentality of the future citizens if they went through a course of the comparative study of the great religions of the world. It would create a better understanding between man and man to see things from different point of view. Once the angle of vision is changed, peace and concord would be the outcome. Hence the women as guardians of the spirituality of the race demand that efforts be made to introduce this reform in the curriculum of schools and colleges, though at the same time each child should be well grounded in his own religion, yet free to study that of others to promote a better understanding and tolerance leading to world peace.

Miss Dwa Hta declared that Buddhism was a scientific religion—the outcome of knowledge—and there was no insoluble problem in it. She expressed her conviction that if people acted upon Buddhism there would be absolute peace in the world.

Miss Ferozuddin, speaking on Religion, said :—

In every language one hears of God, a name is given to Him in every language. He is worshipped by all communities in different ways. We ought to say and praise those who try to understand all the religions, and through it gain a more enlightened view of God and man. God's gifts are to be used for proclaiming His own glory, not for showing off our tinsel glory, which makes us the laughing stock of the world.

Religion, like all human institutions, consists of the fleeting and the eternal. To distinguish between the two is wisdom's highest exercise and advancing culture's surest test. And how? Wisdom

discriminates between the passing and permanent needs of man, and advancing culture between laws municipal and divine. And in defining the respective boundaries of the two advancing cultures has veritably helped on each in its own sphere, to achieve its highest triumph.

And further the advance of culture emphasises the points of agreement rather than those of disagreement between the great religions of the world. It seeks to unite and not to divide mankind into water-tight compartment. It brings into greater and greater prominence the saneness of their mission, the singleness of their aim.

Religion is only a language that is trying to express and explain His Love, His Will, His Beauty to mankind.

Religion is a source of purity for all, we must respect the feelings of all, even those who are worshippers of His in another language or religion less sincere or less devout than ourselves. It is a sacrilege to any religion. The Holy Prophet of Islam forbids his followers to run down or interfere with the religion of others. His command is to show the right way by our own righteous living. The whole object of religion is that we should follow the right path, and whether we are Hindus, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, or Muslims that does not matter, God's good creation are among them all worshipping and loving the same Great Maker.

God's love is universal for all, and all those who love Him ought to be united in serving Him and His creation and not to hate each for the love of our Maker.

I would like to quote a saying of the Prophet from which we can judge how far he has upheld the case of peace. He says: "He is a true Muslim from whose hands and tongue others are safe."

He has made no distinction between a Muslim and a non-Muslim. We are to treat both in the same way. A true Muslim will pay regard to the feelings of others and will be at peace both at home and abroad.

Speak the Prophet's words of wisdom
If but to one darkened mind ;
There are many blindly seeking
For such simple truths to find.

When we meet on a common platform to discuss different religions, differing not in essence but in mere outward form, we meet to emphasise importance of the essence and the transitoriness of the forms. Upon

the dissemination of this truth depends the softening of religious asperities—nay, the disappearance of the suspicions, the bitterness, the conflict which stains past history.

To most of us a deeper research will be revelation, and unless we make that research, in all reverence and in all humility, we will not realise that truth is naught but one and the only one illuminating the sun of divine wisdom.

Read the great exponents of Islam, and you will be amazed at their broad-mindedness and toleration. Read the philosophers, the scientists, the thinkers, the poets and prose writers of Islam, and one note, the note of liberalism, you will find unfailingly in them all.

We have to acquire spiritual power by humble self-reliance, which in itself may be a form of trust in God. "God never lays a burden on any soul greater than it can bear. If we bear our burdens cheerfully, face our difficulties squarely, acknowledge our shortcomings honestly and receive the guidance of the Holy Light, the assistance of the Helping Hand thankfully, there is every hope for us, individually or collectively. We do not believe that our salvation can be vicarious. In the infinite mercy of God, we are allowed to struggle and seek the Light, as a plant hidden within a seed buried in the soil struggles and seeks the light and fulfils its destiny. Let us be true to our nature, and seek the Guidance which will make us free, and true, and the children of Light."

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi delivered the following speech on Religion :—

India is a land of diverse creeds, namely, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohamedanism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and is the birth place of Lord Buddha. Hinduism is a most tolerant creed and is not a proselytising religion. The Hindus, they say, should be born and never could be converted from one faith to another, but now-a-days seeing that in India there are creeds which are of an aggressive nature, the Arya Samajists (a reformal sect of the Hindus) have begun to proselytise. The Hindus will not hesitate to worship the Allah in the Mosque, the Buddha in the Monastery and the Cross in the Church.

The Hindu scriptures comprise the four Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Bhagvad-Gita. The epic poems Ramayana and Mahabharata which are read widely by the people give a vivid description of the life of the people in the far off olden days when Hindus held complete

supremacy in the land and the stories contained therein illustrate the many rare virtues possessed by the ancient Hindus.

As the majority of the population in India are Hindus and myself being a Hindu, I shall attempt to give you an idea of the Hindu religion as practised by the present-day Hindus. Every orthodox Hindu has to perform certain prescribed daily duties to God, to his dead ancestors, to his Guru or teacher, to his family and to the society according to the caste in which he is born, which duties are his caste-dharma.

The orthodox Hindus believe in Karma and rebirth and that the particular caste in which an individual is born is determined by his deeds or karma during his previous birth ; if the individual is good and virtuous, he or she would be born in one of the high castes and if the individual is vicious or selfish, he or she would be born as an un-touchable or even as a dog or as an insect.

Hinduism is a very elastic religion and therefore the form of worship varies with the mental and the spiritual development of that particular devotee ; the worship may either take the form of the grossest idolatry or the highest form—namely, worship by direct communion with God through the mind.

The majority of the Hindus have still faith in idols and temples, in worship and festivals, while a section of the educated Hindus having lost faith in them have embraced the Brahmo and the Arya Samaj creeds which are only sects of the Hindu religion enunciating the higher type of Hinduism.

Brahmo Samaj was founded by the great Indian reformer Raja Rammohan Roy in the year 1830 ; Brahmos do not believe in idols, in temples and in ceremonies ; Brahmoism preaches fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man—advocates direct worship—condemns all the intermediaries between God and man such as the priests, idols, or pictures of even saints—advocates direct worship and no offerings and no sacrifice to God—preaches absolute sex-equality and equality of all human beings.

Brahmoism is nothing but the essence of Hinduism freed of all its superstitions, ceremonies and priestcraft. Buddha, the son of a Hindu king, himself revolted against the priestcraft and against the Hindu caste system which gave powers and privileges to one or two castes. Therefore he founded Buddhism which preaches love and kindness to all, no distinctions of caste, service to the needy and sacrifice

for the good of others ; so also the Hindu scripture, when rightly interpreted, preaches unity of all life and the identity of the spirit of man with the original spirit " Para Brahma " and the unity of the individual self with the supreme self. That is why the quarrels of different religions and of different sects in the same religion are so foolish and ignorant.

Bhagvad Gita says " However men approach me, even so do I welcome them for the path that men take from every side is mine."

Again the place of women in Hindu religion is very high and Hinduism surpasses any other known creed in that respect.

Well has it been said by Louis Jaccoliot, the celebrated French author of the " Bible in India ", that India of the Vedas entertained a respect for women amounting to worship, a fact, he continues which we seem little to suspect in Europe when we accuse the extreme East of having denied the dignity of woman and of having only made of her an instrument of pleasure and of passive obedience.

Here is a civilization which you cannot deny to be older than your own which places the woman on a level with man and gives her an equal place in the family and in society.

The two important deities whom we worship daily, Sarasvati and Lakshmi are represented by female figures—Goddess of learning and Goddess of wealth.

Lastly the position of women in Hindu religion can be understood better by that unique idea of the Motherhood of God which is nowhere so strongly expressed and recognised as in India.

The mother is so highly honoured in India that the Hindus are not satisfied until they see divinity in the form of earthly mother. They say that one mother is greater than a thousand fathers, therefore, the Hindus prefer to call the Supreme Being the Mother of the Universe.

According to Hindu religion each woman whether old or young is the living representative of the Divine Mother on earth. The Divine Mother is greater than the " Creator " of other religions.

She is the producer of the Creator, or the First-born Lord of all creatures. There is no other country in the world where every living mother is venerated as an incarnation of the Divine Mother, where every village has a guardian mother who protects all as her own children.

Listen to the prayer that rises every day to the Almighty Mother of the Universe from the hearts of the Hindu worshippers.

“ O ! Mother Divine, thou art beyond the reach of our praises
 Thou pervadest every particle of the Universe ;
 All knowledge proceeds from Thee ;
 O Infinite source of wisdom ;
 Thou dwellest in every feminine form, and all women are
 Thy living representatives on earth.”

Before I close I desire to point out to this all-Asian audience that the practice and life of the present-day Hindu society is not in strict conformity with their religious teachings. Many of them have not read their own scriptures and, therefore, are ignorant of the tenets of the religion they profess. We have become slaves of customs and conventions. Therefore I would ask you not to form an opinion of our religion from the life and practice of the present-day Hindu society. Hinduism as taught in our scriptures is different from the Hinduism that is practised by the modern Hindu as is the case even with Christianity, Buddhism, Mohamedanism, etc.

Mrs. Gunavardhane spoke on Religion as follows :—

It is indeed a privilege to address a distinguished assembly such as this, composed as it is of representatives of the great Asian sisterhood. As members of a common culture, we have met here in this historic city to consider the difficult problem of the fusion of Asia. In the consideration of such a problem a correct appreciation of the religious systems that obtain in the different countries that comprise Asia, is very helpful. I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you an idea of the religion of the land I come from, *viz.*, Lanka or Ceylon, and how that religion has influenced the women of Ceylon.

In our Island-home, we have four great religions—Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Our total population is about five millions, of which very nearly three millions are Buddhists. Generally speaking, the Sinhalese are Buddhists and Ceylon is a Buddhist land.

Buddhism was the national religion of the people. It was introduced into Ceylon about 300 B.C. by Prince Matinda and Princess Sanghamitta, the son and daughter of the mighty Emperor Asoka of India. The King of Ceylon at the time was Devanamipatissa; he embraced Buddhism and Buddhism became the State religion. The first person to realise the Dhamma was a woman, Queen Anata, who

was followed by a number of noble women. It is a matter of pride to us women that two women, Princess Sanghamitta and Queen Anata, played as great a part in the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon as the two great men, Prince Matinda and King Devanamipatissa. Nor is it a wonder, for Buddhism is the one religion that recognises the equality of the sexes. Lord Buddha admitted into this order men and women—Bhikkus and Bhikkunis. Princess Sanghamitta initiated in Ceylon an order of Bhikkunis or nuns, which flourished in Ceylon till about the 10th century A.D. The earliest Sinhalese chronicle, the Deepawansa, is a history of Buddhism up to the 4th century and according to tradition, these writings were handed down from generation to generation by the order of nuns. According to Chinese records, it was a Buddhist mission consisting of five nuns from Ceylon that introduced Buddhism into China in the fifth century. It is clear from the Mahavansa and other historical records of the Island that women played as important a part in the progress of Buddhism as they did in the introduction of Buddhism. Women taught the Dhamma to succeeding generations of children ; they constructed temples and pagodas to the glory of the Lasana; they built monasteries and ministered to the comforts of the Bhikkus ; they influenced men in their homes to live the life of the Buddhist. It may be said with a great deal of truth—it is an admitted fact—that it was the zeal and devotion of women that preserved Buddhism in Ceylon during the dark days of religious persecution, following the Portuguese occupation of Ceylon. It was again the Laddha of the women that saved Buddhism during the Dutch and the early British period when many a man was prepared to give up the faith of his ancestors out of greed for office or love of respectability. During the four hundred years of foreign nation, our vitality as a Buddhist community has been sapped the pansala schools where the village children learnt the letters and the Dhamma were either suppressed or fell into disuse and it was left to the mothers to teach the young ones their religion—a duty which they have faithfully carried out to this day.

The influence of Buddhism is seen in the high status that women occupy in Ceylon and in most Eastern countries. They enjoy a great measure of freedom, no agitation is necessary in Ceylon for the recognition of the rights of women. Men are prepared to recognise our rights and this is largely due to the religious sanction found in Buddhism for the equality of the sexes. Just as women worked side by side with men for the glorification of the Lasana, so have they made great contributions towards the development of the country. The Government of the Sinhalese Kings was broad-based on the ethics

of Buddhism and hence the law of the land recognised the individuality of woman as distinct from man. The marriage institutions of the Sinhalese furnish evidence of the equality of the sexes. In Buddhist Ceylon, a woman, though married, retained her individuality and name; she exercised property rights independent of her husband. The influence of Buddhism is found in the very life of the Sinhalese woman, her charity, her hospitality, her love of service, her humility, her *maitri* care for the well-being of all animals, her spirit of toleration—all Buddhist virtues.

As long as Buddhism flourishes, we shall flourish as a nation. Our fortunes as a people are inextricably bound with our religion. History should teach us at least one lesson that our future greatness must depend on the evolution of a civilisation that will harmonise with the ideals of Buddhism, a civilisation that will retain the best of the culture of Buddhism, a civilisation that will nevertheless recognise the best in other culture, love the spirit of toleration that characterises Buddhism.

Mrs. S. W. Ilangakoon spoke on Religion as follows :—

Sisters of Asia, as so many of the delegates, as well as others, have spoken for other religions, I will speak to you as a Christian. In our country of Ceylon, the national religion has been Buddhism; and even now the majority of the population are Buddhists.

One of our Ceylon delegates has spoken to you on Buddhism just now; so I will confine myself to Christianity. Christianity preaches and enforces the law of love and peace.

If we study the laws and precepts of every other religion represented here to-day, we will find that each does the same. Some speakers told us that all the great religions have sprung from the East.

Christ, Mahammad, Buddha, and all the great teachers of the East teach the same thing, *viz.*, the law of love and brotherhood. I will give you a quotation, illustrating the kind of brotherhood that Christianity enjoins on us. We will all do well to live up to it, if possible. "Oh brother man, fold to thy heart thy brother, where pity dwells, the peace of God is there. To worship rightly is to love each other. Each smile, a hymn; each kindly deed, a prayer. Follow with reverent steps, the great example of Him whose holy work was doing good. So, shall the wide earth be our father's temple. Each kindly deed a *psalm* of gratitude, then shall all shackles fall, the langour of wild, war-music, over the earth shall cease Love shall tread out the baneful fire of anger. And in its ashes, plant the tree of peace."

This is such a beautiful christian quotation by some christian author, and gives you all idea of the essence of Christ's teaching.

The law of love and brotherhood to God and Man. If we followed the laws of love and brotherhood, there would be no use for all these weighty discussions and conferences. If we had any proper sense of justice, we would not try to deprive others of their rights and privileges; or even to take from them what we know does not belong to us. We have to discuss "World Peace" and it is on the Agenda of the Programme. If we obey the rules of the Law of Christ namely the Law of Love and Brotherhood, there would be no occasion for us to discuss "peace" at all; as it will be impossible for us to take part in any wars.

We want more kindness, more tolerance, brotherhood and sisterhood. To cultivate a greater sense of justice, truth and kindness. In short, if we are true to our respective religions and study, respect, and obey the teachings of our respective religions, we shall be members of a happier and a more peaceful world.

Miss Robertson, a visitor from New Zealand, delivered the following speech on Education :—

When the Colony of New Zealand was founded, about 100 years ago, the state of England was so like that of India of the present day that a short historical sketch may be of more value than a mere statement of present-day conditions. At that time the Reform Bill had not been passed in England; the franchise was very restricted; the country had not recovered from the crippling expense of the Napoleonic wars; there was no free system of education, no Public Health Department; and there was a great gulf between the gentry and the lower classes. Men who were ambitious for their children's welfare felt it would be better to begin afresh in the new lands of Australia and New Zealand than to remain in the cramping atmosphere of England. Life there would be hard and bare for a generation, but there was hope and freedom for all and scope for ambition in every department of life. New Zealand was formally proclaimed a Colony in 1840. The Colonists have two very definite ideals from the start—first, there was to be as far as possible, equality of opportunity for all. Hence the Maoris were at once granted all the rights and privileges of British citizens, and have always received them. There has never for instance been a lower rate of wages for Maoris than for white men. Secondly, the utmost value was placed on education. No country in the world could be proper than the young Colony was for the first generation, but within 5 years of its founding about 50 per cent. of the children were at school, whether

Maoris or Europeans, and this is the more remarkable as the Maoris were at that time engaged in the most blood-thirsty intertribal wars, followed by cannibal feasts. I have never understood how a sound system of primary education could go on side by side with cannibalism, but it was certainly accomplished. The Maoris were educated. In 1877 primary education was made free and compulsory for all. As it is usual to estimate the success of a system by its monetary results we may test New Zealand's love for education in that way. In the nineties she was one of the poorest countries in the world ; 20 years later she was one of the richest and healthiest. These results followed directly upon the application of science to industry and to daily life—the Refrigerator enabling us to export our products to Europe, and the milking machine and separator increasing the working power of the producers, while sanitation on most scientific lines is compulsory in our townships. Without a well-educated population science could not be so readily applied in daily life. More important still, many of our inventors are of humble origin.

