


CONTENTE.
Fage.


## TORICS OF THE REEK.

Mial Figrtum.
A MOST horrible tragedy is reported to have ocourred to the Haj pil: grims thle year owing to the oriminal negleot of King Hussain's Government. Mecos depends for Its water supply on an aqueduot, which this jear does prot seem to have been in good repsir. The ongineer in charge of the publio worls of the state is eaid to have reported thet if the canal was not repaired before the Haj eeason there would be soaroity of water. King Hussain and his Government took no sotion, with the result that no less then 10,000 pilgrims died of thirst within four days, on the plains of Mina and Arafat, a short distance for -Meacs; where the ceremonials conneoted with the great pilgrimage are performed. Aocording to an Indian witness, who has desoribed the tragedy in the vernacular papers, the authorities were negligent also in the matter of the disposal of the dead. Opposite a certain mosque, it seems, for days together no fower than 4,000 oorpses were lying unoared for King Husesin owes his independence to the British. Until recently he was getting a subpidy from Britain for maintaining himself in due state, and wa believe he atill gets a subgidy for looking after the.Baj pligrime, of whom * very large percentage go from India. It ia thereforg the duty of the British Government to enquied fully into the oireumetances of this tragedy and preventa Neourrence of the Yind in future. In any suoh ene quiry It Is alleairable that a representative of the Government of India, prefersbly en Indian Musalman, should take part. The number of pilgrime that assemble at Mecon is not mo great as at Hard. Far, Allahabad and many anothgy place, where

We have now learnt to make proper arrangements for the sanitary and other eeeds of the pilgrims. Since King Hussain owes so much to British friendship, our Government could well attempt to persuade him, though the Foreign Officet to acoept the assistance of a band of medical men and other sooial workers from India to help him in looking after the pilgrims. India would not grudge the necessary expense in this connection and our Mussalman accial workers would gat a great opportunity of serving their co-religionists of all countries.

Flood Roilet
THE South. Indian Flood Relief Fund has so far come up only to about Rs, 30,000 including gilts of olothe, Fipe wrorkers of the Servants of India Society land five workers of the Y. M. C. A. are moving about in the sffected distriets administ ering relief on approfed lines to the best of their ability. Their services are utilised also by the Madras Committae. Each one of them could usefully spend very muoh more money if only it wass available and contributions came in more generously. The dificulty regarding the supply of food grains whioh was experienced in the beginning being now over, the workers are helping the poorest of the sufferers to rebuilt or repair their houses and huts. They are being given only initial help and induced as far aso possible to organise themselves into co-operstive societies and obtain money and materials on the most favourable terms. There is harmonious co-operation bet ween different agencies and no ovarlapping. The Madras Government is dolng its best. The Home Member, the Hon. Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, visited the area as soon as he could do so, and more recently His Ereelleney Lord Goschen visited the villages of Tanjore District, and listened with deep sympatiny to the sorrows of big landlords and poor ryots alike. He wan accessible to the humblest and ohearfully visited their huta when requested to do so. In the work of humanity all are oo-operating, but more funds are:very badly meeded.


Me. Fautul Hat.
Tas interviep whioh Mr. Palul Hea geve to a prese representative after relinquishing his Ministership only justifies the lack of confidence in him expreseed by the majority of the Bengal Legialative Counoil. He had intended going to England in order to impress on the British public the neoestity of trengthening
the communal representation of Muhammadans in the event of any grant of further reforms being contemplsted. But as a matter of fact, he is not in favour of further reforms being granted at all. "He would rather wish that the reforms were put back than that any risks should be taken and the people given the responsibilities of Government befors they were ready to undertake them." Not having the saving sense of humour, Mr. Haq could only conclude, from the Council refusing to have him as Minister, that the psople were not ready to undertake the responsibilities of Government It is equally amusing that he should speak of his "ex. perlence as Minister" and tall an expectant world that the members of the Council interfered too much in adminisrrative detaile and did not understand their proper functions. His pessimism after defeat and eagerness to join the reactionary forces in England are in marked oontrast with the attitude of the C. P. ex-Ministers, who have shown absolutely no personal pique and have been able even to appreciate the position of their opponents.

THE Madras missionaries are crowing over the defeat of Mr. Satyamurti's motion before the reconstituted Senate of the Madras University, seeking to refuse recognition to colleges whioh made religious teaching obligatory even on those who had a conscientious objection to such teaching. The Rev. Albert J. Saunders writes in the September Ycung Men of India to resssure his brother missionaries that if "the present Nationalist spirit is hotly opposed to certain Westera contacts, as military, a foreign government, exploitation in industry and trade," still," when it comes to education, foreign mis. vionaries and Mission sohools and colleges are weloome, even at the price of religious instruction." Mr. Saunders of course means compulsory religious instruction, but he is gravely mistaken if he thinks that Indian Nationalists are willing to tolerate any Lind of coercion in religion; on the contrary, while they welcome all the assistance missionsries will give in extending eduostionsa facilities, they are quite content to go without their help if the pupil's oonscience is not proteoted by a "conscience olause." Nor is it true thet those who demand conscience olause are orthodox Hindus and Mahomedans or are prompted by political considerations. A grest many of them feel a deep reverence for Chriatianity; but they are opposed of Christian teaching being forced upon the pupils. The liberal tendenoy of suoh people is demonstrated by the fact that they would deny grants in aid to all eduoational institutions in which instruotion in any raligion is compulaory, and not only to missionary chools and colleges. Mr. Satyamurti's proposal failed because it was more sweeping then it should have been; and the. Madras inter-0ommunal disputes also oontributed to its defest. But in other provinces the consolence clause oan be
enacted without muoh diffioulty and will we hope be so ensoted. But supposing Indians had no objeotion to a oompulsory indoctrinstion in Christianity, should not true followers of Christ feel some seruple in adopting this oourse? What moral right have the Christlan missionariea to urge the Government to entrust all its power into the hands of people and confer Dominion status upon Indis, if the missionaries are themselves unwilling to part with their unjust prerogatives?

Sir Malcolm Wetson, M. D., L. L.
Fight Malaria. D., P. H. D. \&o. \&o, who Ggurit with a long deserved and even longer deferred Knighthood in Labour's first "Birthday Honours," enjoys an international reputation in oonnection with the provention of the Malaris. Making Malaya his home for a quarter of a century, he has there, if not stamped out, at least wonderfully controlled and minimized the seourge of the Peninsuls, which formerly made it well-nigh uninhabitable and astainly threatened to throttle completely the rubber industry in its infanoy. Opposed by the Government of the day and its Medical Service, he resigned the latter and beeame instead Medical Officer to a large group of rubber estates, which geve him the scope needed. Mr. C. F, Andraws only the other day paid eloquent testimony to the almost miraculous sucoess that has there attended his efforts to reduce the mortality amongst the estate labourers. What seems to have quite escaped public notice in India is the fact that Sir Maloolm was in India from Docamber. last une til April, having been invited to Assam by the Doom Dooma Co.' B , and associated estateg, in order to advise then on their Malaris problem. He was able to make a genaral survey if the whole of diatriot, from the Brahmaputr $r$ : 2 to the Naga Hills, and has embodied its result in a report Whioh, one sincerely hopes, will soon be made available to the outside publio: though there is surely something wrong somewhere, that for information so vital to the whole country one should have to depend on the courtesy of some British tea companies. Bearing in mind the treatment meted out by the Indian Government to the discoverer of the malaris parasite in Anopheline mos-quitoes-Sir Ronsld Ross-it seems indesd too muoh toexpect that sugist Bureaucracy to have had such a ohange of heart by this time, as to invite to-dey Sir Malcolm Watson to advise them on the problem. But what exactly hinders the Lord Mayors of the two premier cities of Indis, Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. V. J. Patel, to supply that deficienoy? What indeed, but ignorance-ignorance that Malsris can be prevented and that in Sir Malcolm Watsion they have a men who oan show them, how to prevent it. Meanwhile, thousands die in Bengal alone of malaris every day. Is it not really times a move was made?

