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ADDRESS  
OF THE DEWAN

NO. 1116

MYSORE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

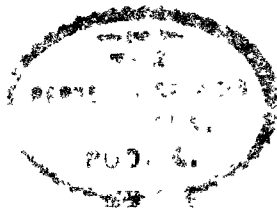
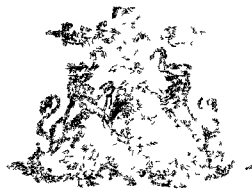
(DASARA SESSION)

26th October 1917

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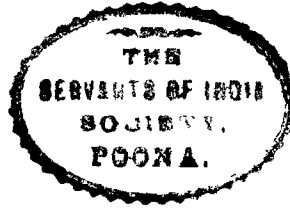
Part I

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**ADDRESS**  
**OF THE DEWAN**  
TO THE  
**MYSORE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**

(DASARA SESSION)

26th OCTOBER 1917

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PART I.

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1.—Preliminary.

GENTLEMEN,

I am commanded by His Highness the Maharaja to welcome you to the Dasara session of the Assembly and to place before you a brief account of the administration of the State for the official year 1916-17. The principal events of the year, as well as the outlines of proposed developments, will be referred to in this part of the address and particulars of a routine nature will be separately dealt with in Part II. As we have now two sessions of the Assembly in the year for the consideration of public questions, you will agree that the address need not be as elaborate as on previous occasions.

2. We are still under the shadow of the great war. *The War.* The number of belligerents has been increasing and the world is practically divided into two warring camps. The war continues to levy a heavy toll on the manhood and resources of Europe, production is arrested, increased difficulty is felt in obtaining food supplies and the distress of nations is growing.

Our humble share in the war has been referred to in some of the previous addresses to this Assembly. The Mysore Imperial Service Lancers have been at the

front for the past three years and their services have won the repeated approbation of the authorities. Within the past few days we have learnt that the honorary rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the British Army has been conferred on our gallant Chief Commandant, Colonel Desaraj Urs, C.I.E., M.V.O., for valuable services rendered in Egypt. The Imperial Service Transport Corps was also mobilised and sent out for field service during the year, and we have been receiving very satisfactory accounts of its work.

His Highness the Maharaja contributed during the year a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs towards the expenses of the war in addition to the 52 lakhs paid in the year 1914-15. Government have also subscribed a sum of Rs. 35 lakhs to the war loan raised by the Government of India. Including the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, the total contribution of Mysore towards the war loan and war bonds is estimated at about 75 lakhs.

His Highness' Government have arranged to co-operate in the special campaign of recruitment organised by the Government of India. Committees for recruitment have been formed both in Bangalore and in the districts, and liberal inducements are being offered to attract recruit.

Owing to the restricted opportunities for military service open to the people in the past, soldiering has become a lost art and recruitment may be difficult in the beginning. But His Highness' Government are using their best endeavours in the matter and have decided not to stint any expenditure that may be necessary. I would earnestly appeal to the members of this Assembly to co-operate with the Government officers in charge of recruiting measures, in their respective districts, so that our contribution to the mobilised man-power of the country may be commensurate with the demands of the situation and the importance of our State.

*Seasonal Conditions,  
1916-17.*

3. The rainfall was ample and on the whole well-distributed. With the exception of coffee in the Kadur District, the output of the principal crops was satisfactory. The tanks received the usual supply of water and fodder was abundant. Except for the appearance of epidemics among the cattle all over the State, the year 1916-17 was a prosperous one for the agricultural population.

*Prospects of the current  
season.*

4. The *mungir* showers during the current year were scanty, and although the monsoon set in early in June,

there was a prolonged break till the end of July which caused some anxiety. But the rainfall from the month of August has been abundant and has made up for the earlier deficiency. The agricultural situation at the present time, taken as a whole, may be described as decidedly satisfactory.

## 2.—Representative Institutions.

5. Before proceeding to give an account of the administration of the regular Government Departments, I may say a few words regarding the work of the Legislative Council, the Representative Assembly and other popular bodies.

6. Five meetings of the Legislative Council and *Legislative Council.* eleven meetings of Select Committees were held during the year and twelve measures were passed into law. Of these, the most important was the Mysore University Regulation.

7. For the first time, under the orders of His *Representative* Highness the Maharaja, the Representative Assembly met *Assembly.* twice during the last official year. During the session held in April, the budget estimates of the State were discussed and a new procedure, for the preliminary investigation of questions by means of committees, was adopted. This procedure, if properly developed, should facilitate the work of this Assembly by placing before it concrete issues or definite recommendations formulated after a thorough study of the questions by members specially interested in them. The change is intended to provide special opportunities to members to make constructive proposals for the consideration of Government in matters in which they take an interest. This practice will doubtless help some of them to specialise and become experts in selected branches of public administration.

Of the 427 subjects proposed for discussion in the Dasara and Summer sessions of 1916-17, 236 subjects have been finally disposed of and 191 are under consideration.

8. The Economic Conference, on which there are *The Economic* sixteen elected representatives, including eight members *Conference.* of this Assembly, met as usual in Mysore in the Birthday week and discussed many questions of economic interest

to the State. The work of the Conference and its various agencies, namely, the Standing Committee, the Central Committees, the District Committees, etc., will be dealt with in a separate section of the Address.

*The Local Self-Government Scheme.*

9. In my address to this Assembly in Dasara 1915, I outlined a scheme, then under the consideration of Government, for reorganizing the system of Local Self-Government in Mysore. In November last, orders were passed on the subject and the necessary enactments have since been practically put through the Legislative Council. The object of the new scheme is to strengthen the elective element in municipal and local boards, to enlarge their powers and functions, to increase their financial resources, and to render them real, responsible and capable agents in the administration of their own local affairs.

10. One or two features of the scheme regarding rural boards deserve notice. In making the village an important factor in the new scheme, we have attempted to remove the reproach that our local institutions have been built from the top. It is proposed to place the existing Village Improvement Committees on a statutory basis and invest them, in suitable cases, with the management of all the village affairs now severally administered by Village Improvement Committees, Village Courts, Forest Panchayets, etc. This consolidation of functions and the formation of a Village Fund should stimulate the growth of a genuine civic spirit and render much improvement possible in villages. The Taluk Boards which form the next higher grade of institutions in rural areas, and which have hitherto had but a nominal existence will, under the new arrangements, be incorporated bodies having independent funds and a defined sphere of duties. It is proposed to gradually develop the District Boards so that they may participate in the general administration of the district and occupy, in course of time, a position similar to that of District Councils in England and other countries. In addition to their ordinary functions, District and Taluk Boards will also be authorised to undertake measures for the agricultural and economic improvement of their respective areas, and to raise loans, if necessary, for the purpose.

*District and Taluk Conferences.*

11. In order to systematize the periodical gathering of officers and non-official gentlemen in the districts, instructions have issued to the Deputy Commissioners that they should convene conferences annually in every taluk

in their jurisdiction as well as for the district as a whole. These orders were fully carried out during the year. The one result so far is that we have been able to catalogue the local wants and grievances of each taluk. By devoting systematic and sustained attention, it should be possible to secure tangible improvements from year to year.

### 3.—State Finances.

12. The financial position of the State and the system of Government accounts and audit were examined by Mr. K. L. Datta, Special Financial Officer, under whose able and experienced advice, various reforms in financial and account procedure have been adopted.

13. According to the revised estimates for 1916-17, *Budget estimates.* the revenue and expenditure under service heads were Rs. 292.67 and 292.39 lakhs respectively. In the estimates of the current year also, equilibrium is maintained between receipts and expenditure, the receipts amounting to Rs. 302.92 lakhs.

14. We have, as you are aware, been utilising our balances for some years past for the construction of productive public works. Owing to this change in the form of our assets and the depreciation of investments which has occurred as a result of the war, our balances will not by themselves be sufficient to meet the outlay required to fully carry out our programme of productive undertakings. Neither is it sound policy to finance such works entirely from the annual surpluses of the State. I am gratified to observe that this view of our financial policy has now received acceptance at the hands of the public, and suggestions for financing productive works from borrowed funds have been made by the members of this Assembly. I might add, however, that no loan on any appreciable scale will be attempted under the existing conditions of the money market.

### 4.—Salient features of the year's work.

#### Revenue Departments.

15. The satisfactory agricultural conditions of the *Land Revenue.* year were reflected in the revenue collections which



reached the record figure of Rs. 110 lakhs during the year. With a view to relieve congestion of work in Revenue offices, Government have invested Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners and Amildars with additional powers. A scheme for systematizing the use of standard weights and measures in the State was sanctioned in January 1917 and the preliminaries necessary to bring it into effect are receiving attention

16. Among other matters, Government have under consideration proposals for re-organising the Revenue Department with a view to give some assistance to Amildars and to Deputy Commissioners. Arrangements are being made to relieve the latter of the direct charge of taluks.

*Survey Department.*

17. Revised rates of assessment were announced in the late Gudibanda, Tarikere and the late Banawar Taluks. The result of the revision was an increase of 6, 23.4 and 19.2 per cent, in the three taluks, respectively, over the collections under the old settlement. The high percentage of increase in the case of Tarikere and the late Banawar Taluks is due partly to the expansion of cultivation and partly to the fact that the original rates had been fixed very low. The revised rates have, on the whole, met with approval in all the taluks

*Excise Department.*

18. The gross revenue under Excise during the year amounted to Rs. 62,68,000. The vexed question of Inamdars' rights to the toddy revenue in their Inam villages, which had long engaged the consideration of this Assembly, has been settled by the issue of revised rules. Excise Licensing Boards consisting of officials and non-officials have been established, as a tentative measure, in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore and on the Kolar Gold Field, with power to determine the location and number of excise shops in their respective jurisdictions.

*Forest Department*

19. The total revenue during the year amounted to Rs. 45 lakhs as against Rs. 32 lakhs in 1915-16. The increase was chiefly due to the high prices realised for sandalwood. A special officer has been appointed to deal with the development of forest industries. A Forest Research Laboratory and a Library have been organised on a modest scale and a school has been opened for the training of Foresters and Guards. A similar institution for the training of Rangers will be opened shortly.

The major portion of our forest revenue is derived from sandalwood, the realizations from other

forest produce being comparatively small. If our forest property is to yield anything like its full revenue, a liberal investment of capital on roads, tramways and other transport facilities is indispensable. The question of giving practical training to higher officials, the provision of trained recruits and the improvement of the commercial side of the department are engaging the earnest attention of Government.

#### Protection.

20. In the Judicial Department, the introduction of *Judicial Department.* the system of trial by jury in the Bangalore and Mysore Divisions and a scheme for the recruitment of Munsiffs by means of a competitive examination were among the principal measures sanctioned during the year.

21. An additional Superintendent of Police has been *Police Department* appointed for the Railway Police and the Criminal Investigation Department. The question of extending the Police Training School and of replacing Police Jamedars by a better class of officers, with a view to ensure more efficient investigation of crime, are under the consideration of Government.

22. A Medical School has been opened from the *Medical and Public Health Departments.* beginning of the current official year for the training of men for the subordinate medical service. It has been strongly urged on the attention of Government that the school might well be raised to University standard. While sympathising with the proposal, however, Government feel that the limited demand that exists in the State for highly trained medical men will scarcely justify at present the expense involved in maintaining a Medical College.

23. Under the scheme sanctioned by Government for the reorganization of the Public Health Department, a full-time Sanitary Commissioner has been appointed and instructions have issued for increasing the number of Sanitary Inspectors employed by local bodies.

#### Technical Departments.

24. The total expenditure on Public Works from all *Public Works Department* sources including Local Funds amounted to Rs. 62½ lakhs as against Rs. 66½ lakhs in the preceding year. This amount is made up of Rs. 43 lakhs spent on ordinary Public and Local Fund works and Rs. 19½ lakhs on the Cauvery reservoir and channels. The reservoir has been named the 'Krishnaraja Sagara' in response to a wide-felt popular

desire that it should be directly associated with the name of His Highness the Maharaja to whose benevolence and foresight it owes its existence. The construction of the dam made satisfactory progress during the year, the crest having been raised over a portion of the flanks to a height of 90 feet. The outlay on the works during the year was Rs. 13.95 lakhs which brought the total expenditure up to the end of June 1917 to Rs. 104.62 lakhs. The reservoir earned a revenue of Rs. 4,47,000 during the year.

25. In connection with irrigation improvements, gauging stations have been established on selected important tanks, as well as on some rivers, for measuring discharges. The examination of *atchkats* with reference to the sufficiency of the available storage is proceeding in the case of some twenty tanks. The appointment of Chief Engineer for Irrigation which was vacant for some time is now filled up.

*Electrical Department.*

26. Work on the Fifth Installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme, which is estimated to cost Rs. 3,63,188, is in progress and the plant is expected to be ready for test in November 1917. This will increase the capacity of the generating station from 18,650 H. P. to 22,650 H. P. The power utilised and the revenue derived, during the past five years, are as given below :—

Year			Power generated	Net revenue
			Kilo-Watt Hours	Rs.
1912-13	...	...	79,709,668	10,62,301
1913-14	...	...	74,326,757	10,21,103
1914-15	...	...	86,350,615	10,53,111
1915-16	...	...	90,392,109	13,77,247
1916-17	...	...	89,369,500	16,85,000

Arrangements have been made for fixing penstock pipes in the Krishnaraja Sagara dam to generate electric power to serve as a reserve for the Mysore Power Supply and for other purposes.

27. An experimental installation for pumping water by means of electric power has been established on the banks of the Arkavati near Kankanhalli. If this proves a commercial success, it may lead to the establishment of many such installations by private enterprise along the valley.

*Railway Department.*

28. The total outlay on construction and surveys during the year was Rs. 19,94,008 and Rs. 65,573 respectively.

A portion of the Kolar District Railway (from Bowringpet to Chikballapur), a considerable portion of the

Bangalore-Chikballapur Light Railway (from Yesvantpur to Chikballapur), and the whole of the Tarikere-Narasimharajapura Tramway have been completed and opened for traffic during the year. The Mysore-Arsikere Railway has been opened for goods traffic from 1st September 1917 and will probably be ready for passenger traffic by about January next.

Government have decided that a continuous but moderate policy of railway development should be pursued in the State and that a sum of Rs. 15 to 20 lakhs should be provided in the budget every year for some time to come. The programme of railway operations for the year 1917-18 is given in Part II of the Address. The cost of iron work being prohibitive, it is considered undesirable to import permanent way and rolling stock, on any large scale, till the war is over.

29. The mining industry continued to be faced with several difficulties during the year, but I am happy to say that, by careful management, the mines on the Kolar Gold Field have kept up to their normal level of work and output. A programme of work has been laid down for the Department of Mines and Geology for the next ten years and provision made for devoting special attention to the practical development of mining and metallurgical industries.

*Department of Mines  
and Geology.*

**Local Self-Government and Miscellaneous.**

30. The total income and expenditure under District Funds amounted approximately to Rs. 14,24,603 and Rs. 11,89,991, and of the municipalities in the State to Rs. 14,32,000 and Rs. 13,98,000, respectively. On account of the rise in the price of iron pipes, the execution of many water supply projects has had to be held in abeyance.

Plans and estimates for improvements and a drainage project for the Bangalore City were prepared. The improvement and sewerage works in Mysore City made satisfactory progress during the year.

31. Several measures have been recently sanctioned for the better management of the various classes of institutions and the proper utilisation of Muzrai funds. But these reforms, I must add, require for their success a large measure of public co-operation. Our Muzrai institutions are numerous and their efficient management is a task beyond the unaided strength of any single Government

*Muzrai.*

department. We look, therefore, to the practical piety and vigilance of the devotees of the various institutions to help to maintain them in a satisfactory condition.

*Efficiency Audit.*

32. Arrangements have been made to appoint probationers so as to ensure a reserve of trained officers in the various departments of Government. The object is to get the pick of the men for the State service, qualifications for selection being relaxed only to the extent necessary to give a good start to members of classes who are backward in education. A scheme for the standardisation of departmental manuals was sanctioned and a quarterly compilation of Government orders and other official papers, known as the Mysore Blue Book Journal, was issued during the year. The scheme of Organization and Development work has been introduced in all the departments. It is an attempt to catalogue and keep under constant study and investigation the larger defects existing, and the permanent improvements required, in every department, and also to encourage officers to specialise in different branches of departmental technique.

The publication of statistics and handbooks has been completed for all the taluks and districts and steps are being taken to revise the handbooks from time to time so as to keep them up to date. These publications should prove of considerable help to officers as well as non-official gentlemen, and enable them to co-operate in all the development work attempted in their several local areas.

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### 5.—Departments connected with Economic Progress.

*Education Department.*

33. The number of public institutions in the State on the 30th June 1917, was 7,419 with a total strength of 3,01,249 including 54,688 girls, showing an increase of 1,983 schools and 86,852 scholars over the corresponding figures for the year 1915-16. The percentage of boys at school to the total population of school age increased from 45·8 to 57 and that of girls at school to the female population of school age from 9·7 to 12·9, while the percentage of both boys and girls at school to the population of school age rose from 27·9 to 35. Including private institutions, these percentages would show a further

increase, viz., from 45·8 to 62·4, from 9·7 to 13·2 and from 27·9 to 38·0 respectively.

34. The number of primary schools increased by nearly 2,000 and an annual grant of Rs. 50,000, to be repeated in three successive budgets from 1917-18, has been sanctioned for their equipment. Six-hundred and ninety-eight day schools and 67 village night schools were opened during the year for the education of adults, making a total of 1,291 schools with 23,354 pupils under instruction.

The scheme of compulsory education was extended to 41 new centres during the year 1916-17, making a total of 68 centres at the end of June 1917. During the current year 170 more centres have been brought under the scheme, which is thus in operation in 238 places, including all the taluk and sub-taluk stations. Proposals for the compulsory education of girls in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore have just received the sanction of His Highness the Maharaja.

35. The separation of the Anglo-Vernacular classes from the High School classes has been effected in all the important High Schools. The pay and prospects of teachers of secondary schools were improved during the year and it is reported that a distinctly better class of teachers has already been secured.

36. The number of institutions for Mahomedans increased from 530 in 1915-16 to 701 in 1916-17. Higher rates of pay were sanctioned for teachers in Mahomedan schools at an extra cost of Rs. 6,740 per annum, in order to attract qualified members of the Mahomedan community to the teaching profession. A training school for mistresses of Hindustani schools has been opened at Mysore.

A sum of one lakh of rupees has been sanctioned for the grant of scholarships to pupils belonging to backward and depressed communities, chiefly to encourage them to take to higher education.

37. Among other important measures sanctioned during the current year may be mentioned a scheme for the improvement of Sanskrit education in the State at a cost of nearly half a lakh of rupees and arrangements for the publication of scientific books in Kannada and the teaching of Science from the lowest classes.

38. The year 1916-17 saw the inauguration of the *The Mysore University*. The preliminary work connected with

the constitution of Faculties and of the different statutory boards and committees has been completed. The construction of the buildings, the staffing of the colleges and the preparation of syllabuses engaged attention during the year. Faculties in Engineering and Commerce have been newly organized and B.Sc. classes opened in the Central College. A University Magazine has been started.

*Department of  
Agriculture.*

39. A Government farm has been opened at Nagenahalli in Mysore District to investigate questions connected with sugarcane and to study the agricultural needs of the area commanded by the Cauvery channels. In addition to scientific experiments and investigations, the Department has prepared a scheme for the increase of agricultural production throughout the State and the practical measures to be adopted to this end are under consideration. The investigation of the spike disease of sandal led to the definite establishment of its infectious nature and Government have sanctioned the appointment of a special officer to pursue the investigation further.

*Industries and  
Commerce  
Department.*

40. A scheme for the re-organization of the department has been sanctioned and a programme of work to be carried out and industries to be investigated has been prepared. A separate commercial section has been recently constituted to investigate commercial questions and to develop joint-stock enterprise and trade in the State. The officer in charge of the commercial section is also expected to undertake the collection and publication of correct commercial statistics and organise a bureau of information.

Loans for industrial purposes aggregating one lakh of rupees were sanctioned during the year and 32 installations were undertaken out of which 24 have been completed, bringing the total number of completed installations to 127.

The Public Works Workshop at Bangalore has been transferred to the Department of Industries and Commerce and sanction has been given to the opening of smaller workshops in district headquarters for the repair of industrial machinery. The establishment of a store depôt at Bangalore has been sanctioned for the sale of fuel, spare parts for machinery, etc.

The sandalwood oil factory at Bangalore has been working successfully and the larger factory at Mysore has recently commenced work. The success of the enterprise is largely due to the energy and resourcefulness of Mr. Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.

41. One hundred and eighty-eight societies were registered during the year and 14 were cancelled, the number at the close of the year being 974. The membership rose from 64,857 to 72,846, the working capital from Rs. 44,21,688 to Rs. 52,17,030, the total transactions from Rs. 1,72,53,813 to Rs. 1,97,72,301 and the net profits from Rs. 2,17,976 to Rs. 2,61,760. One provincial and sixteen district and taluk conferences were held during the year. *Co-operative Societies.*

42. Special attention was paid during the year to the co-ordination of work of the various committees and agencies of the Economic Conference both at headquarters and in the districts. All the District Committees and some of the Taluk Progress Committees did useful work. The Central and Standing Committees met regularly once a month. *Economic Conference.*

43. The subjects which chiefly engaged the attention of the Agricultural Committee were the organisation of co-operative societies for agricultural production, the extension of sugarcane cultivation, the investigation of conditions connected with the coffee industry, the development of fruit culture and the improvement of agricultural stock. *Agricultural Committee.*

44. A detailed scheme for developing the work of the Department was prepared by Signor Mari. A central school has been opened at Mysore for the training of the staff of the Department. For purposes of demonstration and instruction to the raiyats, popular schools have been opened in important silk centres in the State. The Department is taking steps to supply disease-free seed on a large scale and to collect correct statistics of silk production in the State. *Sericulture.*

45. The Committee considered schemes for the spread of education among the backward classes, for the development of physical education and the Boy Scout Movement, for the dissemination of scientific knowledge by means of popular lectures and for the remodelling of the system of female education. Improvements have been made in the Public Libraries at Bangalore and Mysore and 105 rural libraries have been started. *Education Committee*

46. The proposals of the Committee for the encouragement of cottage and minor industries by the grant of loans and for starting a Central Commercial Museum have been sanctioned. A small party of merchants and officers visited Japan to study industries and trade in that country. *Industries and Commerce Committee.*



The Mysore Chamber of Commerce began work during the year and sub-committees of the Chamber have been formed at Tumkur, Davangere, Chikmagalur and Tiptur.

#### 6.—Special Schemes.

##### *Village Improvement Scheme.*

47. The Village Improvement Scheme, since its introduction in 1914, has made steady progress from year to year. In 1916-17 the number of village committees rose from 8,271 to 8,661 and the population served by them from 45,14,244 to 46,50,570. At present, committees are working in 15,127 villages and only 1,162 remain to be brought under the scheme. More than 50 per cent of the committees carried out works of communal benefit by weekly labour and 4,194 committees maintained village libraries or subscribed for newspapers. The cost of works carried out with the aid of Government grants was Rs. 1,24,553 and of those executed solely at the expense of the villagers was Rs. 3,07,129. Two thousand four hundred and forty-one miles of cart track were improved during the year and a sum of Rs. 31,923 was collected for the village common fund. The progress is most marked in the Chitaldrug District where the number of villages not yet included in the scheme is only six. Tree planting was undertaken on a large scale on the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja by the committees in Kolar, Bangalore, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts. The figures given above are based on district reports. Even allowing for possible errors and exaggeration, there is no doubt that the amount of work done is very substantial, and it is a testimony to the growing public spirit in rural tracts.

48. The Village Improvement Scheme is now about to enter on a new phase. Hitherto the committees have carried on their activities relying exclusively on the good will and voluntary support of the villagers. Under the Local Boards and Village Panchayats Regulation which will shortly become law, the village committees will be constituted into statutory bodies with definite powers and specific sources of income, including a cess to be levied in the village itself at the option of the committees. An interesting feature of the legislation is the power vested in village panchayats to commute the payment of the

cess into an obligation to render labour for a period not exceeding 36 half days in a year.

49. The Malnad Improvement Scheme has now been in operation for just over three years and a brief account of the work done will be found in Part II of the address. *Malnad Improvement Scheme*

The first two years during which the scheme was in operation were taken up in getting together the requisite trained staff and making other preparations. It is only in the third year that the officers were able to spend the entire allotment sanctioned for the operations. They are now hopeful of being able to spend more and are asking for enhanced grants. The uplift of seven lakhs of population who have been deteriorating for generations on account of adverse conditions is necessarily a work of time and cannot be effected without further effort and large outlay.

50. The experience so far gained seems to justify a bolder and more forward policy. There is a vast amount of fertile land which can be brought under cultivation by the construction of tanks and *hattes* and attracting settlers by the offer of special facilities. The development of communications is another great want of the tract. All these involve a much larger yearly outlay in the near future than what Government have been sanctioning in the past three years. If a part of the money required for this expenditure can be advanced as a loan by well-to-do local people, the execution of the scheme will be greatly facilitated. I would ask members representing the *malnad* taluks to consider this aspect of the question and favour Government with their views before the session closes.

I note that the Special Committee of the Assembly appointed for considering this question has recorded the view that if permanent and substantial improvement is to be our aim, the scheme should be in operation for twenty years. During my visit to Shimoga in the month of May last, the officers and the public made an appeal to the same effect.

51. Proposals to constitute fourteen tank panchayats were sanctioned during the year making altogether a total of 8 tank panchayats. Of these, a considerable number are reported to have satisfactorily carried out their duties in regard to the distribution of water and the execution of the annual tank repairs. *Tank Panchayats*

*Village Forests.*

52. Forty-one village forests comprising an area of 11,132 acres were notified under Section 31 of the Forest Regulation. Altogether sixty forests covering an area of over 20,000 acres have been formed since the scheme was introduced.

*Village Courts.*

53. Thirty-five new village courts were established during the year and three which were found unnecessary abolished. The number of village courts working at the end of the year was 160.

*Minor Tanks  
Restoration.*

54. Including 197 works newly sanctioned, 584 tanks were under restoration during the year 1916-17 and 96 of them were completed. The outlay on the works, exclusive of contribution from the people, was Rs. 87,328 against Rs. 68,313 in 1915-16. The rules were revised during the year with a view to accelerate progress. A scheme for training educated villagers as *maistries* was sanctioned in April 1917 and classes of instruction have been opened in Bangalore and Mysore from 25th July last.

*Rural Water Supply.*

55. Two hundred and eight drinking water wells were completed during the year and a sum of Rs. 76,075, exclusive of contribution by the people, was spent out of a total allotment of Rs. 1,92,000. Nine hundred and sixty-nine wells were under construction at the end of June 1917. Progress was retarded for want of a suitable boring plant and owing to the difficulty of obtaining skilled labour, especially in the malnad parts of the State. The first of these difficulties has latterly been overcome to some extent, and with the special establishment that has been sanctioned for supervising the construction of wells, better progress should be possible in future.

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### 7.—A Connected Scheme of Progress.

56. We have been for the past few years attempting, in our small sphere, various reforms and developments in a humble way. Although the proposals may have seemed fragmentary, they are all part of a connected scheme of progress.

57. As explained in last year's address, all activities in the State are classed under one or other of the three main heads, namely,

- (1) Administration,
- (2) Economic progress,
- (3) Civic and Social progress.

Those which fall under "Administration" are attended to by His Highness' Government assisted by the representations and advice of this Assembly and other public bodies.

The economic activities are controlled by a semi-official organization which is becoming more and more effective and in which a large number of Government officers and non-official gentlemen are taking part.

The civic and social activities have been recently begun and a considerable amount of propaganda work is needed before the activities assume their rightful importance in the public eye. The recent developments in progressive thought in other parts of the world show that we are on the right path, our future progress depending on the diligence, enterprise and power of adaptability exhibited by our people.

58. The development of natural resources by the construction of irrigation works, electric power works and railways, by working forests and mines, by fostering industries, etc., is proceeding as rapidly, and withal, as cautiously, as circumstances require. We are building up fresh assets which will be a future source of non-tax revenues for the State. With the same object, a liberal expenditure is being sanctioned for departments connected with production and economic propaganda.

59. A determined effort is necessary to raise the level of education and working power of the masses including the backward and the depressed classes. If the schemes in progress develop successfully, we shall have quadrupled the school-going population between the years 1913 and 1920. It is the rural population and the backward classes that will profit by this measure. With the spread of primary education at one end and the University with its rapidly developing modern side on the other, we have every reason to be satisfied with the rate of progress in the field of education. Our educational measures will benefit all classes of His Highness' subjects, and it is our hope that they will gradually help to create greater homogeneity and social unity among our population.

60. The system of recruitment to the State service and promotions is being improved and standardized. Questions pertaining to the *personnel* of the services are being brought more and more under proper scrutiny. District officers of all departments meet at regular intervals to co-ordinate work within their jurisdiction.

Manuals, codes and other compilations are being drawn up, to build up a correct system of work and organization for every department.

61. The coming developments in local self-government will give the people ample opportunities for co-operative effort of which, it is hoped, they will take full advantage.

Systematic efforts have yet to be put forth, independently of Government, for promoting science, art, literature, religion and public morals in the country.

62. The end and aim of our activities should be to increase production and wealth, to strengthen and encourage habits and practices among our people which are already found to be good, to correct wrong popular beliefs and to place before them sound ideals based on the experience of progressive nations; in other words, to prepare a prosperous, energetic, alert and enterprising population.

63. The essential duties of a citizen according to this new view of life should be formulated by committees of trusted leaders. Books, pamphlets and leaflets embodying these essentials should be widely circulated in accordance with an approved propaganda.

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### 8.—Present Outlook.

64. In every one of my previous addresses, I have called attention to the unsatisfactory economic position of our people, their lack of capacity for co-operation, their low ideals of aspiration and effort generally.

The experiences which advanced countries have passed through, under the stimulus of adversity and the cramping conditions of the war, have further changed their outlook. Newer ideas of reform and reconstruction are gaining support, many of which would have been considered revolutionary in pre-war days. The proposed reforms are all, however, in the direction of increasing the knowledge and working power of the people and in favour of organized industry and increased production. Our attempts here are of a rudimentary character but, in our programmes also, the needs of material progress are given the foremost place. If, by our efforts, say, in the next ten years, we are able to popularise correct ideals of progress, and double the average earning power of our

people—a consummation which as I have shown previously is well within our reach—we shall have placed ourselves on the right road to economic salvation. To that extent we shall have added to the staying power of the rural population and averted the misery and misfortunes which are frequently their lot during years of short rain-fall.

### 9.—Co-operation from the Public.

65. The public doubtless realise that large developments are a matter of slow and tedious preparation. We have to work under difficulties, but we have also reason to be gratified with the liberal measure of co-operation we are receiving from the people. One of our recent discoveries is the astonishing amount of unsuspected enthusiasm and public spirit that there is, particularly in favour of education. In one of the border villages situate some 100 miles from Bangalore, which I visited in August last, the people pointed with pride to a girls' school which they were maintaining at their own cost, and asked for the extension of compulsory education to their village. As I was returning, the people of a roadside village stopped me to show a school house which they were building at their own cost. In another village, the headman threw a bag of rupees into my car and asked that a school house might be constructed immediately. Villagers have freely given of their personal service and money to improve their roads, wells and tanks. The value of their past year's contribution for *new* undertakings of this character was over Rs. 5 lakhs. Business men all over the State are helping in our economic activities. The public of Mysore have contributed, in a little over a year since its inauguration, nearly a lakh of rupees in the shape of endowments to the new Mysore University. Such generous response cannot fail to gladden the heart of every true well-wisher of the country.

66. The State has a claim for service from every one of us. In assisting in these developments, we shall be helping to improve our society and environment which will make the lives of future generations of our countrymen fuller and happier than our own. We shall be handing over an improved world to our children and children's children.

This spirit of service should become universal. Where communal work is the object, castes and creeds should not be allowed to divide us. The co-operation of every citizen is needed according to his position, capacity and opportunities. Some may give their knowledge and experience, some their money, some personal service and labour. But every one should lend a hand. Every subject of His Highness should do his bit of work for his country and take a pride in such service.

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#### 10.—Place of Indian States in the future Constitution of the Government of India.

67. There is one more matter, of no small importance at the present time, in regard to which I should like to say a word or two before I close, namely, the projected reforms in the constitution of the Government of India. We have of course no wish to take part in British Indian politics. But having regard to the recent announcements in Parliament and the approaching visit of the Secretary of State for India, it seems important that the point of view of Indian States should receive adequate recognition.

68. The Indian States, as is well-known, occupy nearly two-fifths of the area of the Empire and hold a quarter of the entire population. Questions connected with currency, fiscal and commercial policy, imports, exports, salt duties, emigration, army, navy, foreign affairs,—all these affect the subjects of Indian States quite as much as they do people in British India. Many of the States pay subsidies; several contribute a substantial share of the indirect taxes of the Government of India and maintain Local as well as Imperial Service troops which add to the fighting strength of the Empire. It has been the proud privilege of many States, including ours, to contribute, in men and money, their small-share to the British cause in the present world war.

The normal yearly contribution, both direct and indirect, from the Government and the people of Mysore into the coffers of the Government of India, is equivalent to between one-fourth and one-third of the entire revenues of our State.

69. In the recent Imperial War Conference in London, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner worthily

represented the Indian States, beside his two colleagues from the Government of India. We feel sure that, in any future Conferences, the chosen representatives of Indian States will find a place. It may be permitted to us to hope that the Indian States will be represented also in the future Executive Council or Cabinet of His Excellency the Viceroy.

70. In the discussions on the subject so far, the question of giving representation to Indian States does not appear to have received adequate attention. One view of the position is that representatives of Indian States should find a place in any future Legislative Assembly or Assemblies of the Indian Empire. The extent of representation from individual States, or groups of States, may be based on their population, modified if necessary by other considerations such as, literacy, revenues, etc. As members of the Assembly, the representatives of the Indian States may take part in the discussions and vote, but only on questions in which the States are interested along with the rest of India.

71. The Indian States are vitally concerned in the live issues of the forthcoming enquiry. Even as matters stand, public opinion in British India naturally exercises a certain amount of influence over the decisions of the Government of India on questions of policy which affect India as a whole, including the Indian States. The tendency of all future reforms will be the same, namely, to increase the influence of public opinion on Government. It is all the more necessary that a suitable machinery should be provided in the new constitution to elicit the views and safeguard the interests of the States and ensure to them their rightful place in the Councils of the Indian Empire.

M. VISVESVARAYA,  
*Dewan of Mysore.*



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# Address

OF THE

## Dewan of Mysore

TO THE

### Dasara Representative Assembly

*30th SEPTEMBER 1914*

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#### PART II

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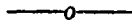


MYSORE

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1914

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**ADDRESS**  
OF THE  
**DEWAN OF MYSORE**  
TO THE  
**DASARA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**  
30th SEPTEMBER 1914.

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**PART II.**

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In Part I of the Address, I have described the work- *Introduction.*  
g of the principal departments of Government and the  
ore important administrative measures which received  
onsideration during the past year, or which are receiving  
ntention at the present time. The less important details  
der the same heads will be referred to in this, the  
cond part of the Address.

**Financial Department.**

2. The separate major heads "Profit or loss" in *Changes in the form*  
the budget both on the receipt and expenditure sides *and scope of the*  
ere done away with by amalgamation with the head *budget.*  
Interest" as the transactions recorded under both are  
essentially of a similar nature. Owing to the recent ex-  
ension and development of the Departments of Agricul-  
re, Sanitation and Industries and Commerce, sepa-  
te major heads were opened for these departments. The  
eadings under Railway Accounts were also amplified.  
nother important change was the publication of the  
nancial statement in two parts. The first part consisted  
service heads from which transactions relating to  
ants under capital works were excluded and the surplus  
nder service heads only was worked out. The second  
rt showed the extraordinary capital outlay and the re-  
lt of the debt and deposit transactions and worked up  
om the opening to the closing cash balance.

- Account Department.* 3. It is intended to train young men in Accountancy and Banking in order that the accounts of the commercial and semi-commercial departments of the State and of the joint-stock institutions in which the State is financially interested may be audited more satisfactorily than at present. A graduate has been selected for undergoing training in Actuarial Science, preparatory to going to England.
- Municipal Account Manual.* 4. The new Municipal Account Manual referred to in my last year's Address was printed and published; and the rules embodied therein came into force from 1st July 1914. A Kannada translation of certain simple Account Rules pertaining to the minor Municipalities has also been published.
- Inspection of the Public Works Divisional Offices and other Civil Offices* 5. All the Public Works Divisional Offices and Maramat and other Civil Offices were inspected during the year. The offices of direction were inspected for the first time. The audit of accounts of Stores and of Tools and Plant not having been quite satisfactory, Government have sanctioned with effect from the beginning of 1914-15 certain arrangements calculated to make it more efficient. All the Railway Construction Divisions were inspected and detailed instructions for maintenance of accounts in Divisional Offices were drawn up.
- Mysore Spinning and Manufacturing Company, Bangalore.* 6. As a result of the financial arrangements arrived at during the previous year with this company, the mills have worked satisfactorily and during the year ended 28th February 1913, the company was able to declare for the first time for some years past a dividend of 6 per cent.
- State Life Insurance.* 7. During the year 1913-14, 933 proposals were accepted, 101 were rejected and 185 were left pending. Of the 933 policies issued, 2 were cancelled before completion and the remaining 931 policies assured a bonus of Rs. 5,58,317 for a monthly premium of Rs. 2,098-8-0.
- Village Savings Banks and Extension of State Life Insurance to the General Public.* 8. A scheme prepared by Dewan Bahadur Mr. J. S. Chakravarti, Comptroller, for the introduction of Village Savings Banks in the State and for the extension of the State Life Insurance to the public, was considered by the Industries and Commerce Committee and is now before Government.
- Local Audit.* 9. The accounts of all the District and Municipal Boards in the State up to the end of 1912-13 were locally audited. A few special audits were undertaken under the orders of Government resulting in the discovery of certain irregularities. A scheme for the extension of

Local Audit to the accounts of the major Mizrai institutions is under the consideration of Government.

### Revenue Department.

10. Cattle shows were held during the year at 22 places and at four of these for the first time. Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions were held at Nandi and Harihar and a weaving demonstration was arranged at Hassan in connection with the show in that town. It is gratifying to note that functions of this kind are gradually coming to be organised and financed by private local agencies. The annual Dasara Exhibition was held at Mysore as usual. The lectures delivered on these occasions on agriculture, sanitation, cattle breeding, etc., by the officers of various departments were much appreciated by the public and people also took a keen interest in agricultural and industrial demonstrations.

*Cattle Shows and Exhibitions.*

11. The number of fresh admissions into the veterinary hospitals rose from 17,831 during the previous year to 18,622 during the year under review and the total number of cases treated daily rose from 65,836 to 66,934. One thousand six hundred and fifty-six cattle were inoculated against black-quarter and 435 against anthrax.

*Civil Veterinary Department.*

The work of the Civil Veterinary Department is becoming increasingly popular and there is a growing demand for veterinary hospitals in several parts of the State. The question of increasing the number of such hospitals is engaging the attention of Government. The possibility of increase will largely depend upon the extent to which local bodies are prepared to meet the cost.

12. The opening of separate shops at three places for the vend of bottled beer from the Bangalore Distillery, the extension of the provisions of the Excise Regulation so as to make them applicable to coca leaves, cocaine and allied drugs, the imposition of a duty on imported *bhang*, the reduction in the price of methylated spirits and the publication of the second volume of the Excise Manual, were among the chief events in the Excise administration of the year. The surcharge and registration fees from arrack shops in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore have been restored to the Municipalities of those cities. The Detective department which was tentatively organized for one year will be continued till the end of the calendar year 1914.

*Excise.*

13. Twelve blocks with an aggregate area of 64 square miles were, during the year, notified under Section

*Forests.*

17 of the Mysore Forest Regulation and eight blocks with an area of 13.5 square miles were notified as reserved lands under Section 4 of the Forest Regulation. The area settled during the year was 126 square miles and the total cost of settlement work and establishment was Rs. 8,468.

14. A saw mill has been established at Kumsi in the Shimoga District for the purpose of preparing railway sleepers and sawn timber. The outturn has not so far been quite up to expectations, but better results may be looked for hereafter as the management has been entrusted to a special officer.

About 448,000 cubic feet of timber was collected and sold departmentally, the quantity removed on licenses being 419,500 cubic feet. Thirty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-five sleepers of all gauges were supplied for the Arsikere-Mysore and Bangalore-Chikballapur Railway lines. Demarcation, fire protection, sowing and planting and the construction and repair of forest roads and buildings received attention.

The office of a separate whole-time Forest Settlement Officer was abolished at the close of the year.

*Stamps*

15. The revenue derived from the sale of stamps rose from Rs. 9,41,434 to Rs. 10,67,691 resulting in an increase of Rs. 1,26,257 due to the economic activity noticeable in recent years. The increase occurred under all kinds of stamps. The establishment and other charges amounted to Rs. 57,720 as against Rs. 70,590 in the year previous.

*Registration.*

16. The total number of documents registered during the year 1913-14 was 109,001 as against 96,924 in 1912-13. thus showing an increase of 12,077 or 12.45 per cent. The total income of the department rose from Rs. 1,82,033 in 1912-13, to Rs. 2,08,335 or by Rs. 26,302 and the expenditure from Rs. 85,152 to Rs. 87,781 or an increase of Rs. 2,629, due to the revision of establishment of the Registration Offices and to the allowance drawn by the Inspector General since 13th February 1914.

*Joint Stock Companies.*

17. Eleven new companies were registered during the year and one was wound up, the total number working at the close of the year being 83, or 6 more than the number at the end of the year previous. The number of documents filed and recorded was 198 and the amount of fees realised Rs. 2,004 as against 189 and Rs. 1,172 respectively, in the preceding year.

*Revenue Survey and Inam.*

18. Six Inam villages were surveyed in detail and original classification work was undertaken in respect of

98 fields comprising 2,588 acres. Besides this, a large quantity of work of a miscellaneous nature was turned out by the survey party deputed for the survey of lands in connection with the Cauvery Reservoir Works. Resurvey operations were completed in 227 villages in the taluks of Hassan, Chiknagalur, Tumkur (late Kadaba), Koppa, Arakeri, Shimoga, Hiriur and Bangalore, comprising 31,593 acres or 439.99 square miles.

Revised rates were announced in the Nagar Taluk of the Shimoga District and the late Koratagere Taluk of the Tumkur District. In the case of the former, the average dry rate remained unaffected, while the wet rate was increased by 4.8 per cent and the garden rate was reduced by 3.3 per cent. The net result for the entire tract was an increase of 4 per cent. In the Koratagere Taluk the average dry rate was increased by 16.6 per cent and the wet rate by 4.8 per cent, while the garden rate was reduced by 19 per cent. The revision resulted in a moderate increase of revenue. The new rates in both the taluks are reported to have been well received.

19. Five land inams were confirmed and thirty-four land inams (including one whole village) were resumed and struck off. Five land inams were revised. The result of these operations was the reduction of the inam revenue by Rs. 576 and a corresponding increase of Rs. 1,505 under land assessment.

### Protection.

20. The Legislative Council met four times during the year and considered fifteen bills including nine which were pending from the previous year. Twelve of these were passed and the following ten have received the assent of His Highness the Maharaja and become law :—

- (1) The Mysore Motor Vehicles Bill.
- (2) The Elementary Education Bill.
- (3) The Mysore Muzrai Bill.
- (4) The Mysore Village Courts Bill.
- (5) The Mysore Excise Regulation Amendment Bill.
- (6) A Bill to amend the Mysore Legislative Council Regulation, 1907.
- (7) The Mysore Factories Bill.
- (8) A Bill further to amend the Mysore Court Fees Regulation, 1900.
- (9) A Bill further to amend the Mysore Local Boards Regulation, II of 1902.
- (10) The Probats and Administration Bill.

A Bill further to amend the Mysore Military Regulation of 1899 was passed during the year by Government without reference to the Legislative Council, the subject being one excluded from the cognisance of the Council under the proviso to section 12 of the Regulation of 1907.

Rules and Notifications under enactments in force were issued on subjects connected with the Prisons Act, the Opium Act, the Yelandur Jahgir Regulation, the Land Revenue Code, the Mysore Arms Regulation, the Mysore Stamp Regulation, the Mysore Forest Regulation, the Mysore Excise Regulation, the Mysore Local Boards Regulation, the Mysore Registration Regulation, the Mysore Municipal Regulation, the Mysore Legislative Council Regulation, the Civil Procedure Code and several other Regulations.

*Judicial.*

21. The temporary Additional Sessions Court established at Mysore in March 1913 to try the case of riot committed in Kannegal, Chamarajnagar Taluk, closed its work on the 17th September of that year, on the termination of the trial.

22. The Judges of the Chief Court inspected 13 Civil and 10 Criminal Courts during the year. The District and Sessions Judges inspected 7 Civil Courts and 5 Criminal Courts, while the District Magistrates inspected 45 Criminal Courts subordinate to them.

*Police.*

23. The total cost of the Police administration including equipment and clothing, was about Rs. 9,83,620 against Rs. 9,27,670 in the previous year. A large number of cases reported in the previous years upon the B Form were cleared off during the year under notice.

The temporary staff stationed at Mugur in T. Narasipur Taluk, for maintaining order in that locality, was dispensed with during the year; the establishment at the Cauvery Reservoir Works has been strengthened and small establishments have been sanctioned for the tank works at Mavattur in Kankanhalli Taluk and Herige in Hunsur Taluk.

*Amrut Mahal*

24. As the earlier rains were partial and the later rains completely failed, the supply of fodder, especially during the hot months of the year, was deficient. Consequently the season was not very favourable for cattle breeding. Anthrax and lung disease prevailed among some of the herds. The total collections for the year under all heads amounted to Rs. 76,612 of which Rs. 61,663 came from 'sale of cattle.' The expenditure on the department was about Rs. 29,000.



25. There were 154 medical institutions in the State *Medical.* at the beginning of the year including a Local Fund Dispensary at Melkote which was opened on 1st July 1913. New dispensaries have been recently established at Humchadakatte in the Shimoga District and at Bidare in the Chikmagalur Taluk, Kadur District. The total number of patients treated was 1,598,272 against 1,438,947 in the previous year. Of these, 18,073 were in-patients and the rest out-patients.

26. During the year under review Government *Midwives and Compou-  
nders and Mater-  
nities for the Malnad.* sanctioned a scheme for the training of midwives and compounders, for service in the malnad, by offering suitable scholarships to the pupils during their training. The establishment of maternities in certain stations has also been sanctioned and plans and estimates for the same are under preparation.

27. As compared with last year, there was a notice- *Public Health.* able increase in mortality due to small-pox and a decrease in that due to cholera. The total number of vaccinations performed was 117,380 as against 93,039 in the preceding year. Of this number, 112,543 were primary and 4,837 re-vaccinations.

### Development, Moral and Material.

28. The demonstration work of the year was seriously *Department of Agricul-  
ture.* affected by unfavourable weather conditions in many parts. Cambodia cotton and another variety of cotton obtained for trial from the Madras Agricultural Department, however, did remarkably well. Demonstration work was also undertaken in connection with green manuring for paddy, single seedling transplantation of paddy, manuring of sugarcane, etc. The use of threshing machine run by oil engine was demonstrated in five places and it was shown that the machine would thresh about two khandies of ragi per hour at a cost of less than 8 annas a khandy. It is proposed in the coming season to have about half a dozen such machines in stock to let out for hire. Improvements in the manufacture of jaggery were demonstrated in eight different localities, and at Kibbanhalli the work was extended to over three months.

The sale of improved implements, specially ploughs, more than doubled during the year and the department had difficulty in meeting the demands. Ploughs and spare parts are now being stocked with a number of Co-operative Societies and Agricultural Associations and it is hoped to utilise these agencies to a constantly

increasing extent in spreading the use of improved implements.

Some interesting results were obtained from experiments made at the Hebbal Farm in connection with the cultivation of dry crops, such as ragi. In the distribution of manure and of groundnut and other seeds, the Farm has markedly increased its usefulness. A new feature in the working of the Farm was the loaning of farm implements to cultivators in the Hebbal village.

*Mycology and  
Entomology.*

29. The work in connection with *Koleroga* expanded very rapidly. Arrangements were made with a Bombay firm to supply chemicals in large quantities at reduced rates and depots have been established at Talaguppe, Sagar, Kallurkotte, Tirthahalli and Agumbe for the stocking of the sprayers and spare parts and chemicals. Spraying is becoming increasingly popular and it is believed that in another five years it will be generally practised throughout the infected area and that there will be a saving, to garden owners, of several lakhs of rupees annually. The spike disease of sandal and two serious diseases of coffee were also under investigation during the year.

30. The most important single item of work done in the Entomological Section was in connection with the green scale insect (*Lecanium viride*) on coffee. The whole infested area was gone over carefully with the object of finding all the centres of infestation and sprayers and spraying materials were provided with a staff to supervise the work. Extensive experiments on the life history of the pest and the best methods of combating it are under way. Efficient measures for the control of the *kamblihula* have been worked out and demonstrated in many villages. The investigation of insects attacking stored produce and of those attacking paddy is in progress.

*Department of  
Industries and  
Commerce.*

31. *Weaving.*—The Weaving Factory established in Bangalore has been doing experimental and educational work of a useful kind though the financial anticipations formed of it have not been realised. The most important part of the experimental work was the adaptation of Jacquard machines to native handlooms, in which considerable progress has been made resulting in a material reduction of the labour involved in the weaving of figured patterns in solid-bordered cloths. The pattern can be altered by simply changing the cards, which is a great convenience. The Jacquard harness has also been fitted to the fly-shuttle loom for the purpose of manufacturing flowered silk for which there is a large local

demand. The weaving of woollen shawls from imported yarn and of woollen *lamblies* from locally spun yarn has however so far led to no useful results.

Besides training advanced weavers to use Jacquard harness in the factory, demonstrations were arranged in the villages to train the country weavers in the use of the fly-shuttle slay. These demonstrations have been attended with a good deal of success and fly-shuttle slays have been introduced into 31 villages in the districts of Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar, Hassan and Tumkur. To help the weavers and encourage them to use the fly-shuttle slay, arrangements have been made to purchase suitable yarn on a large scale and advance it to them through the demonstrators.

32. Silk reeling was started in the filature at *Silk Reeling* Channapatna in January last and 20 boys of a Mahomedan Orphanage at the place are learning the work. Up to the end of the year, the silk from 5,450 lbs. of cocoons had been reeled. Silk throwing and twisting have also been commenced and will be developed during the current year. For the first six months the filature worked at a loss, but now that the boys have acquired a certain amount of skill, better results may be expected. The importance of the industry to the State requires much bigger efforts being made to put it on a modern footing. Plans and estimates are accordingly under preparation for the establishment of a modern silk filature in Bangalore, equipped with 100 basins and with all the finishing machinery to put silk ready for looms in the market.

33. The open pan system for boiling down the juice *Sugar-cane* had to be abandoned as the expenditure on fuel was great. Experiments were commenced with specially constructed negasse-burning furnaces, with evaporating pans arranged in series, and gave fairly satisfactory results. But owing to the prolonged drought, the sugar-cane crop was a very poor one last year and the crushing plants were not fully worked. Even so, the revenue derived from the manufacture of jaggery was sufficient to meet current working expenses.

34. There were four Agricultural banks in the State *Agricultural Banks.* At the beginning of the year, *viz.*, at Palhalli, Hongenalli, Nanjangud and Chamarajnar. Of these, the Bank at Chamarajnar has been ordered by Government to be wound up. The Nanjangud Bank has paid the loan due to Government in full and has stopped all further work. It will be formally wound up as soon as

its members agree, at a general meeting, upon its voluntary liquidation. The other two banks have not yet discharged their debts to Government, and as soon as this is done, they will probably reconstitute themselves as co-operative societies. The year's collection amounted to Rs. 38,782-12-2 towards principal and Rs. 2,986-14-6 towards interest, leaving a balance of Rs. 53,465-6-2 still to be recovered.

The policy pursued with respect to Agricultural Banks is to wind up such of them as are doing no active work and if conditions are favourable, to start co-operative societies in their place. In accordance with this policy, 30 co-operative societies were started altogether for the benefit of people likely to be inconvenienced by the winding up of Agricultural Banks of which they were members. Of these thirty, 5 were started during 1913 14.

#### Technical Departments.

##### *Public Works.*

35. Among the smaller irrigation works in progress during the year may be mentioned the construction of new tanks at Mavattur in the Kankanhalli Taluk and Herige in the Hunsur Taluk and of a feeder from the Nagamangala ankat to the tanks in the Tarikere valley in the Kadur District; the restoration of the Madhavamantri ankat, the Mellur tank and Manchipatna tank in the Mysore District and the Bolappanhalli tank in the Closepet Sub-Taluk; and the improvement of the Sriramdevar South Channel in the Hassan District.

##### *Buildings.*

36. The principal Civil buildings in progress during the year were the new Palace, the General Hospital and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, the Central College Chemical Laboratory, the new High School, the Mechanical Engineering School and the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital at Bangalore, the Agricultural School at Hebbal, the High School at Hassan, the Maternity at Robertsonpet, the new Taluk Cutcherries at Sidlaghatta and Honnali and the new Sandalkoti at Shimoga. The Public Offices, the Government Press and the Public Works Workshop at Bangalore are being extended.

The Military buildings in hand during the year were the construction of permanent structures for the Local Service Regiment at Mysore, sheds for Transport ponies and Government carriages and huts for Barr Sepoys at Bangalore and Barr Lines at Tumkur.

##### *Communications.*

37. The construction and improvement of certain

*malnad* and forest roads in the Shimoga and Mysore Districts were in progress as also the construction of large bridges across the river Tungabhadra at Honnali in the Shimoga District and across the Bhrigu on the Hunsur-Begur road in the Mysore District.

38. Among the miscellaneous public improvements *Miscellaneous Public Improvements.* in progress may be mentioned the construction of roads and drains in the extensions of the Bangalore City and the installation of a Jewell Filter and a subsidiary pumping plant for improving the water supply to the Mysore City.

39. Five hundred and sixty-six minor tanks were *Minor Tanks.* dealt with, of which 152 were restored before the close of the year. Out of a sum of Rs. 1,39,304 allotted for the purpose, a sum of Rs. 97,507 or 69.99 per cent was utilised. In the Tumkur and Kadur Districts almost the whole amount was worked out, while in the Kolar District, a large balance was left unspent.

40. The number of Power and Lighting Installations *Electrical.* in the Cities of Mysore and Bangalore and in the Civil and Military Station increased during the year to 1,510 from 1,124 at the end of the previous year. This shows an increase of 34.34 per cent in the number of consumers.

The capital outlay during the year amounted to Rs. 83,064 and the total outlay to the end of June 1914 aggregated Rs. 83,94,531 excluding the cost of the Fourth Installation which is in progress. The gross earnings of the scheme amounted to Rs. 16,24,599 against Rs. 17,12,052 during the previous year, showing a decrease of 5.1 per cent which was due to shortage of water in the river during the summer months occasioned by the failure of the *mungar* rains. The working expenses of the scheme amounted to Rs. 6,73,093, including a sum of Rs. 2,91,800 set apart for depreciation and of Rs. 42,140 spent in connection with the special channels conservancy operations during the hot weather. The net profit after deducting Rs. 2,31,796 for interest charges, at 4 per cent on the total capital outlay, was Rs. 7,19,710, which represents 8.6 per cent on the total capital expenditure.

41. The report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the accident at Edgar's Shaft, Mysore Mine, has been published. The conclusion arrived at was that the accident was not traceable to any negligence on the part of the employees of the Mine. *Geology and Mining.*

Hitherto the various Mining Companies have of their own accord introduced schemes for the benefit of

their employees, which present considerable variations in the terms and conditions imposed and in the benefits received. Government being of opinion that it would be desirable to have a uniform and well-defined system over all the Mines, invited the co-operation of the Mining Board who have sent up a comprehensive scheme for the purpose. It has been approved in its main features, and with the co-operation of the various Mines on the Field which the Board have been requested to secure, the scheme is expected to be brought into general operation shortly.

*Manganese.*

42. Manganese mining was very slack during the year and operations were carried on only on 3 blocks as against 7 in the previous year. The total quantity of ore mined was 13,944 tons and the quantity exported 5,953 tons. The royalty paid was Rs. 1,461-8-0.

*Chrome Ore.*

There has been some renewed activity in connection with this mineral and 15 licenses were current at the close of the year as against 9 during the previous year.

*Magnesite.*

Six licenses were current for magnesite (and chrome) against 5 in the previous year. On some of these blocks a good deal of work has been done by the Tata Iron and Steel Company, and 2,112 tons of magnesite are reported to have been excavated.

*Iron Ore.*

Six prospecting licenses and one exploring license in the Bababudan Hills were current up to the end of June 1914. A certain amount of exploratory and examination work has been done, but none of the deposits has been opened up. An extended inspection of the ground was made during the year and some large samples have been taken by the department for further practical investigation.

*Clays.*

43. A number of clay samples from deposits which had been located during the course of survey work were obtained and prepared for examination. Several which appeared to be suitable for the manufacture of bricks and tiles were tested at the City Brick and Tile Works. Some of them are reported to have given good results. Some large samples of altered granitic materials containing kaolin were obtained and washed for the purpose of separating the kaolin. The washed kaolin and a large number of samples of other clays were forwarded through the Industries and Commerce Committee of the Economic Conference to Bombay and Calcutta for expert opinion and test. A report on several of these has been received from Bombay and it appears to indicate that it may be possible to

use the kaolin for certain varieties of porcelain, provided the necessary skilled labour can be obtained. Further investigations are being made.

44. Experimental boring operations were as usual *Water Supply*. continued during the year, and several bore holes were put down at the request of municipalities and private persons. At the close of the year, the boring operator who was till then working under the Geological Department, was, with the plant, transferred to the Public Works Department.

#### Local Self-Government.

45. During the year 1913-14, Municipal Councils *Municipal*. were constituted for the first time in the towns of Birur and Yedahalli. Mr. C. B. Gopala Rao was appointed non-official Vice-President of the Kolar Municipality and Messrs. C. Vasudeva Rao, K. Venkataswamy Iyer and C. Narayanaswamy Chetty were appointed non-official Vice-Presidents of the Chikmagalur, Narjangud and Chikballapur Municipalities, respectively.

The City Municipal Council of Bangalore aided financially and otherwise the formation of a Co-operative Society for relieving the indebtedness of the scavengers employed in its conservancy department. This is noted here as an example worthy of imitation of the growing solicitude on the part of local bodies for the welfare of their employees.

46. During the year under review, Mr. T. G. *Mysore City Improvement Trust Board*. Lakshmana Rao, Chairman of the Board and President of the Mysore City Municipal Council, was deputed for a short period to study drainage and other municipal questions in Bombay, Baroda, Poona and Ahmedabad.

#### Miscellaneous Departments.

47. A hundred and one buildings connected with *Muzrai*. the Muzrai institutions were repaired during the year at a cost of Rs. 50,979, of which Rs. 41,979 came from the surplus funds of the institutions concerned and contributions from the devotees interested, the balance of Rs. 9,000 being contributed by the State. A sum of Rs. 23,600 was invested during the year by private individuals at the favourable rate of 4 per cent allowed for such deposits, bringing the total amount of the deposits to Rs. 2,73,200.

48. The receipts from the sale of the Government *Government Press*. Gazette during the year amounted to Rs. 2,839 against

Rs. 2,457, with 831 subscribers against 644 in the previous year. The expenditure on the establishment of the Branch Press was Rs. 6,049 as against Rs. 4,827 during the previous year.

*Stationery.*

49. The total cost of the stationery issued during the year including paper and binding materials used in the Press, amounted to Rs. 1,33,177 against Rs. 1,12,603 during the previous year.

*Government Gardens*

50. In addition to the regular summer and winter Flower Shows in the Lal-Bagh, a special Mango Show was held under the auspices of the Horticultural Society. The work in the extension of the Cubbon Park was pushed forward and the garden surrounding the Sheshadri Memorial Hall completed before the Viceregal visit. His Excellency the Viceroy unveiled the statue of Sir Sheshadri Iyer erected in this part of the garden. The laying out of the various Mysore Palace Gardens was vigorously pursued and considerable improvements to the public squares and roads in the Mysore city were designed and carried out with the assistance of the Improvement Trust Board.

A survey of the existing fruit cultivation in the State has been started including the cultivation of cocoanuts, and experiments are being conducted with a view to improve the outturn and quality of the crop and to increase *copra* manufacture.

Many plants of economic value including several species of oil palms, ivory palms, West Indian sandalwood, Australian Eucalyptus and East African timber trees were introduced during the year; and plants introduced in former years continued to receive attention.

*Archæology.*

51. A resurvey of parts of the Malur and Chikballapur taluks resulted in the discovery of nearly 200 new records. A few temples of archæological interest were inspected and photographed. The number of new records copied during the year was 243. Among the discoveries of the year, three copper plate inscriptions unearthed while sinking a well at Nandi, and another found in the possession of a Mahomedan woman at Chikballapur, are of considerable historic interest.

*Ethnographic Survey.*

52. Accounts of four castes of people, namely, Telugu Banājigas, Ganigas, Kunchigas and Devangas, were issued during the year, the total number of such issues up to date being 34. About a dozen more accounts are in various stages of progress.



53. The Observatories at Bangalore, Mysore, Hassan and Chitaldrug maintained correct records of observations. The number of rain gauge stations in the State on the 30th June 1914 was 223, and of these, 181 or 81 per cent were inspected during the official year as against 3 per cent in the year previous. *Meteorology.*

54. During the year, there were additions in all sections, both by purchase and presentation. These included a very valuable and interesting collection of mammals received from the Bombay Natural History Society, being part of the specimens obtained by the Survey of Indian mammals. A descriptive catalogue of the collections is being compiled. *Government Museum.*

The Art Sale Room that had been opened in the Museum in 1893 was abolished during the year and the articles were transferred to the newly opened Mysore Arts and Crafts Institute Sales Depot.

The Museum was visited by 477,309 persons.

M. VISVESVARAYA,  
*Dewan of Mysore.*

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# Address

OF THE

## Dewan of Mysore

TO THE

### Dasara Representative Assembly

11th OCTOBER 1913

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#### PART II

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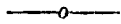


MYSORE

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1913

**C O N T E N T S.**



**PART II.**

**Details of the working of Government Departments during 1912-13.**

**ADDRESS**  
OF THE  
**DEWAN OF MYSORE**  
TO THE  
**DASARA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**

11th OCTOBER 1933.

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**PART II.**

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I have referred in Part I of the Address to the **Introduction.** working of the principal departments of the State and to the important measures which have received attention during the past year, or which are under consideration at the present time. Matters of lesser importance which were not specifically dealt with in Part I, will be referred to here.

2. The Legislative Council held one meeting during the year. Eleven Bills were considered, including those which were pending from the previous year. Two of these were passed into law. A Bill further to amend the Mysore Military Regulation, 1899, which, under Section 12 of the Legislative Council Regulation, is excluded from the scope of the Legislative Council, was passed by Government. The remaining nine Bills were before the Legislative Council in various stages of progress. The following Bills were passed into law :—

- (1) The Mysore Emigration Bill,
- (2) The Bill further to amend the Mysore Military Regulation, and
- (3) The Partition Bill.

3. A Bill to further amend the Local Boards Regulation, II of 1902, so as to enable the Government to levy a cess not exceeding half an anna in the rupee on all items of revenue on which local cess is levied, to be utilized solely for the construction of tramways and railroads, is now under the consideration of the Legislative Council.

4. Rules and notifications under enactments in force were issued on a variety of subjects connected with the Government Savings Bank Act, the Opium Act, the Civil Courts Regulation, the Land Revenue Code, the Land Improvement Loans Regulation, the Mysore Arms Regulation, and several other Regulations.

**Account Department.**

5. The publication of a new general Treasury Manual and the revised edition of the Taluk Treasury Manual have led to some improvement in the working of the treasuries in the State. To enhance the utility of the Taluk Treasury Manual, a Kannada edition of the same was prepared during the year. A Public Works Manual has been prepared as a supplement to the Government India Code. The manual is in the press and is expected to be ready for issue early.

6. During the year, Capital and Revenue accounts for the Marikanave Project and for Government buildings, let or available for rent, were compiled and issued on the lines on which such accounts are maintained in British India. An attempt is being made to draw up similar accounts for the Public Works Workshop at Bangalore.

7. The scheme sanctioned by Government last year for affording facility to the public in purchasing and selling Mysore Government Securities through the Comptroller is working satisfactorily. Several transactions have in this manner been effected since the scheme came into operation.

**The Civil Veterinary Department.**

8. The number of cases treated in the eight Veterinary Hospitals and Dispensaries rose from 53,919 during the previous year to 65,836 during the year under review. Modern methods of treatment of cattle diseases are becoming popular and the demand for preventive inoculation has been increasing. During the year 2,579 head of cattle were inoculated against various contagious diseases, such as blackquarter, anthrax and rinderpest.

**Cattle Shows and Exhibitions.**

9. Cattle shows and exhibitions were held in 19 places and ryots and other non-official gentlemen took much interest in the carrying out of these functions and contributed towards their cost. The show at Channagiri is reported to have been financed purely by private subscriptions. The agricultural population are beginning to understand the utility of these shows and it is reported that the quality of cattle exhibited in them is improving every year. Lectures are usually given by officers of the Veterinary and Health Departments and demonstrations are arranged by officers of the Agricultural Department in

connection with these shows and it is satisfactory to note that this mode of popular instruction is gaining favour.

10. Twelve blocks with an area of nearly 54 square **Forests.** miles were notified as State Forests under Section 17 of the Forest Regulation and 17 blocks with an aggregate area of 70½ square miles were notified as "Reserved lands" under Section 4. About 382 miles of forest demarcation lines were newly cut, and about 1,914 square miles were successfully protected, out of 2,018 square miles attempted. About 6,700 acres of new area were stocked with teak, sandal and other indigenous plants and 31,452 acres were dibbled over with sandal seeds mostly, and teak in some places. About 366,778 cubic feet of timber were disposed of by departmental agency in depôts, and about 315,980 cubic feet were sold from the forests on licenses, the aggregate revenue realised being Rs. 5,20,543.

11. Depredations of standing crops by wild elephants having become somewhat frequent in the Shimoga District, Khedda operations were undertaken there on a small scale and successfully conducted by the local Forest Officer, under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr K. Srinivasa Rao. Eighteen elephants were captured and sold for Rs. 27,575, the amount expended on the operations having been Rs. 15,277.

12. The revenue from Stamps has steadily risen from **Stamps.** Rs. 8,16,000 in 1909-10 to Rs. 9,41,400, during the year under review.

13. The number of documents registered during the **Registration.** year was 96,924 against 94,193 in 1911-12, showing an increase of 2,731. The income for the year, however, amounted to Rs. 1,82,534 against 1,85,946 in the previous year showing a slight fall of Rs. 3,412 which was chiefly due to the reduction sanctioned from January last in fees charged for the registration of documents relating to immovable property.

14. Three new companies were registered during the **Joint-Stock Companies.** year and four were wound up, the total number working at the close of the year being 77 or one less than the number at the end of the previous year.

15. During the year four inam villages comprising **Survey.** 373 fields with an area of 3,504 acres were surveyed and eight villages containing 1,225 fields measuring 4,030 acres classed. Re-survey operations were completed in 308 villages in all, consisting of 248 villages in the Hassan Taluk as it stood at the original settlement, 352 villages

of the late Kadaba Taluk (present Gubbi Taluk), one village in the Kunigal Taluk and seven villages of the Magadi Taluk. The total area re-surveyed was 432,658 acres or 676·03 square miles.

16. Revised rates of assessment were announced in the Shimoga Taluk, where the average dry rate was increased by 14·2 per cent, and the wet rate by 6 per cent, while the garden rate was reduced by 30·8 per cent. On the whole, the revision of the settlement resulted in a moderate increase of revenue on occupied lands of about 8 per cent. The new rates were received by the ryots without complaint. Proposals for the revision settlement of the late Koratagere Taluk and the Nagar Taluk were submitted to Government during the year. The revision settlement of the late Koratagere Taluk has since been sanctioned and the revised rates of assessment will be announced in the next cold weather. The proposals relating to the Nagar Taluk are under the consideration of Government.

**Police.**

17. The sanctioned strength of the regular Police Force was 337 officers and 5,181 men as against 831 officers and 5,049 men in the year previous. The increase is due to the augmentation of the Kolar Gold Fields Police Force and to the temporary staff of the Criminal Intelligence Department being made permanent. A temporary staff of 2 Inspectors, 1 Jamadar, 1 Duffedar and 4 constables was also sanctioned during the year for special duty at Mugur, in the T.-Narsipur Taluk, to preserve peace and order in that locality owing to the occurrence of certain serious riots at Kannegal in Chamrajnagar Taluk committed by the inhabitants of the village. The cost of Police Administration, including equipment and clothing was approximately Rs. 9,27,670 against Rs. 9,12,840 in the preceding year, the increase being chiefly due to the additional establishments entertained.

**Medical.**

18. Two new dispensaries were opened and the dispensary at Marikanave was closed during the year, so that there were 153 hospitals and dispensaries at the close of the year. The number of patients treated in them was 1,438,947 against 1,367,543, showing an increase of over 71,000. The Special Hospitals of the State, viz., the Lunatic and Leper Asylums, the Maternity Hospitals the Epidemic Diseases Hospitals and the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital continued to do good work. The last-named hospital, which is equipped with the most up-to-date appliances, was opened by His Highness the Maharaja in

January last and is doing excellent work, over eleven thousand persons having been treated there during the year.

19. Fever and plague prevailed to a less extent than in the previous year but the mortality under cholera and small-pox was higher. The total number of deaths from all causes recorded was less, the ratio per mille of population having been 18·05 as against 20·24. The number of births was also smaller, the ratio being 18·52 against 19·65 in the previous year. **Public Health Department.**

20. The total number of vaccinations performed in the State during the year was 93,039 as against 80,443 in the preceding year, showing an increase of 12,596 cases. On certain complaints brought to the notice of Government through the public press and other channels about the bad effects of vaccination, a careful enquiry into the several cases reported was made; but the allegations were not substantiated and in none of the cases were the untoward results complained of proved to be due to either the impurity of the lymph or other preventible causes.

21. From the special grants of the year, 141 new primary schools were started in the different districts of the State, of which 132 were in rural areas and 9 in taluk stations. A central Boarding School in Mysore for the benefit of the Panchama boys of the State has been started and is availed of by many Panchama boys who are given free boarding and lodging in the Home attached to the school. The boys will be given the benefit of general education combined with elementary agricultural and industrial education. This important step augurs well for the advancement of a community which now occupies the lowest rank of social life. A scheme for the revision of the scales of pay of teachers in Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular Schools is under the consideration of Government. Suitable sites were selected for Village School buildings and handed over to the Public Works Department for the construction of school houses according to type designs approved by Government. It was originally intended to construct 105 new buildings, but as suitable sites were not readily available in some villages, it was ultimately arranged to construct 76 buildings and the necessary plans and estimates are before the Public Works Department for execution. **Education.**

22. The number of industrial and weaving schools increased from 22 to 23, but their attendance fell slightly from 1,256 to 1,178. All the Government and aided



institutions did satisfactory work during the year and the unaided schools are also reported to have shown a fair amount of progress.

**Female Education.**

23. Female education is making slow but steady progress. The number of public institutions for girls increased from 305 to 360, of which one was an English College, one an Oriental College and two were English High Schools. Altogether 7 girls passed the Matriculation or the School-Leaving Certificate Examination, 60 the Lower Secondary Examination in English and Kannada, 19 the Teachers' Certificate Examination of the Upper and Lower Secondary grades and 11 the examination for proficiency in sewing.

24. Among other matters of importance in the Educational Department may be mentioned the sanction accorded to an annual grant of Rs. 3,000 for the preparation and supply of suitable text-books in the manner best calculated to stimulate the production of such books, the institution of two special scholarships of the value of Rs. 20 each to enable Mysore students to study Logic, Psychology and Ethics of the B.A. Degree Pass Course in any Indian University, as no provision exists at present for teaching the subjects in any of the State Colleges, the consideration of a scheme of reorganization of the grades of the tutorial and inspection branches and the holding of the first Public Examination under the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Scheme.

**Industries and  
Commerce.**

25. The following is a brief account of the work done under the different heads in this department.

*Hand-loom Weaving:—*

With a view to popularise the use of fly-shuttle looms throughout the State and to introduce jacquard machines for ornamental weaving, a workshop has been opened in Bangalore which is run on commercial lines as far as possible. Only persons who have already acquired a knowledge of handloom weaving are admitted to the workshop, the object being to improve the condition of the existing weavers rather than to introduce further competition in a trade which already suffers severely from the competition of imported piece-goods. A consignment of wool from Europe was obtained in June last suitable for weaving woollen shawls of a kind which, it is thought, will be largely in demand in the State. Indian wool is not suitable for the manufacture of these shawls, and the wool itself will always have to be imported; but it is hoped that ultimately we may be able to import grey

yarn, dye it locally, and weave into shawls. So far as can be judged at present, this new development is likely to prove a success; and it is hoped that in course of time it will give employment to many hundreds of hand-loom weavers. In regard to the general introduction of the fly shuttle slay for plain weaving, considerable progress has been made, and a large number of them are in use in Hole-Narsipur. A special weaver has been at work for a short time in Komarahalli, and it is contemplated to send another man to Kankanhalli. There is every reason to hope that, in a year or two, fly shuttle looms for plain weaving will be as common in the Mysore State as they are in the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency, where, it is reported, they have been almost universally adopted with extremely satisfactory results.

*Sugar-cane.*—In October last, Government placed at the disposal of the Special Adviser, a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the purpose of establishing three sugar-cane crushing plants to demonstrate the advantages of using power in place of cattle labour. Three places were selected, one at Saggare under the Mavattur tank, one at Malikattammanagudi under the Kunigal tank and a third at Haravu, where there is a large area of land irrigated by the Cauvery channels. At Saggare during the three months that sugar-cane was delivered at the mill, 5,665 maunds of jaggery were manufactured. At the end of June, the plant was shut down as all the cane in the locality had been crushed. At Kunigal and Haravu at the outset there was great difficulty owing to the fact that the raiyats brought to the mill over-ripe, diseased, and inferior cane, and the initial attempts to make it into jaggery failed. These difficulties retarded progress very considerably and till the end of June only 2,644 maunds of jaggery were made at Kunigal and 1,295 at Haravu.

*Silk reeling.*—Measured by the value of its output, sericulture is, next to agriculture, the most important industry carried on in the State. But during the past two or three years, it has been declining rapidly, owing to the spread of disease amongst the worms. The question of introducing remedial measures was discussed by both the Agricultural and the Industries and Commerce Committees of the Economic Conference and it was finally decided that the Agricultural Committee should deal with the problems of rearing, whilst the Industries and Commerce Committee and the Department of Industries and Commerce should deal with the improvements

in the methods of reeling and converting the raw silk into a marketable commodity. With the assistance of the Manager of the Tata Silk farm at Bangalore, now controlled by the Salvation Army, preliminary experiments have been conducted to ascertain whether improvements could be profitably introduced into the reeling of silk for the local market. A considerable quantity of cocoons was purchased at different times in Channapatna some of which was reeled locally, and the balance sent to the Silk Farm, where the reeling was done on the system introduced by the Japanese experts imported by the late Mr. J. N. Tata. Sanction has been accorded to the establishment of a silk filature in Channapatna and the reeling machinery is now being constructed in the Industrial School in that place.