The time limit prevents my describing our present education system beyond saying that education is free, right up to the Universities, that instruction in health, civic and social life is given in addition to the ordinary scholastic course, and that we spend more on education than any other country in the world, namely £3 (Rupees forty) per head of the population. Healthy, well-educated children are the real wealth of a state.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the Conference rose for the day.

She desired to clear that by her speech on opium and liquor, etc., delivered the day before, she did not mean to convey that licenses were freely given ; there was a specified number of licenses and they were auctioned every year to the highest bidder, but it was quite easy, all the same, for anybody to purchase opium or liquor.

Mrs. DeMel, of Ceylon, read the following speech :—

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN CEYLON.

I have no doubt that ancient times in Ceylon our joint family system made us take more personal interest in our dependents, but in the more immediate past very little attention was given to the labouring classes by the Capitalists. Even now the very word of labour and any interest in it scares most of our upper classes. They do not realize that the poor have been downtrodden, at any rate overlooked, and now that they realize their power are only asking for rights of equal citizenship. I belong to the Labour Party in Ceylon and I can tell you that our aim is not to work against Capital but to draw Capital and Labour together to their mutual benefit. The time is past when we can ignore the claims of the masses, ignore the terrible hardships they suffer, the dreadful conditions under which they live, the poverty they undergo and all the other ills that poverty brings in its train. Among the poorer families it is the women and children who suffer most and it is our duty as women and mothers to stir ourselves and to help to solve all these problems of our more unfortunate sisters. In my country interest has been aroused among the women of the richer classes—interest in the daily life of the poor and we are glad to have this opportunity of meeting our sisters from other Asian countries and learning from each other how to improve the conditions in our labouring classes.

In ancient Ceylon practically every man owned his acre of ground and the kings used to bestow land on people for services rendered to them and to the state. With the advent of the English to Ceylon the country underwent a change in regard to its economic development. Coffee estates were opened up by a large capitalist companies and later tea and rubber. The Sinhalese people were unwilling to work on estates as coolies. They considered it below their dignity to work on someone else's land and as local labour was not available men and women were bought out from India to work on these estates. This started in 1825 and it is interesting to note what large numbers of them there are now in Ceylon. In 1827 there were 10,000 Indian estate labourers and their dependents, in 1846 about 80,000 and at the end of 1929 the number was 740,130.

live in overcrowded tenements of which the rent is very high. A large percentage of labour in town is paid less than a bare subsistence wage. The conditions prevailing among this class of workers—the abject poverty and the bad housing—result in ill health and a high rate of mortality specially among women and children. Several organisations have now been formed which these workers can join by means of which their wrongs have been to a certain degree redressed.

With the advent of universal suffrage in Ceylon, the masses have awakened to a consciousness of their political power and will demand to be recognised on terms of equal citizenship with their richer brethren. Rich or poor we are all citizens and it is the duty of the State to look after every individual. The rich have for centuries enjoyed every privilege that money can give, but we must see that the poor are protected by social legislation. However well meaning, individuals or charitable bodies can do very little. It is the Government that must protect them. One of the aims of our party is to see that an Ordinance is passed dealing with the right of association or insurance against accidents, sickness, unemployment or old age, maternity benefits, old age pensions, better housing, compulsory education, etc. If we can do this we should do much to uplift our poorer masses and we shall be proud to feel that Capital and Labour have contributed to the welfare of each other, instead of being antagonistic. I do hope that our deliberations in this Conference especially as regards labour conditions will help us to work for the upliftment of the great masses of the working people.

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi informed the Conference that there were about 3 million women labourers in India. She was sorry that the Trade Unions were not properly organised, so that the wages of the labourers were very low, the housing conditions were unsatisfactory, in case of illness there was no provision like the National Health Insurance in England, very few mills provided creches and other facilities for the children, expectant-mothers were allowed to go on working upto the eighth month and the Factory Act was more or less a dead-letter. She considered that they should have more Trade Unions and more social workers to prevent the labourers being exploited and to ensure a strict observance of the Factory Law. (*Cheers.*)

Dr. Curjel Wilson regretted that in some factories very dirty work was allotted to women and that although the Workmen's Compensation Act had been passed, approximately 50 per cent. of the injured did not get any compensation because of their ignorance. She stressed the need of sickness insurance and exhorted the audience to create public opinion in its favour. She considered that certification of age in the case of children should not be done

to little children working as labourers. Their case is just like that of the silk worm, which dies to adorn the body of others. The labourers are giving their lives, the young lives are going to slow death, whilst those who profit with their toil have not the least consideration for them. These labourers are not only toiling but slaving for their bread, through whose labour the children of the rich are enjoying their wealth. My sisters, though I am not connected with labour I have heard of their misery, which has appealed to me and I hope this Conference will help to put a stop to such a state of things.

with a thrill of Romance, Romance at one time connected with objects of nature and history, works of art and lives of saints, scholars and royalties. To-day the Romance centres round the change in the position of women. It seems like a fairy tale to them that the women who were veiled and in seclusion should now be facing the utmost stare of every passer-by as she stands picketting in the public street, poised in the most difficult of circumstances that must take the sacrifice of their cherished retirement. Their devotion to the call of patriotism is the new Romance. She brought to the Conference greetings from the women at Geneva who are keenly interested in this Asian Conference, recognizing in it a promise of necessary self-conscious element in the federation of the world and the establishment of unity in diversified world sisterhood. She also brought messages of good-will from the women of Western Asia amongst whom she has recently toured, the women of Syria, Arabia, Palestine and Turkey in Asia. She coveted for them the opportunity to be in Lahore for they would have profited by the contact. Many changes are taking place in those countries, changes which are part of the world change of values, economic, social, feminist, all parts of a rebirth of spiritual values. The rapprochement of East and West depends on our womanhood more than we realise and this Asian Conference is a factor in a unity that includes all cultures on terms of equality—the right of human self-expression. The rebuilding of national strength depends likewise on the development of womanhood. She was much impressed by Egypt's realisation of this as shown by its great statue "The awakening of Egypt" in which a woman is shown standing by the side of the Sphinx, holding back her veil and looking into distant future.

She thought that the most important event of the first and second decades of this century had been the renaissance of that power more than we can gauge. Its social value, its cultural exchanges, its increase of mutual understanding, will be seen adequately only by the future.

She was reminded of the Syrian Poet's lines :—

“ For all life is darkness save where there is urge
And all urge is vain save where there is knowledge
And all knowledge is empty save where there is love
But when we work with love and with knowledge we bind
ourselves together and to God.”

Mrs. M. E. Cousins then delivered the following speech :—

Friends, is it the contrariness which is so often ascribed to women that has caused them, usually alluded to as the weaker sex, to undertake

must become self-consciousness. It must save itself from submergence by outside forces if it is to continue its service to the needs of the world. In order to assert itself each unit of Asia must hold to freedom, or if under domination of a non-oriental people the country concerned must regain its freedom. Thus we have had friends come from India—Asia with the message that the Conference should rely entirely on the oriental people only for its promotion and success. They reiterate time and again “self-help, self-reliance, is the salvation of the East.” And what is her weapon of self-protection? *Ahimsa*, non-violence, non-killing. This past India’s year has shown the world the effectiveness of the oriental ideal of Disarmament as against militarism, non-retaliation as against aggression, self-sacrifice as against violence, men and women together against male-ocracy, peace even in the midst of a struggle for national freedom and human equality. The Orient has non-resistance as its spiritual alternative to war, to the demon who ravaged Europe. To secure that that message may be effective there must be unity. And so we have Conferences. They wondered how adding and adding together delegations from so many countries could make unity. One plus one become two, and thus even a greater diversity seemed the result. But then she realised that it was not addition that was being effected it was multiplication, and one multiplied by one remained one. It was the multiplication of unities which in themselves were not uniform that created the synthesis for which the Asian Women’s Conference stood. It has been remarkable that within the first two ages of its existence it has been able to perform its valuable share of a world service. The question of Equal Nationality Rights was before the Council of the League of Nations. Would the Council acquiesce in the International Code of Law opening with discrimination against women in the matter of laws of nationality or would it re-open the question for re-discussion at the next Assembly of the League of Nations? Women claim the right to choose their nationality irrespective of the nationality of their husband. If they wish to take on his nationality at marriage well and good, but they object to the present and proposed laws which force a woman to take on her husband’s nationality at marriage, or during marriage if he desires to take another nationality. Our sisters in Geneva working at this question cabled to this Conference to give its views to the Council. It has cabled back its support of equal nationality rights for women and its request added to those of the women of other parts of the world that the proposed discriminatory law be rediscussed has been granted. In this psychological moment was the Women’s Asian Conference born, and for the solidarity of womanhood and the peaceful unity of nations will it strive through a union of hearts.

intend to tell you any further of the misery of my compatriots. In one word, Indonesia is the sad image of colonial exploitation.

Allow me now to draw your attention to a short history of my country. We can divide our history into four periods :—

- (1) The pre-Hindu period.
- (2) The Hindu period.
- (3) The Islamic period.
- (4) The European period.

(1) Of the first period before the beginning of the Christian era, we know but a little. Archæological researches, however, tell us that the original population of our country was of the Wedda and Negrito type. Then came the Indonesians, whose native country was Campa, Comboja and Cochin China. They were rather civilised, they already had an ordinary Government; they already knew the use of several metals as iron, brass and gold; they knew navigation, astronomy, agriculture and the system of irrigation; and they also kept domestic animals.

So two thousand years ago, when the peoples of North Europe were still wandering about in the forest, wearing nothing else but raw skins or fells, our ancestors had already reached a rather high degree of civilisation.

INDIAN INFLUENCE.

(2) Then the Indians came. The oldest data about the relation between India and Indonesia is found in "Periploustes Erythras Thalasses," a writing of 70 A.D. about trade and navigation in the Orient. And Ptolemæus in one of his books mentioned the island of Iabadiou, which could mean nothing else but the Sanskrit word Yawadwipa or the Island of Java of now-a-days. Also in the Ramayana we read in one of the passages, which are said to be added at a later date, the Island of Yawadwipa where the lost Sita must be looked for. There are further evidences of some relation between India and Indonesia in olden times. At any rate this connection is undoubted in the 6th century A.D. The Indians now brought into Indonesia not only material goods but also religion, literature and art. The sequel to the Indian peaceful penetration into Indonesia was not misery but true civilisation, of which the mighty native empires of Criwijaya and Majapahit and our present day wayang (shadow play), gamelan (music instruments), batik and tjandi's (temples) were and are evidences.

country has advanced far ; but we Indonesians as a part of that great people of spiritual Asia are not happy with technical advance only. It is of great importance now to be mentioned that both the Hindu and Islam penetration did not revolutionise our social and spiritual structure ; it happened very peacefully. It could also be nothing else, for Indians and Arabs are parts of that great whole to which the Indonesians belong.

So this short history will have shown you that all factors are existing to contribute to mould Asiatic unity. Our origin is Further Indian (Chinese). Our arts and literature are of Indian origin. Our religion and social organisation are Arabic. And like many Asiatic countries our father land is a European colony ; and like all Asian countries, Indonesia is now struggling to conquer the demoralising Western materialistic spirit, the modern imperialism. Asian unity understanding between Asian peoples, is necessary to fight that monstrous materialistic mind successfully.

MEANING OF ASIAN VICTORY.

The period of Asoka, of Harun Alrashid, of Akbar showed that an Asiatic mighty world-power brought happiness, fortune and peace on the earth. And were not Buddha Gautama, Leng Fu Tse, Jesus and Mohammad from Asia ?

The road to the world peace goes *via* Asian peace. And so long even one acre of Asia's soil remains under the control of Europe, so long will there be no peace in Asia, *ergo* no world peace.

So Asian victory on Europe means world-peace. Therefore up to Asian union, up against Western materialistic mind, up to true world-peace. It is indeed difficult in the extreme. But some one must make a beginning. Why not its women, its mothers ?

Sir Abdul Quadir following said :—

I consider it a great privilege to be invited to address the representatives of various countries assembled in the first session of the All-Asian Women's Conference. This Conference may be regarded as an epoch-making event not so much on account of the number of its All-Asian representatives but of the ideal that it has distinctly visualised and put into shape. I understand that invitations that went forth to Japan and China in the Far East and to Turkey, Persia and Arabia in the Near West, elicited very encouraging and sympathetic replies from women in those countries. Some of them wanted to come but have been unavoidably prevented from being here, but they are with us,

I have heard many people expressing their admiration of the excellent manner in which the two Women's Conferences that have met here in swift succession during the last fortnight conducted their proceedings and of the friendly atmosphere created by them. A friend of mine said to me that men who quarrelled so much in their public assemblies and who spoiled the affairs of the country by communal and sectarian strife should learn a lesson from women and cultivate a similar spirit. While sharing the view of my friend so far as the giving of credit to women is concerned, I must say that one reason why your meetings are getting on so well is that luckily you are hitherto free from the one misfortune which has been the bane of the male members of the community, and that is the clash of personal ambitions. The fights of men generally take the form of a conflict of principles and creeds but in many cases they are conflicts of ambitions. They feel that their careers are at stake on their winning or losing on a particular occasion and it is not rare to see that principles are sacrificed in the name of principles and the general good is given up for individual advancement. I mention this not to decry the members of my own sex but to give you a timely warning to avoid the mistake from which we have suffered. Hard to retrace our steps. You are just starting your useful work and have a clean slate before you. Write on it brightly and beautifully, as becomes your deft fingers and write only what is good and avoid all that is evil, so that the writing on your slate may serve as a light and a guidance to men, women and children, not only of your own generation but of the generations to come.

You are making a great beginning. Many great events in the world have had smaller beginnings than this. Follow up the success achieved in Lahore by similar success elsewhere. Strengthen the spirit of fellow feeling that you have called forth and keep steadily on the path of selfless devotion to the cause you have made your own, relying more and more on solid work, and victory will surely be yours.

Mrs. Hamid Ali proposed a vote of thanks to the chair, which was passed amidst loud cheers, and the meeting came to a close.

Mahabharata recount instances to prove that the women of ancient India enjoyed a status in no particular way subordinate to man, our chronicles like the Mahawansa speak in similar terms of the women of ancient Lanka.

Although legally and socially they suffered no disabilities which were especially meant for their sex only, still one realises what all women realise on sober reflection, that the special sphere which women dominate is the home, and our illustrious ancestors in spite of their liberties, realized to a greater degree, than we of the present day, the sacredness of the home and the momentous issues which depend on maintaining the homely duties. Instances are nevertheless not wanting of women who have been conspicuously brilliant in spheres which are generally admitted to belong to the domain of man. We hear of women philosophers and poetesses, we hear of women doctors and women business agents. We hear of women who joined their husbands as partners in business enterprise. We hear of widows who were chosen to administer the estates of deceased husbands in preference to eldest sons and this as far back B.C. 300.

Nowhere is there any hint or suggestion of incapability, incapacity or inferiority. Historically therefore we are justified in assuming the religious, political, legal, economic, and social equality of women with men. Women actually were the foundations of society, and in the social sphere might even claim superiority over men. An absolutely accurate exposition of the ancient social psychology is perhaps not possible, there was undoubtedly no necessity to agitate for women's rights and privileges.

With this historical retrospect it may be possible for us to obtain a better view of our present day position and institute a comparison for improvement if necessary. That a degradation of the status of women did occur there is no doubt.

At what period it arose, or to what definite cause it is to be attributed it is difficult to ascertain with clearness. If we are allowed to hazard a conjecture, we shall attribute it to a variety of causes, spread over a considerable period of time. It was more a process, than an event ; most probably the root cause of it lay in our own cultural degradation, consequent upon conquest and foreign domination. Loss of independence produced national inertia, with all its attendant evils not the least of which was the breakdown and corruption of our social system.

what are called manly games and exercises. Whether such activities will find favour with our women is doubtful.

At present, however, they are more likely to be deprecated than encouraged. Apart from such differences we have the same rights and privileges, the same duties and disabilities. It is fatally true that large numbers of our women in the villages do not fully appreciate the extent of their freedom. Our future endeavour will be directed towards minimising this evil; it is not one that can immediately be corrected. It will partake more the nature of a laborious process, entailing as it does the education of the masses in the villages, and creating in them a strong public opinion. There is one consolation, however, in this regard; we know that this condition is not peculiar to Ceylon, but common to many countries. Even if this is poor comfort it will be a source of optimism to us in our future work.