## THE PATHWAY TO UNITY.

EHERTY now and again a ory is raised in thin country for unity and more or lene apasmodio efforts are put forth by men of varying degress of influence and oharacter to compose existing differences, But parhaps at no time in reoent years was there a feoling for unity ao urgenti, and enduring as at present, and oertainly at no time was so graat a peacemaker at work as now. It is, we belleve, universally reoognised that something like a paralysis has fallen on the public life of the country. The Hesders of the Liberal and National Home Rule League parties frantyly admit that the etrugglo for the attainment of Swaraj whioh lies ahesd can nover meet with the success it deserves till all constilutionalists sink their differenoes on minor matters for an intensive Home Rule campaign on an organised plan. With this oonviotion ever present is their minds they implored all politioal parties, in the name of India's onfranohise. ment, to partioipate in a National Convention formed with the one object that Indians should themselves write their own constitution. But, for the moment, personalities triumphed over politics and both sections of the Non-co-operation party haughtily stood aside from the Convention movement. Now, howeven, thez arem to be in a more chastened frame of mind. Mahatma Gandhi who, on the morrow of the All-India Congress Committes, deolared his intention to do his best to obtain a majority for the No-Changers, is now in no fighting mood; on the contrary, he is prepared to approaioh the Ewarajists in a upirít of utter surrender. The more thoughtful among the $S_{\text {warajiate also, in spite of the }}$ bluter in whioh a aection of their party habitually indulge, are inwardly consoious of the serions harm done to the commonweal by the ornel impasse fato which they have helped to drive national affairs, At suoh a payohological moment the greatest mon of Indis is trying to bring together men of all shades of political opinion in a oommon endeavoar for the oountry'e uplift. It is to be hoped that on an occasion so ontirely propitious for the reatoration of harmony all destructive critioism will sedulousiy be avoided and construotive suggestions made with a view to bringing the attempt now being made to frultion.

If therefore we now proceed to oritioise the proposal outined by Mabatma Gandhifor bringing sbout unity, our sole objeot in doing so la to make the deaired unity easier of attainment and easier of maintenance, when attainsd. Thie proposal amounta to the suapenaion of nen-oo-operation and to the concentration of the energien of the oonntry th the promotion of three items: (1) hand-spinning ( 2 ) Hindu-Mualim oonoord; ( 3 ) removal of untouohability. On the last two pointa there aan be no difference of opinion, but on the first there is That hand-spinning as a subsidiary industry for thene not more remunerativaly occupied han an important place in the national economy no one
denies, but grester olsima are made for it than oan be rationally allowed. However, oven if, in the larger interests of national solidarity. overy ons agreed to spin for half an hour as the Mahatma desires, still some diffioultien would remain in the way of accepting the proposal in its entirety. For the Swarajists would bardly agree to have the soope of the Congrese narrowed down to the consideration and practioul aghievement of an essentially non-politioal programme, as would be the result if the Mahatma'y proposal is adopted. On sboial problems there prevails already a large measura of unanimity, and politiosl differences will not be eliminated by converting a politioal body into a re-: plica of the Sooial Conference. The Swarajists who are aspiring to control the Oongress machi. nery will very likely hesitate to besome partien to what they will naturally regard as the annibilation of the Congress. There is one more objection to be considered. Non-co-operation is still to bo the governing polioy of the Congress. It is true that all the boyootts in which the essenoe of Non-co-oparation lies are to be jettisoned; nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi still claims, that Non-co-operation is the moving spring of the aotivities of the Congress. Such a deolaration will frighten away from the Congrese at least a few of those who are opposed to that policy, and not altogether without reason. Hand-spinning, Mahatmaji has argued in the past and will argue now, is the most important part of Non-co-operation; for, according to him it fite one for, and we suppose neoessrily leads one to, civil disobedience, and as oivil disobedience is the final step in the progress of the Non-co-operation movement, handapinning is put by Mahatma Gandhi at the head. of all Non-00-operation activitíes. On this reasoning how oan those opposed to Non-oo-operation join the Congress? It is no doubt true that they do not accept this ressoning; that they believe that hand-apinning, whether good or bad economioally, has no more politioal aignifloance than maching-spinning. But it will certainly warn many from the Congress. Thus to the present proposal objeotion is likely to be urged both by Swarajiats and by hiberals; this is therefore hardly the best approach for unity.

In our opinion by far the best plan would be to drop Nonco-operation in name as well as in faot. Most of the present differenoes arose out of Non-co-operation; they will all be laid to rest it. that polioy is now serapped. It will make io prootioal difference to Mahatma Gandhi but it will make a tremendous psyohologioal difference to others-Liberals as well as Swarajists. The Mahatms is willing in any case to suapendNon-00 operation-at any rate the more militant aspecte of It If thus the sotuallty of non-00-operation passen out of aristence, why insiat on keeping the mere idea in the fisld, if it results in dividing national workers into differant oamps? In the event of the formal abandonment of Noncea
oporation Liberals cuuld juin the Congress and take part in the activities the Mahatma recommends, ex ammo, while, if Non-co-0, erotion Etill remains the declared policy of the Congress, the cooperation even of those who oonsont to join would naturally be not so wholehearted. But if Non-comperation was thrown overboard, it would make a still greater difference to the Swarajists. Their present policy of obstruc. tion, to which, however. they conform only as it evite them for the moment, has its origin in the Non o o-operation doctrine: they invented this polioy merely to reconeile their entry into the Councils with Non-co-operation to which they profensed to give in their adhesion. If Non. co-operation now ceases to be the lodestar of the Congress, the Swarajists will have no further reason to keep up the pretence that they are in the Counoils only to bring the governmental machinery to $a$ dead-lock. It will relieve every political pexty from the embar. rassmenta in which it will be involved by accepting the present proposals of Mabstras Gandhi and all the parties will resums their career of united national work which was interrupted by the recent movements. We have ventured to mahe this suggestion beaause we are confident that the Mahatma-and he alone--as the cour"age, not only to suspend but to stop Non-co-op* eration if he finds that, without sontributing anything to the attainment of Sxaraj, it only stands in the way of unity and thus is now the greatest obstacle to our political emancipstion, whioh otherwise seems quite at hand. No one of course wishes to bind Mabatma Gandhi to an undertaking that he will never revive Non co-operation. He is frea to do so whenever in bis opinion favourable ciroumstances arise. It is unnecessary now to discuss what will bappen to unity when Nob-co-operation is so revived. All that is asked of him for the present is that, in the meanwhile. when Jon-co-operation is not in fact to be the guiding principle of the Congress activities, that fact should be acknowledged in so many words. It will pave the way to unity batter than any other proposal we can think of.

