

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AFTER the continued advance of the Allies for the last few days, there appear to be chances of a period of marking time. The enemy has resorted to trench warfare by taking refuge in his old positions and deciding to be on the defensive. It is therefore, satisfactory to note that the ground occupied by the Allies will not have to be fought for, but will continue to be in their occupation. The reverse on the Western front has led to meetings and deliberations at the enemy headquarters. The report is that they have reference to the solution of the Polish problem, the arrangements for better co-operation between the Central Powers and perhaps a change in the supreme command.

THE news from other theatres is interesting. General Marshall's forces have crossed Persia to the Caspian Sea, and even reached Baku on the other side. This gives the Allies an important supply of oil which is so much needed and it may so act as a check upon the Turkish activities in that region.

THE Arctic region promises to develop considerable activity. The Allies have landed forces in Archangel, while the Germans are advancing to the north through Finland so that they may establish a submarine base in the north. If these projects materialise in any substantial measure we may expect these regions, which are snowbound for a part of the year, to be equally inaccessible and useless for either peaceful or naval communication on account of the dangers of the torpedo and the submarine.

MR. GANDHI characterises the resolution on reciprocity passed by the Imperial War Conference as the merest eye-wash, indicating no change of heart in the colonies. The manifold grievances of Indians settled in the dominions are left unredressed:

“The difficulty of obtaining licenses throughout South Africa, the prohibition to hold landed property in the Transvaal and the Free State, and virtual prohibition, within the Union itself, of the entry of Indians into the Free State, the prohibition of Indian children to enter the ordinary Government schools, deprivation of municipal franchise in the Transvaal and the Free State, and practical deprivation of the Union franchise throughout South Africa, barring perhaps the Cape.”

The only improvement in this connexion is that as South Africa admits one lawful wife, with her minor children, of any domiciled Indian, so will hereafter other colonies, including Canada where the absence of such a provision has caused such bitter discontent among Indians in the past, and Mr. Gandhi regards the extension of this privilege to Canada and Australia “a decided gain.” Mr. Gandhi, however, suggests that while the colonies may insist upon the rule of monogamy, administratively they ought to allow the admission of plural wives and their progeny.

AS regards immigration for purposes of labour or permanent settlement, the reciprocal arrangements promised in the resolution will not be of much practical advantage. In the first place, this reciprocity is of a restricted character, the attitude of India towards the colonies being determined by that of the colonies towards India. “If a dominion is determined to exclude these two classes of immigration from India, India should be free to do the same as regards that dominion.” And, in the next place, this will not amount to much of protection to Indians in practice. As Mr. Gandhi says, it is like a giant telling a dwarf that the latter is free to give blow for blow, and, he concludes, we are bound to remain in the present helpless condition “so long as India remains both in name and substance a dependency.”

THE campaign initiated by some local Governments against the Press is in full swing. The Punjab Government has added the *Commonweal* to the numerous journals which it has so far banned. In Sind several respectable journals are taboo to registered libraries, and such libraries in the Bombay Presidency are forbidden to subscribe even to the *Hindu*. When will this senseless policy be dropped?

### THE CONFERENCE OF MODERATES.

MANY men of 'moderate' political views in the country have decided to hold a separate Conference of their own to support the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals of reform and suggest modifications in them. This step has in their judgment become inevitable owing to the virulence with which they have been attacked in the 'nationalist' press and by the leaders of the 'nationalist' party. Little room is now left to doubt that the special Congress will pass resolutions expressing disappointment and dissatisfaction, and requiring modifications so drastic that they will amount to an abandonment of the official scheme and its partial supersession by the Congress-League scheme. Some talk there is here and there of a possibility of common understanding between the two parties if their leaders could be made to come together for a calm discussion round a table. Such a meeting, however, is not probable. In forming an idea of what will happen at the special Congress, one can only go upon published writings, speeches, and manifestoes and resolutions of provincial conferences. Without going into details which are easily available, these materials establish on the part of the 'nationalist' politicians a general dislike of the scheme amounting in some cases to hostility, a disposition to pay small heed to the requirements of the Imperial Cabinet's declaration of last August, if not to question it expressly, and a desire under the guise of modification, to revive the Congress-League scheme and even to go beyond it. Now, a plain and express attempt to get the Congress-League scheme substituted for the official scheme is intelligible, though to us it seems a vain and profitless endeavour and an exercise in unpractical politics; but to profess that you do not reject Mr. Montagu's scheme, while you empty it of its characteristic features and fill it with those of the C.-L. scheme is only a camouflage. It takes some hardihood to assert in such conditions that there is not much difference between the 'moderates' and the 'nationalists,' and that it is easy by a little give and take on both sides to arrive at a compromise and present a united front to the British Government. The moderate party have a real fear that the reforms may be wrecked before or during their passage through Parliament unless they receive strong and weighty support in India; they feel it their duty to furnish such support. At the same time they are keen on obtaining some improvements in the scheme and believe that suggestions in that behalf have a better chance, coming from friends than from unsparing critics. It would be a wonder indeed, if the modifications desired by the different parties had not some common features. But it is too much to build on this circumstance any hope of a rapprochement. For one thing, the interval before the Congress is too short. But the main difficulty is caused by the acute differences that have marked recent political affairs and are now coming to a head. A morbid pessimism has seized hold of large

sections of the politically minded class; they see all things distorted and clothed in sombre colours; they cannot see good in anything and refuse to be comforted. The proposals embodied in the official scheme are in some cases novel, in some cases involved, and in some cases questionable. This is only to be expected in a scheme of vast proportions and would not in ordinary times obscure their general beneficence and liberality as it unfortunately does now. We grieve to have to add that a just and impartial understanding of the scheme, difficult as it would have been under any conditions, has been rendered almost impossible by the action of certain leaders who, instead of restraining the excesses and correcting the prejudices of their followers, actually outdid them. Some of them are now discovering their mistake, but it is more than doubtful whether they can undo the mischief.