*Wood-turning.*—At Channapatna there are a number of skilled wood-turners who work with very primitive appliances, and the trade is mostly controlled by a local Co-operative Society. In order to demonstrate the use of improved lathes to the members of this society, a small oil-engine and 24 lathes were set up at a cost of Rs. 4,000, in the Channapatna Industrial School. The machinery started working at the beginning of April and the results are being carefully watched.

Passing on to the assistance rendered by the department to private individuals carrying on industrial work at their own expense (which, I may observe by the way, is one of the most important branches of the work of the Industries and Commerce Department), three engines and pumps for purposes of irrigation were under erection during the year under supervision of the officers of the department. Two of these were helped with takavi loans by Government while the third was financed entirely from private funds. The last-mentioned enterprise, *viz.*, the installation at Harihar has, as you are probably aware, since been successfully launched and it may be confidently expected to be the forerunner of many similar enterprises. The department has assisted in the installation of two rice-hulling plants, two saw-mills and one coffee-roasting factory, and it is hoped that activities in this direction will grow largely and that full advantage will be taken of the expert assistance and guidance thus placed by Government at the disposal of the public.

*General industrial enquiries.*—The Office of the Director of Industries and Commerce constitutes in itself

a bureau of industrial information and all private enquiries are attended to. So far, most of them have been of a very elementary character and no difficulty has been experienced in dealing with them. Later on, as complex questions come up for investigation and solution, arrangements will be made to obtain expert advice outside the department whenever it is necessary. It may also be added in this connection, that this work is intimately connected with the work of the Industries and Commerce Committee of the Economic Conference and the results of enquiries are published in bulletins issued by the Economic Conference. The department itself is at present considering the question of wood-distillation and the manufacture of edible products from vegetable oils. Necessary inquiries are in progress and the department hopes to submit ere long definite proposals for practical action.

26. Much attention continues to be paid to the demonstration of improved agricultural methods and the introduction of improved agricultural implements. The work on the Hebbal farm was continued with regard to ragi, paddy, sugar-cane and cottons and interesting results were recorded. The system of green manuring for paddy and sugar-cane, which was commenced about two years ago in the Kadur and Shimoga Districts, is beginning to have effect. During the first two years, green manure seed was supplied free of charge, but in the spring of 1913, the seed was offered for sale and readily purchased by the people. The extent of land treated with green manure during the year was about six times that in the previous season. Single seedling transplantation of paddy was demonstrated along with green manuring in the western parts of the State and the results have been highly satisfactory. About 100 ryots are said to have taken up the practice on their own account. Broach cotton, the seed of which was distributed last year, proved a success. It gave a better yield and at the same time fetched a higher price by about 12 annas a maund than *Sannhatti*. Cambodia cotton did not do well, on the whole, on unirrigated soils but was generally successful on irrigable land. The introduction of these new varieties even on the small scale that was possible during the year, is believed to have led to an increase of from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 10,000 in the value of the cotton crop. During the present season, between sixteen and seventeen thousand lbs. of first-class seed of these cottons have been distributed, or over three times as much as last season.

**Agricultural Department.**

Much of this has been sold in areas untouched last year. In addition, a good deal of seed of both Broach and Cambodia has been sold by the brokers at Davangere, while many ryots have preserved seed from their crop last year. On the whole, about 3,000 acres have been sown with these two varieties of cotton this season which, in a normal year, should represent an increase of Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 in the value of the cotton crop next harvest. Attention is being given to the introduction of improved agricultural implements. During the year over 200 ploughs, 400 shares and points and 30 other implements of various types, including harrows, cultivators and fodder-cutters were sold. A beginning has been made in stocking ploughs in Taluk Offices, and District Associations are also making purchases of ploughs for purposes of demonstration and sale.

**Mycology and  
Entomology.**

27. The work in connection with the suppression of Koleroga is progressing steadily and the actual combative work is being gradually handed over to the garden owners. Over seventy sprayers have been sold during the last two years. During the present season, commencing with the first of June last, material sufficient to treat approximately 150 acres has been sold to private owners. In addition, demonstration of spraying has been made in 56 gardens, chiefly those where such work had not previously been done. The demonstrations now extend over six taluks, *viz.*, Shikarpur Sorab, Sagar, Nagar, Thirthahalli and Koppa. In this connection it may be noted that the Bombay and the Madras Departments of Agriculture are now carrying out combative measures in North Canara and South Canara, respectively, along the lines worked out here.

28. The two serious grasshopper pests, the Rice Grasshopper and the Jola Grasshopper, were much less serious than in the previous year. Handpicking of moths was demonstrated at Kachegatte near Banavar over 114 acres, and demonstrations of the life history of the insect were given in all the villages of the neighbourhood and wherever possible also in the schools. Ploughing operations to control the pest could not be carried out as cholera broke out in the village where it has been planned to carry them out. The serious pest of green bug on coffee has lately appeared in Mysore. A short tour was made by the Assistant Entomologist to ascertain the severity of the attack. An illustrated Kannaḍa circular has been published and distributed in the coffee-growing districts and plans for a thorough campaign against the

pest are being arranged. Work will be commenced as soon as the monsoon subsides.

29. To emphasise the co-operative character of **Co-operative Societies.** Central Banks, two co-operative Unions were started during the year, one at Hassan and the other at Tumkur. These Unions consist of about ten societies which have banded together to form a federal Union undertaking and organizing supervisory and financial functions. The Unions are still in an infant stage and have not seriously commenced work.

30. As in the previous year, a Provincial Co-operative Conference was held at Mysore in October last and was attended by about 350 delegates. His Highness the Yuvaraja opened the Conference and its deliberations were conducted under the presidency of Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, First Councillor. This provincial Conference owed its initiative to the efforts of the Registrar, but Conferences organized on similar lines by members of Co-operative Societies and confined to the societies in the districts concerned, were held during the year at Hassan, Chennagiri, Yedarur (in the Kolar District) and Tumkur.

31. A Kannada monthly publication, called the *Mysore Co-operative Bulletin*, is being published under official patronage and supervision from January last.

32. The policy now adopted for some years with **Agricultural Banks.** respect to Agricultural Banks was continued during the year under review. Banks which showed no signs of activity were wound up and, wherever conditions were favourable, Co-operative Societies were formed so as to provide credit facilities to the members of the defunct Agricultural Banks. It was mentioned in the Address of last year that 18 Co-operative Societies had been formed in localities where Agricultural Banks had previously been in existence. During the past year, five such societies were started, four in the Shimoga District and one in the Bangalore District. Many of the members of the defunct Agricultural Banks are now members of these co-operative institutions to which they have contributed small sums as share capital and from which they have borrowed for their requirements.

33. In connection with the Marikanave project in **Public Works.** the Chitaldrug District, the details of the *Block System* of irrigation under the canals were revised and completed so that the system might be brought into force from the 1st July 1913. The change from the old system to the

new is being gradually effected. The colonization of the canal area and the improvement of the means of communication therein is also engaging the attention of Government. Arrangements were in progress to shift some of the unhealthy villages in the canal area to better sites. The actual area irrigated during the year was 3,904 acres against 10,644 acres in holding. The gross value of the crops grown is estimated at about 4 lakhs of rupees. The gross revenue realised was Rs. 50,330.

34. Among the large irrigation works undertaken during the year, were the construction of a new tank across the Maralwady stream at Mavattur in the Kankanhalli Taluk of the Bangalore District and of a feeder from the Nagannana Anikat to the tanks in the Tarikere valley in the Kadur District. Of those started during the previous year, the principal works in progress were the construction of a new tank across the Vadly stream near Hairegai in the Mysore District, the extension and the improvement of the Sri Ramadevaru South Channel in the Hassan District and the restoration of the Bolappanahalli tank in the Closepet Sub-Taluk and Mellur tank in the Hunsur Taluk.

35. The repairs to the breach in the Madhavantri Anikat on the river Cauvery which had sustained serious damage during the heavy rains of August 1912, were also in progress, but owing to sudden and unexpected floods in the river in May 1913, the anikat which is constructed of rough stone boulders closely packed together was again partially damaged. It is hoped that there will be no serious difficulty in passing down the usual irrigation supply this season. This anikat has been causing frequent trouble and the question of replacing it by one of solid masonry is under consideration. About a lakh of rupees was spent during the year on the restoration of the minor tanks in the State.

36. *Civil Buildings.*—The principal civil buildings in progress during the year were the new Palace and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, the Central College Chemical Laboratory, the new High School and the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital at Bangalore, the Maternity Hospital at Robertsonpet, and the new Sandal Koti at Shimoga.

37. *Communications.*—Under communications, the construction and improvement of certain malnad and forest roads in the Shimoga, Hassan and Mysore Districts were in progress; also the construction of large bridges

across the river Tungabhadra at Honnali in the Shimoga District and across the Bhrugu on the Hunsur-Begur road in the Mysore District.

38. *Miscellaneous Public Improvements.*—Among the miscellaneous public improvements in progress may be mentioned the construction of certain roads and drains in the different extensions of the Bangalore City and a Jewell Filter and a subsidiary pumping plant which were in course of erection during the year for improving the water supply to the Mysore City. Investigations and surveys for the drainage of the Hole-Narsipur and Nanjangud towns were completed.

39. *Electrical Works.*—To minimise interruptions in service caused by lightning, the high tension transmission circuits for Bangalore service were provided with overhead supports and ground wires for a length of about 30 miles and ground wire supports were also erected for an additional length of about 15 miles. The number of interior lighting installations in the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore and the Civil and Military Station at the close of the year were respectively, 421, 204 and 499, or a total of 1,124 as against 337, 143 and 367 or a total of 847 at the close of the previous year, showing an increase of 32·8 per cent in the number of consumers. Arrangements are being made for supplying electric power at cheap rates for small household appliances and industrial concerns.

40. Mining operations were in progress on 16 mining and prospecting blocks as against 15 during the previous year. **Geology and Mining.**

41. The number of mines producing gold, remains the same as before, viz., five, all being situated on the Kolar Gold Field. The satisfactory position of these mines was on the whole well maintained. Champion Reef and Ooregum have both shown distinct signs of improvement and afford further illustrations of the wonderful recuperative power of the mines of the Kolar Gold Field. In other parts of the State work has been in progress at the Siddarhalli Block, Shimoga District and the Nandi Hosahalli Block, Kadur District; and towards the close of the year work was re-started at the Woolgiri Mine in the Mysore District. **Gold.**

42. Some interest was taken in the magnesite deposits of the Mysore District owing to certain proposals which were put forward in connection with the manufacture of the magnesite cements. But before these **Magnesite.**



proposals could be matured into effect, applications were received from the Tata Iron and Steel Company for licenses to work the deposits for the production of refractory materials for the iron and steel industry. Five blocks were selected and licenses were granted to the Company and preliminary operations have been started.

**Iron Ore.**

43. The valuable deposits of iron ore on the Bababudan Hills which were discovered and reported upon departmentally a few years ago have now attracted some attention and six prospecting licenses and one exploring license have been granted in this area for the purpose of examining the areas on a commercial basis. Practically no work has been done at present owing to the advent of the monsoon shortly after the issue of the licenses, but it is expected to be taken up vigorously during the ensuing dry season.

44. 27,088 persons were employed in the mining industry and there were 66 fatal accidents involving the death of 90 persons, the rate of mortality being 3.32 per 1,000 persons employed, which is the same as during the previous year. Air blasts in the Kolar mines accounted for 11 fatal accidents involving the loss of 29 lives. For a number of years past these air blasts have engaged the most serious attention of the Mining Department and of the Managers and Superintendents of the Mining Companies, and unremitting efforts, involving a large expenditure of time and money, have been made to investigate and comprehend their nature and devise methods of work which will help to guard the workers against their effects. How far these efforts have or have not been successful is still a matter of conjecture, as changes in methods of work and the precautionary measures which are adopted most probably require a considerable period in which to make themselves felt and to permit of sound deductions as to their utility or otherwise. In the opinion of those competent to judge who have studied these phenomena and who have to work amongst them, there is no justification for either panic or despair however regrettable the present loss of life may be. In spite of the natural anxiety which these air blasts cause to those responsible for the safety of the mine and the workers, there is a general feeling of hopefulness that the dangers associated with them will be materially avoided or reduced with the determined efforts that are being made to combat them.

**District Funds.**

45. The receipts under all heads of District Funds during the year were approximately Rs. 12,26,313, and

including the opening balance of Rs. 4,75,024, amounted to Rs. 17,01,337. The total expenditure was nearly Rs. 11,54,547, leaving a balance of Rs. 5,46,790 at the close of the year. A sum of Rs. 5,21,021 was spent on Public Works, Rs. 2,64,322 on public health, safety and convenience which included medical relief and sanitation, and the balance towards establishment and other charges.

46. The income under this head amounted to **Local Funds General.** Rs. 1,77,233 approximately and, including the opening balance of Rs. 1,74,241, the total receipts amounted to Rs. 3,51,474. The expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,36,764. There thus remained to the credit of the funds at the close of the year a balance of Rs. 2,14,710.

47. The receipts under Municipal Funds during the **Municipal Boards.** year amounted to Rs. 10,17,540 and the expenditure to Rs. 8,98,190, of which Rs. 2,10,505 was spent on Public Works, Rs. 2,10,144 on Conservancy, and the remainder under other heads.

48. The towns of Birur and Chintamani were notified as permanent municipalities under the Municipal Regulation, the number of local areas so notified being 34 up to the end of the year 1912-13. The constitution of the Municipal Councils for Channapatna, Siddlaghatta, Chikballapur and Chintamani newly brought under the Municipal Regulation, was sanctioned during the year. Out of 89 municipalities in the State, 33 had Municipal Councils constituted under the Regulation at the end of the year. General elections were held in 11 municipalities and 69 Municipal Councillors were elected.

49. The draft Municipal Account Manual, prepared under the supervision of the Comptroller, has been approved by Government. Such of the rules and forms in the Manual as are of general applicability have been ordered to be translated into Kannada and printed as a separate Manual.

50. Seventy-two buildings connected with **Muzrai** Institutions were repaired during the year at a cost of Rs. 39,577, of which Rs. 25,057 came from the surplus funds of the institutions concerned and contributions from the devotees interested, and the balance of Rs. 14,520 was contributed by the State. A sum of Rs. 4,500 was invested during the year by a private individual at the favourable rate of 4% interest allowed for charitable purposes, thus bringing the total of such deposits to Rs. 2,49,600.

**The Government Press  
and Stationery  
Departments.**

51. The Press and Stationery Departments continued to be efficiently managed. There was a small decrease of about Rs. 8,000 in expenditure in the Press as compared with the previous year, the figures having been a lakh and sixteen thousand as against a lakh and twenty-four thousand. In the Stationery Department, the purchases for the year amounted to Rs. 1,02,000 including English and Indian papers and other articles, this amount being Rs. 8,000 in excess of the previous year. The additional cost was necessitated by the supply which had to be made to the newly created departments and to the increased demands of existing departments.

52. With a view to meet the growing requirements of the Press, and to provide suitable accommodation for the Stamp Manufactory which is in the charge of the Superintendent of the Press, the construction of an additional block of buildings to adjoin the present Press and Stationery buildings has been sanctioned at a cost of nearly Rs. 20,000. The buildings are approaching completion.

**Government Gardens  
and Horticulture.**

53. The Government Gardens in the State were maintained in an efficient condition during the year. A scheme for the extension and improvement of the Cubbon Park has been sanctioned, and work has been taken in hand. The seed depôt and the newly-opened fumigatorium in the Lal-Bagh did useful work. The introduction and cultivation of industrial plants, such as camphor, rubber, tan-oil and dye-yielding plants, and fibres continued to receive attention.

**Archæology.**

54. The number of new records copied during the year was 290, excluding inscriptions on temple bells, vessels, etc., which numbered 74. Among the epigraphical discoveries of the year, the inscriptions found on the rock to the west of Lakkidone at Sravanabelagola which go back to the 9th and 10th centuries are of some interest and importance. The Jaina epitaphs found at Ankanatapura near Hole-Narsipur, which may be assigned to the 10th century, afford evidence of the place having once been a great Jain Settlement.

55. Among the important manuscripts examined during the year were (1) Jinendra Kalyanabhyudaya by Ayyapparaya, a Sanskrit work treating of the mode of worshipping Jina and completed in A. D. 1319 at Ekasilanagara (*i.e.*, Warangal), in Rudrakumara's kingdom (2) Ramanujasidharta Vijaya, a philosophical work in Sanskrit criticising Vyasathirtha's Chandrika and written in the

17th century by a Swami of the Alagiyamanavalamatha of Kanchi known as Ramayajamatri Ramanujamuni and (3) Chandraprabha Charitre, a Kannada work in the Sangatya metre, giving an account of Chandraprabha, one of the Thirthankaras and written in 1578 A.D. by Doddanna, who belonged to Nittur in the Hoyasala country.

56. The four Meteorological Observatories in Bangalore, Mysore, Hassan and Chitaldrug continued to maintain accurate records of observations. For the measurement of rainfall, 220 rain-gauge stations were maintained and properly worked in the State. It will be one of the duties of the Meteorological Observer in future to make a more detailed study of the Meteorological conditions of the State and keep Government informed of the seasonal conditions, by means of periodical reports. **Meteorology.**

57. Out of about 50 monographs, in all, on the several castes in Mysore which were intended to be published, 30 have up to now been printed and published, of which 5 were done during the year under review. It is intended to publish all the monographs in a final volume, with illustrations and an introduction bearing on the ethnography of the State. A sum of Rs. 2,000 has been sanctioned towards the cost of illustrations in the volume. **Ethnographic Survey.**

58. The Museum continued to maintain its popularity during the year. 335,521 persons visited the institutions, being an increase of 43,175 over the number of the previous year. **Museum.**

59. The work connected with the Census of 1911 is almost completed, only the printing of a small portion of the village Population Tables remaining to be done. With a view to direct attention to the more salient features of the recent Census and to enable the ordinary reader to readily obtain information relating to vital statistics without recourse to the bulky volumes of the Census Report, "A Brief Summary of the Mysore Census, 1911" has been published. **Census.**

M. VISVESVARAYA,  
*Dewan of Mysore.*

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Address

OF THE

Dewan of Mysore

TO THE

Dasara Representative Assembly

11th OCTOBER 1913

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PART I

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MYSORE.

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1913

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July 1913.

**ADDRESS**  
OF THE  
**DEWAN OF MYSORE**  
TO THE  
**DASARA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**  
11th OCTOBER 1913.

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**Preliminary.**

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GENTLEMEN,

I esteem it a privilege, by command of His Highness **Introduction** the Maharaja, to welcome you to the thirtieth session of the Dasara Representative Assembly and to place before you, in accordance with precedent, an account of the more important events of the administration of the past official year, as well as a forecast of the measures contemplated in the current and coming years.

2. As the work of the administration is growing, the subjects to be dealt with in the annual Dasara Address are increasing every year both in number and variety. I have therefore arranged to divide this year's address into two parts. Reference will be made in this, the first part of the Address, to only the salient features of the events and measures to be brought to your notice. The details of departmental work and all other matters which, whatever their intrinsic importance, do not bulk large at the present juncture, will be dealt with in Part II.

3. The south-west monsoon this year was weak **Seasonal Prospects.** and there was no rain worth mentioning in the months of July and August. Considerable apprehension was felt during the time the drought lasted and prices had begun to go up. But a welcome change occurred in September and the ragi crop which was in peril has been partly saved. The rainfall in the last and the current months has been favourable, and although this year may not be considered a prosperous one, there is so far no cause for apprehending distress.

## 2.—Principal Events of the Year's Administration.

### Finance.

4. Proceeding to the principal events of the past year's administration, I will take up the subject of finances first. It may be discussed under two heads, *viz.*, the revised estimates for 1912-13 and the budget for 1913-14. These estimates, together with the statement explaining the salient features of the financial position, were published in the *Mysore Gazette*, Extraordinary, dated the 6th August last and have been before you for two months past. An abstract of the budget estimates for 1913-14 and a statement of Assets and Liabilities as they stood on 1st July 1913, are also appended to this Address.

### Revised Estimates for 1912-13.

5. The estimate for 1912-13 was a cautious one as the early rains had failed and sowings had been postponed in consequence in several parts of the State. The favourable change in the seasonal conditions that followed improved the prospects and the result is reflected in the revised estimate for the year. The revenue for 1912-13 stands, according to the revised estimate, at Rs. 272·92 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 248·68 lakhs. You will therefore see that instead of there being a considerable excess of expenditure over receipts as anticipated at budget time in 1912, there is a substantial surplus of 24·24 lakhs.

Analysed into ordinary and extraordinary, the figures for revenue and expenditure stand thus :—

	Lakhs		Lakhs
Gross Revenue—1912-13	272·92	Gross Expenditure—	
		1912-13	... 248·68
Deduct extraordinary revenue—		Deduct extraordinary expenditure—	
(1) Mining ...	... 19·20	(1) Cauvery Reservoir	17·50
(2) Cauvery Power Scheme ...	... 14·25	(2) Cauvery Power Scheme ...	'60
(3) Water-Supply to the mines ...	... 2·29	(3) Railway construction	'80
	35·74	(4) Tramways ...	'10
			19·00
Net ordinary revenue ...	237 18	Net ordinary expenditure	229·68
		Surplus on the ordinary Account ...	... 7·50
Total ...	237·18	Total ...	237·18

There are certain revenues of the State which cannot be reckoned as permanent and these have been shown in the above table as amounting to 35·74 lakhs. Also certain items of expenditure have to be considered



as extraordinary, because they are incurred on capital account works and may therefore be treated as an addition to the State assets. The net ordinary revenue and the ordinary expenditure show that there was a surplus of 7.50 lakhs on the ordinary account.

It must however be mentioned that these satisfactory results are due to the exceptionally favourable feature of the year's transactions in connection with sandalwood sales, railway earnings, land revenue collections and excise contracts.

The last financial year may be said to be a very prosperous one. The transactions have, on the whole, resulted in a net addition of 16.74 lakhs to the reserves which, including this addition, stood at 192.11 lakhs on the 1st July 1913.

6. The budget estimates for 1913-14 framed on the expectation of a normal year, provide for a gross revenue of 257.17 lakhs and a gross expenditure of 313.55 lakhs. Analysed into ordinary and extraordinary, the figures stand thus:—

	Lakhs		Lakhs
Gross budgetted revenue	257.17	Gross budgetted expenditure ...	313.55
Deduct—		Deduct extraordinary capital expenditure—	
(1) Mining Revenue ...	19.00	(1) Cauvery Reservoir.	30.40
(2) Cauvery Power Scheme ...	14.25	(2) Cauvery Power Scheme Fourth Installation ...	13.05
(3) Water-supply to the mines ...	2.29	(3) Railway construction	15.00
	35.54	(4) Tramways ...	6.65
	35.54		65.10
Net ordinary revenue ...	221.63	Net ordinary expenditure	248.45
Deficit on the ordinary Account ...	26.82		
Total ...	248.45	Total ...	248.45

The ordinary estimated revenue and expenditure of the year are 221.63 lakhs and 248.45 lakhs, showing a deficit of 26.82 lakhs. This expenditure is due to special non-recurring grants to certain important departments like Public Works, Education, Agriculture and Industries. Most of these grants will, from their very nature, not be repeated. So the deficit need occasion no anxiety. The special adventitious revenue amounted to 35.54 lakhs and the special capital expenditure to 65.10 lakhs showing an excess expenditure of 29.56 lakhs. The total excess of these two accounts comes to 56.38 lakhs which will be met from the reserve in hand of 192.11 lakhs already mentioned. Government have adequate funds either in cash or in the shape of temporary

investments, for meeting this extraordinary expenditure and it will not be necessary to draw upon permanent investments for the purpose.

7. As will be explained in the sequel, certain departments which either produce revenue or which urgently needed development, like the Forest, Police, the Taluk Establishments and Account, have been reorganized recently with a view to improve their earning power or efficiency, as the case may be. A careful financial forecast of the State for the three years commencing from 1913-14 was prepared and the situation during the triennium, as it would be, on the basis of expenditure as it stood in the year 1912-13, was fully discussed and provision was made for additions to the recurring expenditure to the extent of 5 lakhs during the triennium beginning with 1913-14. A non-recurring expenditure to the extent of 18 lakhs for the same period of three years was also approved by Government. This expenditure includes a recurring annual grant of Rs. 4.10 lakhs and a non-recurring grant for three years of Rs. 7.50 lakhs on education.

8. In last year's Address, you were informed that the Government of India had been pleased to deal in a liberal and generous spirit with the question of the surplus revenues of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore. The matter is still under the consideration of the Government of India with regard to the exact amount to be refunded to the State and the mode of calculating the surplus to be paid in future, and their final reply is awaited.

**The Account Department.**

*Deposits in Savings Banks*

9. With regard to the Account Department, it is only necessary to refer here to one or two important measures sanctioned by Government. In accordance with the views repeatedly urged in this Assembly, greater facilities have been afforded to the general public for the investment of their savings by doing away with the annual limit of Rs. 2,000 and the aggregate limit of Rs. 5,000 for deposits in the Savings Banks, with effect from October last, and providing for the receipt of deposits without any limitation as to amount.

With a view to increase the efficiency of the Comptroller's Office and to provide for the increase of work caused by the creation of new departments and the development of existing ones, Government have recently strengthened the gazetted and ministerial staff of the department. A special feature of the reorganization scheme

is the creation of the office of a Deputy Comptroller who will have direct charge of the Railway and Public Works Accounts under the supervision of the Comptroller. This measure has become absolutely necessary for a stricter control of the contemplated large expenditure of about 65 lakhs on Public Works and Railways in the current year and a similar large expenditure likely to be incurred in the coming years.

10. The rules for regulating the recruitment of officers to the Mysore Civil Service were revised in January last, which also provided for the holding of a competitive examination for the selection of officers. The first examination under these revised rules will be held next month, and 19 candidates have been approved for admission

**The Mysore Civil Service.**

11. The past year did not commence under very good auspices as the rainfall in April, May and June had been somewhat deficient particularly in the Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur and Mysore Districts. But heavy rains fell over the province in July and all tanks received a good supply. Both the south-west and north-east monsoons were favourable. The average total rainfall was 46.08 inches and exceeded that of the previous year by 12.76 inches, and that of the last 42 years by 8.97 inches. The rains were abundant and well distributed.

**Land Revenue Department.  
Seasonal Conditions in 1912-13.**

Ragi was more extensively cultivated and its outturn was better than in the previous year. Sugar-cane and cholam yielded a good crop. The outturn of paddy was also satisfactory except in the districts of Bangalore and Tumkur where the crop suffered to some extent by disease. A marked preference to grow cotton in place of food crops was noticed in some parts of the Chitaldrug District where the area under cotton increased by 52,387 acres during the year. In spite of the favourable rainfall and better outturn of crops, there was no improvement in the prices of food grains, which continued to rule high.

12. For various reasons such as increase of work in many directions, the necessity for greater efficiency in taluk administration, and a steady rise in the price of food grains, the scale of salaries fixed for the Taluk Office establishment so far back as the year 1897 was considered unsuitable to the conditions of the present day. The scale has accordingly been revised and provision has been made for a general increase of pay at an additional recurring expenditure of about Rs. 44,000 per annum. It is hoped that this will result in attracting to the Taluk Offices a

**Taluk Offices.**

better class of recruits and increasing the efficiency of the taluk administration generally.

Steps are being taken to publish a Taluk Manual for regulating the work of the Taluk Offices and defining the duties and responsibilities of taluk officials, their relations to the public and rules for their personal conduct.

**Excise Department.**

13. The gross receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 50,94,310 against Rs. 45,45,518 in the previous year, showing an increase of Rs. 5,48,792, nearly half of the increase being due to the increased shop rental derived during the auction sales and the remainder to increased consumption during the year. The gross revenue for the year under report is the highest on record since the beginning of excise administration, and the increase in revenue is accompanied by a corresponding increase in consumption under all heads. Taking all aspects of the question into consideration, the increase is not altogether a matter for congratulation, although it doubtless means that illicit use was kept down at a minimum and the Department was efficiently administered during the year.

**Forest Department.**

14. Steady progress was made in the work of the Forest Department as will be explained in detail in Part II of the Address. The total revenue realised under all heads was about Rs. 33,02,920, which is a record figure. This large increase was mainly due to the unusually high rates secured for sandalwood, the total realizations from which amounted to Rs. 22,92,419.

The executive establishment of the department was reorganized at an additional cost of Rs. 65,514 and it is hoped that this will result in enhanced efficiency of the service.

The department is managed efficiently enough at present, but it is necessary that it should, in future years, devote special attention to the investigation of the commercial value of all the forest products, and it may also be necessary to employ expert establishment in order to increase the revenue from this source to the fullest extent that the local conditions admit of and may be permissible under scientific management. It cannot be considered satisfactory that fuel for local consumption and sleepers for railways should be imported from outside while a redundance of such material is rotting in our forests for lack of enterprise and adequate efforts among the local population. A scientific examination is likely to bring to light the existence of much material of great commercial value, which might, if properly worked and developed, pro-

vide new occupations to the people and bring additional revenue to Government.

15. The orders of Government in regard to the improvement of the position and prospects of the members of the Judicial service referred to in Mr. Ananda Row's Address of last year were brought into effect in November 1912. **Judicial Department.**

The Additional Munsiff's Court established at Chikballapur in February 1911, was made permanent, but to promote public convenience it was removed to Dodballapur at the close of the year, with jurisdiction over the taluks of Dodballapur, Nelamangala and Goribidnur. The territorial jurisdiction of the Principal and Additional Munsiffs' Courts (now styled the First and Second Munsiffs' Courts) at Bangalore and of the Chikballapur Munsiff's Court was in consequence readjusted so as to secure a more equitable distribution of work among the said courts.

The Bench of Honorary Magistrates inaugurated in the year 1909 in each of the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore as an experimental measure, having been found to be successful, was made permanent. A temporary additional Sessions Court was established in Mysore in March 1913 to try the case of rioting which occurred in Kannegal in the Chamrajanagar Taluk. More activity was shown by the department during the year in the inspection of subordinate courts in the State than in previous years.

16. There has been a perceptible improvement in the investigation and detection of crime in the Police Department. The question of the reorganization of the Police Department, which was brought forward by the Dasara Representative Assembly on several occasions, has received due consideration, and you will be glad to learn that His Highness has been pleased to sanction a scheme for a revision of the several branches of this important department. The revised scheme involves an additional annual expenditure of Rs. 75,000 and its chief feature is the provision of better pay for the constabulary. The constables serving in the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore will hereafter draw Rs. 11, 10, 9 and 8 in lieu of their present pay of Rs. 9, 8 and 7. The scheme also provides for an increase of Re. 1 per head to the constables of the District and Railway Police, the strengthening of the Inspectorate and the Investigation Centre Staff, and a suitable improvement of the organization and equipment of the headquarter Training School to meet modern requirements. **Police Department.**

The prospects of the force having been improved, it is hoped there will be no difficulty in securing capable recruits in future. The adoption of a scheme for the further improvement of the discipline and morale of the force and for more systematic and efficient inspections throughout the State is also under contemplation.

**Military Department.**

17. The standard of discipline and efficiency of the Military Forces of the State continued to be maintained as usual and the administration of the department was satisfactory. It is under contemplation to reorganize the Infantry Barr Forces so as to improve the pay and prospects of the officers and men with a view to secure greater efficiency.

18. The scheme for reorganizing the Transport Pony Corps into a Bullock train under the registration system did not prove satisfactory, many cases having come to notice in which the owners had sold or replaced registered bullocks without permission. It has therefore since been decided to dispense with the registration of cattle and remount the corps wholly with Amrut Mahal bullocks which are now available. It is proposed to utilise the services of the corps in ordinary times in procuring fodder for itself and the mounted corps and other departments of the State, and thus save some transit and cutting charges.

**Medical and Sanitary Departments.**

19. The Medical Department has continued to do good work during the year.

The construction of the new building for the Ophthalmic Hospital named after His Excellency Lord Minto was completed during the year at a cost of nearly 2½ lakhs of rupees and was formally opened for the use of the public by His Highness the Maharaja in January last. Being equipped with the most modern appliances and provided with an expert staff having, at its head, a Superintendent and an Assistant both trained in England, the institution will no doubt prove a great boon to the suffering population.

Proposals for providing suitable buildings for the Public Health Institute, which is to include the Vaccine Institute, are under the consideration of Government.

The subject of depopulation in the malnad also received considerable attention during the year. Recently a special officer was deputed to investigate the question, and a sum of one lakh of rupees has been provided in the current year's budget to give effect to such of the suggestions as appear to the Government to be of immediate

practical value in ameliorating the condition of the malnad population.

A few complaints having been received in regard to the purity of the lymph used for vaccination, a Committee has been appointed consisting of the Sanitary Commissioner and two other high Medical Officers to conduct an inquiry into the question in detail.

20. The work of the Economic Conference has been further developed and the action taken on the recommendations of the Conference has been described under the different departments concerned. The constitution and working of the Conference has now been consolidated and placed on a satisfactory basis. A full-time officer has been appointed as Secretary to the Conference and also Secretary to Government, in order to co-ordinate the work of the Committees of the Conference and the departments of Government concerned. Several uncertainties in the matter of the constitution and work of the Conference which hitherto existed have now been removed and the Conference has started on a new career of useful work. Every effort will be made to enlist the support and co-operation of all classes, official and non-official, to promote the objects which the Conference has in view.

**The Economic  
Conference**

21. I may proceed to enumerate the more important measures in which practical action has been taken. The scheme for the establishment of a State-aided Bank in regard to which the Conference took the initiative in 1911, has now taken practical shape and the Bank has opened business from the 2nd of this month. The imposition of the income tax with a view to strengthen the financial position of the State and also to make the burden of taxation more equitable by bringing under contribution those among the richer classes who at present contribute much less than their due share to the State revenue, is engaging the attention of Government. Substantial progress has been made in the extension of primary education, and a bill for introducing compulsory education was passed last month in the Legislative Council. Investigations are in active progress for the development of sericulture, the manufacture of jaggery by improved methods and the erection of pumping machinery for irrigation. The establishment of a weaving factory with all the latest improvements, of a tile factory at Mysore, of pharmaceutical works, of oil-mills to deal with oil-seeds and particularly with cotton seed, of an industrial depôt in Bangalore, are other matters which have engaged or are engaging the

attention of the Conference. Apart from this record of work, the Conference is making the people think, investigate, organise and initiate measures of progress in a variety of matters.

22. The resolutions carried at the Fourth Session of the Conference in June last have already been published, as also the reports of the work done by the three Central Committees. I may take the opportunity here to observe that the responsibility of the members of the Central Committees and, in some measure, of those of the District Committees, is very great. Government expect that when any gentleman consents to serve on these Committees he agrees *ipso facto* to take an active interest in, and will contribute to, the constructive work of the Committees during the time he remains a member.

#### Education.

23. The year was one of more than usual activity in educational matters. Dealing first with the ordinary progress of education, the number of public and private institutions increased by 90 and the attendance by 7,226. The percentage of boys at school to the male population of school-age rose from 30.1 to 31.3 and that of girls at school to the female population of school-age from 6.2 to 6.8. The number of pupils under instruction in comparison with the population of the State gives a percentage of 2.9. A great deal more remains to be done to spread primary education in the State. A special grant of two lakhs and a half—one lakh for opening new Primary Schools and improving the existing ones, and a lakh and a half for the construction of Village School buildings—was sanctioned during the year, and a similar special grant of 2½ lakhs has been sanctioned in connection with the current year's budget. The Government have no doubt that the Department of Education is fully alive to the responsibility resting upon it for giving practical effect to the various important schemes that are being sanctioned from time to time.

24. With regard to higher education, further arrangements were in progress to complete the equipment and the staff required for the two First Grade Colleges to adapt them to the new University Regulations. The Central College was affiliated in Branch II (B), Chemistry, of the B. A. Pass Course. The Chemical Laboratory building is now very nearly complete and provides ample accommodation for the classes concerned.

Government have under consideration the question of opening Honors Courses for both the First Grade Colleges in certain branches in the near future.



25. A comprehensive scheme of elementary and advanced Technical and Commercial education has been approved by Government and it consists in the main of the establishment of the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, and a Commercial and a Mechanical Engineering School at Bangalore. The present Engineering School and the Industrial School at Mysore will be combined to form the nucleus of the new Chamarajendra Technical Institute, which will be located in the spacious building specially constructed for it. The institute will consist of 5 sections, *viz.*, the Engineering Section, the Industries and Crafts Section, the Fine Arts Section, the Commercial School Section and the Workshop.

**Technical and Industrial Education.**

The Commercial School at Bangalore provides for an elementary course in Commercial subjects in English and Kannada for one year and a secondary course in English for two years. Arrangements will also be made for the delivery of lectures of an advanced character by specialists on Commercial subjects, Economic science, Statistics, Public Administration, Banking and other allied subjects.

The Mechanical Engineering School will undertake to teach the management and care of steam and oil-engines, erection of machinery, working of mills, electric work, driving motor cars and other subjects. A new building is under construction for this school, but for the present it is located in the Sheshadri Memorial Hall. The school has been placed under the supervision of an Assistant Engineer of the Public Works Department who has had special training in electrical engineering at the Farady House, England.

Responsible Committees have been appointed to administer the internal affairs of the above-named institutions and subsidiary rules have been framed for their efficient working. Facilities will be provided in these institutions for the training of men already engaged in professional or other work. The main object of Government in starting these institutions is to create an incentive to manual work in the younger generation and to enable them in after life to earn their livelihood by some independent profession.

26. The opening of a printing class in connection with the Commercial School is under consideration. The instruction imparted will be free and of an elementary character for the present. Government will be prepared to enlarge the scope of its usefulness and provide for

higher instruction in the several branches of the art of typography, if the facilities now provided are appreciated and freely taken advantage of by the public.

**Religious and Moral  
Instruction.**

27. Lessons according to the prescribed curriculum are being regularly given under the scheme of religious and moral instruction introduced in November 1908. After nearly five years' experience it is still difficult to say what real advancement has been made and whether any of the desired results have been achieved. In Colleges and High Schools where the teaching of the subject is in the hands of capable teachers the lessons are instructive, but in other schools, want of trained teachers to handle the subjects and the paucity of suitable text-books have made the teaching to lack in interest and to become more or less stereotyped. The question has to be further discussed as to whether in the long run it is not wiser to leave this branch of education to the parents and communities concerned.

28. In view of the growing educational activities of the State and the need that is felt to ensure that the increased grants given are utilized to the best advantage, the appointment of a Deputy Inspector-General of Education has been sanctioned. This officer will be entrusted with the direct charge of Vernacular education, both Elementary and Secondary, in the State.

**Industries and Com-  
merce.**

29. The Department of Industries and Commerce was established in January last and it now deals with the work carried on till then by the Special Adviser for Industries and Commerce. The special function of the department will be to devise and elaborate schemes for immediate practical action, to conduct investigations likely to lead to such action and to collect statistics and serve as a bureau for industrial information. The work of the department during the year may be conveniently described under three main heads, *viz.*, experimental industries carried on at the expense of Government, industrial work for private individuals carried on at their own cost, and general industrial inquiries, including the preparation of statistical information regarding the trade and commerce of the State. The work done by the department during the year is detailed in Part II.

30. With a view to afford facilities to persons engaged in industries to obtain capital for the purchase of machinery and of raw material, Government have recently sanctioned rules for the grant of *takavi* loans similar to those in force for loans given for agricultural improvements.

31. Government have recently engaged the services of an expert on sericulture from Italy for developing this important industry in the State. It is computed that in some of the past years, the State exported silk valued at over a crore of rupees.

32. The progress of work in the Agricultural department is given in Part II. **Agriculture.**

An Agricultural School has recently been opened in Bangalore and at present fourteen students are attending it. As soon as possible, short courses in the vernacular for agriculturists will be introduced and in this way it is hoped to reach large numbers of the ryot population. The course in the school is arranged to be as practical as possible. The major portion of the students' time will be occupied in practical farm work, only the principles of elementary sciences being taught to enable the students to understand agricultural processes. Practical training will also be given in the construction and repair of implements and machines, elementary carpentry, blacksmithing and the working of oil engines. **The Agricultural School.**

33. The past year witnessed satisfactory progress in the Co-operative movement in the State. The number of societies rose from 208 to 343, one society having been wound up and 136 societies registered during the year. The membership of these institutions increased from 13,148 to 24,536, the working capital from Rs. 6,75,312 to Rs. 12,89,338, and the Reserve Fund from Rs. 18,833 to Rs. 30,600. This expansion has been general throughout the State except in the Kadur and Chitaldrug Districts where the conditions necessary for the spread of the movement are not sufficiently favourable and progress has been rather slow. **Co-operatiye Societies.**

34. The total expenditure on public works from all sources including Local Funds amounted to about Rs. 51 lakhs during the year against 44½ lakhs in the preceding year, and the average of 45½ lakhs during the past ten years. Of this amount Rs. 23½ lakhs were spent on irrigation works, and 27½ lakhs on Civil Works and Military buildings. **Public Works Department.**

35. *Irrigation works.*—The most important work in hand during the year was the construction of the first stage of a dam across the river Cauvery at Kannambadi which was started in November 1911. Excluding the Electrical Power Scheme, the work is estimated to cost about Rs. 91 lakhs. The operations of the year were chiefly confined to the excavation of foundation in the river bed,

which gave no inconsiderable trouble owing to the presence of water and springs and the existence of a deep mica vein close to the south bank. Nevertheless, almost the whole of the excavation for the dam in the river bed portion was completed and the foundations laid. The question of payment of compensation for lands coming under submersion and the re-settlement of the displaced population on fresh lands engaged the anxious attention of both the Revenue and the Public Works authorities during the year, and a scheme of land compensation in lieu of money compensation has been devised after a careful study of the whole question. An expenditure of Rs. 16½ lakhs was incurred during the year which brought the total outlay on the work to Rs. 23½ lakhs up to end of June 1913.

In regard to the second stage of the Reservoir project contemplated by the Durbar, the Government of India have recently appointed a Court of Arbitration presided over by Sir Harry Griffin, Judge of the High Court of Allahabad, assisted by the Hon'ble Mr. Nethersole, Inspector-General of Irrigation in India, as Assessor. The Proceedings of the Court commenced on the 18th July last. After framing the issues, the Court adjourned its sittings to the latter part of this month.

36. *Irrigation improvements.*—Rules under the Tank Panchayat Regulation have been framed and will shortly be introduced into three or four representative villages in each district with a view to observe their operation in practice. Proposals for the re-organization of the establishment under the Minor Tank Restoration Scheme are under consideration.

Steps have been taken for controlling the distribution of water below selected tanks in the districts. Proposals in this behalf for the Sowlanga and Sulekere tanks in the Shitnoga District have been matured and those for the rest are in different stages of development.

The question of the constitution of an Irrigation Division is before Government. It is proposed to entrust to this division the work of the development of sugarcane cultivation under the channels fed by the Cauvery Reservoir, the scientific distribution and control of irrigation below selected tanks, the collection of hydraulic data as regards rainfall, run-off and flood discharges and the completion of tank maps and registers.

37. Chief among the miscellaneous public improvements may be mentioned the erection of a Jewell Filter

and a subsidiary pumping plant for improving the water-supply of the Mysore City. The power and plant house is approaching completion and the machinery of the Jewell Filter is being fitted up.

38. The fourth installation of the Cauvery Power **Electrical.** Scheme was started and orders for a major portion of material and plant required for the scheme were placed with foreign firms. Final location of the tramway line for the City of Bangalore and the construction of a car-barn and generating station are approaching completion.

39. In consequence of the growth of work in the **Railways.** Railway Department, a separate Railway Secretariat was constituted with the Engineer-in-Chief, State Railway Construction Department, as *ex-officio* Secretary, and his Personal Assistant as Under-Secretary.

The gross receipts on all the open lines of the State amounted to Rs. 36,93,226 which is an increase of Rs. 4,40,477 over those of the previous year. The expenses on all the State lines during the year amounted to Rs. 21,05,637 as against Rs. 19,15,764 during 1911-12.

The total net earnings aggregated Rs. 15,87,589 or 6.24 per cent on the entire capita. of Rs. 2,54,22,488. The interest on the English loan of Rs. 1,63,82,801 amounted to Rs. 7,17,377 during the year. Deducting this from the net earnings, the sum credited to the State was Rs. 8,70,212.

Although the railway receipts have improved to a certain extent within the past few years, the net result of the railway transactions has, on the whole, been one of considerable loss to the State. Taking only the interest charges paid by the State into consideration, the total loss from the open lines up to date is estimated at about 55 lakhs.

40. The Railway Construction Department was engaged during the year under review in revising old projects and preparing new ones. Sanction of the Railway Board has been applied for, for the construction of the following lines:—

- (1) A line from Mysore to Arsikere *via* Yedatore, Hole-Narsipur and Hassan. The alternative chord line from Mysore to Konehalli has been given up. The final location survey is being proceeded with and construction work will be started immediately sanction is received.
- (2) A line between Bangalore and Hosur. A re-survey of the line is being made.

- (3) A Forest Tramway from Tarikere to Yedahalli for which preliminary investigations were carried out during the year. A communication has just been received conveying sanction to this project.

An estimate was prepared for the Chikjajur-Chitaldrug line on the metre gauge during the year and submitted to the Government of India for sanction. Estimates have also been prepared for a line of railway from Kolar to Chikballapur *via* Srinivaspur, Chintamani and Sidlaghatta connecting the Bangalore-Chikballapur and Bowringpet-Kolar Railways now under construction. The question of financing these lines is under the consideration of Government. The estimates prepared for a line between Hassan and Mangalore by Messrs. Gilchrist and Groves were examined with a view to revise and bring them up to date.

The Bowringpet-Kolar Railway is approaching completion and is expected to be open to traffic next month.

At the request of the Bangalore-Chikballapur Light Railway Company, the construction of that line has been undertaken by Government on behalf of the Company and the work is making satisfactory progress.

**Geological and Mining.**

41. The publication of a Geological map of the State to embody on a uniform and comprehensive plan the essential features of the survey work so far completed, was sanctioned during the year. The results of the work done by the department are embodied in some detail in the second part of the Address.

I may refer here to a very unfortunate accident which recently occurred at the Kolar Gold Fields and which resulted in the death of 42 persons on the 21st August last. In view of the magnitude of the accident, Government appointed a Committee on which there was also a Judge of the Chief Court to enquire into the matter. The report of the Committee has been received and is under consideration.

**Muzrai Department.**

42. An enquiry into the conditions of the Muzrai Institutions in the State and the submission of a comprehensive report regarding their administration, re-organisation and improvement, have been ordered by Government and a Committee appointed therefor have entered upon their work.

**Printing Department.**

43. As the condition of the private printing presses throughout the State appeared capable of much improvement and to stand in need of expert assistance and advice,

the Superintendent of the Government Press has been asked to visit such presses, on application, and help them with his advice. The remaining work of the department is dealt with in Part II.

44. As the Deputy Commissioners of Bangalore and Mysore had, for some time past, found themselves unable to devote the required amount of attention to the affairs of the two city municipalities in consequence of their multifarious duties, Government relieved them of their duties as *ex-officio* Councillors and Presidents of the Municipal Councils towards the latter part of the year. As the time was considered opportune for appointing a non-official President for the Bangalore City Municipality, Rajasabha Bhushana Dewan Bahadur Mr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty. Retired Councillor, was appointed President of the Bangalore City Municipal Council from the 1st February 1913. An officer of the Public Works Department was appointed as whole-time President of the Municipal Council and Chairman of the Board of Trustees in the Mysore City as a tentative measure.

**Bangalore and Mysore  
City Municipalities.**

45. Indications of co-operative effort are visible in connection with the work of the Economic Conference, although, the District Committees have only just begun to apply themselves seriously to constructive work.

**Growth of Public Life.**

In another sphere there have been signs of progress. I refer to the active administration of municipal affairs by honorary workers. As stated elsewhere, Rajasabha Bhushana Dewan Bahadur Mr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty has taken up the Office of President of the Bangalore City Municipality and Messrs. Seshadri Iyengar, S. Malhar Rao and C. Vasudeva Rao, of that of Vice-President of the headquarter municipalities of Tumkur, Kolar and Chikmagalur. The disinterested public work of Mr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty, both in connection with our premier municipality in the State and with other public undertakings since February last, has elicited warm admiration.

The progress of the co-operative movement is due to the disinterested labours of several of our public men headed by Rajamantra Pravina Mr. C. Srinivasiyengar and Mr. D. Appu Rao.

Several wealthy citizens have shown commendable liberality in building public schools and hostels to meet the educational requirements of the people.

His Highness' Government highly appreciate all these indications of public spirit and they hope that

the public will also encourage such acts by showing their appreciation of disinterested labours wherever they may be found.

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### 3.—Measures in Progress or Projected.

46. Having now given a retrospect of the principal events of the year's administration, I shall proceed to place before you the measures in progress or under contemplation.

47. Government have embarked on an active railway policy. They are desirous, if possible, of extending the railway line from Nanjangud in the Mysore District to join the South Indian Railway on one side or the other of the Nilgiris. The question of linking up Arsikere on the Bangalore-Harihar line with the port of Mangalore is also under consideration. In regard to both these lines, Government are prepared to construct the portions of the railway within State limits, and both the questions are at present under correspondence with the Government of India.

The construction of minor feeder lines within the State will be actively proceeded with in the order of their urgency and importance.

48. The construction of productive public works is proceeding as rapidly as circumstances permit. A forward policy in this respect is subject to two essential limitations, *viz.*, (1) that the investment in each case should be remunerative and constitute a fresh asset, and (2) that, under no conceivable circumstances, should the finances of the State suffer embarrassment.

The Kannambadi Reservoir is being pushed on with the connected works. The main object of the reservoir, as you are aware, is to provide irrigation for perennial crops for which hitherto there has been no satisfactory provision in that valley and to protect the supply of electric power. That reservoir, if completed on the scale already designed, will store some of the water which is



now going to waste into the sea, and along with the canals to be completed will prove a large protective work which will materially minimise the evil effects of famine. The reservoir will also contribute to the extension of the cultivation of high class perennial crops which will be fully protected.

49. The Fourth Installation of the Cauvery Power Supply Scheme is well in hand, and we have just concluded an agreement with the Kolar Mining Companies, under which protection will be afforded to the existing power supply by the storage in the Kannambadi Reservoir, and the Mining Companies will also obtain additional power supply. You may be aware that mining is now carried on in places at a depth measuring nearly one mile below ground surface. The arrangement now come to will enable the Mining Companies to work the mines at greater depths with profit and will also bring in additional revenue to Government. We have recently reduced the rates for electric power in the City of Bangalore with a view to encouraging power consumption for industrial purposes, and Government will be prepared to further increase the power supply to the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore, should demand arise for more.

50. Special arrangements are being made at present on an experimental scale for the better supervision of the major irrigation tanks and channels with a view to the scientific control and distribution of water and the more extended cultivation of sugar-cane and other commercial crops.

The improvement of minor irrigation works, about which representations have been made so often in this Assembly, awaits the completion of the necessary village organization for developing the works with Government help. It is the hope of His Highness' Government to deal effectively with this problem of minor tanks in the coming years.

51. The town-planning schemes for Bangalore and Mysore, the water-supply and drainage projects for numerous towns in the State require systematic development, and some of these are receiving attention.

The newly started Industries and Commerce Department will be given every facility to assist private industries and enterprises.

The Agricultural Department has been strengthened by the appointment of a Director and the arrangements necessary for developing its activities and opera-

tions to promote the agricultural interests of the State are receiving attention.

Great importance will hereafter be attached to the development of the co-operative movement with a view to extend the co-operative principle to many forms of business in villages and to rural transactions generally.

A new Village Courts Act has just been passed; the establishment of Village Panchayets for the management of village sanitation, irrigation and other functions of the village communities will receive the earliest consideration of Government.

As described already, orders will issue shortly regarding the practical measures proposed for reducing the unhealthiness and arresting the decline of population in the Malnad.

Following the example of the Government of India, larger grants are being given and much attention is being paid to the development of education within the State. A scheme for establishing a University for Mysore is engaging the attention of His Highness' Government.

The above are measures in regard to which we see our way clear. There are numerous other matters under investigation or in various stages of development or study.

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#### 4.—Retrospect of Thirty Years' Administration.

52. It may also probably interest you, if I give here a short retrospect of the progress which the country has made since 1881 during the 30 years ended 1910-11. As every one of you may be aware, the Rendition of the country took place on the 25th March 1881, after a very successful administration by the British Commission for half a century. Owing, however, to the terrible effects of the great famine of 1876-78,—the severest through which the State has passed during the past fifty years,—the beneficial effects of the British administration were

not visible to their fullest advantage in 1881. In the words of Dewan Rangacharlu that famine "cost the State 160 lakhs of rupees, involved the Government in a debt of 80 lakhs and withal deprived the province of a million of its population and crippled its resources for years to come."

The population of the State which in 1871 numbered 5,055,402 souls, fell to 4,186,188 in 1881 on account of the famine of 1876-78 and rose to 5,806,193 in 1911, or an increase of 15 per cent over that of 1871.

The town population which in 1881 was computed at 13 per cent of the total population fell to 11 per cent in 1911, probably for want of sufficient occupation for the people in the towns.

The population dependent on agriculture which in 1881 was 33 lakhs rose to 42 lakhs in 1911.

As regards agriculture, the occupied area, excluding coffee, amounted to 4,213,505 acres in 1881-82 and 7,438,463 acres in 1911-12. The increase is 79 per cent. The growth of agriculture since the Rendition has been extensive but not intensive.

The total revenue of the State which amounted to about 50 lakhs at the beginning of the last century was 101 lakhs in 1880-81 and it rose to 247 lakhs in 1910-11 including what is known as "fortuitous revenue" from the Gold Mines. Land Revenue has increased from 69 to 106½ lakhs, Excise from 10 to 43.69 lakhs, and Forest from 7 to 21 lakhs.

The expenditure also has more than doubled, *viz.*, from 101 lakhs in 1880-81 to 223 lakhs in 1910-11. The charges against land revenue have increased from 14 to 21 lakhs, excise from a small sum of Rs. 18,000 to over 3 lakhs, forest from 2 lakhs to nearly 7 lakhs, law and justice including jails from 6 to 8½ lakhs, education (from provincial revenues) from 1.50 to 10.53 lakhs, medical from 1.63 to 7.20 lakhs and public works from 10 to 30 lakhs.

The railways which were only 50 miles in 1880-81 rose to 411 miles in 1910-11 and the capital outlay on them in the same period from 25 to 250 lakhs.

The mileage of provincial roads has nearly doubled since the Rendition.

Among other public works may be mentioned the extension of channel irrigation in the Cauvery and Kapani valleys, restoration and repairs to numerous tanks and the construction of two great public works, *viz.*,

the Cauvery Power Scheme and the Marikanave reservoir. The Cities of Bangalore and Mysore were extended and improved.

The expenditure on education from all sources rose from Rs. 3,91,028 in 1880-81 to Rs. 18,79,135 in 1910-11; the cost of education per head from Re. 0-1-6 to Re. 0-5-4. The school-going population has increased from 53,872 in 1880-81 to 1,38,153 in 1910-11 or nearly three times.

A few industries, small and large, including the gold mines of Kolar and the manganese mines of Shimoga and a few cotton and other mills have come into existence. But most of these are unconnected with local enterprise and, in themselves, afford no evidence of the progress of the people either in technical knowledge or co-operative spirit.

53. The above retrospect shows that the high standard of efficiency reached in the days of the British Commission has been maintained unimpaired, while, at the same time, a steady and substantial progress has been made in every department of the State. It shows, too, that the administration has been carried on with close loyalty to the principles followed by the previous British administration, that the slender surpluses have been carefully husbanded from year to year, and utilized in the construction of productive public works and the country has perceptibly advanced in material prosperity. The Government and the people have been brought into closer touch by the association of the people in local and municipal administration and in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.

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### 5.—Administrative Efficiency.

54. Since this Assembly came into existence, the wants of the people are better known to the officials and the intentions of Government better understood by the people.

The question of improving the efficiency of the services, has been receiving the anxious consideration of His Highness' Government. The latest measure for such improvement, as you are aware, is the sanction

accorded by His Highness the Maharaja to the revival of the Mysore Civil Service Examination scheme, under which the best local young men have a chance of competing for appointments in the State service. His Highness' Government have also recently strengthened the staff and improved the prospects of officials in some of the departments which either yield revenue or have felt themselves starved for some time.

55. Measures are under contemplation to arrange for a system of "efficiency audit" with a view to provide for more frequent and systematic inspections, to improve the office manuals and standing orders, and to ensure that the rules and orders in force are properly worked, or if not workable, promptly modified; that beneficent activities of every kind receive stimulus, that serious irregularities receive prompt attention; that, in short, waste of power and slackness of execution in the different departments of Government are controlled and minimised.

Efficiency must be maintained if the Government is to get value for the money which it is spending on its establishments. In a country like ours where the system of Government departments is maintained on the European model and the staff employed to work them have not fully adopted European business habits, an 'efficiency audit' is as much a necessity as a 'financial audit.'

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## 6.—Efficiency of the People.

56. A few words here about measures for improving the capacity of the people may not be out of place.

It is not difficult nowadays to construct public works, railways, tramways or other works, because skilled agencies can be imported for the purpose. Foreign capital can be obtained if we are able to guarantee a fair return on the outlay. It is also easy to man the public service with the best talent available in India or, for that matter, of the world, because there is an abundance of such talent seeking employment. The help of outside agencies which, while benefiting themselves, are also likely to benefit us, should be welcomed. But large enterprises carried out entirely with outside help will not increase the capacity

of our people or raise the status of the country. And, unless in the fiscal and geographical area known as Mysore, the intelligence of the people, the natural resources and the available capital act and re-act on one another, and with cumulative effect, the country cannot be said to be making any permanent progress.

57. There are certain features in our present condition which necessitate anxious watchfulness on our part. The country has no doubt progressed within the past 30 years. People are better housed, better clothed and normally better fed, and the average standard of living has also risen; but the advance in these directions is due to the general progress of the Indian continent, as a whole, rather than to any organized activity or design on our part.

58. Only one person in every sixteen is able to read and write. The cultivators are not fully occupied even in normal seasons; in years of scarcity, for months at a time, they are left without occupation and without hope. Three-fourths of our population are dependent on agriculture and the great bulk of them live in villages without activities or aspirations outside their individual households. Our land-owners are small men, our business is conducted by small traders and artisans, each working singly for himself. The lessons of co-operation and organization have not permeated even the top strata of society.

59. The first Dewan since the Rendition, with the experiences of the famine of 1876-78 fresh before him, drew attention to a similar state of things then. In his address to this Assembly in 1881, Mr. Rangacharlu strongly urged the need for industries and industrial development, remarking "that no country can prosper unless its agricultural and manufacturing industries were equally fostered."

He was also of opinion that "when all the world around is making marvellous progress, the 200 millions of people in this country cannot much longer continue in their long sleep, simply following the traditions of their ancestors of 2,000 years ago and earning a miserable subsistence, ready to be crushed on the first occurrence of a famine or other calamity."

These words are as true to-day as they were when they were uttered thirty years ago and, unless a change is attempted, they will continue to be true thirty years hence.

60. "It is not Governments or forms of Government," remarked His Highness the Maharaja in a speech delivered so far back as 1903, "that have made the great

industrial nations but the spirit of the people and the energy of one and all working to a common end."

Following the lead of His Highness, we must develop the life and capacity of our people by encouraging in them self-help, power of initiative, courage to change, courage to create new things, spirit of co-operation and a capacity for organization.

61. Reasonable scope for the co-operative effort of the people in the State is provided for, however imperfectly it may be at present, by the organization known as the Economic Conference; and no one who has witnessed the educational activities, the roar of industry and the keen competition in trade, that is going on in the advanced countries of the West, can fail to sympathise and co-operate with the objects of that movement.

The organization is intended to stimulate co-operative enterprise in cities and towns and gradually among the rural population; but since nine-tenths of the people live in villages, it appears to me that a special effort is necessary to stimulate economic activity in rural areas.

62. The village forms a convenient unit for purposes of economic effort, for taking stock of progress at the beginning and end of a year. If each village shows a little improvement, from year to year, the collective result will be large. No village should be considered as maintaining a fair standard of enlightenment which does not keep 5 to 10 per cent of its population under education. No village should fail to subscribe to one or two well-conducted vernacular newspapers to keep itself informed of what is going on in the outside world. Every village family should be induced to keep in reserve grain or money sufficient to tide over a famine of two years. No cultivator's family should be without a subsidiary occupation to provide the members with the means of livelihood when agricultural operations are slack, or are stopped during scarcity or famine. Every village should show some public improvement or other as the result of the collective effort of its inhabitants at the end of each year.

The villages may be called upon to publish once a year a few essential statistics of their economic growth. And as the great bulk of our population live in villages, any effective organization to improve village efficiency cannot fail to make a potent addition to the life force of the people and the productive power of the country.

### 7.—Reforms in the Legislative Council, &c.

63. There is one important message which I am commanded by His Highness the Maharaja to announce to this Assembly and which I may refer to at this stage. The Representative Assembly was brought into existence in 1881, that is, in the very first year after the Rendition. While there are representatives on it of the highest ability and intelligence, the Assembly is, in the main, composed of representatives from the districts and the taluks. At present, it meets once a year and, considering the size and resources of our State, it is too large a body to meet oftener. No practical scheme has yet been put forward to show in what direction and in what manner the usefulness of this Assembly can be enhanced. It may be advantageous, at this session, to consider questions pertaining to the composition of the Assembly, the methods of electing members thereto, its functions and the system of transacting business. If the members discuss these questions and make known their views, the same will be submitted to His Highness for his gracious consideration.

64. His Highness has decided to increase the number of representatives from this Assembly on the Legislative Council from two to four and also to nominate eight representatives from it on the Economic Conference.

As you are doubtless aware, our Legislative Council is based on the model of the British Indian Act of 1861; but, as that Act has been revised twice since that year, His Highness thinks that the representative character of our Council might be safely improved so that it may be nearer the standard of the Councils in British India.

The local Legislative Council consists of 15 to 18 members at present. This number will be increased to 24 in future. Of these, four will be nominated, as already stated, on the recommendation of this Assembly, four by territorial representation from the districts, ten will be officials and six nominated members. There will thus be eight elected representatives of the people instead of two, the present number. It is necessary that the members nominated on the recommendation of this Assembly or of the districts should possess a sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to take part in the proceedings of the Legislative Council.



His Highness has been pleased to accord to the Council, but with definite limitations in the early stages, the privileges of Budget discussion and interpellation. The limitations are necessary because our resources and establishment are limited and the time of the officials is already much taken up by the periodical functions.

The interpellations will not exceed twelve questions at each session, and the nature of the questions to be admitted will depend, among other considerations, on the measure of support accorded to them by the members. Suitable rules will be framed for the purpose after the Legislative Council has been amended.

65. These changes, which His Highness the Maharaja has been graciously pleased to sanction, will enable the representatives of His Highness' subjects to be associated in the Councils of the administration and bring their influence to bear, for all good ends, on the policy and activities of Government.

66. I need not repeat here that on His Highness the Maharaja rests the ultimate responsibility for the good government of the country; and he trusts he may rely on the loyalty, wisdom and public spirit of his subjects, that the privileges now accorded to them will be exercised with caution and moderation for the promotion of the good government of the country and the permanent well-being of his subjects.

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### 8.—Two Notable Events.

67. One of the most hopeful signs of awakening and progress of the country is the example set to us by the visit of His Highness the Yuvaraja to Europe. The Yuvaraja, who has been travelling abroad for the past six months with a staff of three officers and a young gentleman of the Ursu community, has just been welcomed home with great warmth and enthusiasm. In his travels in Europe, the Yuvaraja spent a life of ceaseless toil, H. H. the Yuvaraja's European Tour.

visiting numerous institutions and studying the varied activities of the countries he passed through. From all sources we learn that he met with a cordial reception wherever he went and he has come back to us, leaving pleasant memories of his visit behind him, rich with experiences and an ardent desire to help in the uplift of the people. The people of Mysore are naturally proud of a prince who has shown such unusual enterprise at his age in travelling both East and West in search of knowledge and culture. They greatly appreciate the courtesy extended to him by the leading public men of England, and by some of the cities like Glasgow and Dublin which he visited.

The example of foreign travel set by a member of the Ruling House of Mysore will, it is hoped, be largely followed in future by His Highness' subjects with highly beneficial results.

**His Excellency the  
Viceroy's Visit.**

68. Before closing this Address, His Highness commands me to announce to you formally the pleasing news that, next month, he will have the privilege of welcoming into our State His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy and Governor General of India. I have no doubt that the news will be hailed with rejoicings in all parts of the State and that His Highness' illustrious guest will be received with the loyalty and respect due to the representative of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. Our pleasure in welcoming Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge, will doubtless be doubly sincere on account of the admiration which we all feel, in common with the rest of India, for the policy of good-will and high purpose pursued by His Excellency, since his advent, towards the Native States and the people of this country.

M. VISVESVARAYA,  
*Dewan of Mysore.*

**STATEMENT A.**  
**BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1913-1914.**

HEADS OF RECEIPTS	Accounts, 1911-1912.	Revised Estimate, 1912-1913.	Budget Estimate, 1913-1914.	HEADS OF EXPENDITURE	Accounts, 1911-1912.	Revised Estimate, 1912-1913.	Budget Estimate, 1913-1914.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<b>A—Principal Heads of Revenue—</b>				<b>A—Direct Demands on the Revenue—</b>			
I Land Revenue ...	1,06,43,215	1,06,02,000	1,05,00,000	1 Refunds and Drawbacks Charges in respect of Collection, viz.—	3,21,730	2,76,000	2,42,000
II Forest ...	22,05,927	82,20,000	22,00,000	2 Land Revenue ...	19,02,717	18,94,000	19,79,000
III Excise ...	42,81,378	47,10,000	43,36,000	3 Forest ...	7,13,922	7,30,000	8,38,000
IV Assessed Taxes ...	2,77,647	2,66,000	2,75,000	4 Excise ...	3,35,201	3,35,000	3,41,000
VII Stamps ...	9,15,428	9,40,000	9,00,000	8 Stamps ...	32,671	63,000	42,000
VIII Registration ..	1,84,770	1,82,000	1,85,000	9 Registration ...	83,966	85,000	91,000
Total ...	1,85,13,365	1,98,19,000	1,83,96,000	Total ...	33,90,207	33,83,000	35,33,000
<b>1A—Mining Revenue—</b>				<b>AA—10. Charges against Mining Revenue ..</b>	<b>2,07,929</b>	<b>2,10,000</b>	<b>2,33,000</b>
IX Mining Royalty and Leases ..	19,18,898	19,20,000	19,00,000	<b>B—Interest—</b>			
<b>3—Interest—</b>				11 Interest on Ordinary Debt	66,274	1,06,000	85,000
X Interest ...	1,20,263	4,11,000	2,34,000	12 Interest on other Obligations	3,05,590	3,09,000	3,41,000
XI Profit or Loss ..	4,41,075	7,63,000	10,00,000	13 Profit or Loss	2,773	1,000	1,000
Total ...	5,61,338	11,74,000	12,34,000	Total ...	3,74,637	4,16,000	4,27,000
<b>3—Receipts by Civil Departments—</b>				<b>C—14. Palace ...</b>	<b>23,22,000</b>	<b>23,22,000</b>	<b>23,40,000</b>
XIIA Law and Justice— Courts of Law ...	46,813	60,000	47,000	<b>D—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments—</b>			
XIIB Law and Justice— Jails ..	20,687	30,000	39,000	15 General Administration	6,44,104	8,41,000	9,13,000
XIII Police ...	21,308	21,000	25,000	16A. Law and Justice— Courts of Law	7,71,686	7,82,000	8,19,000
XIV Education ...	1,46,614	1,59,000	1,43,000	16B. Law and Justice—Jails	1,11,631	1,10,000	1,51,000
XV Medical ...	1,09,646	1,21,000	1,23,000	17 Police	9,50,904	9,46,000	9,68,000
XVI Scientific and other Minor Departments	86,286	1,04,000	75,000	18 Education ..	0,72,270	12,86,000	16,09,000
Total ...	4,31,354	4,95,000	4,52,000	19. Muzrai or Religious and Charitable Institutions	3,44,792	3,51,000	3,55,000
<b>3—Miscellaneous—</b>				20. Medical ...	1,84,097	7,53,000	8,48,000
XVII Receipts in aid of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions ...	5,859	2,000	2,000	21. Scientific and other Minor Departments.	1,38,992	3,14,000	4,30,000
XVIII Stationery and Printing ...	10,030	10,000	9,000	Total ...	49,18,466	53,83,000	60,83,000
XIX Miscellaneous ...	1,87,211	1,71,000	1,68,000	<b>E—Miscellaneous Civil Charges—</b>			
Total ...	2,03,100	1,83,000	1,79,000	23. Allowances and Assignments under Treaties and Engagements	85,106	85,000	86,000
<b>i—Military Receipts—</b>				24. Superannuation Allowances and Pensions	7,34,802	7,83,000	7,77,000
XX Army ...	68,555	70,000	62,000	25 Stationery and Printing	2,20,986	2,30,000	2,11,000
XXA Military Works ..	11,935	14,000	10,000	26 Miscellaneous ...	6,90,138	2,00,000	8,38,000
Total ...	80,490	84,000	72,000	Total ...	17,31,032	12,98,000	19,12,000
<b>l—Railways—</b>				<b>G—Army and Defence—</b>			
XXI State Railways—Revenue Account	13,42,500	15,63,000	14,50,000	27. Army ...	14,04,287	13,29,000	14,37,000
XXII Public Works	3,73,157	3,52,000	3,34,000	27A. Subsidy to British Government	85,00,000	35,00,000	35,00,000
XXIII Cauvery Power Scheme ...	16,65,692	17,02,000	17,00,000	27B Military Works ...	44,509	61,000	1,19,000
Total Revenue and Receipts...	2,50,89,894	2,72,92,000	2,57,17,000	Total ...	49,48,796	48,90,000	50,56,000
Deficit ..	.....	.....	56,88,000	<b>F—Famine Relief and Insurance—</b>			
Grand Total ...	2,50,89,894	2,72,92,000	3,18,55,000	28 Famine Relief ...	— 3,871	.....	.....
				29. Reduction or Avoidance of Debt	3,33,333	3,33,000	3,33,000
				Total ...	3,29,462	3,33,000	3,33,000
				<b>H—Railways—Revenue Account—</b>			
				80. State Railways— Interest on Debt	7,16,261	7,18,000	7,20,000
				80A. Miscellaneous Railway Expenditure.	39,136	1,69,000	1,50,000
				Total ...	7,55,397	8,87,000	8,70,000
				<b>J—Irrigation—</b>			
				31 Major works ...	10,41,680	21,96,000	35,95,000
				32 Minor works ...	1,88,560	1,97,000	3,28,000
				<b>K—Public Works—</b>			
				33 Civil works ...	21,62,451	21,91,000	19,98,000
				Total ...	33,92,691	46,84,000	59,21,000
				<b>KK—34. Capital outlay on State Railways</b>	<b>1,48,639</b>	<b>3,09,000</b>	<b>18,95,000</b>
				34A. Bangalore Electric Tramways—Capital expenditure	.....	10,000	6,65,000
				<b>L—Cauvery Power Scheme—</b>			
				35. Revenue Account ...	6,31,094	7,05,000	7,08,000
				36. Capital Account ...	50,932	1,38,000	13,79,000
				Total ...	6,82,026	8,43,000	20,87,000
				<b>Total Expenditure</b>	<b>2,32,01,232</b>	<b>2,48,68,000</b>	<b>3,13,55,000</b>
				<b>Surplus</b>	<b>18,88,612</b>	<b>24,24,000</b>	<b>.....</b>
				<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2,50,89,894</b>	<b>2,72,92,000</b>	<b>3,18,55,000</b>

## STATEMENT B.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities as they stood on 1st July 1913,  
as per preliminary accounts of 1912-13.

(In thousands of rupees.)

	1911-12	1912-13	Difference
<b>ASSETS.</b>			
Cash Balance in Treasuries ... ..	1,16,95	1,12,16	— 4,79
Surplus Investment Account including fixed deposits ... ..	1,97,73	2,58,46	+ 60,73
Shares in private companies ... ..	42	91	+ 49
Loans and Advances ... ..	32,74	31,22	— 1,52
Other items, such as Departmental Balances, Objection Book Ad- vances, House-building Advances, etc.	9,35	10,22	+ 87
Total ... ..	3,57,19	4,12,97	+ 55,78
<b>LIABILITIES.</b>			
Savings Bank/Deposits ... ..	72,61	76,73	+ 4,12
Mysore Railway Loan of 1882 ... ..	38	33	— 5
Charitable endowments ... ..	5,54	5,67	+ 13
Four per cent Mysore State Loan of 1906-07 ... ..	20,00	20,00	...
State Life Insurance Fund ... ..	24,24	26,70	+ 2,46
Local and other Funds ... ..	29,49	32,07	+ 2,58
Deposits including Deposits on account of Guaranteed Railways ... ..	11,24	14,45	+ 3,21
Cauvery Power Scheme Depreciation Fund.	19,83	22,69	+ 2,86
Famine Insurance Reserve ... ..	12,00	14,00	+ 2,00
Other items, such as Remittances, etc. ....	7,30	8,22	+ 92
Total ... ..	2,02,63	2,20,86	+ 18,23
Government Balance ... ..	1,54,56	1,92,11	+ 37,55
Grand Total ... ..	3,57,19	4,12,97	+ 55,78

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ADDRESS

OF THE

DEWAN OF MYSORE

TO THE

DASARA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

*23rd October 1912*

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MYSORE

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS

1912

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**ADDRESS**  
OF THE  
**DEWAN OF MYSORE**  
TO THE  
**DASARA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**  
**23rd OCTOBER 1912**

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GENTLEMEN,

It is my pleasing duty to welcome you to this the twenty-ninth meeting of the Dasara Representative Assembly, and to lay before you by command of His Highness the Maharaja, a brief account of some of the more important results of the administration of the State during the past official year, and of the measures under contemplation for the present year. In proceeding to do so, I cannot commence more appropriately than by referring to the great historic event which was celebrated with unsurpassed brilliance and splendour at Delhi in December last, *viz.*, the IMPERIAL DURBAR for announcing the solemnity of the Coronation of His Most Gracious Majesty, KING GEORGE V, EMPEROR of INDIA. In response to His Excellency the Viceroy's *Kharita*, His Highness the Maharaja proceeded to Delhi accompanied by His Highness the Yuvaraja and attended by the principal Officers and Sirdars of the State and a few of the leading representative non-official gentlemen. It was an extraordinary privilege, indeed, to one and all to be present at the great Coronation Durbar. On that occasion the Knighthood of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire was conferred on His Highness the Yuvaraja, and the Mysore State occupied a prominent place in the Durbar Honours list. This most auspicious event was also celebrated locally throughout the State in a manner befitting the occasion, and all classes of His Highness' subjects joined and vied with one another in displaying their devotion to the person and throne of the King-Emperor.