## OPIUM POLICY. AN ANSWER. <br> I.

IT is quite impossible for me, in the few days remaining befora I leave India, to answer fully all the pointo brought forward by Mr. Kodanda Rao throughout his series of carefully written articles on the Opium Poliey of the Government of India. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain them before the end of August; and I leave India,-in order to accompany the Post, Rabindranath Tagore, to South Amrica, - in the middleof September. My days are overburdened with heavy arrears of work, whioh bave to be got through, somenow, and the errainhas already been far too great as it is

Nerertheless, sach a prolongei ard detailed criticisn (which very nearly but not quite amounts to a defence of the Government of India's position) cominy from so unerpected a quarter, las to be met immediately, if the whole popular case against the present abuse of Indian opium in the larger world is not to go by default. There fore, although I have neither the timo nor opportunity to deal with each point in Mr. Kodanda Rao's long argument, yet at the same time i shall endeavour to point out gaps in it, whioh Mr. Kadanda Rao bas not been able himself to detect. I wish, while doing eo, to zoknowledge the fairmindedness with which he has written. As $J$ have read his articles very oarefully, I have felt certain that if only he had been able to study the Whole question further, especially on its practioal side, and to visit the opium-addicted countries, he would then have been able himself very easily to detect those very flawswhioh I am now about to point out.

In the first place, the distinction which he draws continually between opium smoking and opium eating is entirely out of date. The medical evidence, in recent jesra, has gone overwhelmingIf to prove that opium eating is, if anything, more deleterious to the human system than opium smoking. I am fully aware, that the opium Commission Report of 1895 did not take that view; and also that the Hague Convention of 1913-1913 made a special distinction against opium smoking But the medical side of the opium habit hes been far more carefully studied in recent years. A floud of new light hes been thrown upon the subject ( as also upon the use of alcohol) and there is rae pidly coming about, among first-rate medical mon, Who bave to deal medioally with opium addiction, What I have called a more serious view of the evil effects of opium eating, as contrasted with opium smoking. The Government of India atill holds fast to the antiquated view; but the weight of medioal opinion is now overwhelmingly against it. I oan recall a long conversation which I had with Sir Louis Kershaw in the Indis Office. The whole burden of itwas, that opium smoking was a very evil thing whioh ought to be abolishod; but tiat the Indian practice of opium eating was comparatively harmless. He did not realise for a moment that be was outting the ground from under his feet the whole time; and that the medical evidence had gone clear against him since the Opium Commission and the Hague Convention.

Let me correot also at onee another fallsey of the Government of India, which is as completely out of date as the argument about opium eating being innoouous. The Government's official documents constantly repests that nore opium ise consumed per headin the United States than in India itself. The figures usually given are these, that the United States population consumes 36 grains per head each year, while the Indian popu = Iation consumes 28 grains pir head eaoh year. Now the figure, 36 grains per head, given for the
U. S. A. is wrong and therefore utterly minleading. It has been corrected egain and again; but the Government of India goes on repeating it withoutany correction on its aide. The sotual amount consumed in the United States is a little over 8 grains per head, that is to say, less than a quarter of the amount stated by the Government of India.

Yet the startling and terrible faot is this, that oven with this consumption of an average of 8 graing per hasd there are over one million addicts In the United States, - men and women who are sberes to the drug habit, It would be dificult to find out in Indis how many drug-addiots there are; but if we include bhang and charas among the drugs, I am afraid it would be a very low astimate indeed if we placed the number at $5,000,000$. In Assam alone, from all I have seen and heard, the number must run into hundreds of thousands. In Rajputana it is probably equally large. The Punjab would add greatly to the full total.

Another fact, whioh appears to me to have escaped Mr. Kodenda Rao's notice altogether, is this. There if atill a very large proportion of the 'provision' (or export) opium privately auctioned, and not sold direot, under certifioate; from one Government to another. It is impossible to say where shis goes to. Such opium is thrown on the open markel and this one fact (I have been led to believe) accounts for a great deal of the mischiof done by opium poisoning in the world at large, eapecially in the U. S. A. I have not got with me a copy of Mr. Graham Dizon's book oalled "The Truth about Oplum" whioh is the authoritative statement of the Government of India on the aubjeot. But I believe I am oorreot in atating from that book that these private auctions in Caloutta atill oontinue; and that only a little more than 60 per oent. oven now is sold direot by the Government of India to the Governments of other countries. Would Mr. Kodanda Rao pay very caroful attention to this point and get at the real facta 9

Where dose this privately bought and privately sold Indian opium find its way ? How does the Government of India oheok the eales of these Caloutta merohants ? How can Government be certain, that this opium is sold by these private merohante only for striotly legitlmate purposes ?

If Mr. Kodanda Rao had atudied the subject a littie longer and had gone into some of the soandals of the opium traffic, be would understand the importance of questions like these whioh I have rapidly put together. For they really ohange the whole pioture and give it a now and muoh more sinister netting, if their answer is what I have suggented. He would have tried to find out where all this opium, that is atill sold by private avotion in Caloutta, really finda ite ultimate uae and purpose. He would not then accept so readily the Governmentic position, that beosuse the Indian-grown oplum only containa 84 per oent of the poison, while the Persian and Turkich opiam aontains 18
per cent of the poison, therefore the Persian and Turkish opium alone is used in the manufacture of the poisonous drugs of morphins, sodein and horoin, which are used by drug addiots in Amerion.

## II.

AMONG many others, there are two interesting points, in the figures quoted by Mr. Kodanda Rao, the significance of which appears to have esoaped his attention. (1) The year that followed the Hagus Oonvention was 1913-14. In that year, the export reoeipts for Governmant of India opium were, as he rightly states, 民. $1,91,92,117$. The following year, the receipts were Ra. $1,87,71,783$. Yet in spite of the Hague Convention resolution, (whioh pointed olearly to restriction of export opium for moking purposen or for drag addiction, the amount realised,tpn years later by the Government of India as revenue had not diminished, but had largely inoreased. In 1923-24, to quote again his figures, the amount was Rs, $3,23,06,000$. Taking again the average number of chests sold each year, aince the Hague Convention, the average, has gone up from 9000 to 11,000 . It is true that in the last three years this number has very slightly deolined. But even in 1922-23, the oplum ohests exported from India were only 234 less than in 1913-14, and in 1923-24 796 less. This proves that for all practical purposes, the resolutions of the ${ }^{*}$ Hague Convention have hardly made any appreciable diminution of opium smoking. They have been almost a dead letter, Indeed, taking the whole period, there has been evidently more smoking of Indian oplum aince the Hague Convention than before it. Compare, for instance, the year 1913-14, when 9,070 ohests were sold, with 191819, when 13,768 ohests were sold। The difference is enormous !