Recognising that they are few in number and can make no impression on the proceedings of the Congress, the moderate party feel that they can do their duty by the country at this juncture only by meeting separately and recording their views on the reforms unfettered. This does look like a running away, a desertion of one's post, a confession of defeat before the battle is joined. We confess to a feeling that the simpler and more natural course would be to go into Congress, struggle hard for our views and if defeated set up a camp of our own. Loyalty to a national institution and the democratic spirit alike point to such a course. But is it wise strategy? Will it help achieve the great end in view, viz., the saving of the reform scheme from shipwreck? This is a question not of conscience but of judgment, on which the counsel of experienced leaders should be allowed to prevail. They ask, would not the democratic spirit which requires your going into the Congress, require also, if stretched further, that you should acquiesce with patience in the defeat that awaits you? If, however, heedless of the promptings of this spirit, you thought of holding a gathering of your own, would you not find that the energies of your party had been wasted, that their *morale* had suffered and that it would be difficult to assemble them together again in their full strength? Can we afford to take such risks? Once we recognise that a separate meeting of moderates is inevitable, the wise course appears to our leaders to be to set about the task at once and not to seek a preliminary encounter with the other party, the result of which is a foregone conclusion.

It is true a few of these leaders shrink from the hostile demonstrations which the exponents of unpopular views have to face from excited audiences, but there are others, who from love of fight or sense of duty will not mind the hisses and taunts that an expression of honest convictions may bring upon them, however much they might wish the gatherings of Indians should show a finer and more chivalrous regard than

meetings of westerners for the feelings of those who come forward out of public spirit to share their thoughts with them. It would not therefore be just to bring a charge of lack of courage against the leaders. Nor would it be true to attribute to them a desire to impose their will on the majority. It has often been said that it is inordinate pride that turns away leaders from meetings which they cannot dominate. It is not charitable to put a harsh construction on an act which admits of a favourable and natural explanation. We have stated the motive that underlies the decision of the moderate leaders to have their own Conference. They would be to blame if going with their followers into the Congress they quarrelled, obstructed proceedings, and attempted to bring about a fiasco.

We must also raise our voice of protest against the exaggerated significance that certain critics put upon the suggestion that the moderate party should abstain from attending this Congress. They call it a secession, a breaking up, a dismemberment. It is not every subject that rises to the importance of a scheme of responsible government. On ordinary topics a minority would not mind effacing itself. It is the supreme necessity of our voices being heard in support of the reforms that compels us to erect a temporary platform for ourselves. We do not cease to be Congressmen, because we fail to attend one sitting of the national assembly. Such a consequence would be to some of us an intolerable calamity. We harbour no disloyal sentiment against the Indian National Congress and cannot bear the thought of being excluded from it.

### THE CHOICE OF THE S. I. S.

THE Rubicon is crossed. The Council of the Servants of India Society has decided that its members and permanent assistants should abstain from the special session of the Congress at the end of this month and join the Conference of moderates announced by Sir Dinsha Wacha and others. The decision has been come to after a good deal of anxious consultation. Neither the large controversy over the reforms question which now divides the country, nor the idea of a separate Conference which is the immediate cause of the present cleavage is of the Society's making. Its members are drawn by circumstances beyond their control into an affair of national importance and must bear the consequences, whatever they be. It is a case of dire conflict of duties. Whether the Council has chosen the right or the wrong course time will show.

We have been accused of giving to party what was meant for country. We demur. If the 'moderate' party withdraw from the National Congress only the 'nationalist' party is left in that organisation. Whichever side the Society took, it would only belong to a party. Neither party could call itself the country, though each might claim that it understood and served the country's interests better than the other. Mr. Gokhale was a mode-

rate. (He disliked the name, so do we.) Circumspection, balance, a sense of ordered progress—these were the admired qualities of his statesmanship. His followers must belong to the party which stands for these ideas. Left to themselves, they would have preferred to join the special Congress in the usual course and bear such witness to their convictions as they could. But on this occasion, when the supreme interests of the nation are involved, they feel constrained by the discipline of the 'moderate' party and desist from following a line which experienced leaders like Babu Surendranath Banerjea and Sir Dinsha Wacha consider imprudent and likely to weaken their forces, which are not overstrong. A favourite maxim of Mr. Gokhale was that in matters of judgment followers must be ready to defer to their leaders, while in those of conscience there could be no question of yielding at all. We obey this good rule and deny ourselves the liberty which on smaller occasions we may take of following our own inclination. We know to our sorrow that this action divides us for the moment from many valued friends and tried associates in Madras and one illustrious and adorable figure in the United Provinces. They are right to choose the side which offers them the best chance of realising their convictions on the question of reforms. We choose our side with a similar object. Our convictions are shared by a minority among the educated classes. How can we help it? We have to face much unpopularity. We will endure it as best we may, submitting to it as a chastening sent from on high for our improvement.

### THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN ENGLAND.

IN view of a proposal in the reforms report to establish a Privy Council for India, it would be well to pass under review the history of the Privy Council in England. There this body has passed through all the stages of development and decay such as are incident to all human institutions. When the Heptarchy became monarchy the 'functions of general counsel,' which till then belonged to the Councils of the Kingdoms, were handed on to the Witanagemot or Assembly of the Wise. Though every freeman had the right to attend and vote in this national assembly, its membership was as a matter of fact, limited to the chief men of the shires and members of the royal household. It enjoyed enormous powers and was in fact the Supreme Court of the realm. But as the King grew in power and influence, it became merely a formal body.

The Norman conquest greatly changed the character of this assembly. 'Tenure by barony' came to be recognised as the only valid title to membership and this led to the exclusion of the old national element. Every landowner was entitled to a seat in this Council; but in practice only the greater barons and churchmen attended. The chief officers of the Court and the State were also mem-

bers of this *Magnum* or *Commune Concilium*. Being within easy reach of the King, these formed a small 'inner circle.' It was natural that they should be consulted and that their advice, given "in their collective capacity as a smaller Council, should carry with it weight of their connection with the more authoritative Great Council." It wielded very large powers and exercised them continuously. "Its work was to counsel and assist the King in the execution of every power of the Crown which was not exercised through the machinery of the common law." (Stubbs, vol. III., p. 252.) Its duties were to advise the King in matters of legislation and administration, and generally to execute the royal will. "The King could do nearly every act in his Permanent Council of great men which he could perform when surrounded by a larger number of his nobles, except impose taxes on those nobles themselves." (Dicey, *The Privy Council*, p. 2). As the work of government increased and became complicated such "a blend of advisory, executive and judicial powers" could not last long. Moreover, it had by the time of Henry VI become too large and unwieldy for 'purposes of private advice and resolution.' To transact business quickly and efficiently, he selected a few men from the ordinary councillors, and these constituted his Privy Council. They were bound to him by 'special oaths of fidelity and secrecy.'