2. You will be gratified to hear that the Government of India has been pleased to deal in a liberal and generous spirit with the question of the surplus revenues of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore. The subject has been under correspondence since 1897 when an allusion was made to it by Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer in his Address to this Assembly. The Government of India has now resolved to exclude partially or wholly certain items of charges from the *pro forma* accounts maintained, and as retrospective effect is to be given to the resolution, substantial benefit is expected to accrue to the State's Finances.

**FINANCE.**

3. I shall now take up first, the subject of the finances of the State. The financial statement and the Budget Estimates for the year 1912-13 were published with an issue of the *Mysore Gazette Extraordinary* under date 12th August 1912, and have been before you for two months past. The subject of finance will here be considered under three divisions, *viz.*, the closed accounts of 1910-11, the revised estimates for 1911-12, and the Budget Estimates for 1912-13.

**Accounts of 1910-11.**

4. The estimates for the year 1910-11 were based on the expectation of a normal year and provided for a surplus of 5.66 lakhs. In the actual result the surplus has amounted to Rs. 24.02 lakhs. The ordinary account shows a surplus of 19.62 lakhs and the Cauvery Power Scheme of 4.40 lakhs. This surplus was secured after appropriating 3.33 lakhs for contributions for Famine Reserve and Sinking Fund, and setting aside 2.84 lakhs towards the normal annual Depreciation Fund. The fluctuations under the various heads have been fully explained in the Appropriation Report published with the *Mysore Gazette* of the 16th May 1912.

**Revised Estimates for 1911-12.**

5. According to the revised estimates which have been carefully prepared and are not likely to differ much from the actuals, the revenue realised for the year 1911-12 is expected to amount to Rs. 249.80 lakhs, *viz.*, ordinary account Rs. 233.16 lakhs and Cauvery Power Scheme account Rs. 16.64 lakhs. The expenditure similarly is expected to amount to Rs. 235.50 lakhs, *viz.*, ordinary account 223.05 lakhs and Cauvery Power Scheme account 12.45 lakhs (including contributions to Sinking Fund and depreciation). The net result of the transactions is that, instead of a deficit of 3.29 lakhs anticipated in the Budget Estimates for 1911-12, the revised estimates show a surplus of 14.30 lakhs.



6. In consequence of the deficiency in the early **Budget Estimates for** (*mungar*) rains in many parts of the State, the estimates **1912-13.** for the year 1912-13 had to be cautiously framed. The total revenue is estimated at 244·60 lakhs, *viz.*, 228·40 lakhs on the ordinary account and 16·20 lakhs under the Cauvery Power Scheme account. The total expenditure and appropriations come to 261·95 lakhs on the ordinary account and 16·11 lakhs on the Cauvery Power Scheme account, made up as follows:—

	Rs.
Revenue account ....	7,12,000
Capital account ....	6,86,000
Sinking Fund account	1,33,000
Interest on loan .. ..	80,000
	<hr/>
Total ..	16,11,000
	<hr/>

These make a total expenditure of 278·06 lakhs. There is thus a deficit of 33·46 lakhs. The land revenue in consequence of the aforesaid seasonal conditions has been taken at 101·50 lakhs and is still allowed to remain there, though there has lately been a decided change for the better in all parts of the State. The other heads have been taken at the ordinary standard. The seemingly large estimate under Interest is explained by larger realisations expected during the year and to the collection at the beginning of the current year of a part of the interest on investments due last year.

7. The continued prosperity of the last three years has made it possible for Government to deal with the demands of all the spending departments in a liberal spirit. An additional grant of 2·60 lakhs has been given for special measures in connection with the spread of education and a grant of 1·46 lakhs has been given to the Economic Conference for meeting, among other things, the cost of investigating special industries, conducting a general Industrial Survey of the State and carrying on experiments in consultation with experts on Industrial and Agricultural subjects. The ordinary Public Works grant has been fixed this year at 30 lakhs, with an additional grant of 20 lakhs for the Kannambadi Reservoir and 7 lakhs for the Bangalore Electric Tramways. The Railways also come in for a large grant of 13·25 lakhs. The surveys of certain lines are in progress and Government are in hopes of starting construction on one or more lines in the very near future.

8. It will thus be seen that the apparently large deficit in the Budget need cause us no anxiety whatever about the financial situation of the State. It represents no extravagance in expenditure; it indicates no falling off in our resources. It only means that in laying out the programme of our work during the current year we have been able to devise means for investing a part of our savings from past years in large projects and measures of far-reaching importance in connection with the material and moral progress of the population.

9. Statement B placed in your hands shows the cash assets and liabilities of the State as they stood on the 1st July 1912, and you will see from it that the financial condition is satisfactory.

**The Account Department.**

10. The new scheme of local audit sanctioned in 1910-11 has been in fair working order. During the year the municipal accounts of 1910-11 of all the districts except Bangalore and Hassan, and the accounts of the Kolar Gold Fields Sanitary Board for three years ending 30th June 1911 were locally audited. It is proposed to extend the scheme of local audit to District Funds during the current year. Lack of knowledge of account rules and want of supervision over collection of revenue appear to be the chief drawbacks noticed and it is hoped that careful supervision by Vice-Presidents and other local officers over income and expenditure, combined with annual local audits by responsible officers of the Account Department, and the adoption of a regular system of procedure and accounts, will soon conduce to the rectification of the existing defects. In furtherance of this object, a simple and comprehensive manual has been drawn up after carefully studying the systems prevailing in different provinces of British India and the features special to the Mysore system of municipal administration. A provisional issue of this Manual of Municipal Accounts has been printed, and it will be finally adopted with such changes as may be decided on, in consultation with the Deputy Commissioners and Heads of Departments. The Mysore Treasury Manual has been issued and the Taluk Treasury Manual completely revised. For the benefit of officials in taluk offices, a Kannada translation of the Taluk Treasury Manual is almost ready for issue.

**Savings Bank Deposits.**

11. The number of depositors and the amount of deposits in the Government Savings Banks have been steadily increasing. On the last day of the year there were 15,212

depositors and the amount of deposits to their credit was Rs. 72,64,351 as against 15,098 depositors and Rs. 67,31,353 in the corresponding date of the previous year. It may interest you to learn that it is under contemplation to afford further facilities to the depositors by relaxing the existing maxima rules of deposit.

12. The working of the State Life Insurance Fund continued to be satisfactory. During the year, 1,468 proposals were dealt with and 1,158 policies issued, assuring a bonus of Rs. 6,68,251 for a monthly premium of Rs. 2,486. Excluding policies that had been paid or otherwise lapsed, there remained on the books at the close of the year 14,554 policies held by 7,691 persons, assuring a bonus of Rs. 71,16,428 for a monthly premium of Rs. 24,555. Under the Family Pension Rules sanctioned in March 1911, ten persons have secured certificates for a total monthly pension of Rs. 205 to their nominees on payment of a monthly subscription of Rs. 6. In August 1911 a scheme of optional insurance entailing payment of premiums for more than 10 per cent of an officer's pay, subject to the prescribed maximum of Rs. 50 was sanctioned. Two-hundred and sixty-six officers availed themselves of the concession during the year.

**STATE LIFE  
INSURANCE.**

13. The Legislative Council held three meetings during the year. Fifteen Bills were considered, including the nine which were pending from the previous year. Six of these pending Bills and two out of the new Bills were passed into Law. The Bill further to amend the Mysore Chief Court Regulation, which was intended to empower a single Judge of the Chief Court to dispose of first appeals coming before it so as to relieve the pressure of work in that Court, was withdrawn as this necessity ceased after the re-establishment of a District Court for the Bangalore Division. The remaining six Bills were in various stages of progress. The following are the Bills which were passed into Law :—

**LEGISLATION.**

- (1) The Bill to amend the Mysore Municipal Regulation, 1906.
- (2) The Mysore Local Boards Regulation Amendment Bill.
- (3) The Prevention of Juvenile Smoking Bill.
- (4) The Bill for the Protection of Judicial Officers.
- (5) The Bill to further amend the Mysore Court Fees Regulation, 1900.
- (6) The Bill to amend the Indian Evidence Act as in force in Mysore.
- (7) The Indian Contract Act Amendment Bill and
- (8) The Bill to further amend the Mysore Land Revenue Code, Regulation IV of 1888.

14. The Government have also under consideration the introduction into the State of the Probate and Administration Act in force in British India, and a Regulation to deal with the Religious and Charitable Institutions in the State. I have no doubt that this last Bill which has recently been published in the *Gazette* and which contemplates the supply of a long-standing want, will be welcomed by the members of this Assembly, from whom we shall also be glad to receive criticisms and suggestions. The Government also propose to introduce into the Legislative Council, at an early date, a measure for the expansion of Elementary Education by the judicious employment of the principle of compulsory attendance at schools of children of school age in selected areas. A copy of the Bill will be placed in your hands and, on this measure also, we shall be glad to receive your criticisms and suggestions.

15. Rules and Notifications under enactments in force were issued on a variety of subjects connected with the Opium Act, Civil Courts, Land Revenue Code, Stamps, Forest, Game and Fish Preservation, etc.

**CENSUS.**

16. The sorting of slips for the Imperial and Provincial Tables was commenced in July 1911 and completed by the end of December. The work of compilation of Imperial Tables was proceeded with concurrently and advance copies of the volume of Tables were sent to the Census Commissioner for India in May 1912. Since then, the Tables Volume and the Report have been issued. The Talukwar Tables, the Village Population Tables and the Administrative Volume are in various stages of preparation and are expected to be issued by December 1912.

**Ethnographic Survey.**

17. In connection with the Ethnographic Survey of the State, eight monographs were printed and published during the year, dealing with the Idiga, Medar, Golla, Uppara and other castes. One more monograph has since been issued and two others are in the press.

**Mysore Civil Service Examination**

18. Before proceeding to deal with the major executive departments of the State, I wish to announce to you that the Mysore Civil Service Examination Rules have been revised in various respects and chiefly so as to restrict the examination to candidates who are either Mysoreans by birth or domicile or who have taken their degrees from one of the Mysore Colleges. Provision has been made therein for the practical training of the Civil Service Probationers in the various branches of the taluk and district administration.

19. The seasonal conditions of the year under report were not as favourable as those of the preceding year. There were some showers in April, and the early (*Munga*) rains of May and June were very favourable, being above the average, and gave good prospects. But the rainfall in July and August was scanty, particularly in the latter month, which received only about 50 per cent of the average. This caused some anxiety, but with the advent of the North-East Monsoon which gave abundant rain in October, the outlook improved considerably. The total average rainfall for the year was, however, only 33·22 inches, and it was less by 15·07 inches than that of the previous year which was one of abundant rainfall, and by 3·73 inches than the average for the last 40 years. As a result of these conditions, the average out-turn of crops was somewhat lower than that of the previous year. The prices of the principal food grains, which were in the early part of the year lower than in the corresponding part of the previous year, began to rise in the latter part of August and did not show go down in the months of January and December, as they did in the previous year. In January 1912 ragi and rice (2nd sort) were selling at 15·6 seers and 9·5 seers per rupee as against 20·25 and 10·06 in January 1911. There was a slight fall in the price of rice in February, but on the whole the prices of these articles have been steadily going up.

**LAND REVENUE  
DEPARTMENT.  
Seasonal Conditions.**

20. Out of the sum of one lakh of rupees allotted for the restoration of minor tanks, a sum of Rs. 82,132 or a little over 82 per cent was spent. The number of minor tanks dealt with was 540, of which 272 were restored and 268 remained incomplete at the end of the year. I may state, in this connection, that the establishment at present responsible for this work has been found defective in quality and strength and it is under contemplation to improve the *personnel* in this direction. With a view to utilize their services economically, a proposal to increase the allotment under the Minor Tank Scheme to Rs. 2 or 2½ lakhs annually is under consideration. This would enable a larger number of tanks being dealt with in a year, while the work turned out would also be of a more satisfactory character.

**Minor Tanks Restoration Scheme.**

21. Under the scheme sanctioned in February 1908 for the settlement of Mahratta *kunbies* in the Shimoga Malnad, 90 families consisting of 301 working hands and 173 children have settled themselves as permanent agriculturists in the Karur and Bharangi hoblis of the Sagar

**Settlement of  
Mahratta Kunbies.**

taluk. A sum of Rs. 5,578 in all has been spent upon them, nearly the whole of it being towards the purchase of plough cattle and seed grains. An extent of 304 acres has been brought under permanent cultivation and 119 acres under the *lumri* system. The *lunbi* settlers appreciate their settled conditions, so much so, that a distinct movement is reported among their kinsmen across the borders to lead a settled agricultural life. It has since been decided to extend similar advantageous terms to other indigent settlers in our malnad.

**Civil Veterinary  
Department.**

22. There were eight Veterinary Hospitals and Dispensaries in the State in charge of Assistant Veterinary Inspectors. As the work in the Bangalore and Mysore districts was very heavy, the two temporary Assistant Veterinary Inspectors whose entertainment was sanctioned for three years from February 1912 were attached to these districts. These institutions have been growing in popularity and there has been a steady demand for more of them. Proposals for the conversion of the existing dispensaries into hospitals and for opening additional hospitals, are under the consideration of Government.

23. The number of animals treated was 14,058 as against 13,440 in the previous year. Cattle formed 64 per cent of the animals thus treated, the remainder being made up of horses, dogs, etc. The number of cattle inoculated against rinderpest was 4,703 as against 551 in the previous year and the results were very encouraging. Black-quarter broke out in an epidemic form in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug districts at the beginning of the year and some sporadic cases of the same disease occurred in the latter part of the year in parts of the Bangalore, Kolar and Mysore districts. There was also an outbreak of rinderpest in an epidemic form in the Sagar taluk. Beyond this there was no violent outbreak of diseases among cattle. Foot-and-mouth disease which used to break out in an epidemic form every year during the months of March, April and May did not make its appearance during the year under review.

**Improvement of Milch  
Cattle.**

24. A scheme for the improvement of the breed of milch cattle was sanctioned by Government in April last year. A committee of four members, with Col. R. G. Jones as President, was constituted and a sum of Rs. 3,000 was placed at its disposal. Some time was spent in discussing the advisability of importing well-known foreign breeds and the Committee finally decided to make a commence-

ment with the local Amrut Mahal breed. Accordingly eight cows have been selected and are now being provided with good feeding and shelter at the Kunigal Stud Farm. It is proposed to add to this stock by the purchase of other good milkers and to improve the strain by the service of a breeding bull with a good milch parentage.

25. Cattle Shows were held in all the districts except Kolar and Tumkur, as well as big cattle fairs at Thondanur in the Mysore district and at Nagalnadike, Kyamenahalli and Siddaganga in the Tumkur district. At Channagiri in the Shimoga district, a cattle show was held in combination with an Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition. A similar Exhibition was also held at Goribidnur in the Kolar district. Lectures and distribution of pamphlets on the prevention of cattle diseases and on the improvement of the breed of cattle formed, as usual, a part of the programme of the cattle shows. Demonstration of improved agricultural implements and of machinery for the manufacture of sugar and lectures on improvement of agriculture and treatment of crop diseases formed also a special feature of the shows held at Hassan, Harihar and Channagiri. The efforts of the Agricultural department in this direction are reported to have been well appreciated by the ryots. It is satisfactory to note that the revenue officers are taking active interest in organizing such shows and exhibitions and that the non-official population interested in agriculture have begun to appreciate their advantages.

**Cattle Shows and Exhibitions.**

26. The Dasara Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition at Mysore which has become an annual fixture and is now in its sixth year has proved a very successful institution. It has grown from a local to a provincial exhibition and, though on a modest scale, is fast assuming an all-India character. The number of exhibits and exhibitors have been on the increase from year to year, the variety of subjects covering practically every phase in agriculture and industry. The effect on local progress and enterprise has been most gratifying and the educational value of the Exhibition is amply testified to by the steady improvement in the exhibits from all parts of the State. This was one of the chief objects with which His Highness' Government established the exhibition, and the success achieved is mainly due to the continued and unwavering support of His Highness the Maharaja.

27. I may also mention that it has been decided to grant travelling allowances to taluk officials for tours on

**District and Taluk Office Establishment.**

official duty. The revision of the establishment of the district offices has been effected and the question of revising the taluk office establishment is under contemplation.

**The Agricultural  
Department.**

28. Work on the Experimental Farm at Hebbal was continued much on the usual lines, and several interesting results were recorded with regard to ragi. Additional proof has been forthcoming that the effect of the green manures on the soils is cumulative rather than immediate. The large quantity of green plants ploughed into the soil in 1909 showed its effect last year, and one of these plots, which on account of its low-lying position also commanded a sufficiency of moisture for rapid and thorough decomposition of the green manure used, has yielded at the rate of 1,845 lbs. or 800 seers of ragi per acre, which is double the yield of the best of the unmanured plots. Of the green manures tried, cow-pea supplemented with a small quantity of potash and phosphoric acid has proved most beneficial both to the *Kar* (a quick-growing variety) ragi sown in May and the ordinary ragi sown in July. The increase in yield in the case of *Kar* ragi was 28 per cent and in that of the ordinary ragi 41 per cent. The result of the last harvest is emphatically in favour of ploughing up dry land as soon after the harvest as possible. The yield from plots ploughed early was three times that from plots which were ploughed only a few days before sowing. The experiment of rotation of ragi with groundnut has been begun this year with a view to ascertain whether such rotation will be advantageous to both crops, and two plots have been set apart for the purpose. The three varieties of dry land lucerne imported from America have made only a moderate growth, some of the plants succumbing to the prolonged drought of this summer. Fresh seed has been again imported this year and a fairly large area has been put under these varieties.

29. Out of the 25 varieties of paddy tried on a small scale last year, the twelve best have been selected for growing on a larger scale this season. Seed of such varieties as give good results will be available for distribution next year. The Java and Mauritius varieties of sugarcane have again done very well. A small plant for jaggory-boiling, similar to that which is being used on the Farm, consisting of a rectangular pan and a round pan set at different levels for ease in filtration, was sent out and its working demonstrated in Channagiri Betur,



Harhar, Sulekere, Hiriyur and Kunigal. The departmental staff succeeded in making a hard jaggory in places where this had hitherto not been done. The jaggory made by the department was also of a better quality than that made by the local method and fetched a higher price in the market. From Kodagahalli, Byatarayanapura and Harohalli also came requests, which were complied with, for help from the department in connection with jaggory boiling.

30. Efforts are being made for the introduction of Cambodia and Broach cotton into general cultivation in the Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts. About 5,600 lbs. of seed of these cottons have been distributed so that there should be over 1,000 acres under these classes of cotton this year.

31. The Implement Depôt continued to transact **Implement Depot.** useful business, the total number of ploughs sold being 193 as against 100 in the previous year. Other implements sold were chaff-cutters, harrows, chain-pumps and sugar pans. Experiments and analysis in connection with green manures, sugar cane, soils, cattle foods, etc., continued to be carried on at the Chemical Laboratory.

32. As in the previous year, the demonstration of **Mycology and Entomology.** combative measures against *Koleroga*, chiefly occupied the attention of the mycological staff. Sixty-eight gardens, excluding the Experimental Gardens at Marthur and Agumbe, covering an area of about 21 acres, have been treated by Government agency in various parts of Sorab, Sagar, Nagar, Tirthahalli and Koppa taluks. Thirty-three garden owners have bought sprayers and have themselves treated about 100 acres. The investigation of the *Anaberoga* of supari and the Spike disease of sandal, started some time ago, could not be pushed on for want of sufficient staff. Some further work has been done on the Ring disease of potatoes. The study of the life-history of 'Smut' on *jola* was nearly completed. The entomological work was chiefly confined to operations against the grasshopper pests of *jola* and rice and further investigations of the *kumblihula* pest. A preliminary bulletin recommending the hand-picking of moths and deep ploughing as means of controlling the *kumblihula* pest was published and distributed in the affected places.

33. A Co-operative Conference was held at Mysore **Co-operative Societies.** during the last Dasara and was opened by His Highness

the Yuvaraja. The Conference sat in deliberation for three days under the presidency of Rajamantra Pravina Mr. C. Srinivasaiengar. Over three hundred members attended the Conference coming from distant parts of the State. Several questions connected with the subject of co-operation in relation to the needs of Mysore were discussed, and many important resolutions were passed on the steps to be taken for promoting the movement on right lines. It is hoped that the Conference will lead to a wider and better understanding of the objects and principles of co-operation on the part of the public and to an appreciation of its benefits, both economic and social. As a result of this and other causes, the co-operative movement made great progress during the year 1911-12. The number of societies in the State rose from 111 to 208, ninety-eight societies having been newly registered during the year and the registration of one cancelled. There was a corresponding increase in membership from 9,043 to 13,148 and in working capital from Rs. 3,71,194 to Rs. 6,75,312, while the reserve fund rose from Rs. 9,549 to Rs. 18,833. The progress was chiefly in the Bangalore, Mysore and Tunkur districts, but there was also a considerable amount of co-operative activity in the Kolar and Hassan districts. The districts of Shimoga, Kadur and Chitaldrug are still backward.

34. The rapid progress of the co-operative movement in the State has been greatly facilitated by the valuable service rendered to it by two Central Banks—the Bangalore Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, and the Mysore district Central Co-operative Bank, Limited. These institutions have been formed principally for the purpose of financing societies in need of funds. The first-named institution includes the whole State in its area of operations. Its transactions have increased during the year. Nearly all its shares have been taken up, its collected capital rising from Rs. 14,010 to Rs. 26,500. A sum of Rs. 66,445 has been deposited in the Bank by members and non-members. The Government placed a sum of Rs. 35,000 at the credit of the Bank in order to provide it with a ready resource against sudden and unforeseen demands. But the funds at the disposal of the Bank being quite sufficient for its purposes the Government loan has not been utilized. During the year, it lent a sum of Rs. 40,700 to 13 Societies, the total loans outstanding at the end of the year amounting to Rs. 78,360 to 20 Societies and 7 individual members. An equally

interesting and satisfactory feature is the fact that it affords a ready and safe investment for the reserve and other surplus funds of co-operative societies. The Bank has, in this way, attracted a sum of Rs. 12,700 as deposits. The Mysore District Bank was started during this year for a similar purpose with its operations confined to the societies in the Mysore District. This institution has not yet had time to fully develop its resources, but there is no doubt that, when it does, it will be as useful as its sister institution in Bangalore. In consequence of the existence of these central financing agencies, there has been little demand for assistance from Government. Out of the sum of Rs. 2,000 graciously placed by His Highness the Maharaja at the disposal of the Registrar, a sum of Rs. 700 was given as a deposit to two societies, and no loans have been granted out of State Funds. A sum of Rs. 650 was recovered in connection with His Highness' Fund and a sum of Rs. 146 in connection with State Funds.

35. The tendency towards the formation of societies on the unlimited liability basis noticed in last year's report appears more marked this year. Out of the 98 new societies which were formed, only 16 have limited their liability, the rest adopting unlimited liability. Considered according to the class of people most served by the societies there were 29 for the benefit of officials, merchants and other business men, and 69 for that of agriculturists, artisans, coolies and others.

36. To cope with the increase of work consequent on this extension of the co-operative movement, the department was strengthened by the addition of an Assistant to the Registrar and two Inspectors, the former place being filled by Mr. R. Ranga Rao, who returned after completing a course of study on Co-operation in England and on the Continent. The Honorary Organizers, Messrs. Badami Krishna Rao, T. Venkataramiya and H. R. Srinivasa Rao, have been doing their work with energy and enthusiasm. Messrs. Rajamantra Pruvina C. Srinivasa Iengar and D. Appu Rao continue to direct the affairs of the Bangalore Central Co-operative Bank with care and success.

37. The year under review opened with nine **Agricultural Banks.** Agricultural Banks in working condition, but it was found necessary to order the winding up of three of them, viz., those at Gulur, Rampura and Hallodderi—all in the Tumkur district, as they had fallen into arrears and did

not show signs of vitality. At the end of the year therefore only six banks were working. Of these, the bank at Nanjangud which had paid off the Government loan and which was doing some work out of its reserve of about Rs. 4,500, has since ceased to transact any business and the members have resolved to close the concern after disposing of the reserve under para 76 of the Articles of Association. It is proposed to transfer the amount to a local society for the promotion of *Vedic* learning and the matter is under consideration.

38. With regard to the question of resuscitating the agricultural banks referred to last year as engaging the attention of the Government, it was decided to establish in places where conditions were favourable, co-operative societies on the unlimited liability basis by the side of the defunct agricultural banks and thus give an opportunity to the members of the latter institutions to enjoy the facilities afforded by co-operative societies. Accordingly at 18 different places co-operative societies have been started and 56 members of the defunct banks have become members of such societies, borrowing Rs. 1,525 for liquidating debts due to the bank, and Rs. 2,333 for agricultural purposes. At the same time these members have contributed a sum of Rs. 1,093 to the societies as share-capital, thus effecting certain savings out of their earnings which they would not otherwise have done. Most of the societies in question are yet in an infant stage, but all of them bear promise of becoming useful to the members of the banks as their finances improve. The total recoveries from both the working and wound-up banks amounted to Rs. 64,845 and Rs. 7,371 under principal and interest respectively. The respective figures for the previous year were Rs. 59,793 and Rs. 9,032. Coercive measures were resorted to only in extreme cases.

**Joint-Stock Companies.**

39. The number of joint-stock companies working at the end of the year remained the same as at its commencement, *viz.*, 3, two new companies having been registered in place of two wound-up during the year.

**Revenue Survey and Settlement.**

40. During the year 7 inam villages comprising 846 fields with an area of 3,426 acres were surveyed and 4 villages containing 86 fields measuring 2,729 acres were classed. Re-survey operations were completed in 454 villages in all, consisting of 142 villages of the Kunigal taluk (as it stood at the original settlement), 242 of Hassan, 40 villages of the late Harnahalli (present Tiptur) and 30 villages of the Koppal taluks. The total area re-surveyed

was 405,687 acres or 633.89 square miles. Re-classification of water-supply to wet and garden lands was completed in 753 villages of the late Harnahalli, Chiknayakanhalli and Banavar taluks, and of the Maddigri and Nelamangala, Magadi and Koppa taluks. The thirty years' settlement having expired some time ago, revision settlement was introduced and revised rates of assessment were announced in the Honnali and the late Anantapur taluks. In the former, the average rate of garden assessment decreased by 24.7 per cent, while there was an increase of 2.75 per cent in the case of rice lands and 10 per cent in the case of dry lands. The operations in the late Anantapur taluk resulted in a decrease of 35.3 per cent in the case of garden lands, while the rice and dry lands yielded an increase of 4 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively in the average rate of assessment. On the whole the revision of the settlement resulted in a moderate increase of revenue on occupied lands by 4 per cent in the late Anantapur taluk over the collection of 1906-07, and by 12½ per cent in the Honnali taluk over the collections of 1907-03. The rates were generally well received by the ryots. Proposals for the revision settlement of the Shimoga taluk were sanctioned by Government in March last and the rates will be announced next cold weather. Proposals for the revision settlement of the late Koratagere taluk of the Tumkur district and the Nagar taluk of the Shimoga district are expected to be received early for sanction.

41. The Inam department carried on its work as **Inam Department**. usual, which was in the main confined to the issue of final quit rent registers and title-deeds.

42. Both the number of documents registered and **Registration**. the revenue realised showed an appreciable increase, the figures being 94,193 and Rs. 1,86,02 as against 86,869 and Rs. 1,63,460 in the previous year. The increase in the number of registrations was general in all the districts, and is attributed partly to a greater appreciation by the public of the benefits of registration and partly to the unfavourable nature of the season.

43. There was a noticeable increase in the revenue **Stamps**. from Stamps during the year, the amount realised being Rs. 9,15,500 against Rs. 8,26,100 in the previous year. Of this increase, Rs. 57,200 was under Court Fee Stamps, attributable to a rise in the number and value of the civil suits instituted during the year, while under General Stamps the increase of Rs. 30,100 was due to wider

monetary transactions which also resulted in an increase in the revenue from registration.

44. A new design of General Stamp Paper with His Highness the Maharaja's portrait on the stamps has been approved. This will be on view at the Exhibition. Stamp papers of this pattern will soon be made available for public use.

**EXCISE.**

45. The gross receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 45,45,518 against Rs. 43,69,216 in the year previous, showing an increase of Rs. 1,76,302 or about 4 per cent. This increase is spread over all the principal items of Excise Revenue and is considered to be indicative of the return to normal conditions. It was still short of the realizations for the year 1908-09 by Rs. 75,730 as particularized below —

District	Difference as compared with 1908-09
1. Bangalore ... ..	-89,377
2. Kolar ... ..	- 1,830
3. Tumkur ... ..	-54,991
4. Mysore ... ..	+11,403
5. Hassan ... ..	+10,484
6. Kadu ... ..	+16,770
7. Shimoga ... ..	+14,483
8. Chitaldrug... ..	+18,919
9. Gain on the sale of opium ... ..	- 5,624
10. Proportionate cost of the Distillery Es- tablishment paid by the Civil and Military Station ... ..	+ 4,033
Total ... ..	<u>-75,730</u>

46. There was again a decrease in the number of arrack and toddy shops, there being 20 less of the former and 13 of the latter but the consumption increased slightly—3.1 per cent under arrack and 1.7 per cent under toddy. Against this there was a heavy fall in the consumption of foreign liquors, the quantity consumed being about 11,000 gallons or nearly 30 per cent less than that for the previous year.

47. Three more shops were licensed for the sale of ganja and one for opium. The duty on ganja was raised from Rs. 5 to 7-8-0 while the retail sellers of opium were allowed to fix their own sale prices. These altered conditions resulted in a substantial reduction in the quantities of the drugs consumed while simultaneously there was increase in the revenue realized.

48. Six blocks comprising an area of 36.66 square **FORESTS.** miles were notified as State Forests under Section 17 of the Forest Regulation, and 13 blocks with an aggregate area of 55.1 square miles were notified as reserve lands under Section 4. About 147 miles of forest demarcation lines were newly cut and 2,512 miles of old lines recleared and widened to the standard width of 66 feet at a total cost of Rs. 10,804. An aggregate area of 2,370 sq. miles of forests was placed under fire protection, of which 2,145 sq. miles or 90.5 per cent were successfully protected. 14,446 acres were newly stocked with various kinds of nursery-raised plants and 23,046 acres were sown and dibbled over with sandal, teak, and other indigenous seeds. About 470,163 cubic feet of timber of various kinds were collected and sold departmentally, and about 412,904 cubic feet were extracted and removed direct from the forests by purchasers and consumers. The realisations from the sale of timber amounted to Rs. 5,07,850 against Rs. 4,16,293 in the previous year. The total quantity of sandalwood sold was 2,388 tons which yielded a revenue of Rs. 12,73,773 against Rs. 11,75,009 in the previous year. About 34 miles of new roads were constructed to facilitate the carting of timber and other forest produce to depots, etc., and about 179 miles were repaired at a total cost of Rs. 10,549. A sum of Rs. 22,846 was spent upon new buildings and on repairs of existing buildings. The revenue under Forest proper was Rs. 22,24,087 against Rs. 20,95,422 and the expenditure of the year amounted to Rs. 7,03,365 against Rs. 6,87,630 in the previous year.

49. I may mention here that owing to the altered conditions of work in the department and the expansion of the area of the State Forests, the Government have decided to re-organize the staff, both administrative and executive. With the improved pay and prospects of the staff and with the better organization in the department, it is hoped that there would be a corresponding improvement in the conservation and exploitation of our forests.

50. Preliminary surveys were conducted over an **GEOLOGICAL AND MINING.** area of about 300 square miles of the Nelamangala and Kunigal taluks, about 1,200 square miles of the Krishna-rajpete, Channarayapatna, Yedatore and Nagamangala taluks, and of French Rocks sub-taluk, and about 150 square miles of the Mysore taluk in the neighbourhood of the proposed reservoir dam at Kanuambadi. Several small schist belts have been mapped in the area surveyed, and occurrences of iron ore, chrome iron ore, mica, limestone and some small auriferous veins have been

noted. Reports on the work done are now under preparation by the officers concerned. The State Geologist made an inspection of the foundations exposed at the site of the Kannambadi dam and furnished a report of a favourable character. A large nugget of gold (weighing 4.03 ozs.) was found near Palavanhalli in the Shimoga district and a series of washing of the soil and alluvium were carried out which showed that the surface material here carries small quantities of gold. Several prospecting licenses have been taken out in the area, but work has not yet been started. Eighty-eight leases and licenses for mining and prospecting were issued or renewed during the year as against 58 in the year previous.

**Gold.**

51. The production of gold showed an increase of over 11,000 ozs. during the year, all of which came from the Kolar Field. The Mysore, Ooregun and Nundydroog Mines maintained the satisfactory position of the previous year. Champion Reef has shown a further tendency to improve and Balaghat, which for some time past has yielded very poor results, has shown distinct signs of improvement in some of the lower levels. The total value of the gold obtained was three crores and twenty lakhs of rupees, and the royalty realised by Government was a little over 16 lakhs. On other mines work has been rather slack during the year owing to the difficulty of raising funds for further deep prospecting. Ahmed's block on the east of the Kolar Field has recently been assigned to a syndicate of Hyderabad capitalists and work is now being re-started. The east Beterayaswami block to the north of the Kolar Field has been sampled and reported upon on behalf of the Mysore Gold Mining Company. Work on the various blocks of the Shimoga Gold Field in the Kadur and Shimoga districts was suspended during the year owing to exhaustion of funds. An examination of the Jalagarundi block was made on behalf of the Gold Fields of Mysore and General Exploration Company, but it is believed that the option will not be exercised.

**Manganese.**

52. In the hope of encouraging an extension of the manganese industry, the rate of royalty has now been considerably reduced and a sliding scale adopted, starting from a royalty of one anna per ton when the market price of the ore is 9d. per unit or under. This concession, in conjunction with the present upward tendency in the market rates will, it is hoped, lead to an expansion of the industry during the coming year.

53. The number of persons employed in the mining



industry was 26,772. There were 374 accidents, during the year, of which, 48 were fatal involving the death of 89 persons.

54. In order to meet administrative requirements, a **PUBLIC WORKS.** new circle of superintendence, designated the "Southern Circle," was formed in November 1911, as a tentative measure for two years, and the existing "Northern Circle" was ordered to be continued for a similar period. The total expenditure on Public Works from all sources, including Local Funds, amounted to about Rs. 44½ lakhs during the year. Of this amount, Rs. 15½ lakhs were spent on irrigation works and Rs. 28½ lakhs on civil works and military buildings. The most important work undertaken during the year was the construction of a dam across the river Cauvery at Kannambadi, sanction to which was announced at the last year's meeting of the Representative Assembly. The first stage of the scheme is now being carried out, and according to this the dam will be raised to a height of 97 feet with weir crest at 80 feet above river bed, and the reservoir at this stage will store 11,030 million cubic feet of water. The first stage of the work (which includes the fourth installation of the Power Scheme) is estimated to cost Rs. 89 lakhs. The work was started in November 1911 and an expenditure of Rs. 6,97,501 was incurred up to end of June 1912. The operations of the year consisted in opening out approach roads to the site of the dam and the camps, constructing offices and quarters including a dispensary for the staff, arranging for water-supply and drainage, and collecting the requisite labour, materials, machinery, tools and plant. A portion of the river-bed and banks was cleared and excavations for founding the dam were in progress.

55. In connection with the Marikanave Project in the Chitaldrug district, the details of the "Block System" of irrigation have been worked out. The construction of the high level canal has been deferred for the present. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned for improving the sanitary condition of the villages in the canal area, and an expenditure of about Rs. 2,000 was actually incurred in shifting the villages of Nandihalli and Jagadanhalli to healthier sites. The area actually irrigated under the reservoir during the year was about 3,672 acres against 10,892 acres assessed.

56. Among the large irrigation works started during the year were the construction of a new tank across the Vadly stream near Hairege in the Mysore district, the extension and improvement of the Sriramdevar South Channel in the Hassan district, the restoration of the Bollappanhalli tank in the Closepet sub-taluk, and the Mellur tank in the Hunsur taluk. The damage sustained by the several anikats along the river Cauvery, on account of the extraordinary floods of July 1911, was satisfactorily repaired during the last hot weather at a cost of about half a lakh of rupees. Nearly a lakh of rupees was also spent on the restoration of the minor tanks in the State.

57. The principal new buildings in progress were the new Palace and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital and the New High School at Bangalore, and the Sandalkoti at Shimoga. The construction of an additional residential block at the Mysore Palace and of a Chemical Laboratory for the Bangalore Central College were started during the year. The 'Coronation Buildings,' belonging to Khan Bahadur Hajee Ismail Sait in the Kolar Gold Fields, were acquired and an estimate for Rs. 39,430 was sanctioned for adapting the building for a Maternity and Hospital.

58. Under communications, the construction and improvement of certain malnad and forest roads in the Shimoga, Hassan and Mysore districts, were in progress. The construction of the large bridge at Honnali on the Tungabhadra river made good progress, and materials were collected for a much needed bridge across the Bhrigu river in the Mysore district, for which an estimate amounting to Rs. 39,535 was sanctioned in November last. A telephone service was installed between Bangalore and Mysore at a cost of about Rs. 30,000 to facilitate the transaction of official business.

59. Among miscellaneous public improvements in progress, may be mentioned the construction of sundry roads and drains in the different extensions of the Bangalore City and the laying of additional water-supply pipes in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. A project estimated to cost Rs. 14,70,170 was prepared for the sewerage of the Mysore City. Projects for the drainage of Shimoga, Harihar and Sringeri towns were also completed, and investigations and surveys were in progress in connection with the drainage of Bangalore and Davangere.

60. The third installation of the Cauvery Power **Electrical Works.** Scheme, which was in progress in 1910-11, was completed during the year under report. The transmission lines leading to Bangalore and Mysore were equipped with aluminium cell lightning arrestors. Extensions of interior power and lighting were carried out in Mysore and in the City and the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore. A building for locating the office and stores of the Superintendent was constructed at Mysore at a total cost of Rs. 8,914. Motor generator sets were re-arranged in the transformer stations at Bangalore and Mysore. Surveys in connection with the Bangalore tramways and the fourth installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme were carried out and the project estimates were nearing completion towards the close of the year.

61. The capital outlay on the Cauvery Power Scheme during the year amounted to Rs. 57,409 and the total outlay up to date to Rs. 83,13,594. The gross earnings of the scheme during the year amounted to Rs. 16,64,778 and the working expenses to Rs. 6,26,089. This latter sum included Rs. 2,87,700 set apart towards the Depreciation Fund and Rs. 38,748 spent for conserving and regulating the river supply during the hot weather. The net profit after deducting interest charges at 4 per cent was Rs. 7,07,184 or 8.51 per cent, on the total capital outlay up to date.

62. The gross receipts on all the open lines within **Railways.** the State amounted to Rs. 32,09,000 as against Rs. 28,30,638 during the previous year, showing an increase of Rs. 3,78,362 which is due to heavy passenger and goods traffic. The expenses on all the State lines amounted to Rs. 18,20,000 equivalent to 56.72 per cent of gross receipts as against Rs. 17,14,127 or 60.56 per cent during 1910-11. The increase of Rs. 1,05,873 under expenditure over that of the previous year was incurred chiefly in connection with the haulage of increased traffic. The total net earnings aggregated Rs. 13,89,000 or 5.53 per cent on the entire capital outlay of Rs. 2,50,94,761 as against Rs. 11,16,511 in the previous year. The interest on the English loan of Rs. 1,63,82,801 amounted to Rs. 7,16,261. After deducting this as well as the one-twentieth share of surplus profits (Rs. 66,000) payable to the Company, the net revenue credited to the State was Rs. 5,40,739 or 6.20 per cent on the balance of capital, viz., Rs. 87,11,960 expended from general revenues. A portion of the net receipt aggregating Rs. 79,214 was

expended as capital on lines in operation, thus reducing the net revenue of the year to Rs. 4,61,525.

63. There having been no extensions of lines for more than 12 years past, the State has fallen behind British India in railway development. Mysore has one mile of railway for every 12,500 inhabitants, while the corresponding rate for all India is one mile per 8,800. An addition of at least 200 miles to the existing open mileage is necessary to keep pace with the rate of progress in British India. Government have accordingly decided to pursue a progressive policy of construction during the next few years. With this end in view, sanction was accorded in November 1911 to a programme of railway construction and to the formation of a State Railway Construction Department. This has accordingly been formed under the Engineer-in-Chief Mr. E. A. S. Bell, lately Senior Deputy Manager, North-Western Railway, whose services have been kindly placed at our disposal by the Government of India.

**Forecast of Future Activities.**

64. The several lines suggested in the programme of works will be dealt with one by one in order of their urgency and importance. The South Indian Railway Company have re-surveyed the Nanjangud-Erode line and prepared the necessary plans and estimates for the section from Nanjangud to the British frontier, and the project is stated to be under the consideration of the Directors in England. The line from Mysore to Hassan was further examined and surveys for the final location of the line are in progress. The proposal now under investigation is to have a third line from Konehalli to Seringapatam, through Channarayapatna and Krishnarajpete with branch lines on the narrow gauge to Hassan and Hole-Narsipur.

**Light Railways.**

65. The Bangalore-Chikballapur Light Railway Company were engaged in completing arrangements to begin work on the line. Surveys have been carried out for a line of light railway from Bowringpet to Kolar. As the District Board have undertaken to finance the line and collected the necessary funds, actual construction will be taken in hand as soon as the project receives the approval of the Government of India. A survey has also been carried out and plans and estimates are being completed for a similar line to connect Chitaldrug with Chikjajur on the Bangalore-Harihar line.

**JUDICIAL.**

66. The ordinary original civil and criminal juris-

diction exercised by the Chief Court over the districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur was withdrawn on the re-establishment of the District and Sessions Court of the Bangalore Division in August 1911, alluded to in my Address last year. The unlimited original civil jurisdiction conferred on the Subordinate Judge of Bangalore was withdrawn, and his pecuniary jurisdiction is now limited to Rs. 10,000 as in the case of other Subordinate Judges.

67. To remedy the congestion of work in the Munsiff's Court at Seringapatam, the villages comprised in the hoblies of Chandagal and Belagoh and the villages of the Seringapatam hobli to the south of the Cauvery in the Seringapatam taluk were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Munsiff's Court at Seringapatam to that of the Additional Munsiff's Court at Mysore, and the villages comprised in the hoblies of Saligran, Mirle and Hosa Agrahar in the Yedatore taluk, and the villages of Akkihebbal hobli of the Krishnarajpete taluk to the west of the Hemavati were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Munsiff's Court at Hole-Narsipur from that of the Additional Munsiff's Court, Mysore, and of the Munsiff's Court at Seringapatam, respectively. The jurisdiction over the taluk of Tarikere was transferred from the Munsiff's Court at Chikmagalur to the Subordinate Judge's Court at Shimoga to suit the convenience of the litigant public. The Additional Munsiff's Court at Chikballapur which was established for a period of one year was directed to be continued until further orders.

68. The Civil Registers and forms were revised during the year. A new set of rules for the arrangement, custody, preservation and destruction of records of Civil proceedings of the courts subordinate to the Chief Court were issued. As compared with the previous year, there was an increase of both civil and criminal litigation, the percentage of such increase being 12.60 and 15.71, respectively.

69. To facilitate the recovery of copying fees an arrangement has been sanctioned whereby copies shall be prepared on prescribed papers with the value stamped thereon.

70. It may interest you to learn that orders of Government have been passed to improve the position and prospects of the Munsiffs. They will be treated as Gazetted Officers and will, on being confirmed as Munsiffs, start on a pay of Rs. 200 per mensem rising by triennial

increments of Rs. 50 to Rs. 400. The Deputy Registrar of the Chief Court will hereafter be included in the grade of Munsiffs.

**Police.**

71. The sanctioned strength of the Regular Police was the same as in the previous year, *viz.*, 831 officers and 5,049 men. A temporary staff of one Inspector, one Jamadar, two Dafadars and 26 constables at an annual cost of Rs. 4,008 was sanctioned during the year for duty at the Cauvery Reservoir Works near Kannambadi. An additional establishment of four head constables and forty constables at a cost of Rs. 8,280 was sanctioned towards the end of the year for the Kolar Gold Fields to meet the growing requirements of the place. The cost of the Police Administration, including equipment and clothing, was approximately Rs. 9,12,840 against Rs. 9,08,366 in the preceding year. The work of the Village Police was satisfactory, and the system of watches at out-posts continued to be effective. There was a small increase in the number of cognizable offences reported, which stood at 5,950 against 5,742 in the previous year. The percentage of the value of property recovered, to that reported as lost was 46.7 against 41.4 in the past year. There were no organized dacoities or serious riots affecting the public peace and the efficiency of the Police Force was well maintained.

**Military.**

72. The military forces of the State were maintained at the usual strength and in a good state of efficiency and discipline. Two squadrons of the Imperial Service Lancers which took part in the great ceremonial parade and review at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi acquitted themselves creditably and, it is satisfactory to note, earned high encomiums from military experts and other distinguished spectators.

**Medical.**

73. Including three newly-opened dispensaries, there were at the end of the year 152 hospitals and dispensaries in the State. In all 1,367,000 patients were treated which was 51,000 more than in the previous year, and of this number 12,000 were in-patients. There were 113 midwives who attended to 7,285 cases. The special hospitals of the State, *viz.*, the Lunatic and Leper Asylums, the Maternity Hospitals, the Epidemic Diseases Hospital and the Ophthalmic Hospital continued to do good work. Over ten thousand persons were treated in the last-mentioned institution at Bangalore.

74. The revised scheme of the subordinate branch of the Medical Service providing for the improved status,

and pay and prospects, of the Hospital Assistants, briefly referred to in the Address last year, came into force during the year under report.

75. There was a slight increase in the number of **Public Health.** births recorded during the year, the birth-rate being 19.65 per mille of population against 18.25 in the preceding year. The number of deaths recorded was also somewhat larger, being 20.24 as against 19.92 per mille. Cholera prevailed in all the districts, in a sporadic form in some districts and in an epidemic form in others. The districts of Shimoga and Chitaldrug suffered most with a mortality of 2,145 and 1,934 respectively. The usual remedial and preventive measures were adopted with some measure of success. The Government sanctioned the award of a gold medal to the patel of Adivala, in the Chitaldrug district, in recognition of the exceptionally good service rendered by him in the suppression of cholera in his village.

76. There were 18,911 attacks and 14,089 deaths from plague during the year as against 12,684 attacks and 8,789 deaths in 1910-11. As compared with the previous year, mortality from plague was higher in the Mysore City, and in the Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur, Hassan and Kadur districts, the largest increase being recorded in the Kolar and Bangalore districts. The preventive measures adopted were evacuation, disinfection and inoculation. The total number of persons inoculated was 60,250 against 54,592 in 1910-11. Special establishments were maintained in the Mysore City and on the Kolar Gold Fields for carrying on inoculation work.

77. The total number of vaccinations done in the State during the year was 80,443 as against 62,261 in the previous year showing an increase of 18,182 cases. Vaccination was declared compulsory in the municipalities of Kolar, Mulbagal, Srinivaspur and Bowringpet. The Kurnul system of vaccination has been working fairly satisfactorily since its introduction. In order to serve as an incentive to patels to exert themselves in popularising vaccination, Government were pleased to order the grant of certificates to the most deserving in each taluk in recognition of their special interest in the work.

78. The formation of a Public Health Institute was sanctioned during the year. Proposals for providing suitable buildings for the Institute, which is to include the Vaccine Institute and a Health Museum and Library, are

under the consideration of the Government. A school of Hygiene for the training of Sanitary and Assistant Sanitary Inspectors required for employment in the State was also sanctioned during the year.

**Government Gardens.**

79. The introduction of new plants, the improvement of the seed depot and the construction and fitting up of a seed-testing house, a fumigating chamber, and a herbarium, specially engaged the attention of the Economic Botanist during the year. In the fumigating chamber all plants imported into or sent out from the Lal-Bagh and other Government gardens will be carefully disinfected and it is hoped that the public also will avail themselves of the installation, and thus help in minimising the spread of plant pests.

**The Government Museum.**

80. The museum continued to maintain its popularity during the year. 342,346 persons visited the institution, being an increase of 69,553 over the previous year. In all sections further improvements were made in the arrangement of the collections so as to afford greater facility for study, and in the enlargement of the sections relating to Industry and Arts, Ethnology including Archaeology and Numismatics, and Natural History, especially Zoology. The collection of coins was also considerably enlarged and catalogued, and the Library received many valuable additions in books and periodical publications. Greater facilities were provided for free access to the public to all patents and inventions filed in the Mysore State, and to these are now being added full lists of the Government of India Patent Office.

**Archæology.**

81. The number of new records discovered during the year was 535, exclusive of labels below figures in stone, copper, or mortar, and inscriptions on temple bells, etc., which make a total of 400. Some excavations were conducted at the *Kirtinarayana* temple at Talkad. The temple was mostly buried in sand, but after excavation the plan of the exterior was clearly revealed. There are no sculptures on the outerwalls, but a railed parapet runs round the front hall, divided by single columns into panels containing floral work in relief. The excavations also exposed twelve inscriptions, one of them in Tamil being a very important epigraph relating to the consecration of the God *Kirtinarayana* in A.D. 1117 by Vishnuvaradhana. Among the manuscripts examined during the year may be mentioned *Traivarnikachara*, a Jain law-book in Sanskrit of about the 15th century



written by Nemichandra, a resident of Trikanambapura or Terakanambi in Gundlupet taluk, and *Bharatesa-raibhava*, a Kannada poem written in the *Sangatya* metre by the Jain poet Ratnahara-siddha. The latter gives an account of King Bharata, son of Vrishabha the first Tirthankara, and was composed in A.D. 1660.

82. The observatory at Mysore which had completed **Meteorology.** the nineteenth year of its existence at the close of December 1911 as a second class station, recording three sets of observations daily, was reduced to the third class, recording one set of observations from the beginning of January 1912. At the end of the official year therefore, there were in the State one first class observatory at Bangalore and three third class observatories at Mysore, Hassan and Chitaldrug, the total number remaining the same as in previous years.

83. The Press and Stationery departments con- **The Government Press and Stationery Departments** tinued to be efficiently managed. There was a decrease in the number of books bound as compared with the previous year, and the expenditure also showed a decrease in Rs. 9,000, being Rs. 1,14,000 as against Rs. 1,23,000 of the previous year. In the Stationery department, the purchases for the year amounted to Rs. 94,760, including English and Indian-made paper, articles of stationery, and other requisites. The printing, binding and other miscellaneous work connected with the Census entailed a vast amount of work on the Press, and it is very satisfactory to note that it was carried out with remarkable efficiency and smoothness. The two Probationers who are attached to the Press have, after a preliminary training, been deputed to England for a course of instruction in the art of Printing and management of an up-to-date Press.

84. The receipt under all heads of District Funds **DISTRICT FUNDS.** was approximately Rs. 8,68,268, and together with the opening balance of Rs. 4,61,598, the total income amounted to Rs. 13,29,866. The total expenditure was Rs. 8,20,149 leaving a balance of Rs. 5,09,717 at the close of the year.

85. Out of this expenditure Rs. 5,29,406 was spent on Public Works, Rs. 82,048 on Sanitation, Rs. 76,129 on Medical Relief and the balance towards the establishment and other miscellaneous charges. During the year two new Unions in the Kolar district and one in the Hassan district were formed. New *Vaidyasalas* were opened in Sravanabelagola, Hassan district, and in Mayakonda, Chitaldrug district. Bye-Laws for the Regulation and

inspection of bakeries and aerated water factories in the Kolar Gold Fields area were sanctioned by Government during the year.

**Local Funds General.**

86. The income under Local Funds General, which is comprised mainly of a contribution of 67 per cent of the local cess on abkari and miscellaneous items of revenue, amounted to Rs. 1,91,221, and including the opening balance of Rs. 1,67,298, the total receipts were 3,58,519. The expenditure, which is devoted chiefly to the excavation of drinking-water wells in rural parts, construction of bridges, and such other special works as would promote sanitation and public convenience in rural parts, amounted to Rs. 1,86,230. There remained to the credit of the Funds at the close of the year a balance of Rs. 1,72,289.

**MUNICIPAL BOARDS.**

87. There were, during the year, 89 municipalities in the State, of which 29 had Municipal Councils constituted under the Municipal Regulation, the affairs of the remaining 60 municipalities being managed by Municipal Boards constituted under the executive orders of Government.

88. Sub-section 2 of Section 142 of the Municipal Regulation authorizing the seizure and destruction of adulterated articles of food or drink under the orders of a Magistrate was declared to be applicable to the Tumkur and Hassan towns with reference to ghee and six other articles as in the case of the Bangalore and Mysore Cities. The provisions of the sections were also extended to the Kolar town in respect of ghee and two other articles. While abolition of the Octroi was found to be impracticable on fiscal grounds, the Municipal Councils were authorized to exempt from octroi dutiable articles brought within municipal limits for consumption in small quantities not exceeding a maximum prescribed by the Government.

89. For the improvement of the sanitation of the Seringapatam town including Ganjam, a lump sum grant of Rs. 4,000 for clearing undergrowth and levelling dilapidated areas and a recurring grant of Rs. 1,000 for annual maintenance has been recently sanctioned from the State Funds.

90. During the year the Mysore Public Conveyance Regulation was extended to the Mysore City and the Municipal Council have taken necessary action for issuing rules for the working of the Regulation.

91. The receipts under Municipal Funds during the year amounted to Rs. 9,85,336 and the expenditure to Rs. 8,95,275 of which Rs. 2,22,016, was spent on Public Works, Rs. 2,06,236 on Conservancy and the remainder on other items.

92. A comprehensive programme of works including a complete system of underground sewerage and out-fall works for the whole city at an estimated cost of Rs. 23,67,590 was generally approved of in the latter part of the year. The usual grant of three lakhs of rupees a year to the Mysore City Improvement Trust Board will be continued till the aforesaid programme is completed. **Mysore City Improvement.**

93. The rules for the grant of loans for house-building purposes under the City of Mysore Improvement Regulation were amended so as to dispense with the taking of collateral securities when the property to be benefited was in itself a sufficient security, the applicant's interest in the said property being not less than one and a-half times the loan applied for.

94. The expenditure during the year was Rs. 1,36,680 of which Rs. 76,155 was spent on acquisition and demolition of properties. The number of properties acquired during the year was in all 93 of which 28 were acquired in the Fort at a cost of Rs. 59,292. The improvement of the Fort area was practically completed, the total number of properties acquired and demolished being 357.

95. During the year 132 Muzrai Institutions were repaired at a cost of Rs. 68,686 of which Rs. 59,166 came from the surplus funds of the institutions concerned and Rs. 9,520 was contributed by the State. A sum of Rs. 45,600 was invested during the year by private individuals at the favourable rate of 4 per cent interest allowed on behalf of benevolent, charitable and educational purposes, thus bringing the total of such deposits to Rs. 2,45,100. **Muzrai.**

96. His Holiness Sri Sachidananda Sivabhinava Narasimha Bharati Swamigalu of the Sringeri Matha breathed his last on the 20th March 1912 and, in a Proclamation issued on the occasion, due expression was given to the sense of the loss caused thereby to the Hindu world and religion. His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to recognise, in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness the late Swamigalu, the succession of Vedamurthi Narasimha Sastri, who was duly consecrated

and installed under the titular name of Sri Chandrasekhara Bharati on the 7th April 1912. The succession of Vedamurthi Seturamacharya to the Peeta of the Sri Uttaradi Matha as His Holiness Sri Satya Dhyana Thirtha Swamigalu was also recognised during the year.

#### EDUCATION.

97. It is gratifying to note that progress in education was steadily kept up during the year. The number of public institutions increased from 2,460 to 2,567 or by 107 and that of pupils from 115,249 to 123,491 or by 8,242. The increase occurred chiefly in Middle and Primary Schools for boys and in Vernacular Middle Schools for girls. The number of private or indigenous institutions also increased from 1,807 to 1,911 or by 104 and their strength from 22,904 to 25,723 or by 2,819. The total number of public and private institutions during the year was 4,478 with an attendance of 149,214 pupils as against 4,267 institutions with an attendance of 138,153 pupils during the previous year. Of the total number of pupils under instruction, 124,324 were boys and 24,890 were girls, against 115,179 boys and 22,974 girls in 1910-11. The percentage of boys at school to the male population of school-age rose from 27.9 to 30.1, while that of girls at school to the female population of school-age also rose from 5.7 to 6.2. The percentage of both boys and girls under instruction to the total population of school-age was 18.3 against 16.9 in the previous year. The rise in the number and strength of private institutions is an encouraging sign of the progress of primary education in the State, and it is hoped that the tendency to progress in this direction will be steadily maintained.

#### Re-organisation of Colleges.

98. Further arrangements were made to complete the equipment of the two First Grade Colleges in accordance with the requirements of the New University Regulations and to meet the demands of the University Inspection Commission of November 1910. An additional lecturer for the teaching of English was employed in the Maharaja's College at Mysore, and a Telugu Pandit has also been recently appointed. The High School department of the College has been separately placed under a Headmaster. The science gallery for which a special grant was sanctioned, has been completed. Large additions were made to the College Library which is becoming a valuable collection of useful books on English History and Economics. The Historical and Economic Museum also has had several additions made to it, chiefly of coins

ADDRESS  
OF  
THE DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE  
TO THE  
SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY,

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FIFTEENTH SESSION 1094.

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presented by Government and the students. An installation of electric lights was sanctioned for the Students' Home attached to the College and the construction of quarters for the Warden of the Hostel is under consideration. In the Central College, provision was made both as regards equipment and the additional staff required for the teaching of the different Science subjects. Demonstrators for Chemistry, Mathematics, Geology and Zoology were appointed, and the employment of a Professor of Natural Science of European qualifications has been recently sanctioned. A Professor of English with Honours qualifications of the London University has been appointed and is expected to arrive shortly. The construction of a new building for the Chemistry Section was taken in hand and is in rapid progress and it is hoped that necessary arrangements will be complete for affiliation in Branch II (B) Chemistry from the next academical year. Large grants were sanctioned for the equipment of the Science Laboratories and the College Library.

99. Religious and moral instruction continued to be imparted with regularity. In Colleges the half-hour religious and moral lessons were replaced by weekly lectures by the Professors and Pandits, and in other schools the usual programme was adhered to. The working of the scheme has to improve gradually with the securing of teachers possessing the requisite capacity and high personal character, and with the provision of suitable text books. **Religious and Moral Instruction.**

100. Manual instruction or Sloyd made good progress during the year. In the matter of Kindergarten instruction, special classes were held in Mysore and Bangalore for about six weeks during the last summer vacation to train teachers of Anglo-Vernacular schools for boys and girls. In these classes, instruction was imparted on the modern methods of teaching Arithmetic and Geography, the principles and methods of infant-training embodying observation-lessons, narration of stories and school gardening, and manual occupations such as cardboard work, paper-folding, clay-modelling, and object-drawing. **Manual and Kindergarten Instruction.**

101. At the B. A. Degree Examination of the Madras University, 56 students in all passed in the English Language Division, 66 in the Second Language Division, and 59 in the different Optional Subjects Divisions. Two of the successful candidates in the English Division, 3 in the Second Language Division, one in Physics and one in **Results of Public Examinations.**

Mathematics secured first class passes. Altogether 52 students passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts, 6 of them being in the first class. The results of the Matriculation Examination were unsatisfactory. One hundred and four students passed from all the schools put together, 74 from Government institutions and the rest from Aided High Schools.

**Female Education.**

102. Female education continued to advance, the number of institutions for girls increasing from 294 to 305. One lady candidate from the Maharani's College passed the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University and another from the same institution passed the Sanskrit Branch of the Kannada Pandits' Examination. Arrangements have been made to train every year 10 lady teachers of the department in the Upper and Lower Secondary training classes of the Maharani's College, Mysore.

**Technical and Industrial Education.**

103. The number of Industrial and Weaving Schools increased from 20 to 22 and all the Government and Aided institutions turned out satisfactory work during the year. At the Tata Silk Farm, Bangalore, the Salvation Army has arranged for courses of six months, and twelve months, for persons desirous of being trained on the Farm. Sericulture as a part of nature study was taught regularly to school boys of Closepet, Chikmuduvadi (in Kankanhalli taluk), Channapatna, Sidlaghatta, Kolar, Mysore (Nazarbad School), Malvalli and Kunigal by specially trained teachers. Theoretical and practical lessons were generally given to boys of the Kannada IV and V Classes out of school hours in these places. Practical Agriculture was taught with fair success on the Demonstration Farm attached to the Mysore Normal School.

104. Among other measures of importance in the Education department may be mentioned the following. A scheme for the opening of an English training class in the Mysore Normal School was sanctioned. The class has since been opened and a number of matriculate and non-matriculate teachers are being regularly trained in modern methods of teaching. In the current year's budget, a sum of one lakh of rupees has been sanctioned for village school buildings, one lakh for opening new primary schools and improvement of existing ones, and Rs. 60,000 for improving technical education. A scheme for the award of Secondary School-leaving Certificates has been sanctioned with effect from the commencement of this academical year to replace the present Matriculation

Examination and it is hoped that it will give general satisfaction and produce beneficial results.

105. During the year 475 manuscripts of Sanskrit **Oriental Library.** and Kannada literary works and 253 printed volumes in English, Sanskrit and Kannada were added to the Library. Four volumes of the Library Series were published, three of these relating to Sanskrit Literature and one to Kannada Literature. A classified Catalogue of the English Section of the Library brought up-to-date was issued in the early part of the year.

106. I may here give a brief account of the work **THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.** done by the Economic Conference during the year. I explained to you in my Address last year the purposes of the Conference, and its constitution and sphere of work, and also indicated briefly the progress it had made till the last Dasara. Since then the Conference has developed a good deal and the Resolutions carried at the third session held during the last Birthday week have already been published. The Committee for industries and commerce has been strengthened, and His Highness' Government have engaged for a period of six months, the services of Mr. A. Chatterton, C.I.E., Officer in charge of the Pumping and Boring Operations and the Bureau of Industrial Information in Madras, and under him six special officers have been working. An Industrial Survey of the State has been commenced by Mr. V. S. Sambasiva Iyer under the guidance of Mr. Chatterton. Of the sum of one lakh of rupees sanctioned for Conference expenditure as a whole during the year 1911-12, Rs. 48,000 were actually spent. For the year 1912-13, a sum of Rs. 1,46,000 has been sanctioned. District Committees have been formed in all the districts and funds were placed at their disposal for small establishments; experiments and contingencies. I will now describe to you very briefly the work done so far by the different Committees of the Conference.

107. In order to encourage District Agricultural **The Agricultural** Associations, the Agricultural Committee made grants of **Committee.** sums varying from Rs. 70 to 250, to the Agricultural Associations in the districts of Mysore, Kolar, Tumkur, Hassan and Kadur. The Chitaldrug Association having sufficient funds of its own did not need any grant from the Committee. The formation of Agricultural Associations in all the District Headquarters is of great importance as an effective means of creating and sustaining an active interest in agricultural improvement. Such Associations have



yet to be formed in the districts of Bangalore and Shimoga.

108. The subject of improving Sericulture which is a promising industry of the State is engaging the serious attention of the Committee. Fourteen scholarships of Rs. 8 each per month have been allotted for training students in the Tata's Silk Farm at Bangalore. The students are all drawn from the ryot population, possessing lands of their own and have been selected by the District Committees. The Committee is also considering the question of opening Silk Demonstration Farms in large silk centres in charge of men trained for the work. There are also at present, a dozen students who are undergoing training in horticulture in the Lal-Bagh, Bangalore, and are given a scholarship of Rs. 12 each per mensem by the Committee. Steps are being taken to institute an enquiry into the subject of the indebtedness of the Mysore ryot and his general economic condition, and to popularize the co-operative movement among the agricultural classes.

109. The Committee is issuing from time to time leaflets and pamphlets in English and Kannada on subjects relating to agriculture, sericulture, co-operative movement, etc., and has so far issued eighteen bulletins and leaflets. It has decided to place a sum of Rs. 2,500 at the disposal of Mr. Chatterton and Dr. Smeeth who have undertaken to make experiments on well-boring operations in the State. The Committee has also been assisting the District Committees and District Associations on a small scale to carry on experiments and demonstrations of improved agricultural implements.

**The Education  
Committee.**

110. Passing on to the work of the Education Committee, first-hand information was collected from both within and outside the State in regard to the accommodation, equipment, staff and curricula of Elementary Schools and Training Schools. Information was also collected regarding the successful working of the boarding establishments attached to the Poona and Ahmedabad Training Colleges for women. Notes on the various subjects assigned to the Committee were prepared by the Chairman, the Secretary and some of the members. A Bill for the introduction of Compulsory Education and a draft Grant-in-aid Code were also prepared. The subjects assigned for investigation were discussed at several meetings and final recommendations were submitted to the Conference for consideration. For the improvement and

extension of Primary Education, the Committee suggested the desirability of increasing the supply of trained teachers and the opening in the course of five years of one thousand new elementary schools. For the encouragement of female education, the appointment of an Inspectress of Schools, Model Middle Schools for girls with boarding establishments under the exclusive control of women teachers and Home Education Classes were suggested. For the spread of education among the backward classes, a central boarding school for pupils above the Third standard and a certain number of scholarships for pupils in the primary classes were suggested. In regard to the introduction of Compulsory Education, the Committee recommended the passing of a Regulation on the lines indicated in the Bill prepared by the Committee, and in the matter of the establishment of a local University for Mysore, the Committee recommended, as a preliminary step, the improvement of College Hostels and Libraries, the provision of Honours Courses, and the grant of Diplomas. In respect of such of these matters as were approved and submitted by the Conference, the Government have since passed orders generally approving of the proposals. A special grant of two lakhs of rupees has been provided in the current year's budget for the expansion of primary education, of which one lakh is for opening new schools and improving existing ones, and one lakh for school buildings. In addition, a provision of Rs. 5,000 for new schools and Rs. 50,000 for buildings have been included in the Village School Fund Budget. The Inspector-General has been asked to elaborate and submit detailed working proposals for the opening of additional Normal Schools, the improvement of education among the backward classes, the issue of diplomas in the two Colleges of the State, the improvement of the hostels and libraries attached to the Colleges and other kindred matters.

111. Lastly, with regard to the Industries and Commerce Committee, the Committee considered a large number of subjects referred to it by the Conference and the following industries are receiving attention. *viz.*, the improvement of silk and silk goods, tanning, hand-weaving, sandalwood-carving, lacquer-ware and manufacture of toys, and the manufacture of tiles. The most promising of these from the point of view of production of wealth in the State is the silk industry, the export of silk and silk goods in favourable years being valued at over a crore of rupees. On the recommendation of the Committee

**The Industries and  
Commerce Committee.**

supported by the Conference, Government sanctioned the purchase of shares of the maximum value of Rs. 60,000 in the Mysore Tannery Limited, with a view to encourage leather industry. Eight bulletins on various industrial and commercial subjects were issued under the auspices of the Committee. One of the first steps which the Committee considered necessary for the promotion of industries and commerce was the provision of suitable facility for financing local enterprise. With this view, the Committee recommended the starting of a State-Aided Bank, which was unanimously endorsed by the Conference. The matter is now under the consideration of Government.

**Conclusion**

112. Having thus conducted you over the varied fields of administrative activity in the State and drawn your attention to the more important measures which are ripe for your consideration or for the executive action of Government, I will conclude by expressing my satisfaction at the felicitous circumstances in which we meet here to-day: The rainfall has been copious and our irrigation reservoirs are full, with the result that the standing crops are thriving and promise an abundant harvest. We have indeed cause to be thankful to a bountiful Providence. I will now close my Address and ask you to proceed to a discussion of its various points of interest as well as of other subjects, which you may wish to bring forward under our rules of debate.

T. ANANDA ROW,  
*Dewan of Mysore.*

**STATEMENT A.**  
**BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1912-1913.**

HEADS OF RECEIPTS	Accounts, 1910-1911.	Revised Estimate, 1911-1912.	Budget Estimate, 1912-1913.	HEADS OF EXPENDITURE	Accounts, 1910-1911.	Revised Estimate, 1911-1912.	Budget Estimate, 1912-1913.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<b>A—Principal Heads of Revenue—</b>				<b>A—Direct Demands on the Revenue—</b>			
I Land Revenue ...	1,06,78,688	1,06,54,000	1,01,50,000	1 Refunds and Drawbacks ...	2,11,321	3,17,000	2,42,000
II Forest ...	20,95,466	22,10,000	18,63,000	Charges in respect of Collection, <i>etc.</i> —			
III Excise ...	41,99,249	42,85,000	42,00,000	2 Land Revenue ...	19,48,980	19,04,000	19,30,000
IV Assessed Taxes ...	2,86,455	2,77,000	2,85,000	3 Forest ...	6,92,975	7,00,000	7,14,000
V Sayer Customs ...	..	..	..	4 Excise ...	3,36,803	3,33,000	3,42,000
VI Salt ...	9,236	..	..	6 Sayer Customs ...	..	..	..
VII Stamps ...	8,25,652	9,15,000	8,15,000	8 Stamps ...	38,293	33,000	60,000
VIII Registration ...	1,62,580	1,85,000	1,60,000	9 Registration ...	82,955	83,000	85,000
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>1,82,57,326</b>	<b>1,85,26,000</b>	<b>1,74,73,000</b>	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>83,11,327</b>	<b>83,70,000</b>	<b>83,73,000</b>
<b>AA—Mining Revenue—</b>				<b>AA—10. Charges against Mining Revenue ...</b>	<b>2,14,920</b>	<b>2,08,000</b>	<b>2,31,000</b>
IX Mining Royalty and Leases ...	18,13,858	19,18,000	17,56,000	<b>B—Interest—</b>			
<b>B—Interest—</b>				11. Interest on Ordinary Debt ...	71,494	66,000	85,000
X Interest ...	1,50,909	1,15,000	3,57,000	12 Interest on other Obligations ...	3,08,377	2,98,000	3,06,000
XI Profit or Loss ...	6,47,905	4,41,000	11,50,000	13. Profit or Loss ...	6,528	3,000	3,000
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>7,98,814</b>	<b>5,56,000</b>	<b>15,07,000</b>	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>3,86,399</b>	<b>3,67,000</b>	<b>3,94,000</b>
<b>D—Receipts by Civil Departments—</b>				<b>C—14 Palace</b> ...	<b>23,40,000</b>	<b>23,22,000</b>	<b>23,40,000</b>
XIIA Law and Justice—Courts of Law ...	44,112	47,000	44,000	<b>D—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments—</b>			
XIIB Law and Justice—Jails ...	24,694	20,000	21,000	15 General Administration ...	7,86,102	6,50,000	9,06,000
XIII Police ...	24,837	21,000	22,000	16A Law and Justice—Courts of Law ...	7,53,063	7,72,000	7,77,000
XIV Education ...	1,32,610	1,46,000	1,33,000	16B. Law and Justice—Jails ...	1,17,738	1,11,000	1,51,000
XV Medical ...	1,17,284	1,17,000	1,23,000	17. Police ...	9,44,326	9,49,000	9,52,000
XVI Scientific and other Minor Departments ...	59,238	86,000	72,000	18 Education ...	10,53,098	10,61,000	14,47,000
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>4,02,775</b>	<b>4,37,000</b>	<b>4,15,300</b>	19 Muzrai or Religious and Charitable Institutions ...	3,55,007	3,46,000	3,60,000
<b>E—Miscellaneous—</b>				20. Medical ...	7,20,515	6,92,000	8,38,000
XVII Receipts in aid of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions ...	2,725	6,000	2,000	21. Scientific and other Minor Departments ...	2,91,914	3,38,000	3,72,000
XVIII Stationery and Printing ...	17,235	8,000	9,000	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>50,21,783</b>	<b>49,19,000</b>	<b>58,03,000</b>
XIX Miscellaneous ...	2,08,107	1,83,000	1,49,000	<b>F—Miscellaneous Civil Charges—</b>			
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>2,28,067</b>	<b>1,97,000</b>	<b>1,60,000</b>	23. Allowances and Assignments under Treaties and Engagements ...	35,81,321	84,000	85,000
<b>G—XX Army</b> ...	<b>70,114</b>	<b>62,000</b>	<b>51,000</b>	24. Superannuation Allowances and Pensions ...	7,11,382	7,20,000	7,35,000
XXA Military Works ...	..	11,000	10,000	25 Stationery and Printing ...	2,23,344	2,20,000	2,04,000
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>70,114</b>	<b>73,000</b>	<b>61,000</b>	26 Miscellaneous ...	4,73,280	7,41,000	2,22,000
<b>H—Railways—</b>				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>49,89,327</b>	<b>17,65,000</b>	<b>12,46,000</b>
XXI State Railways—Revenue Account ...	10,58,807	13,00,000	11,41,000	<b>G—Army and Defence—</b>			
XXII Public Works ...	4,44,375	3,09,000	3,24,000	27 Army ...	13,31,614	13,80,000	14,21,000
<b>I—XXIII Cauvery Power Scheme</b> ...	<b>15,99,179</b>	<b>16,64,000</b>	<b>16,20,000</b>	27A Subsidy to British Government ...	(a)	35,00,000	35,00,000
<b>Total Revenue and Receipts</b> ...	<b>2,46,73,315</b>	<b>2,49,80,000</b>	<b>2,44,60,000</b>	27B. Military Works ...	(b)	59,000	53,000
Deficit ...	..	..	33,46,000	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>13,31,614</b>	<b>49,39,000</b>	<b>49,74,000</b>
<b>Grand Total</b> ...	<b>2,46,73,315</b>	<b>2,49,80,000</b>	<b>2,78,06,000</b>	<b>F—Famine Relief and Insurance—</b>			
				28 Famine Relief ...	— 2,895	— 3,000	
				29 Reduction or Avoidance of Debt ...	3,33,333	3,33,000	3,33,000
				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>3,30,438</b>	<b>3,30,000</b>	<b>3,33,000</b>
				<b>H—Railways—Revenue Accounts—</b>			
				30. State Railways—Interest on Debt ...	7,17,280	7,20,000	7,20,000
				30A Miscellaneous Railway Expenditure ...	..	9,000	22,000
				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>7,17,280</b>	<b>7,29,000</b>	<b>7,42,000</b>
				<b>J—Irrigation—</b>			
				31. Major works ...	2,96,458	10,07,000	25,82,000
				32. Minor works ...	1,40,402	2,12,000	2,03,000
				<b>K—Public Works—</b>			
				33. Civil works ...	20,54,605	23,38,000	21,62,000
				Military works ...	29,813	*	*
				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>25,21,278</b>	<b>35,57,000</b>	<b>49,47,000</b>
				<b>KK—34 Construction of Railways</b>			
				34A Bangalore Electric Tramways ...	4,44,027	2,00,000	13,25,000
				<b>L—Cauvery Power Scheme—</b>			
				35 Revenue Account ...	6,29,505	6,74,000	7,12,000
				36. Capital Account ...	32,860	70,000	6,86,000
				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>6,62,365</b>	<b>7,44,000</b>	<b>13,98,000</b>
				<b>Total Expenditure</b> ...	<b>2,22,70,758</b>	<b>2,35,50,000</b>	<b>2,78,06,000</b>
				Surplus ...	<b>24,02,557</b>	<b>14,80,000</b>	..
				<b>Grand Total</b> ...	<b>2,46,73,315</b>	<b>2,41,80,000</b>	<b>2,78,06,000</b>

\* See under "G—Army and Defence 27 B Military Works"  
(a) See under "23 Allowance and Assignments etc"  
(b) See under "K Public Works"

## STATEMENT B.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities as they stood on 1st July 1912,  
as per preliminary accounts of 1911-12.