If it is said, that opium was needed in the war in larger quantities for the wounded, then the old argument used so often by the Government of Indis, that Indian opium is not used for the manufacture of morphine, eta (beonuse of its amaller percentage of this polson ) must be discarded. The ${ }^{-}$ Government of India cannot have it both ways, at one time declaring that no Indian opium is used in manufaoture of poisonous drugs, like morphine and heroin, and at another time declaring that extra tons of Indian oplum were ueed for that very purpose.

Furthermore, I profoundly distrust the whole argument about such huge quantities of extra opium being needed during the war. The injections of morphia given to normal persons are so' minute, and.the number of timen that the injections are given is so insignifioant, that thougb there would necessarily be some inorease of medicinal use of opiaten during the war, it cannot possibly acoount for the vast inorease that has aotually taken place.

Nol we have, unfortunately, a clear and painful record of whore that oxtra opium went to. It went to China, in two direotiong It wat emuggled
in large quantities through the Treaty Ports; and it was also manufactured into morphine by British and Swiss and Japanese firms, which did a roaring trade and sent morphis into the North of China through Japan. A vast trafio in morphis injection sprang up and quantitios were usedin this traffic such as would have poisoned the whole French and British armies and the German and Austrian armies to bootl It is estimated that 15,000,000 Chinese were poisoned to death through this nefarious traffic.

I heve said that the Government of India cannot use both ways the argument, that no opium is used in morphine manufacture. As a matter of fact they do actually assert that in war time, when Turkish and Persian opium was short, Indian opium was used instead. But they are extraordinarily reluotant to aoknowledge that the British manufacturers and the $S_{\text {wiss }}$ manufacturers and others ever use Indian opium in their factories for the manufacture of morphine and heroin. Yet the facts are patent. Mr. Kodanda Raso has never fully faced these facts. Indeed I have often wondered, when reading his arguments, whether he has even grasped them.
(2) This brings me to the second point, which struck me very forcibly when reading his articles. Does he realise and pieture to himself, even for a single instant, wbat 120 chests of opium going to Mauritius in a single year means ? He quotes with evident satisfaction, from Miss La Motte's book, the news, that the amount was reduced from 120 ohests in 1917-18 to 40 ohests in 1920.21. But
oes he realise what 120 chests mean 9 Dces he realise what even 40 chests mean?

The island of Mauritius contains about 350,000 paople, of whom two-thirds are ex-indentured Indians. There were only about 3000 to 4000 Chinese in 1916-17. These are mostly traders with a few labourers, not by any means all opium smokers Now 120 ohests means somewhere sbout 8 tons $i$ Let me repest the words, -8 tons. Remember, also, that it was all Indian opium, sent out to a semiIndian island,-tons of it । Tons of it,-and a few grains are enough to kill a normal man or woman

Yet Mr. Kodanda Rao seems hardly to have grasped the significance of what so many chests of opium mean. He evidently did not read Miss Ellen La Motte's scathing indictment of the Government of India in her earlier book concerning this very oplum traffic with Mauritius. He only quotes from her seoond book oalled the " Ethics of Opium ", where she lets down the Government of India very lightly, and gives the figures, subsequent to 1916-17. In the first book she stopped with the year 1916-17 itself and its 120 ohests.

I would ask him, therefore, to atudy over again those Mauritius figuren very oarefully indeed.

Here, at the end of this article, I would only ask one question. Where is there any shadow of a sign, in all this, of the Government of India puth
ting morality above revenue and trying honestly and sincerely to carry out, both in spirit and in letter, the Hague Convention resolutions, to whioh it was a gignstory. Is there not every possible evidence, that their old China opium polioy of going as far as they can in making revenue has been repested? Is it not generally true, of the years sinee the Hague Convention, (as it was clearly true of the years before the Convention) that thequestion of revenue has continually come first with the Government of India, and the question of conscience second?

Mr. Kodanda Reo would naturally be shocked at the sentiment used so often in the early days of the East Indian Company, when it was asserted to be an "exceedingly happy atate of things, that the Company has been able to pay, year by year, a great part of its revenue by supplying the vices of its neighbours at a profit to itself." This sentiment prevailed in the Company's service from the time of Warren Hastings onwards, but Mr. Kodanda Rao would be the last to enoourage it today.

We have all been learning in the hardest of all schools, during the War, that suoh tribal morality is base and contemptible. We have learnt alsu that where one member of the Body of Humanity suffers all the members suffer with it and where one member rejoices all the members rejoice with it. I am sure, from many things that he says, that Mr. Kodanda Rao bimself has accepted this moral standard. I would only ask him to carry; out all its implications in his practioal thinking.
C. F. ANDREWS.
(Tobe continued.)

## RAILWAY CONTRIBUTION TO GENERAL REVENUES.

IN olass (IV) of the amended resolution proposed by us in the article on Separation of Railway Finance which appeared in the issue of the SERyant OF India of May 22, we suggested that the starting minimum contribution by the Railway to the General Revenues should be fixed at Rs. 41/2 orores, a figure approximately equal to $5 / 6$ ths of 1 per cent on the oapital at charge of commeroial lines on March 31, 1924. It was assumed that this peroentage was correct both arithmetioally and slso from the point of view of its adequacy. We have since made an effort to verify this with the help of the processes of oaloulation given in parac, graphs 10-12 of Appendix I to the Memorandum, dated February 21, 1924, by the Chief Commissioner and the Finsnoial Commissioner for Railway on the Separation of the Railway from the General Finances, and the result of this effort is exhibited in the following table.

| ［Amounts in crores of Rupees．］ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yoner Maroh S1at | $\begin{gathered} \text { Capital } \\ \text { Oharge } \end{gathered}$ | Progr． Revanue Erpen－ net | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text { Other } \\ \text { Expant } \\ \text { Gen } \end{array}\right.$ | Total Expen－ 8e！ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Croes } \\ \text { Sharne } \\ \text { inge } \end{gathered}$ | Profit |
| 1916 | Re． 5988 | ${ }_{2.88}^{\text {R }}$ d | ${ }_{48.47}$ | Rs． 51.29 | R． <br> 87.39 | 6．10 ${ }_{\text {R }}$ |
| 1917 | 540 \％ | 2.20 d | 49.68 | 51.81 | 63.10 | 11.22 f |
| 1918 | 542 \％ | 1.54 d | 88.65 | 54.16 | 69.06 | 14,87 f |
| 1919 | 547 a | 2.00 d | 58.56 | ${ }^{60.56}$ | 76.42 | $15.86 \%$ |
| 1920 | $560{ }^{5}$ | 8.59 d | ${ }_{70.34}^{66.52}$ | 70.11 | 79.44 | 9.33 f 3.65 f |
| 1921 | 584 606 | 7．23 d | 88．88 | ${ }_{91.21}$ | ${ }_{81.94}{ }^{\text {81．}}$ | 9.87 f |
| 1929 | 622 。 | $8.99{ }^{\circ}$ | 83.28 | 92.27 | 93.49 | 1.220 |
| 1924 | 6460 | 7.30 e | 80.87 | 88.17 | 94.45 | 6.28 － |
| Total | 0，185 | 40.97 | 594.35 | 695．32 | 696.58 | 61.26 |
| por year | 576 | 4.85 | 68.82 | 68.37 | 77.40 | 6.81 |