In the noble task of the upliftment and emancipation of Asian womanhood, this Conference will play no unimportant part and on behalf of my country-women, I take this opportunity of thanking its organisers for the enthusiasm and vision they have so conspicuously displayed.

Mrs. Guneshkara of Ceylon said :—

In almost every system of Municipal law there are matters in which the rights and duties of women are different from those of men. This is as much the result of the old theory of the inferiority of women as it is of peculiar circumstances arising from marriage. In the old Roman Law, for instance, a woman was never independent *Propter animi levitatem*. In the modern systems of law, however, it is mainly marriage that affects the legal rights of a woman. This idea of *animi levitas* however may still be seen in laws such as those regulating political rights and duties. Recent times have seen a revolt of women against this theory of inferiority. But our energies have almost exclusively been used in securing our political rights. Now that these are ensured in most civilised countries it will be well for us to study such other laws as have special interest for women and to see where anomalies or difficulties exist and to endeavour to have them removed. It is impossible in the short time at my disposal to make a comprehensive survey of all such laws or even to deal adequately with those affecting even the women of my country alone.

It will be my purpose rather to indicate in broad outline the matters in regard to which our investigations and study will be useful even if not imperatively necessary.

has an infinite number of problems ; consideration of just a few will be enough to suggest to you the situation—those for instance, of inheritance, of taxation, of military service, of travel. The latter will especially appeal to such a Conference as this ; we all appreciate that there is already enough time and energy consumed in securing visas without added complications ! Most important of all, however, existing before and after this greater confusion, is the fundamental irregularity in the nationality rights of men and women. Here and there over the whole world there has been open criticism or question.

It was quite natural that it should have been the Woman's Party which led the investigation of this problem in the United States. Miss Alice Paul, herself a doctor of international law and one of the two women who have been made life members of our American Society of International Law, proceeded to compile the nationality laws of the world which affect women and children. A huge tome resulted with so much research involved that she is setting aside a period of years to work upon it. It is from her, you will remember that the letter has come which Mrs. Cousins has presented to you. Miss Dorais Stevens while compilation was still under way, went on to Havana where an international meeting was in progress, secured the endorsement of a resolution on the clearing of the nationality status of women and the appointment of our Inter-American Commission of women for consideration of all matters important to the women of the Americas. It was the Commission with European friends which became a kind of Vigilance Committees at the Hague at the League meeting last year on codification of international law. Of the big subjects to be discussed for codification nationality was expected to rouse greatest difference of opinion in general and so much on the nationality of married women in particular that the invitations to the Conference had addressed a woman on every delegation. That was done however by only part of the nations represented, and with the additions of other women from the Inter-American group to the office delegates there came criticism that the women at the Hague represented American rather than world opinion. To such criticism was added the point of view of the legalists who considered that immediate steps towards mitigation of dual nationality and statelessness of both men and women would be all that could be accomplished for the present. Therefore the sweeping proposal that nationality laws make no distinction between men and women might have been lost entirely had it not been for rather heroic effort on the part of the women there. They succeeded in keeping the question open—really a great victory.

sitting in judgment upon the defaulters of both sexes. She regretted that the present laws of inheritance and guardianship were not at all adequate for Hindu women and congratulated her Muslim sisters upon being more fortunate in this respect. She believed that a nation must have full responsible Government to enable it to develop on its own lines and attain its full height, and felt that the Conference should give proper consideration to this item on the Agenda, and record its conviction. (*Loud cheers.*)

Miss Ilangakoon speaking on Franchise for Women, said :—

As the subject under discussion to-day is the *Franchise for Women* and we have just been granted the Franchise in Ceylon, on equal terms with the men, and a glorious field of activity and usefulness has opened up before us, I think it will interest you to know my views on the "Franchise for Women," in Ceylon as sent to the Donoughmore Royal Commissioners at their special request, on their enquiring and being told that it would be impossible for me to join the deputation of women that was shortly to appear before them, at Queen's House, to ask for womanhood suffrage. I sent them the following, as my personal views for what they were worth. Most of those who have given evidence before the Royal Commission, are in favour of extending the Franchise to women. Those who have opposed it (men of course) have done so, for the following reasons: That there is no demand for the Franchise on the part of the women. But the fact remains that demands have been made by individuals although there has been no organised movement. For instance some years ago, a resolution was passed by the National Congress asking for such Franchise, and on that occasion, more than one woman delegates spoke for the motion (*viz.*, Mrs. Dr. Sathivagiswara Iyer, Mrs. Azelire Thomas and Mrs. George E. de Silva of Kandy). If women have hitherto evinced no interest in politics; then extending the Franchise to them would tend to stimulate such interest, where it does not, and ought to exist. It will not be denied that, particularly at a time when self-government is asked for, there are a number of matters in which the co-operation and advice of women will be of the greatest assistance (*e. g.*, Child Welfare, Sanitation, and Moral Education, etc.). It is also objected that Eastern women, being by temperament and custom, reserved and devoted to their homes, would have no use for the Franchise but we are advancing on Western democratic lines, and it is absurd to contend that such progress should apply to our Eastern men and not to our Eastern women, as woman must always stand supreme, as the mother of the nation.

Donoughmore Commission thought fit to give us a wider one than we asked for, and to-day in Ceylon, if there is contempt for women's rights, it is only expressed in hushed whispers, or with bated breath, by unjust and narrow-minded individuals. The women of the nation are the custodians of each nation's life and honour, and their shame on lack of culture, is the nation's shame and dishonour. Now that we have been enfranchised, it is up to us, to carry forward the work of our women into all spheres of life ; national, social, moral, and political and we must exercise great unselfishness and forbearance, if we are to achieve anything worth having. As in all other Asian countries, there is a certain degree of denationalisation in Ceylon. We find it to a greater degree there than exists here in India to-day, because there has been a great revival in India recently, thanks to the self-sacrificing and noble-minded men and women who have worked so ardently to revive and re-establish its Eastern civilisation, culture, and economy. It is up to us, in Ceylon, to take India as an example, and bring about unity and strength into our midst, so that we may stand as one united whole, working for the preservation, uplifting and well-being of our country and nation. This denationalisation is robbing us of our best and ablest men, and we women of Asia have to fight against it, if each Asian nation is not to be wiped off the face of the earth, and now is the time for action, when some power has been given us by the grant of the Franchise, on equal terms with men, with no limitations or conditions. It is now up to us, sisters of Asia to act so that we may fortify ourselves and help each other by precedent and by example, so as to preserve our Eastern customs and civilisations, wherever desirable. We must go to other Asian countries which have set us good examples, and revived and built up our dying Eastern cultures, surmounting the many difficulties and obstacles in our path. We must try to wipe out all the customs which tend to keep us in a state of ignorance and degradation, so that we will not compare unfavourably with the women of the West ; always being careful to study, discriminate, and accept the good, while rejecting the evil and undesirable in each foreign civilisation, be it Western or Eastern. We are united here on a common working ground for that purpose, and we must all try to help and enlighten each other's Asian country by exchange of ideas and studying conditions in our respective countries. The other delegates from Ceylon will speak so well, I hope, and tell us more about the subject.

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar from Persia regretted that the Muhammedan section of the women of her country of which there was a majority were steeped in ignorance and made to tolerate ridiculous marriage customs, etc.

all property should be jointly registered in the names of both the husband and the wife to ensure equality of status and to give the right of vote to women. She was, however, against the system of adult suffrage as she considered it absolutely impracticable in a country of 320 millions of people (in the case of India), only 3 per cent. of whom were literate. At this stage Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi pointed out that the possession of property did not essentially stand for possession of education also, but Mrs. Cousins refused to be drawn into the details of the scheme, as she considered it out of place.

Miss Sunaryati, a visitor from Java, confirmed the statement of Mrs. Cousins that women of her country were not allowed the right of vote or to become members of the Legislatures. She attributed this to lack of agitation and asked the Conference to help them in fighting for their rights.

Miss Rajapakshe speaking of Women and Government, said:—

ECONOMIC STATUS.

That women in Ceylon have been for a long time lethargic in realizing their position and work in the economic life of the country is a sad but true reflection. Oriental civilisation has been long against the practice of women taking part in any activities outside their home, with a false idea of true dignity. Common sense demands that woman as companion, encourager, and helper of man in all his activities should take some part and evince some interest in his economic life too. If any nation were to attain true progress and advancement, women also should understand her economic duties and perform them in co-operation with man. Women in Ceylon are now rousing themselves from their slumber to activity and it is our fervent hope and prayer that their path would be smooth and their endeavours would be crowned with success.

Let us now examine what should be the economic status of woman in any country. She should in general be the supervisor of the household, look after the management of the house, regulate the home expenses in accordance with the earnings of the family and if possible supplement the wages of the husband, by doing some useful work bringing in a certain income. She should be thrifty, regulating her expenses in such a way as to save a certain sum every month or year from the earnings of the family.

Have women in Ceylon fulfilled this work and are they fulfilling it? It is encouraging to say that they have done so in most cases

POLITICAL STATUS.

In ancient times during the times of our kings women played a great part in the politics of their country. But after that for some reason or other women have lost all touch with politics until recently they asserted their position before the Parliamentary Commission on the future constitution of Ceylon, called the Donoghmore Commission. Some of the women delegates acquitted themselves so creditably before the Commission in putting forward their claims that the Commissioners were pleased to grant adult suffrage to the women of Ceylon. The Women's Franchise Union is doing great and useful work in this sphere of women's activities and there is a probability of one woman at least being returned to the State Council at the next General Election. It is politically that the women in Ceylon are most active to-day. That women can do useful work by engaging in politics no one will deny. She is the most suited and the best equipped to give an opinion on matters concerning the welfare of women and children. Therefore it is nothing but right that in Ceylon as in India we should witness the political emancipation of women without great agitation and suffering as in England.

SPIRITUAL STATUS.

Woman is more spiritually inclined than man; even the latter would admit. In ancient times the spiritual status of women was really great and wonderful. In the history of Buddhism many women have attained the Arahant state which in other words is perfect sainthood. It is the attainment of Nirvana that perfect bliss and cessation from suffering and birth which is the goal of every true Buddhist. Ceylon History can point out great women as Anula, the first queen in the history of Ceylon Buddhism, who renounced her royal household to lead the life of celibacy and voluntary poverty, and Vihare Maha Devi who sacrificed herself for the sake of her subjects, and others who were great spiritual workers in their day. Also there have been Buddhist nuns who crossed the seas to propagate Buddhism in foreign countries. Even at the present day, there is very little to deplore in the spiritual status of women in Ceylon. They are more devoted to the spiritual work than men. We hardly hear of divorce cases in Ceylon nor do our women indulge in smoking and drinking.

Among the various religious denominations many women are found to do work of great usefulness for the spiritual upliftment of the happy and the ignorant masses.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the Conference rose for the day.

- (a) the introduction and enforcement of a suitable Children's Act for each country in order to safeguard the interests and inalienable rights of all children.
- (b) the abolition of Child Marriage.

EQUALITY OF STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN.

5. This Conference realising the inherent equality of women and men demands that efforts should be made to give them equal opportunities in life (where such do not exist) :—

- (a) by the abolition of polygamy,
- (b) equal rights over the guardianship of children and property,
- (c) equal rights of divorce,
- (d) equal adult franchise,
- (e) equal rights of nationality for married women.

HEALTH.

6. In view of the appalling mortality among men, women and children in all Asian countries (except Japan), this Conference calls upon the Governments of their respective countries :—

- (a) to spend more money on health schemes,
- (b) to institute research into the causation of diseases peculiar to the East, and
- (c) to provide facilities for the development of indigenous system of Medicines in the light of modern science.

DRINK AND DRUGS.

7. (a) Whereas the evils of drink and drugs have been fully recognised by this Conference it demands that each Asian Government should identify itself with prohibition and take immediate steps to limit the production of alcohol, opium, and other drugs to the quantity needed only for scientific and medical purposes.

(b) The Members of this Conference urge upon the women of Asia the importance of the preparation of Scientific temperance literature and the importation of it through the educational institutions of their respective countries.

EQUAL MORAL STANDARD AND TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

8. This Conference of Women demands a high equal moral standard for both sexes as essential to the stability of the family, the health and happiness of the individuals and the race and calls upon the men and women of Asia to promote social purity by maintaining the highest ideals of the sanctity of sex.

It recommends to each country to initiate or amend laws so that :—

- (a) brothels and all forms of legalised vice may be abolished,
- (b) minors may be protected and the provisions of the International Convention may be enforced,

- (c) the age of consent may be raised to 18 years,
- (d) victims (children and adults) may be rescued from vice,
- (e) procurers and those living on immoral earnings may be penalised,
- (f) maintenance may be secured for the unmarried mother and her child from the child's father and legitimization of the child.

LABOUR.

9. This Conference realising the wholly unsatisfactory condition of women wage-earners in Industrial, Agricultural and all spheres of unorganised labour throughout Asia strongly recommends an immediate survey of these conditions and demands legislation—

to regulate :—

- 1. (a) hours of work,
- (b) wages, and

to provide for :—

- 2. (a) illness, accidents, old age,
- (b) maternity benefits,
- (c) proper housing,
- (d) medical inspection and aid,
- (e) prohibition of child-labour,
- (f) compulsory primary education and facilities for adult education.

RIGHT OF SELF-EXPRESSION.

10. In order that every individual and every nation may have the unfettered right of self-expression for the enrichment of the human synthesis, this Conference considers it imperative that each country shall have full responsible government.

WORLD PEACE.

11. The nature of woman being to create and conserve humanity, the women of this Conference, realising the evils and horrors of war, give their whole-hearted support to the work of the League of Nations and other allied organisations in their efforts to promote world peace, and pledge themselves, belonging as they do to a continent renowned for its love of peace, to do their utmost both individually and collectively for this great cause.

To achieve this purpose members of the Conference should be appointed—

- (a) to do the propaganda in the towns and villages of their respective countries ;
- (b) to represent Asian womanhood at Geneva, and to travel to other countries with their distinctive message.

The Delegates present were :—

Miss Hoshi ; Miss Daw Hta ; Mrs. A. S. Tyabji ; Miss May Oung ; Miss M. M. Shwa ; Mrs. Ram Pearey Pal ; Miss Cissy Coory ; Miss A. Rajapakse ; Mrs. H. M. Guneshkara ; Lady Bandaranaike ; Mrs. S. W. Ilangakoon ; Mrs. R. S. S. Gunewardane ; Miss S. M. N. Perumal ; Mrs. F. B. De Mel ; Mrs. Shrin Fozdar ; Begum Maula Baksh ; Mrs. Kamaluddin ; Mrs. Hakam ; Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi ; Lady Abdul Quadir ; Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji ; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur ; Mrs. Hamid Ali ; Miss Khadija Begum Ferozuddin ; Mrs. Padma-bai Sanjivarao ; Mrs. A. K. Rafi ; Mrs. Ram Lall ; Mrs. Hansa Mehta ; Mrs. Ammu Swaminadhan ; Mrs. Shuffi Tyabji ; Mrs. P. K. Sen ; Mrs. Bhola Nath ; Miss H. Mayadass ; Dr. Mrs. Shave ; Mrs. Srivasthava ; Miss Mustafa Khan and Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade.

All-Asian Women's Conference.

SEVENTH SESSION.

The Seventh Session of the All-Asian Women's Conference was held on the morning of the 24th January. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras was in the Chair.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Culture.

This Conference urges the necessity of retaining the high spiritual consciousness which has been the fundamental characteristic of the people of Asia throughout the millenia, and desires that the women of Asia maintain that high standard, uninfluenced by the materialistic trend of modern times.

The above Resolution was proposed by Mrs. Ilankoon who said :—

To sift what is appropriate for Asia from the Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas and machinery).