From that time the Privy Council became the chief governing body. Though relieved of 'financial detail and the bulk of its judicial work' by the establishment of the Exchequer and the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, it still arrogated to itself the judicial prerogatives of the Permanent Council. In the 15th century, the King in Council issued ordinances which had the force of law. The interference by the Council with the legislative form of petitions sent up by the House of Commons, was a source of continual annoyance and irritation and was strongly resented.

By the end of the 15th century, the Privy Council had become a body definitely distinct from Parliament as well as the courts of law. In the words of Maitland, its function was "to advise the King upon every exercise of the royal power." "Every sort of ordinance, license, pardon that the King can issue is brought before the Council. Sometimes Parliament trusts it with extraordinary powers of legislation and taxation, to raise loans and the like. It is to the advice of the Council that the King looks in all his financial difficulties." Its powers varied with the character of the King. Under a weak monarch, it had its own way, whereas a strong ruler made it carry out his will.

The Tudor period was the period of Council government. During this period the Crown strained its prerogative to the utmost. During the reign of Henry VIII, the King in Council, had concurrent power of legislation with Parliament. This Council in its turn became unwieldy and at last too large

for consultative purposes. Slowly it was stripped of its powers and was rendered practically impotent. The 'Cabinet' gradually deprived it of its executive and consultative authority. By the time of the Restoration, its judicial powers had been effectively checked. The attempts of Clarendon and Sir William Temple to restore it to its original place proved a complete failure and it was completely overshadowed by the Cabinet.

"All that remains to it of the dignity of its ancient place in the constitution, is of a merely formal and ceremonial nature. Certain acts of the prerogative which are advised by the Cabinet require to be done in council and their performance is directed by order issued by the sovereign at a meeting of the Privy Council, specially convened for the purpose." (Traill, *The Central Government*.) The whole Council is rarely summoned. Generally only those councillors who are concerned with the orders issued are present. The sovereign convenes the meeting and presides over it. He cannot constitutionally preside at a meeting of the Cabinet.

The Privy Council consists of a large number of eminent persons. But the true Privy Council is the Cabinet and the membership of those outside it is titular only. Only by virtue of their membership of the Council, the ministers possess the right to advise the Crown and exercise executive power. They cannot act as advisers of the Crown unless they are all 'sworn into the membership' of this body. The Council itself takes no part whatever in the duty of giving advice. Nor does it hold itself responsible for the advice given by the Cabinet ministers. Gradually the 'custom of rewarding political supporters' with the membership of the Council is growing. The appointment is informal and lasts for the life of the sovereign and six months after, though the new sovereign generally renews the appointment.

At present the work of the Council is both administrative and judicial. The administrative work is always done through committees, which have of late been reduced to State departments presided over by ministers responsible to Parliament. Deriving its power from the statutory authority of the Parliament, it acts as a subordinate legislature by issuing orders in Council in regard to matters of detail connected with a measure passed by the Parliament. Such orders have the full force of law. Now and then the Council refers particular matters to committees and its recommendations, if acceptable, are enforced by order in council.

There is a Judicial Committee of the Council which hears appeals from the courts of India and the colonies. Their judgment is given by motion in the form of advice to the Crown. All the members of the Council holding or having held the office of the Lord President or Lord Chancellor or certain high offices enumerated in the act form its *personnel*. All the lords of appeal in ordinary are members

of this committee. Like the Cabinet, outwardly the committee is unanimous.

The membership of the Irish Council is titular, as in England. The colonies have no Privy Council. In France, before the Revolution, the king had a Council. Formerly Privy Councils existed in Germany and the ministries of the 17th century were originally committees of these Councils. In some of the German States, this institution still survives under various names.

R. S. R.

### LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION OF MAY 1918.

#### I.

FOLLOWING close upon the pronouncement made by the Secretary of State for India on 20th August last, H. E. the Viceroy in his speech of 5th September in the Imperial Legislative Council explained that there were three roads along which an advance should be made towards the goal indicated in the said pronouncement and further remarked that the first road was in the domain of local self-government. In the present resolution, therefore, the Government of India has attempted to intimate the manner in which it would initiate the progress to be made along this road. One grieves to observe that, except in a very few items, the resolution does not go much beyond the memorable resolution of 1882. It is merely an embodiment of general platitudes and pious wishes of the Government of India. The history of local self-government during the last 35 years affords a very clear and outstanding instance of the bureaucracy's unwillingness to part with even the smallest atom of their power and their aptitude to gain time and thus to successfully frustrate the good intentions of Government.

A liberal policy of local self-government was inaugurated by Lord Ripon in 1882. Municipalities and local boards were considered as training grounds of political and popular education. The resolutions of 1882 and 1915 and the present resolution are identical in sentiment. It has been affirmed times out of number that fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies and that they should learn by committing mistakes and profiting by them. The question of local self-government was reviewed by the Decentralization Commission in 1907 to 1909, and the Government of India took full six years to make up their mind with regard to the recommendations of the said Commission before they published their resolution in 1915. Lord Morley in his despatch to the Government of India under date 27th November 1908 referred to this subject and impressed upon the Government of India the necessity to attempt *without delay* an effectual advance in the direction of local self-government. He further added that to encourage it was an object of very high importance in the better organization of the Indian system and suggested the creation of a separate department for dealing exclusively with local

bodies on the lines of the Local Government Board in England. We are now in 1918. Has this ideal of Lord Morley been materialised and are we given fullest possible liberty of action and opportunities to commit mistakes? The answer is in the negative. The Government of Bombay especially has been over-cautious in this matter. Until 1909 almost all the municipalities had official presidents. The right of having non-official presidents was extended to several municipalities on certain conditions and till 1916 no district local board had a non-official president. Does not this attitude of officials support the observation made above with respect to the apathy of the bureaucracy towards this question? It is now high time that Government should give up this policy of distrust. Whatever is to be given, let it be given whole-heartedly so as to afford us full opportunities to manage our own affairs at least in this branch of the administration.