（a）By daduoting from Rs， 606 ororey figuren in oolumn －of Statement No． 250 of the Finence and Revenue $A 000$ unt of the Goverament of India．
（b）Page 60 of report of the Indian Retrenohment Com－ milties of 1928－2s．
（c）Page 9 of the Explanatory Memorandum of the Rail－ way Budget for 1924－25．
（d）Page 82 of the Railway $\Delta$ dminiotration Report for 1021－22．
（e）Page 8 of Railway Rovenue Budget for 1924－85．
（f）End of page 44 of Rallway Adminintration Report for 19\％－21．
（g）Page of 6 Railway Administration Report for 1921－4 It will be seen that the aggregate net gains in the nine years 1915－16 to 1923－24 amount to Rs． 61.26 orores（and nut Rs， 58.63 srores）．This amount， reduced by Re． $18 \frac{1}{2}$ crores whioh should have been mpent out of revenue on sooount of maintenance and renewals now in arresrg，comes to Rs．42．76 aroren．This given an annual avarage surplun of Re． 4.75 orores（and not．Rs． 4.46 crores）．The sver－ age capital at oharge during the period being Res． 576 orores（and not Re． 580 orores），the annusi surplus works out at 825 of 1 per cent of the oaplital at oharge（and not． 768 of 1 per cent．）． The average annual surplus of 825 of 1 per cent on the oapital at oharge includes Rs， 40.97 ororen on socount of programme revenue expend． iture and Res． 18.50 orores being an allowance on sccount of arrears of maintenance and renewals during the period 1915－16 to 1923－24．The two amounts together eome to Rs $59-47$ crores or an everage of Re， 6.61 orores per year，representing 1.148 per cent．on the sverage eapital oharge of Re． 576 onores，againat $1 \frac{1}{y}$ per oent．representing the charge whioh should have been made annually egainet the revenue scoount of the rallways on sccount of depreciation as recommended by the Dopreaiation Frund Committee．Ead the differ－ enoe of .358 of 1 per cent．（ $1 \begin{aligned} & \text { y per cont minus }\end{aligned}$ 1.148 per oent．）been net aside as a raserve，the average annual profit of 825 of 1 per cent on the egnital at charge would have been reduced to an sverage snnual profit of．473 of 1 per oent．On this whewing a return of 473 of 1 per cent．on the oapital at change of Re． 646 orores for the jear 1023－24 would hove produced Rs． 3.06 ororen．But eccording to the arrangement proposed under the soheme of aeparation，the lon incurped in work－
ing，and the interest on capital expenditure on， trategio lines，as also the oapital portion of the annuity payments and contributiong hitherto made to sinking funds out of railway revenues In repsyment of the debt inourred in purohasing Companies lines，sre to be met out of the generas revenues．The relief to rallway revenues from． this arrangement smonnts to Re． 3.58 crores during the year 1923－24．The addition of this sum to the 日um of Rs． $\mathbf{8 . 0 6}$ ororen raferred to above brings the total profit to Rs， 6.64 erores．This is equal to 1.028 per cent．on the oapital at oharge of Rs． 646 orores for the year 1923－安4．But sinoe the percentage wontribution to the general revenues is to be on the oapital at charge of the railpayg， excluding capital contributed by Companies and Indian States and oapital expenditure on atrategio railwayt，the percentage referred to above must be arrived at on this reduced capital at oharge－a material point apparentiy overlooked in Govern． ment caloulation．The oapital at charge of Rs． 646 orores for the year 1923－24 thus reduced amounts to Rs， 544 orores［ Item A（ii）at page 1094 of the Legislative Assembly Debstes，Volume IV］and the profit of Ro． 6.64 on this lattar amount repre－ sents a percentage of 1.221 against five－sirths（or ．833）of 1 per cent proposed by Governmentin parn－ graphs 39 and 40 of his Budget Speeoh of Frobra－ ary 29 last，the Finance Membar spoke of the bar－ gain arranged with the Rallway Administration as being osloulated to seoure freedom from alter． nation betwaen raids by the Reilways on the taxpayer and the raids by the taxpayer on the Railways But the oaloulations aet out above would appear to show that this fresdom is only necured by allowing the Railways to make on the taxpayer n permanent raid to the extent of the difference betreen 1.221 per cent．and .833 of 1 per ceat．It is，however，quite possible that this diference is due to some mistake in the basio figures＇adopted in the oaloulations leading up to the disorepant perventages；but now that attention has been drawn to this wide divergenee，the Committes appointed by the Legislative Assembly to consider the resolution on separate railways finanoe will，we hope，look into it and fix the per－ centage at the correot figurs．Be the correot per－ contage what it may，it is to be partioularly noted that the calculations made above ara based on and atandardiae an inordinately high leval of expenditure mounting during the nine Jears 1915－16 to 1923－24 to as much as 96 per cont of grose earninge．

It appart from paragraphe $10-12$ of Appendix I to the Momorandum，dated February 21，1984， by the Ohief Commisaioner and，the Financial Oommisaioner for Railways，that the Railray； Administration have not left themaelveen nor do they intond to leave，any special margin for profitsi to be taken into reserve．Thic is all righs so far． as it goes，in viev of the fat that they．Will have ample ncope for it ecg，in the normal annual expanalon of traftio，in the envinge which will
acorue by the transfer of the management of the East Indisn and the Great Indian Peninsula Railwaye to the State, in the increased asmings which the recent heavy enhancements of rates and fares have not yet had time enough to fully develop, in the fall in the prices of materials and money, in the annually deoreasing liability on socount of the interest portion of the annuity paymente, in the reduction in working expenees which is yet possible by the exercise of economy in the directions indioated by the Indian Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23. It is doubtful, however, whether all these combined will in a reasonable period of time enable the Railway Administration to make good the depreciation which has acoumulated up to the year 1914.15, to meet the heavy arrears of maintenance and repairs whioh could not be carried out during the war and the consequent premature renewals of the wasting assets, and yet create reserves for the improvement of servioes rendered to the public and for the reduction of rates and fares. In these circumstances it is only fair that the Government should obtain from the Railway Administration an estimate of liabilities desoribed in paragraph 13 of the Appendix referred to above and agree to aocept such lower percentage contribution to the general revenues as will enable the Railway Administration to wipe out the liabilites in a definite number of years, after which the Government could insiet on getting a higher percentage. This arrangement should be weloome to the Railway Administration who will thus be able not only to accept with confidence the obligation to meet the liabilities from the revenues of future years but also to shew clearly how the earning capacity of the railways is improving es a result of the promised régime of commercisl acoounts and commerial management. Such an estimste will no doubt require some time if indeed it has not been already prepared in conneotion with the Government's scheme for a Depreciation Fund; but the time required need not be grudged in the interest of the evolution of a soheme of separate railway finance which is at once fair and satisfactory to either side. It is highly desirable that each party should know where and how it stands in relation to the other.