Let us consider now what is the proper attitude for the East to adopt towards Western civilization. There is one school of thought which considers that the proper attitude should be one of hatred. But surely a more reasoned view of what the world owes to the West would admit that there are many things belonging to the West which the East may absorb to her advantage. The matter was put very well in an interview granted by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, to the *Manchester Guardian*. He said, "Let it be clearly understood in the West, that we who are born in the East, still acknowledge in our heart of hearts, the greatness of the European civilization. Even when in our weakness and humiliation we aggressively try to deny this, we still inwardly accept it. The younger generation of the East, in spite of its bitterness of soul, is eager to learn from the West and to assimilate 'the best' that Europe has to offer. Even in our futile efforts to sever our connection with the West, while we struggle for political freedom, we are really paying the West the highest compliment we can offer. For we acknowledge in every act of striving for liberty, the noble character of the Western education which has roused us from our slumbers. We tacitly admit that it was the literature of the West which inspired us with a courageous love of freedom, and roused us to proclaim our independence." In these words the Poet who has

proved himself the finest interpreter of the East to the West has pointed out what we owe to the West and to what extent we must imbibe the lessons taught by the West. But unfortunately it is easy to overstep the mark. I come from a country—our Lanka of noble traditions—where the blind imitation of the West has deprived us of our individuality, and is making of us a hybrid race. In our ways of thought, in our forms of living, in our dress and even in our speech we have assimilated the Western so much, that when Mahatma Gandhi came to Ceylon he was shocked at the denationalisation. He warned us against this craze and weakness, which aims at making us poor imitations of the West. If the East has anything to offer to the world it can only be offered under conditions which have not stifled the national individuality and the national spirit in us. In this respect India presents a very great contrast to Ceylon. There has been a recent great revival and hence it is that we still find Indians, great in the sphere of achievement in science, and letters and Eastern art.

Blind imitation of the West is making of the people of Lanka a barren race, but it is still possible to remedy this condition, and I am glad we are getting the opportunity of studying these questions at this Conference. When we get back to our country we hope to benefit our nation by the knowledge and strength we shall undoubtedly gain here.

Mrs. Hamid Ali, in seconding the resolution, said :—

I do not think there is much necessity for me to speak on the secular tendency which is creeping in and obliterating the past spiritual attainments of Asia. If you look at the list of prophets that have been given to the world you will find that practically all of them have been Asiatic. It will be further noticed that one special prophet seems to have been given to each Asian country. Each one has had one leader, one great Rishi or one prophet, sent to that particular country to lead the peoples in the true path. Asia gave us Lord Muhammed and countries as far away as India and China have adopted the same great teacher. Asia gave us Lord Christ and countries all over the world hailed him and his teachings. Asia gave us Buddha and Asia gave us Krishna whose lives and teachings are practised in every corner of the world. We in Asia feel the influence of the very many teachers that have been given to us, that have passed through our own people, lives in our own countries, and all through the countries taught us their spirituality which is far greater than the attainment of any other kind of knowledge.

I hope that although the Western influences are bearing upon us, we shall never forget that spirituality is the chief thing that counts in this world and world to come. Spirituality means that we not only study religion but put it into practice ; that we do not think of only money-making or other mundane things of life but that we give proper attention to our religious teachings and also to the things that mean so much to every woman in this world—home, husband and children. Because unless a home is developed on religious lines, children can never be brought up to lead spiritual lives. They might do it otherwise under compulsion while they live under your roof, but when they go away to build their own homes, to earn their own income and to lead their own destinies, they all go to live lives of pleasure. I hope, my dear sisters of Asia, you will never give way to these modern influences but always keep to simpler things. It is what the Great Teachers have taught us plain living and high thinking.

There is, however, creeping that “ Modern ” tendency among us. We want to go to theatres, cinemas and parties (bridge also suggests itself) leaving not a single evening for our homes, husbands, or children. We are forgetting our traditions, our civilization and our ancient culture. But ladies will you let it be ?

Let me remind you that simplicity in life means giving up your own pleasure for the sake of helping others to do things which are really worth while doing. Look at the examples of some of your great people who have done it. Look at Mahatma Gandhi. He has given up his all for India. He is teaching us simplicity by leading the simplest of lives. A Khaddar loin cloth is enough to clothe him, milk and fruit is enough to feed him and a lowly Ashram is enough to house him. Look at the other leaders. They have left their lucrative practices ; given up their all in the cause of the motherland and have devoted themselves to the thankless task of leading the Nation to Independence. Look at the personnels of the Universities, colleges and schools and you will find scores of people (like Rana Rao) who are highly qualified and could have earned thousands of rupees per month, but have devoted their lives to the service of mankind and education of children at mere pittances of Rs. 50 or Rs. 75 per month. That is the way to teach our children spirituality. We should simply put away ideas of self-pleasure and should look to simplicity to give us true happiness in this world and the world to come. (*Cheers*).

Mrs. A. K. Rafi, in supporting the resolution in Urdu, said :—

I have great pleasure in strongly supporting this resolution. It is a fact, and a very sad fact at that, that we are getting very selfish

and vain. We (myself included) are always devising new fashions and exploring new avenues of expenditure—to the extent of forgetting our responsibilities to our husbands and children. This state of affairs is greatly to be deplored, specially in view of the fact that Asia has the proud privilege of being the birth-place of all religions and the home of culture and refinement.

Indian women have faithfully maintained their traditions up till now and I appeal to you, ladies, to combat this tendency as best as possible and to rout it out for good.

Miss Khemchand further supporting the resolution said :—

It would be useless for me to recount instances of the great spirit of self-abnegation that existed in India. It would be equally fruitless to repeat that Asia has always been the birth-place of the great Prophets of the world—though sometimes we seem to forget that Christianity has sprung from the East to guide not only East but the West as well. And we can say the same to-day of Mahatma Gandhi who is a star shining brightly in the world. (*Cheers*). His noble sacrifices in the cause of his motherland are too well known to require either recapitulation or praise. Then there are Pandits Moti Lal and Jawahar Lal Nehru—princes among men—who have thrown their all—lives included—in the struggle for freedom. Indeed there is a long list of people in India and Asia who have dedicated their lives to sacred and noble missions and shown remarkable selflessness truly worthy of Asia.

Modern influence is, however, creeping all over the world and, Asian sisters, you have got to stave it off not with indifference but positive hate. Put the example of Asia before all, try, and victory is yours.

Miss Ferozuddin also in supporting the resolution said :—

The purpose of religion is to link man with God and to teach us the mission of life. The root cause of all our troubles is the fact that we are going farther and farther away from our religion and the noble traditions set up by our Holy Prophet and other religious leaders and reformers. We have forgotten their simple ways of living. We have forgotten that those Kings and Emperors did not even take their meals properly, had not more than one suit of clothes and that even that was patched at many places. Look at the holy prophet, who did not take his meals for fear there might be somebody else who could not have it. Look at Kalif Omar whose one shirt was mostly patched. And look at yourself, who cannot live without tea in the morning, tiffin at noon, tea again in the afternoon, dinner in the evening and supper at night ; who cannot do without a morning, afternoon, evening, Sunday

and sports dresses ; whose toilet must include all sorts of hair oils, face creams and lip sticks ; and whose house must be a big bungalow with drawing rooms, sitting rooms, bed rooms, gardens, lawns and out-houses attached. Is it any wonder that we cannot exercise control over our desires ? Ladies of Asia, beware ! that is my one word of warning to you and I hope and earnestly trust it will be enough.

Mrs. M. E. Cousins further in supporting the resolution said :—

Spirituality, my dear sisters, is a specific characteristic of Asia. It has always been considered one of the most important features of Asian womanhood. Your forefathers have made noble traditions for you, and their retention is your duty towards the future generations. Let us not fail in our duty. Let us resolve that we will give our children the best of what we can give. Let us resolve that we will seek from other countries after we have sought from our own and exhausted all possible resources.

When I think of all the Prophets that we have had and the great rank they gave to the women—when I think of Mohamed and what He said about the greatness of women specially his eldest child (Fatima) then I think that it is only the women who have to give purity to the world and helpful influence to the whole of humanity. I think it is that which is covered by the resolution.

The mission we have set ourselves is much greater than any of us can realise but it is the whole idea of Asia and Asian womanhood. To define the idea is a problem and putting it into words will be really for the help of everybody alike.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

2. Education.

Miss Khemchand proposed the following resolution :—

“ In view of the high rate of illiteracy in Asia as a continent, the representatives of the womanhood of Asia, assembled at the First Asian Women’s Conference, call on the peoples of the countries specifically concerned and on the Governments of these countries to follow the precedent of Japan and institute and enforce free and compulsory primary education for every boy and girl as the fundamental necessity of progress in the various Asian countries and in Asia as a whole.”

Time and again have similar resolutions been passed in India not only at every meeting of the Constituencies of the All-India Women’s Conference but also at its meetings every year. It is gratifying indeed to note that laws to that effect have been passed at some places, but it is very sad reality that those Acts are virtually a dead letter,

inasmuch as there are no proper census officers to take stock of those who really go to school or not and public opinion is not sufficiently educated to see that they are enforced.

What is much more sad is that girl's education is very much neglected even where the act has been passed or is supposed to be in force. I earnestly appeal to all Asian Governments to pass such acts and make proper provision for their enforcement and to request all of my sisters here to bring all pressure to bear upon their men (and they can make life a misery to them if they don't) and to do all they can in this direction.

Japan can rightly boast of 95 per cent. literacy only because the State has recognised that man is no better than a beast without education and has not only passed laws in regard to free compulsory primary education but made provisions for their proper enforcement. In my opinion no other country can do better than to follow Japan's example.

Mrs. Rafi in seconding the resolution expressed her conviction that without education man was no better than a beast, and stressed the importance of taking full advantage of such legislation, wherever it existed, by putting it into practice.

Miss May Oung of Burma, in supporting the resolution, said :—

In my opinion not only would the general standard of literacy be raised by such Acts and Laws, but it would also ensure that children would not take up labour of any kind upto a specified age, as they will have to go to schools, leading to their physical, mental and moral development. These poor children will also have the benefit of medical inspections which they otherwise could not have afforded and which would ensure a healthy and vigorous future of them. I could not give you facts and figures but I believe we have in Burma quite a high standard of literacy owing to the monastic system of education.

The resolution was supported by **Mrs. Hamid Ali** who said :—

We have all agreed that free compulsory primary education is a necessity, but we have not yet fixed the school-going or school-leaving age of children. We see that usually boys and girls are sent to school at 8 and still some girls are married between 8 and 12 in Muhammedan families. I think children should remain at school up to the age of 14 and primary courses should be so framed as to finish at that age.

Another suggestion is that although such Acts have been passed in some provinces they deliberately keep girls out of free compulsory education. All-Asian Conference should decide that such Acts should be enforced for both boys and girls, because girls are the home-makers and the teachers of the next generations. Children should be educated

in schools by trained primary teachers and the education imparted should be of a general nature. No home-making courses for girls or industrial subjects for boys are provided in the current curricula. It is deplorable indeed that in India boys' syllabuses have been dumped at the girls although they are most unsuitable. To sum up, therefore, I consider that primary education must consist of a regular syllabus worked out for the special needs of boys and girls upto the age of 14. The resolution was then put to vote and passed unanimously.

3. Religion.

“ This Conference, realising the important part that Religion plays in the moulding of the individual and national character, is of opinion that in order to promote a spirit of religious tolerance, love and harmony amongst communities, the lives and teachings of great religious leaders should be taught in schools, and a comparative study of the great religions of the world should find a place in college curriculums.”

The above resolution as amended by **Mrs. P. K. Sen**, the amendment being supported by **Miss Khemchand**, was proposed by **Lady Bandaranaike** who said :—

Religion plays the most important part in the moulding of the individual and national character, and the only trouble with the people is that they either do not know or do not care to practise their religion, which makes for all the evils of the world. It is significant that all the religions advocated one precept—and that the rules laid down in every case are the same. If only people woke to their sense of duty towards God and tried to practise their own and understand others' religions, there would be created a great spirit of mutual tolerance, love and harmony among the people of the world.

Miss Dwa Hta in seconding the resolution said :—

I rise heartily to second this resolution as I consider that religion is of the utmost importance in the building up of a nation.

The resolution was supported by **Mrs. Ilngakoon** who said :—

Religion should always go hand-in-hand with education. It is impossible to make a man morally superior and cultured unless religion has a place in his education. In Ceylon British Government educates children but it pays no attention to the moral part of their education with the result that there are very many clever and undesirable persons in the country. I believe that without religion the national independence and individuality of the nation is wiped out. It is further deplorable that the industries are being neglected with the result that they are dying out.

Miss Khemchand in supporting the resolution said :—

It gives me great pleasure to support this resolution as I have a strong conviction that the root of all evils is irreligiousness or bigotry. A comparative study of religions should teach us mutual toleration and understanding. When we are moulded into one religion we naturally begin to think there is nothing else in the world that is good ; we do not know that everyone else has got almost the same religion, is worshipping the same God, is honouring the same truths and is trying to reach the same goal, though by a slightly different path. I consider that the colleges which are open to all communities should make it a point to include a comparative study of all religions in their curricula and infuse among the rising generation a love and veneration for other religions. Mahatma Gandhi, a great politician, a greater patriot and the greatest reformer of the Age, has, as in others, given us a lead in this direction also and shown us by his own example how religions should be studied not with a biased but an open mind, not with contempt but respect in the heart, not with a view to criticize but to appreciate. And these are the ideals which every teacher of this subject should keep before him, which every student should have in his heart and which every institution should try to disseminate.

Mrs. Ganpat Rai in supporting the resolution said :—

I consider this is the most essential resolution on the Agenda, as religious education is being so very much neglected that academic honours are considered a sort of excuse and a reason for irreligiousness. It is sad that our sons and daughters are growing up not only to mock our conventions and religious rites and ceremonies, but are also going to the extent of attacking our religious beliefs. The fault cannot be attributed to anything else but the present system of education which does not make adequate provision in its curricula for this all-important subject. The communal schools do teach religion but that is their own specific religion and they do nothing else but make the children bigots not zealous in their cause, but jealous. The Government Schools either leave the subject out altogether or make separate classes for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, etc., which teaches the children from the beginning that their religion is different from the others. I think that every school and college should teach comparative study of all religion and instil into the young minds the truths and beauties of all religions, which would surely lead to the elimination of all communal ill-feeling and racial hatred. All children should be encouraged to read the lives of religious leaders and pious men by giving them such books as birth-day presents or other seasonal gifts. Our libraries

at home must have the holy books of all religions and they should be read with the same respect and love as the books of one's own religion. I, for one, have read not only Ramayana, but also the Holy Koran, the Bible, the Guru Garanth Sahib, and the lives of every religious leader, and I am convinced that the people who have not done the same have lost great truths, missed great opportunities and done incalculable harm to the cause of the world peace and harmony.

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar supported the resolution and said :—

To my mind, religion is the most important subject and its neglect is apparent in the dwindling down of our ancient civilization. In religion—in every religion—women are considered man's equals, education for girls is stressed, need of health and hygiene brought out and peace and harmony advocated. Indeed, if religions were taught to children from the very beginning and they grow up to practise and revere them there would be no need for future Conferences of this nature, there would be no necessity of our meeting here to discuss our problems, for we will have no problems to discuss.

The precepts of every religion are so closely related that there is no room for doubt that all prophets came from the same God, with the same principles, same truths and same message of peace, love and harmony ; the only difference being that the languages in which these messages are couched varied with the time and place according to the special language prevalent.

It is my firm conviction, therefore, that a comparative study of all religions should be included in the syllabuses of all schools and colleges. The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

4. Equality of Status of Men and Women.

This Conference realising the inherent equality of women and men demands that efforts should be made to give them equal opportunities in life (where such do not exist) :—

- (a) by the abolition of polygamy,
- (b) equal rights over the guardianship of children and property,
- (c) equal rights of divorce,
- (d) equal adult franchise,
- (e) equal rights of nationality for married women.

The words "where such do not exist" in the above resolution were added by an amendment proposed by Miss Khadija Ferozuddin, the amendment being accepted by the proposer.

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi in proposing the resolution on Equality of Sexes said :—

I am sure you all agree to this resolution. When we were born equal, when even the term of pregnancy for both the sexes is equal, when all the laws of nature apply equally to both men and women, is it any wonder that we cannot countenance the distinctions and inequalities that the man-made laws have created.

Man has made a number of unjust and unequal laws. Take, for instance, marriage. A deserted wife cannot be remarried, a child-widow cannot be remarried and a persecuted wife cannot leave her husband. Marriage in her case is considered a sacrament but is it a sacrament in the case of man also? No, we find that man can marry as many wives as he likes; can commit adultery, afford to be cruel to his wife, keep escorts and do whatever he pleases. Admitted that the law in Burma is very good—civil contact and equal laws for both the sexes but what about the other countries?

Then there are the laws of guardianship of children. In case of a separation, the children are placed under the father, while the poor mother,—the producer of those lives, who has gone through the hardships of pregnancy and the pangs of labour in bringing them into the world, sees with despair her offspring being deprived of her loving care and entrusted to the custody of another wife who is bitterly jealous of the little love that the father bears those innocent victims. That is why women would bear any amount of torture, go through any amount of hardships rather than seek separation from a drunkard, cruel or a diseased husband.

Then there is the question of inheritance—and the question of Franchise—and the question of Nationality, which have been fully discussed already.

I sincerely appeal to you to give your whole-hearted support to the resolution.

Miss Cissy Cooray seconded the resolution.