(In thousands of rupees.)

	1910-11	1911-12	Difference
<b>ASSETS.</b>			
Cash Balance in Treasuries ....	1,06,24	1,16,95	+ 10,71
Surplus Investment Account....	1,66,68	1,97,73	+ 31,05
Loans and Advances ...	35,43	33,16	- 2,27
Other items, such as Departmental Balances, Objection Book Advances, House-building Advances, etc.	10,07	9,35	- 72
Total ....	3,18,42	3,57,19	+ 38,77
<b>LIABILITIES.</b>			
Savings Bank Deposits ...	67,34	72,61	+ 5,27
Mysore Railway Loan of 1882 ....	38	38	...
Four per cent Mysore State Loan of 1906-07.	20,00	20,00	...
State Life Insurance Fund ....	21,94	24,24	+ 2,30
Local and other Funds ..	28,50	29,51	+ 1,01
Deposits including Charitable Endowments.	15,98	16,76	+ 78
Cauvery Power Scheme Depreciation Fund.	19,47	19,83	+ 36
Other items, such as Remittances, etc. ...	2,52	7,30	+ 4,78
Total ....	1,76,13	1,90,63	+ 14,50
Government Balance ..	1,42,29	1,66,56	+ 24,27
Grand Total ....	3,18,42	3,57,19	+ 38,77

**ADDRESS**  
OF  
**THE DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE**  
TO THE  
**SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY.**

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**FIFTEENTH SESSION—1094.**  
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MONDAY, 17<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1919.

*Gentlemen,*

**PRELIMINARY.**

Under command of His Highness the Maha Raja, it is my pleasing duty to welcome you to the Fifteenth Session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly. Copies of the Administration Report for 1093 M. E. will, as usual, be placed in your hands, from which you will learn in detail how the administration of the State was conducted during the year.

**2. Personnel.**—Since the last Session of the Assembly, there have been some important changes in the higher ranks of the public service, and foremost among them, I should mention the retirement of Mr. A. H. Bastow, Chief Engineer and of Mr. A. J. Vieyra, Chief Secretary to Government. For the past few years, the health of Mr. Bastow was not of the best ; but undeterred by any considerations on that account, he stood at his post of duty and served the State as Chief Engineer for a period of thirteen years with an ability, integrity and devotion to duty, which always elicited the warm appreciation of Government. Mr. Vieyra retired after a long and meritorious service of more than 37 years. His vast experience, unswerving loyalty and facile penmanship were valuable assets, and the State has lost in him a ripe, ready and reliable officer. Mr. S. Ramaswami Sastri, District and Sessions Judge, has also retired after a long career of public usefulness. The death of Professor A. R. Rajaraja Varma in June last has cast a shadow over the service.

The late professor was one of the most distinguished orientalist of modern times. His numerous works in Sanskrit and Malayalam bear the unmistakable stamp of genius, and his unexpected loss to the local Arts College, of which he was one of the most shining ornaments, is irreparable. Death has also snatched away from our midst Mr. K. Paramu Pillai, the popular Professor of English in the College.

**3. The War.**—The great war of liberation has been fought and won. The day-dream of the despot has been dispelled for ever, and Germany lies prostrate to-day at the feet of her victors, crushed with the weight of her own countless sins. The cause of justice, humanity and righteousness has completely triumphed and the world is once more free by the indisputable dominance of right over might. Great Britain, the stalwart champion of order and progress in every age, has emerged out of this struggle even a greater Britain than before and the event is full of moral lessons to the student of history.

**4. War effort.**—In regard to the contribution of men and money for the war, I may be permitted to say that Travancore has not failed to make its humble response to the call of duty. At the very commencement of the war, His Highness the Maha Raja placed all the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and at a later stage when the tension of the conflict became severe, exhorted his subjects in a soul-stirring message to help the cause of the Empire to the utmost limit of their capacity. His Highness himself led the way by contributing liberally to the war loans and the war funds. His noble precepts and example naturally had their salutary effect and it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge that the people of Travancore have cheerfully come forward to bear their share of the burden. Their contributions for war purposes and investments in war bonds have not in any degree been disproportionate to their resources. In the matter of recruitment to the Indian Army, the results attained have been in every way satisfactory. Several concessions were granted to intending recruits, and during the eleven months from January to November 1918, when alone recruiting operations were carried on in the State through the Darbar's agency, a contribution of 1,596 combatant and 1,422 non-combatant recruits was made to His Majesty's Forces. The men of the Nayar Brigade who joined the 73rd Infantry, Trichinopoly, acquitted themselves honourably and the officer commanding the regiment has expressed himself highly satisfied with their work. Two of the Division Peishkars have been awarded certificates by his Excellency the Viceroy for meritorious work done in connection with the first war loan propaganda.

**5. Economic distress and relief measures.**—Along with the rest of India, Travancore is passing through a great economic crisis at the present time. As you are aware, the State is not self-sufficient in the matter of its food supply. The absence of adequate facilities for the import of paddy and rice from outside the State, the abnormal rise in the prices of all necessaries of life, and the difficulties experienced in the sale of indigenous commercial products have pressed with heaviness on the people. The gravity of the situation was to a great extent anticipated by Government as early as last June, and Mr. C. B. Cunningham, Commissioner of Police, was appointed as the Director of Civil Supplies for Travancore, with well-defined duties, including the prevention of cornering and profiteering on the part of traders and the promotion of public safety and convenience, as far as possible, by the

supply of all articles of everyday use. The efforts of the Government to cope with the crisis are already familiar to you through the Chief Secretary's press communiques and Mr. Cunningham's circulars on the subject, issued from time to time, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to advert to them in detail in this address. A few salient facts, however, appear to me to be worthy of mention. Owing to the shortage of waggon accommodation, merchants were not able to import the requisite quantity of paddy and rice into the State through the railway and the food situation thus assumed a serious aspect at one time. Government therefore prohibited the export of paddy, rice and tapioca as a temporary measure, with a view to conserve all available food products in the country. They also made arrangements for the purchase, transport and sale of paddy and rice from Burma at an advance expenditure of nine lakhs, with a view to replenish the gradually diminishing stock of food supply. The first consignment of 81,000 bags of paddy under the above arrangement arrived at Alleppey recently and was immediately sold and distributed. Further consignments are expected to arrive in the near future. To alleviate distress in the meantime, emergent relief sales of rice to the poor were organised at several centres, the sales being conducted out of public subscriptions. Government have agreed to recoup 25 per cent. of the losses incurred, subject to a maximum of Rs. 2½ per bag of rice sold, and in some cases to make payments at the rate of Rs. 2½ per bag. In the conduct of these sales the Central and Subsidiary Advisory Committees formed at the instance of Mr. Cunningham in the different centres have been rendering valuable assistance, and their patriotic and philanthropic work in this respect deserves the highest praise. Almost all the Town Improvement Committees in the State have also been endeavouring their best to relieve the situation by carrying on retail sales in necessaries. With a view to protect the public interests, Government have also controlled the supply of kerosine oil and salt throughout the State and issued a set of rules prescribing the conditions for the sale of kerosine oil. As the punja cultivation of 1094 was seriously threatened by the shortage of kerosine oil required for the oil engines used in pumping out water from the fields, Government undertook the task of purchasing, storing and selling the oil to the field-owners concerned, an advance of Rs. 2,74,609 being sanctioned for the purpose, and a special officer with the necessary establishment being appointed to be in charge of the storage and sale of the oil. Lastly, the export of cotton yarn has also been prohibited by Government. A census of the available cotton yarn in the State taken by Mr. Cunningham disclosed the fact that there is ample stock of the kind of yarn required for the manufacture of the cloths commonly in demand in the country. These and other measures have gone a long way towards easing the tension. Nevertheless, there is still cause for anxiety and I earnestly hope that, when the Kumbham harvests are over, normal conditions in the matter of food supply will have been restored. In this connection, I wish to state that the unremitting exertions of the Director of Civil Supplies in alleviating the distress among the people and affording them relief are beyond all praise, and the sincere thanks of the Government are due to Mr. Cunningham.

### FINANCE.

6. **Revenue and expenditure.**—The revenue and receipts of the State rose from Rs. 1,63,43,576 in 1092 to Rs. 1,65,89,541 in 1093 and the ordinary expenditure from Rs. 1,53,24,370 to Rs. 1,61,55,926, resulting in a surplus of



Rs. 4,33,615. Including the capital expenditure on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, amounting to Rs. 8,70,116, the total expenditure of the year was Rs. 1,70,26,042, giving a net deficit of Rs. 4,36,501. The revenue for the year was the highest on record, showing an increase of Rs. 6,75,841 over the amount budgeted for. The receipts under "Forest", "Salt" and "Customs" reached higher figures than those in any previous year, the slight decrease under "Stamps" and "Registration" being attributable to the dislocation of business activities as a result of the economic strain to which reference has already been made. The expenditure for 1093 was also the highest on record, with the solitary exception of the abnormal year of 1090. The expenditure on "Education" has been particularly noteworthy during recent years, the amount rising from Rs. 9,55,951 in 1087 to Rs. 22,21,674 in 1093, the highest figure ever reached.

**7. Cash balance.**—The assets of the Government at the end of 1093 amounted to Rs. 1,34,36,438 and the liabilities to Rs. 94,89,578, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 39,46,860. As I explained in my address last year, there need be no apprehension on account of the reduction of the closing balance from Rs. 77,91,725 in 1088 to about a moiety of that amount in the course of the last quinquennium, in view of the fact that a sum of Rs. 49,86,819 has been spent during the interval on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, and that if this amount were added to the balance, the transactions would leave a closing balance of Rs. 89,33,679, or Rs. 11,41,954 in excess of that for 1088. If the ordinary expenditure of the State alone is taken into account, the transactions of the past three years have resulted in surpluses, the comparatively small surplus of Rs. 4,33,615 in 1093 being due to the fact that extraordinary expenditure to the extent of about eight lakhs had to be incurred during that year. The budget of 1094 provides for a revenue of Rs. 1,63,65,200 and an expenditure of Rs. 1,59,57,300. The estimate of capital expenditure not charged to revenue is only Rs. 77,400, as very little further outlay remains to be incurred on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum.

**8. Accounts.**—Mr. F. D. Gordon, Accountant General, Burma, the loan of whose services was obtained for examining the system of accounts in force in the State, submitted his report on the expiry of his term. Some of the important suggestions made by him have been already adopted, the chief of which is the introduction of a scheme of Divisional Treasuries. Under this scheme, there are five Divisional Treasuries, each at the headquarters of the Peishkar or Commissioner in charge of the respective Revenue Division. The treasuries are under the administrative control of these officers and the Divisional Treasury Officers are responsible to them for the proper working of the treasuries.

### MAIN HEADS OF REVENUE.

**9. Land.**—Definite instructions were issued to enforce the periodical inspection and maintenance of State boundary marks by the superior officers of the Land Revenue, Survey and Forest Departments. In view of the vagueness of the existing orders on the subject of granting permission to file civil suits in respect of kandukrishi lands, Government issued revised instructions on the subject, under which the rights of pattadars and alienees have been clearly defined. Government also sanctioned the imposition of an irrigation cess of Rs. 3½ per acre, which is one-half of the gravitational rate, on all dry lands converted into wet and irrigated by water.

baled from the Kodayar Channels, in view of the difficulties and the cost involved in lift irrigation. The question of water distribution within the area commanded by the Kodayar Channels has again been taken up for consideration and Government have directed the Dewan Peishkar, Padmanabhapuram, to hold a conference of the leading ryots of Nanjanad and Edanad and formulate proposals in view to the formation of irrigation boards. Reference was made in my last address to some of the steps taken for the assignment of lands to members of depressed classes for habitation and cultivation. In regard to the area of 500 acres in the Vilappil pakuthi, Neyyattinkara taluk, ordered to be assigned in the names of Pulayas who are members of the Sadhujana Paripalana Sangham, it was found on enquiry that a large portion of it was in the occupation of members of other classes, and such portion was accordingly directed to be registered in the names of the respective occupants. The remaining area has been ordered to be registered in favour of the members of the Sadhujana Paripalana Sangham, and the Senior Dewan Peishkar, Trivandrum, has been asked to report whether unoccupied lands could not be found in the Neyyattinkara or Nedumangad taluk for assignment to the members of the Sangham to make up the balance. The Deputy Tahsildar, Neyyattinkara, has been ordered to carry out the work of registry expeditiously. A similar measure of relief has been afforded to the Kanikars, who are the most important among the hill tribes of Travancore. Sanction has been accorded to lands outside the reserved forests being registered in their names free of tharavila and all arrears of tax.

**10. Survey.**—The resurvey of the Nedumangad taluk was completed and the final records were supplied to the Revenue Department. The area brought under resurvey was 217·8 square miles and the total cost Rs. 1,47,407, giving an average of Rs. 677 per square mile. A new survey school was opened at Kottayam in addition to the central survey school at Trivandrum.

**11. Forests.**—The total area of reserved forests at the end of 1093 was 2,383 square miles and 117 acres, and of reserved lands 77 square miles and 50 acres. In view to the expeditious disposal of the large volume of forest settlement work still remaining to be done, Government have appointed a Special Forest Settlement Peishkar for one year with effect from the 10th Chingam 1094. Including a simple working scheme for one of the circles, regular working plans have till now been sanctioned for an area of 673 square miles and 210 acres. An additional area of 388 acres was newly planted with teak and the existing plantations covering an area of 4,103 acres were properly maintained. The policy of restricting the exploitation of royal timber from the reserved forests was persisted in. The balance stock at the sale depôts was brought to a minimum. The tentative measure originally sanctioned and subsequently extended for the abolition of export duty on timber, firewood and charcoal, was further extended for another period of five years. The gross revenue rose from Rs. 14,75,347 in 1092 to Rs. 15,15,293 in 1093 and the net revenue from Rs. 6,25,609 to Rs. 8,64,955. The large increase in the net revenue was mainly due to the extension of the system of coupe-sales in the Northern and Shencottah Divisions. This system, I may say, is not the unmixed evil that it is often represented to be. Under adequate safeguards and subject to the proper supervision of the purchaser's operations, it is an easy and effective source of revenue. The net revenue of the Department in 1087 was only Rs. 2,83,383 and it is a matter for congratulation that it has more than trebled itself during the last six years. Government take this opportunity of recording their appreciation of the good work done by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Conservator of Forests.

**12. Salt.**—The area actually worked as salt pans rose from 301 to 355 acres. Prompt steps are being taken to bring the balance of the available area also under cultivation. The production of home salt fell, owing to untimely rains, from 4,83,843 maunds to 3,74,983 maunds. I note with pleasure that the consumption in 1093 increased by 44,928 maunds, the average consumption per head of population rising from 24·3 lbs. to 26·1 lbs.

**13. Excise.**—The consumption of country liquor fell from 1,05,793 proof gallons to 95,122 proof gallons, giving an average of 1·3 drams per head of population. The number of licenses issued for tapping cocoanut and palmyra trees for toddy, also showed an appreciable decline, while the quantity of foreign liquor imported into the State fell by 7,488 gallons or as much as 37·9 per cent. The sale prices of opium and ganja were increased.

### PROTECTION.

**14. Legislation.**—Two Regulations were passed by the Legislative Council during 1093, *viz.*, Regulation I of 1093 to amend the Press Regulation and Regulation II of 1093 to amend the Cattle Trespass Regulation. Two Regulations were also passed direct by His Highness the Maha Raja, *viz.*, Regulation III of 1093 to amend the Travancore Land Customs Regulation and Regulation IV of 1093 to amend the Travancore Sea Customs Regulation. Since the close of the year, five more Regulations have been passed, of which the most important are Regulation I of 1094 to amend the law relating to ports and port charges, Regulation III of 1094 *re* Chitties in Travancore, and Regulation IV of 1094 to amend the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure. A Bill to prevent juvenile smoking has been directed to be introduced into the Council. The final report of the Ezhava Law Committee has been received since the close of 1093 and it will be taken up for consideration after the expiry of the period fixed for the communities affected to make their representations.

**15. Vacancy in the Council.**—A vacancy will soon arise in the Council, consequent on the expiry of the term of Mr. K. Paramesvaran Pillai, who had been returned by the Members of the Quilon Division. His Highness the Maha Raja has been pleased to command that the Members of that Division now meet under the presidency of the Division Peishkar, Quilon, and elect a representative. The name of the representative elected by them will be duly submitted to His Highness the Maha Raja for consideration.

**16. Reform of the Council.**—The question of amending the Legislative Council Regulation, V of 1073, with a view to increase the scope and usefulness of the Council has been under the consideration of Government for some time. It is now more than twenty-one years since the existing enactment on the subject was passed, and the comparatively high level of educational progress attained in the country during the interval warrants the introduction of a substantial instalment of reform, calculated to satisfy the growing desire of the people to share in the work of administration in a larger measure than hitherto. An amending Bill, enlarging the Council and conferring enhanced powers on the non-official members, is now under consideration.

**17. Police.**—The total number of cognizable cases taken up by the Police, including arrears, which had fallen from 3,631 to 3,483 in 1092, fell further to 3,376 in 1093. The reduction in crime during the latter year, though insignificant, is a matter for gratification in a period of economic strain. The relations between the Police and the Magistracy were harmonious. Complaints of abuse of power by Police officers showed an appreciable decline, and a general tendency towards co-operation between the Police and the public, which is an unmistakable indication of improvement in Police efficiency, was in evidence. The provisions of the Hackney Carriage Regulation, VI of 1089, which was already in force in Trivandrum, were extended to the towns of Quilon and Alleppey. Six probationary Sub-Inspectors were additionally entertained in the Department. Since the close of 1093, the pay of the constabulary has been revised, so as to secure accelerated promotion, and an additional grade of constables on Rs. 10 has also been sanctioned.

**18. Central Prison.**—The health of the prisoners in the Central Prison has been the best on record since 1086. The percentage of sick to strength fell from 1·4 to 1·07 and the daily average of sick from 8·9 to 5·9. There were only 12 deaths. The use of pure milk from the dairy farm opened during the year partly accounts for the improvement attained in this direction. The committee appointed for the revision of the Jail Rules have submitted their recommendations, closely following the latest rules on the subject in force in the Madras Presidency and introducing only such changes as local conditions require. The revised rules have been passed by Government with certain modifications and will be soon published. The appointment of non-official visitors has been provided for in the new rules.

**19. Civil Courts.**—The number of original civil suits instituted during 1093 was 72,485, showing a slight decrease of 1,163 as compared with that of the previous year. This reduction, however, is perhaps temporary. The steady rise in the volume of original litigation since 1084, when it numbered only 47,800 suits, is a matter of grave concern. The Munsiffs, as a rule, have not been able to cope with the increased burden, and the arrears, which numbered only 18,732 suits in 1090, have risen to 23,938 suits or by 27·8 per cent. The question as to how best the Village Panchayat Courts could be made to afford relief to the Munsiffs has been referred to the High Court.

## PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

**20. Agriculture.**—Copies of the report of the Director of Agriculture for 1093 will, as usual, be placed in your hands, from which you will obtain detailed information regarding the working of the Agricultural Department during the year. From the analysis of the soils of Travancore conducted by the Department so far, it is seen that they are deficient in phosphoric acid and that it is therefore necessary to apply phosphatic manures to them. One of the most useful items of work in which the Department is engaged is the preparation and supply of manures to ryots at a cheap rate. With a view to meet the increasing demand on this account, four branch manure depots were opened in South Travancore in 1093, under the management of commission agents. The scheme has since been extended to other parts of South Travancore, and will, if successful, be further extended to the remaining parts of the State, so as to enable the Department to divest itself of the work of direct sale.

altogether. The supreme importance of the application of suitable manures to all kinds of soils, both wet and dry, in Travancore, can never be overestimated. The question of cultivating better varieties of paddy has also been engaging the attention of the Department, and during 1093, four seed unions were formed for the distribution of improved paddy seeds. The possibility of making punja cultivation near Alleppey annual, instead of biennial as at present, is stated to have been successfully demonstrated. There are not less than 20,000 acres of punja lands which are now cultivated only in alternate years and it would be a great advantage if even a portion of this area could be made to yield an annual crop. The efforts of the Department in this direction will be watched with interest. The paramount necessity of extending the cultivation of edible food crops needs no advocacy, and I earnestly hope that the activities of the Department will be specially directed towards this end.

**21. Agricultural statistics.**—The importance of having full and accurate statistics in agricultural matters is self-evident. In July 1918, Mr. Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics to the Government of India, paid a visit to Trivandrum and a conference was held with him for the discussion of questions relating to the statistics of tea and other agricultural products. Since the close of 1093, a further conference of the Peishkars, the Commissioner, Devicolam, and the Director of Agriculture has been held, as a result of which it was decided that detailed statistics should be collected in respect of paddy, cocoanut, tapioca, sugar-cane and rubber. The Land Revenue Department has been entrusted with the duty of collecting these statistics. The periodical compilation of accurate statistics would secure to Government valuable data for gauging the agricultural condition of the country from time to time, and the need for the closest scrutiny in seeing that the data collected correspond to actual facts has been brought home to the Department. A separate Statistical Section has also been opened in the General and Revenue Secretariat for the collection and compilation of statistics relating to agriculture and other matters of administrative importance.

**22. Sericulture.**—The Manager of the Trivandrum Silk Farm, who had been deputed to Pusa, Berhampur and Srinagar, to study the latest methods of sericulture, returned and submitted a report on the best means of developing the industry in Travancore. A scheme for the improvement of sericulture in the State has been sanctioned with effect from the beginning of 1094, under which the work in the silk farm at Trivandrum will be mainly experimental, while that in the farms at Tiruvalla and Nedumangad, the latter of which has been newly opened, will be directed towards the extension of the cultivation of mulberry and the popularisation of the latest methods of silkworm rearing in the villages. The staff of the sericultural branch of the Department has been substantially strengthened.

**23. Veterinary.**—The number of veterinary institutions rose from six to eleven, five new dispensaries being opened at Kuzhittura, Attungal, Tiruvalla, Alleppey and Minachil. An additional Veterinary Sub-Inspector has been appointed to carry on inoculation work among animals which are generally subject to the attack of contagious diseases.

**24. Fisheries.**—Two fish-breeding farms were opened at Quilon and a fish-oil factory and a fish-curing yard at Alleppey. The machinery for the factory has been fitted up. The fish-curing yard at Muttam was transferred from the Excise to

the Fisheries Department. The night-school opened at Vaikam for the general and industrial education of the children of the Vala community is making rapid progress.

**25. Industries.**—The industrial problem is the problem of the hour. The war has provided the country with a great opportunity and it would be to its advantage to seize this opportunity with alacrity. Government have realised that the earnest demand for economic progress in Travancore, along with the rest of India, deserves sympathetic encouragement and active co-operation, and accordingly they deputed Dr. Barker in 1092 to conduct an industrial survey of the State, as a preliminary measure. Dr. Barker has now completed the survey and submitted the results of his investigations. He visited every taluk, except Devicolam, and has collected detailed industrial data in respect of each pakuthi. Every industry has been studied under different view-points and the facts embodied in two reports, one a detailed talukwar report showing the educational, economic and industrial features of each place, and the other a report of each industry taken separately. These reports contain much valuable information and are now being printed in the Government Press. Dr. Barker considers that the industries which may be immediately brought into existence in Travancore are shellac, tapioca, coir, palmyra, sugar, matches, soap, pencils, weaving and dyeing, brushes, and mat and basket weaving, and suggests that three or four industries may be selected from among the above and attention concentrated on them for the time being. The whole question is engaging the attention of Government and orders will be passed in due course on the proposals of Dr. Barker. In the meantime, with a view to ensure continuance of work, Government have created a Department of Industries for Travancore and appointed Dr. Barker as Acting Director of Industries with effect from the 1st Makaram 1094. The duties of the Director of Industries are to advise Government on all industrial and technical matters, to control the industries already started, to investigate the possibilities of new industries and organise them wherever practicable, to start small industries for purposes of demonstration, to investigate the raw materials available in the forests of the State for industrial purposes, to revive suitable cottage industries, to enlighten the people in regard to industrial matters by lectures, bulletins, etc., and to generally help in the industrial progress of the State. An important programme of work has been thus outlined for the Director and I feel confident that he will devote his best efforts to the industrial advancement of the country and that the people will render him their hearty co-operation and support. Seventeen bulletins on different subjects have been already published by him. The student deputed to undergo training in shellac manufacture returned and he was directed to conduct an investigation on the possibilities of this industry in Travancore. He has now completed the preliminary investigation. A scheme for the introduction of bee-culture as a cottage industry has been started at Nedumangad and a bee-expert appointed to popularise the industry among the people. At the instance of Dr. Barker, free training was secured for a Travancorean in pencil manufacture, for another in button manufacture and for two others in bees-wax manufacture. The present economic distress has brought into strong relief the need for the development of ship-building in Travancore and substantial concessions have been afforded to intending ship-builders in respect of timber and land.

**26. Co-operative Societies.**—The total number of Co-operative Societies at the end of 1093 was 45, of which 33 were agricultural and the rest non-agricultural.

Though there was demand for the formation of new Societies, it was not considered desirable to increase their number without due regard to the condition of their resources. Excluding the members of the Central Bank, the number of members in these Societies rose from 2,005 to 2,796. With a view to avoid the danger of allowing Credit Societies to assume unmanageable size, action was taken to prescribe a limit for membership in some of the Primary Societies till they were able to establish good business reputation. The paid up capital of the Societies rose from Bh. Rs. 24,710 to Bh. Rs. 30,574 and the promoters of the Societies are reported to have been willing to supply funds out of the resources at their disposal. Government are glad to note that the encouragement of small loans, the enforcement of punctuality in repayments and the readiness on the part of the members to a strict adherence to the provisions of the bye-laws were the prominent characteristics of non-agricultural Societies during the year. Unfortunately, the work turned out by the Trivandrum Central Co-operative Bank alone was far from satisfactory and the Registrar has been asked to look into the condition of that Bank closely. The first co-operative conference was held at Mavelikara in Medam 1093, at which important questions affecting the co-operative movement were discussed and resolutions passed.

**27. Public Works.**—The total expenditure on public works amounted to Rs. 26,31,267. The cost of maintenance of roads has been steadily growing from year to year, owing to the rapidly increasing wheeled traffic in the country and the gradual rise in the cost of materials and labour. Large sums are also being spent on improvements to roads. There has been a steady improvement in the lighting of canals and backwaters and no complaints are now received in regard to the shallowness of navigable canals. In view of the increased demand on Kodayar water to balance the inequalities of the incidence of rainfall, it has become necessary to extend the storage capacity of the reservoir and an investigation is in progress to this end.

**28. Railway.**—Since the close of February 1918, two trains have been running between Quilon and Trivandrum every day. The financial prospects of the new line are encouraging. The working of the Travancore Branch of the South Indian Railway from Tinnevely to Trivandrum for the first half of 1918-1919 ending with the 30th September 1918, has not only covered the entire interest charges on the original line up to Quilon, but has also left a balance of Bh. Rs. 96,726, to pay up the interest charges of the State on the extension to Trivandrum, which amount to Bh. Rs. 98,636 at 4 per cent. on the Capital. An estimate was sanctioned for providing third class passenger accommodation at all the intermediate stations between Quilon and Trivandrum. The extension of the line to the pier at Valiatura is under the consideration of Government and the final location survey of the extension is already completed. A new station under the designation of Bhagavatipuram was opened at Puliya in the Shencottah taluk on the Shencottah-Quilon line and the provision of a goods siding for the loading and unloading of fuel at this station is under consideration.

**29. Anchal.**—The existing Anchal Rules have been thoroughly revised and a new set of rules issued under Regulation IX of 1089.

## PUBLIC HEALTH.

**30. Sanitary Department.**—The Sanitary Circles, reconstituted in 1089, have been further revised since the close of 1093, with a view to ensure efficiency in the verification of vaccination. The death-rate during 1093 showed a regrettable rise from 14·1 to 15·7 per mille of population, and cholera and smallpox raged virulently in several parts of the State, causing the mortality of 1,129 and 1,514 persons respectively. The mortality from fevers also showed an increase from 4·18 to 4·96 per mille. Smallpox and influenza have not yet altogether disappeared, while the prevalence of cholera even now gives room for anxiety. Government are doing everything in their power to combat this dire disease. The supply of free medicines, the deputation of special medical officers and the opening of medical institutions during all hours of the day have been arranged and it is for the people to take adequate advantage of the help thus afforded.

**31. Municipal Government.**—Since the close of 1093, the rate-payers of the towns of Colachel, Attungal, Mavelikara, Changanachery and Vaikam have been granted the privilege of electing four out of the seven non-official members of the respective Committees, so that at present all the 19 Town Improvement Committees in the State have a majority of their non-official members elected by the people. Non-official Presidents have been newly appointed for the Committees of Nagercoil and Mavelikara and a non-official Vice-President for the Committee of Kuzhittura. The system of compulsory vaccination has been extended to the towns of Kuzhittura, Vaikam, Parur and Tiruvalla. A set of rules has been passed for the regular inspection, by the Sanitary Commissioner, of the work of Town Improvement Committees in respect of matters relating to sanitation, vaccination and vital statistics. The new Municipal Bill, conferring considerably enhanced powers on Municipal Councils, has been considered in detail by the Legislative Council and is now awaiting final reading. When that enactment is placed on the statute book, ample opportunities will present themselves to the Municipalities to augment their resources and improve the moral and material condition of the people in the different towns. The question of the formation of Local Boards for the benefit of rural areas is also under the consideration of Government.

**32. Medical Department.**—Steps have been taken for the opening of new dispensaries at Taikattuseri and Cape Comorin, and a weekly branch dispensary has been opened at Santanpara in the High Range under the management of the Udumbanshola Medical Officer. The Fort Dispensary at Trivandrum has been raised to a hospital.

**33. Department of Ayurveda.**—The Department of Ayurveda has been thoroughly reorganised. The main features of the reorganisation are the revision of the curricula of studies in the Ayurveda Patasala on an up to date and scientific basis to suit modern requirements, the opening of a botanical garden for the cultivation of medicinal plants, and the establishment of an Ayurvedic Pharmacy and an Ayurvedic Hospital and Dispensary at Trivandrum. The Dispensary has been doing very useful work from the day of its opening on the 18th Karkadakam 1093, the number of out-patients treated during the first five months of 1094 reaching the high figure of 10,474. Till recently the Pharmacy merely supplied medicines for free distribution at the Dispensary, but arrangements have now been made for the sale of



medicines to those who are willing to purchase them, the prices charged being cheap and intended to cover only the cost of preparation. The benefits of this system are fully appreciated by the public, as will be seen from the fact that during Vrischikam and Dhanu 1094, the first two months when it was in operation, medicines to the value of Rs. 448 were purchased from the Pharmacy.

## EDUCATION.

**34. General Statistics.**—The number of recognised institutions in the State rose from 2,508 in 1092 to 2,828 in 1093 and their strength from 3,48,986 to 3,75,448, showing an increase of 320 schools and 26,462 scholars. On an average, there was one recognised school for every 2·5 square miles and 1,212 inhabitants, against 3·05 and 1,367 respectively in 1092. Private aided schools rose in number and strength from 1,264 and 1,19,280 to 1,394 and 1,35,697, and private unaided schools from 169 and 13,980 to 346 and 24,424 respectively. The non-departmental institutions thus increased in number by 21·4 per cent. and in strength by 20 per cent. As compared with these, the increase in the number of departmental schools from 1,075 to 1,088 was little more than nominal, while their strength showed a slight decline from 2,15,726 to 2,15,327. The increase in the number of private institutions and the steady accession to their strength tend to prove that the policy of the Government towards private agencies working in the field of education is bearing fruit and that popular confidence is growing in respect of those institutions. Of the total population of the State, 10·95 per cent. were attending recognised schools, while, if the strength in unrecognised schools were also taken into account, the corresponding percentage would be 11·9. The percentage of pupils in recognised schools to the population of school-going age, calculated at the usual rate of 15 per cent. of the total population, rose from 67·9 to 72·8, and including the pupils of unrecognised institutions, from 78·3 to 82·4. There was no taluk, except Devicolam with a large floating population, which did not return a ratio of more than 50 per cent., and the figures undoubtedly reflect the highest credit on the Department. The High Range has now been formed into a separate District and the Department proposes to devote special attention to the expansion of education in the Devicolam taluk during the current year.

**35. English Education.**—The strength in His Highness the Maha Raja's College rose from 468 to 561. The Director has been asked to enquire into and report on the question of providing adequate accommodation for the increasing number of students who seek admission into the College. The demand for education in English having become insistent and the people having expressed their willingness to contribute towards the initial as well as the recurring expenditure involved in the opening of higher classes in departmental schools, Form IV was opened in the Kayankulam, Neyattinkara and Kottarakara schools, and Form V in the Shertallay school. Form IV was also opened in the Chavara and Shencottah schools, the latter being liberally endowed by Mr. S Subrahmanya Karayalar, B. A. Higher forms were also opened in some private aided schools. A lower grade English school at Kotamangalam, and another for Mahomedans at Alleppey, were opened departmentally. The number of recognised English schools rose from 86 to 94 and their strength from 22,706 to 24,434. It is seen from the Director's report that, besides these, 18 private schools were conducted with departmental permission, though they were not actually

recognised, and that 8 schools were run without such permission. As these schools, situated in 17 different taluks, are found to supply a real want, the Department has been asked to place them on a satisfactory footing and bring them under recognition, wherever possible. A scheme for the establishment of relief lower grade English schools was considered and decided upon. Government are glad to note the genuine and practical interest taken by the people in the spread of English education.

**36. Vernacular Education.**—The staff of Assistant Inspectors was further strengthened by the appointment of two more officers, the number of inspection districts being thus raised from 20 to 22. The number of vernacular schools rose from 2,373 to 2,668 and their strength from 3,23,725 to 3,47,565. Class IX was opened in the Trivandrum, Quilon, Tiruvalla and Muvattupuzha Malayalam schools and Class VIII in the Kottar Tamil School. The number of schools brought under the system of partial recognition rose from 170 to 394. Rural schools increased in number from 15 to 45 and in strength from 479 to 2,019. Private rural schools were also opened during the year. It is gratifying to note that the system of rural schools is being appreciated by the people. The extension and improvement of school-buildings and the provision of noon-day meal to school children received special attention. The spread of Tamil education in purely Tamil taluks was encouraged.

**37. Female Education.**—The number of recognised institutions for girls increased from 343 to 352 and the number of girls under instruction from 1,01,288 to 1,13,997. The number of girls attending Colleges rose from 58 to 86 and those attending English schools from 3,019 to 3,348. There were 18 women students in the B. A. classes of the local Arts College, against 8 in 1092. An examination in needle work qualifying for the appointment of sewing mistresses was instituted, as also a Music Board for the guidance of the study of music in girls' schools.

**38. Class Education.**—Strenuous efforts were made for bringing under instruction more pupils belonging to the educationally backward communities and especially Malayala Brahmins, Ezhavas, Pulayas, Parayas, Mahomedans and Kuravas. Ample facilities were afforded by Government for the spread of literacy among these classes. The following statistics relating to the progress of education among certain typical classes will furnish interesting reading. The figures cover only recognised institutions.

Caste or Religion.	1085	1089	1092	1093
Malayala Brahmins. ...	796	911	1,246	1,467
Ezhavas ....	24,502	23,895	45,429	51,114
Pulayas ...	2,392	2,017	10,913	17,753
Mahomedans ....	10,200	4,853	9,558	11,106
Parayas ....	1,729	1,097	4,955	6,795

As many as 2,048 schools had children of the depressed classes attending them, of which more than 1,000 schools admitted Pulaya and Paraya pupils for the first time in 1093, without any appreciable opposition from caste Hindus.

The number of Ezhava girls under instruction was 5,267 and as many as 196 schools were open to them. The appointment of a Mahomedan inspecting officer was sanctioned. A Mahomedan Girls' school was opened at Pulankudiyirippu and women teachers were appointed in the Mahomedan Girls' schools at Kottar and Tiruvitamkode. Malayala Brahmin girls were also attending schools in larger numbers. Half-fee concessions under the Code have been extended to Maravas and Kaniyars.

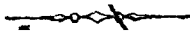
**39. Technical Education.**—The number of recognised technical schools rose from 26 to 41 and their strength from 1,029 to 1,747. 33 of these were aided schools. The industries taught are weaving, embroidery, coir-making, matting, basket-making, rattan work, sugar manufacture, sundry works on ivory, horn, etc., fibre work and carpentry. The experiment initiated in 1092 of providing an industrial side to certain higher grade vernacular schools worked well and there is a growing demand for similar provision in other schools.

**40. Expenditure.**—The gross expenditure on education rose from Rs. 20,65,254 to Rs. 22,21,674, as already stated, showing an increase of 7·5 per cent. The receipts amounted to Rs. 5,65,343 and the net expenditure to Rs. 16,56,331, giving an average of about annas  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per head of population. The net expenditure on English school education was Rs. 60,996, while that on vernacular school education was Rs. 11,63,504. More than 70 per cent. of the net expenditure was thus incurred on primary education.

Trivandrum,  
17th February 1919.

M. KRISHNAN NAIR,  
*Dewan.*

THE FIRST  
Provincial Conference of the Liberals  
OF  
UNITED PROVINCES,  
LUCKNOW.



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
DELIVERED BY  
Munshi Narayan Prasad Ashthana, M.L.C.,  
*Advocate, High Court*  
Allahabad

ON  
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—  
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**BROTHER LIBERALS,—**

I have to thank you sincerely for your kindness in electing me President of the First Provincial Conference of the Liberals of these Provinces. How I wish that your choice had fallen on an abler and more experienced public man to guide your deliberations in these momentous times. Our country is passing through a grave crisis and our Party, therefore, requires guidance and light in no ordinary degree. I must at once admit that I am not fit to give you such light and guidance. Now, however, that your choice has been made, I, as an humble worker in the field, have but to obey your command and serve you in the capacity in which it has pleased you to call me. I hope that you will be indulgent to my shortcomings and, while appreciating the difficult position I am in, will not expect from me anything extraordinary.

The Liberals of Lucknow are to be congratulated on the happy idea of holding a Provincial Conference at this juncture. Not only are there important questions of Imperial politics pending solution, but several provincial matters are on the *tapis* which call for your serious attention and anxious consideration. It is necessary that the opinion of our Party and of those who think with us should be focussed and the right lead be given to the Province in all such matters. I hope that this Conference by its resolutions will help in the formation of sound public opinion. By voicing forth the real grievances of the people and suggesting appropriate remedies, the Conference will be truly co-operating with the Government.

That there is a ferment in the country nobody can deny. That the prevailing discontent is due more to economic causes than to political, and that it has consequently prepared a congenial soil for sowing the seeds of wild thoughts and prepared the minds for receiving strange doctrines are also propositions which would be readily admitted. Had it not been for the acute distress caused by the rise in prices, by the dearness of food-grains and cloth, the two prime necessities of life, we would not have heard of agrarian riots amongst us. The average ryot requires no more than cheap grain and cheap cloth, and if these necessities are within his means and within his reach, he cares but little for political doctrines and systems of government. It follows, therefore, that the first duty of a government, which wishes to keep its people in a state of peace and contentment, is to help them in securing these two things. We know that the Great War has left as its legacy a great upheaval among the labouring classes and high prices. We also know that our Government has tried its utmost, in spite of urgent and pressing demands of other countries, consistently with its position as an integral part of the Empire, to keep down the prices and to ameliorate the condition of the people. But it appears to me that we have been moving in a vicious circle. Prices have risen and, therefore, wages have risen, and because the wages have risen, the prices are rising still higher. It is the duty of the Government to break this vicious circle, and to promote national economy by conserving the resources of the country. The Punjab tragedy, the Khilafat question and the position of Indians abroad are other

questions which have been feeding the smouldering fire. So long as the self-respect of India is not vindicated by appropriate punishments to all offenders against humanity in the Punjab disturbances, so long as the Indians settled in South Africa, Fiji, Uganda, and other colonies of the British Empire are not treated on an equal footing with the Europeans, and so long as the Turkish question is not decided in accordance with the sentiments of right-thinking Mahomedans in this country, the present feeling of discontent of which they have been the immediate causes will not disappear. This is the material upon which the doctrine of

### Non-Co-operation

feeds To combat it successfully one has to eradicate the root causes. Far be it from me to say that it is the natural consequence of such discontent or that it is the remedy for its removal. In my opinion this non-cooperation movement is an exotic plant. Indians have by tradition been a peaceful people, always co-operating with their Government in maintaining order and in developing peaceful arts and associations. In the history of India at no time do we find a whole people non-cooperating with their Government or resorting to passive resistance to achieve a particular object. As a remedy for removal of grievances non-cooperation is always fraught with dangers. Now-a-days we hear so much of non-violent non-cooperation, but wherever this remedy has been adopted there has been violence. I need not prove this to you, for do you not find that violence is being used everyday, in the name of the apostle of the doctrine? But let us closely analyze what the term implies in the vocabulary of those responsible for it. It means giving up all connection with the Government. This is physically impossible. A man living under a certain Government has to deal with it whether he wills it or not. The first programme was to boycott the Government and Government-aided schools and colleges, the courts and the Councils. Has it succeeded? What percentage of students has left the schools, and what percentage of lawyers and litigants has given up the courts? I would be delighted to know what percentage of seats in the Councils has remained vacant? But it is not the failure of the items of non-cooperation by which the movement should be judged. Its sinister significance lies in the disrespect for all constituted authority which it breeds and the spirit of lawlessness which it creates. Have not many of the recent riots been due to the preaching of non-co-operation among the illiterate and easily excitable masses. I do not know what the preachers of this valuable doctrine will gain by it. One day they may find that their own authority is being challenged. Let us picture to ourselves what sort of India the leader of the movement will have for us. Imagine India without machinery, railways, telegraphs and electricity; without any duly constituted Government; without universities or schools fitted with modern appliances; without medical practitioners or medical schools; each man revolving his own *Charkha* and tilling his own land and hardly finding time for intellectual culture; in fine, a country where *کسے، اہلکسے کارے نہ باشد*. If you are enamoured of such an India, you will be justified in following non-cooperation. But if on the other hand you think that your country desires better destiny, that it has to play a proud part in the civilized world, that it has to contribute to the sum-total of human knowledge, that it is to remain free from foreign aggressions, then it is your duty to condemn the movement in no uncertain terms.

I wonder that the advocates of the movement do not realize their inconsistency when they preach non-violence in one breath and speak of "rivers of blood" in another breath. No body can quarrel with some of the ideals laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, but the radical difference lies in the adoption of means for reaching the end. Take for example, the prevention of alcoholic drinks. While the non-cooperator will proceed by picketing, using violence to those who go to buy liquor, and asking the Government to refund the license fees paid by the shop-keepers, the sane reformer will proceed by creating public opinion against the liquor traffic by pointing out its injurious effects. He will try to secure prohibition through the Legislature. How did America become dry? Was it by non-cooperation with the Government? The methods make all the difference. The one is dangerous, subversive of society and creates lawlessness, the other is constitutional and peaceful. We as Liberals have to play our own part in this connection. We have to strengthen our Party and to combat all those crude ideas which are being instilled into the minds of the illiterate and the literate. By propaganda and by example we have to show that the path of progress does not lie in taking a plunge into the unknown but by proceeding steadfastly along the well-known path of constitutional agitation. It is our duty to prevent the spirit of racial hatred from spreading far and wide, to see that disorder and lawlessness do not take root among the masses, and to so regulate the agitation that ordered and continual progress may be the result. With this end in view, I will earnestly ask all Liberals to close their ranks and to do organized work in the best interests of their country. I will also ask those who are responsible for the government of the country to so conduct themselves as to disarm criticism by meeting all just demands and helping the people towards the attainment of full responsible government as quickly as possible.

The Liberals have hailed the reforms and to the best of their ability are working them to make them a success. But I am not divulging any secret when I say that they are not quite satisfied with the halting measure that has been put into force, and the distrust of Indian capacity and talents which has been shown. With the enlargement of Provincial Councils and the disappearance of the official block, both the Executive Councillors and the Ministers have to persuade the Council to vote grants and to pass legislation. Why then this unmeaning distinction of "reserved" and "transferred" subjects? The Governor's veto extends to both. While an Indian as an Executive Councillor is fit to manage the police, land revenue or judicial departments, he as Minister is not capable of managing them! I think complete provincial autonomy cannot be withheld long from Indians. An element of responsibility should also be introduced in the Central Government.

#### Public Services.

This brings me to the question of recruitment and control of Public Services. With provincial autonomy should come the control of services by the Provincial Governments. There should be no all-India services, except for Imperial departments, *e.g.*, the Posts and Telegraphs, the Railways, the Accounts, etc. All other services should be Provincial and the Provincial Governments should be competent to recruit them. Is it not an anomaly that even in transferred subjects, the permanent incumbents belong to all-India services, recruited by the

Secretary of State, appointed by him and liable to dismissal by him? What is the use of transferring a subject to popular control if the Ministers have no power of appointing and dismissing the servants who are charged with carrying out their policy? He who pays the piper must command the tune. If the Councils are to vote for the salaries of such servants, it by the money thus voted the service is to be maintained, it stands to reason that the service should be controlled by the Minister in charge and it should be recruited in such a manner as the Legislature prescribes. It is a matter of regret that with the first instalment of responsible government, a corresponding control over services has not been delegated. Again, there is no reason why the recruitment for any service should be in England rather than in India. All competitive examinations should be held in this country and this country alone and the competition should be open to Englishmen as well as to Indians. The services are Indian, and India is the place to recruit them.

There is another aspect of the question, *viz.*, financial. It is a well-known fact that the Imperial services in India are the costliest in the world. In no country are such high salaries paid for corresponding work. This is due mainly to the employment of overseas agency in the administration. If the services were to be Indianized and the scale of salaries fixed according to the Indian standard, a very large amount of money would be set free for beneficial projects. So long as a large percentage of Indian revenues is absorbed in maintaining the costly services, the money needed for effecting improvements in Education, Sanitation, Medical Relief and Industries will not be available. While we have been complaining of the existing costly system, news comes to us that there are proposals for a further increase in the salaries. I hope and trust that you will raise a strong voice of protest against any further burden being placed on the revenues of India. The theory that you must pay according to the quality of men employed is a right one, but the defect lies in its application. What is presumed without proof, and one cannot help thinking in the interests of Europeans, is that a European is more efficient than an Indian. How and in what manner this conclusion of superiority in efficiency has been arrived at and what occasions have been afforded to our countrymen to prove their merit in comparison, at least I do not know. Given sufficient opportunities, I make bold to say that an Indian will prove himself as efficient and worthy of trust as a European. I will, therefore, appeal to the Indian Government and to all the Legislatures in the country to raise an emphatic protest against any further increase of and to press for reduction in the expenses of civil administration and as far as practicable for the employment of more and more Indians in the higher services.

#### Military Policy.

While the cost of civil administration has been rising at an alarming pace the military expenditure has nearly doubled itself during the last five years and it stands today at about 67 crores of rupees. In a country so poor in resources and whose capacity to bear additional taxation has reached its limit, the swallowing up of such a huge portion of its revenues by the military is simply shocking. It is time that the pruning knife were applied and the expenditure on military administration reduced. Here again the question of substituting Indian for European agency comes in, and in my opinion appreciable economy can be effected in this way. But the first barrier to be broken is that of



distrust of Indians. That Indians are not trusted by the Imperial Government for employment in the military is evident from their unwillingness to grant them King's Commissions. Indians should be afforded ample facilities for military training, military colleges should be established in India and training similar to that at Sandhurst should be imparted. All talk of responsible government is worthless till Indians are not trained in the art of defending their own country. How long can a Government last, however good its constitution, which has not the support of a people well versed in the art of defence? If a people have always to depend upon outside help to defend their country, they will never develop responsibility or self-respect. It is from the consciousness of power, of ability to protect itself from all attacks, that a feeling of security and self-sufficiency grows which leads on a nation on the path of progress. On the contrary, people who cannot or are not fit to defend themselves, feel always helpless. Truly speaking, Indians will remain the depressed class of the world till such time that they are not fit to defend their frontiers without any outside help. A strong and contented India—fit to fight common enemies and trained to take part in international affairs—will be a great source of strength and will constitute an important factor in the consolidation of the Empire. It does not benefit the powerful British nation to follow such a niggardly policy and to neglect military training among Indians. Let us hope that the committee on military affairs which concluded its labours at Simla recently has made liberal recommendations and that the policy which has been hitherto followed will undergo a material change.

#### **Press and Repressive Laws.**

The Government of India have recently given proof of their desire to move with popular opinion. They appointed two committees, one for considering the laws relating to the Press, and the other to consider other repressive laws. The report of the former is out and it is very satisfactory. The latter is still sitting and it is expected that its recommendations will also be of a liberal nature. If these recommendations are accepted and acted upon by the Government, and the laws complained of are repealed, a great step forward would have been taken. Along with these stands the question of repealing all such laws, rules, and regulations which create or tend to create racial inequality. His Excellency the Viceroy is taking interest in the matter and we hope the day is not far-off when all such provisions which disfigure our statute-book will disappear. But mere change in the law will not obliterate racial inequality. It is change in the spirit and not in law which will effect the object. No amount of lecturing or circularizing will do. If and when every Englishman in the country begins to think that he is an equal citizen of the British Empire with Indians, when these equal rights for Indians are recognized and respected in British colonies and outside, when the idea of superiority and of belonging to the ruling race has been discarded, when equal justice is imparted in all cases, then and then only a feeling of true comradeship will arise and mutual confidence will take the place of distrust. Incidents like the Khoreal shooting case and cases of deliberate insult to Indians by young Englishmen are productive of more racial hatred than preachings of non-cooperation, and the remedy lies with the Englishmen themselves. Now that the note of warning has been sounded by His Excellency the Viceroy whose motto is Justice and Equality, I hope Englishmen

and Indians both will co-operate in creating a feeling of mutual sympathy and good-will, forgetting the past and living in the hope of the future.

### Provincial Matters.

Turning now to provincial matters, we find that there is a good deal of legislation on important subjects before the Local Council. Bills for the reform of the Allahabad University, for improvement in the system of Local Self-Government, and for amending the Tenancy Law of Oudh are before the Legislative Council, while an Act has already been passed for the creation of a Board of Intermediate and High School Education. The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission are the basis of the educational measures. The creation of a Board of Intermediate and High School Education is a measure in the right direction. It came out during the discussion on the Bill that the Intermediate examination will be the qualifying test for Government service and for entrance into professional colleges and probably also for law examinations. If this is to be so, great importance should be attached to this examination and a representative Board like the one contemplated by the Act should control it. It also came out in the discussion in the Council that there is a school of thought which does not like to experiment in educational methods and would prefer to go on with the present system. But after all has been said, the fact is incontrovertible that the existing system has not proved satisfactory and there is much room for improvement both in the method of education and in the way of supervision. No alternative constructive proposal was put forth and it is a matter for congratulation that the Council passed the measure practically with unanimity. It is all the more gratifying that the Board has been empowered to prescribe courses of study from classes V to VIII.

### University Legislation.

The benefits of a residential University are too well-known to be dilated upon here. In India, where the oldest system of education was purely residential, it would be futile to argue that the system has not much to recommend itself. It is said that the Universities so established will be a costly affair. But in my opinion it is not necessarily so and much depends upon the salaries given to the professors and the lecturers and generally the manner in which the funds are spent. But, even admitting that the institutions would cost more, any expenditure on better and sounder education and on a system which forms the character of our young men should not be grudged. This, however, does not relieve us of our duty to see that all possible economy is effected and that the University is modelled on democratic lines. Of late there have been several University Acts, the Dacca and Muslim University Acts, and the Lucknow University Act in our own Province. The Allahabad University Bill being the latest, endeavours should be made to make it more democratic than its predecessors. Provisions relating to the powers of the Chancellor should be softened down and only essential administrative powers should be retained in his hands. It should be insisted that the post of Vice-Chancellor should be elective and honorary. More members of the Court and academic Council should be elected, while the constitution of the Executive Council should be based on more liberal lines. If the Bill emerges from the Council with amendments as suggested above, there is no reason to

doubt that it would prove a blessing to the community at large in these Provinces and a temple of learning will have been erected which will benefit the generations to come.

### Tenancy Legislation.

The attitude of Liberals towards legislation concerning tenancy should be one of strict impartiality. The legitimate rights and privileges of the landholders should be respected, but they should also be reminded of their duties and obligations. The rights of the tenants should be secured and they should be made immune from improper, illegal and excessive exactions, while some sort of security should be given to their tenure. The Oudh Rent Act of 1886 called for radical amendments and the matter was represented both on the platform and in the Council, but the recent riots in Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad districts have brought the question to a head. The Bill which has been introduced in the local Council is the result. I think this Conference will have to say much about it and I will, therefore, content myself by drawing your attention only to the general provisions instead of going into details. On a cursory reading of the Bill it appears to me to be a halting measure—a sort of compromise between conflicting interests. It inclines more towards the landlords than towards the tenants. The tenure of tenants has not been well secured and occupancy rights have not been granted, while a curious species of tenants, *viz.*, undesirable tenants, has been invented for the edification of the zamindars. This provision is simply indefensible and I can only hope that the Council will not allow the measure to be passed with this octopus in the tenants' rights. What a wide field for litigation, for perjury and hard swearing will this open! How many an unholy alliance between the zamindar and the police will be formed to eject a poor tenant! I cannot use stronger language than saying that the clause is highly mischievous and should be deleted. I expect that public opinion will assert itself and the rights of Oudh tenants will be placed on a more secure and just basis than provided for in this Bill.

I am glad to find that the District Boards in the Provinces are going to be given a constitution by the Local Self-Government Bill. The measure is fairly liberal and under the able guidance of our popular Minister for Local Self-Government I hope it will soon become law.

### Provincial Services.

The question of the Provincial Executive Service is receiving the sympathetic consideration of our Government and it is expected that a system of competitive examination for its recruitment will soon be instituted. The demand for this reform has been keen and the Government would be acting wisely in acceding to it. The system of nomination, although it places a good deal of patronage at the disposal of Government officials, is no doubt demoralizing and I think many officials feel it so. In seeking nomination, candidates from their very youth learn to seek favour by indirect methods and lose the spirit of independence. This habit sticks to them throughout their official career and you can well imagine the pernicious effect it exercises in the discharge of judicial and executive duties.

As to judicial services, direct appointments from the bar are overdue, but it is a matter for regret that the two posts now announced to be filled from the bar have been taken away from the Provincial Judicial Service.

However, it is a large question and I have already dealt with the All-India Services already.

Another important reform which has been waiting all these years is the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions. It is a matter for congratulation that the principle has been admitted by the local Government and a committee has been appointed to work out the details. The task is no doubt a difficult and arduous one, but let us hope that the committee will evolve a scheme which without throwing additional burden on the resources of this province will effect a complete separation of the two functions. It is useless to discuss the advantages of the separation of the two functions, as the matter has been before the country for the last thirty years and specially when the principle has been admitted to be sound and correct. Thanks are due to His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler for the courageous step he has taken in recognizing the justice of the claim.

#### General Situation.

Coming to the present general situation in our Province, I say, and you will agree with me, that we are fortunate in having a statesman with sympathy and imagination as our present Governor. If our Province has enjoyed peace and contentment during the last three years, if it has not witnessed those scenes of anarchy and violence which were enacted in some Provinces, and if progress in all matters concerning popular well-being has gone on without any hitch, it is solely due to the wise and sympathetic administration of the present Governor. It is in these Provinces that the Reform Scheme is being worked out in its true spirit. It is here that our Governor has made a choice of Ministers which has been hailed throughout India. From what I have seen and heard of the way in which the administration is being carried on, I make bold to say that our province will prove that the Reform Scheme has been a real boon and not an empty talk as in certain quarters it has been represented to be. The selection of two such staunch Liberals with a glorious record of service to the country as Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narain has enhanced the reputation of His Excellency for placing right men in the right place. During the last seven months that our Ministers have been in office, we find that the administration of the transferred subjects has been vigorous and in more instances than one the departments have been reorganized and placed on a more popular and utilitarian basis. Let us hope the vigour with which we have begun will continue, in spite of opposition and detraction, and that when the time comes for the statutory commission to examine the working of our Council and Ministry, we will be able to show a brilliant record of work and that complete provincial autonomy will be granted to us as the next instalment.

I do not for one moment pretend to say that it has been all a bed of roses for the Government. It has had to deal with very difficult situations at times and one can very well realize the anxious moments our Governor and his advisers had to spend in meeting the results of the non-cooperation movement. We Liberals have not failed to condemn it as highly injurious and our organs have been at pains to keep the popular opinion fully informed of the dire consequences to which it is likely to lead. No one deplores more than ourselves the unfortunate riots in the Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad districts and the recent acts of violence perpetrated at Aligarh,

accompanied by loss of life and property as they were. We must deplore and condemn all excesses whether committed by the people or other persons. We must range ourselves on the side of order and peace and co-operate with the Government in preventing anarchical tendencies from spreading far and wide. Presumably it is with this object that Aman Sabhas have been started and propaganda work has been begun. It is pertinently asked what should be the attitude of the Liberals towards the Aman Sabhas. It is said that these Sabhas have been brought into existence through official agency and, therefore, have not the value and worth of spontaneous bodies, and that, therefore, they will not serve the purpose intended. The criticism may be right to a certain extent, but they need not be condemned merely on these grounds if their object is the inculcation of constitutional principles of action and the explanation of the scope and value of the reforms. In my opinion, the attitude of the Liberals should be one of help and co-operation in spreading sound political ideas and placing right ideals before the people.

I cannot, however, pass over in this connection certain action which has been taken by our zealous officials in interfering with the administration of justice. For example, the transfer of a magistrate from Aligarh because he acquitted an alleged offender, cannot be justified on any ground. There are people who think that all that is happening in the name of maintaining law and order is not quite justified. Only the other day a leading article appeared in the *Leader* headed "Limits of Repression". I agree with the general purport of the article. I am glad that the Seditious Meetings Act has been withdrawn from the four districts of Oudh. I hope and trust that the Government will consider the situation calmly and by adopting a more conciliatory policy bring round to its side all waverers.

#### Financial Contribution.

The contribution, which this Province makes towards the Imperial revenues is very heavy and it is unjust to claim from these Provinces what should properly be spent on its own people. That our late Lieutenant-Governor Lord Meston has fixed the amount is no justification for its continuance. The question must be discussed and decided on its own merits. If the Government of India want to be just in the matter, there is no doubt that the contribution will have to be re-adjusted soon.

Brother Liberals, I have now done. It remains for me to say a few more words about our Party. We as a party are said to have been absorbed in the reformed Government. We are called sycophants, having no principles, simply supporting the Government in all its doings. It is said that we are obstructing the path to Swaraj. Pictures showing this are sold in the open market. We are being daily abused and called names as sellers of the interests of our mother country. Brothers, it is the fate which all persons of sane views who take a long-sighted view of things have to share when people are in an excited frame of mind. As soon as the atmosphere cools down, the general public will begin to have a clear outlook and then they will see who were their friends and who misled them into wrong paths. In spite of all abuses and attacks, we should go on working to the best of our lights. If we believe and have faith in constitutional agitation, if we think that the path of non-cooperation is detrimental to the cause of the country, if we are convinced that the

progress of the nation lies in combating non-cooperation and subversive doctrines, if it is our settled plan that we shall win by co-operation, then it is our bounden duty to see that our Party is well organized and its individual members act in the right way. The reproach that we have been absorbed by the Government and thus have been made subservient to the bureaucracy is simply malicious. No Liberal by accepting a portfolio in the Government has sacrificed his principles or lost his independence. He would not have been true to his faith in the Reforms and he would have certainly shirked his duty, if when the call came he had been found wanting in accepting responsibility. People do not realize what amount of influence for good such people wield when they accept office and what potent factors they make in moulding the policy. It is they who make a breach in the citadel of bureaucracy from within. It is they who break the time-honoured idols of bureaucracy and introduce new ideas. Can anybody suggest or cite any example when a Liberal by accepting office has succumbed to the influence of, instead of exerting his own influence upon, the bureaucracy? The Liberals of the United Provinces should feel proud that three of their shining lights have taken upon themselves to serve their country by accepting portfolios and placing their time and energy at the disposal of their countrymen. Few people know how arduous is the task and what amount of labour does the work entail. It is surely not monetary gain, but a burning desire to be useful to their country which has led them to accept office. Can anybody say from their past record that they have ever been office-hunters? I, therefore, say that the libel is malicious and any attempt to belittle their worth or their work should be surely deprecated. What have the Liberals as a party done to deserve the censure? They seceded from the Congress, because they thought the latter was going the wrong way, and have not the events proved their prognostications to be correct? Has not the Congress marched downwards and ridden roughshod over all the fine traditions built by such statesmen as Dadabhoj Naoroji and Gokhale? Has not the Congress in recent years broken from its moorings and strayed into unknown and dangerous waters? Have not Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Annie Besant and other leaders who stuck to it found that there were rocks ahead? Have they not found that the crew was unruly and has lost its way in a stormy sea? The Liberals raised a voice of warning from the very beginning and have all along cried hoarse on the calamitous journey. This is the only fault they have committed and for this they are tabooed as traitors to the nation! Some of us might feel disheartened and disappointed. Some may think it is no use serving such people. But I may tell them that history will judge them and when the annals of the present generation come to be recorded, the part they have played will be written in letters of gold. At present the satisfaction which one feels by doing his duty should be our reward. Let not your labours be slackened. Let not despondency overtake you. Let not calumny deter you. Go on with your mission, and unmindful of the hope of official approval on the one hand and the fear of popular disfavour on the other, work on in the words of the poet :

“ Let us then be up and doing  
 With a heart for any fate,  
 Still pursuing, still achieving,  
 ... Learn to labour and to wait.”

**A Bill Further to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898,  
and the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888 (Bill No. VII of 1920).**

**SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY.**

Gentlemen,—I rise to propose the first reading of a bill to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898, and the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888. It is, I know, unusual though it is not unprecedented for the Governor of the Presidency to move the first reading of a bill put forward by his Government. But I am doing so because I desire to take this opportunity of personally explaining, not in close detail but in broad outline, the main purport of the policy that takes its beginnings from the measure here laid before you. The amendments are in themselves modest ones and give to the casual observer little indication of the reforms to which they are the necessary prelude, but in fact they represent the first links in a chain of measures, legislative and administrative, which have been receiving the anxious consideration of my Government for the last eighteen months and which are calculated in our opinion to effect a vast and radical improvement in the conditions of life in our great city. I do not think I need insist upon the crying need for this. For years past the need has been realized, for years past some attempts have been made, but, as it seems to me, the problem has never been tackled on sufficiently bold and courageous lines, nor has it been adequately recognized that whilst small improvements were taking place all the time the city was growing far faster than the amelioration, or that actual standards of life were increasing almost as rapidly as the numerical increase of its inhabitants. It is a sufficient proof of the horror of the conditions that two-thirds of the people of this city live in insanitary and airless one room tenements, and that more than 50 per cent. of the children born in this city die before they reach the age of eighteen months. For all that makes home life pleasant—light, air, space and cleanliness, it is indeed a city of dearth,—for the children it is a city of death. Our proposals, then, are intended to make a radical improvement of these conditions to ensure that every possible advantage should be taken of such facilities as nature has bestowed on the place for increasing the area available for building sites within its borders and to arrange, as far as skill and science can provide, that its development shall proceed on the best possible lines. The whole question is too large a one to deal with in one speech, and I cannot to-day attempt to deal with it in all its details. I am keenly anxious to secure the whole-hearted co-operation of the public, and in order to gain this, steps will be taken in the immediate future to place before the public in the fullest and most simple form, the details of the various projects which Government propose to carry out: for the moment, therefore, I propose to confine myself closely to the measure before this Council.

Its main objects are, firstly, to secure funds with which to carry out the scheme for the provision of improved dwellings for the working classes and, secondly, to secure funds for the assistance of the Bombay municipality. The latter are necessary not only to raise the general standard of municipal efficiency but also to enable the municipality to discharge their municipal duties in respect of the new areas that they will have to administer and make large provision for. To these two objects may be added a third, of comparatively minor importance, namely, the amendment of section 32G (1) of the Improvement Trust Act of 1898, so as to allow the payments made under the Poorer Classes Accommodation Scheme to be spread over a period of 50 years instead of 28. The problem of improving the housing conditions for labouring classes has been so continually before this Government and the public during the last twenty years that it will hardly be necessary for me to refer in any detail to its history. Briefly, however, it begins with the passing of the Bombay Improvement Trust Act, 21 years ago. Its object was partly to open up and improve lines of communication to the large vacant areas in the north of the island, and also—and chiefly so—to provide housing for the poorer classes of the people. For various reasons, the merits of which I will not here discuss, the latter policy was not fully carried out, and subsequently in 1913, the act was amended so as to enable employers of labour to utilize the credit of the trust and obtain on easy terms advances for the construction of residences for their employees. The provisions of this law were actually settled in consultation with the representatives of the millowners themselves. It is a matter of some regret that with the exception of one or two cases these facilities have not been taken advantage of.

As regards the areas in the north of the island, a great deal of valuable work has already been done. The eastern avenue is nearing completion and the land which is thereby made available is being rapidly taken up to the great advantage of the city. Furthermore; relief is afforded by the migration of middle class people from the congested

areas to the north of the island and will certainly help to relieve the central congestion and indirectly increase the amount of housing accommodation for the lower classes. As against this, however, the rapid increase of the population, the industrial prosperity attracting to the city ever increasing quantities of labour makes it certain that even with the additional accommodation so far provided, the supply of houses in the central and southern parts of the island is still very much below the demand for them. But the creation of the Improvement Trust and the policy I have just outlined was further followed by the renewed careful consideration of the whole housing question by the Bombay Development Committee, which met under the presidency of Sir Claude Hill in 1913. Various recommendations were made then by this committee, and amongst them the principle was enunciated that it was the duty of the employer of labour to provide accommodation for a part of his operatives. To give effect to this principle, they recommended that the owners of mills should be compelled by law to take advantage of the facilities provided by section 32G (1) of the Improvement Trust Act; in other words, they should be compelled to take advantage of the loans offered by the trust and construct adequate accommodation for their employees, and that the other large employers of labour, the railway companies, should construct accommodation for their workers outside the island, at the same time making arrangements to convey them daily to and from their work.

The question was further considered by the Indian Industrial Commission, which visited Bombay in 1916 and devoted considerable attention to the subject. In their report they discussed in detail the recommendations of the Development Committee and considered that there was no precedent for the application of the principle of individual compulsion. Their view was that to force the millowners to erect houses for their employees would be to subject them to a heavy financial handicap. The burden so imposed would fall unevenly on different mills according to their financial position and the cost for which the land was available in each case. Furthermore, they held that it would be unjust to compel millowners to build houses for workmen unless the workmen were bound to occupy them. Finally it would be unfair to compel millowners to contribute in this way and exempt employers of other classes of labour from the obligation. For these reasons, as I say, they condemned the proposal of the Development Committee to apply the principle of compulsion to millowners. In its stead, while emphasizing the cardinal importance of improving the conditions of life, and of laying down a definite standard of industrial dwellings, and working out a regular building programme, they insisted that the cost must be shared by local bodies, namely, the municipality and the Improvement Trust, assisted, if necessary, by the local Government. They concluded by saying:—

“ If the existing resources of these bodies, together with such assistance as Government may be able to spare, are not sufficient for this purpose, then further taxation should be imposed in such a way as to fall mainly on the employers whose co-operation may most suitably be obtained in this form.”

Action on these suggestions and those of the Bombay Development Committee was necessarily suspended by the war. But when the war came to an end, and this Government found it possible to formulate a definite line of action, it was found that owing to the increase of population which had taken place during the four years of war, and the recent rise in the prices of materials, which proved an impediment to the extensive construction of the dwellings for lower classes, the conditions were even worse than they were in 1913. The following figures will illustrate this remark.

In July 1919 the Municipal Commissioner reported that out of a population then estimated roughly at 12,00,000, nearly 8,92,000 resided in one room tenements. That taking four persons per tenement, the number of tenements required was 223,000, whereas the number of tenements existing was only 174,000; that there were further 15,000 tenements which, either because they were unfit for human habitation, or were structures of a purely temporary nature, ought to be replaced. The total shortage, therefore, was 64,000 tenements.

These figures showed clearly the serious shortage in the housing accommodation available for the working classes, and pointed to the necessity of a scheme of a really bold and comprehensive character, in order to effect the removal of an evil which was not only becoming a menace to the general industrial and financial prosperity of the city, but which had already become a serious danger to the health of the citizens of Bombay. Active enquiries were then set on foot as to the best method to effect a remedy. It was first proposed to apply the principle to which effect has been given on a large scale in England, and to arrange for large Government loans to be placed at the disposal of the Improvement Trust on easy terms, in order that the Trust should be enabled to undertake the construction of the houses and necessary buildings as well as to make the necessary financial arrangements. Further consideration, however, showed that the provision of housing accommodation for the working classes on this very large scale was never intended to be the duty of the Trust. Nor was the Trust equipped with resources enabling it to under-



take such a great task. Moreover, the Trust had recently undertaken four large schemes of improvement, covering areas which amount to one-ninth of the total areas of the island, in addition to the task of completing the six improvement schemes already on hand, the work of which had been delayed owing to the difficulties arising out of the war. Hence, it was decided that for the purpose of what may be called the direct attack on industrial housing, the Improvement Trust, except in one direction, namely, that of land provision, would not be able to render sufficient assistance. Out of the large areas which they will acquire under their schemes in the north of the island, the Trust hope to be able to provide land for at least 36,000 tenements.

Simultaneously with these enquiries, efforts were made to enlist the co-operation of leading millowners in Bombay in supplying funds for large housing schemes. Some progress was made in this direction, and offers of co-operation and financial support were secured from a large proportion of the millowners of the city of Bombay. But, on further examination, it was found that the possibilities of success for a scheme of this nature were doubtful. The arrangements were necessarily to be made on purely voluntary basis, and it was obvious that there was a risk of friction if not complete collapse, if at a future date any of the then consenting parties withdrew from the scheme. Further, the scheme was open to the objection that it was to apply to the millowners only. In the end, after careful examination, it was decided to abandon it. A further alternative was considered, namely, of erecting accommodation through the agency of the municipality of Bombay. But for reasons which will be amply apparent from the remarks which I shall make hereafter, this also was rejected.

Consequently, as a last resort Government have been driven to the conclusion that there is no alternative to direct Government action. The problem to be faced is the direct construction of additional housing accommodation, sufficient to supply the deficiency reported by the Municipal Commissioner in July 1919. That deficiency, as I have already mentioned, amounted to 64,000 tenements. Of this number, it is believed that 14,000 tenements can be supplied by the conversion and improvement of tenements now considered unfit for human habitation, and also by vacancies due to the migration of members of the middle classes to the new houses which are being built in the northern part of the island. The balance of 50,000 rooms represents a minimum, for which arrangements will have to be made.

For construction of this magnitude, the first requisite is an adequate area of suitable land. This, as I have already mentioned, is available for 36,000 rooms in the areas covered by the Improvement Trust schemes. The balance can, it is believed, be provided by reclamation in certain parts of the island. I will not at this juncture weary the Council with the detailed calculations, or our justification for those calculations. I will confine myself to saying that our rough estimate of the cost of these 50,000 tenements is some Rs. 5,50,00,000. It will, however, be quite clear to any one conversant with the conditions of industrial life in Bombay, that it will be impossible to expect a return from the rent of these buildings, which will meet the expenses incidental to a capital expenditure of this amount, much less the return of a profit. According to our estimate, the annual loss entailed by the scheme will amount to Rs. 13,50,000.

But this is not all the money we shall require. The close and careful consideration of the problems affecting this big city has convinced Government that the mere provision of accommodation on this scale will not be sufficient to effect a real improvement in the conditions of life of the lower classes, which is so eminently desirable. If Bombay is to be improved effectively and rapidly, if the municipal services are to be brought up to a standard which will be a credit to a city which claims to be the second city of the Empire, a very large capital expenditure in the immediate future is necessary. The municipality has recently laid down for itself a programme involving a large expenditure on the improvement of the water supply, which will increase the quantity of the water available for distribution from 50 to 90 million gallons a day. With regard to this particular improvement, it is unlikely that the corporation will require assistance, as the income derived from water will no doubt pay for the expenditure, and the corporation's powers of borrowing in respect of schemes of water supply are not restricted. But even if the question of water supply be left out of consideration, it is still estimated that a capital expenditure, amounting to some Rs. 6,00,00,000 will be necessary, if the wants of the city are to be met properly, and if conditions of life are to be improved with reasonable rapidity; and in particular improvements are required in the drainage and sewage of the island. The existence of large drainage works at Love Grove renders utilization of what might be a large area of excellent building sites impossible. The greater part of the northern half of the island has no system of drainage or sewage, so much so that the disposal of land made available by the recent Improvement Trust scheme is hindered by the lack of drainage facilities for houses to be built on it. A drainage expert of world-wide reputation has, Government understands, recently visited the Bombay municipality, and is now at work on a scheme which will, it is hoped, provide for the removal of the pumping station

at Love Grove to the north-east corner of the island, and effect a radical and lasting improvement in the general scheme of the disposal of sewage.

The hospital accommodation in the city is much below the standard aimed at in large towns. Heavy expenditure will be necessary in the near future on additional hospital accommodation for infectious diseases, for tuberculosis in particular, also for the construction of the King Edward Memorial hospital in the north of the island, and for dispensaries in the more crowded parts of the island. A number of additional markets have to be provided, and those in existence still need improvement. The existing slaughter houses have for years past required modernizing, and the construction of new abattoirs on the latest pattern is, I understand, absolutely necessary. Larger and better accommodation is wanted for primary schools, in view of the unsuitability of many of the existing buildings and the increase of pupils which is expected on the introduction of free and compulsory education. Roads are in need of widening and improvement everywhere.

The cost of effecting improvements in these and other directions is estimated to amount to at least 6 crores of rupees, the interest on which, at whatever rate you calculate it, shows a formidable figure. The principle security for the payment of municipal loans at the present moment is the general tax, the maximum for which is fixed at present at 12 per cent., while the rate actually imposed is 9½ per cent. As regards this, however, the corporation have asked for an amendment of the act, raising the maximum from 12 to 17 per cent. and Government are taking in hand the amendment of the Municipal Act on these lines. It is calculated that each additional 1 per cent. will yield 7.97 lakhs. Even allowing for a very considerable increase in the rate of general tax, it is clear that the municipality is not in a position, at the present moment, to raise the capital which is necessary if Bombay is to be rapidly developed and improved. Assistance in the form of revenue derived by indirect taxation is indispensably necessary.