As explained at the close of the article on "Sparate Railwoy Finance in Practice" which appeared in the issues of this paper of June 5 and 19 last, the minimum requirements of the General Budget consistent with a reasonable prospeot of abolition of the Provincial contributions smount to no less then Rs, 13 orores. This figure is so much in excess of what the Rallways at preeent yield or are likely to yield for many years to come, that the question of the adequacy of the contribution does not arise in so far as the needs of the General Budget are concerned. The only question therefore which requires to be answered is whether the percentage proposed represents the maximum contribution whioh the railways oan
safely undertake to provide. It must be remembered that the caloulations working up to the percentage are based on the results of working during the nine years 1915-16 to 1923-24. This period wasmarked by a big war and its after-effeots; the n6ra mal expansion of traffio was aeveraly chooked by oauses both natural and artificial, while the working expenses which were already increasing and uncontrolled before the war rose during the subsequent period to unprecedented dimensions. Any contribution based on the results of a period marked by such sbnormal conditions, without making. sny allowance therefor, must be sppreciably leas: than what the Government should expoct the railways to produce under normal conditions in the future and cannot therefore be oalled adequate. It is more desirable than not that the percentage contribution should be stiff without its being im= possible to work up to, so as to stimulate real, tan. gible and intelligible economies. Whether the proposed "bargain" is juat to the tarpayer and to the Railway Administration alike, oan only be seen when it is known exactly what allowance has been made in the proposed contribution of $5 / 6$ ths of one per cent. of the capital 84 charge for oreating reserves to wipe out arrears of depreciation and premsture renewals described in peragraph 13 of the Appendix mentioned above. In the absence of this information it is impossible toadmit the claim that the figures adduced in the Appendix constitute a satisfactory criterion of the maximum amount which the railways, with due regard to their efficient working, can be oalled upon to-contribute.

## ECONOMY.

## THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

IN view of the grave turn that Anglo-Egyptian relstions have taken over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, a few facts relative to this State may not. come amiss. The area of the country is just over a million square miles-the size of British India. The inhabitants however number only four millions as against the 247 inhabiting Britiah territory in India. As the Arabio of the name implies (Biled es-Sudan means "Country of the Blacks"). the population is negroid. Geographically and hise torically Egypt's frontiar lies at the first cataraot of the Nile, at Aswan, and not at the second, at Halfa, 150 miles further south, which now forms the northernmost point of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This region was in classic times Enown as Nubia and it may suprise not a fow of my readers to learn that Christian Kingdoms of Nubis flourished from the 6 th to the 14 th century. Nubia lay between Egypt and Abyssinia : and Abyssinia of course is still a Christian Kingdom. From the 15 th oentury onwards Nubia fell under the sway of Arabized Negro Kinge, until 1820 when it came under TurooEgyptian Administration, which in its turn csme to an end in 1881. After the Mahdi interlude, i o.
since 1895, Anglo. Egyptian condominium has exercised sovereign power in the country.

THE terms of this Condominium have been laid down in the Convention of January 19th, 1899. Under it the Governor General is appointed by Egypt with the assent of Great Britain, and the Egyptian and British flags are everywhers to be Hown side by side. No customs duties are leviable against Egypt and against other countriea duties may not erceed those of Egypt. As for trade, this was in 1920 diatributed as follows;

| From or To | Imports | Exports. |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Egypt | $3,868,335$ | $2,117,785$ |
| Great Britain | $1,506,679$ | $2,133.9 .74$ |
| Elsewhere | $1,681,851$ | 460,913 |
| Total E E. | $\mathbf{7 , 0 0 6 , 8 6 5}$ | $4,712,652$ |

Again, to the total cost of conquest Great Britain contributed $£ 800,000$, Egypt $£ 1,600,000$. The Britioh troops then employed averaged 8,000 , the Egyptian 17,000, From 189) to 1912 Egypt has met the Sudan budgetary deficits ( $£ 3,000,000$ in all) and lent to the Sudan in sddition $£ 5,500,000$. $63 \%$ of the Egyptian Army are still permanently atationed in the Sudan and form there the whole military garriaon (with the exception of one British battalion). On the face of it, thersfore, Figypt seems, even quite apart from the faot that Nubis controls the NHe, i. e. the very life of Egypt, to have an extraordinarily good claim to the Sudan. If the latter truly desires independence from Eigyptwhich is quite conceivable-the solution surely is not a oontinuance of a mixed Anglo-Egyptian, or substitution of purely British. tutelage, but the oreation of a Laague of Nations regime, ensuring table government, the open door and genuine "truateenhip" for the true owners of the countryits inhabitants.

REPUGEES - this doleful legaey of war-are a problem still muoh to the fore. Of Ruesians ten and a halflakhe are still outsidewhat was onoe their own country, now repudiated by tham on socount of its Bolshevik apostasy. Germeny harbours five, Frande four lakte, whilst the rest are distributed as follows : Poland ( 80,000 ), Bulgaria $(38,000)$, Rumae nfa (20,000), Constantinople (8,000), Ouba (4,500), Belgium (3,000), Brazil (300), Sweden (300), Of Greek rufugees from Turkey nealy seven lakhs are now in Greace, whilat those Armeniana, who have managed to get outside Turkey, find themcelves now:

1,50,000 in Syria
1,20,000 "Greece
20,000 " Bulgaria
80,000 " other Europesn countrien
8,1100 "Mesopotsmia
2,000 "Cyprua
1,000 "Paleatine
3,81,000
These are bald figures : but what imagiastion is vivid enough to reoonstruct the hansn agoay they cover?

IN viep of the news that Henry Ford has tasen some land nesr Bombay for the orection of a factory, whence to tura out Indian Ford oars, the following motor statistios, taken from the ${ }^{*}$ Now Statesman of July 26 th, showing the total number of motor vehioles in use at the end of 1923 throughout the world, will be of interast. The grand total amounts to $1,57,63,281$ passenger cars, $23,45,850$ freight truoks and $10,77,935$ mutoroycles. The small proportion of motor ofoles will coma as a surprise; the explanation being, that the people of the U. S. A. cannot be bothered about oycles: they all have cars. All? Well, consider tha following table-giving the 15 prinsipal automo. bile countries:

Name of Country: United States of America Grest Britain ... .... $1,34,84,939$ $\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Cansda } & \cdots & \cdots & \ldots & 4,69,490 \\ \text { Crana } & \ldots & \ldots & 4,50,000\end{array}$ France .... ... ... $3,52,359$ Australia $\quad$... ... ... $1,09,157$
Germany .... ... ... $1,00,329$
Argentins ..4 ... ... 85,000

Spain ... ... ... 45,000
Italy ... ... ... 45,000
India $\quad . . \quad . . . \quad . . . \quad 44,864$

| New Zealand | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $44,845$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Denmark | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 42,201 |


| Denmark | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 42,201 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| Britigh South Afrios | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | . | 38,000 |  |
| Sweden | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |  | 35,000 |

The position of the United States oertainly is overwhelming, but India, as No. 11, does not o3m. pare badly with the rest of the world. Uatil one. calculates proportions and discovers that whilst in the United States one person in 8, in New Zealand one in 30 and in Great Britain one in 92, is rioh onough to own a car, poverif-stricken India must be eatisfied with one motor car owner per seven thousand of its inhabitants. But Henry Ford will no doubt ohange all that soon enough I

HANSRAJ.