The resolution as amended by **Miss Khadija Ferozuddin** was put to the vote and passed unanimously.

5. Health.

In view of the appalling mortality among men, women and children in all Asian countries (except Japan), this Conference calls upon the Governments of their respective countries :—

- (a) to spend more money on all health schemes,
- (b) to institute research into the causation of diseases peculiar to the East, and
- (c) to provide facilities for the development of indigenous systems of medicines in the light of modern science.

In proposing the above resolution **Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi** said :—

We are realized from our discussions here that the health of the people in all Asian countries is below, as compared with the records of the European countries. The figures show an exorbitantly high rate of maternal mortality. A similar state of affairs is revealed about infantile and general mortality. The age of living is also very low and the blame is usually thrown to the many more diseases peculiar to the tropics. What we want is that researches should be instituted into the causes, diagnosis and treatment of these diseases. We realise the immense amount of benefit that has been derived by hundreds of thousands of people by such researches wherever instituted. And we want that similar researches should be instituted in all Provinces of India and other countries of Asia.

Then, we want that sufficient encouragement should be given to the indigenous system of medicine. We appreciate that the recent discoveries that has been made in the West are very good, but there are still many diseases to be combated such as leprosy, for example, which although it has been completely eradicated from the West through hygienic systems, is still widely prevalent in India.

Our idea in stressing the importance of indigenous medicines is that as foreign drugs are very dear owing to all the import duties and other expenditure having to be added to their cost, we could make the medicines—grown, prepared and distributed in our own country—and consequently very much cheaper, much more widely available to the masses and thus better the health of thousands of people of our country, who as it is have to go without drugs owing to the prohibitive costs of the same.

With these few words I propose this resolution.

Mrs. Hamid Ali seconded the resolution.

Mrs. Bholanath in supporting the resolution said :—

I have not made a special study of the question, but I feel the Government should have greater control over the quacks, who contribute a great deal to our mortality tables. This is specially true in the case of tuberculosis case where—contrary to the Doctors' instructions—these people stop all nourishment to the poor patients, which very much appeal to the poor people of our country for the time being ; but the poor patients are sent early to graves on this account.

I heartily support the motion.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

6. Drink and Drugs.

- (A) Whereas the evils of drink and drugs have been fully recognised by this Conference it demands that each Asian Government should identify itself with prohibition and take immediate steps to limit the production of alcohol, opium, and other drugs to the quantity needed only for scientific and medical purposes.
- (B) The Members of this Conference urge upon the women of Asia the importance of the preparation of scientific temperance literature and the importation of it through the educational institutions of their respective countries.

Miss Maya Dass in proposing the above resolution said :—

I have great pleasure in proposing this resolution on Scientific Temperance Instruction, the importance of which cannot be overstressed. If we instil in the minds of our children the evils of drugs and drink they would naturally grow up to abhor them with the result that we will have prohibition in all the countries of Asia in the very near future. Indeed, there is no reason why the United States of America should be the only country in the world able to boast of it ; and we should create a United States of Asia which would have entire prohibition not necessarily compulsory but voluntary. Sisters, we should not rest contented after passing this resolution, thinking that our difficulties have come to an end and that everything else would shape itself automatically, but we should make a firm resolve to go each to our own country and work earnestly in the furtherance of this sacred cause by assisting in the preparation of scientific temperance literature, seeing that it is put in the books for children and getting those books made text-books for schools.

S. Lakshmibai Rajwade in seconding the resolution said :—

When we were discussing drugs, I gave you facts and figures in regard to the production and consumption and the consequent evil effects of the use of opium and liquor in India. I told you that it was most necessary that, to cut at the root, the production of opium should be limited. We required it only for medical purposes. It is true that alcohol is required for very many laboratories, and forms an important and indispensable ingredient in the production of various products, but there is no such justification for opium. Opium as a medicine has saved many lives and dulled many pains, but opium as a habit—and it is used more to satisfy a pernicious habit than otherwise in this country—has ruined innumerable homes and rendered thousands of lives miserable. Opium saps the energy, strikes at the latent vitality of the human system, causes crime and makes beasts of human beings.

The opium question constitutes one of the gravest problems for India and China, while other countries are not so seriously affected. Some Chinese lady will perhaps tell us how China is affected.

I certainly agree that Scientific Temperance Instruction books should be introduced in schools. Cinema and magic lantern lectures arranged, and the evils of drugs and drink noticeably brought out in every possible way, and impressed on the young minds of children.

Miss Campbell in supporting the resolution said :—

For the last 15 years I have been giving most of my time to combating with this special form of Social evil in India. I have travelled all over the country, arranged meetings and given lectures. I have listened to most pathetic tales from unhappy wives and lisping children. I have seen the addicted parents reasoned with them while sober and pitied them while drunk.

I am glad that quite a number of temperance books have now been prepared. We get big, beautiful posters from Great Britain which are taking with the children. We are slowly but surely overcoming the evil and I strongly support this resolution which, if adopted by the Educational Authorities, would mean a very great achievement.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

7. Equal Moral Standard and Traffic in Women and Children.

This Conference of women demands a high equal moral standard for both sexes as essential to the stability of the family, the health and happi-

ness of the individuals and the race and calls upon the men and women of Asia to promote social purity by maintaining the highest ideals of the sanctity of sex.

It recommends to each country to initiate or amend laws so that—

- (a) brothels and all forms of legalised vice may be abolished,
- (b) minors may be protected and the provisions of the International Convention may be enforced,
- (c) the age of consent may be raised to 18 years,
- (d) victims (children and adults) may be rescued from vice,
- (e) procurers and those living on immoral earnings may be penalised,
- (f) maintenance may be secured for the unmarried mother and her child from the child's father and legitimization of the child.

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi in proposing the resolution said :—

We have had reports from all the Asian countries and find that there is a huge amount of traffic going on in all parts of the Continent and there are no adequate laws to meet the situation, *e.g.*, the procurers who trade on vice are not punished, etc., etc.

Our demand for an equal moral standard is based on the principles of justice and equity. Where both sexes are at fault, we only asked that both may be punished. It is really unfair that while one agent in an offence is segregated and condemned the other goes scot free. I have a firm conviction that tolerated areas should not be allowed. The necessity of high morals should be instilled in the minds of boys and girls from their very infancy and the offenders strictly dealt with. There is no reason why perfect morality should not be possible in India and even the modern missionaries remaining bachelors all their lives. Mahatma Gandhi also has been leading life of bachelorhood since his 50th year. With these examples to guide us we should strictly insist on a high moral standard.

I hope you will all accord your support to this resolution.

Lady Bandaranaike seconded the resolution and endorsed the mover's remarks.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

8. Labour.

This Conference realising the wholly unsatisfactory condition of women wage-earners in Industrial, Agricultural and all spheres of unorganised labour throughout Asia strongly recommends an immediate survey of these conditions and demands legislation

- to regulate :— 1. (a) hours of work,
(b) wages, and
- to provide for :—2. (a) illness, accidents, old age ;
(b) maternity benefits ;
(c) proper housing ;
(d) medical inspection and aid ;
(e) prohibition of child-labour ;
(f) compulsory primary education and facilities for adult education.

9. Right of Self-Expression.

In order that every individual and every nation may have the unfettered right of self-expression for the enrichment of the human synthesis, this Conference considers it imperative that each country shall have full responsible government.

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi moved the two above resolutions which were duly seconded by **Lady Bandaranaike**, put to vote and carried unanimously.

10. World-Peace.

The nature of woman being to create and conserve humanity, the women of this Conference, realising the evils and horrors of war, give their whole-hearted support to the work of the League of Nations and other allied organisations in their efforts to promote world-peace, and pledge themselves, belonging as they do to a continent renowned for its love of peace, to do their utmost both individually and collectively for this great cause.

To achieve this purpose members of the Conference should be appointed :

- (a) to do propaganda in the towns and villages of their respective countries ;
(b) to represent Asian womanhood at Geneva, and to travel to other countries with their distinctive message.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of Kapurthala in proposing the resolution said :—

How we women naturally want peace and how we naturally love peace in a very good way of expressing what I feel must be the genuine desire of all women in this matter.

The All-India Women's Conference through which we have just passed taught us to look beyond the narrow confines of our surroundings and to look at our problems as the common problems of the country as a whole. This Asian Women's Conference has gone a step further. It has taught us not only to think nationally but internationally. It has enabled us to see beyond the barriers of caste, race or creed. Our sisters from the West who have so kindly come and spoken to us and who also serve in the cause of humanity in their country have given us a still wider outlook. We have met here to uplift the cause of suffering humanity and we have brought each other a message of peace and good will from all over the world.

It shows that we are all united in the common cause of humanity. The basis of each religion is love and we are here to protest against physical war which brings nothing but destruction in its wake.

Mrs. Rajpaxse of Ceylon in seconding the resolution said :—

“ To promote the world peace.” In the civilized world, peace is as essential as any other factor for the progress of nations. During these critical times when strife and unrest prevail in almost every country the importance of world-peace is only too keenly felt ; hence arises the question, “ What should be done to promote universal peace”?

The Great War has taught the whole world the pressing necessity for world-peace. No nation derives any appreciable benefit from war—nay, not even the conquerors themselves, for victory only breeds hatred. If we examine the cause of war, we can ascertain the requisites peace for by eliminating the former, the latter could be evolved.

The League of Nations has, no doubt, been instrumental to a great extent in promoting peace and good will among different nations. An institution of this kind was rendered necessary to settle international disputes that eventually lead to war. Its most important achievement so far has been the promotion of international co-operation and peaceful settlement of disputes without resort to arms. The former is one of the qualities that ensures peace in the world. But the League of Nations alone cannot be relied upon to maintain peace ; it is a mere tribunal for the settlement of international disputes. Therefore in order to strengthen the foundation of the world-peace factors that threaten it should be examined.

International rivalry and suspicion were the major causes of the last war. The frailty of the human nature is responsible for this to some extent. Till the several nations of the world come to understand and work in harmony and co-operation with one another, the

haunting spectre of war is certain to walk the world. The League of Nations, Naval Disarmaments, Kellogg Peace Pacts, can effect little progress towards world peace if great nations like England, Italy, France and America live in constant fear of one another. The old adage "If you want peace, prepare for war" is now belied by incidents in world history. What we require, if we desire for peace is unpreparedness of war. Trade, commerce, and the wealth of the natural resources of countries need safeguarding with international understanding for establishing peace between nations. So long as international trade remains enormous peace will be firmly established in the world.

Economic rivalry is the chief cause of international rivalry. Two nations commence disputes and rivalry as the result of their struggle for capturing markets in the world for the disposal of their products, for the prosperity and stability of any nation depend on its wealth produced by expanding trade. This embitters their feelings till finally they are compelled to employ force to assert their supremacy. One nation is suspicious of another and makes secret preparations to protect herself against any possible attacks. Perfect international understanding in this respect is essential for world-peace. Even the weakest nation should be assured its security and freedom from violation of her rights and possessions.

The promotion of universal peace depends on the will of mankind as on any other thing. It depends on the firm determination of the real leaders of nations never to claim for their country rights they would withhold from others, always resort to reason and justice instead of force in the settlement of disputes and never to tolerate violence and injustice. Briefly if individual bears himself correctly there will be no danger likely to threaten the peace of the world. This is one of the preliminary steps to the acquirement of peace. The practice of right and good speech and of good deeds, honest and upright, and the maintenance of the individual liberty and freedom by the pursuit of a fit and proper occupation that does no harm to any living being are sure to ensure peace to some extent.

Another feature that contributes to strife and unrest and mars the peace of the world, is the arrogance and haughtiness of the governing races towards the governed. The political upheaval and awakening of Indians to a sense of political responsibility are the results of the British rule and British training. This being so it seems a pity that the British should want the Indians in swaddling clothes, when they have attained manhood and are entitled to the privileges and responsibilities of manhood. The unrest which has its reactions through the

whole of the universe could have been averted, had the British shown any change in their political outlook on Indian life. They are realizing too late that Indians are self-sacrificing and ready to forego everything for the realization of the aspirations, the political and economic emancipation of their mother-land from the octopus grip of the foreigner. We in Ceylon are in perfect sympathy with India's ambitions and as we owe India a great debt of gratitude for giving us Buddhism which was the sole source of inspiration and guidance of our ancient civilization we are following with unflinching interest and enthusiasm her struggle to free herself from foreign exploitation.

The white races of the world look upon the coloured races with contempt and ridicule. They imagine themselves to be superior in every way to coloured men ; all that is good and praiseworthy they associate with the white races, all that is bad and evil with the coloured, though we must not forget that Europe and America have contributed to the fleeting material advancement of the world whilst Asia has contributed the everlasting spiritual advancement of all. Peace can only be obtained and good in the world assured by the white races treating all coloured men as their equals.

Another cause that stands in the way of peace is grievances of subject races against their rulers ; this has been the cause of many wars in the world history ; many civilizations and empires have toppled down because the ruling races failed to satisfy the demands and grievances of the subject races.

Apart from the various causes mentioned above perfect tolerance and boundless good will or *maitree* tend to promote peace. The former is one's inestimable right which no one can dispute, whilst the latter is a virtue which should be cultivated and extended towards all irrespective of caste, creed or colour. These two virtues are in short the essence of Buddha's message which was founded on this sacred soil of India.

Christ taught "Love thy neighbour as thyself." Hinduism teaches that "All life is one" and in Buddhism is found universal *maitree* or loving kindness. If Christians practise their Christian love, Hindus realise life's unity and Buddhists cultivate their boundless *maitree*, could we expect to have in the world religious feuds, strifes, battles, internecine warfares, international wars and other devastations of mankind ? Certainly not.

Perhaps you must have all heard of that the world honoured Emperor Asoka, a distinguished son of this soil of yours, who should be mentioned as the only monarch on record who abandoned warfare

after victory. At first he was tyrannical and blood thirsty ; thousands were ruthlessly killed by him and many were subject to untold misery. But he was disgusted of what he saw of the cruelties and horrors of war. Later he realised the importance of Buddhist tolerance and *maitree* and his repentance was such that he declared all men are my children, and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness in both this world and the next, so I desire the same for all men."

So completely transformed was he and so tolerant and merciful did he become that H. G. Wells says in glowing terms " Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history their majesties and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone, a star."

Now is he not a worthy example to be emulated by our rulers and monarchs? Yes, sisters, let us fervently hope that we be blessed with such Asokas of Righteousness to promote universal peace among us!

In conclusion let me say that woman as mother, sister, and man's companion can contribute a very great share towards establishing peace. As mother she ought to try to convince her children of the importance and sublimity of peace and evil of strife, and later they will grow to regard the former as an essential quality for the well being of a civilized country and the latter as an evil that ought to be shunned. She can train her children to respect and tolerate the feelings of others, thus making them virtuous and peaceful citizens. She can practise forbearance and patience in her home. She can set an example to man in her dealings with him. A great chance is open to every woman to demonstrate her charm and power for the well being of mankind. Woman must be given equal facilities with man for education in order that she may equip herself for the great task of becoming the first teacher of the future men of the world.

A captain of a ship could never be trusted with a ship and crew if he had no idea of charts and seas and did not know how to guide his vessel to a safe harbour. In the same way a woman who has not been trained to steer her bark into the harbours of health and happiness is a woman who has missed her vocation. If she trains herself carefully, she has the best chance of winning the race and the prize for

" Hers the conflict, hers the conquest,
Hers the flag of life unfurl'd,
Hers the sorrow, hers the suffering,
Hers the love that rules the world."

Miss Khadija Ferozuddin in supporting the resolution said :—

I consider that it is a work for which women are best suited because only woman who was the goddess of love could handle the problem of world peace successfully. As long as man has been in charge of the operations, there has been nothing but bloodshed, and war—cruel, physical war. The progress of science has been confined to progress in the discovery of deadly weapons and gases.

It is the duty of women—and only they can do it—to broadcast this message of peace and love to everyone in the world.

Miss Daw Hta of Burma in supporting the resolution pointed out that every religion taught them love and they should abolish the use of arms and ammunitions.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

FUTURE WORK.

In regard to future work, it was resolved :—

1. That there shall be another Asian Conference at the end of two or three years.
2. That a Secretary be appointed, and a small Committee selected from among the delegates be chosen to carry on this work till that time, particularly investigating the possibilities of co-operating with the Oriental Women's Congress to be held in Teheran in the spring of 1933, and if this is not possible to correspond with other countries as regards choice of the place for the next Conference to be held after a minimum period of two years.
3. To publish a full Report of this Conference, and for this purpose to allocate Rs. 1,000.
4. To allocate a proportion of the balance from this Conference as a nucleus of a delegates' travel fund for future Conferences. Possibly to allocate some portion of the balance for the foundation of an Asian Academy for the gathering and collection of information concerning the Arts and other cultural subjects and sciences.
5. To create a Liaison Officer between the Asian Women's Conference and the League of Nations and other International Organisations. (Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi was selected.)
6. To create a Bureau of Information about Franchise conditions and qualifications in all countries.