In the bill which is now placed before you for consideration, Government propose to take power to impose a town duty not exceeding rupee one on every bale of cotton weighing 3½ cwts., which is brought into the city and island of Bombay. This duty, unlike other town duties, is not likely to be refunded when cotton is exported out of Bombay. The average imports of raw cotton by land and sea other than those received from foreign countries during the past 10 years have been approximately 28 lakhs of bales. Of these, approximately 17 lakhs have been exported. Assuming that the annual maximum yield of the duty of one rupee would amount to Rs. 28,00,000, it is proposed to assign to the municipality the amounts levied on cotton consumed within its limits or 2/7ths, and appropriate the remainder, or 4/7ths, partly for the financing of the housing scheme, the details of which have been placed before you, and partly for other development purposes which will be explained hereafter. The collection of the duty like that of other town duties will be entrusted to the municipality of Bombay.

I have dealt so far with schemes of which the object is to improve the housing of the lower classes and increase the efficiency of municipal administration. They are schemes of very great magnitude involving large expenditure, but the Government is convinced that they do not exhaust the possibilities of direct action and that the time has come to take a very much wider view of the position. The history of the growth of Bombay has been that of the amalgamation and development by reclamation from the sea of the Heptanesia or cluster of 7 islands. Until 25 years ago the bulk of the resident population were massed about the southern half of the main island. The past 25 years have seen the gradual extension of the residential area towards the north, a process which will be quickened and facilitated in the near future by the large schemes of the Improvement Trust now in hand. But the creek on the north and the north-east has hitherto constituted a physical and, in some senses, an administrative barrier to the further development of the city. Of the two, the physical barrier perhaps has been of less importance as it has been partly surmounted by the Mahim and Sion causeways, and will be further minimised when the new roads now contemplated are built to Chembur and south Trombay. But the administrative barrier requires more careful consideration. It arises out of the fact that the areas which adjoin the other side of the creek and the harbour are included in the revenue divisions administered by Commissioners whose headquarters are situated as far away as Ahmedabad and Elgaum. My Government has studied this problem very carefully, and has come to the conclusion that rearrangements must be made which will remove such barriers altogether. I will not discuss that reorganization in close detail. But for the control of this reorganization as well as for the elaboration of the schemes tending to the rapid, business-like and orderly expansion of our policy, Government propose to constitute a special department of Government working directly under Government, but hampered by as few red tape rules and as little trammelled by old-fashioned methods as possible. Government has been fortunate enough to secure the services as Director of this department—Development Department as it is proposed to style it—of Sir Lawless Tappin whose reputation as a sound man of business is well known to the Bombay public. It was in my opinion necessary to secure for this post a

man not only experienced in the direction of a large organization but a man with wide knowledge of those traffic problems which, after the initial stages, will become so important a factor in the proper development of this city and its suburbs. In addition to this, if no delay was to be incurred, it seemed to me essential not to obtain the services of a newcomer who was unfamiliar with Bombay, its history, geography and problems, and would take a year or two to become conversant with them, but some one who was already fully equipped with all local knowledge and could give all the wealth of his experience to the solution of our difficulties.

As regards the duties of the Directorate, the most important will be of a financial character. The Right Honourable the Secretary of State has throughout taken a very keen personal interest in our housing proposals, and we have similarly received the co-operation and support of the Government of India on this question. The result is that my Government has obtained permission to raise a loan for the purposes of development and for financing such specified local bodies as may desire our assistance. In future such borrowings by these local bodies as well as by Government for development purposes will be handled by the Development Directorate if they need its services, and it will be its duty to keep in touch with the markets and endeavour to see that the demands for financial assistance from the public are made at the most convenient seasons and with the maximum of support. I am sure that when the appeal for subscriptions to our loan is made that it will be cordially received and that the patriotism of the citizens of Bombay will see that schemes put forward by this Government shall not languish for want of funds. Information as to the details of our proposed loan will, it is hoped, be before the public shortly.

Briefly, then, the Directorate will

(a) carry out with the assistance of its engineering staff the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and any other reclamation schemes which may be found necessary in or near Bombay city.

(b) It will undertake the whole of the industrial housing scheme.

(c) It will organise systematically the supply of building materials for its own work and of those works with which it is connected. One of the main reasons for the inadequacy of housing for the present day, as I have already mentioned, is the high cost of materials. It seems to us unlikely that the shortage of housing will be made good unless the State steps in and enables private individuals and companies to build more cheaply than they can to-day.

(d) It will take over from the existing Secretariat all questions relating to the acquisition of land in the city of Bombay and all questions regarding the utilization of Government land. It will be consulted with regard to all proposals affecting land in Bombay city which are submitted by local bodies and railway companies. I wish here to emphasize the fact clearly that the Directorate will not have any powers whatever of interference with existing local bodies other than those which Government at present has. It will merely do on a wider scale and in a more efficient manner what Government has already been doing, or I should rather say, what Government would have wished to do but which for lack of personnel and organization it has not been able to do when confronted with such large and imperative reforms. We wished particularly to avoid creating any new authority; we wished our own authority, however, to be as effective, expeditious and prompt as we could make it in view of the immense task ahead of us. Its success must, therefore, depend largely on personal influence and on the public experience of its utility inasmuch as it has no new powers of interference of any sort.

(e) It will carry out large schemes for the systematic development of Salsette. This can be effected in two ways; (1) by town planning schemes to be carried out by local authorities, and (2) by the purchase of areas outright with a view to resale after development with the least possible cost.

(f) It will secure an adequate water supply for the whole of Salsette when it is developed as an urban area. Provisional arrangements for the immediate future have been made with the Bombay Municipality, but it is probable when the area is developed, this will be inadequate. If this is so, an alternative supply must be obtained.

(g) The Directorate will do its best to deal with the supply and distribution of the electrical energy in the area outside Bombay. Transmission lines of one of Messrs. Tata Hydro Electric schemes run across Trombay, while those of another are being erected towards the east of Salsette. A central authority will be useful for the control of the supply of both for domestic and industrial purposes.

(h) The Directorate will also take over the improvement of communications with Salsette. The question of improving railway communication with Trombay is already under discussion with the G. I. P. Railway, but that of linking up with Bombay city large areas in Salsette which are so admirably suited for residential purposes but are practically without communications remains to be considered and grappled with.

(i) The Directorate will co-operate with the Port Trust in the development of the Bombay port, more particularly if the scheme is ultimately adopted, in the development of a new dock area and ship-building area on west Trombay. A proposal to transfer to this area the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard is also under consideration.

I have occupied you long enough—but the subject is so fascinating that I find it difficult to stop. I trust I have said enough to justify the remarks I made at the beginning of my speech that this humble bill which I bring before you to-day is the first link in the chain of measures which will, it is hoped, bring a new era into Bombay city. I appeal to you to give it your best consideration and show your confidence in the schemes we place before you by passing it into law. By so doing you will, I am sure, be securing the interests of your constituents and advancing the ordinary development of the great city of which we are all so proud.

Gentlemen, that concludes the broad outlines, and only the broad outlines, but such an outline as it is proper to give to this Council on the first reading of the bill. We hope to fill in the broad strokes—I have attempted to paint here a very big subject—very shortly, as I told you, by the widest possible information to the public. But there was some newspaper criticism a few weeks ago of a perfectly friendly character complaining that we did not follow up the publication of our bill by immediate information to the public at large on a matter in which it is deeply interested. My colleagues and I felt, as I always feel, that the right place to give information on a matter of this importance was on the floor of this Council to the honourable members who represent the Bombay Presidency, (hear, hear), and I thought, therefore, that the public would forgive me if I withheld giving that information for another two or three weeks so that I might present it to you personally here and hear your opinion upon it. I will only add a few words. You will see, I hope, that we have not been idle in the last eighteen months. At any rate, when you come to examine closely the size of the frame in which the picture, I have depicted, lies, you will realise that it has meant a tremendous lot of work to all concerned, and I would like here to pay the warmest tribute I can to those officers of Government and members of the Improvement Trust and of the municipality who have kindly given us assistance and advice in making our proposals. You will observe that we have tried to cater for four great needs. We have tried to cater on a big scale, but none too big a scale, for the housing of the labouring classes. You will see that in Back Bay, if Bombay is to remain and extend as a great business centre, we have provided for what I call the housing of the wealthier classes or rather I should say the business houses, for offices and all the other big buildings which are necessary in a great town. You will see that in schemes some of which or all of which lie in the hands of the Improvement Trust, we are trying to provide ready-made land suitable for the accommodation of the middle classes who need it, the lower paid middle classes particularly whose need in housing is almost as much, if not more, than any other section of society in India to-day. You will have seen that we have spread out in our imagination and in our proposed action, towards those areas which are healthy areas and which seem, but for a few barriers that could easily be overcome, to be the natural suburban areas of this great city. We have taken in hand the question of Trombay. We have taken in hand the question of Salsette. Government recognize their responsibility, and I hope, you will recognize by what I have told you that they recognize their responsibility, but they do not absolve employers of labour nor the local authorities from their responsibility also. Proposals have been framed whereby it is hoped that all three of us may move forward together to the same goal with a fair burden distributed on each of us. You will see that we are intending, so far as in us lies, that no delays of procedure in our Government Departments can be held to our charge.

There are a very few people—there are many perhaps—who are better acquainted with the horrors of the slum conditions in Bombay than I am myself. I venture to say that I have been into many of them and been in as close quarters to them as any member of this Council, and anyone who realizes the inevitable results of any delay in a measure of this kind, now already too long delayed, must recognize clearly the responsibilities of breeding up an unhealthy, an unfit and squalid race of people. Unless we give them better air, better light, better cleanliness and better conditions, we shall not breed a race worthy of this great city. It is open to us to do it to-day. We are not ignoring equally the child problem. That has been taken in hand by other people in the Bombay Presidency with a vigour which I cannot but praise and with a success which, I hope, will still further be augmented. We are attempting to tackle this problem on every side, and I am perfectly confident that if you look at this measure with a fair eye and realize that in the end it will appertain not only to Bombay city, but the influence of these great reforms will spread to all the other great industrial cities in this Presidency and elsewhere, you will have the satisfaction yourselves of having taken the first step on the road; for I believe that social service in this country is more important than tons of politics. To improve the conditions of the people is the greatest platform in the policy of the greatest statesman, Mr. Disraeli. You will have taken that step yourselves.

I conclude by asking for the generous and full-hearted support not only of yourselves but of all the public which you represent.

## WINNING HOME RULE.

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### Presidential Address by Annie Besant. President of the National Home Rule League.

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At the Second Reform Conference held in Bombay  
August 29th & 30th, 1921.

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Fellow-delegates and Visitors, let me first offer you my grateful thanks for electing me as President of this important Conference at this critical period of our country's history. There is no greater honor and privilege than to be allowed to preside over, to offer counsel to, Conferences which represent organisations endeavoring to win Home Rule for India as quickly as possible by constitutional means. Therefore, I thank you.

At our first First Reform Conference held at Malabar, I asked the assembled delegates to review the past, and to compare the results obtained in the few weeks of the first session of the Indian and Provincial Legislatures with those obtained in the year which then lay behind us of the Non-Co-Operation Movement. To-day at our Second Reform Conference, I am going to ask you to look forward, and to consider with me the policy which I propose to submit to you for the speedy winning of Home Rule. We may justly say that the policy adopted of cordial co-operation with the Governments of India, Central and Provincial, has been fully justified by its results. To recall a phrase used by Mr. Tilak, we have showed "Responsive Co-operation," and the effects of this harmonious working encourage us to continue in this path which leads us straight towards our goal, rather than to follow an ever-changing programme, which is becoming more and more religious and social, rather than political. No one can quarrel with the principles of working for temperance, for uplift of the submerged classes, for Swadeshi, for village industries, through we may disapprove some of the methods employed in supporting them. Many of us have been working for them for many long years, and there can be no reason why we should desert them now, because they are accompanied by features of coercion and destruction, of which, as life-long soldiers of Freedom, we are bound to disapprove. We believe, however, that these good things will come more swiftly under Home Rule than otherwise and we make that our first object. I use the words "Home Rule" because their meaning is clear and definite. They mean the rule of India by men chosen by India, as a Free Nation, within the Commonwealth under the Crown of George V and his successors. Swaraj, on the other hand, is now a word with a metaphysical as well as a political meaning, and has a different implication when used by different speakers. Some leading Indians

have announced that they have already attained it for themselves, although their country does not yet enjoy Home Rule. In the agreed Memorandum issued by the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it was definitely stated that no scheme of "Swaraj" was discussed between them. This seems to indicate that Swaraj has taken a back place in Mr. Gandhi's mind, as it has certainly done in his programme. The Swaraj Sabha has been substituted for the All-India Home Rule League, but interest in that seems to have vanished as it is said that the Ahmedabad; "Sabha" has only thirty-two members on its roll and that no more recruits come in owing to the Congress Creed, while the Bombay Branch seems to be dormant. Our National Home Rule League and the Liberal Leagues appear to be the only working organisations for Home Rule for India, for a Free India as an equal partner in the Commonwealth.

What is the next step to be taken in that direction? We have to consider both the Provincial and Central Governments. And here we have to do not so much with what the Reform Act gives, as with what it leaves us free to take.

In the report of the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons which sat in 1919 on the Reform Bill, in answer to the Secretary of State for India were used the following remarkable words:

(I quoted a speech of his and he made correction of it.) As was pointed out in your own speech a very liberal Governor such, for instance, as we have now in Bombay and Madras, might treat Reserved Subjects as though they were Transferred, and so practically bring Provincial Autonomy much nearer. (Ans. 1359).

Mr. Chintamani, pressed by Mr. Montagu as to whether there was any proviso in the Bill which prevented the increase of transfer by rules at any time, replied:

If you will excuse my saying so, there is nothing to prevent an increase, but the experience we have in Indian Administration leads us to think that there will not be an increase. (Ans. 2629).

With regard to the Government of India, in questioning Mr. Curtis, Mr. Montagu asked him:

Therefore it is perfectly possible, after experience of Diarchy in the Provinces—I do not put it higher than that—that your new Diarchy, which you regard as necessary in the Provinces, may never be an intermediate step in the Government of India?—I suppose it is possible; I hardly think it is probable. (Ans. 9209).

Circumstances, I am going to submit, make it not only probable, but inevitable.

As regards the first two quotations, already several Governments have taken the hint, and the Councillors and Ministers already form a Cabinet, the Governors refraining, except in five instances—one in Madras—one in U. P. and three in Bengal from using their power to restore Budget grants on the Reserved Subjects, in which reductions had been made by the Councils. Practically, we have had in several Provinces a unitary Government and Provincial Autonomy without any new Act of

Parliament. It has been established by a Convention, the usual British way of obtaining Freedom and Power. What is now needed to make it secure, is for the Councillors to declare that they voluntarily adopt responsibility to the Legislative Council, although irremovable by Statute. They have already practically adopted it by accepting reductions made by the Council in Reserved Subjects, but it is desirable for reasons which will presently appear, that they should formally declare that they have been acting on a settled policy, which has proved eminently successful.

A desire has been expressed that Diarchy should be introduced into the Central Government, but that would be a backward step, as all the reductions made by the Assembly have been accepted by the Viceroy and his Executive Council. The Councillors have acted as though they were responsible, although they were not, and here again all that is needed is a mere formal acknowledgement that they intend to continue that policy which has already led to such harmonious working and has produced such good results. It is by this these quiet changes that Freedom "widens down from precedent to precedent," and it is the great merit of the Reform Act that it leaves the road open to such advances. Too many rules prevent flexibility, and flexibility is much needed under rapidly changing circumstances, in order that Governments may be able to adapt themselves to ever new conditions. A notable instance of the recognition of this fact was furnished by the last Imperial Conference, which, though dealing with matters of far-reaching importance, worked without rules. The most stable political constitutions grow, they are not made. Sensible and well-disposed men can solve great problems most satisfactorily when they are unhampered by rules conceived under conditions differing from those that surround them. "There is nothing in the Reform Act prevent" the voluntary assumption of responsibility that I propose; it would only be the formal adoption of a policy already adopted, the policy of willing co-operation with the representatives of the people.

Let us see first why this method is preferable to any statutory changes, and then why it is necessary and, indeed, inevitable.

1. It is preferable to statutory changes because (a) we can do it for ourselves without recourse to Parliament, and it is far better for a Nation to gain its Freedom by its own efforts than by the gift of another Nation; effort develops the strength to hold and to defend what is won, whereas a Nation's hold on a gift is weak. (b) Parliament is overweighted with questions of the most serious importance, and would be likely to reject any demand for fresh legislation for India, after having passed a Reform Act at the end of 1919; moreover it would probably not listen to a suggestion to ignore the ten years' limit within two years of its decision. Why should we choose a difficult path which we may find closed by a barrier, when an open path is before us, which leads us promptly to our goal?

2. When we drafted the Congress-League Scheme, we followed Colonial precedents and did not propose Responsible Government. We knew that, theoretically

and in fact, an irresponsible Executive and an elected Legislature could not long co-exist. As was seen in the Colonies, the juxtaposition of two irresponsible authorities brought about continual friction and even deadlocks, which led to numerous appeals to the Colonial Secretary and sometimes to suits in the Law Courts. With these facts before us, and envisaging the same stormy voyage to Freedom, we drafted our Scheme. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, who must have known this perfectly well, preferred to introduce Dyarchy, that is, an Executive partially irresponsible and partially responsible, hoping thus to lessen friction and to avoid deadlocks. (See the criticism on our Scheme in their Report.) They preserved "The machinery of autocracy" in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, but even before it was tried Lord Chelmsford, in his speech at the opening of the Indian Legislature, announced: "Autocracy is abandoned" and he showed by his attitude during the first session of the Legislature that he meant what he said. But a form of

These arguments apply equally to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and the voluntary acceptance of responsibility by the at present irresponsible Executive Councillors is the next step to Home Rule. Later on, when we have an Army and Navy, an Act of Parliament giving statutory confirmation to the Conventions established by the Councils can be passed, if thought necessary. It would probably be wanted to reserve formally Imperial Subjects in the Central Government, and these would have to be excepted from the voluntarily created responsibility by the Governor-General's Executive Councillors. Complete Provincial Autonomy would follow at once.

I commend this subject to you for your discussion and opinion.

The subject of Ordinances and Regulations must next be considered. On this I suggest that the Governor-General should publicly announce his determination—when he considers that circumstances demand the use of his exceptional power—to submit his proposal to the two Houses of the Indian Legislature before he uses that power. When exceptional measures are needed in Great Britain, they are always submitted to Parliament, if time admit, and are as invariably granted. A Free Nation's representatives never hesitate to grant the powers necessary for the preservation of its Freedom, and public order is an essential constituent of Freedom. We naturally shrink from such exertion of power, because we have suffered so much from its illegitimate and excessive use in the past. But I believe that a representative Assembly, when the facts are laid before it and its opinion asked for, would be ready to recognise the changed circumstances of India, would rise above the memory of past oppression, and would trust the men, who, having power, had assumed responsibility to the Legislature. The wisdom and discretion with which the Councils have used their new powers are the guarantee of their sense of responsibility. It is Indians who ever suffer most when disorder arises, and they know that it is they, their wives and children who will fall victims to civic disorder. They are more likely to be over-cautious than over-reckless in their precautions, and if a strong



and reasonable case be set before them for an extraordinary temporary measure to meet extraordinary circumstances, there is no likelihood of the measure being rejected. Moreover, the Governor-General will know that to have the Legislature behind him will immensely strengthen his hands, and it will share the responsibility with him before the country. The Indians are an exceptionally law-abiding people, and they will rise to any responsibility which may be thrown upon them. The warm response shown by them to the appeal of the Government to organise against the propaganda of disorder and violence, and the wide spread of Anti-Non-Co-operation Leagues, especially in the United Provinces where the danger was the greatest, show how deeply seated is their sense of Dharma; they are a people who are eminently worthy to be trusted, their natural bent being so decisively in favour of respect for civic obligations. Duty, more than Rights, has ever been their deep-seated instinct, and has indeed even been carried to excess in submission to oppression. (In a parenthesis, I should like to suggest that in newspaper headings, the two negatives of "Anti-Non-Co-operation Movement" should be dropped in favour of the positive affirmation of "Co-operation Movement". Negatives are not inspiring, and two negatives make an affirmative.)

It must not be forgotten that—thanks to the initiative of the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the cordial co-operation of the Government—we shall in a few days have a Free Press, that mighty support of the liberties of a Nation. Henceforth we shall have "unlicensed printing" and the language which Milton used in claiming this right shall no longer be defiled by being used in denying it, and in placing every journal at the mercy of the Executive. As the Editor of a journal which suffered heavily at the hands of Lord Pentland's Government, I naturally rejoice personally, as well as for public reasons, over this triumph of a long-continued agitation, and I was glad to be the first witness called before the Press Committee, and to present it a Memorandum—a memorandum which, I may remark, as I am speaking in Bombay, was shamefully misrepresented by the Simla correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* and the misrepresentation was spread through other Non-Co-operation journals. The memorandum has since published so the falsehood has been rendered patent, but I could not disprove it at the time, as the memoranda laid before the Committee were held to be private until the Report was out. The "Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act" is also to be repealed, thanks to Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar, Ex-Judge of the Madras High Court. It is interesting to know that the removal of the oppressive Acts from the Statute Book, so passionately demanded for eleven years, is now treated as of little importance by a certain section of the Press, eager to prove the uselessness of the Councils. Soon we may hope to see removed from the Statute Book other oppressive Laws, which substitute the arbitrary will of the Executive for the Courts of Law, thus denying to India the benefit of the "unwritten Laws and Constitution of England," which "touch the allegiance of the subject" a power expressly withheld from the dependent Indian Legislature by the Government of India Act, 1915, but in despite of the law, claimed and used by that Legislature. The disappearance of these illegitimate law which have for so

long limited the freedom of writing and of speech is a long step towards the winning of Home Rule and goes to the credit of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly. We may hope for a similar result from the other Committee, also due to Mr. Sastri's resolution.

The next important step in this direction must be taken by the Indian Legislature and is the Reform of the Indian *Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes*. These should be carefully examined by competent lawyers and a table of amendments be drawn up. To show the necessity, I need only point to a few flagrant instances; the Law of Sedition in the *Penal Code* should be assimilated to the English law on the subject, and clauses 124a and 153a should be removed as indefinite, excessive, and unjust; "Waging war against the King" with its only alternative punishments of death or transportation for life with confiscation of property, caused much scandalous injustice during the Martial Law period in the Punjab, and should be amended; Flogging should be abolished, or if not abolished, should be confined to the offences punished by it in English law—rape and robbery with violence; the use of whipping is carried to an inhuman excess in Indian law; the status of Indians and Europeans should be made equal before the law all distinctions being removed; the right to a writ of Habeas Corpus should be established throughout India as under English law. These are only glaring specimens of the reforms needed under this head.

Another legal matter imperiously demanding attention is the creation of an Indian Bar. In connection with the Committee in England which has been visiting educational seats in the interest of Indian students, the *Times*, nothing that some 180 witnesses had been examined, reports:

In the course of evidence it was shown that there are at present time some 560 Indians at the Inns of Court—many of them however pursuing other studies simultaneously. The student resent the fact that Vakils who have graduated in Law are, with few exceptions, under disabilities in some of the Indian High Courts, which are reserved for Barristers, and that consequently it is necessary to come to England to be called to the Bar, which involves passing a lower standard of examination than that required for Vakils. Many of the legal witnesses, including Lord Haldane, advocated the establishment of an independent Indian Bar. The legal witnesses generally characterised, as entirely unsatisfactory the system men under which called to the Bar here take precedence over better qualified men trained in India.

This injustice has long been keenly felt, and should at once be removed by equalising the status of Vakils and Barristers in all High Courts. Apart from this, why should Indians be forced to travel many thousands of miles and spend many hundreds of pounds in order to gain less legal knowledge than they can gain at home?

Next, we have to consider the suggestion of our Indian representatives at the Imperial Conference. The representatives of the Dominions are their Prime Ministers, while ours have, so far, been nominated by the Government of India, while they have been well-chosen and have been treated on perfectly equal terms, they have not had behind them the weight of authority which would be theirs were they elected

by the Nation. I therefore suggest that they shall be elected next year, the representative of the Princes of India by the Princes' Chamber and the representative of India by the Indian Legislature. Their status will then be similar to that of their colleagues, and they would speak with added authority.

Already much has been gained for India in the recognition of her right not only to manage her internal affairs but also to share in moulding Imperial policy by the admission of Indians to the Imperial Conference. It is the recognition of her status as an equal partner in the Empire, and it is noteworthy that the Prime Minister of Great Britain has on several occasions referred to India as such a partner, speaking of the opinions of the Dominions and of India as of equal rank. It is the breaking-down of the racial barrier in the very heart of the Empire, the welcoming of the colored man as the equal of the white man in Imperial affairs, the same policy which places Indians in the India Council, which places an Indian among the Governors of India as representative of the Crown, the long-delayed fulfilment of the proclamation of Queen Victoria, when she assumed the Crown of India. The resolution of the Conference in favor of the same status for European and Indian residents in the Dominions is the first recognition that Indians are citizens of the Empire in the real sense. It does not touch the right of each Nation to make its own immigration laws, but it must be remembered that Australia has refused to admit British workmen when she thought they would interfere with Australian labor, and England did not contest her right to do so. India has the same right to exclude any whom she considers to be undesirable immigrants, and will certainly exercise that right against any whose country refuses admission to her own children. The British Colonial office is now fighting for the equal rights of Indian residents in East Africa—Kenya Colony—and Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's chief work in England this year has been a stalwart defence of the rights of his countrymen throughout the Empire. In the Imperial Conference, in public speeches and in private discussions, he has unflinchingly fought their battle, and has won over all, except that steady enemy of colored mankind, General Smuts. He has truly proved himself to be the worthy successor of his great leader, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and has justified his choice. India may well be proud of him.

I desire to place here on permanent record a note in the *Times*, headed "Indian rights of citizenship; a step forward" It runs:

Mr. Montagu and his two Indian colleagues regard with great satisfaction the conclusion reached by the Imperial Conference in respect to the status of British Indians in the Empire, and this feeling is shared by responsible Indians now in this country.

In the first place, the resolution contains the first explicit recognition by the Imperial Conference in an authoritative document of India's equal status as a member of the Empire. Secondly, the fact that the Whitehall authorities have joined in the expression of the desirability, in the interests of Imperial solidarity, that the rights of citizenship of Indians, lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire, should be recognised means that the British Government is pledged to apply this principle in parts of the Empire under the control of the Colonial Office, and notably in East Africa. The Colonial Secretary, who is seeing a deputation of Indians from Kenya this afternoon, has publicly admitted the strength of the principle of equality of status which was first laid down by the Government of India.

While Indian opinion regrets that the representatives of South Africa were unable to accept the resolution, it rejoices that all the other Self-Governing Dominions have

adopted the vital principle it embodies. Moreover, it is pointed out that the objections of the South African representatives are based on a condition of affairs which is not universal throughout the Union. In the Cape Province the Indian has the franchise and other rights of citizenship; and in Rhodesia the basis of regulation is not race but civilisation. Even in the rest of South Africa the amicable discussion of this question at the Imperial Conference is having a moral effect. A restrictive Ordinance as to municipal licensing of Indian traders in Natal has just been disallowed by the Governor-General on the advice of his responsible advisers. Importance is attached to the principle of direct negotiation with South Africa, suggested in the Indian portion of the resolution, in place of round-about discussion between Simla, the India Office, the Colonial Office and the Union Government.

The favorable impression created by the Indian Delegation is shown by the cordial invitation Mr. Sastri has received, and accepted, to visit Australia in the coming winter. In any case, Mr. Sastri would have been proceeding to Fiji as Chairman of the Committee appointed to consider the grievances and conditions of Indian settlers there. A short tour in Australia forms part of Mr. Sastri's programme, and Mr. Hughes has given him a cordial invitation to visit the Commonwealth Parliament and give an address on India's position in the Empire. The moral effect of the visit on Indian sentiment and knowledge of changed conditions is likely to be considerable.

(I may note that Mr. Sastri's visit to Fiji is delayed). It is marvellous that the leaders of Non-Co-operation in India deliberately shut their eyes to every proof of her changed position in the Empire. However, this blindness is not shared by the world. As Dr. Rabindranath Tagore truly said, they are trying to build a wall round India. But only they themselves are enclosed within it with their juvenile and ignorant followers and the few leaders who still remain the obedient slaves of Mr. Gandhi.

I submit these proposals to you to be embodied in resolutions, if your Subjects Committee approve.

I must not forget, before dealing with other questions, heartily to congratulate Bombay on making its women citizens at the very beginning of its second Council sitting. It would have been done in its first had it not been for the technical blunder now made good. Since two Presidencies have led the way in restoring to Indian women one of their ancient privileges, let us hope that the remaining Presidencies and Provinces will soon tread in their steps. India's women are necessary helpers in winning Home Rule for India.

Turning to matters outside our onward steps to Home Rule, the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales first claims our attention. I have learnt with the greatest surprise and the deepest regret that Mr. Gandhi has proposed to boycott the Heir to the Imperial Crown on his visit to this ancient land, where both his Grandfather and his Father and Mother were warmly welcomed when they held to it the same relationship in which he stands to-day. They were welcomed though they came to a subject race. It is proposed to boycott him when he comes to an India acknowledged as a constituent partner in an Empire over which he is one day to rule. "He has visited other parts of the Empire and if he had omitted India, he would have cast a slur upon her by treating her as inferior and unworthy of notice. He comes here as he went elsewhere. Shall India be the only land in the Commonwealth to treat him with insult?"

It was an act of incredible inhospitality and discourtesy when a boycott was proclaimed against H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, the messenger of the King-Emperor, to do honor to "the beginning of Swaraj within my Empire." There are rules of dignity

and of courtesy that no Nation, as no gentleman, can disregard with honor, and in the stately code of manners of Hinduism a guest is to be treated as a God. To insult an aged Prince whose love for India made him accept the burdensome duty of an envoy that he might do India service, speak his grief for "the shadow of Amritsar" and welcome her birth into Home Rule, was an ungracious and an unkindly act, and those who compassed it have the pleasure of knowing that they wounded the heart of a friend. Still they might plead as an excuse, however poor a one, that their hatred of the Government and of the Reforms overcame their good manners and their sense of duty, and that they could not welcome him because he was identified with the Reforms. But there is no such poor excuse for boycotting the Prince of Wales. He is above all parties. He has no share in the faults of any Government. He is identified with no policy. He does not represent the Government of Great Britain or that of India. He is the Heir to the Crown of India, as to that of Great Britain and of the Dominions. As such he has visited the other parts of what he is proud to call the Commonwealth, and in each, as just said, has been welcomed with honor and with love. To boycott him is to insult personally the Monarch to whom we all owe allegiance, and to strike a blow at the British connection. Whatever may be our politics, Imperialists, Royalists, Republicans, we owe respect to the Head of the State to which we belong, and to insult him is to be bad citizens unworthy of our country and devoid of self-respect. Surely only a pitiful minority will thus shame their country and dishonor themselves. Let them at least recognise that if they thus place themselves on record, they are marked as would-be destroyers of the connection with Britain and enemies of constitutional liberty, flinging contemptible insults on one who cannot resent them, because they have not the courage to rebel.

It is significant in this connection that, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on July 28th at which 229 members were present, a resolution was passed advising the boycott of the Prince's visit, and that Mr. Gandhi writing in *Young India*, quoted in the *Bombay Chronicle* of July 20 and answering a question from a correspondent on a statement made by Maulanas Muhammad and Shaukat Ali that a Republic will be proclaimed by the Congress at Ahmedabad if a settlement were not reached before Christmas said.

I have, however, no difficulty about understanding the Maulana's mind. They are quite capable of saying that if India does not get the relief she demands in the matters of the Punjab and the Khilafat, she will at the next session of the Congress make a declaration of independence. Swaraj within the Empire is a possibility, only if England washes her hands clean of the taint of the Khilafat breach and the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre. *The Congress-Creed has been made purposely elastic enough to admit of a demand for independence.* (Italics mine.) To go no further, the Maulanas have, after all, if they have, but reiterated the opinion pronounced by Mr. Andrews, who, unlike me, considers that there is no room in the British Empire for a self-respecting and a self-governing India and who expects that some day I shall myself be driven to that position. I am differently constituted. I never give up hope so long as there is the least chance, and I have faith enough in the British people to feel, that whilst they would test our determination and strength to the uttermost, they will not carry it to the breaking point.

We must therefore be prepared for an overt act of the Congress which would bring it within the definition of sedition according to English law, and not only to Indian, and Mr. Gandhi's statement as to his own position does not relieve us; he has probably forgotten that on April 6, 1920, he declared at the meeting held in Bombay for the repeal

of the Rowlatt Act that if it were not repealed before the Reformed Councils came into existence, he would go out of the Empire. We must therefore take it that he is outside the Empire—though he has forgotten the unimportant fact—as has Mr. Andrews, though he expects Mr. Gandhi to be some day driven into that position.

On this Mr. Gandhi said at Madanpura with commendable frankness—a frankness which gives the lie to the claims of success made by his followers that their propaganda was successful:

They (the people) had found a powerful weapon now, and that was Non-Co-operation and the Congress had laid down in definite terms what they should do in that regard, but the response of the people had not been great, for they had not given their titles and they had not boycotted the schools or law courts. Therefore, he says that the people had not done their duty. But in spite of this the prestige of the Government had gone, for people now did not set much store by Government titles; people had been attending the law courts not because they were good or because they were sure of getting justice in the latter but because they were a sign of their degradation and their fall.

The last sentence is probably a blunder in the Report, for Mr. Gandhi could not have said that the people went to the law courts because they were a sign of their degradation; perhaps he must have said that their going was a sign of their, the people's, degradation. Perhaps they go because the voluntary courts established at Mr. Gandhi's behest inflict such brutal and degrading punishments

Looking over the country we see signs of good omen for those who work for ordered Freedom. The Co-operation Movement is growing stronger and more united, while that of Non-Co-operation is disintegrating. This is partly due to the declaration by Mr. Gandhi that the country is not fit for the three dangerous parts of his original four-fold programme, which was to give us Swaraj in a year—the paralysing of Government, by the resignation of all paid civil officials, of the police and the soldiers, and the non-payment of taxes. If Mr. Gandhi had been strong enough to lead the people to carry out these, he would have made a revolution. Fortunately they imply sacrifices which the people were not prepared to make, as was shown by the failure of the first step, the giving up of honorary posts under Government and of titles, from August 1, 1920. The later programmes have met with equally little success, except in one case and that an extraordinary one, the collection of a crore of rupees. It is the more extraordinary as the collections were comparatively poor until within two or three weeks of the time laid down. It is to be hoped that some statement will be made, showing the amount of actual payment to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund with sums ear-marked for schools, temperance and other useful purposes, unconnected with the original purposes of the Fund.

It must be noted, however, that one result of the later programmes has been the very regrettable one of mob-violence. Picketing liquor-shops has been carried out by force, and the general tendency of Mr. Gandhi's undisciplined followers is towards mob-tyranny in enforcing the orders of their dictator, now advanced by many to the rank of an "Avatara." All self-respecting men and women should revolt against an autocracy more searching and more rigorous, than that abandoned by the Government. Government autocracy did not interfere with our clothes outside office hours nor insist that women in the heat of summer should cook in heavy cloth or else perform their household duties

naked. Mr. Gandhi's insistence on the boycott of foreign cloths not only British was forced through by his expressed determination to sever all connection with the whole movement if his behests are not observed. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar has been my unscrupulous enemy, but I must none the less protest against the disgraceful attempts of young rowdies to make him discard his turban and shirt to have them burnt in a spectacular bonfire. It is not wonderful that the few leaders who capitulated at the Calcutta Congress are, one by one, deserting the new autocrat. Maharashtra, which deserted Mr. Tilak's "responsive co-operation" to follow Mr. Gandhi's Non-Co-operation, has entirely lost its place as the leader of Nationalism, and we have little active work there

Another cause of disintegration is the attempted boycott of British goods, with the destruction of clothing, so terribly needed by the people, with the consequent rise of prices—especially in Mr. Gandhi's strongholds, Bombay and Ahmedabad—the insufficiency of Khaddar to meet the sudden demand and the rise in the value of mill-shares. Only the poor really suffer by the bonfires, but their misery is seriously increased. They must take as consolation the answers stated by Mr. Gandhi himself to have been made by him to his wife when she said she could not wear heavy Khaddar when cooking, that she might then go naked into his kitchen, or leave, as he would not eat food cooked by her if she wore other cloth. Thus does the Charkha work as the protector of the modesty of Indian women. In Mr. Gandhi's address to the weavers of Madanpura, in appealing to them to give up the weaving of foreign yarn, he apparently forgot that the weavers would be dismissed if they did not weave the yarn supplied to them, and in urging them not to "think that they would be getting low wages by hand-spun yarn, he assured them that they would earn as much as they were earning now," he ignored the fact that the loosely twisted hand-spun yarn breaks much oftener in a power-driven machine than that which is better twisted, and that each break means a loss of time for rejoining the broken threads, and the consequent diminution of the amount of cloth produced. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee exhorted the Calcutta Marwaris to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their country as did their ancestors, but the appeal seems to have fallen on deaf ears, and they apparently are more concerned with the revival of trade, hoped for as a result of a good monsoon.

Yet another cause of disintegration has appeared in Madras and Bengal. The election of Delegates to the All-India Congress Committee in these two Provinces is challenged; an appeal to that Committee was referred to the "Working Committee," a new body, and 12 members were present. The Chairman, Mr. Acharya, the Congress President, held that the elections in both cases were illegal and *ultra vires*, those elected were not duly elected members of the All-India Congress Committee, and that fresh elections should take place. The majority of the members, however, decided that the question was not for the Chairman's ruling, and that the Committee was to decide it. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Muhammad Ali respectively moved and seconded the following characteristic resolution evading the question sent down to them to decide:

Without prejudice to the constitutional question relating to the elections to the All-India Congress Committee held in Bengal and Madras last year and without going into the merits thereof, in view of the fact that fresh elections must take place in or before

November next, all over India, and in view that a heavy intensive programme is at present set before all Congress organisations, this Committee considers it undesirable in the interest of the country to disturb the elections and advises such persons as feel themselves aggrieved in Bengal and Madras to co-operate with the provincial organisations in both the Provinces with a view to the prosecution of the programme to a successful issue.

Thereupon Mr. V. J. Patel moved that the resolution was not in order, but the Chairman, having been already overruled by the Committee, declined to give a ruling and vacated the Chair. Pandit Motilal Nehru was put into the Chair and ruled Mr. Patel out of order and the resolution was carried. Madras, having failed to obtain a decision on the important question raised, has split, having already had another split over the Bezvada Conference.

Once again, the All-India Congress Committee is rent by sharp divisions, on the boycott of the Prince of Wales, the converting of National schools and colleges into spinning and weaving schools, the validity of the Madras and Bengal elections, the claim of the Working Committee to commit the Congress to any policy, the question of the adoption of civil disobedience, ended by a compromised resolution. Grave differences of opinion on so many subjects do not bode well for the peacefulness of the Ahmedabad Congress.

Worst of all, however, is the shock given by the apology of the Ali Brothers. When I heard the proposal at Simla, I frankly said that I thought they would refuse to sign and would prefer to face a prosecution, and was astonished to learn that Mr. Gandhi had said they would sign it. After reading Mr. Muhammad Ali's speech in the Madras Presidency that he would face the prison and the scaffold, and that he feared God alone, I gave him credit for meaning what he said. I was prepared for Mr. Gandhi's flinching at the critical moment, for twice, in the earlier movement of civil disobedience, after the outbreak at Amritsar had led him to give it up, he fixed a period for its resumption and twice yielded, under Viceregal pressure, much angering the extreme wing of his followers. But Mr. Gandhi was a man of peace, whereas I always regarded the two Brothers as potential fighters. Having however signed the apology, they deprived it of all sincerity by pretending that it was made merely to meet the wishes of friends. This camouflage has been put an end to by the "agreed statement" issued by the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, in which it is said that Mr. Gandhi was informed that the prosecution of the Ali Brothers had been decided upon but that the Viceroy would use his influence to prevent it if the Brothers signed a draft drawn up by Mr. Gandhi, but amended and finally approved by the Viceroy and taken to the Brothers by Mr. Gandhi. Such action would have hopelessly discredited any political leaders who were not protected by Mr. Gandhi, but his strange infatuation for men entirely alien from him in spirit and who regard him as an unbeliever has survived even the flagrant breaking of his promise by Mr. Muhammad Ali in the outrageous speeches at Karachi and Hyderabad. The Brothers with their declarations in favor of Indian independence, their open determination to assist Muslim foreigners invading their country, the statement that they will kill Hindus fighting to defend their Motherland against Afghan invaders,



have always been the worst dangers of the Indian movement for Freedom. They are not patriots, for they are willing to help in slaughtering their fellow-countrymen for the sake of the Turk and the Afghan, dearer to them than the Indians. In the light of their recent conduct we can understand why, desiring to be released from internment, they professed their readiness to fight against their Khalifa, to whom they are now so devoted, if he invaded India. Now they will welcome and fight by the side of an Amir of Afghanistan, who has not the religious claim on them of the Khalifa. No lovers of India they, no true sons of the Motherland. Nor do I believe that Islam justifies any man in fighting against his own country in delivering her women to rape, her men to the sword, her homes to the fire, nor that the Great Prophet—Peace be on Him—will ever bless those who betray their country into the hands of semi-savage tribes.

Let me, ere closing, refer to two incidents, matters comparatively small, but important as showing the changed attitude towards Indians, and as removing humiliations that have justly caused bitter resentment. Indians have been refused admission to retiring rooms provided at railway stations for travellers detained for the night while waiting for their trains; in the late Madras Council meeting of August 19, 1920, a resolution was passed, asking the Government to request the Railway Administrations of the Presidency to provide retiring accommodation for Indians wherever it was provided for other communities; on March 16, 1921, the English Board of the South Indian Railway wrote to their Agent here that they approved of "Indians who travel in the upper classes and who follow European habits having admission to all retiring rooms on the same conditions as Europeans, and of retiring rooms for the exclusive use of Indians, who do not conform to European habits." Thus another racial bar disappears. The other incident was of a European, who tried by threats to exclude two Indian gentlemen who entered a first-class carriage with 2nd class tickets, there being no room in the second class. The gentlemen made a complaint to a magistrate who fined the European Rs. 400, assigning Rs. 100 to each of the gentlemen insulted.

And now, Fellow-Delegates, I leave my proposals in your hands to be confirmed by resolutions where the Subjects Committee think fit. I earnestly pray that the great Rishis and Devas who watch over this beloved land and are guiding her to Freedom, to bless her so that she may permeate the New Civilisation with the light of her sublime Spirituality, the Spirituality which has preserved this sacred land for eleven millennia, while the relics of her contemporaries during her childhood, her youth and much of her maturity must be sought only in their sepulchres; which has not only preserved her alive but has given her the mighty powers of the creative intellect, the triumphs of the scientific mind, the splendor of art, the wealth of physical objects of enjoyment. May that Spirituality be to her now and in the future, the upspringing source of her eternal life, of her immortal glory, making her verily the Light of the World. GOD SAVE INDIA—*Vande Mataram*.

have always been the worst dangers of the Indian movement for Freedom. They are not patriots, for they are *willing* to help in slaughtering their fellow-countrymen for the sake of a *liberty* and the *freedom* denied to them by the British. In the light of this, the Indian movement for Freedom should be regarded

# The Fourth Andhra Provincial Conference.

[ The following is the text of the address delivered by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the President, at Berhampur on the 25th September 1921. ]

## Andhras—an entity.

Although this is announced as the fourth Andhra Provincial Conference, it really is the eleventh session at which the Andhras meet to discuss their problems of reconstruction. But it is the first Andhra Conference held in a scheme of general reorganization of the country and its Provinces on a linguistic basis, under the authority of the Congress. It was in 1917 (Dec) that we prevailed upon the Congress to recognize the Andhradesa as a Congress circle. To-day our movement, formally inaugurated in 1913, and we stand justified in the eyes of the country. The Andhra movement was and is a national movement, a 'vernacular' movement, so to put it, a movement of renaissance and reconstruction. And what an impetus, this integration has given us to enlist our quota of men, money and munitions! Now we have a history to be proud of and sustained by that pride, we have conducted our Congress elections and our reorganization in a peaceful and harmonious manner. Our Chittore friends have overlooked the little taint that has crept into them. Our Kannada and Utkal neighbours have decided to settle questions of jurisdiction by mutual adjustment and thro the intercession of a friendly neighbour for umpire. Are we not then a distinctive sub-nationality with an individuality of our own and yet linked to our brethren all over India by ties of brotherhood? Therefore do we feel that the time has come for sending fraternal delegates to and inviting fraternal delegates from the Conferences of our neighbours—the Utkals, the Dravidas and the Kannadas. While we have our own individuality we stand united to our brethren on the borders by an identity of life and civilization. In this view Bellary, Chittore and Berhampur stand to us as the hyphens which unite as much as they may divide. We are all distinct provinces but we are members of a common nationality—and speaking of provinces, I feel we must say we have now our Andhra province virtually carved out. We are past the stage of academic discussion. With the administrative re-adjustment of boundaries we have chosen not to concern ourselves. For the rest our province is separate and stands on its own individuality for good or for evil—and experience has proved that it is for good and not for evil.

## N. C. O.—Its Progress,

We cannot pass on to the study of the problems nearest our hearts without invoking the spirit of one whose memory is still nearer. It is a little over a year, since the Lokamanya passed away but it is a little over that since we had met at Mahanandi—Therefore do we lay a wreath to the memory of our departed friend, philosopher

and guide. He closed an age and a new age has completed a year of its course. At Mahanandi we had passed four momentous resolutions declining to thank the King for the Proclamation or welcome the Prince on his arrival, urging deadlocks in the councils and still more, urging Non-Co-operation. Non-Co-operation has since got the better of deadlocks.

And more, Non-Cooperation has spread its tentacles far and wide. We might readily accept Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's analysis and say that it has touched and moved and enlivened every stratum of society. It is not merely that the Non-Co-operators are using weapons suitable to particular classes and particular provinces, Punjabis and puritans, mill-owners and labourers are all oppressed by conditions to which N. C. O. is the only remedy. The Coolie in Assam is affected by it though his immediate need is but a rise of an anna in his day's wage and the millionaire of Bombay is equally affected because he feels he is robbed of his millions either by competition with Manchester or by a sharp practice in the manipulation of exchange. The movement has not merely affected the country from end to end in territory, but it has revolutionized life and the attitude towards life's problems in every layer of society. Men no longer think of the old, exploded ways of redress of grievances. They know that they have the power in their own hands. They feel they are the fount and spring of all power and authority now vesting in government and they realize that they can dry up the whole of that authority and that power in a moment. Is it the Mulshey valley, ryots where in 54 villages, 10,000 men, women and children are being turned out of their homes hearths and out of the 50,000 broad acres of their heritage, or is it the 15,000 people of Cheerala that court suffering and leave their homes? Is it the poor that are ground down or the opulent that are cheated of their profits in trade? The former refuse to stir out of their heritage and the latter decline to clear the crores of goods left to decay in the docks. With Mr. Sarma we say, we are looking out for the time when we can appeal to all classes of people to Non-Co-operate—and then will be our victory. That is not far for every one feels as did Seely long ago and as Churchill felt and said in 1919, "if all India unites to send the Government to Coventry, the game is up." Yes, that is it all India has united.

## The Philosophy of N. C. O.

Once upon a time when Col. Wedgwood was administering, after the Boer war, the District of Ermelo Carolina, a Boer farmer said to him,—the Boer was one of those whom Col. Wedgwood wished to bring into the administration—

as J. P.—“No! As long as you treat us like Kaffirs and not as citizens, you can manage the country yourselves and go to hell in your own unaided way” They got their vote and their Dominion Home Rule.

The philosophy of N. C. O is deeper than is implied in the story of the Boer. “But this, then, is a revolt! No sire, it is a revolution” In those famous words of Due de Liancourt, we summarise the character of our movement. Let us repeat once again what we have never concealed—namely that this movement of ours is a revolutionary movement peaceful and devoid of violence, designed to bring India to its own. The crores that have been drained away from year to year into England are nothing compared to the drain of culture and individuality in civilization that we have sustained at the hands of the English. The Moslems settled in our midst and enriched our culture, our Arts and our civilization. The English have been always birds of passage and fostered in us a disregard for our religion, philosophy, Arts and crafts, in a word for our culture and our civilization. The political conquest was followed up by a social and moral conquest, and when we have inaugurated this great movement, we are out to resuscitate the spirit of our ancient civilization and recover our ancient heritage. This has been our ideal since 1906. We have restated and amplified it.

#### The Machine Age—Industry and State.

Let me at once make plain what this means briefly. We are not fighting a western government so much as the onslaughts of a western civilization and fight we must before we are quite engulfed in the sea of social unrest. We can yet rescue the ship of state and society with the aid of our salvage outfit—from the waves of class strife and capitalistic exploitation. There is the ocean flood of industrialism threatening to sweep us away and in that flood there is the monster of machinery which gives no quarter to your craftsman and your artist—men who have preserved your civilization for centuries. Survey the conditions of Europe briefly. In the middle ages there was the skilled workman using the simplest of tools which were his own and which were mostly made by himself. He oftentimes gathered his raw material himself, and with the aid of his family produced his article and sold it himself or thro a guild to which he belonged. He always aimed at quality and owned the article until he sold it. Let us pass over the stage of “early manufacturer”—in the 16th and 17th centuries when merchants engaged the services of craftsmen and employed different men to make different pieces in order to increase the output. Do we not notice the same transformation here? What do we see now in this age of machinery of blood and iron and coal? The craftsman is gone out of existence and the worker has become a mill hand. He does not own his tools, much less make them. He does not get his raw material, and never makes a whole article. The thing he helps to make is only a part of an article and he does not own it. He is deported from his village home and detached from his family the members of which are perhaps mechanics making parts of articles elsewhere for a master who enjoys a monopoly of the profits, making the workmen wage slaves.

Neither skill nor quality does enter into the scheme of life. The whole process is mechanical and piecemeal and lifeless. Thus as “the machine entered by the front door, the personality of man flew out through the window”. The machine does not possess a personality nor does man become a mechanic. Cog fits cog with precision and the worker is a cog that fits with the machine. Man is not an artist, has no conception of a whole, thinks, if at all, in fragments, and is forced to efface that personality which is his greatest and noblest possession. He is a commodity to be bought and sold upon the market like boots and bibles and bottles”. He is a package of labour power and his master buys the labour power. If the machinery is a labour-saving force, the benefits thereof have gone to the master and not to the worker. Things are produced for profit and not for use. The joy of life is taken away from him that works and shapes and creates and “the old mysticism has disappeared before the march of the machine”.

#### The Problem—Ethical.

The problem before us is—shall we strive for individual profit or for social advancement? What shall be the unit of society—the individual or the family? Shall wealth be enthroned on the high seat of authority or shall it be the joy of production for use that must enliven life? In what word where shall national genius realize itself in a world conquering will or a Heaven-aspiring soul? That is the problem which has brought the spinning wheel into existence, made it out again the guardian angel of the home, the companion of the kitchen, the Kalpa Vriksha and the Kāmadhanu that for the mere asking would give whatever man wanted. It is the shield as well as the sword. The problem is no mere economic problem—it has its own economic aspect, sure, but it is primarily an ethical one, a cultural one, a matter of National genius and National Civilization. We are not so obtuse as to taboo labour saving machinery where it saves labour, raises weight, lifts water, grinds bones, breaks iron, saws stone and elevates mountains and dams rivers. If dirt is matter misplaced, so machinery misplaced becomes a tyrant, a bad master instead of remaining a good servant. Accordingly, in the words of our poet Rabin, “the civilization of the West has in it the spirit of the Machine which must move, and to that blind movement human lives are offered as material, keeping us the steam-power. It represents the active aspects of inertia, which has the appearance of Freedom but not its truth. It therefore gives rise to slavery both within the boundaries and outside. The civilization of India has the constraining power of the mould. It squeezes living man in the grip of rigid regulations; and its repression of individual freedom makes it only too easy for men to be forced into submission of all kinds and degrees. In both of these traditions life is offered up for something which is not life. It is a sacrifice which has no God for its worship, and is therefore utterly in vain. The West is continually producing mechanical power in excess of its spiritual control. India has produced a system of mechanical control in excess of its vitality. No wonder then that Cromwell should have said “Every one says, ‘Oh give me Liberty,’ but when he is given it, he uses it to oppress others.”

State in the West is but the counterpart of the western Industrialism. It is a mechanism devoid of personality. It is the Executive committee of the capitalist owner. We combat the idea.

#### Rabin's 'Negation.'

If that is the psychology why does Rabin, the poet, find fault with the cult of N. C. O. as being a negation, a Chinese wall built around the country? We are trying to demolish the Chinese wall built by the Westerners around themselves in order to acclaim themselves superior untouchables or unapproachables. They regard us as polluted and we protest. And if there is somewhere some taint in us, then we seek to remove that blemish. It is we that are seeking intercourse which is only possible amongst equals—and it is they that deny it unto us. This, however, is a small matter, but the poet's charge of Negation is serious. Our answer is simple: we must destroy as well as construct. It is all one process. The cells of the body eternally die and eternally proliferate. The destruction is but seeming, the growth is the reality. Our evolution is a constant spiral march in which we come upon ourselves and advance upon ourselves. We must dissolve the crust that encircles us and, treat ourselves with forces and reagents that will purify us and make us sterling material. It is a simple proposition that to counteract the thesis, a negation,—the antithesis must operate. And then will be evolved a synthesis—the same for which Rabin is searching every nook and corner of the world—a harmony between a mechanical control in excess of its vitality and a mechanical power in excess of its spiritual control.

#### Weaving—the Synthesis-

Let us descend into the hard realities from these high soarings. We have not scrapped our machinery. The Mill-owner is our comrade as much as the craftsman. We have asked both to co-operate and make the country self-reliant. We owe all the support that our cause has gained to the former and we mean using that support to elevate the latter and put him on his legs. If we should make the best of our present opportunity, we must resuscitate our looms by the thousand and the lakh. And when 2 lacs of looms are flying about, fed by the 20 lacs of Charkas we shall have had an era of utter self-reliance and self-realization. Unto this end let us make the weaver his own financier and not drive him to the middle man. Each single man cannot find his finances. He is a slender man, but put together a dozen of them, put together the two lacs and they become a power to reckon with. The co-operative society that brought salvation to the Irish dairies, that same will prove the salvation of our weaver. Where are our George Russells or A. E's—and where our Sir Horace Plunketts? Whatever you may say, I am clear that we should put the Co-operative movement in the country on a level with local self-government in relation to N. C. O. and capture it. We must secure a de-control—not a deregistration of our rural and urban our Central and Apex banks. I know we shall not have half or a tithe of the difficulty in capturing these organizations, that we are having in getting hold of the local bodies. Both owe their origin to an Act of legislation. Both are

supervised by Government. In both audit is compulsory. Both are subjected to official pin-pricks. But it is infinitely easier to get rid of them in co-operative societies than in local bodies. Let us therefore use them as the spring-boards that make your ascent easy. In local bodies we have already made our power felt. Let us do likewise here as well and fill the country with a network of co-operative societies of non-Co-operative weavers.

#### N. C. O.—and Bureaucracy

We can readily grasp the simple fact that the Britisher will not give us peace. He does not want it himself. The municipalities in the country have shown a distinct bias towards Non-Co-operation and its ideals. Your town was the first in the Andhradesa—was it also the first in India?—to present an address of welcome to the leader of the movement—Cocanada, Rajamahendravaram, Bezawada, Machilipatnam, Guntur and Nellore followed—and all this while Salem refused to vote an address to the Governor. Several Municipalities have resolved to conduct their transactions in Telugu. Guntur and Rajamahendravaram have resolved to nationalize their schools. Machilipatnam and Cocanada have resolved in favour of the abolition of drink shops from out of their premises. Not a few have voted in favour of the spinning wheel and against *Govadha*. What is the Madras Government's reply to these progressive measures? The government have ordered drink shops to be reopened within municipal limits in Salem after a break of two years. They have opined that the advisory committees appointed by them are only advisory and had better not bother about non-official majorities. They have declared the prohibition of *Govadha*, *ultra vires*. They have passed a rule which has the force of statutory law, that "no portion of municipal funds shall be applicable to the purpose of maintaining or aiding any Educational institution which is not recognized or approved by the Government, the District Educational Council, or any other authority duly authorized by the Govt. in this behalf to grant such recognition or approval. Here is a challenge to the Municipal Councils to spend a pie on their primary schools, leave alone secondary schools and colleges. Likewise a G. O. has been passed offering the best assistance of Govt. to fight picketing at cloth shops as Govt. fear looting on account of the insufficiency of cloth supply. What a concern for the poor. The Government is getting nervous over the impending likelihood of the local bodies and local markets being captured and the captured local bodies and markets revolutionizing education and business.

#### Drink and Govadha

It is clear that Government makes no distinction between political, economic and ethical principles. To them drink is as sacred as a godless Education. To them the Cow is no more sacred than the pig. To us it is otherwise. The spinning wheel and the cow go together. Where the Charka revolves and the Churning rod rotates there is no want. That is the adage and that the truth. And what good is the churning rod when the calves and the cows are made mince meat! We can't tolerate this. When our Moslem brethren agree to the prohibition of

cowslaughter at the Bakrid, when Pij Mothey Meah enjoins it as a duty upon his million following to keep each a cow, who are these pious christians to say the prohibition of *Gopadha* is *ultra vires*? "Dam the law and the prophets!" The Bureaucracy takes a mischievous pleasure, a wanton delight in flouting public opinion. The N. C. O. has taken to the drink-abolition as do the ducks to water. For one thing it is easy for them to preach. Even picketing has the savoury element of stimulation and excitement. To oppose is easier than to evolve. To stop bidding at sales, for the upper class people to fall prostrate before the punchama and the gowda (tapper) has an element of the dramatic and produces quick results. Moved by the ethical or the exciting influence, we have reaped wonderful results. We thought Nagapur scored the first place, but we must warn our friends in the North to beware. But the resources of the bureaucracy transcend ours. The second sales have proved more successful for them. As toddy declines, arrack increases. We require enormous energy and resources to prevent this. When public opinion is nevertheless consolidating, when the smith does not make knives and the potter does not make pots, when the vendors do not bid, and the owners of trees do not lease what madness is it on the part of government to pin their faith to the monsters of drink and its twin sister—opium? This is un-holy and in seeking to purify the government we have unwittingly and imperceptibly made our movement a self-purificatory movement as well.

#### Panchama & Nauch.

Ours was a destructive movement at first. Then when the spade work was done, we planted the cotton seed in our yards, the charka in our parlour and the loom in our frontage. We have found the men and the money needed for effecting these changes. We have propagated a movement which has laid the axe at the root of the prestige of government and the whole machinery is, as Col. Wedgewood says, rocking. We have preached to government and to the people not to traffic in drink. We have two more duties still to discharge. They relate to the untouchables and the Nauch women. Of these the former has been sufficiently emphasized. We know we have great opposition to encounter—and even that opposition is melting away rapidly. The degradation of the Panchama is not merely religious or social, but economic as well. And to them the charka and the loom come as a godsend. Therefore let us spend our funds on scholarships to the Panchama boys for learning weaving and to establish Panchama weaving colonies. That still leaves the question of the Nauch. It is a peculiar taint of the South and is a blight of society that our fallen sisters should have a religious sanction for their existence and the perpetuation of their sin. The blight is a monopoly of the South. We welcome the efforts now being made by the community for self-purification. We must start Asramas for their education and care. We have had an Anti-nauch movement for over 30 years. But what we want is a pronauch movement—the building up of Asramas for the rescue of the fallen sisters, we commend the large heartedness of the Raja of Pitrapur in this behalf. That is not enough,

We want the ferment to spread through and through, permeate the particular caste and other castes and cultivate in the former a sense of self-respect and in the latter a sense of responsibility. In this movement of ours then which is one of national self-purification we cannot leave our Nauch sisters alone or leave them to fight their battles single-handed.

#### Survey of Andhradesa

What has the Andhradesa done in these various spheres of activity? The time has come, — has it not—for taking stock of our achievements and our lapses—for it will not do for us to be proud of our position or vain of our reputation. You know pride is an exaggerated opinion of what you think of yourself while vanity is an exaggerated opinion of what others think of you. I am afraid we have need to be warned against both. Bombay, that has clothed India, is looking to the Andhradesa for its Khadder supply. If you can supply the demand you can be really proud of your achievement, if you cannot, you are content with the vanity in you that is momentarily gratified. I have however taken this for illustration. We have to take stock of our achievements in the new year, of our losses and our gains. In ordinary years, we would have counted amongst them our first President's elevation to a place in the Viceroy's cabinet. Now we would rather ignore the fact if not discount it we would count and recount the names of Ali Nabi, Chintapalli Hussain and John Ahamed who led the way in Non-chalant Non-violent Non-Co-Operation in Palnad. We would fain count the barbers, the soda sellers and the toddy tappers of Nuzvid who have braved the onslaughts of British Justice. We would again think of the 13 heroes and the heroes of Cheerala. We would specially remember the name of N. V. Md. Samoh Sahel of Rajamahendravaram who has gone to jail for 2 years because he would not pay his incometax and an unimaginative people would not buy his splendid property. We might omit the names of our B. L's and Baristers, for we have broken no new ground in sending our English Educated men to jails. They have all along been aimed at by the sharp shooters of the Bureaucracy. But they too have set the pace for the country. From Rajamahendravaram to Rajampet, they have proudly disdained to offer defence. In the Guntur district they have marched to jails as if to the bridal chamber. In Godaveri again, there is a sedition case pending for the publication of *Swarajya Gethamrutam* against two young friends. From our Sister districts in the west comes the inspiring example of drink Reform. Anantapur has taken the lead thanks to Co-operators no less than Non-Co-operators. In Kurnool, I must mention the name of Mr. Venkayya Sreshti and of Jayi Basappa who stand to their guns. In Kadiri there is a charge of dacoity against 11 pracharkas. In Tadpatri private cases have been launched under Sections 147-504 against 8 friends. In Hindapur four cases under Section 110 and 126 under Section 144 are reported. In Nellore the president of the C. C. has been slipped and nearly stabbed. In Cuddapa Dt., in Rajampet you have 3 cases.—In Hindupurat

again Mr. Karla Subbarow has transgressed an order and taken a mouta's S. L. In Veli, hadikala of Penugonda taluk, as well as in Eguvachariapalli and Taelikicharla of Markapur Tq. forest grievances are not less oppressive than in Palnad and hundreds of villages are resolved not to pay the grazing fees,—although the Congress is not contemplating such a move

Let me only mention the names of a few more places—Matlapalem, Ambajipet, Vadapalli, Yarlagadda, and bhadrachellam, where non-cooperators have been persecuted and prosecuted and at the last place mercilessly lashed and whipped and kicked for the offence of putting up the portrait of a certain person on the car. They say, 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church'—and we say the sufferings of our patriots are the sustenance of our patriotism. That is why when the rest of India is praising you, Lord Willingdon is flourishing the sword. The crusaders of old went out in their mission to extend thro' fire and sword the power of the Church of Rome and the ultimate result of the Crusade was the Renaissance of the Gnosts which Rome had always considered its most mortal enemy. The Crusades of the bureaucracy have no better or no worse result. The wise men of the East that lit the holy wisdom in the Crusaders of old would still kindle the glorious light of Freedom for all in the breasts of those that repress,—and more so of those that are repressed.

#### Change of Front

One thing emanates from all this. In the olden times we argued, pleaded and implored. Now we act. In those days we argued we were loyal to the sovereign but not to the bureaucracy, that we did not offend against section 124-A, that the section was vague and should better prescribe what we shall do and what we shall not do. Then we began to defend ourselves and hedged and dodged. But now has set in the new era when we merely make a statement and accept the destiny with good cheer and with Faith in its potency for effecting national emancipation. The bureaucracy is taking a mean advantage of our ethics and of our politics. They have brought against us charges of theft. In Tiruvur Peta Bapayya has been sentenced by a Brahman Magistrate for 7½ months on the charge of theft of a harmonium for purpose of destruction because it was videsi. Such conduct betrays not only vulgarity but vindictiveness.

#### Civil Disobedience.

In spite of all these the people are marching ahead and are trying to force the pace of the Congress. Everywhere there is an anxiety, to start civil disobedience which only betrays their lamentable lack of faith in the programme of Swadesi. There is a tendency towards the heroic and people do not bid at grazing sales, sales of trees in porambokes and on canal bunds. In Palnad the people are resolved not to pay grazing fees. The Godavery Conference has passed a resolution urging civil disobedience in a mild form. In U. P. Hardoi has asked through its Prov. Congress Committee for the permission of the working committee of the Congress to inaugurate this step. But do we not all overlook the simple fact that in between the first and

fourth steps of the scheme of N. C. O. there are two intermediate steps relating to Government servants, the Police and the military. For Civil Disobedience if it means mass action is nothing short—in the ultimate analysis—of the withholding of taxes. If it means individual acts, the step does not mean much. The Congress Committee is worried only because it still doubts whether the country is sufficiently organized, disciplined and ripe for such a step. Of course I do not pursue the logic of the Moderates which while aiming at peace, pleasure and fame, recommends a policy of waiting until a point of time when fitness will be complete. Let us not err likewise by substituting discipline for fitness.

It is barely three fortnights since the Congress Committee pronounced its verdict—and we meet here now for the first time. Let us give our best attention to the subject which must be decided after all, if at all it can be, now not for a whole province, but for particular areas. And yet there lies the weakness of detached action which lacks the cumulative support of simultaneous operation wherein really lies the strength as well as the strength giving power of the Congress. That differences of opinion do exist and are apt to exist on the matter is clear. That there are parties even amongst N. C. O's need not detract from the strength or solidarity of the movement. In the very heaven, at the footstool of God, there would be parties if the admitted question of eternal enjoyment were only to be brought up for a discussion of ways and methods.

There are those who fear the outbreak of violence from civil disobedience and those who are impatient of delay. The former point to Malabar Mattari and Malegao. We deplore violence whenever it occurs. And in Malabar we hold Mr. Thomas responsible for the epidemic of rabies that has broken out. Would any sensible man think of arresting Ultemas in a mosque at prayer time unless he himself accounted violence as of little moment. The failure of repression to overcome the progressive factor has unnerved the bureaucracy and driven them to aboriginal methods. We, non-co-operators, disclaim responsibility for the violence which nonetheless we deplore and condemn. We have preached non violence scrupulously and religiously. If in Malabar there is a revolutionary party untouched by our preachings we must not connect it with the teachings of the Congress. Not even the Governor nor the Viceroy nor even the Home member has had the courage to make N. C. O. the inspiring motive of rebellion. Their own accounts are conflicting and contradictory. All of them were 'anxious to wound, but afraid to strike.' Bernard Houghton narrates a Roman fable: Jupiter and a countryman were conversing on all things in heaven and earth. The countryman listened, agreeing much, and Jupiter strove only to convince him. But happening to doubt, Jupiter threatened him with thunder. "Ah" said the other, now I know you are wrong. You are always wrong. Jupiter, when you appeal to your thunder."

What shall we propose then for the next month. We shall press for civil Disobedience all over India. Probably it will be said that a

special Congress will be necessary as the President would not in all likelihood allow a discussion on it on the plane of practical politics. A special congress before December is a physical impossibility. Let us then enforce the intermediate steps of our programme and infect the Government servants with the virus of patriotism. You know how Government stands entrenched, behind a series of *Sapthaprakrams*—the armed forces, the Government officials the Courts, the English Educated few, the titled aristocracy, the teachers and the schools—In order to capture it we are marching from outside within. It has besides ramparts and ditches in between. You overcome them by Swadesi and antidrink and anti untouchability and Hindu Moslem Unity. The time has come when we must undertake the maintenance of Law and order. Let us train our volunteers.

#### The scheme of Swaraj.

But when all is said and done one turns round and asks whether your achievements peaceful as they may be, are bringing us Swaraj, —whether in the first place you have a scheme of Swaraj. Those are sensible questions. The 30th of September is approaching and let alone the fact we are not in sight of Swaraj, we are not in sight of even a scheme of Swaraj: Our revered Pundit of Prayag is canvassing the question. Echoes come from London of a similar quest. We do not say these are inspired. Col. Wedgewood would not mind a compromise apart from the leader of the movement.

But all these betray an impatience and a certain want of faith, whencesoever they may emanate. Our aim is not a scheme of Swaraj but Swaraj itself. Schemes are easily made when principles are admitted. Do the British admit the principle of that much abused term—Self-determination? If so, we have our Swaraj. We shall agree upon a scheme in time and we may take our own time to mature it. But without this being admitted, what good were it to develop a scheme, or what would have been your Swaraj if you had had it 10 years ago? You would have remained an out-house of England, a mere slave in mind, though free in body. Swaraj therefore is first a process, not a phenomenon, and then a mutation, causing a change, in life beyond recognition. Such changes occur suddenly. They are revolutions, they are like the Earthquake and the volcano behind which lie a multitude of processes. That is Swaraj. There is the story of a certain man who for years, was confined in a cell. Food and water were brought to him. But he lived always within those narrow walls. One day he opened the door and walked out—a free man. He might have opened at any time before had he only thought of it. What awaits him beyond is not for us now to visualise. Some raise the question of a Republic. Remember the creed of the Congress is carefully worded. Let us not waste time in trying to alter it or limit it so soon. Let us not look too far, nor too

near only. A compromise in haste would not only be premature, but prejudicial. A peep into the distant future would make your gaze vacant.

#### Conclusion.

Unto this end, let us pursue and discharge our duty with a free sense of responsibility and be prepared to fill the jails—while not courting them—and do it all without hartals and without social boycott for they but excite and depress. Let us organize ourselves subdividing our districts and intensifying our work. When we call out the Police, we shall need our volunteers even as Khadder came in the wake of foreign cloth and the Panchayets in the wake of boycott of Courts. Let us burn our vilayet cloths which defileth us or shove them into our wardrobes. Let us invite and welcome co-operation from all friends and enlist—the practising vakils in the work to which they feel drawn. Let us learn Hindi and strengthen our Congress sabhas and consolidate them by amalgamation with our splendid village libraries peculiar to the Andhradesa. Let us interest our women in affairs and seek their aid. Let us drive out the monsters of opium and drink—and I would add tobacco, elevate the Nauch and the Panchama and stop the drain of our spirit thro the schools even more than the drain of wealth thro the trade routes. Let us Non-Cooperators, above all, like the communists of Russia, work with our hands every saturday for at least a couple of hours and level up labour. Bodily labour is good for the soul. Let us outlaw the slavery of British Law and one day burn up Law reports and half of the Evidence Act even as we are burning our Lancashire cloth. Let us in the end be not disappointed because we have begun life with "Rainbowwinged hope beckoning us to the hill-top of human achievement, but anon, the luring lights grow pale like stars at dawn, and the gray, frowning cliff, of material fact loom up bald and clear above the illusory dream of youth."

"The nearer you approach the goal or the ideal the farther it appears to recede from you. Knowledge progressive reveals progressive ignorance. The first step is really the fundamental step. The soul, once awakened snaps its own bonds. Nation-building is a huge *Yagna* in which you, the sacrificial fire, offer oblations and chant the mantra. If there be no oblation, burn yourself. If there is no fire, kindle ye your own soul. Man has reached his destiny all along on through suffering. Our epics and our founders of religion tell in eloquent tones the truth of triumph of suffering. Or the same truth is told in the flashing words of Garibaldi—when he called for volunteers for the march on Rome. "For ye shall have hunger, for lodging the ground, for reward—death." Know ye not that in *Ksheerasagara madhana*, the *devas* and *asuras* churned the ocean, and first got *halahala* before they came upon the *amrit*. The *halahalam* is quaffed up by the brothers. Ours shall be the nectar.



INAUGURAL SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. C. R. REDDY AT THE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH MET IN BANGALORE ON THE 17th INSTANT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I welcome you to this Conference and feel very thankful that so many of you have been able to respond to our invitation. At previous Conferences, I have not thought it desirable to say anything by way of introductory remarks, but in view of some special events and circumstances of this year, I think it necessary to review the Educational Situation at the present time. The Educational event of this year, if I may say so, has been the publication of the Government Memorandum on Educational Policy. Its publication has been followed up, I understand, though I have had no official information on it, by the publication of the Departmental reports and recommendations, on which the Government Memorandum is based. From a leader which appeared in the "Daily Post" last evening, I infer that the Departmental papers on the subject have been issued to the Press. I think it necessary that this Conference also should discuss the new proposals, and give, if possible, the weight of its support to the conclusions arrived at, by the previous Conference which was held about a year ago, the proceedings of which were circulated to the Inspecting Officers and Headmasters and other responsible Officials of the Department.

I need not say how much the previous Conference has been helpful in enabling us to arrive at a good understanding of Educational Problems and their solutions. As I just now remarked, the Departmental Proposals were based chiefly on the Proceedings of the last Conference, which were published in extenso, and circulated very widely. In one sense, this Educational Conference will be re-discussing the same subject; however, that need not fetter our discussions. But what I am chiefly concerned with just now, is the new Developments which have occurred in British India, and which, in my opinion, go far to confirm the wisdom of our proposals.

Sometimes, when we make new proposals, we are asked whether there are any precedents for them, as though a proposal which has no precedent, must, in itself, be absurd. (Laughter) To such a question, I can only reply with Disraeli, that I would rather be an ancestor than a descendant. (Laughter) And since the Departmental proposals were formulated, there have been a large number of descendants very similar in face and character. (Laughter) Properly speaking, we should not call them descendants, because, in origin, they are quite independent. It would be absurd to say that the authorities I am going to quote, knew of our proposals and imitated them. So we shall refer to these events, not as descendants, but as subsequents quite independent in origin, which is the best proof how Educational thought in India seems to have been converging in certain directions. The first paper I would draw your attention to, is the Circular of the Government of Bengal on Primary Education. And since I do not wish to convey the idea that we are in any way interpreting documents to suit our particular conclusions, I will trouble you by reading extracts in extenso. This is what the Government of Bengal have published.—

REFORM IN BENGAL.

"The question of the simplification and unification of the different curricula for Primary Schools which are now in force in West and in East Bengal, has for sometime past been under the consideration of the Director of Public Instruction. The matter was considered by a Conference of Educational Officers, and by a subsequent Conference of Inspectors of Schools, after which detailed syllabuses of study, covering the whole of the Primary School course, were drawn up. The

Director of Public Instruction has now submitted these syllabuses to Government, with a recommendation for the adoption of a simple and uniform curriculum for the whole Presidency. The whole course, which extends over 5 years, has been so arranged that pupils who desire to proceed to Middle and High Schools can do so without inconvenience at the close of class IV. (This is exactly the object we had in view when we proceeded to formulate our scheme for unifying the Middle School type, *i.e.*, to make transition to higher education easy and natural.) The work of class V will be of a vocational nature, and is intended to suit the requirements of those boys whose studies would ordinarily not extend beyond the Primary stage." Exactly what we formulated again, when we provided for vocational instruction from the First Form onwards. Perhaps, you will be glad and surprised to know that under the modified proposals English is introduced as a subject in the Primary grades in Bengal, at about the stage that we propose for its inclusion as a compulsory second language.