## REVIEX.

## "PROVISION AGAINST RAINLESS DAYS."

HARRIS D. G. : Irbigation in India. (India of ToDay Sinrims.) Oxford University Press, Bombay. 1823. $7 \frac{1}{3} \times 4$. Pp. 100. Re. 2.

To understand the importance of irrigation in India it is necessary to remember the great variety of moteorological conditions in India. The normal annual rainfall varies from 460 inchesat Cherrapanji in Assam hills to less than threa inches in Upper Bind. Althongh the average annaal rainfall is 45 inches for the whole conntry, great variations ars foand if different tracts of the country are considered separately. The fluctastions in Indian rainfall render Indian agricaltare a geme of chance and famine almost a normal feature in Indian life and alministration. The part that famines play in Indian adminiatration can be seen from the annual provision that the proviacial governments make for famine relief, protective irrigation works and other
works for the prevention of famine. The annal assignments to famine insurance fand are the following :

| Madras | R8. | 6,61,000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bombay | " | 63,60,000 |
| Bengal | " | 2,00,000 |
| U. P. | * | 39,60,000 |
| Punjab | " | 3,81,000 |
| Barms .a | " | 67,000 |
| Bihar \& Orissa | " | 11,62,000 |
| Central Provinces | \% | 47,26,000 |
| Agsam ... | \% | 10,000 |

From the large assignments made by Bombsy, U. P. and C. P. it is evident that these are the provinces most liable to famine. "The precarious area of British India" comprises a great crescent of land extending from Karachi through Sind, the Panjab, the United provinces and almost up to the boundary between Bihar and Bongal, a wide strip down the East Coast from Cattack to Cape Comorin and considerable inland portions of Gujerat, the Central Provinces and Burma. It is in this area that the major irrigation works are to be found.

Of the total area cropped in British India less than a quarter is irrigated artificially, the remainder depending wholly on rainfall. Of the artificially irrigated area aboat 13 per cent. ( $192 \%-23$ ) only is irrigated from Government works. The area thas irrigated rose from 1012 million acres to over 28 million acres in 1920-23. The total length of the channels was 55,202 miles, a length sufficient to girdle the earth twice. The total capital invested in the irrigation works has risen from $£ 42$ million in 18001901 to $£ 841 / 4$ million in $1922-23$.

The older generation of Indian politicians fonght many a battle on behalf of Indian irrigation. Railway versus irrigation was a live issae in India daring the last quarter of the 10 th contury and early years of the present century. It was contended that irrigation works not only prevented famines but were sound investments also. While ander the guaranteed syetem an artificial booun in railway works was created, the irrigation worke suffered from neglect. Sir Arthur Cotton, the great irrigation engineer of Southern India, was ridiculed in the House of Commons as having 'water on his brain' for hia warm advocacy of extension of irrigation works in India. Some of the severest famines of the last centary would have been averted if Sir Arthur Cotton's counsel had prevailed.

Irrigation works are classed as productive and protective according to the amount of direct return on the capital investment. From a wider point of view all irrigatiou works are productive even though some of them may not jield any direct return. The prosperity of the people that results from them reflects on the economic life of the irrigated area and its neighbourhood and there is a net increase in the wealth of the land. Taken as a whole the Government irrigation works in India yield a return of from 7 to 8 per cent. on the capital invested in them, the Lower Cherab canal yielding as high a retarn as 45 per cent.

The methods of levying charges for water differ in parious provinces. In some cases, as in Sind, land revenue inclades charges for water, which form ninetenths of the total assessment. In parts of Madras and Bombay rates of land revenne vary according as the land is irrigated or not and the assesement apon irrigated lands includes the charge for water. The more common method in to charge for water gepararately, as so mach per jacre, according to the orop
grown with the exception of Medras, Sind and parts of Bombay, the distribation of water and the sesessment of revenue is done by the engineers of the Pablic Works Department.

The constraction of the Lower Swat canal in the N. W. Frontier province at the extreme limit of British India presents a record of extraordinary interest. The work "was prompted mainly by political motives, in the hope that the existence of such a work would tend to pacify and settle the border". The woik has proved saccessfal not ouly politically but also financially. The total ares irrigated (192223) by the Lower Swat canal was 170,456 acres and the percentage of retarn on capital outlay was 10.11. "In 1875 it was a barren wilderness, uninhabited and uninhabitable; by 1895 it was a wide expanse of caltivation, dotted with villages occupied by a lawabiding and contented pessantry. In 1845 no offiver was permitted to go outside cantonments without being armed and accompanied by an armed escort; by 1894 nothing of this sort was required and the tract was as peaceful and secure as any in the Panjab."

When in the carly part of the present year, hostilities were about to break out between Afghan:stan noll India, Mr. Brailsford, commenting on the situation wrote in the New Leader (Jau. 11, 1024): "These (hill-tribes) are human beinge, condemned by the barrenness of their sun-baked monntains to a crim struggle with hopeless porerty. It is no cure to terrorise them into respect for civilization. How woald it be to apply say one tenth of the cost of military defence to constractive economic defence? What if we were to call in the agricultaral expert instead of the strategist ?" The remarks of Mr. Brailsford provoked angry comments in the AngloIndian papers. Probably Mr. Brailsford's suggestion would rob the ralers of the glorious feeliag of being the defenders of India from the maranding Northern hordes. Bat the history if the Lower Swat canal and Kabul River canal strongly supports his view.

Mr. Harris' book is on a subject usually considered to belong entirelg to experts. He has saccesded in making the subject interesting even to laymen. While reading the book one visualises the heroic straggles against the mignty forces of nature, carried on month by month, yerr by year by ongineer of bla and architectonic imagination. The reader sees the seane changing from wildernesses to smiling lawne, villages and towns taking shape and growing up in prosperity, vast masses of human beinge swarming and coloniaing and almost a new civilization boing built up. Within the short compass of a huadred pages air. Harris has written a readable gad informing book. A "g jod map of the Indian channel systems would have added to the nsefalness of the book.
J. B. S.