The following personnel was decided upon for the Committee proposed :—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	President with power to co-opt.
Miss May Oung (Burma)	Hon. Organizing Secretary.
Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade	Treasurer.
Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi	Liaison Officer for Geneva.
Lady Bandaranaike	Member for Ceylon.
Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi	„ „ India.
Mrs. Shirin Fozdar	„ „ Persia.
Mrs. Kamaluddin	„ „ Afghanistan.
Madame Hoshi	„ „ Japan.

S. Lakshmibai Rajwade then moved the following Resolutions which were seconded by **Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi**, put to vote and carried unanimously :—

Resolved that the All-Asian Women's Conference enter into correspondence with the Women's International Committee on the nationality of women for being included as one of the International organizations comprising the Committee.

Resolved that a Committee of the All-Asian Women's Conference be appointed for special study of the problems embodied in our Resolutions with sub-committees in each country for their special study and report a future Asian Conference.

Speeches were made by the following :—

Dr. Muthulakshimi Reddi. We have come to the end of our most interesting and epoch making sessions. The idea of the All-Asian Women's Conference originated from the vision, from the dream of one woman, the friend of humanity—Mrs. Cousins. Her dream has become a reality.

We, in India, look upon her as our dear sister of service, a citizen of the world—a messenger of love and good-will between women and women and between nations and nations. Now she has been the cause of an indissoluble bond among the Asian women.

At this moment let us not forget that we, through her, owe a debt to the West which we can never repay. Mother Asia which gave prophets to the world went asleep to get over her fatigue of ages. Her religion, her philosophy, her art, her literature have become a sealed book even to her own children. We, her children, forget her past. It was the scientific enquiring spirit of the West that lighted up her vast treasures of art, literature, religion and philosophy and made them accessible to the world.

Rabindranath Tagore—the Great Poet—was not known in his own country before he was awarded the Nobel Prize for his famous poem “*Gitanjali*.”

Sir P. C. Roy and Sir Jagadischandra Bose are admired more by the Western Scientists than by our own people. The life of the great Indian Reformer—Raja Ram Mohan Roy—has been written by one Miss Collet, an English Lady.

Even Mahatma Gandhi admits in his letter to the Viceroy that his facts and figures about the British Administration have been gathered from the candid speeches and writings of the British men and women. Let us not forget that Sir William Wedderburn was the originator of the Indian National Congress. We have read Milton, Shakespear, Shelly, Tennyson. We have read the Literature of the West as well as the East. We of the present generation are the product of the East and the West.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE EAST.

Women in the East have been honoured and respected in their own homes from time immemorial. Some of us, Burmese and the Malabar sisters, have more rights, better status in family and society than even their Western sisters. In the past when the West was dark and barbarous women of Asia had distinguished themselves in every sphere of human activity, had been enjoying equal facilities for education, for the acquirement of knowledge and for freedom but alas, now all that has become a thing of the past except in Burma and Malabar where even till a few years before they had not the citizen rights.

What has happened since ?

Women in the West demanded their citizen rights from their men, fought for them and ultimately won an equal place in the public life.

We, who were sleeping till then, awoke to the real situation inspired by their noble examples, organised ourselves, and asked for similar rights, but we got them easily without a struggle because our history and tradition was favourable to us.

Here I must not omit to mention that our contact and our association with our Western sisters many of whom are living in our midst even to-day as teachers, doctors, missionaries have been to our benefit. The active and the enterprising women of the West have been a source of inspiration to us, many of whom are our friends and co-workers in the same cause as ours. They have been watching our work and progress with joy and sisterly affection. Therefore the awakening of the women of the East followed that of the West. It is a part of the world's movement. It is not confined to the East or the West.

MY IMPRESSION OF THE 1926 PARIS CONFERENCE OF WOMEN.

I had been to the Paris World Conference of Women. I realised then that women in every part of the world suffer from some disabilities or other from which even our Malabar sisters are not free, I found also that we women are bound together by our allegiance to a common cause wherein no race, no creed and no colour finds a place.

Therefore, I realise that the East and the West are the two halves of a complete whole, they are sisters but each with her own individual characteristics and one must necessarily supplement the other to bring about the fullness of life.

East is old, conservative, philosophy, spiritual and it is rather slow to move.

The West is young, is enquiring, enterprising and full of life and hopes.

The East has art, beauty, has veneration for family and for its womanhood which needs expression and advertisement which has to learn from the West.

THE PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE.

The purpose of this Conference is to review our past and present, conserve the best in our civilization, revive our art, literature, in fact to bring about a real Asian renaissance that women contribute to the world culture the special Asian gifts of art, beauty, philosophy, its spirituality and its power of renunciation. This is only a preliminary Conference, paving the way to the world conference of women—women from the East and the West—so that we may march together hand in hand to attain our common goal of equality and freedom for our sex and justice and peace to the world.

Lady Bandaranaike delivered the following Farewell Address :—

The idea of holding this Conference is a happy one.

In the History of the world's advancement this Conference will play no unimportant part, for India has again taken the lead and we follow. On behalf of my country women allow me to thank you for the kindness and hospitality you have shown us, and the enthusiasm and vision displayed in the holding of this Conference, and drawing us together for our mutual benefit.

At times our hearts have been with the sick and the suffering in the Congress hospitals with those brave men and women who are giving up their lives in the cause of their country.

We will carry back to our own country not only the ideas and views we have exchanged with the women of other Asian countries, but memories of the selfless service, sacrifice, and boundless love of the people of India for their motherland.

Mrs. A. K. Rafi said :

PRESIDENT AND SISTER DELEGATES,

As Secretary of the Reception Committee and as a resident of Lahore it is my proud privilege as well as my painful duty first to extend to you our most hearty welcome and then to bid you a sad farewell.

Needless to say that we have been most happy to have you among us and that our hearts to-day are sore with grief at the idea of having to part from you so soon.

Lahore is proud to be the first city in Asia to witness this great gathering of women—a unique gathering—the first one of its kind in the history of our continent. It is a great privilege and we all feel proud of it.

Sisters from Asia! We have met together, have exchanged our ideas on different subjects, have discussed the various problems relating to our various countries. We have found that although separated by strong physical barriers and kept apart by various social and political reasons yet we all belong to one great family, have one common culture and one civilization. It is sad to find that that family has been scattered and that culture and that civilization completely lost.

It is now for us, the women of Asia, to try and bring that family together and to revive that culture and that civilization. Women being the backbone of society and the custodian of its old traditions it is only through her efforts that a fallen people can regain their former grandeur. It is she alone who as mother and as teacher can instil into the hearts of men the lessons of harmony and of good will and thus bring its various sections together for the common good of mankind.

Sisters! It has often been remarked that the sun of civilization has been set on our continent and we are passing through the dark night of ignorance. But let us not be despondent, let us not be despairing, because that sun is again making its appearance on our horizon. Japan is already radiant with its light. India and China are feeling its rays. Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia are witnessing the signs of dawn. Let us rise with the rising of this sun and once more take our place among the great nations of the world.

Mrs. Cousins said :—

Thank you very much for the freedom of the world that you have conferred on me this afternoon. (*Laughter.*) As my name denotes, I am cousins to everybody and I have to thank my husband for the nice name he has given me. (*Laughter.*) I would like to take this opportunity of proposing a very warm vote of thanks for the President of this Municipality and the Members of the Committee who have been put to a lot of inconvenience on our account. We have been occupying this Hall and the Office downstairs from the 9th and he has been helpfulness and courtesy personified. We have been putting these gentlemen out of their buildings and they have had to hold their meetings in the grounds outside. Besides, our ladies have been wandering all over the place and they have never once grumbled. Indeed, there is a whole lot of people who have to be thanked.

Miss May Oung said :—

I wish to propose, on behalf of the delegates, a very hearty vote of thanks to the Reception Committee, who have taken such a lot of pains to give us every possible comfort, especially the Secretary Mrs. Rafi and the President Lady Abdul Quadir. They have already been splendid to us and indeed they are the people who have made such a Conference possible. I do not think we could have come and deliberated and given our views so well as we have done without their help, and I want also to propose a very very hearty vote of thanks for the volunteers, both men and women, for helping us in every way.

Miss Khadija Ferozuddin said :—

The brightest page in the annals of India will be the history of the development and awakening of its women. Throughout the country we find a new energy spreading in the ranks of women. From every corner of the world there is a demand of their help and women call on each other to join hands for the betterment and enlightenment of their sisters, and it is for that purpose that women from distant lands have come and joined at this Asian Conference. There is a sign in the activity of women for the bright future of the orient, which is a step towards the universal peace and harmony—which all lovers of peace have so much at heart. This Asian Conference will create new zeal and fresh enthusiasm, as it stands for the mental, moral and material independence of womanhood. This Conference will be making history and the future generations will read with pride the workings of this Conference.

S. Lakshmibai Rajwade (Hon. Org. Secy.) said :—

Up to the very last we were expecting some prominent women from Persia like Madame Nour Hamada, Madame Nasik Abed, and others, but they were not able to come the latter owing to illness. We are grateful to our sisters from Burma and Ceylon for taking such keen interest, and assisting in every possible way, in the deliberations of this Conference. I am quite conscious of the many mistakes which we have committed, both of omission and commission ; and the technicalities which we have overlooked, owing to want of experience. Those of us who belong to India and have felt the strain of the All-India Women's Conference through which we have just passed must consider this a great achievement, but personally we feel that our arrangements were not as perfect as we would have liked them to be. It was, however, not only a jumbled formation that we sought to bring about a union of hearts. We wanted not only to chalk out a line of action for tackling our present problems in consultation with our Asian sisters but also to provide for an exchange of views for service for the future.

I take this opportunity of thanking the President of the Lahore Municipality whose courtesy we owe the use of this spacious hall and who was also responsible for giving a magnificent public reception to the delegates on arrival. I must also thank the Kapur Art Printing Works for helping the Conference by printing whatever we required free of cost or at least at a very nominal charge.

I cannot close without thanking our many hosts and hostesses particularly Lady Abdul Quadir and Begum Sahiba Mamdot for their extreme hospitality and Mrs. Bholanath for personally looking after the comfort of the delegates in spite of her indisposition. As for the volunteers both young men and particularly the women, captained by Miss Champa Sawhney—I have nothing but the highest praise. I feel sure you will agree with them that much of the success of the Conference is due to the ready and willing help given by them. I hope the bonds of friendship created by this Conference will become stronger day by day and that God willing we shall meet soon again in the near future to help each other in working out the ideals set before us by this Conference.

Mrs. Shirin Fozdar (President for the 24th) said :—

Before bidding farewell to the assemblage gathered here and to the various delegates at the Conference I wish to thank the people of Lahore and the Reception Committee for their unstinted hospitality extended to us, and for the keen interest they continued to take throughout the proceedings of this Conference.

After that comes my next duty to express our thanks to the various delegates who have attended this Conference and played a great part in sailing the ship of this Conference smoothly and sagely. These delegates have very successfully showed to the world that woman is not incompetent to manage her affairs and of the world ably and with perfect discipline. The grand success that this Conference has achieved is to a very great measure due to the untiring zeal and to the great organizing abilities of our dear Mrs. Cousins and also to our popular and painstaking Secretary Rani Lakshuibai Rajwade of a very charming personality. Before winding up the proceedings of this meeting I should like to impress upon my sister delegates to carry the message of this Conference in terms of the various resolutions passed this day to their respective countries and work energetically, to make the voice of woman heard by the world and her right to live as equal partners in this advancing world admitted by man. I would also lay great stress on the resolution passed this evening about the study of comparative religion to be made compulsory for children. Religious prejudice which is the backbone of all feuds and quarrels could only be wiped out if a child be taught that religion is one, for the fundamental principles of all the religions is one. It is only the non-essential aspect of religion that changes in every cycle according to the needs of time and for which it is degrading for a human being to fight or quarrel with another fellow being. I trust my earnest appeal in this direction to all my sisters would not go in vain.

Our work seems to be finished this evening, but I hope the ladies that are present will be kind enough to always in their prayers just bless the Asian Committee so that they may be able to fulfil their duties in every respect.

Thanking you all once again I stop here.

At the close of this Session, the President of the day, asked Mrs. Cousins, the originator of the idea of the All-Asian Women's Conference, to give away small souvenirs to the delegates and the visitors from foreign countries who had come especially to attend the Conference. These consisted of small coloured khadi bags made by the pupils of the rural school at Dhaka near Delhi, which is organised and conducted by Mrs. Chatterji, and embroidered with Mahatma Gandhiji's famous emblem "The Charkha" in gold and silver threads. The gifts were highly appreciated.

After a hearty vote of thanks to the Chair the Conference dissolved amidst loud cheers and shouts of Bande Mataram.

BALANCE SHEET.

INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
	Rs. a. p.
Rs. a. p.	
Reception Committee Members Fee 2,613 14 0	Pay of Clerk 240 9 6
Donations.. .. . 6,161 7 0	Postage, Registration 246 4 6
From Visitors 330 8 0	Telegrams, etc. 107 3 0
Interest given by the Bank .. 57 4 4	Railway Fare for Delegates .. 819 14 0
	Boarding and Lodging for Delegates 762 5 0
	Photo and Entertainments .. 195 4 0
	Town Hall decoration and expenses on Exhibition 422 6 0
	Printing and Stationery.. .. . 594 0 6
	Conveyance 762 14 6
	Miscellaneous 379 8 5
	Bank's Commission on account of Exchange, etc. 13 10 7
	Balance in hand 508 13 7
	Balance in the Bank 4,110 3 9
Total .. 9,163 1 4	Total .. 9,163 1 4



The Women Volunteers, with Mrs. Cousins and Lakshmibai Rajwade.

APPENDIX A.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

There were a series of entertainments, the most important among which were the grand At Homes given by the University Women, the Municipal Committee of Lahore and the Cosmopolitan Club. The University Women of Lahore were the first to entertain the delegates to the All-Asian Women's Conference. The At Home was held in rooms lent by the authorities of the Queen Mary's College. The guests were received by the President of the College and the rooms presented a gay and colourful scene. There was a continuous flow of intelligent and interesting conversation and those present were delighted to meet women from distant countries. The outstanding feature of the evening was the sense of comradeship and fellowship which appeared at once among the gathering of some 120 women mostly strangers to one another. The party at Queen Mary's was not only all Asian, it was almost International.

Similar scenes were witnessed at the At Home given by the Municipal Committee where the City Fathers had arranged a magnificent reception in honour of the delegates, and to which many distinguished guests including Government Ministers of the Punjab, Zamindars and professional men and women were invited. The delegates thus got an opportunity of meeting the elite of the Punjab. The Cosmopolitan Club also gave an At Home which was equally entertaining. Besides these there were two Purdah parties given by Lady Abdul Quadir and the Begum Sahiba of Mamdot.

The Punjab Orchestral and Dramatic Club of Lahore organised a Concert in honour of the delegates which proved to be one of the most popular items of entertainment, and the Government College Dramatic Club gave a performance of a play in Hindustani which was a translation of Bernard Shaw's famous play "Arms and the Man."

EXHIBITION.

A unique feature of the Asian Women's Conference was an exhibition of articles manufactured in the different countries, which had sent delegates. It is a pity that the Javanese ladies refused to exhibit the articles brought by them, as they were not attending the Conference as delegates, on principle.

Of the two rooms used for the exhibition the smaller one was devoted only to Burma ; the articles displayed here were almost as dainty and pretty,

as the exhibitors themselves. All eyes were attracted immediately to the brave show of the black and gold lacquer ware—boxes in various sizes and shapes ; (from a large “ Pan ” box to a small trinket box with a baby bowl in gold perched on the lid) trays and caskets. There were Shan bags, woven with beautiful coloured silks, parchment parasols, with Burmese scenes painted on them, velvet sandals of different colours, lovely silver bowls and boxes and last but not least, Burmese cigars. These are about a foot in length, and about 2 inches in circumference, and have bits of red and green shining paper wrapped round them. They proved a great attraction and were all sold off. As a proof of the novelty and beauty of the Burmese exhibit, it must be told, how, even as the articles were being arranged, and before the formal opening of the exhibition, more than half the things were bought up and what difficulty there was in getting the buyers to put them back.

In the larger room was glassware from Ambala ; beautiful pieces of silk from Sind ; gorgeous coloured saris from Mysore as well as sandal wood boxes, etc. The earrings and brooches in yellow and green stones were most alluring and so were also the elephant brooches and other ivory articles from Mysore.