#### DR. SADLER'S COMMISSION'S REPORT.

The most important and authoritative Report which has come to our help, if not rescue, is the Report of Dr. Sadler's Commission. I saw a telegram a few days ago in which this Report is eulogised by the "London Times" as the greatest document since the Despatch of 1854. I would not qualify it even to that extent, because I have never been an admirer of the Despatch of 1854; and Dr. Sadler's Report, to my mind, appears to be the greatest pronouncement that has ever been made on Indian Education. This is the first time in which Educationists, trained in Western methods of critical research, have viewed the problem from an Indian standpoint and viewed it as an organic whole. That is why this University Commission deals with Secondary Education also with a thoroughness and completeness that are marvels of critical acumen and profound research.

I shall deal only with those portions of the Report which bear on the organic changes that we, in Mysore, have been advocating.

#### UNIFICATION OF TYPES.

First, and foremost, I take the subject which I have unfortunately labelled the unification of types, by which I mean that we should not have either the purely Vernacular Lower Secondary which leads to nothing, or the predominantly English School which leads to something, the desirability of which is, however, questionable.

An Education in the mother tongue is to be neglected is not a satisfactory solution of the problem. At the same time, to place education through the Vernacular in a position where it spells pauperism, and where it can lead to nothing, either of cultural or of economic value, seems to be again a regrettable blunder, and therefore, is it that we try to reconcile the two in a bilingual education, in which English shall be a compulsory subject while much of the Education will be through the Vernacular. Let us now see what Dr. Sadler's Report has to say on subject.

#### SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

But before we go to this question, we have to investigate the sociological grounds on which all these reforms are based. Remember that the insistence on sociological investigation as a proper preliminary for educational organisation has been a favourite and fruitful idea with Dr. Sadler. I am not sure whether he was not the first educationist, in England at any rate, who placed special emphasis on the proper correlation of educational arrangements with sociological requirements. I have not made any secret of the sociological foundations on which my proposals are based. It is to give the Rural classes in the State exactly the same chances of going up to the higher courses, professional and cultural, that are at present enjoyed by the people in the towns. And let us see what Sadler's Commission has to say on the sociological grounds of Educational Reform. He has recorded the evidence of witnesses collected in various places.—

#### NEW ASPIRATIONS OF RURAL CLASSES.

"At Daulatpur, we met three important deputations representing the neighbouring town of Khulna. They gave expression to Hindu and Muslim opinion alike. Both communities desire an increase of facilities for High School and Intermediate.

education. Those who spoke on behalf of the People's Association of Khulna told us that the pressure for more high schools comes, not only from the middle and upper middle classes, but from the cultivators, some of whom wish to raise the social status of their families by giving higher education to some of their sons. These more up-looking members of the cultivating class have ambitions towards a less humble station. They wish, we were told, their sons to win a position which would entitle them to more respect. (Not an undesirable motive or one to be discouraged.) Again, some of the cultivators think (with whatever little foundation for their hopes) that their sons may do better financially as professional men than if they remain on the land. Such are some of the new social and economic motives which are stimulating the educational awakening in this part of Bengal." (Observe how the new forces are taken into proper account.)

"At Berhampur, in the more central region of the Province, Rai Boikunt Nath Sen Bahadur, the Government Pleader and first unofficial Chairman of the District Board of Murshidabad, spoke to us of the rush towards high school and College, and urged that the Education which the boys should receive ought to give more opportunities of scientific preparation for agriculture. The schools, he maintained, were overcrowded by boys whose one idea was to get into Government service, or the law." Our proposals are intended to obviate this evil by the provision of agricultural and technical courses as optionals, which at the same time will count for procedure to higher school and College courses and degrees.

"At Rangpur, the centre of a wide agricultural District, Mr. Aftabuddin Ahmed, Officiating Deputy District Inspector of Schools, reported to us a rapid increase in the demand for High School education in that part of Bengal, both among Hindus and Musalmans. The desire for higher education is, there also, touching the cultivator class. Many parents in that class wish their sons to rise to a higher social position, and the key is in the High schools. (This is the key, if I may say so, to our reforms.) But there are more strictly economic reasons for these new aspirations. A cultivator with a number of sons, sends one of them to the High School with the hope of his going on to College and entering a profession. This boy is not wanted on his father's land. The holding is not large enough to support him as well as his brothers. But, if he goes to the High School (the witness told us), the boy is lost to the land. Other opportunities of doing well in an Agricultural calling, apart from working on his father's land, might have offered themselves to him. No doubt, in his professional or official career, his early rural experience may be of some assistance to him. But the direct use of that experience is denied by clerical duties. And thus the Agricultural districts are being drained of some of the abilities which, if turned towards an industrialised and more scientific farming, might have been more productive. The witness therefore urged that the courses of training in High Schools, and still more in the intermediate stage beyond, should be made more scientific and practical in order that High School education should no longer be a channel drawing the brighter boys away from rural avocations which need scientific development at the hands of young men of superior training and wide outlook. A similar view of the value of the service which a more scientific and practical kind of education might confer upon the Agricultural District near Rangpur was urged upon us by a deputation of Muslim representatives and by the District Magistrate (Mr. J. N. Gupta) himself. The latter speaks with exceptional authority."

#### CAUSES OF THE UNIVERSAL DEMAND FOR ENGLISH EDUCATION.

So fundamental do the Commission regard this investigation that, in the volume dealing with their recommendations, they commence with this as the governing datum and factor, I shall quote the following passages.—

"The most striking feature of the situation is the eager demand for secondary and college education, in which English is the medium of instruction. Bengal has always shown a strong predisposition towards western learning. The volume and intensity of the present demand are however beyond precedent." (Mysore is not behind hand.)

"It is clear that a powerful movement finds expression in this demand for secondary and college education. Four causes have produced it. The first is the

economic pressure which is straitening, in some cases to the point of penury, the already narrow means of many families belonging to the respectable classes in Bengal."

"To the members of the respectable classes, English high schools are a social necessity."

"The second cause which has led to the increased demand for a secondary and higher education is the awakening of new ambitions in ranks of society which formerly lay outside its range. The social recognition to which a graduate is entitled is naturally prized by many whose rising prosperity enables them to look higher than their earlier circumstances allowed. Agriculturists, in thinking of their sons' future, look beyond the horizon of village life. The difficulty of finding remunerative employment on the land for all the young men of a large family makes their fathers wish to put them into other callings, access to which is through the English Secondary Schools."

"The third cause which has stimulated the desire for secondary education in Bengal is hardly less powerful. It is the feeling, however inarticulate and undefined, that economic and social changes are near at hand."

"A fourth cause has furthered the growth of secondary and college education during recent years. Thoughtful Indian opinion frets under the stigma of illiteracy which, in spite of the high attainments of a relatively small minority, the country has still to bear. Every advance which India makes towards a place of direct influence in the affairs of the Empire throws into sharper relief the ignorance under which the masses of her people labour. The educated classes are sensitive to this blot upon the good name of their country and feel that it lowers the prestige of India in the eyes of the world."

I have only one remark to make on this account of the new social and economic forces which are bound to re-shape our educational organization on the lines here suggested and that is, it is guilty of a serious sin of omission. It does not mention the new political awakening of the lower classes and their desire that the distribution of political power and influence in this country shall be such as to ensure fairness to all interests concerned. I think proper distribution of political powers and influence, without which no democratic experiment can succeed, necessitates even more than the other factors a new advance in education on broader and more popular lines such as we have sketched.

If, therefore, there is all this desire on the part of the rural classes for the kind of education that would lead to higher courses, it is the first duty of the State and of the Education Department to see that they are not shut up in a blind alley, as is the condition at present, but to open up avenues for them also to reach these higher courses; and it is this which leads me to the question of the unification of the types, with which is bound up, in some measure, the question of the medium of instruction. I will read to you what Dr. Sadler has to say on the question of the medium of instruction.

#### MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND THE NECESSITY OF BI-LINGUAL EDUCATION.

"We are disposed to think that the educated classes in the various provinces of India, will, like those of some other countries, both in the British dominions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual; to use their mother-tongues for those dear and intimate things which form part of life from infancy upwards, and which are the very breath and substance of poetry and of national feeling."

Remember that our solution is the bilingual solution. I have never believed in the possibility of Indians going into ecstasies over Shakspeare or Milton in the same manner as over Kalidas or Bhava Bhuti.

"Unlike some of our correspondents, we regard a severe training in the use of the mother-tongue, not as a dangerous rival to training in English, *but as the necessary preliminary to such training*. It may be that by postponing the use of the English medium, the supply of ready-made English phrases will come a little later; but when it comes, it will come to boys better able to understand and to use them."

"It is clear that we must begin with the mother tongue as the medium in all or nearly all, subjects; and we think, that English should be used as the medium

in the University for all subjects except such languages as Sanskrit, Pali and the Vernacular itself." And here is the most important portion of their finding.

"We are convinced that the use of the English medium is at present excessive in the Secondary Schools, to the detriment both of the pupils' education and of the rational use of both media, and that a substantial change should be made; and we think it would probably be desirable as a rule to use the vernacular as the medium throughout the secondary schools for all subjects other than English and Mathematics." This is exactly our proposal. Every word of it.

#### FALLACY OF PARALLEL EDUCATION.

In this connection, I would like to dispose of a fallacy of which I have heard mention in certain responsible quarters—the fallacy of Parallel Education.

"A number of witnesses, Hindu, Muslim and European, have urged the establishment of parallel institutions, or of parallel classes in the same institution, (this has been tried in Mysore and found wanting) the one set using English, the other the Vernacular (Bengali or Urdu) as the principal medium. But we do not think a case for such an organisation has been made out, if, as public opinion demands, English is to be a compulsory second language throughout higher secondary education above the level of the middle school," (We go further and wish to be a compulsory second language in the Middle grades also) "there will be little room for the new set of institutions side by side with the ordinary high schools in our scheme." Once you produce unification on a bilingual basis, there would be no need for parallel education at all, "since the only difference between the two would consist in the employment of English for teaching Mathematics in the one set, and of the vernacular for teaching Mathematics in the other. Mr. Pramathanath Chatterjee, of whose elaborate plan for parallel institutions we have quoted details in Chapter XVIII, belongs to the small minority who would have English, not as a compulsory, but an optional second language; but he tells us, at the same time, that there is a growing demand for English, and that even if it is optional, a large majority of pupils, if not all, will learn English as a second language, and will be able to employ it for all ordinary purposes."

In regard to parallel Education, in my own report, I have said that the idea of parallel Education under the existing conditions cannot be carried out and must be dismissed as a mixture of cloud and moonshine. I am glad to find that I was not far wrong in the conclusions to which I was forced by a study of our conditions and problems

#### VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL COURSES IN GENERAL SCHOOLS.

Then, the third feature which deserves to be dealt with is the introduction of some kind of vocational education in our general schools. This has been popularly referred to, in Mysore controversies, as the introduction of poly-technical education, though a better way of terming it, would be the introduction of vocational courses as alternatives or optionals in our general schools. And here is what Dr. Sadler's Commission say on the subject—

"A better secondary education would give to the workshops and factories of the future, the responsible leaders which they will require. An experienced Indian witness tells us that one of the things which would relieve the situation is a breakdown of the prejudice against working with the hands." (Arguments which all of us have been in the habit of employing in this connection.) "Such a change would be promoted by a good modern course of secondary education in which the training of the hand, and the study of Science, have an important place without detriment to the training given through language, literature and history." Fitter language to characterise the principle of our proposals cannot be employed. And we accomplish this object by saying that a few subjects of cultural interest shall be taken as compulsory subjects and that both cultural and vocational courses should figure amongst the optionals, so that students with various aptitudes may be able to take suitable combinations.

I have already quoted the passages in which several responsible witnesses have urged on them the introduction of agriculture or other vocational subjects in the secondary grades.

In another important respect, Dr. Sadler's Commission confirms our judgment, in advocating that Teaching should be made an optional in the Intermediate and Collegiate grades.

#### REMODELLING OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

Now I come to another subject which has given rise to a certain amount of controversy though the vast majority of educationists and people in Mysore have pronounced themselves again and again as being in favour of the reform advocated. I allude to what has been called the Remodelling of Women's Education. In all the Educational discussions I have had the good fortune or misfortune to take part, I have not come across another subject in which fallacies and false sentiments have played a more vexatious part, though one is glad to note that the sound common sense of the people has not thereby been disturbed. These fallacies are laid bare in a conclusive manner in Dr. Sadler's Report.

The first fallacy laid bare is the confusion between Standard and Curriculum.

"In the same way, so long as the standards of attainment are maintained at an equal level with those exacted from men, we can see no reason against, and every reason in favour of, an adaptation of the degree courses in arts and science which would include some subjects of special value for women, and perhaps omit others of which they do not stand so much in need."

"But when they go on to assert that "in regard to professions equally open to men and women....the standard of work *and the curriculum* should be the same," while we agree in regard to the standard of work, we cannot but feel that it might well be advisable that the woman teacher, and even the woman doctor, while following the main lines of the necessary curriculum, should be encouraged to give special emphasis to particular branches of their subjects which need not be so important for men"

The fallacy here exposed is that of confounding standard with curriculum, as though you cannot have the same standards in different subjects and different courses. It is quite possible for us to maintain the same standard in subjects of peculiar interest to women without inflicting on them the identical curricula for boys. In fact, in one of the best organised institutions in London, they have a Degree course in subjects pertaining to Domestic Sciences and arts, and it is as good as any course in the Colleges and requires as high a standard of proficiency, though the curriculum is quite different.

"In the same way, so long as the standards of attainment are maintained at an equal level with those exacted from men, we can see no reason against, and every reason in favour of, an adaptation of the degree courses in arts and science which would include some subjects of special value for women, and perhaps omit others of which they do not stand so much in need. Many of our correspondents urge the desirability of a specially designed curriculum for women students, or at least of the inclusion of alternative subjects adapted to the needs of women."

It is this resource of alternative subjects that I myself advocated, because there is no reason why any woman who wants to take up the boys' course should be prevented from so doing. But neither should there be the present-day compulsion, which is involved in the limitations of our organisation, of forcing every woman to take up a course which is of little interest, and less use, to her or her future duties. And then Sadler's Commission proceeds to say.—

"On the face of it, it would appear that a problem so difficult as that of the higher education of women cannot be solved merely by applying to them a system designed for men and far from satisfactory even for them." I hope that what appears to be an *apriori* absurdity to Dr. Sadler's Commission will not be received as an axiom by any of us. (Laughter.)

"The education of women in Bengal cannot remain in its present condition. It is insufficient in scale to meet the needs of a progressive society, which demands the service of educated women as well as of educated men. It reproduces all the faults of the system of training for men, and that in a sphere wherein they are more destructive. Above all, it tends to be out of touch with the traditions and needs of Indian Society, and thus, instead of playing its part in the gradual and healthful

reconstruction of that society, it arouses vague but real alarm, and leads to reaction." I am not alarmed but only disgusted.

"Mr. Chatterjee (Principal of the Jagannath College, Dacca) goes on to sketch the course of study including music, painting, needle-work, hygiene and sanitation, besides the ordinary subjects; he urges that the medium of teaching should be Bengali, but would include in the course English Literature, English History and training in English Conversation." But if we are going to deal with the courses of study, a premature undertaking now, I would bodily adopt the courses in the New Women's College in London.

#### EDUCATION OF BACKWARD AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

And now we come to a problem, less educational, but of more administrative interest, the problem of Special Communities' Education. It is necessary to see, how this problem has been solved, and what Dr. Sadler's Commission themselves have to say on it. Such a study will have a tranquilising effect and help us to form a clearer and better balanced judgment. Let me quote from the order of the Government of Bengal which is included in the Report. I should premise my remarks by saying that the Mahomedans occupy a rather special place in Bengal. It is curious to see what measures have been adopted in order to safe-guard, as it were, the interests of what we may call, the backward classes.

"(a) Twenty-five per cent of the vacancies each year in all Government and Aided Colleges must be reserved for Musalmans."

"(b) In all Government schools a certain percentage of the vacancies each year in each class must be reserved for Musalmans."

"(c) In order to remove, as far as possible, the disabilities of Muslim pupils in ordinary schools and colleges, the Government of Bengal have tried to insist on there being a Muslim element on the staff of every school, in addition to the teachers of Arabic and Persian."

"(d) An Assistant Director of Public Instruction and five special Assistant Inspectors for Muslim education were appointed. Such appointments are not found outside Bengal."

Certainly an Assistant Director of Public Instruction specially charged with the supervision of Musلمان Education is not to be found outside Bengal, and, perhaps, there is no necessity for it either. It is desirable to have an officer of similar rank for the promotion and supervision of the education of Mahomedans and Depressed Classes. They have also established a non-college hostel for the benefit of that community. The recommendations of Dr. Sadler's Commission, with reference to the encouragement to be given to what we should call Depressed Classes, would, perhaps, be of even more importance and interest to us in Mysore. They propose that in the new Central Authority for Secondary and Intermediate Education, there should be a standing Committee to advise that authority on questions affecting the educational welfare of the Depressed Classes. In other words, a special body should be appointed to be in special charge of the Educational interests of those communities which do get too often neglected. I have made proposals to this effect which I hope will bear fruit in due season. And their chief recommendation is that the Government Hostels should be established for their benefit, even to the extent of giving them free board and lodging, at all the Secondary and higher educational centres. I am sure that a good many of us have heard recently in criticism of the policy of encouraging general education amongst the Backward and Depressed Classes, that much harm will be done if these lower classes are taken out of their surroundings, and that they should be kept where they are, and as far as possible as they are—a view which is thoroughly repugnant to every educationist, whose aim is to uplift. So far from taking a view of that kind, which is subversive of the first principles of our profession, the Calcutta University Commission contemplate arrangements by which the Namasudra and other Depressed Classes should be brought in larger numbers to the University, at which centre, Government Hostels should be specially maintained for their benefit.

#### FALLACY OF SELECTION EXAMINATION.

Now I have discussed all the larger organic questions underlying any rational systematisation of our Department. I cannot but refer also, though more by way

of curiosity rather than of any serious desire to make them appear as important, to the way in which they have confirmed our judgment on minor matters of administrative detail, such as the practical abolition of the Selection Examination, and the measures taken to stamp out private tuition. Let me read what Dr. Sadler's Commission had to say on the point. —

“ Each school should be expected to present for the high school examination the whole number pupils in the class in which that examination may be taken, and the Board should call for an explanation from the headmaster of the school, if any appreciable number of the pupils in that class are not presented. This will prevent an unfair amount of attention being given to some of the pupils to the disadvantage of the rest. It will also deter the schools from promoting boys prematurely to the highest class. The purpose of the examination is two-fold, (i) to test the attainments of individual pupils, (ii) to ascertain the standard reached by the class as a whole at this stage. The second of these purposes is defeated when only a select number of pupils, chosen out of the class are presented for the examination.”

We brought forward, as you know, other grounds as well, such as the demoralization to which the boys would be exposed if they are made to lose all interest in their studies from the beginning of January, at which time selection is usually made, down to the end of June after which the schools reopen. Six months of demoralization is not to be encouraged by educationists.

#### EVIL OF PRIVATE TUITION.

I hope, after this, the Headmasters will know their duty, and perform it with greater goodwill. On the subject of private tuition too, they have some choice passages. This is not an easy problem like the Selection Examination. But it would be well for the Inspecting Officers, though in the Circular I issued, I dealt with at length, on the Educational, Disciplinary, Administrative and other grounds which necessitated the measure, to know how the most responsible Educational Commission that ever sat in India views this subject. While showing every sympathy to the economic needs of the teachers which, at times, drive them to supplement their salaries by earnings gained in these directions, we must steel our hearts to view it in connection with the effects on schools and pupils which are our primary concern. “The effect upon the teacher and upon class teaching in the school are bad. The teachers are over worked (“Our teachers, are, many of them, working themselves to death,” said one experienced witness) and have no leisure in which adequately to prepare themselves for giving lessons in schools. The spring of their energies is loaded too heavily by long hours of tuition. So far as we can judge from what we have seen, in the great majority of secondary schools in the Presidency, there is little class teaching which deserves praise. The result is that, long as they are, the hours spent in class do not give the boys the systematic instruction which they need; and for fear of failure at the examination, recourse is had to private coaching to make up for what the school does badly and might do well. Thus one evil tends to increase the other. The school master is often overworked, impaired in self-respect, habituated to an ineffective way of teaching, but compelled by poverty to eke out his income by private tuition. The boy is at his book far too many hours in the day; is given so much individual coaching that he fails to get into right habit of independent work (this is a new argument which was not advanced in the Circular referred to) and falls into a way of drowsing through the hours in class instead of being kept briskly at attention by good teaching.” I need not read through, though the Commission goes on to suspect that in some cases teachers themselves might wantonly not do their work in the classes, in order to compel the parents to engage them as private tutors. (Laughter) I hope that the Inspecting Officers will see to it that the discretion recently vested in them is exercised in the manner in which educationists are expected to exercise the discretion. Of course, we shall be told, “What about the poverty of the teacher?” As I have said in the Legislative Council, I would like all our teachers to be paid a great deal more. If they are not going to get as much as they deserve or need that is absolutely no reason why they should accept a situation in our service knowing the conditions, and then prove false to the trust placed in them. If



man undertakes a duty, he must perform it; he cannot be permitted to put forward private reasons for breaking the duty for which he is employed. I do not want to be considered as unsympathetic. Our teachers deserve to be more highly paid. Perhaps some of you may have seen how in the new reorganisation I have proposed a revision of salaries. But that has nothing to do with the plain duty of the teacher to reserve himself for all the students of the class, and not for the benefit of a few, especially the rich or influential. We do not want an oligarchy in Education. Take private tuition and selection together; you have the most dangerous combination of evils. Allow a teacher to have private tuition and then select for the public examination; why, he will be tempted to select the few to whom special attention has been paid to keep up the percentage of passes. Schooling, training and teaching—all these become a mockery if the combination of these evil factors is allowed to go unchecked; you may as well close the schools and convert the Department into an examining body holding Public Examinations and issuing Certificates; but if schools and school life are to be maintained not merely in name but in their integrity, evil influences of this kind will have to be put down. There are also one or two things in Dr. Sadler's Report of great interest to us, or rather things which have to be borne in mind by Governments in their dealings with the Educational Department. They have made various recommendations in regard to the higher administrative arrangements which need not be discussed here.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In view of the findings of this Commission, we can congratulate ourselves that our main principles have, on the whole, been proved to be sound. But of course principles do not lead us far or beyond the threshold. These will have to be applied and given concrete embodiment and brought into effective operation. Should the time come when the solution of these questions on the lines we have proposed is taken up in hand, there is no doubt that the entire staff of the Department will work with a will so as to assure complete success.

I am sorry I have made this rather long opening speech. As I told you, this is the first time I have been guilty of this, and I shall not repeat the offence. We are going to discuss the Government Memorandum on Education and the Departmental reports which have been published, copies of which will be made available to the members of this Conference as far as possible. But as you would like to study the document, we shall take this up on the third day, in case we finish the other subjects or hold an extra session on the fourth day. I have also to invite your attention to two other problems in this supplemental session, *i.e.*, the question of religious education. A syllabus which has been prepared by the Religious Education Society will be circulated to the members of this Conference. It is a very important question, a question which is not free from difficulties. I wondered whether I could get any guidance from Dr. Sadler's Report, but like the old Diplomat that he is, he has carefully left out the very mention of this subject. (Laughter) At all events, I have not been able to find any reference in the rapid study I made of his Report. The second subject is temperance education. The Temperance Society has been asking me if direct teaching in temperance could be introduced into all our schools. I told them that this would be put before the Conference for their opinion. (Applause)

BANGALORE,  
19th September 1919.

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# THE FOURTH SESSION

OF

## THE ALL-INDIA LIBERAL FEDERATION.

*Speech of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Chairman, Reception Committee  
delivered at Allahabad, on December 28th, 1921.*

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—On behalf of the Reception Committee I offer you a cordial welcome to the sacred and historic city of Prayag. For centuries the Ganges and the Jumna have drawn pilgrims here from every part of India and I like to picture to myself the unique spectacle of princely munificence which Prayag witnessed during the reign of Harsha at the time of the great Kumbha festival which used to be celebrated then every five years. Speaking close upon fifteen years ago in this city which is the symbol of an ancient civilization, Mr. Gokhale said its name "stirred within him emotions which it was a privilege to feel." I trust you will not regard it as presumptuous of me if I express the hope that it will inspire you with similar feelings today.

Since we met last we have had to mourn the death of our distinguished countryman Sir Rashbehari Ghose. He was an eminent jurist and a man of scholarly attainments. It will be superfluous on my part to recount the services which he rendered to the country in the dark days following the partition of Bengal. He took a keen interest in education and his princely benefactions to the Calcutta University will be remembered with gratitude by posterity.

It is our pleasant duty to offer a loyal welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales who, to use his own words, has come here in order that he may know India and India may know him. It is a matter of deep regret to us that the visit of the heir-apparent to the throne who should be treated as above politics should have roused fierce passions and been the subject of an acute controversy. Despite the assurance given by His Excellency the Viceroy a political significance has been discerned in his visit. His Majesty the King visited India once as Prince of Wales in 1906, when Bengal was in the throes of the anti-partition agitation and once after his accession to the throne in 1911, but I am not aware that the warm welcome accorded to him on either of these occasions affected the course of Indian politics in the slightest degree. The fear that the visit of His Royal Highness may strengthen the hold of the bureaucracy on India thus derives no support from facts.

In ordinary times a number of questions of undoubted importance, many of which are the direct outcome or have received additional prominence on account of the reforms, would have had to be considered even in a cursory review of the salient features of Indian politics. But we are living in stormy times when the country is seething with unprecedented excitement from end to end. The political situation is changing with phenomenal rapidity. Every day brings its own anxieties. The forces of unrest are growing apace in volume and intensity and the outlook never very bright during the last two years may be said without exaggeration to have become threatening. The question of our future overshadows every other question at present. It is, therefore, to a consideration of this problem that I shall address myself today. Before doing so, however, I must refer to the Moplah outbreak which shows

the danger of playing on the feelings of an ignorant and fanatical people. The seriousness of the outbreak, which it has taken months to suppress, cannot be doubted, and the forcible conversion of a number of Hindus is, unfortunately, equally beyond question. An attempt was made by interested parties to minimize the gravity of the situation in Malabar, but the testimony of independent witnesses who have made personal enquiries has placed the serious nature of the conflagration beyond the shadow of a doubt.

I will not dwell on the causes of the present discontent as they are familiar to you all. But it has assumed a new phase of late. The tension has become much acuter owing to the disbandment of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act Pt. II, in a majority of the provinces. The task of the Government in maintaining law and order in these days is undoubtedly difficult. The avowed object of the non-co-operator is to bring all authority into contempt and collision with Government is his favourite method of action. And some persons influenced by the subversive doctrines which he preaches, have been guilty of acts which, in the interests of society, it is impossible to tolerate. Government are, therefore, entitled in a measure to the sympathy and co-operation of all peaceful and law-abiding citizens in discharging their primary duty of enforcing respect for authority. But did the necessities of the case require that the entire volunteer movement should be declared illegal and enrolment as a volunteer of the Congress or Khilafat Committee, visited with penalties? The volunteers have at times been instruments of political or social tyranny. Picketing as admitted by Mr. Gandhi himself has not always been limited to moral persuasion and *hartals* have not always been wholly voluntary. But, howsoever unpleasant the volunteers may have made themselves and however unlawful their doings at times, I am unable in the light of such facts as have come to our knowledge to admit the justification for the action taken against them as a body almost throughout India. The authorities have every right to proceed against individual volunteers guilty of violating the law. Their punishment may be necessary in the public interest, but this is no reason for proscribing the entire body pretty nearly everywhere. Besides, it has to be remembered that neither picketing nor the bringing about of *hartals* is *per se* unlawful. To declare them as such in an indirect manner can scarcely be regarded as a fair use of power. A stronger objection, however, arises when we consider the purpose for which the Criminal Law Amendment Act was originally intended. It was designed to put down revolutionary societies which carried on their activities in the dark and used the bomb and the assassin's dagger to achieve their object. A special law had to be passed to suppress them as the societies being secret Government found it impossible to obtain sufficient evidence to proceed against them. The volunteers obviously stand on a different footing; and public opinion which has throughout opposed the retention of the Criminal Law Amendment Act on the statute book cannot approve of its application to them.

The circumstances in which Government adopted the new policy seem to prove the general soundness of this view. An attempt has been made, especially by Sir Harcourt Butler, to make out that the past record of the volunteers and the general trend of their activities left a patient Government no alternative but to make up its mind to deal drastically with them. It appears, however, to an outside observer that Government were thrown off their balance by the deplorable events which occurred recently in Bombay. The immediate cause of the step taken by them and I believe the real reason for it was their exasperation at the unfortunate boycott of the Prince's visit and their determination to secure a warm welcome for him, for if they had desired to suppress the volunteer movement on the general ground that it was dangerous to the peace and safety of the state, the Government of Bombay, which was the scene of serious disorder and lawlessness the day the Prince of Wales landed, would no doubt have been the first to set the law in motion against the volunteers, instead of having remained inactive till now. They have, however, signally failed to achieve the desired result. To take a few instances only, Lucknow and Allahabad observed

complete *hartals* on the day of the Prince's visit which could not have been brought about by intimidation or undue pressure. In fact, it is believed by people who were in touch with facts that the *hartals* were complete only because of the general resentment against the arrests, particularly the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru, who could not be accused even by his worst enemies of inciting to or conniving at violence. His prosecution and imprisonment sent a thrill of indignation through the province and have done more to exacerbate feeling and alienate public sympathy than anything else. Had Government deliberately set about devising means to defeat the object they had in view they could scarcely have improved upon the method which they have pursued.

The impolicy of embarking on a campaign of wholesale arrests and prosecutions is even more evident than the want of justification for making use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The proclamation of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers as unlawful was regarded as a direct challenge to the Congress and Khilafat organizations. It was looked upon as an attempt to strangle the movements and as might have been foreseen, their leaders thought that they had no option but to defend their organizations and the right of free association even at the cost of their personal liberty. There was an instantaneous and violent upheaval of feeling throughout the country and the law has been openly defied by large numbers of men. Except in a few cases, one of which has attracted more attention than the rest, the legality of the proceedings taken against them has not been questioned. The right of the Government to punish a violation of the law is not disputed, but, in the words of Burke, of what use is the assertion of a title when it proclaims the loss of the suit?

Government should lose no time in extricating themselves from the difficult situation in which their action has landed them. Although meant to deal a blow at non-co-operation, it has given a powerful impetus to the movement. The refusal of Government till lately to repress it and the patience which they showed may not have been rewarded with the success which they deserved, but the results obtained were not discouraging. Generally speaking, the conduct of Government did not provide non-co-operation with the atmosphere in which it could thrive and indications were not wanting that if the old policy were continued for some time the forces of constitutionalism might be materially strengthened. The non-cooperator was beginning to feel jaded for want of the stimulation that comes from opposition, and the abandonment of civil disobedience for the time being by Mr. Gandhi, and differences of view in the Congress camp in regard to abstention from legislatures may be mentioned prominently among the hopeful signs which I have just alluded to. The danger that civil disobedience, with its attendant risks, might be advocated again had not disappeared, but if I am right in holding that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was enforced really to prevent *hartals* in connection with the Prince's visit, I am justified in drawing from it the inference, that, even in the view of Government this gloomy contingency did not require immediate action. The forestalling of the evil day and the adoption of what Government may regard as preventive measures have not improved the situation. On the contrary, they have hastened the advent of civil disobedience, which according to Mr. Gandhi, is to be resorted to purely as a protest against the disbandment of the volunteers. The provinces where the authority of Government is most respected are not those which are taking vigorous action, but those which have followed a policy of inactivity, such as Bombay and the Central Provinces.

The blame for the promulgation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act must be borne in no small measure by the Government of India. The fact that it has been enforced in more than one province shows that the new policy, though not dictated by them, received their previous sanction. They should, therefore, advise the Local Governments to reconsider their position and to adopt a conciliatory attitude. Nothing but a change of policy will ease the tension. A policy of wholesale arrests and prosecutions

which His Excellency the Viceroy said the other day he detested, will not receive the support of any section of Indian opinion. The Criminal Law Amendment Act should be withdrawn and all persons, convicted or arrested under it, should be released. It may not be easy for Government to retrace their steps, but the statesmanship and high-mindedness which His Excellency the Viceroy displayed the other day in his reply to the deputation which asked for the convening of a round table conference can overcome difficulties which may seem insuperable to smaller minds. The consequences of persisting in the present course cannot be contemplated with equanimity. A false sense of prestige or delay may make the situation well nigh irremediable.

The Local Governments need not wait till they receive instructions from the Government of India. They may revise their policy of their own accord. In any case let us sincerely hope that they will not be as uncompromising as the Government of the United Provinces. Sir Harcourt Butler who thought it contrary to the public interest to allow a discussion of his policy in the U. P. Legislative Council has thought it desirable in that very interest to explain and justify it on two occasions when he could make *ex-parte* statements. His last utterance is in marked and painful contrast to the conciliatory sentiments expressed the other day by the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal. They regard the policy of repression as a disagreeable necessity and would fain abandon it if they thought they could, perhaps because they are "frightened by action". Sir Harcourt Butler on the other hand almost seems to revel in it. They have lived in the free atmosphere of English public life while he received his training in the bureaucratic school where the most valuable lesson that he learnt in political philosophy was that "law and order are mainly kept by force and that with difficulty."

*A Libel on the Liberal Party*

Before I pass on to another topic I must notice a remark in Sir Harcourt Butler's speech which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. He has been informed that the Moderates of Gorakhpur are "jubilant" over the "firmness" shown by Government. This is a libel on the Liberal party. I know of no member of our party in Gorakhpur to whom this statement can apply. There is no Liberal here but has learnt of the arrests with deep pain. I can say confidently that a policy of unadulterated repression will meet with the strongest opposition from the Liberals in these provinces. Perhaps the so-called moderates whose support Sir Harcourt Butler has received are members of the Aman Sabhas, which are the valuable instruments of official propaganda which his long "experience of Government" has enabled him to fashion.

The strenuous resistance which is being offered everywhere to the disbandment of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers is a matter for serious consideration. The cancellation of the order issued by Government will put an end to the revolt against authority which it has been the occasion of, but it can by itself effect no permanent improvement in the situation. Nothing can remove the deep and growing estrangement between the people and the Government but a wise solution of the problems which have kept the body politic in a state of continual agitation during the last two years. The Punjab and Khilafat questions should be satisfactorily settled and the desire of the people for power to shape their own future fully recognized.

The disastrous effect of the racial humiliation to which the people of the Punjab were subjected two years ago cannot be minimized. The iron has entered into the soul of India and she demands that her self-respect should be vindicated. She has not yet received complete satisfaction for the wrongs done to her, and such reparation as has been made to her has appeared to be tardy and unwilling. In particular some of the men, whose misdeeds cannot be lightly passed over, continue in the service of the Crown in the Punjab. The belief that Government contemplates rewarding one of them for the unpardonable excesses of which he was guilty during the Martial Law regime nearly convulsed the Punjab some time ago. Such a proceeding would have been an intolerable outrage on Indian feeling and would hav

converted the professions made by Government in the Legislative Assembly of their determination to hold the lives and honour of Indians as sacred as those of Europeans into a cruel mockery.

The Moslem demand for a revision of the Turkish treaty must command the sympathy of every one who realizes the share that grasping Imperialism and religious bigotry had in dictating the peace terms. The justice of the claim has received the fullest recognition both from the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The protests of our Muslim fellow-countrymen have received their constant and powerful support and it has been admitted that the Muslim case has been pressed on the British Cabinet by Mr. Montagu with an earnestness and ability which no Mahomedan could have surpassed. It is a matter of regret to us that complete success has not attended their efforts. His Excellency the Viceroy has, however, struck a note of hopefulness in his recent speeches and we sincerely trust that the Near East conference which is to take place at an early date will pay due heed to the representations of His Excellency's Government and arrive at a settlement which will take full account of the feelings of Indian Mahomedans.

✓ [ The Government of India Act was passed only two years ago and has been in force for not more than a year. Yet there is already a vigorous and widespread demand, in which all political parties have joined, for further constitutional advance. The Act contemplated that a commission should be appointed ten years after the reforms had been in operation to enquire into and report on their working, and the Joint Select Committee recommended that no substantial constitutional change should be made in the interval. But so rapidly have things moved since then that Mr. Sastri is reported to have predicted in his address to the City Club, Washington, that "within ten years India would speak as a co-partner with the other Dominions and that "recent Irish events would probably quicken even that estimate." A resolution was moved during the last session of the Legislative Assembly asking for an acceleration of the pace of progress towards complete Self-Government. The Secretary of State is reported to have declined to entertain any such suggestion, but the courageous willingness of His Excellency the Viceroy to convene a Round Table Conference, if it could meet in an atmosphere of good will, shows that the Government of India was prepared to reopen the question and to assist us in the realization of our aspirations.

The experience gained of the working of the Reform Act, itself, has quickened the desire for another step forward. Let us take Provincial Legislatures first. In the first place, although non-co-operation has unfortunately kept many men out of the Councils, they have been able to achieve solid results and have shown that they are endowed with a sense of responsibility. I have no doubt that, but for their short-sighted boycott, the representatives of the people would have been in a much stronger position *vis a vis* the Government. In any case although the Councils have not been functioning for long I hold that they have proved their fitness to be entrusted with larger powers. I have no fear that our interests will suffer by an enhancement of their status. The departments relating to law and order have been placed under the control of the official half of the executive Government on the ground that they are concerned with matters in which even a slight mistake may have a far-reaching effect, and with which Ministers would find it peculiarly difficult to deal. But can any one contemplate with satisfaction the manner in which the bureaucracy has exercised its powers with regard to the maintenance of law and order? The Ministers could not have blundered more. Experience proves, to my mind, the necessity above all things of entrusting the maintenance of law and order to persons who derive their authority from the people.

In the second place, I gather from newspaper reports and private conversations that dyarchy has failed to give satisfaction. I can say from personal knowledge that this is true of the United Provinces. Dyarchy has been found to be prejudicial to the growth of Responsible Government. It is difficult for members to maintain two

different attitudes, one towards the removable and the other towards the irremovable executive, and the Ministers suffer for no fault of their own because a portion of the government of which they constitute a part continues to be bureaucratic. Besides, the Ministers cannot count on the support of any party so long as it is believed that they are not free to mould their policies as they like. Again, the fear is entertained that if they have a solid following, Government may put pressure on them to make their followers support official policies or measures relating to reserved subjects. This attitude of mind can disappear only with the grant of provincial autonomy, which will do away with duality of authority.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report proposed that a provincial legislature should be allowed to apply to the Government of India for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects five years after its first meeting. It would thus have been possible for it to acquire provincial autonomy after the expiry of two terms. This provision was, however, not embodied in the Government of India Act, but Mr. Montagu assured the House of Commons that there was nothing to prevent the grant of additional powers to councils before the enquiry by the statutory commission, and laid stress on it in his cross-examination of Mr. Chintamani. It should, therefore, occasion no surprise to the British Government if instead of waiting for six years we ask that provincial autonomy should be conceded by or before the expiry of the first term of the Councils.

As for the Central Government both the Congress and Liberal deputations urged the introduction of an element of responsibility into it on the Joint Select Committee. Mr. Samarth pressed for it in emphatic terms on behalf of the Liberal deputation. Competent observers, among whom is the President of the Legislative Assembly, have pointed out that it is necessary in the interests of harmony and progress that it should be recognized that an irresponsible executive is incompatible with an elected legislature. Apart from this, it will be an anomaly if autonomous provincial governments are controlled and supervised by a bureaucratic authority. The central legislature has not been allowed till now to exercise any control over the Government of India as the latter is still accountable to Parliament for the maintenance of law and order. But when the responsibility for preserving peace and order has been made over to the provincial councils, it is obvious that the dependence of the Government of India on Parliament in regard to civil administration should cease and that the control of Parliament should be replaced by that of the elected representatives of the people. ]

Our position in regard to the army yet remains to be considered. No country which aspires to manage its own affairs should depend on others for its defence. "If I had been a non-official member of this Assembly," said Sir William Vincent in the debate on the resolution relating to Indian autonomy, "the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government would have been the development of an Indian army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country." It is the inevitable consequence of the reforms that the military policy of the Government of India should undergo a radical change. The basis of the reforms is trust in the people of India while the present military policy is rooted in distrust. The aim of the Government should now be the rapid Indianization of the Army. Commissioned ranks should be thrown open liberally and in steadily increasing numbers to Indians. A college for the training of officers should be established and British soldiers should be gradually replaced by Indian soldiers.

The present may seem to be a singularly inopportune moment for demanding far-reaching changes in the constitution. But the critical nature of the times makes it all the more necessary that Government should take a bold and generous step which will turn men's minds towards them. Nothing but courageous statesmanship will save the country from disaster.

A round table conference such as was suggested to His Excellency the Viceroy the other day, would have afforded a splendid opportunity of arriving at a satisfactory settlement in regard to the questions dealt with above. His Excellency the Viceroy, rising above the prejudices and passions of the hour, proposed that, for a time at least, the unhappy past should be forgotten and that the representatives of the people and the Government should meet together and discuss questions of vital importance in a new spirit. I cannot but deplore that the offer did not meet with the response which it deserved. A rare chance of securing peace with honour has been thrown away.

Since the proposal of a round table conference was made things have happened which have added a new element of seriousness to the situation. On one side Government is threatened with mass civil disobedience and on the other with a declaration of independence. Only a few days ago Mr. Gandhi seemed to be keenly alive to the dangers lurking in mass civil disobedience. But undeterred by past experience, and forgetful of the recent Bombay riots which plunged him into agony he proposes to embark on a course which may lead to the most serious consequences and involve thousands in ruin. Our course, however, is clear. Violence we must strenuously oppose, no matter how brought about. It is a sacred duty which we owe to our country at this juncture.

Ladies and Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. There is much in the situation to induce pessimism. Dark clouds hang on our future which no eye can pierce. But while we cannot shut our eyes to facts we should not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by anxiety. Let us cast our eyes all over the world. Where do we find peace? Is there peace in the British Empire or out of it? Strife, political or economic, is going on everywhere. Unrest is the order of the day. It is the aftermath of the war. I sincerely hope that Government will bear in mind that acute discontent and the consequent revolt against authority are not peculiar to India and that force alone will prove of no more value here than it has done elsewhere. Legally Government can treat the activities which have found favour with the frenzied majority as illegal or seditious, but that will be tantamount to bringing an indictment against a whole nation. Such a proceeding would be beyond the power even of a mighty Government. Obedience to the law can be secured today not by the administrator but by the statesman.



**THE FOURTH SESSION**  
OF  
**THE ALL-INDIA LIBERAL FEDERATION.**

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*Speech of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Chairman, Reception Committee,  
delivered at Allahabad, on December 28th, 1921.*

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Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Reception Committee I offer you a cordial welcome to the sacred and historic city of Prayag. For centuries the Ganges and the Jumna have drawn pilgrims here from every part of India and I like to picture to myself the unique spectacle of princely munificence which Prayag <sup>used to</sup> witness ~~used to~~ during the reign of Harsha at the time of the great Kumbha festival which used to be celebrated every five years then. Speaking close upon fifteen years ago in this city which is the symbol of an ancient civilization, Mr. Gokhale said its name "stirred within him emotions which it was a privilege to feel." I trust you will not regard it as presumptuous of me if I express the hope that it will inspire you with similar feelings today.

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In ordinary times a number of questions of undoubted importance, many of which are the direct outcome or have received additional prominence on account of the reforms, would have had to be considered even in a cursory review of the salient features of Indian politics. But we are living in stormy times when the country is seething with unprecedented excitement from end to end. The political situation is changing with phenomenal rapidity. Every day brings its own anxieties. The forces of unrest are growing apace in volume and intensity and the outlook never very bright during the last two years may be said without exaggeration to have become threatening. The question of our future overshadows every other question at present. It is, therefore, to a consideration of this problem that I shall address myself today.

Before doing so, however, I must refer to the Moplah outbreak which shows the danger of playing on the feelings of an ignorant and fanatical people. The seriousness of the outbreak, which it has taken months to suppress, cannot be doubted, and the forcible conversion of a number of Hindus is, unfortunately, equally beyond question. An attempt was made by interested parties to minimize the gravity of the situation in Malabar, but the testimony of independent witnesses who have made personal enquiries has placed the serious nature of the conflagration beyond the shadow of a doubt.

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The blame for the promulgation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act must be borne in no small measure by the Government of India. The fact that it has been enforced in more than one province shows that the new policy, though not dictated by them, received their previous sanction. They should, therefore, advise the Local Governments to reconsider their position and to adopt a conciliatory attitude. Nothing but a change of policy will ease the tension. A policy of wholesale arrests and prosecutions

which His Excellency the Viceroy said the other day he detested, will not receive the support of any section of Indian opinion. The Criminal Law Amendment Act should be withdrawn and all persons, convicted or arrested under it, should be released. It may not be easy for Government to retrace their steps, but the statesmanship and high-mindedness which His Excellency the Viceroy displayed the other day in his reply to the deputation which asked for the convening of a round table conference can overcome difficulties which may seem insuperable to smaller minds. The consequences of persisting in the present course cannot be contemplated with equanimity. A false sense of prestige or delay may make the situation well nigh irremediable.

The Local Governments need not wait till they receive instructions from the Government of India. They may revise their policy of their own accord. In any case let us sincerely hope that they will not be as uncompromising as the Government of the United Provinces. Sir Harcourt Butler who thought it contrary to the public interest to allow a discussion of his policy in the U. P. Legislative Council has thought it desirable in that very interest to explain and justify it on two occasions when he could make *ex-parte* statements. His last utterance is in marked and painful contrast to the conciliatory sentiments expressed the other day by the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal. They regard the policy of repression as a disagreeable necessity and would fain abandon it if they thought they could, perhaps because they are "frightened by action". Sir Harcourt Butler on the other hand almost seems to revel in it. They have lived in the free atmosphere of English public life while he received his training in the bureaucratic school where the most valuable lesson that he learnt in political philosophy was that "law and order are mainly kept by force and that with difficulty."

Before I pass on to another topic I must notice a remark in Sir Harcourt Butler's speech which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. He has been informed that the Moderates of Gorakhpur are "jubilant" over the "firmness" shown by Government. This is a libel on the Liberal party. I know of no member of our party in Gorakhpur to whom this statement can apply. There is no Liberal here but has learnt of the arrests with deep pain. I can say confidently that a policy of unadulterated repression will meet with the strongest opposition from the Liberals in these provinces. Perhaps the so-called moderates whose support Sir Harcourt Butler has received are members of the Aman Sabhas, which are the valuable instruments of official propaganda which his long "experience of Government" has enabled him to fashion.

The strenuous resistance which is being offered everywhere to the disbandment of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers is a matter of serious import. The cancellation of the order issued by Government will put an end to the revolt against authority which it has been the occasion of, but it can by itself effect no permanent improvement in the situation. Nothing can remove the deep and growing estrangement between the people and the Government but a wise solution of the problems which have kept the body politic in a state of continual agitation during the last two years. The Punjab and Khilafat questions should be satisfactorily settled and the desire of the people for power to shape their own future fully recognized.

The disastrous effect of the racial humiliation to which the people of the Punjab were subjected two years ago cannot be minimized. The iron has entered into the soul of India and she demands that her self-respect should be vindicated. She has not yet received complete satisfaction for the wrongs done to her, and such reparation as has been made to her has appeared to be tardy and unwilling. In particular some of the men, whose misdeeds cannot be lightly passed over, continue in the service of the Crown in the Punjab. The belief that Government contemplated rewarding one of them for the unpardonable excesses of which he was guilty during the Martial Law regime nearly convulsed the Punjab some time ago. Such a proceeding would have been an intolerable outrage on Indian feeling and would have

converted the professions made by Government in the Legislative Assembly of their determination to hold the lives and honour of Indians as sacred as those of Europeans into a cruel mockery.

The Moslem demand for a revision of the Turkish treaty must command the sympathy of every one who realizes the share that grasping Imperialism and religious bigotry had in dictating the peace terms. The justice of the claim has received the fullest recognition both from the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The protests of our Muslim fellow-countrymen have received their constant and powerful support and it has been admitted that the Muslim case has been pressed on the British Cabinet by Mr. Montagu with an earnestness and ability which no Mahomedan could have surpassed. It is a matter of regret to us that complete success has not attended their efforts. His Excellency the Viceroy has, however, struck a note of hopefulness in his recent speeches and we sincerely trust that the Near East conference which is to take place at an early date will pay due heed to the representations of His Excellency's Government and arrive at a settlement which will take full account of the feelings of Indian Mahomedans.

The Government of India Act was passed only two years ago and has been in force for not more than a year. Yet there is already a vigorous and widespread demand, in which all political parties have joined, for further constitutional advance. The Act contemplated that a commission should be appointed ten years after the reforms had been in operation to enquire into and report on their working, and the Joint Select Committee recommended that no substantial constitutional change should be made in the interval. But so rapidly have things moved since then that Mr. Sastri is reported to have predicted in his address to the City Club, Washington, that "within ten years India would speak as a co-partner with the other Dominions and that "recent Irish events would probably quicken even that estimate." A resolution was moved during the last session of the Legislative Assembly asking for an acceleration of the pace of progress towards complete Self-Government. The Secretary of State is reported to have declined to entertain any such suggestion, but the courageous willingness of His Excellency the Viceroy to convene a Round Table Conference, if it could meet in an atmosphere of good will, shows that the Government of India was prepared to reopen the question and to assist us in the realization of our aspirations.

The experience gained of the working of the Reform Act, itself, has quickened the desire for another step forward. Let us take Provincial Legislatures first. In the first place, although non-co-operation has unfortunately kept many men out of the Councils, they have been able to achieve solid results and have shown that they are endowed with a sense of responsibility. I have no doubt that, but for their short-sighted boycott, the representatives of the people would have been in a much stronger position *vis a vis* the Government. In any case although the Councils have not been functioning for long I hold that they have proved their fitness to be entrusted with larger powers. I have no fear that our interests will suffer by an enhancement of their status. The departments relating to law and order have been placed under the control of the official half of the executive Government on the ground that they are concerned with matters in which even a slight mistake may have a far-reaching effect, and with which Ministers would find it peculiarly difficult to deal. But can any one contemplate with satisfaction the manner in which the bureaucracy has exercised its powers with regard to the maintenance of law and order? The Ministers could not have blundered more. Experience proves, to my mind, the necessity above all things of entrusting the maintenance of law and order to persons who derive their authority from the people.

In the second place I gather from newspaper reports and private conversations that dyarchy has failed to give satisfaction. I can say from personal knowledge that this is true of the United Provinces. Dyarchy has been found to be prejudicial to the growth of Responsible Government. It is difficult for members to maintain two

different attitudes, one towards the removeable and the other towards the irremoveable executive, and the Ministers suffer, for no fault of their own, because a portion of the government of which they constitute a part continues to be bureaucratic. Besides, the Ministers cannot count on the support of any party so long as it is believed that they are not free to mould their policies as they like. Again, the fear is entertained that if they have a solid following, Government may put pressure on them to make their followers support official policies or measures relating to reserved subjects. This attitude of mind can disappear only with the grant of provincial autonomy, which will do away with duality of authority.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report proposed that a provincial legislature should be allowed to apply to the Government of India for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects five years after its first meeting. It would thus have been possible for it to acquire provincial autonomy after the expiry of two terms. This provision was, however, not embodied in the Government of India Act, but Mr. Montagu assured the House of Commons that there was nothing to prevent the grant of additional powers to councils before the enquiry by the statutory commission, and laid stress on it in his cross-examination of Mr. Chintamani. It should, therefore, occasion no surprise to the British Government if instead of waiting for six years we ask that provincial autonomy should be conceded by the expiry of the first term of the Councils.

As for the Central Government both the Congress and Liberal deputations urged the introduction of an element of responsibility into it on the Joint Select Committee. Mr. Samarth pressed for it in emphatic terms on behalf of the Liberal deputation. Competent observers, among whom is the President of the Legislative Assembly, have pointed out that it is necessary in the interests of harmony and progress that it should be recognized that an irresponsible executive is incompatible with an elected legislature. Apart from this, it will be an anomaly if autonomous provincial governments are controlled and supervised by a bureaucratic authority. The central legislature has not been allowed till now to exercise any control over the Government of India as the latter is still accountable to Parliament for the maintenance of law and order. But when the responsibility for preserving peace and order has been made over to the provincial councils, it is obvious that the dependence of the Government of India on Parliament in regard to civil administration should cease and that the control of Parliament should be replaced by that of the elected representatives of the people.

Our position in regard to the army yet remains to be considered. No country which aspires to manage its own affairs should depend on others for its defence. "If I had been a non-official member of this Assembly," said Sir William Vincent in the debate on the resolution relating to Indian autonomy, "the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government would have been the development of an Indian army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country." It is the inevitable consequence of the reforms that the military policy of the Government of India should undergo a radical change. The basis of the reforms is trust in the people of India while the present military policy is rooted in distrust. The aim of the Government should now be the rapid Indianization of the Army. Commissioned ranks should be thrown open liberally and in steadily increasing numbers to Indians. A college for the training of officers should be established and British soldiers should be gradually replaced by Indian soldiers.

The present may seem to be a singularly inopportune moment for demanding far-reaching changes in the constitution. But the critical nature of the times makes it all the more necessary that Government should take a bold and generous step which will turn men's minds towards them. Nothing but courageous statesmanship will save the country from disaster.

A round table conference such as was suggested to His Excellency the Viceroy the other day, would have afforded a splendid opportunity of arriving at a satisfactory settlement in regard to the questions dealt with above. His Excellency the Viceroy, rising above the prejudices and passions of the hour, proposed that, for a time at least, the unhappy past should be forgotten and that the representatives of the people and the Government should meet together and discuss questions of vital importance in a new spirit. I cannot but deplore that the offer did not meet with the response which it deserved. A rare chance of securing peace with honour has been thrown away.

Since the proposal of a round table conference was made things have happened which have added a new element of seriousness to the situation. On one side Government is threatened with mass civil disobedience and on the other with a declaration of independence and violence. Only a few days ago Mr. Gandhi seemed to be keenly alive to the dangers lurking in mass civil disobedience. But undeterred by past experience, and forgetful of the recent Bombay riots which plunged him into agony he proposes to embark on a course which may lead to the most serious consequences and involve thousands in ruin. Our course, however, is clear. Violence we must strenuously oppose, no matter how brought about. It is a sacred duty which we owe to our country at this juncture.

Ladies and Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. There is much in the situation to induce pessimism. Dark clouds hang on our future which no eye can pierce. But while we cannot shut our eyes to facts we should not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by anxiety. Let us cast our eyes all over the world. Where do we find peace? Is there peace in the British Empire or out of it? Strife, political or economic, is going on everywhere. Unrest is the order of the day. It is the aftermath of the war. I sincerely hope that Government will bear in mind that acute discontent and the consequent revolt against authority are not peculiar to India and that force alone will prove of no more value here than it has done elsewhere. Legally Government can treat the activities which have found favour with the frenzied majority as illegal or seditious, but that will be tantamount to bringing an indictment against a whole nation. Such a proceeding would be beyond the power even of a mighty Government. Obedience to the law can be secured today not by the administrator but by the statesman.

## The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye's Speech on the Resolution on the Restoration of Modi.

My Lord, the resolution that I wish to propose for the Council's acceptance reads as follows:—This Council recommends to Government that the Modi script be restored in the official correspondence and records of Government.

The history of this question is, my Lord, but one more illustration of the fact that Government is not, and does not care to be, in touch with public opinion on any question under consideration. This question concerns the people of Maharashtra only, *i. e.*, the people of the Central Division, of the districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba in S. D. and Thana in N. D. The people of the other districts of S. D., of the native states in the Southern Maratha Country and of a part of the city of Bombay are also concerned to a certain extent. Now it would not be too much to say that on no question has the opinion of the people been so nearly unanimous as on this question during recent years; and leaving aside the question of the merits of the case, I would put it to the Government and this Council whether it would be wise, whether it would be statesmanlike, whether it would be in the interests of good government in the larger sense of the term, to tell about ten millions of people—or at least the educated part among them—in this presidency that their convenience and sentiments, prejudices if you will, have not the slightest weight in comparison with the whims, fads, or even the convenience of a few civilian officials. The usual arguments of prestige and the inadvisability of retracting a step once gained are brought forward in this connection. But I am sure that these arguments should not apply if we are convinced, on a consideration of the merits of the case—which would also include the feelings of the people—that the course once taken was wrong. In discussing this question I shall have to refer to matters which may seem very elementary to some, but in this case I have to convince our friends from other parts, and I hope I shall be excused for giving these details.

Marathi language is similar to the modern European languages in having one script for printing and another for writing and is unlike most other Indian languages such as Gujarati, Canarese, Bengali and Hindi. The script for printing is called Balbodh and that for writing is called Modi. There is, however, this about the Balbodh that it is not quite so difficult to write as the ordinary Roman script in European languages and is occasionally used for writing by uneducated people, including children and ladies, for writing sacred books and poems, and in fact for writing anything where speed or convenience is not in question and very great clearness is aimed at. In the middle ages before the introduction of printing many monks used to copy the Bible in ordinary Roman Script and copies of these can be seen in any famous library in Europe, but then the monks had generally nothing else to do. Balbodh is also generally used by Marathi authors when sending copy to the press. The one disadvantage—or lack of advantage—in Modi is the want of distinction between short and long vowels, *i* and *u*. Several proposals have been made by scholars to get over this, but Government through its Educational Department did not give heed to the matter. Also in Modi words are not generally separated. Balbodh, or under its other name Devanagari, is a thoroughly scientific script but it has the fatal defect of inconvenience for ordinary writing. It takes very much longer to write and in the eyes of connoisseurs is not pretty to look at. It is alleged also that Modi is often written illegibly.

I shall take these arguments one by one. As regards long and short vowels they have not much real significance in Marathi and scholars are divided into two camps as to whether the vowels in particular words should be written short according to their strict Sanskrit etymology or long as they are generally pronounced. In fact I wonder how far the Balbodh written in offices will satisfy the test of correctness.



For one who knows the language they don't cause any confusion. We shall ask my English friends how many of them write so distinctly as to distinguish between *n, u, m, i*. Any person who was just learning English and whose eyes are not accustomed to read written English will find it difficult to read an ordinary English letter. Some time ago the newspapers announced that "Lord Brassey starved at the Government House for four days"—a needless reflection cast on Your Excellency's hospitality by the bad handwriting of somebody who wished to write "stayed" but was read "starved." I shall give the instance of the various Arabic and derived scripts. The vowel sounds and often even the various dots distinguishing different letters are never actually written but a person knowing the language has no difficulty in supplying them as he reads. I could relate an interesting instance in the etymology of the word "sine" in Trigonometry which came through the medium of the Arabic from the Sanskrit word *jyā* (the string of a bow).

As regards the non-separation of words it does not form a very great difficulty, for when a word begins a new phrase it is generally written distinctly and in fact in our old Balbodh manuscript *pothus* or manuscript sacred poems words were never separately written. In olden days even in Europe words were generally not separated and members will remember Mr. Pickwick's interesting excursions to find the hidden archaeological meaning in the plain words written continuously "BILSTUMPSHISMARK." In this case again reform can be introduced by insisting on separated words when writing petitions, etc.

The alleged illegibility of Modi is due to a great extent to the want of familiarity with the language. In the parts of the Presidency concerned, all accounts, correspondence, even histories in olden days, and legal documents used to be written in Modi and are still written in Modi. My Lord, if a man is careless, he can make any script illegible. In the Civil Service Examination a large number of candidates have their marks reduced by as much as 150 or 200 for illegible handwriting. From the correspondence which has been published in answer to various questions in this Council you will see that Balbodh—script to be understood by children—has already become illegible in many offices. A member of a band while travelling in a train and asked to show his ticket said he had lost it. "Look into all your pockets. You can't have lost it," said the guard. "Why, man," replied he, "you don't know me, I have lost my big drum." In the same way a man who takes pride in illegible handwriting as showing his importance can make any thing illegible. In fact you will find in records published that signature of many officers is "illegible". Personally I think that bad or at least illegible handwriting ought to be visited with far greater penalties; it shows bad breeding as it means want of regard for the convenience of others. In work where speed is necessary a phonetic script which admits of continuous writing, *i. e.*, writing which does not necessitate taking the hand off the paper and without too many involutions, is absolutely necessary. These are the principles underlying any system of shorthand. Modi has some similar advantages in which there are a large number of recognised abbreviations. Thus, for instance, "the fatal objection to Balbodh," says the Collector of Ratnagiri, "is that it is not written in a cursive hand, and never was meant to be such." It is absurd to say that because the Ramayan, Shakuntala, or the Bhagvat-gita were written in the Devanagari or Balbodh character, depositions in court should be written similarly or the various registers in the registration office. As well may you say that because the epitaph on a tombstone is written in Roman capitals everything should be written exactly like that. If Balbodh is made compulsory for fast writing what will happen is that it will degenerate into bad Modi—only it will give us different kinds of Modi for each individual district or each taluka. The present is a standardised script for Marathi current from Bombay in the west to Nagpur in the east, Khandesh, and even Indore and Gwalior in the north to Sholapur in the south. Whatever tradition may say about its introduction by Hemadpant,—a point that has been made much of by Mr. Kincaid, who says that Modi is a non-Aryan script—it can be easily seen to be evolved from Balbodh. Is Government and this Council to stop or even undo this gradual process of evolution which has gone on for five hundred years? I shall

bring to the notice of members of this Council the fact that written French books look quite different from written English, although the script is the same. I can say this from experience as I have had occasion to read lithographed—therefore carefully written—books in French. The case of German will be a stronger illustration. Both German print and German handwriting have evolved on different lines from the Roman. If the standardised Modi of the present is abolished, the written Balbodh of Nagpur, Khandesh, Ratnagiri and Sholapur will show differences as great as those between English and German writing.

The history of this question of Modi is a patent example to all how not to do things. An officer of Government who takes pride in his knowledge of the vernaculars first of all got this fad into his head. From his superior position he made this experiment in his office. It did not succeed well, but as the Sahib was keen on it, it was allowed. He got it introduced in two or three other districts. But when his friends went away from these districts their successors reported against it; and in one or two cases the experiment was given up. Thus, for instance, Mr. Ghosal, the Collector of Ratnagiri in those days, says, "I have consulted all my subdivisional officers, Messrs. Divatia, Garret and Parnaik, and all condemn in strong language the Balbodh script and urge that we should at once reintroduce the Modi script. The mamlatdars are also unanimous on this point. The universal opinion is (a) that Balbodh undoubtedly takes a much longer time to write than Modi; (b) it is responsible for much of the arrears; (c) the *Barnishi* work can hardly be managed unless the staff is increased; (d) the Balbodh writing is daily getting more undecipherable than Modi." Then again, the Collector of Nasik says, "All officers throughout the district are anxious for the re-introduction of Modi. The Divisional Forest officer alone has a good word for Balbodh." And in the meanwhile this officer had gone to another place where he could manipulate the strings more effectively. The experiment was considered to be successful without taking the opinions of the people best able to judge. The opinions of the officers against it were put down as one-sided; and lo! the whole Government became committed to it. It is distinctly stated that no District and subordinate judges were ever consulted in making this change. It is not too much to say that this officer, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, is the *fons et origo mali* in regard to this question. In the whole correspondence laid before the Council it is only he that argues this question: all others who support him merely say "ditto." On the other hand, Messrs. Divatia, Ghosal, Dikshit, Brander of the superior officers ably defend it. You cannot put their advocacy down to a mere sentimental liking for it; for of these four officers only one is a Dakshini whose mother tongue is Marathi; the mother tongues of the others are as varied as Gujarati, Bengali and English.

We are told that the action of the Government has been made comparatively innocuous by requiring only the official records to be written in Balbodh; petitions to Government officers may still be written in Modi; private account books may be still kept in that language. Now while this a very diplomatic move to disarm opposition, we do not think that it does very much to alleviate our fears. If good Modi writing is not supposed to be a necessary qualification for clerks under Government, Modi will be neglected everywhere. Again, supposing that this substitution is continued, what will happen? Officers will lose all familiarity with Modi; if a Modi petition is sent to the officer he will not be able to read it at all; his subordinate clerks will be able to burke that petition if it contains a complaint against themselves. All account books, as I said before, are kept in Modi; my friend R. B. Naik will be able to tell you that even in the Karnatic in several Canarese families accounts are still kept in Modi. These account books often come before courts in judicial cases; is it desirable that by the action of Government the judges should lose all ability to examine the accounts for themselves? I would like to ask honourable members to look at the opinion of the late Mr. Tyabji: "The papers which it is most frequently necessary to refer to in cases to be decided by judges are deeds which are generally in Modi and would probably continue to be in Modi even if Balbodh is adopted as the court script."

As has been said, the main objection against Balbodh is want of speed and want of individuality in the writing. The want of speed in Balbodh has been admitted by everybody—even Mr. Kincaid. But we are told that the reader will be saved some time; that high civilian officers of Government will do their work faster. Now I put it to members whether members of a "heaven-born service" like our Indian Civil Service men are so incapable as to get a fair facility for reading Modi manuscripts. I think Mr. Kincaid rather overdoes it when he says that an officer will require 2 or 3 years before he can learn Modi. In every office nowadays the writing work has so much increased that clerical establishments are now already overworked. I would now refer to Mr. Brander's opinion:—"Introducing Balbodh would mean that merely to make the reading of vernaculars a little easier for them, the labour of hundreds of Karkuns, Talatis, and others will be greatly increased and official correspondence fall into arrears." Even in schools the schoolmasters have to write so many registers that a great deal of their time is taken up in this work. I have had occasion to look over some of these registers; and I find that while they have not become more legible, they have only afforded an excuse for taking more time in writing them up. The same is the experience of most people who have to read Balbodh depositions taken down in court in judicial cases. Mr. Ghosal says, "The great advantage claimed by Mr. Kincaid is that it is easy to write. I would respectfully urge that it is not so. Those who are accustomed to write Modi where they write Balbodh only rarely do so in a neat style. But those who have to do so habitually always write a worse Balbodh than a Modi hand." Mr. Diksit says, "It cannot be denied that hurriedly written Balbodh is more illegible than Modi written with the same speed." The delay in deciding judicial cases has become well nigh intolerable. If we require all depositions to be taken down in Balbodh, more time will be taken in deciding them. At present current English and Modi are written with approximately equal speed by persons who can write them with ease. If Balbodh is required the judge will be held back, while his shirastadar takes down the vernacular deposition.

The other serious disqualification of Balbodh is the want of individuality in writing. In these days when typewriters are coming into vogue in great numbers it is found a very difficult task to detect forgeries, and special experts are required to detect the particular typewriter on which any particular paper has been typed. Balbodh can be very easily imitated while Modi cannot. In the story of the Count of Monte Cristo, the learned Abbe Faria showed young Dantes that a writing with the left hand shows no individuality and cannot be traced. Government action is trying to make us writers with the left hand. Any tampering with account books, petitions, and other papers will become much more easy if Balbodh is universal.

Mr. Kincaid in his original memorandum, like a clever advocate, tries to complicate matters by the specious argument of a national script. He tells us that it may be possible to introduce Balbodh as the script for all Indian languages. Now I would like to ask the hon. members if they seriously regard this as a question of practical politics. Mr. Kincaid tried this with Canarese in the Bijapur District and the experiment was abandoned in a very short time and he would not venture to repeat that experiment in Dharwar, Bijapur, and Belgaum again. I do not know but can easily conceive what my Gujarati and Parsi friends would say to a proposal to do away with their script and take to Balbodh. They learn Balbodh from a sentimental point of view. Sanskrit quotations are written in Balbodh and Balbodh is occasionally used for the purpose of underlining as Italics are used in English. Baroda is trying this experiment to a certain extent but it has not, as I understand, been very successful. I leave it to my Sindhi friends to consider whether they would change their script for Balbodh. The history of the Nāgari and Urdu controversy in the U.P. makes quite clear what the attitude of my Moslem friends will be in the event of Mr. Kincaid starting a crusade for doing away with Urdu and substituting the Balbodh or Devnagari for it. Why stop there? Mr. Kincaid agrees that the Balbodh or Devnagari script is a more scientific script than the imperfect and redundant English

alphabet. I would ask him to persuade Government to make this reform in the writing and printing of English. If Mr. Kincaid were the inventor of letters as a fabled god among the Greeks, then he might have lighted upon Balbodh; but we have to take facts as they are. Again, when people talk of a common script in India—a movement with which I have some sympathy—they only think of printed books. It is by means of the printed book that one province comes into contact with another and the fact that all languages in India are derived from a common source in northern India, I believe, would make the printed page in another language possibly easier for an educated person knowing another cognate language to read. Again in these days English is coming to be more and more the *lingua franca* of India and we regard it as one of the greatest gifts of the British to us Indians and the most important cement in the building up of an Indian nationality. But when Mr. Kincaid's ideal is not likely to succeed I don't see any sense in making our language the first and last sacrifice on the altar of this common script. Let me assure the Council on behalf of all my Dakshini friends that in the event of such an ideal coming within the range of practical politics we shall not be found in the way of the attainment of that ideal; on the other hand we shall do our best to persuade our countrymen to sacrifice their sentiment for a common cause. It is because we are persuaded that our sacrifice is sure to be useless for the great cause and only harmful to ourselves that we are opposing this action of Government.

I do not intend to keep the Council much longer. I shall only refer to one personal point. I find that a leading paper of Bombay in its discussion of this question a few days ago appeared to know all about what I write and do. I can only say that that paper knows more about me than I do myself. Let me however say that whenever I have to write in Marathi to one who knows Modi, I never do write in Balbodh. I have gone further and have written articles in Modi for a newspaper which its compositors can very easily type in Balbodh. I find from personal experience that writing an article or a letter in Balbodh is at least twice as difficult as writing it in Modi. I admit frankly that I answer an English letter in English and myself write in English to friends that are quite conversant with it as my education has been through English and I find it easier to do so when I have to write seriously on any subject which I learnt through English. But when the choice is between Balbodh and Modi I unhesitatingly choose the latter.

I will not go over the other arguments used in defending this most impolitic action. I shall pass over all the padding about what happened in the Roman Empire which Mr. Kincaid has used in his advocacy. I hope we have gone a little further in political knowledge than the Romans did. I do not think that these arguments will deceive anybody. I shall place before this Council the one fact that all the members of this Council from the Marathi-speaking parts of the Presidency and the Canarese members, who are also familiar with Marathi, are unanimously in favour of the resolution I propose; and I trust it would not be too much to expect that the members will support me in this resolution. You may call it sentiment on our part, but the world is not led by mere material considerations alone; sentiment has to be respected and conciliated. I think I shall not appeal to you in vain. With these words I beg to propose my resolution.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH  
OF  
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJAH GAEKWAR  
AT THE  
ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE  
ON THE  
ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

*Bombay, 23rd March, 1918.*

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## I.—PREFACE.

GENTLEMEN,

It is with great pleasure that I rise to address you on the subject of the abolition of Untouchability in India, because, as many of you are aware, it has been a subject of great interest and concern to me since my early years, and the subject likewise of many experimental measures in Baroda State. I esteem it an honour to have been chosen President of this all-India Conference, through the courtesy of your Reception Committee. I am here however not to preside over all your proceedings, but merely to give expression to my heartfelt interest in the work you have so courageously undertaken.

## II.—NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

The problem of ameliorating the social status and standard of living among the Atisudras or "Untouchables" of India is one that indeed calls for rare courage, breadth and freshness of mind. For its solution you must breast the currents of popular prejudice, and ultimately achieve a reversal of social theories that have dominated Hindu life for untold generations. The problem not only touches the material condition of some fifty millions of our fellow-countrymen, but goes to the root of our social philosophy, and demands a transformation in mind and heart of all our people—a transvaluation of values—a universal quickening of conscience. Depth of conviction and unyielding perseverance are the prerequisites of those who aspire to lead a movement of such magnitude.

## III.—THE OUTLOOK.

Yet the vitality of the Hindu people is so great and their devotion to ideals so tenacious, that I for one have no doubt of the ultimate outcome. Ignorant prejudice and class fanaticism cannot for ever withstand the pressure of scientific thought and the forces of social regeneration, which are remoulding the outlook and temper of thousands of our countrymen. Once the leaven of modern social idealism has begun to work there is no power in

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an outworn orthodoxy to resist the transformation. Such is the testimony of the times with regard to the religious, social, economic and political aspects of society.

#### IV.—THE EXAMPLE OF JAPAN.

One peculiar difficulty in India is that there is no one political or religious unit which can decree the abolition of a universal social wrong by an imperial enactment, under the inspiration of a few enlightened minds, as was done for example in Japan a generation ago. Let me remind you of the nature of the Japanese Reformation of 1868-71. It was not only political, restoring to the rightful sovereign his ancient prerogatives; which he has chosen to exercise under the restrictions of a modernized constitution; it was also economic and social. For the whole fabric of social restrictions and hereditary occupations was swept overboard in the course of a few years. First the lords of the land, the Daimyos, voluntarily surrendered their feudatory rights to the Crown, and accepted in lieu thereof peerages carrying no political power beyond that of members of the Upper House in the Diet. The *Samurai*, or fighting men, were constrained to give up their hereditary pensions and caste privileges and to seek for livelihood as farmers, artisans; shopkeepers, or professional men; and to-day the sons of the *Samurai*, once classed at the top of the social hierarchy, are to be found in every walk of life. Following close on the heels of the abolition of feudalism and caste by the Imperial Edict of July 1871, came the emancipation of the outcaste Eta or Hin-in peoples by an Edict of October 1871. There is a striking analogy between the old Japanese concept Hin-in (not human) and our हिन or Atisudra (born low). Both arose probably from the superposition of a higher culture upon an inferior aboriginal stock, combined with infiltration of traitors, criminals and outcasted families. Both gave rise to the notion of untouchability and of a pariah class once not counted in the census, nor permitted to live in the village. In both countries the fear of defilement on the part of the 'twice born' overcame every sense of pity or even humanity.

#### V.—JAPANESE EDICT OF 1871.

This parallelism well illustrates how cognate were the religious ideas entertained in Japan, China and India and how often they flowed in the same



channels. It may not be out of place here to quote an exact translation of the pertinent Japanese Edict of 1871:—

“The designation of Eta and Hin-in are abolished. Those who bore them are to be added to the general registers of the population, *and their social position and methods of gaining a livelihood are to be identical with the rest of the people.*

(Sd.) “COUNCIL OF STATE.”

Thus by a stroke of the pen, the boy Emperor being guided by the clear heads of Ito, Okubo and other leaders, the pariahs of Japan were emancipated, enrolled in the population on terms of legal equality, transformed from squatters into landlords, admitted to the new citizen army, and guaranteed access to all the avenues of promotion formerly closed to them. The Edict of 1871 was for Japan what the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln was for America; and the Ukase of Czar Alexander in 1861 liberating the serfs was for Russia. It testified that civilization consisted in progress from status to contract. It removed all legal restraints to the fullest individual freedom, and confirmed in social institutions that conception of the worth of all humanity upon which modern civilization bases itself. This does not mean that social privilege has not survived in Japan; it does survive in the three classes—nobles, gentry and commons. But these are classes, not castes, and the humblest citizen can and does rise through these fluid social strata to the highest position in the business, professional and public services, contingent upon his personal abilities alone. The social system is as flexible as that of England and America. Is there any reasonable doubt that this social polity is in large measure responsible for that abounding energy and zeal which enabled Japan, in two generations, to rise from obscurity to so large a measure of economic and political importance in the family of nations?