The present resolution makes some advance over the previous resolutions in three important matters: (1) the system of co-opted aldermen, (2) greater freedom in the matter of budgets and taxation, and (3) creation of a central controlling body analogous to the English Local Government Board. The Government of India leave the carrying out of the several resolutions to local Governments and administrations. Though it may be conceded that it may not be possible in a vast country like India to promulgate a uniform line of action, still one cannot lose sight of the fact that undue and excessive importance is given to the theory that the man on the spot is the best judge. Lord Willingdon evinces a genuine and keen interest in this subject, and we ardently wish that the recommendations of the Government of India will soon be acted upon by the Bombay Government.

As regards the constitution of these bodies, the elective element which was till recently one-half has now been generally two-thirds. It is proposed to be  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths, the remaining  $\frac{1}{4}$  to be supplied by nomination. It is a common belief that internal control is exercised by Government through nominated members, both official and non-official. It is at times insinuated that non-official nominated members vote in accordance with the wishes of officers to whom they owe their nomination. Even if there be some room to justify this insinuation it is beyond question that no self-respecting gentleman would like to work with this odium. Nominations may, therefore, be entirely done away with except to secure the interests of important minorities and except in the case of experts. With these two exceptions the remaining  $\frac{1}{4}$ th should be co-opted by the elected members. With a more liberal franchise of election this co-option becomes more necessary to bring in capable and experienced gentlemen who may not like to undergo the trouble and worry of elections. The institution of aldermen is very useful. They serve for a longer period than the term of the ordinary members, one half of the number retiring by rotation. The

longer term of office is intended to give an element of stability and continuity to the policy of the corporation or the board. The mayor who is the chairman is elected by the corporation from among aldermen or councillors or persons qualified to be such. There are thus the three constituent factors, *viz.*, the mayor, the aldermen and the councillors. The ideal form of government would be to leave selection of each of these factors to the people themselves. However, looking to the several sections of the communities living within the jurisdiction of local bodies and the difficulty of securing, at least for the present, non-official experts in the mofussil, Government might reserve to that extent the power of nomination, though the ultimate aim must be to abolish all nominations. The experience of past years in the matter of official members has not been quite happy. In some cases they become partisans and try to shape the policy of local bodies according to their wishes which on many occasions run counter to those of the rate-payers and their non-official representatives. The resolution proposes to appoint officials of experience with no right to vote. Such a position is really anomalous and it is doubtful whether officials themselves would like to serve where it is their duty to advise but where they have no right to vote. The question of communal representation, particularly of Mahomedans, is intimately connected with the constitution. The Government of India in this resolution do not encourage it and the Government of Bombay has laid down in a resolution of February 1916 that there need be no separate representation for Mahomedans in rural areas, the interests of the two communities not being conflicting except in education. It will not, therefore, be right to perpetuate the mistake of having water-tight compartments as they are introduced in the constitutional reforms of 1909. That question is so complex that it cannot be discussed in detail within the short space of a newspaper article. A general line of action is therefore indicated. Nobody disputes the claims of Mahomedan brethren to have adequate representation; the dispute is about the method by which to secure it. Separate representation through water-tight compartments tends to emphasise sectarian differences; and therefore full trial should be given to the experiment of having a certain number of Mahomedans through a mixed electorate.

The Government of Bombay has already taken up the question of broadening the electoral franchise. A special committee is at it and we may ere long see tangible and good results of their deliberations. There is another important point, *viz.* whether there ought to be any differentiation in the qualifications of voters and candidates. I propose to consider this and other questions of control, etc., in another article.

G. K. S.

### RECENT FRENCH PHILOSOPHY.

THE valour of France in stemming the tide of barbarism threatening to overwhelm civilisation is achieving an epic which the world is following with breathless interest. May we ask our readers to spare a little of their attention for France's recent achievements in the world of thought? Greece, great through its heroic deeds at Thermopylæ and Marathon, was no less great in the world of intellectual accomplishments, and Rome's mission has been nothing more than to conquer the world and give it to Greece. And in the present titanic struggle it is no fanciful dream to see in the conflict of the Allies with the Central Powers a repetition of the earlier Ormuzd and Ahriman conflict between Persian autocracy and Greek democracy reenacted on a gigantic scale and under modern conditions. And France is the Athens of the Allies.

In the field of philosophy France has had the role of a grand initiative, says Henri Bergson. One comforting characteristic of French philosophic exposition is its simplicity of form. There is not the ostentation of learning that would make philosophy a 'mystery,' from which the profane are warned off. The French philosophers do not write for a small circle of the initiated. They address themselves to men of culture in general. They proceed on the principle that there can be no philosophic idea, however profound or however subtle, that cannot be expressed in language understood of the people. Though for appreciating the profundity of the philosopher's thought and following out its implications the reader has to be a student of philosophy and science, yet the general reader will not be so hopelessly adrift in reading a French treatise on a philosophical subject as he will be if he tackles a German book or an English book (and this perhaps in a less degree) on a similar subject. Esoteric or technical vocabulary is rarely resorted to, and the deft craftsman as the Frenchman is in his native language, he can manipulate the common vocabulary so as to get out of it combinations which can convey the deepest or the most subtle of philosophic thought. Writers like Descartes, Pascal and Rousseau show how profoundly they can revolutionise thought without creating for themselves an argot of their own. And the latest French philosopher of whom we have heard is no less great in the field of philosophic thought than he is distinguished for his mastery and skilled use of the French language.

Another characteristic of philosophy as it developed in France is its close association with the positive sciences. Descartes and Pascal, D'Alembert and Cabanis, Comte and Cournot, Renouvier and Henri Poincaré came to philosophy through mathematics or by abstract sciences. The French metaphysician, even when soaring in the highest heaven of thought, is not unmindful of the positive facts of life as embodied in the sciences.

A third characteristic is the partiality the French philosophers exhibit to psychology, to the



observation of the field of human consciousness. This by itself will not be a differentiating mark as English philosophy has also the same *penchant* for psychology. This in combination with the other features mentioned above gives French philosophy its distinctive physiognomy.

After Descartes and Pascal and Malebranche in the 17th and the nationalistic and materialistic philosophers of the 18th centuries, we have in Claude Bernard and Auguste Comte the initiators of the most characteristic French contribution to thought, the science of organic and social life.