Very fine white saris with such pretty borders were exhibits from Gwalior, and also some very dainty china tea sets in blue, orange, black and green. From Gwalior, also came pretty leather pochettes which were sold off very quickly.

The little lady from Japan exhibited a little doll in national costume (which she presented to the President) and various other knick-knacks which she did not sell but gave away as presents.

The Ceylon delegates brought a number of multi-coloured stones for jewellery, mat bags and coconut shell trays as well as small trinkets of tortoise shell. A unique exhibit was a tortoise shell betel-box with gold fittings brought by Lady Bandaranaike ; it was an heirloom in her mother's family and many people must have envied her that wonderful heirloom. Besides all these there were exhibits of khaddar sarees from Myurbhanj, silk laces and borders from Madras, Hyderabad, and various other places.

The enthusiasm displayed over the exhibition was most encouraging. The articles were so quickly disposed off that on the last day there remained only the skeleton of the exhibition to be removed.

May there be many Asian Conferences and many Asian Exhibitions.

APPENDIX B.

“The Position of Women in Asia” being a paper read by MRS. SHIRIN K. FOZDAR of Bombay, A Persian Baha’i Delegate to the All-Asian Women’s Conference held in Lahore (India), January 19th to 25th, 1931.

DEAR SISTERS,

Allow me to thank you for giving me an opportunity to meet my sisters from the different countries of the continent of Asia and also my sisters of India and of the West. It is a pleasure and a privilege of which any woman may well be proud.

I am a Persian by birth and my parents have lived in India now for many years past and I was educated in the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and I am a Baha’i—a faith of which you may read in the little booklet I am presenting you. I married a Parsi (Zoroastrian) who became a Baha’i and I have been working among the Baha’i women in India for some time. I want to tell you how I feel on this question of the emancipation of Asiatic women and my ideas on the subject have been formed in the light of what I have learnt from the words of Baha’o’llah and Abdul Baha.

Lecturing before the Federation of Women’s Clubs in Chicago on the 2nd May, 1912, Abdul Baha gave expression to the following ideas on the Station of Women. He said :

“ One of the great things which was hidden in the realm of existence was the potential capability or capacity of womankind. Through the light of the Sun of Reality in this age of illumination, the light and capacity of womankind has become manifest to the extent that the equality of man and woman is now an established fact. In past ages, woman was wronged and oppressed. Alas ! most especially was this the case in Asia and in Africa and in Australia. In these three continents women were most greatly oppressed ; so much so that in certain parts of Asia, women were not considered as members or parts of humankind. They considered woman as totally inferior.”

Continuing he said :

“ At last this century of light arrived. In this age the realities of things have been exposed. Many mysterious things became revealed, and among them was this very subject. So that outside of Europe and America, even in the Orient to-day it is a well-known fact, if not well practised, that woman is equal to man. There have appeared woman who have been verily the signs of guidance, might and power ! Some have been notable poets. Some philosophic minds, some brave and courageous. Among the brave were those who exhibited their

theory is completely contradicted by history and the facts on the record. Certain women of superlative capacity and determination have appeared in the world, peers of man in intellect and equally courageous. Zenobia was the wife of the Governor-General of Athens. Her husband died and like the Russian Queen Catherine she manifested the highest degree of capability in the administration of public affairs. The Roman Government appointed her to succeed her husband. Afterward she conquered Syria, conducted a successful campaign in Egypt and established a memorable sovereignty. Rome sent an army against her under direction of distinguished commanders. When the two forces met in battle, Zenobia arrayed herself in gorgeous apparel, placed the crown of her kingdom upon her head and rode forth at the head of her army, defeating the Roman legions so completely that they were not able to reorganize. The Emperor of Rome himself took command of the next army of one hundred thousand soldiers and marched into Syria. At the time Rome was in the zenith of greatness and the strongest military power in the world. Zenobia withdrew with her forces to Palmyra and fortified it to withstand a siege. After two years the Roman emperor cut off her supplies and she was forced to surrender.

The Romans returned in triumphal procession and pageant to their own country. They entered Rome in great pomp and splendor, led by African elephants. There were lions, then tigers, bears and monkeys, and after the monkeys Zenobia, bare-footed walking, a chain of gold about her neck and a crown in her hand, dignified, majestic, queenly and courageous notwithstanding her downfall and defeat.

Among other noted women of history was Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, who held her kingdom against the armies of Rome for a long time. Catherine, wife of Peter the Great, displayed courage and military strategy of the very highest order during the war between Russia and Mohammad Pasha. When the cause of Russia seemed hopeless she took her jewels and went before the Turkish victor, presented them to him, and pleading the justice of her country's cause with such convincing skill and diplomacy, that peace was declared.

Victoria, Queen of England, was really superior to all the Kings of Europe in ability, justness and equable administration. During her long and brilliant reign the British Empire was immensely extended and enriched due to her political sagacity, skill and foresight.

The history of religion likewise furnishes eloquent examples of woman's capability under conditions of great difficulty and necessity. The conquest of the Holy Land by the Israelites after forty years' wandering in the desert and wilderness of Judea was accomplished through the strategy and cunning of woman.

After the martyrdom of His Holiness Christ, to whom be glory, the disciples were greatly disturbed and disheartened. Peter had denied Christ and tried to shun him. It was a woman Mary Magdalene who confirmed the wavering disciples in their faith, crying: "Was it the body of Christ or the reality of Christ that ye have seen crucified? Surely, it was His body. His reality is everlasting and eternal, it hath neither beginning nor end. Therefore, why are ye perplexed and discouraged? Christ always spoke of His being crucified. Mary Magdalene was a mere villager, a peasant woman, yet she became the means of consolation and confirmation to the disciples of Christ.

In the Cause of Baha-'u'-llah there have been women who were superior to men in illumination, intellect, divine virtues and devotion to God. Among them was Kurrat-ul-'Ayn. When she spoke she was listened to reverently by the most learned men. They were most respectful in her presence and none dared to contradict her. Among the Baha'i women in Persia to-day there are Rnhala and others who are gifted with knowledge, invincible steadfastness, courage, virtue and power of will. They are superior to men and well-known throughout Persia.

We may now turn our attention to the conditions in Persia—my own country. The Baha'i women have abolished the purdah. They have come out of their zenana and go about without the Burqa. Schools for the education of girls have been started in different cities of Persia. The Baha'is have no faith in Jihad or religious warfare and temporary marriages which were so common among the Persians are not tolerated among the Baha'is. Every Baha'i must be monogamous, and divorce has been made more stringent. In short in my country the movement for the emancipation of women has been greatly accelerated by the teachings of Abdul Baha.

In closing I may again thank you for listening patiently to this paper and I trust I speak on behalf of my Persian sisters as well, when I say, that the movement for emancipating the Eastern women has the full sympathy of the Baha'is all over the world. I pray for the success of the ideals that this great Conference has in view and I fail to express in words the joy I have experienced during the days that I have been privileged to stay in this historic city of Lahore.

APPENDIX C.

TELEGRAMS AND MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.

A Telegram from Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

“ THANKS FOR INVITATION REGRET HEALTH DOES NOT PERMIT ATTENDING WISH CONFERENCE EVERY SUCCESS HOPE IT WILL STIMULATE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS FOR ENLIGHTENMENT AND ADVANCEMENT OF THE WOMEN IN ASIA THEREBY CONFER GREAT BENEFITS ON HUMANITY.

MALAVIYA.”

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

19th December 1930.

THE ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

The British Section of the Women's International League sends warm greetings to the All-Asian Women's Conference.

We realise fully the greatness of this occasion, when for the first time Asian women meet to discuss their common heritage; and the way that heritage can be made available to the rest of the world.

In seeking to develop this spirit of unity between Asian women, we earnestly hope that you will give a new stimulus to unity between Eastern and Western women. In this work the Women's International League has already taken part and is always ready for any further service within its power.

We shall follow your deliberations with deep interest, and await with eagerness the result of your Conference.

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION OF INDIA.

MADAME PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS,

ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

We the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of India which has just closed its session in Calcutta send our greetings. We wish to congratulate you upon the work which you have done on behalf of the womanhood of India. We also wish to assure you of our co-operation

in and loyal support of your work in the uplift of the women of India. We trust that your Conference may be a very successful one and that many more may be added to those who are concerned about the future of our women; Let us not weary of our task for though we do not see all the progress we should like yet we know that by steady work and consistent teaching we shall reach our goal.

We believe that India is entering a new day and the part which women will play in the future of our nation is great. A nation can only progress as far and as fast as the women of that nation advance. India has a contribution to make to the world and we must lead the women to see their share in making it. We must instruct the children that they may be prepared to carry the burdens of leadership in the nation of to-morrow.

Cordially yours,
(*Sd.*) MISS GRACE LEWISON,
(*Recording Secretary.*)

Copy of a Cable from Haifa.

(PROF) PRITAM SINGH CARE (N.R.) VAKIL HAVADIA CHAKLA SURAT CONVEY TO (ALL) INDIA AND (ALL) ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCES (ON) BEHALF (OF) GREATEST HOLY LEAF (ABDULBAHA'S SISTER) (AND) MYSELF THE EXPRESSION (OF) OUR GENUINE (AND) PROFOUND INTEREST IN THEIR DELIBERATIONS MAY ALMIGHTY GUIDE AND BLESS THEIR HIGH ENDEAVOURS.

SHOGHI (EFFENDI).

*A Telegram from Palestine Jewish Women's Equal Rights Association,
Jerusalem.*

"PALESTINE JEWISH WOMEN'S EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION SENDS HEARTY GREETINGS AND WISHES FOR SUCCESS OF CONFERENCE."

A Telegram from Diwan of Travancore, Trivandrum,

"GLAD TO INFORM THAT HER HIGHNESS MAHARANI REGENT OF TRAVANCORE IS PLEASED TO CONTRIBUTE RS. 500 STOP HER HIGHNESS WISHES CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CONFERENCE MESSAGE BEGINS WHILE I REGRET MY PREOCCUPATIONS IN THE STATE PREVENT MY ATTENDING THE INTERESTING AND UNIQUE CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVE LADIES FROM ASIA ABOUT TO MEET IN LAHORE I SEND MY HEARTY GOOD WISHES FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE MATERIALISATION OF THE WHOLESOME IDEALS IT HAS SET BEFORE IT.

DIWAN OF TRAVANCORE."

Telegram from Women's International League, Geneva.

“WOMENS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM SEND GREETINGS TO CONGRESS OF INDIAN WOMEN NOW ASSEMBLED WE UNITE WITH YOU IN SPIRIT AND IN DEEP CONVICTION THAT WE WOMEN CAN FORWARD WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM BASED ON JUSTICE AND TO BE ATTAINED BY NONVIOLENT METHODS.”

A Letter from Prof. Sheshadri.

May I send my best wishes for the success of the All-Asian Women's Conference? There is no chance of our national advancement without the awakening of the women of our land and I have no doubt the first All-Asian Women's Conference will be a landmark in the history of our country. I hope the Conference will be able to find not merely many points of contact among the countries of Asia, but also advance the cause of Indian's womanhood in a very effective manner.

(Sd.) P. SHESHADRI,

President,

*All-India Federation of Teachers' Associations
and*

Secretary, Inter-University Board, India.

*A Letter, dated 12th January 1931, from Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer,
K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Madras.*

I have the greatest pleasure in complying with your request for a message to the All-Asian Women's Conference to be opened at Lahore on the 19th instant. The organisation of such a Conference is a happy idea and is an outcome of the awakening of the East which has been far too long in coming. Asia has been slumbering during the last two centuries and has been insensible to the need for changes called for by modern conditions. Asia has too long stuck to her immemorial traditions and has fallen under the domination, political and intellectual, of Europe. This domination has not been an un-mixed evil; it has roused us to the necessity for adaptation to the new conditions. This century has witnessed the stirring of a new life, a new sense of nationalism and a desire for emancipation throughout Asia. The participation of women in this movement is a bright augury for the future. Changes in social customs are urgently called for to deliver us from the bondage of the past to hasten progress. At the same time, the need for preservation of the best in Oriental culture is equally imperative. Cultural contact has in the

past been too often the result of the clash of arms. But to-day the cultures of Indo-Aryan, Islamic and Chinese civilisation have been brought together in an atmosphere of peace. The association of women in this movement is bound to make for the promotion of friendly co-operation and mutual goodwill among the countries of the East for the reconciliation of patriotism with inter-nationalism and for the peaceful evolution of Asia. It is peculiarly appropriate that this Conference should be held on the eve of the successful conclusion of the Round Table Conference in London which is bound to result in the political emancipation and self-realisation of India. I offer my best wishes for the success of this Conference and hope that it may lead to the close union of the countries of Asia in the bonds of mutual respect, friendship and alliance. I beg to offer also a hearty welcome to the delegates from countries outside India who have undertaken long journeys at considerable personal inconvenience and expense for the sake of the new idea of an Asiatic brotherhood and sisterhood.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

A Telegram from Russia.

V 154/22 Moscow 21 Indo 22nd Censored 20 Sarojini Naidu, Panasiatic Woman Congress, Lahore, India.

“ Three Soviet Woman Delegates elected Congress. Stop. Expecting Visas British Embassy, Moscow.”

“ VOKES.”

Telegrams conveying messages of sympathy and greetings were also received from the following :—

H. H. Rani Sahiba of Sangli.

Sir M. V. Joshi.

Nepalese Darjeeling Ladies' Association.

Mr. Ramnath Sharma, President, Arya Samaj, Gwalior.

Mr. C. M. Tambe, Gwalior.

Mr. Whittane, Adyar, Madras.

Mr. N. R. Vakil, President, National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of India and Burma.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Bombay.

Miss S. Sorabji, Poona.

G. K. Devdhar, Esq., President, Servants of India Society.

APPENDIX D.

 IMPORTANT LETTERS FROM SOME OF THE ASIAN
 COUNTRIES INCLUDING INDIA.

BSEROUH, *May 20th, 1930.*

DEAR SISTER,

It is with the greatest interest that we have received your call to an All-Asian Conference of Women which you are about to hold in January 1931. We greatly esteem this enterprise, but are sorry to say owing to the fact that our federation being yet in its infancy, we do not find ourselves ready at present to join you, but shall be glad and obliged for the final report of the Conference.

We earnestly hope that you will be successful in the social work which you are undertaking and in our efforts for the true progress of Asia. With every good wish for a prosperous Conference.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) MRS. T. S. DAOUD,

Federation Secretary of the Labans-Syrian.

To

RANI LAKSHMIBAI G. RAJWADE.

DEAR MADAM,

Your esteemed letter of the 14th June last and the printed communication of my worthy sisters, which meant a happy message as regards fundamental reforms and union of the women of the East, reached me duly and was read with great pleasure and regard, inasmuch as it proved a source of great hopefulness in connection with the salvation and happiness of the women of different eastern nation because of our sisters having been endowed with such concern and enthusiasm. It is quite natural that eastern women have been long since in need of such union and combination, and as your dear sisters have succeeded in convening an important International Conference of the Women of the East. I and the members of the Persian Women's Society, tender you our most cordial congratulations and supplicate the Almighty to grant you all success. As to your invitation to participate in this Conference in due capacity, I feel deeply thankful to you, but, unfortunately for me, the last Great War having caused my family great harm

and distress, I am constrained to attend to my family affairs and am, therefore, unable to avail myself of this honour and privilege. However, I will do my best to see the Persian delegate attend the Conference in 1931, and in case it be not possible, I trust a representative of ours will surely attend it in the future.

Though His Imperial Majesty the Shah has granted us the permission to go about unveiled and Persian women can accompany their husbands to theatres and cinemas, as well as to balls and like gatherings, it is a matter of great regret that I have to record here the fact of all lack of concern displayed by Persian women regarding domestic reforms, despite their ardour to imitate the latest Paris fashions, and, it is therefore, that they are not particular about either social or civil rights and privileges of their own. It is only owing to the rare activity, energy and best endeavours of a very small number of our women in the country, that the attention of different associations in Europe and Asia, has been drawn towards us, and had it not been for the strong power of endurance and resistance as displayed by the members of our society here, in connection with the promotion of our avowed aims and objects, we could hardly have witnessed the relations now being established with the outside world, and I earnestly hope that all our ills and misfortunes will be well surmounted and obviated through the help and co-operation of our sisters so deeply concerned in the welfare of our sex.