#### VI.—EDUCATION, THE SOVEREIGN REMEDY.

Now it is not possible in India for a handful of foresighted literati to frame and promulgate an Imperial Edict removing the disabilities of the “Untouchables” and abolishing the concept “Atisudra” once for all. We must

rather appeal to the slow processes of education and public enlightenment. The idea of Untouchability pervades the various grades of the Hindu community, <sup>even among the subjects of Andhra</sup> and its ludicrous ramifications through the daily routine of life are impossible to be correctly understood by any one who is not a Hindu. Brahmins would not touch Mussalmans or Christians whom they regard as aliens. A Brahmin after bath would not touch another Brahmin who had not bathed, and even among Brahmins of the same caste they would not touch each other at their meals. These gradations in the social hierarchy of the Hindus caused no resentment in olden times as they were believed to be of divine ordainment. The old Hindu Law recognized अनुलोम and प्रतिलोम unions which were either approved or condemned but tolerated according to the exigencies of the times. As time passed by and reason assumed the sway over faith, practice over theory, as the castes came to be recognized as man-made and conventional, there was probably a revolt against the hierarchy, so that each lower caste also became a self-centred and self-sufficient republic. Thus the taint of Untouchability began to cause bad blood and sore feeling as an undeserved mark of degradation. Against this state of affairs all of us can bring such influence as we possess towards extending the same educational and other opportunities that exist for the higher classes to the low-caste people. And finally all of us can agitate the fetid pool of orthodoxy by preaching liberal doctrines within our respective circles.

#### VII.—THE ARGUMENT FOR ABOLITION.

I have on several previous occasions argued the case for abolition of hide-bound social restrictions, and I shall not condemn my hearers to-day to an elaborate argument. Permit me, however, to review very briefly the more pertinent considerations that seem to bear on our subject. Let us consider first the negative aspects of the subject.

#### VIII.—UNTOUCHABILITY MAN-MADE AND NOT OF DIVINE ORDAINMENT.

There is, I believe, no ground for the current notion that the rigid caste system with its concomitant outcastes was a part of Hinduism in the old Vedic times. I am told by competent scholars that there is nothing of the

kind in the Vedas and nothing to prove fixity of status in the Puranas. And there is abundant expert opinion that the Laws of Manu, especially those verses dealing with the Atisudras, contain many interpolations and suspicious passages not found in the utterances of the ancient teachers.

*Biological*  
IX.—NOT A ~~PHYSIOLOGICAL~~ LAW.

Nor can it be said that the principle of rigidity of classes, nor that caste subsists by birth and not by acts or occupation, at all conforms to reason. In ancient times men could believe, even so great a mind as Aristotle brought himself to declare, that permanent servitude was an institution of nature. Until recent times even orthodox Christians have gone further and pronounced it a Law of God. No modern philosopher or scientist would support such a contention, or such a supplanting of contractual freedom by iron-riveted status. The science of heredity as worked out by Mendel, Galton, Bateson, Kidd and others offers no ground whatsoever for the notion that whole races or classes of society are permanently degraded *en bloc*. The sociologist finds the causes of group degradation to lie in the physical and social environment, rather than in inherent and hereditary disabilities. Furthermore there is no scientific justification for the doctrine of *aura*, according to which the mere proximity of an Untouchable is supposed to impart pollution.

X.—NOT A PSYCHOLOGICAL LAW.

It is easy to point to empirical proof here in India of the fact that the Antyaj people, now so-called, or Panchamas, as termed in Madras, are not uniformly feeble in spirit or mentality. It is a common-place that the depressed classes in every part of India have produced saints of nation-wide reputation respected even by Brahmins; for example, Nanda in South India, Ravidas in Oudh, Chokamela in Maharashtra, Hari Das Thakur in Bengal. There are current examples too numerous to mention of out-caste boys who have passed the highest tests of the Universities both in India and abroad. I have heard of a striking case of an outcaste family in Gujerat which brought within the reach of education, produced a youth (Dewji Brijlal Wales, M.A.) who was a successful member of the Indian Education Services,

and who wrote many text-books for the Indian High Schools. The written testimony of many visitors to the Antyaj Boarding Schools at Baroda goes to show that three or four years of refined surroundings and education so transform the boys and girls in appearance that they are not to be distinguished from children of higher caste. It is indubitable that widespread education among Atisudras, coupled with freedom of access to the trades and professions, would raise the standard of economic efficiency of the whole and enable a portion of them to achieve outstanding positions. However the point is so clear that it is useless to labour it further.

#### XI.—NOT PRACTICAL IN TIMES OF STRESS.

That this idea of Untouchability is only a later refinement, born of ignorance and conceit and nurtured by self-complacency, which the luxury and ease of settled life of peace and order rendered possible, is well illustrated by the manner in which it was allowed to be smoothed over and ignored on the battle-field. The story of the Shilledar Shidnak, who was a Mahar, whose tents were pitched amongst those of the Brahmin and Mahratta officers, and who rubbed shoulders with them on the plains of Kharda, proves the adage that necessity knows no law. Religious scruples of Untouchability were cast to the winds when hemmed in under enemy pressure. You remember Hiroji Patankar's words at the time: "We are not met here to dine but to fight, therefore there is no objection to the Mahars being in the middle. This is a line of warriors holding swords; there is no question of caste here. He is a true warrior who holds a strong sword." ज्याचो तरवार खंडोर तो हुंदोर. Shidnak greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Kharda, again illustrating the principle that if the depressed people are given an opportunity they are capable of rising to the occasion. Opportunity often makes the man.

#### XII.—INJUSTICE OF THE TAINT.

There are considerations also of a more positive character, which I will touch upon but briefly. The first is the utter inhumanity of the institution. The spirit of civilized peoples rose so strongly against slavery during the nineteenth century that it was practically abolished throughout the world. And yet the state of "Untouchability," which is worse in some of its aspects than slavery, is permitted to survive without effective protest on the part

of a majority of our people. Wherever slavery has existed there has been a certain amount of contact between master and slave. In Greece and Rome we know that trade was despised and industrial and commercial enterprises were given over to helots. The Romans used their slaves not only as personal servants but as agents, managers, bailiffs, book keepers, etc., so that the slaves had opportunity of rising to relatively high social functions. But the Indian caste peoples have doomed the "Untouchables" to a condition of servility and humiliation which is even more subtly cruel than the physical tortures practised by the slave hunters in Africa, and the poignancy of which will increase with education.

"Their dwellings shall be outside the village, and their wealth shall be dogs and donkeys. Their dress shall be the garments of the dead, they shall eat their food from broken dishes. Their transactions shall be among themselves, and their marriages with their equals. At night they shall not walk about in villages or towns." (Laws of Manu).

When the law of the land sanctions so harsh an ostracism, and that in perpetuity, we are not surprised to find in practice a degree of contumely and repression not equalled elsewhere. In South India the outcastes have been bought and sold as chattels, and universally they are treated with less consideration than cattle. When I was touring in Southern India I was shocked. The outcastes are not even allowed to use the common streets or come near the houses for begging, and it is said that they have to bawl out at a distance lest their shadow fall upon the Brahmin, and that they are made to carry earthen bowls suspended from their necks as spittoons lest their impurities should defile the road to be trodden by the Brahmin. If these outcastes (so-called) curse and execrate the "twice born" the latter, it is said, take it ironically as a benediction! Such is the depth of ignorance and such the perversity of human reason under the theocracies of Southern India.

### XIII.—THE TONE OF NATIONAL MORALITY DEPENDENT UPON THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM ENJOYED BY THE INDIVIDUAL.

The next consideration relates to the social, political, and economic effects of servitude on the body politic. Cairnes has shown (in his "Slave Power") that servile labour is uneconomical in comparison with the labour

of freemen. One of the wisest of the historians, Mr. Cunningham, delivers the judgment that the downfall of the ancient civilization of Egypt, and later of Greece and Rome in turn, was in considerable measure due to the fact that the economically productive functions were in all of those States imposed upon large masses of men in various degrees of bondage, so that the free spirit of the masses was crushed; and in their dejection they had no genuine interest in the perpetuation of the existing order. A close-knit, self-sacrificing national spirit can only be fostered in a community of freemen. The Great War in Europe is an object lesson to us on the importance of individual freedom in the maintenance of a national morale, and on the dangers of disintegration that beset a State which has failed in the past to foster a rational measure of individual liberty and initiative and to bind the average plain citizen to itself in passionate patriotism. As Napoleon's Empire fell in ruins because the mass of Frenchmen had lost heart in his grandiose projects, so it would seem Hinduism in the last six centuries had failed to maintain itself as a national State partly at least because of the subjection and disaffection of large masses of the plain people, and other eccentric forces inherent in it. The obvious teaching of modern history is that the moral standards of any race are dangerously compromised by servitude, and not the least of the proofs of this is the failure up till now to repress lynching in the Southern United States.

#### XIV.—DANGER OF CONVERSION TO OTHER FAITHS.

Disaffection towards वर्णश्रम धर्म, Varnashram Dharma, on the part of the depressed classes has been referred to, and there is another positive danger involved in that situation. I am informed that in some parts of India whole villages are going over to Christianity *en masse*. My warning is not against Christianity, nor Islamism, for we have many things to learn from those religions, as both the Christians and Mohammedans have set us a healthy object-lesson in their theory of brotherhood. The Missionaries have done great service in their care of the depressed and in teaching the value of manual labour, in which most of these people are engaged. My warning is rather against our Hindu self-satisfaction and *laissez faire* in the face of social theories and institutions which degrade a sixth of the population and render exotic faiths and practices agreeable to them. Buddhism, Islam and

Christianity have been responsible, we must admit, for the uplifting of millions of the depressed, and our wisest course is not to lament the fact, but to set in motion those ideas and practical reforms within our own society which will make the ministrations of a foreign religion superfluous. Otherwise there is danger to-day of wide-spreading disaffection, just as in a former age Buddhism led the revolt against the excessive forms, ceremonies and sacrifices of Brahminism.

#### XV.—ALIENATES THE SYMPATHY OF OTHER NATIONS.

It is a standing reproach against us that wherever the word "Brahmin" has carried, the concomitant word "Pariah" has likewise gone. Nothing else has so alienated the sympathies of the world from Hinduism, so attractive to many on its esoteric side, as our own treatment of the depressed classes. We can hardly expect the voters of England, for example, to take that hearty interest in our aspirations which would otherwise be ours if our own house were in order. The same principles which impel us to ask for political justice for ourselves should actuate us to show social justice to those supposed to be untouchable amongst us. Those who seek equity must do equity.

#### XVI.—SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

The ideal of social justice in our society is susceptible of much painstaking analysis and elucidation; but I have perhaps already wearied you with this disquisition, and will leave the subject with the simple reminder that the system which divides us into iron-clad castes is a tissue of injustice, splitting men, equal by nature, into innumerable divisions, based not on the natural standards of personal merit and individual productivity, but on the accidents of birth. The eternal struggle between caste and caste has been, is and will be a source of constant ill-feeling. There is disunion and disaffection where unity and patriotism are so eminently needed to enable us to take rank as a nation. While the whole world is engaged in a mighty conflict over fundamental issues, we falter and waste breath over petty differences. We need a Wilberforce for the emancipation of these slaves of Hindu society.

There are other concepts which likewise have a bearing on the subject in hand, namely, *transmigration and Karma*. But an analysis of these ideas would take us into the field of metaphysics, whither I shall refrain from leading you to-day. I am perfectly certain, however, that determinism can be maintained as a doctrine without in the least implying the subjection of whole classes; and that the principle of transmigration, even if it bear the test of scientific analysis, cannot bolster up a social system so cruel and unjust from every other point of view. The highest knowledge is knowledge of the self, and it is this knowledge that reveals to us the essential unity of the Supreme Being manifesting Himself in various embodiments which it is only an illusion to regard as inherently differing in kind. Truly has Tukaram sung that भेदा भेद भ्रम अमंगल. It is inauspicious to labour differences. Nowhere is there any authority for the view that वर्ण varna is by birth, and that whereas personal merit counts for nothing the accident of birth is everything. I exhort you to seek inspiration from noble teaching of Bhagwat Gita समोहं सर्वं भूतेषु न मे द्वेषोऽस्ति न प्रियः Sayeth the Lord, "To me all creation is equal; there is no like nor dislike"

#### XVII.—CONCLUSION—EFFORTS IN BARODA.

But you are no doubt wearied of argument, and I hasten now, in conclusion, to tell you that I have been endeavouring in my own humble way to ameliorate the lot of these Cinderellas of our society in Baroda. I have had to encounter a host of difficulties. I called for Hindu teachers for the Antyaj schools, with promises of attractive pay, but up till now none has turned up, only Mohammedans and Arya Samajists have come forward! The success of my efforts largely depends upon the whole-hearted support and co-operation of my people. I do not believe the Hindu mind is perverse or incorrigible. We have to appeal to their sense of reason and of justice, and I have every hope that the community will soon perceive the equity of enfranchising these depressed classes. What is it that I expect of my countrymen? Not that they will go in for inter-marriage or inter-dining against their convictions, but that they will at least remove the taint of स्पर्शस्पर्श. As one goes toward the south one finds that ceremonialism and inter-caste prejudices tend to increase, so that the problem of untouchability is more



acute in South India; and I believe you will find that the Mysore and Travancore Governments are also undertaking some measures for the relief of the Panchamas. We should not delude ourselves into thinking that the abolition of Untouchability will bring the Millennium, but it will at least partially restore their natural rights to a class of people who have hitherto been deprived of them. We may not in the past have done all that we might have done, but I hope that this appeal will not have been in vain, and that in our conduct as well as in our speech we shall in future show forth our convictions on this subject.

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# First Oriental Conference, Poona.

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## PROGRAMME.

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Wednesday, the 5th November 1919.

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Opening Session.

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11 A. M. to 1 P. M.

- 1 Their Excellencies, on arrival, will be received by the Reception Committee.
- 2 Welcome speech of Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B. A., Bar-at-Law, Chairman of the Reception Committee.
- 3 Opening Speech of H. E. Sir George Lloyd.
- 4 Election of the President of the Conference :  
Proposed by Principal A. C. Woolner,  
Seconded by S. Kuppuswami Shastri,  
Supported by The Hon. A. Suhrawardy.  
" " Dr. T. K. Laddu.
- 5 Presidential Address.
- 6 Election of Vice-Presidents :  
Proposed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,  
Seconded by Prof. M. Hiriyanna.
- 7 Appointment of a Committee to frame the constitution of the Conference and to consider the suggestions of scholars :  
Proposed by Dr. Ganganath Jha, .  
Seconded by Prof. A. B. Dhruva.
- 8 Vote of thanks to Their Excellencies :  
Proposed by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi,  
Seconded by Shrimant Babasaheb Pant Sachiv.
- 9 Distribution of Pansupari.

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The Thirty-First  
*Indian National Congress.*

LUCKNOW, 26, 28 and 29 December, 1916.

Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee,  
The Hon'ble PANDIT JAGAT NARAIN.

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BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee and the citizens of the United Provinces I offer you a cordial welcome to the historic city of Lucknow. The sight of this distinguished gathering which represents the intelligence, culture and patriotism of this great country, is one that will gladden the heart of every well-wisher of India, and I consider it a proud privilege to be called upon to welcome you on this occasion. We are fully conscious of the imperfection of our arrangements, and regret that we have not been able to make such provision for your comforts as we would have liked to do, but I trust that you will generously overlook our shortcomings and take the will for the deed.

Ladies and gentlemen, since the Congress assembled here seventeen years ago, a great change has come over men's minds and the new spirit has not passed Lucknow by. But it is sad to reflect that those who roused it from its torpor and exhorted it to march forward instead of casting longing, lingering looks behind, are no longer in our midst. It was Ganga Prasad Varma's earnest desire that Lucknow should invite the Congress again. The Congress meets at Lucknow but our beloved leader is no longer here to inspire us with his example and to rejoice with us at its success. And before we could reconcile ourselves to the irreparable loss we have suffered in his death, we have been deprived of the guidance of Bishan Narayan Dar at a time when firmness of mind, soundness of judgment and clarity of vision are needed more than ever. Bishan Narayan Dar had a passion for study; he lived in close communion with the master-minds of the world and to ripe scholarship he united a powerful and capacious intellect which enabled him to profit in a rare measure from the wisdom that lies embalmed in books. And withal he wore his learning lightly as a flower and his many and varied gifts were always at the service of his countrymen. Though incapacitated by prolonged illness for active work his interest in public affairs continued unabated till the end, and from his retreat at Almora he occasionally contributed articles to the press on important questions which testified to the vigour of his intellect and his zeal for public service. Had he been spared he would have stood before you to-day to welcome you and helped you with his knowledge and wisdom to solve the vital and intricate questions which will presently engage your attention. But fate has willed it otherwise, and I find myself in the position which he was to have so worthily filled, without any qualification for the task except a sincere desire to serve you. I can boast neither of natural gifts nor of knowledge, which would entitle me to speak with authority, but I may be allowed to say that I yield to no one in the love I bear to my country and am proud to be a soldier in the army of national progress.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is our misfortune to mourn this year for others besides Bishan Narayan Dar. Since we met last G. Subramania Iyer and Daji Abaji Khare have gone to their rest. The former was among the fathers of Indian journalism and by his informed and fearless writings contributed not a little to the formation and growth of an enlightened public opinion, and both of them were a tower of strength to the cause which we all have at heart. Nor, speaking at Lucknow, can I omit to mention Iqbal Narayan Masaldan, a quiet, sincere and

earnest worker, whose death a few months ago was a sad loss to the reception committee, of which he was one of the secretaries. Death, alas, is fast thinning the ranks of the old guard, but duty demands that we should not give way to depression, but inspired by their lofty example, persevere in the sacred task in which we are engaged and press on with zeal and determination to the goal that we have set before us.

Before proceeding further, gentlemen, I should like to acknowledge our obligations to the Local Government and our popular deputy commissioner, Mr. L. M. Jopling, for the assistance which we have received from them. We are indebted to them for the use of the plot of ground on which the pandal stands and for the help they have given us in laying out the camp and in several other ways. We cannot but be thankful for this, particularly when we recall the difficulties which the reception committee had to face in 1899 when the Congress last met at Lucknow. I wish I could have stopped here, but I cannot help uttering a word of surprise that the Local Government should have deemed it necessary to caution the Congress against intemperate speaking. We had hoped, brother-delegates, that the record of this great institution was a complete guarantee against such a nervous apprehension. At the best the warning was superfluous and it would have been better if it had not been addressed.

The present year will be a memorable one in the history of our political evolution. For the first time since the unfortunate split at Surat we witness the spectacle of a united Congress. Realizing that in union alone is strength, both the parties have laid aside their differences and resolved to work shoulder to shoulder to win for India a position compatible with her self-respect and dignity in the British Empire. They have heard the call of the country and obliterating old divisions, rallied round her in the hour of her need.

Equally hopeful and encouraging is the patriotic spirit which inspires our Mahomedan brethren. There was a time, now happily gone for ever, when short-sighted counsels prevailed among them and they gave to their community what was meant for the country. But education and the new spirit have done their work as surely among them as among the other sections of our countrymen. They have enlarged their vision and broadened their sympathies. Both the communities share the same aspirations to-day and realize in a larger measure than they ever did before, that united action is essential to the fulfilment of their common destiny. Some of the most important leaders of Muslim public opinion in these provinces have joined our committee. And it is a significant sign of the times that the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League met together formally at Calcutta on the 17th and 18th of last month to formulate a scheme of reform to be pressed after the conclusion of the present war on the attention of the Parliament and the people of Great Britain in the name of a united India, in order that we may have a controlling voice in the administration of our internal affairs. The conference marked a great step forward in our political evolution and disclosed a substantial identity of views between Hindus and Mahomedans. A few differences, no doubt, still remain, but I am not without hope that they will prove short-lived and that we shall soon see the two sister-communities marching hand in hand on the path of progress.

Gentlemen, it will be the supreme duty of the Congress to give expression to the hopes and aspirations to which the war has given a fresh vitality. The last decade has witnessed the birth of a new nationalism in India. The efforts of

the older generation to awaken the consciousness of the people have produced their inevitable result. A new generation has arisen with new thoughts and new ideas, impatient of its dependent position and claiming its rights as free citizens of the British Empire. The advent of the European war infused a new enthusiasm into the people and galvanized their aspirations into a new life. England entered into the war avowedly to champion the cause of truth and justice and to protect the rights of those who were too weak to defend themselves. Face to face with the danger of Prussian militarism and threatened with the destruction of their noblest ideals, her people saw the doctrine of physical force in a new light and turned from it in disgust to the conception of a new order which shall be built on the rock of enduring principles. This sentiment found an answering echo in every corner of the Empire. Men learnt to set a new value on justice and liberty and began to examine how far their institutions were in accord with these principles. The new tendency is exhibiting itself in India as well, and forces have been set in motion which it is the duty of statesmanship to deal with to-day.

Gentlemen, the war, besides intensifying the longing for free institutions, enabled India to demonstrate her loyalty and to realize her value to the Empire. No one with an insight into the Indian mind ever doubted that India was thoroughly loyal, and that whatever differences might exist between her and Great Britain in regard to her internal affairs she would rally round the Imperial Banner in the hour of danger. But men were not wanting who cast unjust doubts on her loyalty and believed that England's trouble would be India's opportunity. And instead of trying to bind her to the Empire with the silken tie of love, they were always forging new fetters to keep her in bondage. The war has effectually silenced these croakers and some of them had the courage to avow openly during the earlier months of the war that they had never understood the Indian character. It had never occurred to them that Indian patriotism is the greatest guarantee of India's loyalty, for the realization of her most cherished hopes depends upon the continuance of British rule.

The assistance rendered by India during the war has fired her imagination. She has, so to say, found herself. She has acquired a new spirit of self-reliance and dignity, and realized her own worth by coming to Britain's help at a critical juncture. The battle-fields of Europe, Africa and Asia bear witness to the fighting qualities of her sons, and their deeds of heroism, written in characters of blood, have thrilled every Indian heart. Had England been true to her traditions and followed a more enlightened policy in India, who can doubt that she would have had military resources at her disposal such as no other nation has? But regard being had to the disabilities that India labours under, it cannot be gainsaid that she has done the utmost that she could. His Excellency the Viceroy has shown this conclusively in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 5th September last. "The winter of 1914-15" said his Excellency, "was one of the most critical periods of the war, for it was evident that the troops then available on the continent and in the United Kingdom were inadequate for the defensive role allotted to them and the only way, pending the raising and training of the new armies, in which the position could be saved was by replacing the regulars serving in the Mediterranean and Colonial garrisons with Territorials and by drawing upon India for troops to the fullest possible extent. The demands then made on us were honoured in full and with the utmost promptitude." Our contribution to the war has largely increased since 1914. Our forces are serving in more than one theatre of war, we are assisting the authorities to the best of our ability in

connection with the provision of munitions, transport, medical personnel and equipment and in other directions. And we have been paying every pie of the cost of the maintenance of our troops. It is a record of which, as the Secretary of State for India recently stated, India may well be proud. I am aware that in defiance of these facts the Government of India have been the subject of attack in some quarters for their alleged failure to give effective help to the Empire, and various proposals have been put forward by their critics for utilizing India's man-power and hoarded wealth to a larger extent in the defence of the Empire. But these critics conveniently forget that Indians are neither allowed to carry arms nor to enlist as volunteers and that their national income is £2 per head as compared to about £45 in the British Isles. There are none so blind as those who will not see.

Gentlemen, India now demands that after the war things shall not revert to their original condition, but that she shall occupy a position worthy of herself as a member of the Imperial family. She is not asking for rewards in return for her loyalty, but having fought in defence of human freedom she expects that her own sons will no longer be denied their birth-right as freemen. It will be strange indeed if England, who is fighting to preserve the sacredness of treaties and the integrity of small nations, should turn a deaf ear to the cry of her own subjects and refuse to redeem her plighted word.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Gentlemen, in my opinion statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that a self-governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war, as a step towards that goal. Representative government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the executive. Indians should no longer be debarred from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, but should be given every opportunity of developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India, and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation India should occupy the same position as the self-governing dominions. The memorandum submitted to his Excellency the Viceroy by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands, proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee and which will soon come before you. But these reforms, which fall far short of colonial self-government, cannot satisfy India for all time to come, and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them, it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation.

I now crave your permission, gentlemen, to discuss a few objections urged against our modest demand. Is it in India's own interest, we are asked, that the reins of government should be transferred into her hands? Is she fit to bear the responsibility of governing herself? Are Indians fitted by previous experience to discharge the duties associated with responsible government or even to manage representative institutions? Has education made sufficient progress among them so that they may be expected to choose their best men as their leaders? And will they place national above communal interests or will sectarian rivalries draw them farther away from each other as soon as the bond of common obedience to their present rulers is dissolved? Gentlemen, I hope to answer these questions

by appealing to the history of the British Empire, but I cannot help remarking that the recital of our shortcomings reflects little credit on British rule itself. "Never let a prince" says Machiavelli, "complain of the faults of the people under his rule, for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example." England will do well to bear the saying in mind when it is tempted to justify its autocratic rule in India on the score of our unfitness.

In considering the objections advanced against India's demand for greater freedom I am led to ask myself if Great Britain itself possessed all the qualifications which are now supposed to be the essential pre-requisites of self-government, when was ruling not merely over itself but had extended its sway over a large part of the human race. I find that even so late as the beginning of the 19th century its masses were steeped in ignorance and political power was concentrated in the hands of a few. Ireland was unquiet, religious bigotry had by no means died out and modern ideas of social duty had not made much headway among the upper classes. But the ignorance of the masses did not deter statesmen from putting more power into their hands and in view of the glorious success which has crowned their policy, who will say that they should have waited until the people had attained to ideal perfection?

It may be said, however, that England has had a long experience in the art of government and that she has arrived at the present stage after a slow process of evolution extending over several centuries. But this could not have been said of the colonies when responsible government was conceded to them. I shall begin with Canada as being the first in order of time and importance. The right of Canada to control its internal affairs received statutory recognition in 1840 and responsible government was conceded a few years later. But the history of the colony during the few years preceding the grant of representative government concerns us more nearly than the events which followed it. Upper Canada was inhabited almost entirely by Englishmen. Lower Canada too contained men of British origin, but the vast majority of the inhabitants were of French extraction. The relations of the two races were far from friendly. The difference of race led to quarrels between the French and the British and between Lower Canada and Upper Canada and seriously interfered with the government of the provinces. At last things became so serious that the Imperial Government was forced to intervene and to pass laws in order to safeguard the interests of Upper Canada. The interference of the British Government was fiercely denounced by the French politicians and a rebellion broke out in Lower Canada in 1837, which however was soon put down. The ostensible cause of the rebellion was political, but the real cause lay deeper. Political strife was the outcome only of racial bitterness and was accentuated in proportion as the latter increased. The report of Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada by the Imperial authorities in order to bring peace to the troubled provinces, gives startling illustrations of the extent to which the alienation between the two races had proceeded. The French hated the British and aspired to establish a government in which the British would occupy a very inferior place. They looked upon the British as their commercial rivals and regarded their increasing trade and prosperity with dislike and jealousy. In consequence of this state of things, says Sir John Bourinot, "trade languished, internal development ceased, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed a diminution, roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people and immigration fell off." Juries were permeated



with political prejudices. In purely political trials it was almost impossible to obtain justice. As to social intercourse between the two races, none of course existed. "French and British" writes Lord Durham, "combined for no public objects or improvements, and could not harmonise even in associations of charity."

The year 1838 witnessed another rebellion. This time the infection spread to Upper Canada as well. The policy pursued by the Government in Upper Canada had given rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction and there were loud complaints against the dominant influence of the official class. The colonists demanded that the legislature should be wholly elected and that the executive be made responsible to the legislature. The Imperial Government, however, showed no sign of complying with their demands while the local Government practically made no secret of its hostility to the movement. The discontent consequently went on increasing and culminated in a rebellion.

Faced with such a serious situation, what did the British Government do? Did it decline to make any concessions? Did it forge repressive measures to put down disloyalty with a stern hand? No; on the contrary, be it said to its credit that it set itself resolutely to the task of removing discontent by removing the matter of it. Lord Durham's report was published about this time. This memorable document, which may be said to have laid the foundation of modern British Colonial policy, awakened British statesmen to the gravity of the issues they were called upon to settle. Conceived in a spirit of far-sighted statesmanship, it proposed that England should withdraw from the direct government of the colonies and by conferring freedom on them in regard to their internal affairs, bind them to itself by the strongest of all ties, the tie of self-interest. "The colonists" wrote Lord Durham, "may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy." Lord Durham's advice found ready acceptance with the Imperial authorities. An Act was accordingly passed in 1840 which affected the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada and made the colonists masters in their own house. All discontent immediately subsided as if by magic. New interests were created, which provided healthy channels into which the energy of the people began to flow. Race was no longer the dividing line between different parties. Men grouped themselves not according to their origin but according to the view that they took of political, social and economic questions relating to their country.

I have mentioned above that at the time self-government was conferred on Canada it was distracted by civil dissensions which had their origin in racial antagonism. Thus it was sadly wanting in one of the three qualifications without which, it is alleged, self-government can never be a success. It remains to be seen how far the people of Upper and Lower Canada were possessed of previous experience in the management of their institutions and what progress education had made amongst them. We find that Government disregarded the wishes of the popular assemblies and thought themselves bound to obtain the instructions of the

Imperial authorities in difficult or doubtful cases. The executive officials were all appointed by the Crown and were not responsible to the legislature. "Their influence" says Sir John Bourinot, "permeated all branches of Government—the Executive, the Legislative Council, and even the assembly where for years there sat several members holding offices of emoluments under the Crown." The judiciary was more or less under their influence. The judges held office during the pleasure of the Crown and were nominated as members of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Even local self-government, which is said to be the cradle of political freedom, had not made much progress in Lower Canada at least. As for public instruction "popular education was at the lowest possible ebb. In 1837 there were in all the private and public schools of the provinces only one-fifteenth of the total population," which did not exceed one million. In Lower Canada not one-tenth could write. Children repeated the catechism by rote, but as a rule were unable to read. The record of Upper Canada was no better. It may be added that the means of communication were lamentably deficient. The roads were in a wretched condition and at times were impassable. Partly for this reason and partly because of the paucity of the police the administration of criminal justice was very unsatisfactory. Thus, it is apparent that judged by the high standard insisted on in the case of India, Canada did not possess the qualifications needed for self-government. Disunion flourished among the people. More than half the population belonged to a race which was a stranger to responsible government in its own country, and there was no antecedent guarantee that they would be able to fulfil the responsibilities which their newly gained freedom imposed on them. In education, undoubtedly, India lags behind Canada as it was in 1840, though percentages are hardly fair standards of comparison where the difference of population is so vast. But we are now in advance of England as it was three-quarters of a century ago. And in any case the main point to be determined is the attitude of the people towards education. The enthusiasm which greeted Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill, which was rejected by those who taunt us with our educational backwardness, and the progressive increase in the number of pupils, in spite of the restrictive policy followed by Government, furnish unmistakable proofs of the recognition of the importance of education by the people. If they are still backward, it is not because of apathy, but because of the absence of proper facilities. Thus, practically speaking, every argument used to advocate self-government for Canada can be applied with equal force to India. The statesmen of Lord Durham's day recognized that responsibility could be acquired only when adequate scope was given for its exercise. They believed that liberty would make the colonists wise and exercise a far greater educative influence on them than the irksome restraints of a distant Parliament. Events have fully justified their confidence. The progress and prosperity of Canada are a tribute to the wisdom of their policy. There is no reason why English liberties and privileges should not produce a like result in India. Indians have proved their fitness whenever and wherever they have been tried in responsible positions and if the past is a guide to the future they may be safely entrusted with the direction and management of the affairs of their country to a much larger extent than hitherto. They make mistakes in the beginning but they will be all the better for them in the end.

I shall now deal briefly with the case of Australia. It does not seem to me that its earlier history makes a very inspiring or profitable reading. The attention

of the Imperial authorities was not turned towards it until it became a matter of urgent necessity to find some place to which criminals could be transported. Some means had to be devised for disposing of the convicts who could no longer be sent to the American colonies, and Australia offered a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. During the earlier years of its history it was thus a land of convicts and it continued as a penal settlement, roughly speaking, till the forties of the last century. Systematic efforts were made to introduce free immigrants in the twenties into New South Wales to which the earliest colonising efforts were directed, and although this had an appreciable effect in promoting the welfare of the colony and raising the moral tone of the settlement, it cannot be claimed that all the new settlers were of a desirable kind, or that any serious efforts were made to grapple with the moral evils which were rampant in the colony. Through carelessness or inefficiency women sent out to the settlement were for the most part such as to make the task of reforming the people more difficult. "New South Wales" writes a historian, "was, in fact, made the dumping ground for all the convicted as well as the unconvicted criminals of the United Kingdom." Drunkenness and immorality prevailed there to an alarming extent, and even so late as 1835 the moral condition of the colony gave cause for serious anxiety. As for education I cannot say how far it had progressed, but till 1848 it was entirely denominational. The state maintained no schools of its own. The economic condition of the colony, however, was much better than its social condition. Land was being steadily brought under the plough, great progress was being made in cattle-rearing, and trade and commerce were undergoing rapid expansion. But even when these hopeful features are taken into consideration, I must say that the impression left on one's mind by a perusal of the early history of New South Wales is not particularly pleasant.

It is not necessary for me to go into the history of the other Australian colonies. Their development was not in every respect similar to that of New South Wales, but if I am not mistaken, it does not present any markedly dissimilar features.

As for the political condition of New South Wales, which is the chief object of our concern, a representative element was introduced into its government with the advent of free-settlers in 1823. A further step was taken in 1842 when the popular element was increased. Finally, full responsible government was conceded in 1853. It was also conceded to Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania at about the same time. If the facts I have stated above are correct, it does not appear to me that New South Wales or the other colonies satisfied the tests that are nowadays applied to India. A large proportion of the colonists could not be said to have attained to a high social or ethical standard, and no systematic efforts had been made to educate them. And yet the Imperial Government showed itself ready, says Dr. Keith, to grant responsible government because of "the discoveries of gold and the influx of population". Besides, the principle had been established by the example of Canada, and its acceptance there made its recognition inevitable in the case of other colonies. If there is any substance in the objections advanced against the widening of Indian liberties, the conditions under which Australia was started on a career of full-fledged self-government were not very hopeful; but its progress during the regime of freedom exposes the utter hollowness of the contentions of our critics.

South Africa is the latest example within the British Empire of the benefits of self-government. Undeterred by opposition in Parliament and the wailings

of " the men on the spot ", the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman conferred full responsible government in 1906 and 1907, respectively, on the Transvaal and the Orange River State, which less than six years before were engaged in a bloody struggle with England. While the events of the war were still fresh in the public mind, the Dutch were not merely placed on a footing of equality with the English but granted liberties which they had not enjoyed under their own rule. The rivalries of race and language, instead of finding free play, have as a consequence become less prominent than they were a decade ago, and the Dutch, so far from rising against England at the first favourable opportunity that offered itself, have been so completely won over by the magnanimous policy followed by her that they are to-day fighting side by side with her sons for the maintenance of her Empire.

Gentlemen, the three examples of Canada, Australia and South Africa which I have just quoted, bear convincing testimony to the potency of self-government as an instrument for the advancement of both national and Imperial interests. In all of them it has been found to be a healing and cementing principle, although according to the exacting standard set up by our critics not one of them could have made good its claim to self-government when it was granted to them. And where they have succeeded, why should India fail ?

But the task of the advocates of self-government for India is not over when they have proved her fitness for it. Even if it be conceded, it is said, that free institutions should be introduced into India, this is not the time for stirring up controversy. Great Britain is engaged in fighting a powerful and determined enemy, to crush whom will be needed all the strength and resources of the Empire. It is the duty of every loyal citizen to do nothing at this juncture which will divert her attention from the successful prosecution of the war. We acknowledge our obligation to refrain from doing anything which will embarrass the authorities and are cheerfully rendering every assistance we are capable of, in the titanic struggle which will decide the fate of Europe. But at the same time we owe it to ourselves that we should make our people understand the inner meaning of the struggle and be in a position to make our wishes and sentiments known to the British Government when the reconstruction of the Empire is taken in hand. If Indian claims are to have any chance of being seriously considered, we must be able to place our views before the authorities when plans for the reorganization of the Empire are being discussed. This requires that our demands should be formulated in the form of a definite scheme and that sufficient time should be given to the country to discuss it thoroughly. Unless this is done, there is a great danger that we may be told that we do not know our own mind or that our views give expression only to the aspirations of a microscopic minority. Clearly, therefore, we cannot impose silence on ourselves till the conclusion of the war, for it may be too late then to do anything. On the contrary it is our duty to lose no time in educating public opinion and in discussing the vital question of India's position in the Empire after the war, in the press and on the platform. The time has certainly not come when we should press our claims on the attention of Government, but it is not a moment too soon for making up our own minds on the subject. As a matter of fact, more than a year has passed since the public discussion of this problem began, and it is only now that unanimity has been reached with regard to the changes which must be made in the Indian constitution in order that we may have adequate room for expansion and a fair field for the employment of

our talents and energies. If Hindus and Mahomedans had neglected to take counsel among themselves beforehand and to make efforts to arrive at a common understanding, they would have found themselves totally unprepared to represent the Indian case properly after the war at the tribunal of the Empire. The task of remodelling the fabric of Empire could not have been postponed till the political lotos-eaters of India had made up their minds, and with the best will in the world Imperial statesmen would have been forced to leave her out of account in determining their future policy.

There are other reasons also why we cannot sit still till the war is over. England herself has not postponed till the end of the war the consideration of questions affecting her vitally. In spite of it she is busy devising means for increasing her national efficiency. She has already taken steps to overhaul her system of education and is actively concerting measures with the Allies to promote her economic development after the war. The colonies too are not silent. They are insisting loudly on their right to be associated with the mother-country in the control of foreign affairs and to be consulted in matters relating to peace and war. Their responsible spokesmen have declared that the matter cannot be kept in abeyance during the war, but that advantage must be taken of the present state of public opinion to bring about a satisfactory settlement. Mr. Bonar Law, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, publicly stated that the present was the most favourable opportunity for promoting unity between England and the dominions, and that the enthusiasm created by the war should be utilized to draw closer the bonds that unite them to her. Why should England be embarrassed if following her own example and that of the colonies, India too bestows a little attention on some of the most vital questions affecting her future?

Again the change in the attitude of British statesmen towards India during the last year and a half gives cause for serious anxiety. During the earlier months of the war there appeared to be a change in their angle of vision. India's services found a grateful mention in their public declarations and she was promised a reconsideration of her position after the war. But an ominous silence now prevails in regard to her. While the colonies have continued to receive generous attention and the Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia have been invited to meetings of the British Cabinet as a proof of England's sincere desire to give the colonies a greater share in the control of Imperial affairs, the enthusiasm created by India's magnificent response to the call of the Empire has to all appearances cooled down and her services are in danger of being forgotten.

More disquieting than the careful omission of all references to India in their public pronouncements, is the almost studied disregard of Indian opinion recently shown by the Imperial authorities. When at the invitation of Lord Hardinge India agreed that she should raise no new questions calculated to stir up controversy during the war, she had a right to expect that Government too, on its part would refrain from doing anything calculated to create a feeling of uneasiness in the public mind, but she has been sadly disappointed.

Our faith in British statesmen was sorely tried when the Civil Service Act was passed which altered the system which regulated appointment to the Indian Civil Service. The Government of India Amendment Act gave another rude shock to our feelings. It cannot be contended that it was an emergency legislation. It might never have been undertaken without any detriment to our inter-  
 It involved constitutional questions which it was, to say the least of it, im-

politic to raise during the currency of the war. Yet the measure was introduced into Parliament without the public being given an opportunity of discussing its provisions and was passed in the teeth of the vehement opposition of educated India.

The foregoing considerations make it plain that if Indians do not make their voice heard they cannot expect that their interests will be borne in mind when the Empire is reorganized after the war. But there is even a greater danger ahead, *viz.*, that the interests of India may be subordinated to those of the colonies. British statesmen have pledged themselves to give the dominions a greater share in the direction of Imperial policy. They are to be associated with the mother-country in the control of foreign affairs and to share much more largely with her the burden of the defence of the Empire. Now, it is argued that they cannot be made responsible for the foreign policy of the Empire, unless they are allowed to have a voice in the government of the dependencies. In one of the recent books which deals with the reconstruction of the Empire after the war and which has attracted some public attention in this country—*The Problem of the Commonwealth* by Mr. L. Curtis—it is contended that “a British citizen in the dominions cannot be made responsible for the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth without also becoming responsible for the government of its subject peoples and sharing in the long and difficult task of training those peoples to govern themselves. The two things are by nature inseparable.” The concern of the colonies for the welfare of India would be touching if only one could be sure of its existence. The bitter experience of India, however, does not allow her to share the hopes of those who have never suffered at the hands of the dominions. Her children are treated as undesirables in every dominion. Every colony has so framed its laws as to bar ingress to Indians and to drive out those already settled there, and as Dr. A. B. Keith points out in his recently published book—*Imperial Unity and the Dominions*—the policy of South Africa, in particular, has been “a record of extraordinary meanness.” The race prejudice of the self-governing colonies has spread beyond their borders. We have it on the authority of Mr. Gokhale that the presence of colonial students at British Universities has increased the difficulties of Indian students, and Mr. H. S. L. Polak—to whom we accord a cordial welcome—tells us that South African influence in British East Africa is responsible for a steady deterioration in the position of the Indians, to whose industry the Protectorate owes all its prosperity. India is not so blind to her own interests or so lost to all sense of self-respect as to willingly accept the domination of the colonies which evince an overweening contempt for all Indians and deny their own Indian subjects the right to live like human beings. She will bear a great deal before submitting to such an indignity. If the government of India by the dominions is an inevitable consequence of Imperial Federation, then all attempts at federation are foredoomed to failure. As Dr. Keith says, Imperial unity is impossible so long as India does not enjoy the liberty to develop the best that is in her and is not placed on a footing of equality with the self-governing dominions.

Gentlemen, in order to achieve the object we have in view, sustained work is an essential preliminary. We must enlighten the people in our country. But it is equally necessary that we should knock at the door of the British democracy. It is true that our first task is to educate our own people whose united strength nothing will be able to withstand, but British public opinion is the final arbiter in our case and its education should be an object of special concern to us.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are living in momentous times. On every side we see the stirrings of a new spirit, a yearning towards light and freedom, and the time is at hand for the realization of the glorious dreams of those who sowed the seed of western knowledge in India. The call of the Motherland is sounding in our ears. The Press Act cannot quell our ardour, nor can the Defence of India Act cool our enthusiasm. They only reinforce the lesson that "where freedom lives not there live no good things." Unjust opposition, instead of daunting us will only stimulate us to greater effort, for to us self-government is not a privilege but a duty. Inspired by a clear-eyed faith in the ultimate victory of our cause, which nothing can shake, and a passionate patriotism which rejoices in service and self-sacrifice, we shall march forward resolutely to the goal that we have set before us of winning for our country its rightful place in the British Commonwealth. I earnestly trust that England will read the signs of the times aright and add a glorious page to her history by helping three hundred millions to cast off the shackles that bind them. "The menace, the real peril," as Mr. Bernard Houghton says, "lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present system, a system which has served its purpose but which India has now overgrown." These are wise words which Great Britain will do well to ponder over. India has been too long at school. She can no longer be persuaded that her liberties are safer when held in trust for her by others than in her own hands. And the unrest in India is the greatest tribute to British rule. In the words of Mr. Kerr, the editor of the *Round Table*, "If British rule, however benevolent and well-intentioned, did not produce this uneasy striving after better things, it would carry within itself its own condemnation. Englishmen ought to welcome with pride the desire of India to govern herself." To quote again the words of Mr. Houghton, who was himself a member of the Indian Civil Service, with a slight change, their representatives in India should "now stand aside, and in the interest of that country they have served so long and so truly, make over the dominion to other hands. Not in dishonour, but in honour, proudly, as shipbuilders who deliver to seamen the completed ship, may they now yield up the direction of India. For it is the inherent defects of the system, which no body of men, however devoted, can remove, which renders inevitable the change to a new policy. By a frank recognition of those defects they can furnish a supreme instance alike of loyalty to the land of their adoption and of a true and self-denying statesmanship."

**Welcome speech of Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A.,  
Bar-at-Law, Chairman of the Reception Committee  
of the 1st Oriental Conference, Poona.**

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

LADY LLOYD,

SIR RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of our Reception Committee I feel great pleasure to welcome you all to this First Conference of the Orientalists in India, which is an event of exceptional interest and importance in the annals of learning in this country. The idea of bringing savants of different countries together, where they can make acquaintances and discuss questions of Oriental studies was started in Europe and in the year 1873 the First International Congress of the Orientalists met at Paris, that great city of learning, arts and progress. The next year the Congress met in London, a place again distinguished for its interests of Commerce, Educational activities and Inauguration of Western civilization in India, where the English nation has undertaken the duties of governing the people of different languages, of varied religions and of a vast indigenous literature, which, even after the work of centuries, remains only partially explored.

In this the 2nd Congress India was represented by no less a scholar than the late Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, whose labour in the research of the Indian literature recognized on all hands, was as remarkable as his services to the country, both as a distinguished officer of the Government and as an administrator of an Indian State. Several congresses have met thereafter in the prominent capitals of Europe, and I see here amongst us some of the learned men of India who were invited there and who made impression on their brethren which has elicited opinions of respect and admiration. To name some of them, they were Dr. Ramkrishna, Dr. J.J. Modi, the late Dr. H.H. Dhruva, and other younger men most of whom are present here.

The question of bringing the International Congress of the Orientalists to India was suggested several times, but was dropped on account of the difficulties of long distance and the time that the European scholars may not be able to spare even in their vacations. In the meantime India was preparing young men to take up the work so eminently done by their aged professors and friends. Some of these young men proceeded to the Universities in England and the Continent and studied the methods for which European scholarship is distinguished; while others imbibed the spirit from the inspiring example of gurus like Sir Ramkrishna. As a result we see to-day amongst us Indian scholars whose distinction for learning, research and judgment can do honour even to the eminent savants under whom they took their lessons in the Indian and European Universities.

In response to the general desire of people interested in the Oriental learning, the Bhandarkar Institute proposed to have a conference in India, where the work so ably commenced in Europe and carried on for nearly quarter of a century, would be continued with facilities and first-hand information which could be easily made available in this country. As a



prominent seat of learning in Western India, as the residence of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, whose reputation not only in India but in the whole world as an Orientalist of unprecedented eminence remains unchallenged, Poona suggested itself as the best place for the first gathering of this importance. Gentlemen taking interest in the question were consulted, Government and learned bodies were approached and they all with one voice agreed to support. Your Excellency's Government was the first to come forward with a handsome donation of Rs. 1500/- and the further allowance of travelling facilities and other concessions to the scholars of this province who proposed to attend the Conference. The Imperial Government of India has been pleased to send us Rs. 1000/-. The Bengal and the United Provinces Government have sanctioned grants of Rs. 1500/- and Rs. 2000/- respectively; the Government of Burma has sanctioned Rs. 500/- and allowed similar facilities to scholars. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore have contributed Rs. 1000/- each and have further favoured us by sending scholars from their States with exhibits of Manuscripts, Inscriptions, and Coins for our Exhibition. H.H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore and H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, and the Administrator of Junagadh State have each contributed Rs. 500/-. Thakorsahab Daulatsinghji of Limbdi, who is a good student of Sanskrit literature, has sent Rs. 250/-. A number of scholars and gentlemen interested in learning have become Vice-patrons of the Conference by subscribing Rs. 100/- each.

Our expenses were estimated at Rs. 8,000 to 10,000, but the mass of literature sent to us by way of papers by scholars has far exceeded our expectations, and I should consider it fortunate if our expenses do not exceed Rs. 15,000.

The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Punjab, Allahabad and Mysore and the Council of Post Graduates Teaching at Calcutta have sent us 20 delegates. Fourteen learned Associations and Institutions have deputed about 50 delegates. The Museums of Calcutta, Patna, Bombay, Madras, Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Bhopal, Jodhpur, the Archæological Depts. of Mysore, Baroda, Madras, Punjab and Bombay, and the Cama Institute have sent us exhibits of antiquarian interest. Governments of Baroda, Gwalior, Mysore, Bhavnagar and Jhalwar have deputed special representatives. Delegates have come from all parts of India, including such distant places as Kashmere and Ceylon.

The papers sent by scholars, which number about 120, deal with almost all the different branches of Oriental learning such as History, Inscriptions—reading, Philosophy, Philology—Vedic and Prakritic, Numismatics, and several other subjects which are classified by us in 12 subjects. The number is so large for a session that we propose to work by sectional meetings.

One feature of our Conference will be to discuss a scheme prepared under the patronage of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh, a veritable scholar himself. The scheme relates to the preparation of a critical edition of the Mahabharata, the great epic of India. The question of the Mahabharata is being discussed in Europe for the last fifty years. The preparation of an authentic edition of the Mahabharata is beset with difficulties which would dishearten any scholar, unless he is supported by a band of workers who are ready to devote, perhaps, their whole life to the work. Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi promises us help which would amount to nearly a lac of rupees, which is about a third of the estimated cost. Scholars as to whose reliability we have no doubt, have come forward to help us and a small number of them have promised to exclusively engage themselves for the work of bringing to light a correct and critically prepared edition of the Mahabharata, which is the desideratum of each and every scholar of Indian learning.

I should not forget to mention the Institution under whose auspices we meet here. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, called after the old venerable scholar whose devotion and single minded exertions for the propagation of Sanskrit learning has created an atmosphere in Poona, the parallel of which is extremely difficult to find, was organised by the young scholars as a memorial to their saintly Guru, who to them is an ancient Rishi incarnate, a man of pure convictions and courage, an example of purity of life, purity of thought and purity of actions. Sir Dorabji Tata and the late Sir Ratan Tata were the first to endow the institution with a magnificent grant of Rs. 21,000/- from which we have erected the Tata Hall for the Bhandarkar Institute. Shet Hirji Khetsey, a rich Jain merchant, has made an equally magnificent grant of Rs. 25,000/- for adding a wing to that hall to house the manuscripts which we have and which we may hereafter acquire. There are scholars and gentlemen interested in the work, who have given contributions and they are nominated patrons, vice-patrons and benefactors. The Government of Bombay have transferred to the Institute their extremely valuable collection of Sanskrit and other manuscripts. Sir Ramkrishna himself has made us a gift of his whole library, nearly 3,000 volumes of rare merit. This Institute takes the leading part in all the responsibilities of holding this conference. On behalf of this Institution also, I welcome you and say that we greatly appreciate the kindness and consideration of your Excellencies in coming here to grace the occasion and in agreeing to open the Conference. I will now request His Excellency to formally open the Conference.

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**ADDRESS**  
**OF THE DEWAN**  
TO THE  
**MYSORE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**

(DASARA SESSION)

26th OCTOBER 1917

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**PART II.**

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In the first part of the Address, I have dwelt on the principal features of the administration of the State during the year 1916-17. The less important details relating to the working of the several departments of Government are given in this part of the Address.

**1.—FINANCIAL.**

2. In view of the increased value of money, the rate of interest on Savings Bank deposits was temporarily raised with effect from 1st April 1917 to 4 per cent in the case of amounts in deposit from six to eleven months, and to 5 per cent in the case of those in deposit for a year or more. The amounts deposited in and withdrawn from the Savings Banks during the year were 33·67 lakhs and 38·17 lakhs, respectively, against Rs. 29·78 lakhs and 34·31 lakhs in the previous year. The total amount at the credit of the depositors remained practically the same, viz., Rs. 60·42 lakhs. *Savings Banks.*

Twenty-nine Village Savings Banks and 133 Savings Associations were working at the close of the year. The Collecting Savings Bank for Bangalore City started work in November 1916 and collected deposits aggregating Rs. 5,335.

*State Provident Fund.*

3. There were 214 subscribers to the State Provident Fund during the year, the total number on the books at the end of June 1917 being 2,470. The amount to their credit was Rs. 1.41 lakhs.

*State Life Insurance  
(Official Branch).*

4. During the year, 1,488 proposals were dealt with, of which 1,080 were accepted and 154 rejected leaving 254 pending. The financial position of the fund is given below:—

		Rs.	a.	p.
Opening balance on 1st July 1916	...	36,10,830	12	7
Receipts	... ..	5,27,908	14	5
		<hr/>		
	Total Rs. ...	41,38,739	11	0
Expenditure	... ..	1,89,980	2	5
		<hr/>		
Closing balance on 30th June 1917	Rs. ...	39,48,759	8	7

*State Life Insurance  
(Public Branch).*

5. Under the Public Insurance Scheme, 192 proposals were received, of which 109 proposals for an assured bonus of Rs. 2,08,700 were accepted, 16 were rejected and 67 were pending. The annual premium on the accepted proposals amounts to Rs. 8,600.

**2.—REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.***Land Revenue.*

6. A new system of registering and filing correspondence known as the disposal number system was introduced in the offices of the Revenue Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners. The sorting of records in Revenue offices received special attention and a special temporary establishment has been sanctioned, from 1st July 1917, for dealing with the arrears. The replacement of the old class of shekdars by trained officials is proceeding.

7. The acquisition of land in connection with the Krishnaraja Sagara Works made appreciable progress. Nearly three-fourths of the work in connection with the first stage has been completed except for the adjustments necessary on account of the re-alignment of the channels. Government appointed a Special Officer for working out a scheme of irrigation by blocks under the Krishnaraja Sagara with a view to develop sugarcane cultivation. The blocks selected for perennial irrigation were notified in January 1917 and, on the representation of the parties affected, Government have appointed a committee to enquire into the grievances and formulate revised proposals if necessary.

8. Some progress was made in the extension of cultivation under the Marikanave reservoir, which has

recently been named Vani Vilas Sagara, by means of the block system. The area included in the blocks was 11,169 acres at the end of the year. The health of the villages in the tract is said to have appreciably improved as a result of the adoption of this system. The population has increased from 14,047 to 15,666 during the past three years.

9. Cattle shows were held at twenty-two places and Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions were held at Nelamangala, Channapatna, Dodbhallapur, Kolar, Channarayapatna, Hole-Narsipur, Alur, Honnali, Shikarpur, Tirthahalli and Harihar. Lectures were delivered at the various cattle shows on agricultural, co-operative, sanitary and veterinary subjects by officers of the respective departments. *Cattle Shows and Exhibitions.*

10. Four new dispensaries were started during the year at Channapatna, Nagamangala, Davangere and Sagar. In view of the increasing demand for veterinary aid, Government propose to start from two to four new dispensaries every year, for sometime to come. *Veterinary Department.*

The year was a bad one for cattle. Rinderpest prevailed all over the State and was particularly severe in Kadur and Shimoga Districts. Black quarter was prevalent in a virulent form in Kolar and Mysore Districts. The number of admissions into the Veterinary hospitals and dispensaries rose from 18,232 to 20,604 and the number of cases treated from 63,311 to 67,012.

11. Six inam villages with an area of 3,904 acres were surveyed in detail and classification work was carried out in 4 inam villages measuring 3,823 acres as also in respect of 1,286 fields measuring 5,477 acres in the Closepet Sub-Taluk. Resurvey operations were completed in 390 villages in Arkalgud and Dodbhallapur Taluks. Reclassification of water-supply was completed in 630 villages in Goribidnur, Chikballapur, and Kunigal Taluks and a portion of the late Kadaba (present Tiptur) Taluk. *Survey Department.*

12. Six arrack, 78 toddy, 4 ganja and 2 opium shops were closed and none were newly opened. The incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 1-1-6 against Rs. 1-1-4 in the previous year. The issue price of opium was raised from Rs. 37-8-0 to Rs. 41-8-0 per seer of 80 tolas. The system of disposing of foreign liquor shops on fixed fees was reintroduced and the rate of license fees was raised by 25 per cent. The rate of duty on beer was raised to 4½ annas per gallon. The Excise Reserve staff was reconstituted. Three thousand and thirteen offences *Excise Department.*

were reported against 3,263 in the previous year. Twenty claims of Inamdars for excise revenue from toddy were settled.

*Forest Department.*

13. Fourteen blocks with an area of 157·37 square miles were notified as State forests and 18 blocks with an area of 58·13 square miles were reserved under section 4 of the Forest Regulation. An area of 214·95 square miles was surveyed. New boundary lines were cleared to a length of 182 miles and 2,102 miles of existing boundaries were repaired. Working plans were prepared for 20 blocks with an aggregate area of 250 square miles and an additional officer has been appointed to expedite the preparation of working plans for all the State forests. Twenty-nine miles of new roads were constructed and 314 miles of existing roads were repaired. 2,694 square miles of forest area were successfully fire-protected.

The Saw Mill at Kumsi yielded a revenue of Rs. 30,776 against an expenditure of Rs. 27,545. Arrangements have been made to transfer the mill to Shimoga and to put the working of the factory on a more satisfactory basis.

*Stamps*

14. The revenue realised from the sale of stamps was Rs. 11,96,856 against Rs. 11,50,698 in the previous year. The expenditure of the department amounted to Rs. 81,996.

*Registration.*

15. The number of documents registered was 114,331 against 107,407 in 1915-16. The revenue amounted to Rs. 2,28,124 and the expenditure to Rs. 95,578.

*Joint-stock Companies.*

16. The number of companies working at the close of the year was 82. Four new societies were registered under the Mysore Societies Regulation and the number of such societies at the close of the year was 30. The introduction of a new Companies' Regulation on the lines of the enactment in British India is being considered.

### 3.— PROTECTION.

*Legislative.*

17. The following measures were passed into law during the year:—

- (1) The Mysore University Regulation.
- (2) The Enemy Trading (Emergency) Regulation.
- (3) The Criminal Tribes Regulation.
- (4) A Regulation further to amend the Mysore Land Revenue Code, 1888.

- (5) The Provident Funds Regulation.
- (6) A Regulation to amend the Mysore Tramways Regulation 1906.
- (7) A Regulation to amend the Mysore Land Acquisition Regulation, 1894.
- (8) A Regulation to amend the Tank Panchayat Regulation, 1911.
- (9) The Minor Tanks Restoration Regulation.
- (10) A Regulation to amend the law relating to Arbitration.
- (11) The Enemy Trading Regulation.
- (12) A Regulation to amend the Mysore Village Courts Regulation, 1913.

18. There was a small increase of 2·04 per cent in *Judicial*. the amount of civil litigation. The number of criminal offences dealt with by the Courts was 17,599 against 20,159 in 1915-16, showing a decrease of 12·69 per cent.

19. The sanctioned strength of the force on the *Police*. 30th June 1917 was 874 officers and 5,222 men and the cost of the department was about Rs. 10,36,000. The percentage of cases ending in conviction to cases reported and pending was 22·3 against 31·8 in the previous year. The total value of property alleged to have been lost during the year was Rs. 2,48,564, of which property worth Rs. 88,456 or 35·6 per cent was recovered.

20. The actual strength of the Mysore Military forces *Military*. was as follows:—

Cavalry	....	1,294 (589 in the field.)
Infantry	..	1,678
Imperial Service Trans-		
port Corps	...	601 (482 on service.)

The Military expenditure during the year was about Rs. 14 lakhs.

21. The income of the department during the year *Amrut Mahal*. was Rs. 40,964 and the expenditure Rs. 35,069 against Rs. 48,900 and Rs. 34,400, respectively, in 1915-16. The stock on 30th June 1917 consisted of 8,111 head of cattle. There were somewhat severe outbreaks of black quarter and rinderpest among the cattle.

The question of the future administration of the Department has been investigated by a special committee whose recommendations are now under the consideration of Government.

22. The total number of patients treated in the *Medical Department*. 169. medical institutions in the State was 1,823,973,



consisting of 18,011 in-patients and 1,805,962 out-patients. Of these 4,882 in-patients and 56,532 out-patients, or 61,414 in all were treated in the special hospitals. The number of midwives who were at work was 137 against 135 in 1915-16. The toxicological work done by the Chemical Examiner during the year consisted of 124 cases and 368 articles.

*Public Health.*

23. The recorded birth and death rates for the year were 20.19 and 17.54 respectively per mille of population against 20.25 and 15.25 in 1915-16. There was an increase in mortality under all diseases with the exception of small-pox. The number of inoculations against plague reached a high figure, namely, 89,622. The total number of vaccinations performed was 95,805 against 101,892 in the previous year.

24. Among sanitary measures recently sanctioned may be mentioned, the medical inspection of schools in all the district headquarter towns, the systematic chemical and bacteriological examination of water used for drinking purposes in towns and villages, and the introduction into the Legislative Council of a bill to make the registration of vital statistics compulsory in the State.

*Malnad Improvement Scheme.*

25. So far attention has been chiefly devoted to the removal of rank vegetation mainly by, and at the expense of, the people themselves, the construction of drainage works in water-logged villages, provision of drinking water wells, distribution of quinine, popularization of vaccination, shifting of insanitary villages to healthier localities and the provision of extended maternity aid and medical relief. Endeavours have been made to attract new settlers and it is reported that during the year nearly 300 families migrated into the *malnad* area. To give more occupation to the people, the scheme also contemplates the establishment of forest industries.

The Education Department is making special efforts to provide more elementary schools in this region, and the popularization of the principles of hygiene and sanitary knowledge by means of easy pamphlets, lectures and demonstrations, has also been attempted. Under the guidance of the Committees, a debt survey has been undertaken and a scheme for the institution of a land mortgage bank to relieve indebtedness amongst the agricultural population is under consideration. The question of an adequate supply of labour is of great importance and the preparation of a scheme therefor is also under

consideration. The projected railways in the Shimoga District will open up a large part of the *malnad* area and establish easier communication with the *maidan* parts of the State.

26. The number of prisoners in the Jails and Lock-ups in the State was 1,225 at the beginning of the year against 1,349 at the beginning of 1915-16. The new admissions were 9,857, the number discharged 9,819 and the number remaining at the end of the year 1,263. The expenditure was Rs. 1,10,178 and the net cost of maintenance worked out to an average of Rs. 75 per head or Rs. 3 more than in the previous year. *Prisons and Jails.*

#### 4.—TECHNICAL DEPARTMENTS.

27. The important irrigation works which were in progress in 1915-16 continued to receive attention during the year. The channel works undertaken for resettling the raiyats drowned out by the Krishnaraja Sagara Works are practically completed, and water can now be supplied to about 13,000 acres commanded by the channels against 6,300 acres at the end of 1915-16. The extent of lands given in exchange under the new channels to expropriated raiyats was 4,600 acres. *Public Works.*

Among the new civil buildings undertaken during the year may be mentioned the buildings required for the Mysore University at Mysore, and the new Public Office buildings and the Girls' High School at Bangalore.

28. The capital outlay on the Cauvery Power Scheme during the year amounted to Rs. 1,73,200 which brought up the total outlay on the concern to Rs. 1,09,19,590 at the end of June 1917. The gross earnings of the scheme during the year amounted to Rs. 25,01,100 against Rs. 24,27,862 in 1915-16. The working expenses, including a sum of Rs. 3,82,100 credited to the depreciation fund, was Rs. 8,16,100. After deducting Rs. 4,47,000 credited to the Krishnaraja Sagara Scheme on account of the protection afforded to the power generation by the storage impounded in the reservoir, and Rs. 4,33,000 on account of interest on the capital outlay at 4 per cent, the net profit worked out to Rs. 8,04,700, which represents a return of 7.37 per cent against 11.89 in 1915-16. The difference in the percentage of profits is due to the fact that in 1915-16 no credit was given to the Krishnaraja Sagara works as was done in the year under review. *Electrical Department.*

29. The demand for electric power and lighting installations continues to grow steadily. The total number of power and lighting stations which was 1,539 at the end of 1913-14, rose to 3,343 at the end of 1916-17, *i.e.*, has more than doubled.

30. A scheme for the installation of electrically driven pumps for the water-supply of Bangalore City has been sanctioned, as the steam pumping plant which was installed twenty years ago is rapidly deteriorating. Investigations are on foot for the manufacture of calcium cyanamide with the aid of electric power.

*Railways.*

31. The gross earnings of the State lines worked by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company amounted to Rs. 38,46,000 which is about Rs. 16,000 less than in the previous year. The expenses amounted to Rs. 21,37,000 and the net earnings to Rs. 17,09,000. The percentage of return on the capital outlay works out to 6.66. After deducting from the net earnings, the guaranteed interest at 4 per cent on the sterling loan of £1,200,000, the actual realizations from the lines amount to Rs. 9,95,600 which gives a net return of 3.86 per cent. on the outlay.

The gross earnings, working expenses and net earnings of the open lines worked by State agency were Rs. 1,98,003, 1,70,409 and 27,594, respectively.

32. *Surveys.*—The progress on survey work during the year was as follows :—

*Mysore-Coorg Railway (30 miles—metre gauge).*—Detailed surveys were completed and project estimates were under preparation.

*Tumkur-Sira Railway (34 miles—metre gauge).*—Field work for preliminary survey was completed and project estimates were under consideration.

*Nanjangud-Kakankote Railway (46 miles—metre gauge).*—The survey of this line which was ordered in place of the Mysore-Kakankote Tramway on 2'-0" gauge was in progress. Thirty-four miles were completed during the year and 12 miles yet remain to be surveyed.

*Narasimharajapura-Sringeri Tramway (45 miles—2' gauge).*—The survey of the line from Narasimharajapura to Hariharpur, a distance of 33 miles, was completed during the year. Preliminary survey from Hariharpur to Sringeri, a distance of 12 miles, has yet to be undertaken.

*Forest Tramways (2' gauge).*—In connection with the development of the iron industry at Benkipur, an estimate amounting to Rs. 26,138 for the survey of certain forest tramways was sanctioned. Surveys of the following lines were completed and project estimates were prepared for submission to the Government of India for sanction:—

- (1) Chickagrahar-Narasimharajapura-Benkipur.
- (2) Kemangundi-Benkipur.

*Shimoga-Bhatkal Railway (114 miles—metre gauge).*—The survey of this line was well in hand. A project estimate for the Shimoga-Arasalu section (26·8 miles) is before the Government of India.

*Thadasa-Hebbe Tramway (10 miles—2' gauge).*—The project estimates for constructing a 2' gauge tramway from Thadasa to Hebbe, a distance of 10 miles has been approved by the Government of India.

33. It is proposed to take up, if possible, the construction and survey of the following lines during 1917-18:—

(a) *Construction—*

- (1) Chikjajur-Chitaldrug Railway.
- (2) Nanjangud-Kakankote Tramway.
- (3) Shimoga-Arasalu section of Shimoga-Bhatkal Railway.
- (4) Mysore-Coorg Railway.
- (5) Bangalore-Hosur Railway.
- (6) Thadasa-Hebbe Tramway.
- (7) Benkipur-Tigada and Benkipur-Thadasa Tramways.

(b) *Surveys—*

- (1) Arasalu-Bhatkal section of Shimoga-Bhatkal.
- (2) Sira-Hiriyur-Chitaldrug.
- (3) Hebbe-Muthodi.
- (4) Shimoga-Tirthahalli.
- (5) Tirthahalli-Sagar.

(c) *Preliminary investigation including traffic prospects—*  
Koppa-Mudgere-Chikmagalur.

34. The number of mining leases and prospecting licenses in force during the year was 101 against 89 in 1915-16. The output of bar gold during 1916-17 was 549,816 ozs. of an approximate value of Rs. 3,16,21,635 as against 558,333 ozs. of the value of Rs. 3,20,36,301 in 1915-16. The royalty due to Government on the output and that estimated to be payable on the dividends *Geology.*

declared by the Mining Companies is approximately Rs. 18,10,913 against Rs. 18,53,293 in the previous year.

There was increased activity in connection with prospecting for chrome, antimony, galena, kaolin and ochres. The corundum industry on the other hand has been practically suspended. In view of the special difficulties arising from the war, postponement of the payment of rents due by licensees was allowed in some cases. The rules for the grant of exploring and prospecting licenses and mining leases have been revised and steps have been taken to prevent licensees from carrying on prospecting operations on lands not comprised in their licenses.

In addition to the publications referred to last year, the department has prepared a Kannada edition of the Geological Map of Mysore and a bulletin in Kannada showing the principal mineral deposits of the State.

35. During the calendar year 1916, 26,970 persons were employed in the mining industry as against 28,023 in 1915. The total number of fatal and serious accidents in the mines during the year was 192 against 276 in 1915. Of these, 54 were fatal resulting in the death of 93 persons. The number of explosive licenses current during the year was 281 against 301 in 1915.

#### 5.—PROGRESS, MORAL AND MATERIAL.

##### *Education.*

36. The appointment of a new class of inspecting officers known as Supervisors has been sanctioned in order to make better provision for the inspection of primary schools. Practical instruction classes were opened in 122 centres.

37. The number of institutions for girls rose from 525 to 618 and their strength from 27,744 to 34,099. This excludes the girls reading in boys' schools who number approximately 19,000.

38. Among other matters of some importance relating to the Education Department may be mentioned the holding of an Educational Conference, the publication of an Educational Manual, the preparation of statistics showing the present state of education in the different parts of the State and the progress expected in the next five years, and the organization of physical education in primary and secondary schools. Four industrial schools have been opened at Shimoga, Chitaldrug, Hassan and Chikmagalur and the Government Mechanical Engineering School at

Bangalore and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore have been further re-organised.

39. The collegiate high schools in the State were inspected by a committee of the University Council and also by certain individual professors in their respective subjects. A comprehensive scheme of extension lectures was under consideration, and a beginning has been made in the delivery of lectures at Mysore and Bangalore. *The Mysore University.*

40. The third Conference of the officers of the Agricultural Department was held in May 1917 in which the work of the Department was discussed and a programme was chalked out for the ensuing year. Statistics were collected with regard to ragi, sugarcane and arecanut cultivation, and bulletins on these subjects will shortly issue. About fourteen pamphlets have been prepared on subjects of agricultural interest and a few have issued. A large amount of demonstration work was carried out in connection with improved implements and over 1,200 ploughs were sold. *Department of Agriculture.*

The Hebbal school continued to be popular and had 38 students at the beginning of the year as compared with 30 in the previous year. The Vernacular Agricultural School at Chikkanhalli, on the other hand, has not developed as expected. The scheme of rural education alluded to in my Address last year has been experimentally introduced in four schools.

41. The Government Weaving Factory yielded a profit of Rs. 1,735, the expenditure being Rs. 23,078. A sum of Rs. 11,602 was spent on demonstration work. 396 fly-shuttle looms and 30 tappets were supplied to weavers. *Department of Industries and Commerce.*

The Button Factory commenced work on the 1st June 1917.

The construction of the soap plant has been almost completed in the Public Works Workshop at Bangalore. The experimental plant is producing about a ton of soap per month.

The smaller sugarcane installations established by the department worked satisfactorily and demonstrated that good jaggery could be made from this plant much more rapidly than by indigenous methods. The steam plant at Agaram has not, however, proved a success.

42. Of the three banks that were working, the bank at Nanjangud went into voluntary liquidation and transferred its surplus funds to the Srikanteswara Adwaita Sabha of the place, thus reducing the number of working *Agricultural Banks.*

banks to two. The amount collected on account of loans due to Government was Rs. 6,356 towards principal and Rs. 1,067 towards interest. The balance outstanding against thirteen banks is Rs. 39,444.

## 6.—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

### *Local Boards.*

43. The Tumkur District Board was authorised to elect a non-official Vice-President. Railway cess was newly levied in the Kadur District during the year. Steps have been taken to raise a loan of Rs. 9 lakhs to finance the railway from Chikjajur to Chitaldrug and a sum of nearly 2½ lakhs has already been subscribed.

### *Local Funds General.*

44. The approximate income and expenditure under Local Funds General were Rs. 2,54,867 and Rs. 1,04,242, respectively. The Local Funds General as a separate fund having been abolished with effect from 1st July 1917, the balance at the credit of the fund, *viz.*, Rs. 5,66,446 will be credited to the District Boards and the Kolar Gold Field Sanitary Board in the proportion of their average cess revenue for the past three years.

### *Municipalities.*

45. After the passing of the new amending Municipal Bill into law there will be 2 City Municipal Councils, 30 Town Municipal Councils, and 74 Minor Municipalities. Action is being taken to relieve the Deputy Commissioners of the presidentship of Municipal Councils at District headquarters and to appoint non-official Presidents wherever possible.

The project for the supply of drinking water to Chikballapur was finally approved and Government have agreed to contribute Rs. 54,000 out of the total estimated outlay of Rs. 83,545. The improvement works in connection with the water-supply of Kolar, Nanjangud and Davangere were completed. The project for the water-supply of Chitaldrug town (originally estimated at Rs. 1,00,000) having been found to cost nearly Rs. 1,89,000, sanction was accorded to the Municipal Council to raise an additional loan of one lakh of rupees. A malarial survey of the town of Seringapatam has been ordered. The construction of model houses for the middle and poor classes was sanctioned in the Shimoga Municipality. The Municipal Council raised for this purpose under Government guarantee a loan of Rs. 5,350, and eight houses were constructed.

A special officer was appointed for the acquisition of

properties in connection with the Bangalore City improvement works, and a programme of works to be taken up has been prepared. The expenditure incurred during the year on improvements to the Bangalore City was Rs. 55,050.

46. On account of increased activities of the Mysore City Improvement Trust Board, the normal annual grant of Rs. 3½ lakhs was supplemented by an additional grant of one lakh for the year. A sum of Rs. 3,04,138 was spent on drainage works and other improvements, and Rs. 73,119 on acquisition of properties. Loans to the extent of nearly Rs. 40,000 were granted for house-building purposes. One hundred and sixteen properties were acquired during the year. Pipes of 13½ miles length, including 1,284 house connections, were laid in connection with the underground sewerage system.

#### 7.—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

47. The Muzrai Superintendent has been made *Muzrai Department* *ex-officio* Joint Secretary to Government and has been provided with an office assistant and an adequate staff of officials both professional and clerical, with a view to enable him to devote greater attention to the inspection of institutions. The institutions in the State are now classed under three heads according to their resources and importance, and the guiding principles to be followed in their management and supervision have been laid down. The working of the various Government *annachatrams* in the State was examined and the arrangements for free public feeding have been revised. Sanction has been accorded to the consolidation of the surplus funds of institutions into a common fund to be utilised for the benefit of the muzrai institutions generally and for objects not inconsistent with the original endowments. In addition, a scheme has been approved for the levy of a uniform percentage charge on the income of institutions under the management of the department, in order to meet the cost of the special establishments maintained for muzrai work at headquarters and in the districts.

A systematic investigation into the resources and requirements of the various institutions has been commenced with a view to fix regular scales of income and expenditure and to ascertain what amount will be available for the formation of the funds referred to above.



The buildings of 119 muzrai institutions were repaired at a cost of Rs. 1,21,823, of which Rs. 9,520 was met from the annual State grant. Four deposits amounting to Rs. 11,500 were accepted under the Charitable Endowment Rules, the interest being intended for certain religious services.