Claude Bernard did for the concrete sciences what Descartes did for the abstract sciences. The method he followed in his own department of physiological investigation was a Socratic dialogue between nature and man. The replies given by nature to man's questionings result in unforeseen turns, provoke new inquiries, eliciting replies which suggest new ideas. Neither facts nor ideas by themselves constitute science. It is the interaction of facts and ideas that originates science, science which is never final and determinate but always provisional and, in part, always symbolic.

Auguste Comte's "Course of Positive Philosophy" ranks among the most important of modern contributions to philosophy. After Comte's formulation of it the hierarchy of the sciences from mathematics to sociology is easily accepted as a simple and obviously definitive truth. His greatest achievement is in the field of sociology, defining its scope, laying out its programme and filling in some of the details of the science, and vindicating for it its position as the keystone of the arch of the sciences. Though Comte constantly disclaimed being a metaphysician yet metaphysic would be breaking in, and in his work men recognise the attempt to reveal the divinity in man.

Comte as a sociologist is the instaurator of a branch of study in which France is easily great.

Renan, though of different intellectual parentage, also made familiar in his studies of religious history that religion of humanity which was the obsessing dream of the positive philosopher. A transparently lucid writer, his ideas seemed to find a direct entrance into our spirit. His distinctive contribution was the optimistic teaching that history was an unbroken record of progress, and to him it was a succedaneum for philosophy and religion.

Another devotee to the human sciences was Taine, who was as popular as Renan in France and perhaps more so outside France than Renan himself. His studies were wide, embracing art, literature, history and the methods of the naturalist and the physicist. He was penetrated through and through with the spirit of the ancient masters. With Spinoza he believed in universal necessity. And his faith in certain abstractions like 'principal qualities' and 'master faculties' shows his affinities to Plato and Aristotle. He was a metaphysician too, but his metaphysic was confined to man and his activities. Though

he was no more than Renan to be counted as a follower of Comte, he must be reckoned among the positivists. His conception of the universe was anthropocentric.

Between the philosophy based on biology and that based on sociology there is the field of psychology, and the French names associated with this branch of study are Charcot, Ribot, Pierre Janet and Georges Dumas.

In the department of pure metaphysical speculation, the earliest modern representative is Maine de Biran (1766-1824). He has been exercising a steadily growing influence on French thought. The absolute is, according to him, not so hopelessly beyond human ken as Kant would make out. Human consciousness gets bottomed on reality in the knowledge we have of ourselves, in the feeling of effort or will. Here we get beyond phenomenon and get to noumenon.

As Maine de Biran was linked in a certain way to Pascal, so also was Ravaisson indebted to the same writer. Originality in philosophic thought does not mean in France breaking altogether with the earlier tradition which means the classical tradition. Ravaisson has brought out the artistic and the classical side of French philosophic thought. His philosophy measures reality in terms of beauty.

With him is associated La Chelier, a thinker of considerable influence. He weaned the universities from the eclectic teaching of the facile and amiable Victor Cousin and passing beyond the idealism of Kant inaugurated a realism of a kind filiating itself to Maine de Biran.

Then there is Boutroux with his novel and profound theory of the contingency of the laws of nature and the mathematician philosopher Henry Poincaré arriving at a similar conclusion showing how the laws of nature are conditioned by the ultimate character of man's thought. Milhaud and Edouard le Roy belong also to this school of thought in spite of superficial difference.

Passing by Liard who insisted on the equal validity of the metaphysical and the scientific basis of thought, and Fonilléc who developed the theory of *idees-forces*, an enlarged rationalism, and Guyau, the anticipator of Nietzsche, we get to Renouvier and Cournot, thinkers of the first order who cannot unlike the foregoing be related to Maine de Biran. Renouvier seems to take us back to metaphysical dogmatism. He vindicates freedom of the will and saves the integral character of personality. His theory of nature and man and morality has had influence among contemporary French thinkers like Pillon, Dauriac and Hamelin.

Coming to philosophy through the study of the sciences, particularly of mathematics, Cournot instaurates a new method of criticism on the form and the matter of thought, on method and results of knowledge. On a number of points, notably on chance and probability, he has new, penetrating and profound views.

Lastly, Henri Bergson founds a new philosophy

on the metaphysic based on experience, on reason and the faculty of intuition, a philosophy capable of furnishing not only general theories but also explanations of particular concrete experience. Such a philosophy would have the precision of the positive sciences and capable of indefinite progress.

K. B. R.

## REVIEWS.

### ' THE RAGAS OF HINDUSTAN.'

THE *Ragas of Hindustan*. The Philharmonic Society of Western India, Poona.

THE book contains 129 *Sarigamas* or skeleton melodies in seventy-nine *Ragas*, as sung and played by some of the celebrated musicians (whose lives have also been given in the appendix), in Hindustani music. These are arranged in an adaptation of the staff notation of Europe by the executive committee of the Society.

Mr. Clements, I. C. S., Chairman of the Philharmonic Society, in an able introduction compares European with Indian music and gives information with regard to the science of musical intervals, which is most useful to the beginner. He has also explained the advantages of the staff notation which, being above the limitation of language and script, will tend to bring about a better mutual understanding between the musicians of West and East. The harmonic series, musical intervals, their classification and distribution, Bharata's theory the *Jatis* and *Gramas* elucidated by a comparison with the modes of ancient Greece—these are some of the topics dealt with in this introduction. Demonstrations are also given by members of the Philharmonic Society to illustrate all these topics, with the aid of musicians and the Shruti Harmonium.

Again a musical composer, when conversant with this staff notation, will be able to compose new pieces of music in the exact scale required, and perhaps to add harmonies (in the true European sense of the term), the want of which is keenly felt by the progressive section of population all over India.

As the skeleton melodies have been adapted to the staff notation of Europe, the book will be instructive to those acquainted with European music also. They will be able to play their airs on the Shruti Harmonium. So the book deserves a place also in the libraries of wealthy gentlemen and of educational institutions in Western countries, as indeed it deserves liberal patronage at the hands of all Indians, who are lovers of music. The publication of this book as well as the propagandist and pioneer work carried on with devotion by the Philharmonic Society compels admiration and the grateful acknowledgment from all who cherish the preservation of Indian music in its original purity and its diffusion to other lands. The book, on its mechanical side, is a great tribute to the enterprise and skill of the managers of the Arya Bhushan Press, who cast and set up without previous experience the very intricate type required for the notation used in this volume.

D.

## LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

### MADRAS.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THE Madras Legislative Council commenced its sittings on the 13th inst. The Hon. the Rajah of Ramnad asked the

Government to publish the medical certificate produced by Dr. Nair for getting a passport to England, but the Government declined to do so "as it is a confidential document." The Hon. B. V. Narasimha Iyer also asked for a list of persons to whom passports had been granted and the purpose for which passports were granted to them, but the Government saw no reason to publish the information! An interpellation by the Hon. Mr. Rama Iyengar elicited the fact that a detachment of reserve police was sent to Thottiyam when the Trichinopoly District Conference was recently held under the presidency of Mr. George Joseph of Madura on the ground that a breach of the peace was feared! In reply to the Hon. the Rajah of Ramnad the Government admitted that they had appointed a retired I. M. S. officer on full pay in addition to his pension, because no I. M. S. officer in service was "available."

### A MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

After the interpellations were over the Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer moved "that this Council do adjourn to this day six months," this being because "it was hardly proper that business should get on here when important duties remain neglected," those duties being the adequate provision for the maintenance of peace and order by creating a citizen army. He had given notice of a resolution to this effect, but it was disallowed on the ground that these matters were not within the purview of the provincial Government. The President ruled the motion out of order, on the ground that it sought to drag in the disallowed resolution in disguise. This decision has been challenged in certain quarters as opposed to constitutional procedure. While the rights of popular members are to be jealously guarded, it may be useful to remember in this connection that the President of the Madras Special Conference ruled a certain speech out of order, because it attempted to introduce in disguise a disallowed amendment.

### THE CITY MUNICIPAL BILL.

The only Bill of any importance that was introduced in this session was the City Municipal Bill. The Bill is a Government measure, framed on the lines suggested by the Decentralisation Commission. The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan proposed that the consideration of the Bill be postponed so that it might be taken up by the reformed Council which, in all probability, will come into being in 1920. This motion, however, was defeated on the score that four years' labour which had gone to the framing of the Bill would be lost and that the new councils could amend it at leisure even if it was passed. A select committee was appointed to report on the Bill.

### RESOLUTIONS.

The Hon. Mr. T. Rangachariar moved a resolution that the Government may be pleased to give substantial grants-in-aid to the Madras Ayurvedic College and other similar institutions for the encouragement of the study and practice of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. Sir Alexander Cardew made a slashing downright attack on the indigenous system of medicine which he called "archaic," "antiquarian," "out of date," "extinct, as extinct as the Dodo," etc. He stated: "They could not expect to have an Indian system of medicine any more than they could expect to have an Indian system of mathematics." Surgeon-General Gifford took the same line of reasoning, though not in such an offensive style as the former. Needless to say that the resolution was put to the vote and lost. Another important resolution was moved by the same gentleman about the vexed question of the acquisition of house-sites for Panchamas in the Tanjore district. This question has been before the public of this presidency now for the last one year and seems to be a matter of acute controversy between the Mirasdars and their Panchama tenants in the Tanjore district. The Hon. Mr. Rangachariar moved that before taking any further steps and incurring any further expense in the matter of acquiring house-sites for the Panchamas, a committee of officials and non-officials should be appointed to go into the whole question once



more and that further action be suspended pending their report. The Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar, one of the most prominent Home Rulers of this presidency, seconding the resolution, said that the Mirasdars, most of them non-Brahmanas, were against their house-sites being taken from them and given to the Panchamas who might not work for them and he went to the length of saying that if this was done, "the Mirasdars would resort to passive resistance, would have nothing to do with the Pariahs, who would be left severely alone!" The Mirasdars would have no objection to the acquisition of land other than what was required by themselves. There seems to be some justice in the contention of the Mirasdars that their own limited house-sites would not be acquired for the benefit of those who may not work for them afterwards. On the Government's promising to receive a deputation of Tanjor Mirasdars, the Hon. mover withdrew his resolution. One cannot help remarking in this connection that the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar need not have trotted out his hobby horse of passive resistance!

#### THE REFORM PROPOSALS.

His Excellency sounded the opinion of the non-official members about the necessity of holding a meeting of the council to consider the reform proposals. But as opinion was divided, he announced that this matter had to be dropped for the time being.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### PROVINCIAL TAXATION.

##### I.—MR. IYENGAR'S CRITICISM.

SIR,—Will you permit me to explain, as briefly as I may, the fact that I am under no misapprehension whatever, as Prof. Limaye has sought to make out in your columns last week, in regard to the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report concerning Provincial Finance and Taxation? In the first part of his contribution, he seeks to perform the absolutely superfluous task of instructing me on the difference in the procedure in granting supplies for the reserved and transferred subjects respectively, and of assuring me that in regard to the control of the purse in the sphere of transferred subjects, some control has been vested in the ministers and the legislature. I never disputed this in my criticism of the Bombay moderates' manifesto, though I have elsewhere pointed out that this control is likely to be of very small consequence in the actual total power over the entire purse of the people. I was concerned, on the other hand, to show that there was an unfounded claim made in that manifesto that the financial control given over in respect of transferred subjects, really amounted to a control over the whole of the finances of the reserved and transferred heads together. That the Bombay moderates have made such a claim is proved by paragraph 11 of their manifesto. It begins by saying that they "attach the greatest importance to the proposal that the ministers alone will be responsible for additional provincial taxation and that no such taxation will be imposed except with their approval." I pointed out that the normal meaning of the particular passage with reference to the context would confine its scope only to such additional taxation, as became necessary for supplementing the residue left over for the transferred services, after all the demands for the reserved services—whether pre-existing or fresh ones—are fully met. Therefore, whenever such additional taxation has to be proposed, the proposals would naturally originate with the ministers responsible for those departments—a proposition which is accepted in all countries and which in the British constitution is expressed in the formula that all financial proposals should originate with the crown. But I contended, I maintain rightly, that this would not, and could not, as the Bombay moderates fondly imagine, secure, by an indirect process, a power not expressly given to the ministers, viz., a control over the whole of the provincial