## MISCELLANEA.

## REFORM OF OIVIL. COURTS.

THE following are extracti from an artiole whish apparad in the Sarvajanik Sabha Journal of July 1884, prosumably from the pen of late Mr. Justies Ranade, and will be of apecial interent to thone who are now ongaged in deoreasing delay" in oivil oourta:-

Our lown have bean oodified, and the procedure of our courts has boen elaborated upon the zodol of the
mont edvanoed countries, but machinery of the oonzts f se antquated and antympa thotic as is wis in the asriy rart of the contury, athough in the interval the public pirit and intelligonce of the people have edmittedly ontgrown the condition of thinge in view of which the courts wers origisally instituted. The mein prinviplen on which thit contitution was originally bated mity be denoribed to be a jesious exclution and deprecistion of popalar ageocisa, and a distrust of the purity and effiolecoy of thengtive jodiciary at the bottom of the sosin. Thia jealony find diesrust asn alone aocount for the compliosted aystem of oheok and appeais intolving in their operation an enormoun wate of pow fimoney, and time, and untold veration and haragnmert to the litigent partian. It wan thought at the then that Furopean anpervinion and oontrol oculd noz poasibly témade toe thorough and minuta, although this consideration meda If necessary that the eteond hearing of every consented civil or oriminal procesding bhould take place before a Felatively more ineflioien tribunal than the ocurt of the firy initance. The amoolation of the people in the work of edminineration was io those days thought to be uneafe, and socordingly the old panohayats and village anthoritios were tixipped of their powert, whioh were aummarily tranoferred to Etipendiery officers whore ohlef recommendstion wan that they vere inaccenaible to populer Infuonoa. The tame extgenoien of foreign domination made it necesnary to centralise exeoutive and magisterial famotion in one and the amme hands, and for the ame reanon all honorary pative agenoy what jetounly exoluded. These guiding prineiplen of aotion were quite inteiligible, and might have beon oven meocosary In thone eariy dayt, but it canoot be deated that this neaenalty has long since ceacedown The veration delayk and the hesvy sonts of ory divil litigetion, the onmbernome Fyter of appeale and mecond appenity the opprenalon practised by ircapontible authoritios who pabordinate their judiolal functiong to the notd of their eroutive power, the alionstion of publio fealing whioh bus too often sympathisan with the Frong-doer from itil aupiolon of poliot and megliteriai high-handednees, all these *Fife oall for urgent send speedy rolorm. These aomplaint conotifute the main iubjeot of oritiolim in the native nevere papera and thereby add to the bittornan of race antipathies.

The main headr of inquiry whioh might be laid down for she guidanoe of zuoh a committet may be briefy thw not forth:-

1st. How ins, and in what direotion, the present conetitution of our oivil oourts of original and appollato jurisdiotion, can be rafoly altered to as to avold the oomplaints of vexatioun delayn and heary oosts, and consuguens falitare of juntioe.

Ind Whether the complioted agatem of firt and meoond and third appeste oan be almplifed without projudioing the neountary guaranteen for the admonintration of jantion.

Srd. To What extent is the present combination of gudioisl and axtoutve fonotioni undetirable, and if a ohange haa to be ende, what plam oan be proponed whioh will eecure the main objest in viev.
thi. Onn the fytam of trial by fury be extended to all ctriout offencen triable by the canmion courte, and if $\mathrm{mo}_{\mathrm{i}}$ under what guarantoen ?

8th. Oan the agenoy of Bonorary Maciatratos and oivil arbitration be oxtonded, and Its affeionay inoreseed by the adoption of Bench tribunala?

A fow remarks on oach of thene pointe in the order asmed above will not be inappropritite in this place Dentractive ordtiom in prations mattera like these counte for nothing. Thone who oondeman the axisting wytom ara, therofore, bound to ppeposes a working rabalitute in pleoe of then yatem attiol. ed. (1) In mand to the frat polnt, our view fat that s radianl reoonatraetion of our Courts in mont argently eallod for, and the plan we propose han the merit of boing at once cafo. sconomian, and ofllionth and it han the bigh mathority of sir Fitrimmes Blephor, that whom no name ean be mentioned an mase sautiod to publio deforenee in thit conneotlon. At
prosent the aubordinate conrte are found to be entablished in overy Talaka or two of the diatriota, and oxeroise jarimdietion in all manner of zalte up to Ra. 5,000 and there im one subordinate sourt in esoh Zilla town with unlimited jerisdition. The dintriot and antintant Jodges oxeroite no original jarindiotion axcopt in a few more casen where Government or its offioert are concerned an pazties. The tent of value al separating farisdiation in allecious tent. About 80 per cent. of suita are of the nature of amall onusen in respeot of which only one appeal in sllowed to the distriot court. For the most part, however, no appeals are proforred, excapt where partien wish traudulently to gain time. In the remaining 80 per cent, of anite relating to lagd and hounen, by far the mont part are conterted, and they go up in appeal to the distriot or asulstant judgen. Thir illogioal division of work entaile a needions watte of time and money, and often oances veration and fallare of justioe. The plan we propose is to resonstitute thene courti on a more logioal banis. We would etrengthen the court at the Zilla town by oonatituting a Distriot High Conrt, composed of the Dintriof Judge, the Asaistant Judge, anj one or two first clam sub-judges, Thia acurt so conittsuted should have cozniasnce of all ontes whioh do not'oome, within the eategory of small onuse court raits. The Dlatriot High Oourt would uffas a Bench or in division courte, to dif: oide all the oasen rogarding lands and houses and personal atatus in the first instance, and finally. The other conts would exercins only emall osuse jarisdiotion within thois Ilmiti, and the sub-judges proniding over them, beiog thus rehoved, oould be utilised for oriminal work, at magietiraten of the firto or second olass. Thin arrangement would dietribate olvil work socording to the presumed oompetency of the judges. A wtrong Distriot Court would do away with the necessity of firat appesl, thereby diminithing the ohances of delay and mizimisiag costa to a mose nensible extent. It would also atrengthen the distriot bar, and promote cordial relations between Native and European memberi of the diatriot Courte. The plan infact ta based upon the model of the Presideney High Court original aide and the Small Cousen Court.
(II) The prenent ayetem of appeals from the tubordinate judges to the assistant or distriot judges Th open to two objections: firntly, the ditatrict and astintant judgen tre not trained by the discharge of origisal mork to deal effeotive juntioe in appesl. Too often the appeal is, in the worde of Sir FitwJamen Stophon, from a promumably more compatent to a lona competent tribonsl. And, aecondly, the mubjudge kaowe the language and mannern of the peoples, takes down the evidonoe In his own haed, and deoldes acoording to his tnowledge of the oredibility of the witnesan and the probability of the faots attested to by thom. The maperior Judge in a forcignor In race and feeling, in imperfeotly aoqualnted with the lasguage, has not the witnester before him, and yet in oallod upon to nit in fudgmont upon quastiona both of lave and-faot, and hil spprecietion of the facta in final, the seoond appeal being confined oaly to point of law. This arrangement appears to uil to be very anomalout and defootive. As might be expeoted, he confirton in a large majority of eases the deolaions appealed from, and to that extent the ooste and delaye of thir second hearing see needlesty thrown away. In the minority of oases whore he cevortes the deoision of the lower courth, the ohances are equal, that he may be in the wrong and parties take up the matterin stoond appeal to the High Oourt whish ae often confirme the devicion in appeal se it mots it anide, and resitoren the deoree of the subjudge's court. All thls prooedare in noneoenatily burdensome. Under the plan we have proposed, the Grat and the only appeal Fonld be to the Eigh Coust, whioh should not be, as at presont, bonad to acoept doolnions on questions of fect any more than thome of Iow. No greater work will bo thrown upon the dietriot coort If proper preeaution be taken to gire finality to every well eonildered judgments The Diatrlot Const will moseover be polleved iof ite appellate fanotions in conetdoration of the alditional ortanal wort thrown apon it,

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