I trust you are well aware of the fact of a Conference of eastern women having been convened at Damascus in Syria, under the Presidency of Noori Khanoom Hamadeh Beg, this year, when delegates from Persia, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Palestine, Iraq and India were present, and we were represented by Kodsieh Khanoom Ashraf, who is busy prosecuting higher studies at Beyrout. The said conference has proved to us that so long as we Muslim women fail to own human rights and privileges, we shall never succeed in having our way to the path of progress and advancement and no salvation concerning our actual thralldom is possible. We were, therefore, compelled to unfold all ugly facts as to our domestic organization and begged of the conference to pass resolutions with reference to the following questions:

- (1) The determination of the marriageable age of girls to 16, and not under.
- (2) The abolition of polygamy.
- (3) Fundamental modification in the law of divorce, with the view of protecting the rights of women and their issues, on lines in vogue in advanced countries of Europe and America, and we urged the submission of these demands to the government of different countries as were represented at the said conference, in shape of a general circular, and I wrote a due article, in this connection, on the subject of "temporary wives" and had it published in the *Shafek-e-Sorkh*, a well-known local journal. You will be surprised to learn that none could till now venture to discuss these

subjects in public, and though I sought the help and co-operation of ladies and gentlemen in these matters, none has still now expressed himself or herself in agreement with me. Anyhow, no definite resolution in connection with these three questions could be passed at this Conference.

As to other eastern societies and associations, I would suggest you to write to Noori Khanoom Hemadeh Beg, as she had issued invitations to different eastern countries and she possesses full information regarding them. As well, Kodsieh Khanoom Ashraf will give you considerable information, on your writing her on the subject. Mr. Zabiollah Khan Korban, who studies medicine in Beyrout, being keenly interested in the question of the emancipation of woman. This gentleman would convey your letters to Noori Khanoom Hemadeh Beg and Kodsieh Khanoom Ashraf, if you be pleased to have due information.

As to the women of Turkestan, I have no definite news about them since the Bolshevik regime. Before the Bolshevik upheaval, women in Trans-Caucasia had organizations of their own, and those of Kazan were remarkable. Most of the educated Kazan women and girls I came across had sane and enlightened ideas. The following are the names of Persian women who have served the cause of woman in Persia.

The two sisters Kookeb Khanoom and Keshwar Khanoom of Syed Hossein Adalet were the first to found and conduct a girls' school in Tabriz 25 years ago. It was then that Syed Hossein Adalet contributed an able article on the rights of woman in his journal and had to suffer two years' imprisonment and subsequent deportation from Tabriz. His present address is, Aghæ Syed Hossein Khan Adalet, Meshad, Mrs. Shanaz Khanoom Azad had to suffer deportation with her husband for her advocacy of woman's cause. Khanoom Fakhre Afak, the editoress of the monthly *Women's World* suffered deportation for a long time. Homa Khanoom Mahmoodi, poetess serves this cause long since. Hajer Khanoom Mahmoodi poetess serves this cause long since. Hajer Khanoom Tarbiyet, Tabriz, address Tabriz. Roshenek Khanoom, editoress, Paike Saadet (*Messenger of Happiness*), Resht. Khanoom Shamsi, Tabriz. Khanoom Jemali lives the life of a prisoner in her husband's house. Mrs. Ardeshirji Edurlji, Persian Zoroastrian lady. All the American ladies connected with American Mission Schools, particularly Mrs. Boyde, who has been working nobly long since. There are members of our society here, whose addresses would be supplied to you whenever needed. I have had your circular letter published in the local press, and especially in the *Shafek-e-Sorkh*.

I very much regret my inability to have not replied to your letter before this owing to ill health and hence my apology.

I and all the members of our society shall feel highly honoured and gratified to be in touch with you and to have the pleasure of receiving your communications, and whilst tendering our best and most sincere regards and respects to you, unitedly acclaim with no ordinary gratification " Long live our Union of the Women of Asia."

With my best and most sincere regards.

I beg to remain,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) MASTOOR-E-AFSHAR,

President of the Society of the Patriotic Women of Persia.

COUNCIL OF POST-GRATUADE TEACHING ARTS,

ASUTOSH BUILDING,

CALCUTTA.

Department of Philosophy.

DEAR MRS. COUSINS,

May I offer my cordial greetings to and good wishes for the success of the first All-Asian Women's Conference which is to meet in Lahore on the 18th instant. I hope the Conference will realise that the blessings of the scientific spirit and social idealism of the West with the cultural life and religious values of the East can be best achieved by the women of Asia. It is not enough to live, fight and enjoy ; it is also necessary to love, suffer and understand. While it is the duty of the women to rescue the coming generation from the evils of mediævalism, ignorance and superstition, it is also their responsibility to maintain the great spiritual heritage of which they are the bearers. I wish the Conference every success.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Translation.

From PAGODA NARIVONG,

SATI BUDDHA YAN DISTRICT,

BANGPHAI, NONTABURI.

17th October Buddha Era 2473 (1930) ?

HOMAGES TO THE REVEREND MOTHER, RANI LAKSHMIBAI RAJ DEVI.

I came across on the 14th October of this year an invitation of yours, inviting ladies of Siam to attend a meeting of Asiatic Women to discuss upon five matters of interest : (these five items are not understood by the translator).

We, in Siam, understand the requirements and object of this meeting, which should be represented by all the nations of the world. But we are afraid that the views of each nation will be different. The principal difference being our religions.

My sisters are of the opinion that Buddhism will bring wealth and prosperity to all nations. We, therefore, entered this pagoda, and are under the instructions of Somdet Phra Somma Sam Buddha in order that it may serve as an example to other Buddhists to make a study of the emancipation of women.

In this meeting we would suggest to your reverence that the question of Buddhism be entertained, because our sisters of various nationalities are not of the same religion : the real cordiality would not therefore exist between us, as each one thinks that her religion is the right one, and that the religion of the other is the wrong one.

In one word, it is impossible to find out which is the right one and which is the wrong one. This will cause endless disagreements between all of us sisters of the world.

For these reasons your sisters in Siam deem it necessary to also discuss this matter of religion, being an auspicious occasion of this meeting.

The enquiry will give vent to that the religion of your sisters in Siam is *of great interest, and bringing peace* and prosperity to those who practise it, and it does not interfere or cause unhappiness amongst those who are of a different belief.

If this could be established, everyone of your sisters will embrace Buddhism which will bring friendship and love amongst us, and will lighten same that exists already. After which, an understanding can be made between us, in order to invite people of other countries to come and meet again, in order that they may be convinced to observe together the religion.

Once unity of religion is made between us all, all our differences of views will come to an end. A great friendship and amity will exist between us all, and we shall consider ourselves to be children of the same father and mother.

I shall be grateful to your reverence to kindly order that the main object of this meeting should be the question of unity of religion, and if you would condescend to hold the meeting in this view, kindly inform me at once, and let me know the date, in order that we may get ready for the meeting.

With best respects.

SAM NIVI RAKSHRI,

Aged 17.

A letter dated 8th August 1930 from the Nepali Ladies' Association, Calcutta, to Rani Lakshmbai G. Rajwade, C/o Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras.

DEAR MADAM,

We are in due receipt of your kind letter of the 23rd June last and are all indebted to you for the kind interest shown in our new organizations representing all sections of the ladies of Nepal.

In response, we placed the kind letter of yours before a meeting of the Nepalese Ladies' Association held in the Buddhist Hall at Kalimpong on the 3rd July last when the following resolution was passed :—

That the note (including the printed circular) written by Mrs. M. E. Cousins on behalf of the Secretary to the All-Asian Women's Conference was read before the assembly ;

That the Joint Secretary be called upon to reply to the same ;

That arrangements should be made to send as many delegates as possible to the Conference to be held at Lahore in January next ; and

That in case of emergency messages and resolutions should be sent.

We have at present intended to send at least three delegates to the Conference. Much depends on the occasion just preceding the Conference. We shall do our best to send representatives, resolutions and messages. In this respect we will be greatly obliged if you will kindly let us know in detail about the travelling and other facilities for the delegates.

As desired in your kind note, *we will call upon the prominent ladies of Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan to do their best* and send the quota of delegates. We will inform you of any opinion expressed by them. It would be much better if you would correspond direct with the wife of the Sikkim Raja.

We have also the pleasure to inform you that the Buddhist Ladies' Conference will hold its first session in Darjeeling in April 1931. Although the Conference is intended to unite, and bring about mutual co-operation amongst the Buddhist ladies of India and Burma, and to promote the knowledge of Buddhist culture amongst them, you are cordially invited to join the Conference as representatives or invited Reception Committee members.

We would like to further suggest that the Asian women should be called upon to send their exhibits so that the industrial progress made by them be made known to one another. This will create a better understanding of one another. Our members will be glad to send their exhibits.

Thanking you and wishing you every success in your noble endeavour.

We remain,

Yours cordially,

(Sd.) SURJAMUTI PRADHAN,

Joint Secretary,

Nepalese Ladies' Association for India.

Office :—

BUDDHIST INSTITUTE HALL,

KALIMPONG, D. H. RY.

P.S.—*Please send your reply C/o Rev. D. A. Dharmacharyya, Managing Editor, Buddhist India Office, 162, Harrison Road, Calcutta.*

BANDUNG, *September 15th, 1930.*

DEAR SISTER RANI LAKSHMIBAI RAJWADE,

In response to your call to bring together our scattered communities and our oriental cultures for the service of Asia and the world, we must confess that there rises not only a warm response of welcome in us, but it also seems a result of our own desires.

We, women of Indonesia, should like to meet our Asian sisters so much, so that we may get more insight in the women movements.

So, we are endeavouring to associate our women unities, perhaps, that we can give the opportunity to some women to attend your conference in the future. In the month of August we received your previous publications in Bulletin No. 1 of July 1930. We thank you so much for that, because we are longing for some information about the Conference.

We have elected some women to be delegates of our Women Association, and they will represent the women of Indonesia. But, we cannot say with

sureness if they will be with you, because their coming depends on the financial position of our groups and so many other circumstances, you see.

Will you be so kind as to hold a place for two delegates in reserve, if possible? We hope that we shall succeed in serving our land, Asia in the world.

If it is impossible for us to attend the Conference in spite of our preparations, you may feel assured, of our enthusiasm for the All-Asiatic Women's Conference. We shall help you with our thoughts and we hope that the Conference will be a success.

So, if we can meet our sisters this time, we shall meet each other next time. Will you propose to have an All-Asiatic Women Conference each year?

If we have success with our women movements we wanted to ask you to hold the Conference in Indonesia another time.

With warm sympathy and kind regards,

In response to your request to send in a vote for one of the women as President of the Conference we communicate to you that we vote for Madame Sarojini Naidu.

A letter from Madame Nasib Abed Beyhum of Beyrouth, Syria.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter in which you tell me that you candidate me for the president office of All-Asian Women's Conference. I greatly appreciate your good ideas of me and I thank you and your commands for your confidence. Much thanks also for your kindness in insisting on my coming at any rate to be present in your confidence.

I esteem very highly your great work in trying to make all women of Asia meet in one place, I can understand the difficulty in this work, as much as I know well how much it will give a good result to women, East and to the whole humanity.

I am very eager to expect your invitation and come with my husband to join you in this great work. I hope the appointed time for the meeting will suit and will not be deprived of this precious opportunity.

I wish you from now great success and offer to you my all great respect.

Beyrouth, 19th September 1930.

NASIB ABED BEYHUM.

M. J. BEYHUM.

A letter from Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

SUNDAY,
2nd March, 1930.

DEAR MRS. COUSINS,

I have read your letter with deep interest and I hasten to tell you that I am entirely in sympathy with the movement which you propose to inaugurate.

The consolidation of the cultural consciousness of the Orient is the preliminary step for the enrichment of world culture and as women are the fundamental custodians of the cultural life it will be most valuable for them to meet and strengthen their understanding of the gifts that Asia has to offer to the world.

Wishing your movement the success it richly deserves.

Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

VARADIS PALACE,
BANGKOK, SIAM,
23rd December, 1930

MRS. MARGARET E. COUSINS,
PROVISIONAL SECRETARY,
RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

MADAM,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter, dated 15th November 1930. In reply I am directed by His Royal Highness Prince Damrong to inform you that he is glad to hear of this union of Asian women, but owing to the short time at his disposal he regrets not being able to find Siamese ladies who could profitably be sent to represent Siam at this All-Asian Women's Conference as desired.

I remain, Madam,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) KHUN DEB PARNADARA,

Secretary.

JAPAN WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

DEAR MRS. COUSINS,

Every time we receive your kind and most urgent invitation to All-Asian Women's Conference we feel ashamed that we cannot send any encouraging news to you.

Japan Women's Committee for International Relations has made every effort to choose at least one or two suitable delegates to the Conference, but those whom we consider desirable are unable to go because of their work here in Japan. We approached, though informally, one of the most important newspapers in Tokyo, but our effort was in vain. I am afraid we have to say that we shall not be able to send any official delegate to the Conference this year.

We think it would be fine if Mrs. Kano of Calcutta attend the Conference, perhaps as a hearer. I suppose Miss Yamamoto of Y. W. C. A. has already written to Mrs. Kano about it.

Our Committee is planning to send a message to the Conference. We are praying for the grand success of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

(Sd.) (Miss) TAKI FUJITA.

JAPAN COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

DEAR MADAME,

The letters concerning an All-Asian Conference of Women to be held in India in January 1931 were forwarded to Japan Women's Committee for International relations by Miss Jodai, Miss Ichikawa and Miss Fujita.

The Committee is very happy and grateful to the women of India for taking initiative in this matter. It is really the time when we, the women of Asia, should make a determined effort to understand one another and work together. The Committee, however, likes to know more of the details of the Conference programme before deciding anything about delegation. Please send to the Committee full information. What countries in Asia

did already decide to take part in the Conference. The newspapers in Japan tell of the arrest of Madame Naidu. Is it true? Does it bring about any change on the programme of the Conference? The Committee is very anxious to know more details.

Very sincerely yours,

TAKI FUJITA,

(*Corresponding Secretary*).

(5)

SOCIETE DES NATIONS.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS, GENEVA.

May 17th, 1930.

DEAR MRS. COUSINS,

Thank you so much for your very kind letter of the 18th April. I am extremely interested to read your "Preliminary Call to India only" and to study the plans which are being made for an All-Asian Conference for Women. Do please keep me in touch with the arrangements.

I wish I could continue in the Orient long enough to become a visitor myself to the Asian Conference, but I fear I am having to come back straight from Honolulu in view of the masses of work which devolve on the Social Section, which is expanding very rapidly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

DAME RACHEL E. CROWDY P. F.,

Chief of the Social Questions and Opium Traffic Section.

Extract from a letter, dated 15th December 1930, received from Palestine Jewish Women, Equal Rights Association, Jerusalem.

How glad would I be had it been possible for me to attend the Pan-Asian Conference of Women. Ill health brought me here on advice of my physicians and keeps me here for the present. As an old worker for the liberation of woman, I am deeply convinced that this liberation will be the basis of the liberation of the human race from war and strife, political or religious. Your Conference is a big step ahead in the right direction.

I hope that Mrs. Mohl who is a member of our society will attend the Conference and bring you our greetings in person. I know Miss Flaum but do not know where she is at present.

To Mrs. Sarojini Naidu my special greetings. I had the honour to meet her in New York and in Berlin. Her wisdom, her brilliant oratory, her patient patriotism, her conception of human duties must make any woman in Asia or any other continent proud of her and anxious to follow in her footsteps.

Let me again express deep regret at not being able to be with you and let me wish the first All-Asian Conference the greatest success.

I hope I may get your reports—kindly let me know to whom to apply.

Perhaps good fortune will make me meet you soon. Geneva is somehow now the centre of the world.

(Sd.) DR. ROSA WELT STRAUS.

RAS-EL-NABA, BEYROUTH, SYRIA.

6th November 1930.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I wrote you last week and told you all about the general Oriental Congress which took place in Damascus, and how it resolved to have the highest council for the Alliance, and so it was. You were appointed to be the first Vice-President to this council and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu the Counsellor and Mrs. Sharifa Hamid Ali (Bombay) a member. I have asked you to delay the Indian Congress till next year and to join the Asian Alliance with ours and make them both in one. Later I knew that the Indian Congress should be held in January, the 2nd, and is not general Oriental but Asian only. Any where it mattered not if it stays separately because it is no more than an Asian Alliance. We hope that it follows our highest council for ours is elder and wider as it braced through Asia, Austria, Eastern Europe, and Africa. I suggest that this Asian Congress should have an always commission with Mme. Sarojini Naidu a President on its head who should be also a president of the congress. Although she is in prison she might write a word for the opening day and ask her Vice-President (who should be also from India) to recite it instead of her.

It is the business of the Vice-President to offer the speakers the first day. The ladies who are not from India will have the chair the coming days. I read a newspaper which says that Indian ladies invite every lady who is apt to take the chair the opening day, but I am sure that it is quite wrong. They are calling to this congress and they must be its head. It is not of others right. However, *the President must be from India.*

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) NOUR HAMADA.