finances and with it a power to the legislature both to refuse supplies as well as to veto the ways and means of providing such supplies in the shape of additional taxation for reserved and transferred subjects alike. I agree with Mr. Limaye, of course, in emphasising the fact that this contingency may not arise, because the expenditure on the reserved subjects, not only on the existing scale but on any continually enhancing scale which may be fixed by the executive Government, has been made a second charge on the total revenues of the province, next only to the contribution to the central Government. I, of course, answered an impossible case, if Mr. Limaye prefers that expression, because the Bombay moderates put forward an impossible case. They contended that "in actual working, the control over the expenditure on transferred subjects and the additional taxation that may be needed for them, will result in giving to the legislative councils, within a short time, practically complete control over the whole of the provincial finance." They also told us that "the ministers will naturally in their own interest exercise a vigilant and jealous control over the expenditure on reserved subjects, in order that the transferred subjects may get as much allotment as possible so as to obviate the need or reduce the extent of additional taxation which they honestly think could be avoided and which they would, therefore, not be in a position to justify before a legislature containing a substantial elected majority upon whose good-will and pleasure their tenure of office will depend." And the Bombay moderates concluded by saying that the Ministers "will thus be able to exert pressure on the executive council by hesitating and in extreme cases refusing to bring forward unjustifiable taxation proposals."

The extreme case here contemplated would not, for the reasons rightly urged by Mr. Limaye, arise. To this extent, he only affords me additional proof to show that the discovery of a latent power of full financial control in the minister and the legislature is a myth and a dream. I, of course, agree with him that as the expenditure on the reserved subjects is already charged on the revenue prior to any expenditure on the transferred subjects, the reserved subjects can never ordinarily feel the pinch. When the transferred subjects are therefore pinched, a demand for a reduction in the grants for the reserved heads, based on a threat of refusing to propose additional taxation conveyed by the Indian minister to the executive council, such as the moderate manifesto indicates, must be absolutely futile so long as the executive councils have the unrestricted power of restoring reductions proposed by ministers or legislatures, by means of the Governor's certificate. I went further and pointed out that assuming the hypothesis of this extreme case actually occurring as contemplated by them in para 11, it would even then be absurd to contend that the executive Government can be compelled to desist from a proposal of additional taxation which conceivably may be rendered necessary either by a desire not to seek the approval of the Indian Ministers thereto or by a desire not to pinch the reserved services—both of which are unlikely events. I pointed out that the executive Government in such case would either take the risk of starving the transferred subjects to whatever extent they may deem necessary, or, if they want to adopt a less drastic course they may themselves bring forward the necessary legislation for obtaining further taxes. I do not see anywhere in the report the power of the executive Government to bring in money bills or bills involving financial provisions expressly reserved denied to them or expressly reserved only to ministers. Taxes, even in India, are levied by legislation; and if any such financial legislation is "essential for the peace, safety and good government of the province (including therein sound financial administration)," the certainty of its enactment into law has been secured in the scheme by the "affirmative power" of legislation, through grand committees and certification. Prof. Limaye, I am afraid, confuses the question of the control of the estimates, i. e., of the

provincial expenditure by the legislature as to which the Governor has simply to exercise the power to 'restore' the budget, sending it to the grand committee with the power to reduce, increase or impose taxation which, barring land revenue, has always to be done by means of bills and laws. I may also point out to Mr. Limaye that legislation will also be required when, under the new powers of borrowing which will be bestowed on provincial Governments, provincial loans are sought to be raised by means of general or special Acts; and that the formula of certification which includes "sound financial administration" under "good government" will be effectively and steadily applied, if the Governor is persuaded to be of opinion that the loan is an unfair proposition which mortgages the future or is an unsound proposal which impairs the financial efficiency or credit of the province. The Bombay moderates have expressly denied the application to the taxation laws of the provincial councils, the fundamental formula with which the authors of the report start their self-government training course *viz.*, that the executive Government must be enabled "to secure the passing of such legislation or of such supplies as it considers absolutely necessary in respect of reserved subjects, for we must make some such provision if we are going to hold it responsible for the Government of the provinces." Mr. Limaye, in any case, has not chosen to examine the claim of the Bombay moderates, that the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals have granted full financial control over both the reserved and transferred heads in the provinces, nor to express an opinion as to whether such a claim to which they "attach the greatest importance," is correctly made. But he will permit me to point out to him that the propositions he has himself clearly laid down in the second and third paragraphs of his communication have negatived such a preposterous claim.

I shall not add to the length of this letter by a long answer to the last two sentences of his communication, in which he expresses his nervousness at my outspoken way of stating things. Whether mine is "a fine method of obtaining new rights" or whether more adroit methods of claiming for the scheme—that it is like "Nepenthe, a wine of sovereign grace"—or the more cautious, albeit contentious, methods of other moderates who confuse the issues would be, in his view, "finer methods"—is not for me to say. I prefer to adopt what to me certainly seems the manlier method.

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR.

#### II.—PROF. LIMAYE'S REJOINDER.

SIR,—The point at issue between the Bombay leaders and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar in this controversy is whether the provision in the reform scheme that taxation proposals can be presented to the legislative council "only with the approval of the ministers" (para. 257) stands valid or is circumvented or negatived by any provision to the contrary effect. I do not find that Mr. Iyengar challenges the inference that if the ministers possess this exclusive right, they will be enabled by its exercise indirectly to control to a very large extent the allotments for reserved subjects also; and thus the position taken up by the Bombay leaders in their manifesto remains unshaken that by reason of the fact that ministers have been given in the scheme the very valuable right of blocking all proposals for additional taxation by withholding their approval, they will be able to control the supply for reserved as well as for transferred subjects. Mr. Iyengar, however, denies that this valued right is at all conferred on the ministers under the scheme. He maintains that it is open to the Governor and the executive council, even without the approval of the ministers, to bring forward proposals of taxation, but does not adduce any authority in support of his statement. He says, "If any such financial legislation is 'essential for the peace, safety and good government of the Province (including therein sound financial administration),' the certainty of its

enactment into law has been secured in the scheme by the 'affirmative power' of legislation through grand committees and certification." I shall examine presently his contention that when legislation for further taxation is introduced into the legislative council, the Governor can carry it through by means of certification and grand committees; for the moment I am concerned with the question whether such legislation can at all be introduced except with the approval of the ministers. Mr. Iyengar seems to think that the power of certification which the Governor enjoys ensures both the introduction of necessary bills and their enactment into law. This view however is not supported by facts, for according to the scheme legislation on all subjects is normally to be passed in the legislative council. It is only where the Governor thinks that particular legislation is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for peace, etc., that he is empowered by the issue of a certificate to withdraw the bill in question from the jurisdiction of the legislative council and to refer it to a grand committee appointed *ad hoc* for that particular bill. So the bill is first introduced, and then the question of issuing a certificate arises. The power of certification does not empower the Governor, as is imagined by Mr. Iyengar, to introduce a bill into the council, if any other provision in the scheme forbids it. The certificate is to be brought into use for the purpose of enabling the provincial Government to get through its legislation on reserved subjects' (para. 252), and it will not enable the Governor to present a taxation proposal to the legislative council without securing the ministers' approval.

Mr. Iyengar seems to rely on this that the Governor can certify a bill as 'essential for the peace, safety and good government of the province,' and he argues that inasmuch as in 'good government' is included 'sound financial administration,' the power of certification can be rightly invoked where the interests of 'sound financial administration' require its use. I have already shown that whatever power the certificate confers on the Governor, it takes effect only after the bill is before the council and does not enable the Governor to contravene other provisions in the scheme and cause a financial bill to be proposed without the approval of the ministers. But further, the certificate, which the Governor of a province gives, has no reference to 'good government' and therefore none to 'sound financial administration.' The terms of the Governor's certificate will be that a particular bill is "essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects." The words cited by Mr. Iyengar, "essential for the peace, safety and good government of the province (including therein sound financial administration)," occur nowhere in the report. The Governor General-in-Council is no doubt authorised to certify, in the event of leave to introduce a bill being refused, etc., that the bill is "essential to the interests of peace, order or good government," and it is stated in the summary attached to the report at the end that in the term 'good government' is included 'sound financial administration'. But as in the central legislature the budget is not voted upon, the reservation in question is not of much consequence. Moreover, the procedure is applicable only to the Government of India, and not to provincial Governments, as is wrongly imagined by Mr. Iyengar. So it is clear that there is not a shred of evidence to prove the statement made by him. Further, I maintain that the procedure of grand committees is not applicable at all to financial measures, as all taxation for provincial purposes, whether in reference to transferred or reserved subjects, is a transferred subject, being included in the illustrative list given at the end of the report, and is thus free from the procedure which Mr. Iyengar would apply to it. For this and for the other reasons given by me in my article I maintain that money bills are treated on a different footing from other bills and the procedure of certification and grand

committees will not be applicable to them. I need not dilate upon it here, nor do I deem it necessary to notice other points in Mr. Iyengar's reply, which only obscure the main point in dispute. I will only add that if the Governor can introduce and carry through any proposal for fresh taxation, over the heads of the ministers and of the legislative council, as Mr. Iyengar contends, then he cannot complain of the odium of such taxation falling upon the ministers. It is clear that in the cases he contemplates the odium also will attach to the Governor, if the latter can set aside the ministers and have his way. Mr. Iyengar cannot argue both ways; he will have either to give to the ministers the sole power of sanctioning proposals for additional taxation or absolve them from any odium resulting from such proposals. The odium goes with the power; no power, no odium. The fact that Mr. Iyengar thinks that in the scheme in its final form this power will be taken away from the ministers itself proves that in its present shape it is vested in the ministers, and it is only the present draft of the report that we are considering.—Yours, etc.

H. G. LIMAYE.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE scene of the Allied offensive has shifted northward—from the Ailette and the Aisne to the neighbourhood of Bapaume. There are reports that reconnoitring parties have entered Bapaume. But the news has not been yet confirmed. Whatever the Germans may talk or believe of the weariness of the Allied troops, there are no indications so far that the enemy is in a position to make an effort to force the Allies back from the places they have occupied.

\* \* \*

INTERESTING stories come from Palestine of the dash of Indian troops and the brilliant exploits they have been performing. If in Mesopotamia the Mahrattas have secured recognition for their valour and their powers of endurance, Palestine has been one more witness to the military qualities of the Sikhs and the Gurkhas, which have been displayed over and over again in various parts of the British Empire. It is a pity in these circumstances that no provision has yet been made for the issue of the King's commissions by the hundred to such gallant sons of India. Sometimes slow movement is mistaken for caution or statesmanship. We hope the authorities do not take this view of the matter.

\* \* \*

THE prices of cotton cloth have been soaring higher and higher for some time past, causing a lot of hardship to the middle and the poorer classes of the community. The question of minimising the distress has been under the consideration of Government who had appointed a committee to consider what steps should be taken to give relief in the matter. A press *communiqué* has just been issued stating the recommendations of that committee and the measures government intend to

take thereon. It is proposed to standardise certain varieties of cloth and to arrange that they should be made available to consumers at reasonable fixed prices. For this purpose a bill will be introduced at the forthcoming session of the supreme Legislative Council taking power to appoint a controller of cotton cloth. That some sort of control is imperative to check profiteering and to supply cotton cloth to the public at reasonably cheap prices will be admitted on all hands. But the chief difficulty will be in the distribution of the cloth. Government will have to take measures to ensure a sufficient supply of standardised cloth at fixed prices throughout the interior of the country. Another question which requires consideration is whether it is not necessary to control imported cloth also. The object the Government should place before themselves should be to regulate the prices of cloth in such a way that manufacturers and dealers will not make abnormal profits out of the extraordinary conditions created by the war and to arrange for a sufficiently large supply of cloth to the mass of people at rates which are inevitable under the peculiar circumstances which prevail in the country. This is indeed a difficult task but it must be courageously faced and we hope the proposed legislation will be so framed as to yield the desired results.

\* \* \*

A CORRESPONDENT writes : Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, formerly senior member of the Mysore Council of State, suggests in his criticism of the reform proposals that, instead of the Governor being empowered by the issue of a certificate to withdraw a bill dealing with a reserved subject from the purview of the legislative council and to refer it to a grand committee, it should in the first instance be discussed in the council and if there it fails to get through, it should automatically be submitted to a grand committee for the final decision. This cannot be said to be a better course from the popular point of view. In the first place, the chance which the procedure recommended in the report leaves to the council to reject a bill and put it out of the way altogether will be cut off where the Governor, on a calculation of the antecedent probability of its passage, does not certify it. In the next place, what in the report is intended to be an 'exceptional procedure' will thereby be rendered normal. The report states that the Governor's certificate is not to be given without strong reason, and the reasons justifying