*Archæology.*

48. The Director toured in the Districts of Hassan, Kadur, Tumkur, Kolar, Bangalore and Mysore. Eighty-one villages were visited, 290 new records were discovered and 18 coins and a large number of manuscripts were examined.

*Meteorology.*

49. The number of rain-gauge stations was 225 and about 90 per cent of these were inspected during the year.

*Government Press.*

50. The outturn of work in the Central Press, Bangalore, during the year was 78,776 pages composed of various sizes which, converted into pica foolscap folio, aggregated 54,098 against 46,716 in the previous year. The expenditure for the year amounted to Rs. 1,49,257 against Rs. 1,23,873 in the previous year. The receipts under "Gazette Office" amounted to Rs. 3,498 and the number of subscribers was 827. The number of books and periodicals registered was 178 as against 139 in the preceding year. Copyright was secured on 66 books.

*Stationery.*

51. There was an increase in the purchase of Indian made articles, the cost amounting to Rs. 1,29,901 against Rs. 77,526 in the previous year. The total cost of supplies amounted to Rs. 2,79,543 as against Rs. 1,57,747 in the previous year.

*Government Gardens.*

52. The introduction of new plants and seeds could not be proceeded with at the same pace as in previous years, owing to stoppage of supplies on account of the war. Several improvements have been made to the Lal Bagh which maintained its popularity. The two half-yearly shows were well attended and successful.

*Hill Stations.*

53. The Hill Station of Nandi attracted a large number of visitors and the receipts from the rent of bungalows more than covered the cost of the establishment.

*Government Museum.*

54. The number of visitors to the Museum was 367,038. The collection remained in good condition and some of the old and worn out articles were replaced. The number of accessions was 136.

M. VISVESVARAYA,  
*Dewan of Mysore.*

**STATEMENT A.**  
**BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1917-1918.**

HEADS OF RECEIPTS	Accounts, 1915-1916.	Revised Estimate, 1916-1917.	Budget Estimate, 1917-1918.	HEADS OF EXPENDITURE	Accounts, 1915-1916	Revised Estimate, 1916-1917	Budget Estimate, 1917-1918.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<b>Principal Heads of Revenue—</b>				<b>Direct Demands on Revenue—</b>			
I Land Revenue ..	1,04,76,492	1,07,80,000	1,05,73,000	1 Land Revenue	19,74,576	19,78,000	21,19,000
II Forest ...	32,72,634	47,20,000	42,53,000	2 Forest ..	9,20,287	9,36,000	10,68,000
III Excise ..	56,06,459	58,62,000	59,62,000	3 Excise ..	3,27,829	3,46,000	3,62,000
IV Miscellaneous Taxes.	2,86,157	2,95,000	20,000	4. Stamp ..	40,451	63,000	76,000
V Stamps ...	10,99,986	11,63,000	11,85,000	5 Registration	92,117	95,000	1,09,000
VI Registration ...	2,09,264	2,20,000	2,25,000	<b>Total</b>	<b>33,65,260</b>	<b>34,18,000</b>	<b>37,34,000</b>
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>2,09,50,992</b>	<b>2,30,40,000</b>	<b>2,22,18,000</b>	<b>Charges against Mining Revenue—</b>			
<b>Surplus Revenue of Assigned Tract—</b>				6 Capitalization Fund	48,747	9,66,000	10,17,000
VII Assigned Tract Revenue ...	1,10,041	..	1,50,000	7 Supervision of Mines		48,000	55,000
<b>Mining Revenue—</b>				<b>Total</b>	<b>48,747</b>	<b>10,14,000</b>	<b>10,72,000</b>
VIII Mining Revenue ...	19,99,729	16,57,000	17,50,000	<b>Interest and Sinking Funds—</b>			
<b>Interest—</b>				8 Sinking Fund ..	1,33,333	3,33,000	3,33,000
IX Interest ...	10,56,970	7,80,000	12,35,000	9 Interest on Debt and other obligations	5,26,533	6,11,000	7,86,000
<b>Civil Administration—</b>				10 Reserve for interest on Capital Expenditure		9,00,000	9,00,000
X Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments	11,086	18,000	14,000	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>6,59,866</b>	<b>18,44,000</b>	<b>20,19,000</b>
XI Pensions and Allowances ...	4,826	15,000	15,000	<b>Palace—</b>			
XII Stationery and Printing ...	18,855	19,000	19,000	11. Palace	23,50,000	23,50,000	23,50,000
XIII Miscellaneous ..	1,18,066	2,22,000	1,20,000	<b>Civil Administration—</b>			
<b>Total</b> ..	<b>1,62,833</b>	<b>2,74,000</b>	<b>1,68,000</b>	12 General Administration	8,30,708	9,71,000	10,35,000
<b>Protection—</b>				13 Muzrai Institutions	3,55,910	3,57,000	3,64,000
XIV Courts of Law ...	51,570	48,000	48,000	14. Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments	1,23,251	1,18,000	1,46,000
XV Jails ..	2,180	2,000	2,000	15. Pensions and Allowances	8,49,946	8,55,000	8,65,000
XVI Police ..	4,388	6,000	6,000	16 Stationery and Printing	2,83,753	3,65,000	4,89,000
XVII Medical ...	20,053	19,000	20,000	17 Miscellaneous	79,221	80,000	80,000
XVIII Sanitation and Vaccination ..	5,554	5,000	5,000	<b>Total</b>	<b>25,22,789</b>	<b>27,46,000</b>	<b>29,79,000</b>
<b>Total</b> ..	<b>83,745</b>	<b>80,000</b>	<b>81,000</b>	<b>Protection—</b>			
<b>Public Works—</b>				18. Courts of Law	8,78,812	8,85,000	9,45,000
XIX Civil Works ..	1,07,657	1,15,000	1,37,000	19. Jails	96,804	1,06,000	1,14,000
<b>Moral and Material Development—</b>				20 Police	10,76,840	10,68,000	12,28,000
XX Education ...	1,85,656	1,88,000	2,01,000	21 Medical	5,21,714	5,59,000	6,55,000
XXI Agriculture ...	84,584	63,000	91,000	22 Sanitation and Vaccination	91,897	1,07,000	1,11,000
XXII Industries and Commerce ...	1,341	4,000	1,000	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>26,66,067</b>	<b>27,25,000</b>	<b>30,53,000</b>
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>2,71,581</b>	<b>2,55,000</b>	<b>2,93,000</b>	<b>Public Works —</b>			
				23 Irrigation Works charged to Revenue ..	5,90,248	10,90,000	13,87,000
				24. Civil Works	21,41,163	23,34,000	20,70,000
				<b>Total</b> ..	<b>27,31,411</b>	<b>34,24,000</b>	<b>34,57,000</b>
				<b>Moral and Material Development—</b>			
				25 Economic Conference	1,74,655	2,10,000	2,68,000
				26 Education	17,69,175	26,80,000	33,36,000
				27 Agriculture	3,78,954	4,16,000	4,91,000
				28. Industries and Commerce	1,56,151	1,52,000	3,17,000
				29 Co-operative Societies	63,167	77,000	91,000
				30. Grants for Public Improvements	6,06,701	6,96,000	11,68,000
				<b>Total</b> ..	<b>31,48,803</b>	<b>42,31,000</b>	<b>56,74,000</b>
				<b>Army and Defence—</b>			
				31. Army	12,50,530	16,33,000	17,32,000
				32. Subsidy to British Government	35,00,000	35,00,000	35,00,000
				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>47,50,530</b>	<b>51,38,000</b>	<b>52,32,000</b>
				<b>Famine Relief and Insurance—</b>			
				33. Famine Relief	2,00,000	5,00,000	5,00,000
				34. Famine Insurance	...	...	...
				<b>Total</b> ...	<b>2,00,000</b>	<b>5,00,000</b>	<b>5,00,000</b>

## STATEMENT A.—BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1917-18—concl'd.

HEADS OF RECEIPTS	Accounts, 1915-16.	Revised Estimate, 1916-17.	Budget Estimate, 1917-18.	HEADS OF EXPENDITURE	Accounts, 1915-16.	Revised Estimate, 1916-17.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Army and Defence—				Railways—Revenue Ac- count—		
XXIII Army ...	57,901	36,000	45,000	35. Miscellaneous Railway Expenditure ...	90,180	1,62,000
Railways—Revenue Account—				36. Guaranteed Interest ...	7,16,085	7,65,000
XXIV Railways (Net Re- ceipts) ..	17,21,546	15,48,000	17,88,000	Total ..	8,06,265	9,27,000
Productive Irrigation Works—				Special Reserve for Non- Recurring Expenditure...	...	3,50,000
Revenue Account—				Extraordinary Expenditure contribution to War Fund	...	10,00,000
XXV Krishnaraja Sagara Works (Net Receipts)	3,31,000	3,79,000	4,47,000	Add—Unspent allotments transferred to balances at credit of Depart- ments ...	...	...
Cauvery Power Scheme Re- venue Account—				Deduct—Expenditure met from balances at credit of Departments and Reserve Funds ...	...	4,28,000
XXVI Cauvery Power Scheme (Net Re- ceipts) ..	11,62,040	12,42,000	14,33,000	Total Expenditure charged to Revenue ..	2,32,39,758	2,92,39,000
Industrial and other Works—				Surplus+or Deficit—	+48,72,560	+28,000
Revenue Account—				Grand Total ...	2,81,12,318	2,92,67,000
XXVII Sandal oil Factory (Net Receipts) ..	..	-2,02,000	4,22,000			
XXVIII Kolar Gold Fields Water-Supply (Net Receipts) ..	1,06,283	63,000	75,000			
Total .	1,06,283	-1,30,000	4,97,000			
Grand Total Revenue ...	2,81,12,318	2,92,67,000	3,02,92,000			

**STATEMENT B.**  
**OUTLAY ON PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL WORKS.**

	Capital outlay			
	Actual's to end of 1915-16	Revised Estimate, 1916-17	Budget Estimate, 1917-18	To end of 1917-18
1	2	3	4	5
<b>I. Railways and Tramways—</b>	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Mysore State Railways worked by Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company ... ..	2,55,87,525	1,74,000	3,00,000	2,60,61,525
2. Mysore State and other Railways and Tramways constructed and worked by the Government —				
(a) Capital contributed by Government ... ..	71,66,361	16,35,000	27,00,000	1,15,01,361
(b) Capital contributed by Companies or District Boards ..	13,84,391	1,20,000	50,000	15,54,391
3. Bangalore Electric Tramways ...	69,054	—2,000	... .	67,054
<b>II. Hydro-Electric Power works—</b>				
Cauvery Power Scheme ... ..	1,07,46,390	1,83,000	8,92,000	1,18,21,390
<b>III. Irrigation works—</b>				
Krishnaraja Sagara and allied works	1,04,32,198	20,85,000	22,00,000	1,47,17,198
<b>IV. Sandal Oil Factories at Bangalore and Mysore ... ..</b>	.....	3,89,000	.....	3,89,000
<b>V. Other Industrial Works ... ..</b>	.....	.....	20,00,000	20,00,000
<b>VI. Kolar Gold Fields Water Supply Project ... ..</b>	15,90,639	12,000	.....	16,02,639
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>5,69,76,558</b>	<b>45,96,000</b>	<b>81,42,000</b>	<b>6,97,14,558</b>

**ADDRESS**  
OF  
**THE DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE**  
TO THE  
**SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY.**

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**EIGHTEENTH SESSION—1097.**

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MONDAY, 27<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1922.

MEMBERS OF THE SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY,

It is my pleasing duty, under the gracious command of His Highness the Maha Raja, to extend a cordial welcome to you to the eighteenth session of the Assembly, and to lay before you an account of the administration of the State since its last session.

2. Copies of the Administration Report for the year 1096 M. F. have already been placed in your hands. That report contains a fairly full description of the activities of the various departments of the State during the year, and I do not propose to detain you in my address with a recapitulation of its contents. You may remember that the eight months of the tenure of my office that preceded the last session of the Assembly were for me really months of study of the administration here and of formulation of plans for the future as the result of that study. The address that I delivered last year was accordingly confined mainly to a retrospect of conditions as I found them and a statement of the policy that was proposed to be pursued. My chief endeavour in the present address will be to explain the more prominent among the measures that have been either adopted or are in course of adoption in pursuance of that policy.

3. Last year, I classified the administrative activities of the State under four main heads, and I propose to adopt that classification this year also, though not in the same order of arrangement. I shall first refer to what has been done in the

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matter of developing the resources of the State and promoting the material and moral well-being of the people, then proceed to mention the steps taken for the enhancement of the efficiency of the administration and the improvement of the finances of the State without which that efficiency cannot be secured, and lastly say a few words in regard to measures affecting the civic, political and social aspirations of the people as also the removal of inequalities of opportunities for their advancement.

**4. Assignment of Land.**—At the time of the last Assembly, the rules relating to the registry of pūdual lands were under revision, and I invited suggestions from the members of the Assembly in regard to the proposed revision. In response to my invitation, valuable suggestions were offered by some of the members, and after a careful consideration of those as well as other suggestions received from the public, Government issued the revised rules in their final form on the 31st March 1921. The main objects of the revision are, as you know, the prevention of accumulation of land in a few hands and the provision of facilities for the acquisition, by the middle and the poor classes, of small manageable holdings calculated to bring about an amelioration in their economic condition. The rules incidentally provide for the State sharing in the rise in land values which is the natural concomitant of the growth of population and the resources of the country, while minimising the scope for exploitation on the part of non-Travancoreans. Government trust that these rules would pave the way for a steady expansion of occupation and an increasing output of agricultural produce.

**5. Land Conservancy.**—Closely connected with the assignment of land is the subject of land conservancy. It may perhaps look incredible if I state that there was no provision in the land revenue Regulations of Travancore under which Government could legally impose conditions and restrictions on assignment of land. It is needless to emphasise how important a part salutary conditions and restrictions play in the disposal of lands for quasi-public purposes or in favour of certain communities which are too far backward to resist the exploitation of their more advanced neighbours. With a view to remedy this defect, the Government Land Assignment Regulation, III of 1907, has been passed, and power has been taken under that Regulation, as in the case of the British Crown Grants Act, to make, wherever necessary or desirable, assignments of land subject to conditions the breach of which could be visited with resumption of grant. Rules have also been issued under the Land Conservancy Regulation, IV of 1901, regularising the treatment of encroachments on Government lands, preventing hardship to *bona fide* occupants of such lands in cases in which the occupation is unobjectionable, and securing the timely eviction, in the interests of the public, of occupations which are really objectionable.

**6. Agricultural Loans.**—The next measure of importance that has been undertaken with a view to the improvement of the lot of the agricultural population is the revision of the rules relating to the grant of loans under Regulation IX of 1904. Under these rules, officers of the Land Revenue Department are empowered to grant loans for the purchase of cattle, seeds, manure, implements of farming, and machinery and other appliances useful for agriculture or for making agricultural produce fit for the market, in addition to loans for improving the condition

of the lands themselves or their irrigational or drainage facilities. The catalogue of objects is fairly comprehensive, comprising as it does every variety of agricultural activity. The Regulation and the rules were practically a dead letter in the past; but a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 has been earmarked for the purpose of these loans in the budget for the current year, and with a view to popularise the loans, the procedure relating to enquiries has been simplified, enhanced powers have been conferred on the land revenue officers, stringent instructions have been issued for the speedy disposal of applications and the disbursement of loans to the applicants personally by responsible officers, encumbrance certificates in regard to property security have been ordered to be granted without payment of search fees, provision being also made for the grant of loans on adequate personal security, and a system of equated repayments has been introduced under which the amount due for each instalment is definitely fixed so as to cover both principal and interest, the latter being so low as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. as against the rate of 7 per cent. recently adopted by the Mysore Government. The Government are glad to note that the facilities thus afforded have already begun to bear fruit, and that during the first five months of the current year loans to the extent of Rs. 47,800 have been granted, of which a sum of Rs. 20,000 has been actually disbursed.

**7. Irrigation.**—The extension of wet cultivation in the area commanded by the Kodayar channels in South Travancore is another important matter that has engaged the attention of the Government during the past twelve months. In my address last year, I referred to the appointment of a special officer for effective work in this direction, and you will be glad to learn that the work of that officer has been making appreciable headway. He has added to the registered irrigated area an extent of about 400 acres and has succeeded in inducing the interested ryots to cut distributary channels and open agricultural roads over an extent of 3 and 4 miles respectively. He has also been doing active propaganda work and pushing forward agricultural loans in the commanded area, 28 loans covering a sum of about Rs. 17,500 having been sanctioned and Rs. 12,000 actually disbursed by him up to the end of Dhanu 1097. A further examination of the causes that retarded the progress of conversions within the commanded area has disclosed the fact that the existing arrangements for the distribution of water under the project have contributed in no small measure to the indifference of the ryot population in this respect. As in the case of all large systems of irrigation, the distribution of water purely through official agency has been the main cause of agrarian discontent in South Travancore also, and it is clear that the only way of removing this discontent lies in bringing about the co-operation of the ryot and the official in regard to this function and in making both of them equally and mutually responsible. With a view to achieve this object by the organisation of a system of irrigation panchayats, largely non-official in composition and character, the Irrigation Regulation has been amended by Regulation V of 1097, and a set of comprehensive rules regulating the constitution and working of such boards will be issued shortly. The same Regulation would enable Government to tackle satisfactorily the equally important and difficult problem of putting up bunds for the cultivation of punja lands in Kuttanad and other localities similarly situated. The progress of the scheme for the improvement of minor irrigation tanks in the taluks of Vilavankod and Neyyattinkara is being hampered by the hesitancy on the part of the ryots concerned to accept the terms that have been offered by the Government after a careful consideration of the question, and consequently

the sum of Rs. 30,000 set apart in the budget for the improvement of the tanks in these two taluks still remains unutilised. Applications for the restoration of ten tanks in Vilavankod and 19 tanks in Neyyattinkara are reported to have been so far received. It is earnestly hoped that a settlement will be soon arrived at so as to prevent a lapse of the allotment at the end of the year.

**8. Adirapalli Project.**—In regard to the Adirapalli project, of which I had made mention last year, the Dewan of Cochin and myself have jointly inspected the locality and have had more than one conversation. The details are now being worked out and, pending final agreement between the two Governments, the survey of the area and the opening of a road connecting it with the plains have been ordered to be taken in hand.

**9. Drainage Works.**—Government are alive to the importance of the part that drainage plays in the agricultural economy of the State, and recently I took occasion to inspect the East Kallada pakuthi in the Quilon taluk, where this question is one of pressing prominence. I propose shortly to visit the West Kallada pakuthi of the Kunnattur taluk also, where conditions are reported to be similar. The problem is a complicated one and Government are considering the question whether it would not be an advantage to give one of its engineer officers some special training in agricultural engineering so as to enable him to tackle such problems successfully.

**10. Puduval Survey and Land Records.**—In my address last year, I explained the neglected condition of survey and land records in the State and emphasised the need for an organised effort to bring these items of work up to date, firstly as a preliminary to the resettlement of the State and secondly as a necessary factor in determining the relative position and rights of the Sirkar and the ryots in regard to occupied lands. The survey staff till then working—or rather not working at all—in the taluks, and that immediately subordinate to the Superintendent of Survey were amalgamated and reorganised into three parties, each under the responsible charge of a Sub-Assistant of Survey and subject to the control of the Superintendent of Survey. These parties were concentrated on twelve taluks containing extensive unoccupied lands, and they were directed to confine their attention to surveying in detail minor circuit blocks above five acres in extent, which were left unsurveyed at the time of the original survey and which have since been either wholly or partially occupied, as also those the registry of which is likely to be applied for in the near future. At the same time, an Assistant Tahsildar who, as I stated in my address last year, is ordinarily a young graduate recruited from the services and specially trained in chain and theodolite survey, was posted to each taluk, except those in the Devicolam Division, and was entrusted with the work of verifying boundary marks and detecting encroachments under the supervision of the Assistant Superintendent of Survey, and with the inspection of puduval cases and the disposal of pokkuvaravu cases, either contested or involving subdivisions, with a view to relieve the Tahsildar of a large portion of his field work. Government note that, as against an estimate of 12 square miles, the three puduval survey parties have been able to show an outturn of about 6 square miles only per mensem and that the work of the Assistant Tahsildars has also been not up to the mark. Government must express their disappointment at the results so far achieved by these two agencies. While they recognise that a work of this kind has to contend against many initial difficulties and are



satisfied with the explanation offered for the short outturn of the puduval survey parties, they cannot help animadverting on the lack of enthusiasm for field work evinced by the average Assistant Tahsildar in spite of his youth, education and the improved prospects that his training holds out for him, and the want of interest in the work of the Assistant Tahsildar which has been a marked feature of the average Tahsildar. It is to be hoped that the present and coming years will see a better record achieved in these directions, and that the difficulties that lie in the path of puduval survey and land records work will be rapidly and effectively overcome.

**11. Economic Development Board.**—Last year I pointed out that one of the regrettable features of the administration of the State was the utter lack of co-ordination and correlation among the several Development Departments. With a view to remedy this defect, an Economic Development Board was created towards the close of 1096. This board, which is composed of 20 members, of whom only seven are officials and on which all the main Development Departments and the various material interests of the country such as agriculture, industries, commerce and banking are represented, has been organised with the object of co-ordinating the work of the Development Departments and of securing the benefit of expert knowledge and practical experience in matters affecting the economic well-being of the people. Government are glad to note that the lines of work laid down by the board for its own guidance are sound and that its salutary influence has already begun to be felt by every Development Department.

**12. Agriculture and Fisheries.**—The progress of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries has continued unabated. The grant for this department which stood at Rs. 0·95 lakhs in 1094 has been raised to Rs. 2·015 lakhs during 1097. Seven Travancoreans have been deputed for agricultural training at Pusa and Nagpur, and two officers of the department, viz., the Agricultural Chemist and the Mycologist, have been granted study leave with allowances to proceed to Europe for higher technical studies. Arrangements have been completed for opening an Agricultural Middle School at Alwaye in Edavam next. The analysis of soils and the experiments on agricultural methods and manures and combating plant pests are proceeding apace. The popularity of the manures introduced by the department has so far increased that manures to the value of about Rs. 50,000 found a sale from the Government Depôts in 1096. Arrangements have been made for the expansion of these sales by the appointment of commission agents, the expenditure on account of their commission being borne by the Government. Demonstrations of the motor tractor should have convinced the punja ryots of the feasibility of giving a timely ploughing to their fields before inundation so as to render them fit for annual cultivation. As a result of the experiments carried out by the department, it is reported that 3,000 acres of punja land in Kuttanad have been already brought under annual cultivation and Government have no doubt that the motor tractor demonstrations conducted by the department would afford a further stimulus to this profitable innovation. The value of green manure to ryots has been recognised by exempting green manure trees leased on kuthagapattam from payment of rent to Government and the Director of Agriculture has been asked to open a green manure seed depôt in South Travancore. Steady efforts are being put forth to popularise scientific fish-curing and

the manufacture of fish oil and fish guano, and four fish-curing yards have been newly opened. It is in contemplation to send a good mechanic shortly to Chaliyam in Malabar to study the fish-canning industry with a view to its introduction in Travancore. The law relating to the protection of fish against indiscriminate and wanton destruction has been placed on a sounder basis by the passing of Regulation XI of 1097.

**13. Industries.**—Dr. Barker, the head of the Department of Industries, having proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement in April last, the working of that department was entrusted to Mr. Chakko, the State Geologist, in addition to his own duties. Last year, I characterised the policy pursued by Dr. Barker as one of drift. Since his departure, the work of the department has been mainly directed towards the rejection of what was unsound and the consolidation and improvement of what was good in the old arrangements. The preliminaries for the flotation of a company with a capital of 12 lakhs of rupees for the manufacture of sugar from palmyra jaggery in South Travancore, in the shares and direction of which Government have resolved to substantially participate, have been settled, and a formal agreement in the matter will shortly be entered into. The control of industrial and technical education has been assumed by the department, and the usefulness of the technical schools at Nagercoil and Trivandrum has been greatly enhanced. A weaving instructor has been doing peripatetic propaganda work among cottage weavers during the past nine months, and his work has been so much appreciated by the public as to call for a demand for more instructors of his type. The Oil Assistant of the department is also touring about the country, demonstrating the superiority of the lemon grass oil manufactured with improved stills. The Chemistry staff of His Highness the Maha Raja's College and the Chemical staff of the Department of Industries have been working in collaboration in the matter of oil research, and arrangements have been made for the construction of an *annexé* to the College Laboratory, where both the staffs may carry on conjoint investigations in the field of industrial chemistry. The old Carpentry School at Quilon, the working of which was extremely unsatisfactory, is undergoing radical transformation. A School of Commerce was opened at Alleppey, the chief commercial centre of the State, in Kanni last, for imparting instruction in commercial correspondence, book-keeping, accountancy and kindred subjects, and it promises to develop into a really useful and popular institution. Competent non-official visitors' boards have been attached to this as well as the Nagercoil Technical Institute. The chief defect of the department has so far been the lack of experts. This defect, however, will in some measure disappear on the return of the Government industrial scholars from Europe. One of them, Mr. C. Kumara Das, B. A., M. Sc., who has specialised in the manufacture of soaps and oils, has just returned, while the arrival of Mr. A. K. George, B. A., the tanning expert, is overdue, and the question of his failure to return in time is under investigation. The other two scholars who have specialised in textiles and electrical engineering respectively are also expected to return soon, and on their return Government hope to lay down more definite lines of action in respect of the industries in which they have qualified, and to bring under more effective control the private industrial institutions which are in receipt of grants-in-aid from the State. The Government grant for this department which was only Rs. 66,700 in 1096 has been raised to Rs. 1,27,000 during the current year, and further allotments will have to be made when these experts commence their work. The building up

of industries is necessarily a slow and difficult process, and those cannot help being disappointed who are apt to look for startling results in too short a time.

**14. Banking**—In pursuance of the policy enunciated in my last address, Government have decided to encourage sound indigenous banking concerns and have directed a deposit of Rs. 25,000 being placed with the Quilon Bank, Ltd., at the low interest of 5 per cent., subject to the bank satisfying certain conditions calculated to safeguard the investment. Mr. R. Nilakanda Pillai, the Senior Assistant Account Officer, who was deputed to report on the larger project of a State aided bank for Travancore, has, after studying on the spot the working of that type of banks in Baroda and Mysore, suggested the desirability of opening such a bank here also. His report on the subject was referred to the Economic Development Board for consideration, and the board has just submitted its reply to the reference. Government hope to be able to pass final orders at an early date. As banking and industries are bound to loom larger in the administrative horizon in the future, Government have deemed it opportune to depute, for a thorough course of training in these subjects in Europe, a competent scholar who would benefit by such training and could successfully fill in due time the rôle of a Director of these expanding movements. Mr. A. Gopala Menon, M. A., Assistant Professor of Economics in His Highness the Maha Raja's College, was accordingly selected to undergo this training on the recommendation of a special board, and he is now studying for the B. Com. Degree of the London University with 'Industries' as his special subject. With a view to inculcate banking habits among the poorer classes, Government are making arrangements for an expansion of the savings bank activities of the Anchal Department. Government treasuries will shortly be relieved of this work, and the entire activity will be transferred to Anchal Savings Banks in future, their number being substantially increased. The interest payable on savings bank deposits has been raised from four cash on every three rupees to three cash on every two rupees per mensem and provision has been made in the Savings Bank Rules for the nomination, by the depositors, of the persons to whom moneys standing to their credit may be paid without the need for the production of further evidence of title. It is hoped that the facilities thus afforded will go a great way towards popularising this form of investment among the classes for whose benefit they are primarily intended.

**15. Co-operation, Geology and Mining.**—I have only a word or two to say regarding co-operation, geology and mining. For the past twelve months, these departments have not much to show by way of results, although it must be owned that the working of the Co-operative Department evinced some signs of improvement and that the State Geologist has at last brought out his consolidated report on the geology of Travancore. Mr. Chakko was not able to work the new programme, chalked out for him by the Government, of an economic survey of the geological wealth of the State, owing mainly to the want of an Assistant to help him, whose appointment, though sanctioned earlier, could be actually given effect to only in Tulam 1097. With a view to secure up-to-date knowledge and organising skill in the head of the Co-operative Department, Mr. R. Vaidyalingam Pillai was deputed to Madras for a period of six months to undergo a course of training in Co-operation. He has just returned and has been asked to formulate his proposals for the improvement of the department. One of the Co-operative Inspectors has also been just trained in Madras in co-operative work, and it is proposed to utilise his services

for the training of the other Co-operative Inspectors under the supervision of Mr. Vaidyalingam Pillai.

**16. Excise**—The efficiency of the Excise Department has continued undiminished during the period under review, and as you will observe from the Administration Report for 1936, there has been a remarkable expansion of revenue, especially under the head of customs. The outstanding features of the year's work are the special improvements effected to the salt factories in South Travancore which are responsible for an increase of 40 acres in the area under salt culture and the re-adjustment with the Madras Government of the arrangement under which the duty on ganja consumed in the State is shared by that Government and the Darbar. The result of the readjustment is distinctly more favourable to the Darbar in as much as, under the old arrangement, the share of the Madras Government was one-fourth of an ever-increasing rate of duty, while under the revised arrangement the Darbar gets the full benefit of all future increases of duty and has to pay to the Madras Government a fixed rate of Rs. 3 only per seer of the duty which now stands at Rs. 20 and which is sure to increase as years advance.

**17. Forest**.—The revenue of this department has shown a marked fall; but it should be remembered that this fall was due mostly to the tightness of the money market and the slump created in the timber market by large imports of Burma teak, for neither of which the department could be held responsible. A great deal remains to be done in the way of opening up our valuable forests, and the Government must look to the Conservator for a carefully thought out scheme for the steady expansion of forest road mileage, so as to bring them within the reach of large timber markets. Another direction in which the department has yet to achieve results is the collection of useful information regarding the resources of our forests and the methods of their profitable exploitation and utilization. A beginning, however, has now been made in this direction, and Mr. R. Dhanukoti Pillai, Deputy Conservator, has been deputed to carry out in the first instance an economic survey of the forest wealth of the Neriamangalam valley and an investigation of the possibilities of the paper pulp industry in the Northern Division. With a view to enable him to devote his whole time to higher work, he has been relieved of his routine duties, and his reports are awaited. Government also feel that there is scope for the expansion of sandal-wood plantations in the Anjanad valley and that adequate attention has not been devoted to this work in the past. The Conservator has been asked to formulate definite proposals in this matter. The want of training on the part of most of the forest subordinates being a serious handicap to the efficient administration of the department, and the fees charged for such training in colleges outside the State being prohibitive, Government have opened a Forest College at Quilon with effect from Tulam 1937 for the benefit of these subordinates as well as of those that intend seeking service in the department. The syllabus and the course of studies in this institution are the same as those in the Forest College at Coimbatore and pupils are trained for the Travancore Diploma in Forestry, the Travancore Ranger's Certificate and the Travancore Forester's Certificate.

**18. Public Works**.—The inadequacy of the allotment for public works which marked the period coeval with the war was remedied in the year 1936, when

large supplemental grants were sanctioned with a view to effect substantial progress in the development of communications. The total expenditure under public works in 1096 amounted to Rs. 37.86 lakhs, reaching the pre-war figure of 1090 and showing an increase of 15.6 per cent. over the outlay in the previous year. A good portion of the roads opened by private agencies in Central Travancore has been taken over for departmental maintenance, and public criticism has been invited on the draft rules framed for standardising the future construction of such roads and the assumption of their management by the Government. Government would welcome further criticism of these rules by the members of the Assembly before they are issued in their final shape, and it is hoped that, when the rules are eventually passed, private agencies will so construct these roads as to render it easier for the Government to assume their management. As the supervision and control of Division Maramat works by Peishkars was found to be defective, that duty was entrusted to an Executive Engineer deputed from the regular *cadre* with effect from the beginning of 1097. This measure should result in economy, uniformity and efficiency. Another measure of importance undertaken during the period is the passing of the Public Canals and Public Ferries Regulation, VI of 1096, calculated to improve the administration of public canals and waterways and to secure a more effective control of the vessels plying over them. A set of rules under this Regulation will be soon issued, which will enable the Government to deal more effectively with the administration of waterways which are so conspicuous a feature of this country.

**19. Railways.**—The important subject of the extension of railways has received the attention of the Government. Owing to the delay in the final settlement of the exact nature and extent of the participation of this State in the development of the Cochin Harbour, the consideration of the question of the extension of the railway from Kottarakara or Kundara in the direction of Cochin has had to be necessarily postponed. Arrangements, however, are almost complete for the commencement of a reconnaissance survey for the extension of the present line from Quilon to Trivandrum up to Nagercoil, while the economic survey of the forest wealth of the Neriamangalam Valley, already referred to, has been undertaken with the main object of ascertaining whether a railway from the High Ranges to the coast along the course of that valley would be a paying concern.

**20. Medical Relief and Public Health.**—The Government Bacteriologist, after undergoing the requisite training in Kasauli and Madras, returned to Trivandrum and commenced work in the laboratory newly fitted up for him. Malaria and anæmia are responsible for undermining the health of a large number of people in this country, and Government have appointed a special officer to conduct investigations into the causation of these diseases and formulate measures calculated to minimise their incidence. This officer has already sent up his report on the causation of malaria by mosquitoes in the town of Trivandrum and will in due course engage himself in the study of elephantiasis and its causative factors. The Lepers Regulation has been amended by Regulation IV of 1097, and power has been taken in the amending Regulation to compel lepers of all stages to go to Asylums. The C. M. S. Leper Asylum at Alleppey and the L. M. S. Leper Asylum at Neyyur have been awarded grants-in-aid. The Department of Ayurveda has been thoroughly reorganised and the Trivandrum Ayurveda Pathasala has been converted into a college with a correspondingly large staff. The post of Inspector of Vaidyasalas

has been created with a view to make the grant-in-aid Vaidyasalas more useful and efficient. The country was throughout the year free from epidemic diseases. A law for the compulsory registration of vital statistics has been passed as Regulation VII of 1096, and when the necessary arrangements have been made to give effect to the provisions of this Regulation, much of the inaccuracy in the registration of births and deaths observable at present may be expected to disappear. Orders have been issued to make arrangements for giving ten vernacular school teachers a course of training in hygiene during the next summer vacation. The selected teachers, after training, will be posted in the eight lower grade and the two higher grade vernacular training schools for boys to instruct pupil teachers in the method of teaching hygiene.

**21. Education.**—Special attention was paid during the year to the expansion and improvement of education in all its branches. As foreshadowed in my address last year, a special conference of officials and non-officials was held in April last to consider the report of the Education Expenditure Committee and the *interim* report of the Committee appointed for the revision of the curricula of studies in vernacular schools for boys. This conference, after a careful consideration and full discussion of the several issues raised in the two reports, arrived at certain final conclusions which were accepted and sanctioned by the Government in their order No. 1034 of 1921/L & L. G., dated the 18th July 1921. The most important among the decisions of the conference were (1) that primary education should continue to be free and that the goal of universal primary education should be reached by the State as quickly as possible; (2) that English should be taught as a compulsory subject in vernacular middle schools, the staff thereof being strengthened to the necessary extent; (3) that elementary manual training should be introduced in primary schools and the higher forms of manual training in vernacular middle schools; (4) that the increase in grants to primary school teachers announced by me at the last session of the Assembly was not adequate and that more liberal grants should be awarded to private schools, both English and vernacular, to encourage private effort; (5) that the salaries of teachers, especially of primary school teachers, should be enhanced; and (6) that with a view to meet the additional expenditure involved in the improvements suggested, the fees in vernacular middle and English schools as well as colleges should be suitably increased. Other decisions of the conference are also dealt with in that G. O., but it is not necessary for me to recapitulate them here, beyond stating that the conference expressed itself strongly against the introduction of vocational training in institutions which are intended for general education. In regard to manual training, Government have recently ordered that the undergraduate teachers who are now employed as instructors in manual training in the ten departmental vernacular training schools for boys should be retained there to impart instruction to the pupil teachers coming up to those institutions for training, that 200 teachers who have received the necessary instruction in manual training should be posted, one to each departmental vernacular middle school, where they should teach simple forms of manual training in classes I to IV and the higher forms of the same in classes V and VI, that an attempt should be made to introduce gradually elementary manual training in the primary schools also, by the appointment in them of trained teachers who have received instruction in manual training, and that it would be enough to introduce manual training into English schools after the system has been perfected in vernacular schools. A

liberal scheme of scholarships and freeships is under preparation, and the provisions of this scheme are calculated to help the really poor and deserving portion of the pupils in vernacular middle and English schools. A scheme for the medical inspection of pupils in recognised English schools by qualified medical officers has been formulated and the draft rules on the subject have been published in the Gazette with a view to elicit public criticism. This scheme will be introduced with effect from the beginning of the next school year and it is likely to cost the Government a sum of about Rs. 5,000 per annum. As promised by me last year, steps are being taken for the establishment of a chair for the teaching of Natural Science in His Highness the Maha Raja's College with effect from the beginning of the next academical year. A hostel for women was recently attached to the Women's College.

**22. Students' Strikes.**—The educational expenditure of the Government is going up rapidly. It was Rs. 25·83 lakhs in 1095 and Rs. 29·90 lakhs in 1096; it is estimated at Rs. 32·21 lakhs in 1097, but the actuals are bound to exceed even this figure. In pursuance of the decision of the Conference that the fees in vernacular middle and English schools ought to be raised in view to find a fraction at least of the additional funds required to give effect to its recommendations, Government resolved to increase by 50 per cent. the fees in the vernacular schools where English was proposed to be compulsorily taught and by half a rupee each per mensem the fees in the preparatory class and in Forms IV to VI of English schools. The proposed increase, however, was actually brought into effect only in the case of English schools. This event, as you all know, furnished the occasion for those unfortunate exhibitions of organised indiscipline on the part of the student population in Trivandrum and elsewhere in Chingam last. The students' strikes at Trivandrum and the riot of the 5th Kanni in the college square in which they culminated have been the cause of so much agitation and excitement in the country that they deserve more than a passing notice. A certain section of the vernacular press has been keeping the agitation going, and insistent demands have been made from certain quarters for the appointment of a committee of enquiry. I would venture to ask of you a responsible and dispassionate analysis of the situation. I have, on another occasion, adduced fully the reasons that weighed with the Government in enhancing the fees for secondary education to a level which, by the way, is not in excess of that reached in the neighbouring State of Cochin. Assuming for the sake of argument that the Government were wrong in having done so, and that the committee on whose considered and weighty advice they acted was neither representative nor responsible, the remedy for those who thought so, clearly lay in convincing the Government, through constitutional channels, of their error. This was not done; but on the contrary the school-boys were allowed to champion their own cause and they went on strike. Had they stopped with this, nothing more than a disciplinary notice of their conduct would have been called for. But it is an undisputed fact that the strikers soon assumed a militant attitude and molested peaceful students and law-abiding citizens. Government conveyed warnings in the shape of Press Communiqués and the District Magistrate of Trivandrum issued a prohibitory order. These preventive measures had no effect on the strikers and their sympathisers, who organised a second strike on even a larger scale than before with a more pronounced outburst of lawlessness, and this culminated in the unlawful assemblage of a very large number of school-boys and others in the college square on the 5th Kanni and in open acts of violence in defiance of constituted authority. No Government could allow such lawlessness and

the rioters had to be dispersed by force, which in the present instance, however, was only employed by way of self-defence. That the force so used was not excessive is proved conclusively by the absence of any serious injuries among the rioters. The earlier stories of broken limbs have proved to be as much a myth as the later one of the death, after more than a month of the event, of a school-boy as the result of injuries sustained by him during the riot. The evidence in this case shows that the boy died, not as the result of injuries, but of typhoid fever. There is again a conspicuous absence of complaints from persons said to have been injured during the riot, and in the case of two members of the College staff who were reported to have been roughly handled by the Police, although they were invited to adduce evidence, they abstained from doing so. The solitary complaint lodged by a College student before the First Class Magistrate, Trivandrum, had to be thrown out by him, on the complainant himself admitting that the assembly in which he participated was an unlawful one. It was not his case that excessive force was used for the dispersal of that assembly, and it is on record that the injury sustained by him was only trivial. If there was any one who had received any serious injury, nothing prevented him from coming forward and producing the necessary evidence. These are the broad, outstanding facts of the case, and after a repeated and anxious consideration, Government are unable to find in them any justification for the appointment of a committee of enquiry. No one deplors the strikes and their aftermath more than the Government themselves. It is not the intention of Government to negative the possibility of individual excesses on occasions of this kind, and I would avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you the assurance that both Government and their responsible officers have ever been and still are most anxious to visit with condign punishment every such case of excess in the event of its being properly proved.

**23. Efficiency of Administration.**—In my address last year, I foreshadowed the action that I proposed to take with a view to increase the efficiency of the services by improving their salaries and prospects and revising the methods of their work, and to keep down expenditure by effecting retrenchments wherever possible. The decision to appoint an Efficiency Audit Officer to examine the conditions of office work and suggest improvements in its methods was given effect to on the 1st Meeam 1096, and Mr. M. Rajaraja Varma, Dewan Peishkar, Southern Division, was appointed to that post. As Efficiency Audit Officer, Mr. Rajaraja Varma has done valuable work calculated to materially simplify office routine, economise expenditure, and facilitate the check of office procedure. He was also made the President of a Committee of officials and non-officials appointed to suggest the revision of salaries and retrenchment of establishments. This Committee has done its work with commendable promptitude and has submitted a useful report. The proposals of the committee are confined to appointments the minimum pay of which is less than Rs. 150 per mensem, but the committee has offered some valuable suggestions in regard to retrenchment and improvement of salaries in the case of some higher appointments also. The preliminary conferences and discussions with heads of departments are over and the final orders of Government in the case of a majority of the services will be issued without delay.

**24.** A close examination of the strength of the several services and the work to be done by them has revealed the fact that, from the numerical standpoint, the



staffs are not as excessive as they were supposed to be, and that a wholesale reduction of establishment is not possible anywhere without serious detriment to efficiency. It is also worthy of note that the expenditure on the services in this State is moderate as compared with that in other progressive countries. No finality has yet been reached, but a knowledge of the reductions already effected as well as of those now in contemplation will convince you of the fact that the subject of retrenchment is one about which Government are in right earnest. A net saving to the extent of about Rs. 30,000 per annum has been effected in the immediate past, while the retrenchments to be carried out in the immediate future are expected to give a further net saving of about Rs. 1,50,000. But, even after making every possible allowance for retrenchment, the scheme for improvement of salaries must result in a material addition to the recurring expenditure of the State.

**25.** Prominent among the appointments that have been newly created with a view to meet the progressive expansion of administrative activities is that of the Land Revenue and Income Tax Commissioner. The creation of this appointment, without which adequate efficiency and co-ordination in the working of the Land Revenue Department could not be secured, became imminent on the passing of the Income Tax Regulation, VIII of 1096, which rendered unavoidable the appointment of a responsible and experienced officer to supervise and control the difficult operations under that Regulation, and both the functions were combined for the sake of economy in one post which was filled by the appointment to it of the senior Dewan Peishkar.

**26.** Government have not yet reached a decision on the question of the constitution of a board calculated to afford equal opportunities to all communities in the matter of recruitment to the services. It is true that such a board could make selections and draw up lists of approved candidates from all communities, but the power of making appointments would still vest in the heads of departments and offices, and Governmental intervention and scrutiny would still be necessary to see that these latter are impartial in the exercise of their patronage. In the circumstances it is a question whether the creation of a board of this kind would not be merely a source of additional expenditure with no commensurate public advantage. I may observe that similar boards created elsewhere are coming in for a good deal of adverse criticism. In the meantime, Government are doing their best to secure the end in view by the issue of stringent departmental instructions and by the scrutiny of monthly returns received from departmental heads. It is, however, too soon to draw any useful conclusions from these statistics.

**27. Finance.**—I now come to the all-important subject of finance. While the Government are grateful for an occasional expression of feeling of the readiness of the people to contribute their share to the increasing cost of a progressive administration, they cannot at the same time be oblivious of the more incessant cry of excessive taxation. It behoves you, the representatives of the people, to see what justification there is for this oft-repeated complaint. Taxation, I own, is not a sweet pill for any one to swallow, and I can well appreciate the unwillingness of the average citizen to rise superior to the natural desire of being left alone in all that affects his pocket. In my address last year, I pointed out that the improvements and reforms adumbrated by the Government meant additional expenditure, and that it had become necessary to tap fresh sources of

revenue. A tax on incomes has, as you are aware, been imposed with effect from the beginning of the current financial year. This measure, one of the main effects of which is the equalisation of the burden of taxation, was practically courted by the country, and has, Government are glad to note, received general approbation. The nature of this tax is, however, such that it is likely to cause undeserved hardship, if worked without the greatest care and caution in its initial stages, and in the circumstances it would be a matter for congratulation if the estimate of four lakhs of rupees put down in the budget of 1927 under this head is not falsified by the results at the end of the year. From a perusal of Chapter II of the Administration Report for 1926 placed in your hands you will learn that the transactions of that year have resulted in a deficit. This deficit could no doubt have been converted into a nominal surplus by the starvation of some of the essential departments, but that is not the policy that the Government have chalked out for themselves, nor is it one that would meet with the approval of a cultured and progressive people. The year 1926 was not a bright one from the view-point of the financier. It was characterised by a tightness of the money market and a depression in trade and business activities which reacted detrimentally on the revenues of the State, not only directly in the smaller sales of timber, but indirectly also in the institution of suits, the registration of documents and even the consumption of salt. The outlook for the current year is by no means more rosy and the expenditure of the year has already begun to show signs of outstripping its revenue. The facts and circumstances being these, I have no doubt whatever that when you examine them with a sense of responsibility you would be convinced of the reasonableness of the few other measures of taxation which the Government have been obliged to adopt in the past year and which consist in a small increase in the Anchal rates and in the process and copying fees, and in a nominal enhancement of the duty on tobacco. One other item of taxation, viz., the market fee, has been introduced as a necessary corollary of the working of the Markets Regulation, passed so early as 1922 M. E. The rates of tolls on roads and license fees for boats have also been slightly raised with effect from the beginning of the current year. These additional imposts, in themselves light, are a mere bagatelle by the side of those levied in other countries all the world over, to tide over the present universal financial crisis which is the aftermath of the war. Take for instance the new taxes proposed to be imposed in the Madras Presidency where the earning power of the people is not superior to that in Travancore. There, an income of Rs. 70 lakhs is proposed to be earned by increased taxation on court fees and stamps alone, and of another 8 lakhs by an enhancement of registration fees, the ratio of increase in the case of stamps varying from 50 to cent. per cent. We are passing through a peculiar time when every nation has to pay a pecuniary penalty for forging ahead, and I need hardly say that if we want the amenities of a civilised administration with all the activities and enterprises they involve, we should be prepared to shoulder even greater burdens when necessary. Government, however, derive no small consolation from the thought that the responsibility for the imposition, if need be, of fresh taxes will hereafter largely devolve on the representatives of the people under the reformed constitution.

**28. Municipal Councils.**—Last year I explained in detail the several ways in which the Government were endeavouring to democratise municipal administration under Regulation V of 1925. Under this Regulation the privilege of electing non-official Presidents has been conferred on 15 out of the 19 Municipal Councils in the

State, the municipalities of Mavelikara and Alwaye being under nominated non-officials and those of Colachel and Trivandrum alone under officials. I may add that the hesitancy of the first three municipalities is alone responsible for the above privilege being not extended to them, and that, so far as Trivandrum is concerned, the willingness of the Government to give it a non-official President under certain conditions was communicated to that council several months ago and that the matter is still under the consideration of that body. All the councils without exception have been allowed the privilege of having elected non-official vice-presidents and many of the councils have already exercised that privilege. The reconstituted councils have not yet had time to settle down to work, and it is too soon to dogmatise on their attitude or achievement in fiscal and other matters. Government trust that the members of these councils would rise to a full sense of their opportunities and responsibilities and succeed in making them real, living institutions. The transfer of minor roads and primary schools within municipal limits to the control of the councils concerned is receiving the consideration of Government.

29. The bill for the constitution of administrative panchayats in rural areas is ready for publication. Government have not yet come to a decision in regard to the desirability of creating district boards. The Ezhava Bill and the Nair Regulation Amendment Bill have been postponed for the consideration of the new Legislative Council. The Committee appointed to examine the customary law relating to marriage and inheritance among Nanjanad Vellalas has just submitted its report, and it is now engaging the attention of Government.

30. **Legislative Council.**—I have already touched upon most of the legislative activities of the Government during the period, but by far the most important legislative measure still remains to be mentioned. I refer to Regulation II of 1097, passed with the object of bringing into existence an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected non-official majority and endowed with considerably larger powers than those possessed by the Council which it supersedes. The concomitant Regulation, IX of 1097, having for its object the prevention of corrupt practices at legislative elections, needs no separate mention. I do not propose to dilate on the new Legislative Council Regulation and the rules framed under it, beyond inviting your pointed attention to the fact that they constitute the largest measure of constitutional reform ever yet inaugurated in an Indian State, and I want you to remember that such a liberal measure would not have been possible but for your good fortune in possessing as your Ruler His Highness Sri Mulam Tirunal whose constant watchword is the progress and prosperity of his subjects in all possible directions. Besides the usual power of asking questions, both original and supplementary, and moving resolutions, the new Council has been given a very substantial share in the actual administration of the State in the shape of the right of voting on all heads of the budget except a few which have been reserved for very special reasons. It is unfortunate that even this uniquely generous measure of reform, which has gone considerably farther than the demands made by the representatives of the people themselves, has been without trial characterised in certain quarters as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Government have no doubt that these discordant notes do not echo the real voice of the people and they confidently look to all loyal subjects of His Highness the Maha Raja to willingly cooperate with them in making this great constitutional experiment a success.

**31. Sri Mulam Popular Assembly.**—The rules regulating the constitution and conduct of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly have been revised, as promised, and the draft revised rules have been just published in a supplemental issue of the Gazette. In regard to the qualifications of members and electors and the procedure connected with the conduct of elections, etc., these rules closely follow those framed to give effect to the new Legislative Council Regulation, while an attempt has also been made to methodise the work of the Assembly and avoid repetition. Eighty-five of the members of the Assembly will be elected and fifteen alone nominated under the new rules and members once elected will continue to be so for three consecutive sessions. Your suggestions on the draft rules would be most welcome, and they will receive careful consideration at the hands of the Government before they are finally passed.

**32. Devaswoms and Land Revenue.**—After a careful consideration of the report of the Devaswom Separation Committee, Government have decided to place the administration of Sirkar Devaswoms under a separate Devaswom Department, and simultaneously with the creation of this department the age-long grievance of the non-eligibility of certain classes of the people of this country for admission into the land revenue service of the State will disappear. The orders of the Government on this vexed question will issue shortly, and I may tell you that those orders, besides satisfying the just aspirations of large sections of His Highness' subjects and securing increased efficiency in the management and maintenance of Sirkar Devaswoms, would also convey the immeasurable benefit of an assurance to the numerous holders of Sirkar Devaswomvaka properties that their holdings will, for all time to come, be accorded equal treatment with pandaravaka lands in the matter of incidence of tenure.

**33.** While Government are gratified at the indications of an effort at *rapprochement* on the part of the various communities and signs of the healing up of their differences, they are pained to see that the disruptive forces that are causing so much havoc elsewhere have not left Travancore altogether untouched and that they have supplied handy material to those engaged in promoting public excitement. The effects of their unhealthy influence are reflected in the unrest among the immature and the more impulsive sections of the population. It would be well to remember that mere shibboleths can never make a solid basis for enduring political progress. Those who are indulging in the dissemination of these deleterious propaganda are perhaps unconsciously, but none the less undoubtedly, doing a distinct disservice to their country, and it is my earnest prayer that the fair name of Travancore for political sobriety and respect for constituted authority should not be tarnished by any thoughtless encouragement of such propaganda.

**34. Depressed and Backward Classes.**—The amelioration of the lot of the depressed and the backward classes and their gradual elevation in the social scale have continued to engage the attention of the Government. The safest and most effective means of advancing these communities is education, and it is a source of pleasure to the Government to note that the members of these classes have been making steady headway in this direction. The number of Pulaya pupils attending schools rose by 11·5 per cent., of Parayas by 16·6 per cent., and of Mahomedans by 12·8 per cent. during 1096. Government are gratified to observe that, out of 356 Pulaya pupils that sat for the annual examination in class IV of primary schools,

174 passed, and that 136 of the latter are prosecuting their higher studies. The scheme of scholarships already referred to would, when brought into force, afford a further stimulus to the expansion of education among the members of these classes. Care has been taken to represent as far as possible the interests of these communities on the several municipal councils and panchayat courts. The Co-operative Department has been, for some time past, devoting its special attention to the spread of the co-operative movement among the depressed classes, and Government are glad to note that 44 out of the 265 primary societies in the country are working for the uplift of these classes. The social, educational and material advancement of the fisher folk along the coast is engaging the attention of the Department of Fisheries, and a provision similar to the one already made in favour of the depressed classes has been recently inserted in the revised Puduval Rules with a view to create facilities for the members of this community, who are as a rule homeless, for acquiring small homesteads in the vicinity of the places where they have to eke out their living.

**35. Conclusion.**—I think that I am fairly entitled to claim that the spirit that actuates the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja is one of unstinted and devoted service to the people of this country. It is needless for me to add that the success of that service must in a very large measure depend on the use to which you will be putting the enlarged opportunities now afforded to you and the extent to which you will be evincing your willingness to co-operate with the Government in all that concerns your welfare and progress.

Trivandrum, }  
27th February 1922.

T. RAGHAVIAH,  
*Dewan.*

# THE THIRTY-SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

CALCUTTA, 1917

*President, Annie Besant*

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I (A.S.)  
P

## THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FELLOW-DELEGATES AND FRIENDS,

Everyone who has preceded me in this Chair has rendered his thanks in fitting terms for the gift which is truly said to be the highest that India has in her power to bestow. It is the sign of her fullest love, trust, and approval, and the one whom she seats in that chair is, for his year of service, her chosen leader. But if my predecessors found fitting words for their gratitude, in what words can I voice mine, whose debt to you is so overwhelmingly greater than theirs? For the first time in Congress history, you have chosen as your President one who, when your choice was made, was under the heavy ban of Government displeasure, and who lay interned as a person dangerous to public safety. While I was humiliated, you crowned me with honour; while I was slandered, you believed in my integrity and good faith; while I was crushed under the heel of bureaucratic power, you acclaimed me as your leader; while I was silenced and unable to defend myself, you defended me, and won for me release. I was proud to serve in lowliest fashion, but you lifted me up and placed me before the world as your chosen representative. I have no words with which to thank you, no eloquence with which to repay my debt. My deeds must speak for me, for words are too poor. I turn your gift into service to the Motherland; I consecrate my life anew to her in worship by action. All that I have and am, I lay on the Altar of the Mother, and together we shall cry, more by service than by words: **VANDE MATARAM.**

There is, perhaps, one value in your election of me in this crisis of India's destiny, seeing that I have not the privilege to be Indian-born, but come from that little island in the northern seas which has been, in the West, the builder-up of free institutions. The Aryan emigrants, who spread over the lands of Europe, carried with them the seeds of liberty sown in their blood in their Asian cradle-land. Western

historians trace the self-rule of the Saxon villages to their earlier prototypes in the East and see the growth of English liberty as up-springing from the Aryan root of the free and self-contained village communities.

Its growth was crippled by Norman feudalism there, as its millennia-nourished security here was smothered by the East India Company. But in England it burst its shackles and nurtured a liberty-loving people, and a free Commons' House. Here, it similarly burgeoned out into the Congress activities, and more recently into those of the Muslim League, now together blossoming into Home Rule for India. The England of Milton, Cromwell, Sydney, Burke, Paine, Shelley, Wilberforce, Gladstone; the England that sheltered Mazzini, Kossuth, Kropotkin, Stepiak, and that welcomed Garibaldi; the England that is the enemy of tyranny, the foe of autocracy, the lover of freedom, that is the England I would fain here represent to you to-day. To-day when India stands erect, no suppliant people, but a Nation, self-conscious, self-respecting, determined to be free; when she stretches out her hand to Britain and offers friendship not subservience, co-operation not obedience, to-day let me, western-born but in spirit eastern, cradled in England but Indian by choice and adoption, let me stand as the symbol of union between Great Britain and India, a union of hearts and free choice, not of compulsion, and therefore of a tie which cannot be broken, a tie of love and of mutual helpfulness, beneficial to both Nations and blessed by God.

### GONE TO THE PEACE

India's great leader, Dadabhai Naoroji, has left his mortal body and is now one of the company of the Immortals, who watch over and aid India's progress. He is with W. C. Bonnerjee, and Ranade, and A. O. Hume, and Henry Cotton, and Pherozeshah Mehta, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale—the great men

who, in Swinburne's noble verse, are the stars which lead us to Liberty's altar:

These, O men, shall ye honour,  
Liberty only and these.  
For thy sake and for all men's and mine,  
Brother, the crowns of them shine,  
Lighting the way to her shrine,  
That our eyes may be fastened upon her,  
That our hands may encompass her knees.

Not for me to praise him in feeble words of reverence and of homage. His deeds praise him, and his service to his Country is his abiding glory. Our gratitude will be best paid by following in his footsteps, alike in his splendid courage and his unflinching devotion, so that we may win the Home Rule which he longed to see while with us, and shall see, ere long, from the other world of Life, in which he dwells to-day.

#### THE WAR AND PRE-WAR MILITARY EXPENDITURE

The Great War, into the whirlpool of which Nation after Nation has been drawn, has entered on its fourth year. The rigid censorship which has been established makes it impossible for any outside the circle of Governments to forecast its duration, but to me, speaking for a moment not as a politician but as a student of spiritual laws, to me its end is sure. For the true object of this War is to prove the evil of, and to destroy, autocracy and the enslavement of one Nation by another, and to place on sure foundations the God-given Right to Self-Rule and Self-Development of every Nation, and the similar right of the Individual, of the smaller Self, so far as is consistent with the welfare of the larger Self of the Nation. The forces which make for the prolongation of autocracy—the rule of one—and the even deadlier bureaucracy—the rule of a close body welded into an iron system—these have been gathered together in the Central Powers of Europe—as of old in Ravana—in order that they may be destroyed; for the New Age cannot be opened until the Old passes away. The new civilisation of Righteousness and Justice, and therefore of Brotherhood, of ordered Liberty, of Peace, of Happiness, cannot be built up until the elements are removed which have brought the old civilisation crashing about our ears. Therefore is it necessary that the War shall be fought out to its appointed end, and that no premature peace shall leave its object unattained. Autocracy and bureaucracy must perish utterly, in East and West, and, in order that their germs may not re-sprout in the future, they must be discredited in the minds of men. They must be proved to be less efficient than the Governments of Free Peoples, even in their favourite game of War, and their iron machinery—which at first brings outer prosperity and success—must be shown to be less lasting and effective than the living and flexible organisations of democratic Peoples. They must be proved Failures before the world, so that the glamour of superficial successes may be

destroyed for ever. They have had their day and their place in evolution, and have done their educational work. Now they are out-of-date, unfit for survival, and must vanish away.

When Great Britain sprang to arms, it was for the defence of the freedom of a small Nation, guaranteed by treaties, and the great principles she proclaimed electrified India and the Dominions. They all sprang to her side without question, without delay; they heard the voice of old England, the soldier of Liberty, and it thrilled their hearts. All were unprepared save the small territorial army of Great Britain, but to the genius and foresight of Lord Haldane, and his readily mobilised army of India, hurled into the field by the swift decision of Lord Hardinge. The Indian army of Britain fought for time, fought to stop the road to Paris, the heart of France, fought, fell back step by step, and gained the time it fought for till India's sons stood on the soil of France, they flung to the front, rushed past the exhausted regiments who cheered them with failing breath, charged the advancing hosts, stopped the retreat, and joined the British army in forming that unbreakable line which wrestled to the death through two fearful winters, often, these soldiers of the tropics, waist-deep in freezing mud—and knew no surrender.

India, with her clear vision, saw in Great Britain the champion of Freedom, in Germany the champion of despotism. And she saw rightly. Rightly understood by Great Britain, despite her own lack of freedom and the coercive legislation which outrivalled German despotism, knowing these to be temporary, being un-English, and therefore doomed to destruction, she spurned the lure of German gold and rejected German appeals to revolt. She offered men and money, her educated classes, her Vakils, offered themselves as Volunteers, pleaded to be accepted. Then the long-sleeping distrust of Anglo-India rejected the offer, pressed for money, rejected men. And, as a result, educated India sank back, depressed and disheartened, and a splendid opportunity for knitting together the two Nations was lost.

Early in the War I ventured to say that the War could not end until England recognised that autocracy and bureaucracy must perish in India as well as in Europe. The good Bishop of Calcutta, with a courage worthy of his free race, only declared that it would be hypocritical to profess victory over autocracy in Europe and to maintain it in India. Now, it has been clearly and definitely declared that Self-Government is to be the motto of Great Britain in India, and that a substantial measure of it is to be given at once; when this promise is made good by the granting of the rights outlined last year in Lucknow, then the end of the War will be in sight. For the War cannot end until the death-knell of autocracy is sounded.

Causes, with which I will deal presently and for which India was not responsible, have somewhat obscured the first eager expressions of India's sympathy, and have forced her thoughts largely towards her own position in the Empire. But that does not detract from the immense aid she has given, and is still giving. It must not be forgotten that long before the present War, she had submitted—at first, while she had no power of remonstrance, and later, after 1885, despite the constant protests of Congress—to an ever-rising military expenditure, due partly to the amalgamation scheme of 1859, and partly to the cost of various wars beyond her frontiers, and to continually recurring frontier and trans-frontier expeditions, in which she had no real interest. They were sent out for supposed Imperial advantages, not for her own.

Between 1859 and 1904—45 years—Indian troops were engaged in thirty-seven wars and expeditions. There were ten wars: the two Chinese Wars of 1860 and 1900, the Bhutan War of 1864-65, the Abyssinian War of 1868, the Afghan War of 1878-79, and, after the massacre of the Kabul Mission, the second War of 1879-80, ending in an advance of the frontier, in the search for an ever receding "scientific frontier"; on this occasion the frontier was shifted, says Keene, "from the line of the Indus to the western slope of the Suleiman range and from Peshawar to Quetta"; the Egyptian War of 1882, in which the Indian troops markedly distinguished themselves; the third Burmese War of 1885 ending in the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886; the invasions of Tibet in 1890 and 1904. Of Expeditions, or minor Wars, there were 27; to Sitana in 1858 on a small scale and in 1863 on a larger (the "Sitana Campaign"); to Nepal and Sikkim in 1859; to Sikkim in 1864; a serious struggle on the North-west Frontier in 1868; expeditions against the Lushais in 1871-72, the Dafflas in 1874-75, the Nagas in 1875, the Afridis in 1877, the Rampa Hill tribes in 1879, the Waziris and Nagas in 1881, the Akhas in 1884, and in the same year an expedition to the Zhub Valley, and a second thither in 1890. In 1888 and '89, there was another expedition against Sikkim, against the Akozais (the Black Mountain expedition) and against the Hill Tribes of the North-east, and in 1890 another Black Mountain Expedition, with a third in 1892. In 1890 came the expedition to Manipur, and in 1891, there was another expedition against the Lushais, and one into the Miranzal Valley. The Chitral Expedition occupied 1894-95, and the serious Tirah Campaign, in which 40,000 men were engaged, came in 1897 and 1898. The long list—which I have closed with 1904—ends with the expeditions against the Mahsuds in 1901, against the Kabals in 1902, and the invasion of Tibet, before noted. All these events explain the rise in military

expenditure, and we must add to them the sending of Indian troops to Malta and Cyprus in 1878—a somewhat theatrical demonstration—and the expenditure of some £2,000,000, to face what was described as "the Russian Menace" in 1884. Most of these were due to Imperial, not to Indian, policy, and many of the burdens imposed were protested against by the Government of India, while others were encouraged by ambitious Viceroys. I do not think that even this long list is complete.

Ever since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown, India has been regarded as an Imperial military asset and training ground, a position from which the jealousy of the East India Company had largely protected her, by insisting that the army it supported should be used for the defence and in the interests of India alone. Her value to the Empire for military purposes would not so seriously have injured at once her pride and her finances, if the natural tendencies of her martial races had been permitted their previous scope; but the disarming of the people, 20 years after the assumption of the Government by the Crown, emasculated the Nation, and the elimination of races supposed to be unwarlike, or in some cases too warlike to be trusted, threw recruitment more and more to the north, and lowered the physique of the Bengalis and Madrasis, on whom the Company had largely depended.

The superiority of the Panjab, on which Sir Michael O'Dwyer so vehemently insisted the other day, is an artificial superiority, created by the British system and policy; and the poor recruitment elsewhere, on which he laid offensive insistence, is due to the same system and policy, which largely eliminated Bengalis, Madrasis and Mahrattas from the army. In Bengal, however, the martial type has been revived, chiefly in consequence of what the Bengalis felt to be the intolerable insult of the high-handed Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. On this Gopal Krishna Gokhale said:

Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India. . . . All India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal.

The spirit evoked showed itself in the youth of Bengal by a practical revolt, led by the elders while it was confined to Swadeshi and Boycott, and rushing on, when it broke away from their authority, into conspiracy, assassination and dacoity—as had happened in similar revolts with Young Italy, in the days of Mazzini, and with Young Russia in the days of Stepniak and Kropotkin. The results of their despair, necessarily met by the halter and penal servitude, had to be faced by Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael during the present War. Other results, happy instead of disastrous in their nature, was the development of grit and endurance of



a high character, shewn in the courage of the Bengal lais in the serious floods that have laid parts of the Province deep under water, and in their compassion and self-sacrifice in the relief of famine. Their services in the present War—the Ambulance Corps and the replacement of its *material* when the ship carrying it sank, with the splendid services rendered by it in Mesopotamia; the recruiting of a Bengali regiment for active service, 900 strong, with another 900 reserves to replace wastage, and recruiting still going on—these are instances of the divine alchemy which brings the soul of good out of evil action, and consecrates to service the qualities evoked by rebellion.

In England, also, a similar result has been seen in a convict, released to go to the front, winning the Victoria Cross. It would be an act of statesmanship, as well as of divinest compassion, to offer to every prisoner and interned captive, held for political crime or on political suspicion, the opportunity of serving the Empire at the front. They might, if thought necessary, form a separate battalion or a separate regiment, under stricter supervision, and yet be given a chance of redeeming their reputation, for they are mostly very young.

The financial burden incurred in consequence of the above conflicts, and of other causes, now to be mentioned, would not have been so much resented, if it had been imposed by India on herself, and if her own sons had profited by her being used as a training ground for the Empire. But in this case, as in so many others, she has shared Imperial burdens, while not sharing Imperial freedom and power. Apart from this, the change which made the Army so ruinous a burden on the resources of the country was the system of "British reliefs," the using of India as a training ground for British regiments, and the transfer of the men thus trained, to be replaced by new ones under the short service system, the cost of the frequent transfers and their connected expenses being charged on the Indian revenues, while the whole advantage was reaped by Great Britain. On the short service system the Simla Army Commission declared:

The short service system recently introduced into the British army has increased the cost and has materially reduced the efficiency of the British troops in India. We cannot resist the feeling that, in the introduction of this system, the interest of the Indian tax-payer was entirely left out of consideration.

The remark was certainly justified, for the short service system gave India only five years of the recruits she paid heavily for and trained, all the rest of the benefit going to England. The latter was enabled, as the years went on, to enormously increase her Reserves, so that she has had 400,000 men trained in, and at the cost of, India.

In 1863 the Indian army consisted of 140,000 men, with 65,000 white officers. Great changes were made

in 1885-1905, including the reorganisation under Kitchener, who became Commander-in-Chief at the end of 1902. Even in this hasty review, I must omit reference to the fact that Army Stores were sent from Britain at enormous cost, while they should have been chiefly manufactured here, so that India might have profited by the expenditure. Lately under the necessities of War, factories have been turned to the production of munitions; but this should have been done long ago, so that India might have been enriched instead of exploited. The War has forced an investigation into her mineral resources, that might have been made for her own sake. If Germany was allowed to monopolise the supply of minerals that India could have produced and worked up, and would have produced and worked up if she enjoyed Home Rule. India would have been richer, and the Empire safer, had she been a partner instead of a possession. But this side of the question will come under the matters directly affecting merchants, and we may venture to express the hope that the Government help, extended to munition-factories in time of War, may be continued to industrial factories in time of Peace. The net result of the various causes above-mentioned was that the expense of the Indian army rose by leaps and bounds until, before the War, India was expending £21,000,000 as against the £28,000,000 expended by the United Kingdom, while the wealthy Dominions of Canada and Australia were spending only 17½ and 1½ millions respectively. (I am not forgetting that the United Kingdom was expending £51,000,000 on her Navy, while India was free of that burden, save for a contribution of half a million.)

Since 1835, the Congress has constantly protested against the ever-increasing military expenditure; but the voice of the Congress was supposed to be the voice of sedition and of class ambition, instead of being, as it was, the voice of educated Indians, the most patriotic and loyal class of the population. In 1855, in the First Congress, Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu pointed out that military expenditure had been £11,463,000 in 1837 and had risen to £16,975,750 in 1884. Mr. D. E. Wacha ascribed the growth to the amalgamation scheme of 1859, and remarked that the Crown in 1856 had an army of 254,000 men at a cost of 11½ millions, while in 1884, the Crown had an army of only 181,000 men at a cost of 17 millions. This was largely due to the increased cost of the European regiments, overland transport service, stores, pen and furlough allowances, and the like, most of which was imposed against the resistance of the Government of India, which complained that the changes were "made entirely, it may be said, from Imperial considerations, in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced". India paid nearly £70,000,000 a year, for instance, for "Home Depôts—" ( )

being England of course—in which lived some 20,000 to 22,000 British soldiers, on the plea that their regiments, not they, were serving in India. I cannot follow out the many increases cited by Mr. Wacha, but members can refer to his excellent speech.

Mr. Fawcett once remarked that when the East India Company was abolished

the English people became directly responsible for the Government of India. It cannot, I think, be denied that this responsibility has been so imperfectly discharged that in many respects the new system of Government compares unfavourably with the old. . . . There was at that time an independent control of expenditure which now seems to be almost entirely wanting

Shortly after the Crown assumed the rule of India, Mr. Disraeli asked the House of Commons to regard India as "a great and solemn trust committed to it by an all-wise and inscrutable Providence." Mr. George Yule, in the Fourth Congress, remarked on this: "The 650 odd members had thrown the trust back upon the hands of Providence, to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best." Perhaps it is time that India should remember that Providence helps those who help themselves.

Year after year the Congress continued to remonstrate against the cost of the army, until in 1902, after all the futile protests of the intervening years, it condemned an increase of pay to British soldiers in India which placed an additional burden on the Indian revenues of £786,000 a year, and pointed out that the British garrison was unnecessarily numerous, as was shown by the withdrawal of large bodies of British soldiers for service in South Africa and China. The very next year Congress protested that the increasing military expenditure was not to secure India against internal disorder or external attack, but in order to carry out an Imperial policy; the Colonies contributed little or nothing to the Imperial Military Expenditure, while India bore the cost of about one-third of the whole British Army in addition to her own Indian troops. Surely these facts should be remembered when India's military services to the Empire are now being weighed.

In 1904 and 1905, the Congress declared that the then military expenditure was beyond India's power to bear, and in the latter year prayed that the additional ten millions sterling, sanctioned for Lord Kitchener's reorganisation scheme, might be devoted to education and the reduction of the burden on the raiyats. In 1908, the burdens imposed by the British War Office since 1859 were condemned, and in the next year it was pointed out that the military expenditure was nearly a third of the whole Indian revenue, and was starving Education and Sanitation.

Lord Kitchener's reorganisation scheme kept the Indian Army on a War footing, ready for immediate mobilisation, and on January 1, 1915, the regular army consisted of 217,000 men, of whom 75,000 were English; it was the money spent by India in

maintaining this army for years in readiness for War, which made it possible for her to go to the help of Great Britain at the critical early period to which I alluded. She spent over £20 millions on the military services in 1914-15. In 1915-16 she spent £21.8 millions. In 1916-17 her military budget had risen to £22 millions, and it will be largely exceeded.

On this excess, the Viceroy has spoken very ominously. For the Indian War Loan (excluding Treasury Bills received in England) no less than £32 millions sterling have been received and more is coming in. The proceeds of the Loan go to the British Government in London, as part of India's special contribution of £100 millions. They have been utilised to meet War expenditure in India and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British Government. But the Governor-General says:

This War expenditure will greatly exceed the amount allowed for the budget estimates, which were based on the best data then available, and we now expect that the excess will practically swallow up the whole of the amounts so far received on account of the Indian War Loan, over and above the £10 millions assumed in the estimate for budget purposes. . . . India is the financial pivot of the British Empire in the East. Thus, apart from the expenditure in India and Mesopotamia to which I have just referred, she is also undertaking the financing of large quantities of wheat, jute, manufactures, hides and numerous other essential commodities, which she is supplying to Great Britain, to the Dominions and to the Allied Governments. She is also providing funds on a considerable scale to East Africa and Persia, and has had on various occasions to assist Ceylon, Mauritius and Egypt by remittance of specie and otherwise, of course, we receive repayment for these services, but *as it is not made in India they necessarily constitute a continuing tax on our present resources here* (italics mine)

The taxes levied to meet the calculated deficit will by no means suffice to fill up the great gulf now yawning before us. On whom will those taxes be levied? It is not unlikely that those Zamindars who have been allying themselves with officials and English non-officials against their countrymen, may find themselves disappointed in their allies, and may begin to realise by personal experiences the necessity of giving to Indian legislatures, in which they will be fully represented, control over National expenditure.

Lord Hardinge, the last Viceroy of India, who is ever held in loving memory here for his sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations, made a masterly exposition of India's War services in the House of Lords on the third of last July. He emphasised her pre-War services, shewing that though 19½ millions sterling was fixed as a maximum by the Nicholson Committee, that amount had been exceeded in 11 out of the last 13 budgets, while his own last budget had risen to 22 millions. During these 13 years the revenue had been only between 48 and 58 millions, once rising to 60 millions. Could any fact speak more eloquently of India's War services than this proportion of military expenditure compared with her revenue?

The Great War began on August 4th, and in that very month and in the early part of September,

India sent an expeditionary force of three divisions—two infantry and one cavalry—and another cavalry division joined them in France in November. The first arrived, said Lord Hardinge, "in time to fill a gap that could not otherwise have been filled". He added pathetically: "There are very few survivors of those two splendid divisions of infantry." Truly, their homes are empty, but their sons shall enjoy in India the liberty for which their fathers died in France. Three more divisions were at once sent to guard the Indian frontier, while in September a mixed division was sent to East Africa, and in October and November two more divisions and a brigade of cavalry went to Egypt. A battalion of Indian infantry went to Mauritius, another to the Cameroons, and two to the Persian Gulf, while other Indian troops helped the Japanese in the capture of Tsingtau. 210,000 Indians were thus sent overseas. The whole of these troops were fully armed and equipped, and in addition, during the first few weeks of the War, India sent to England from her magazines "70 million rounds of small-arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, and more than 550 guns of the latest pattern and type".

In addition to these, Lord Hardinge speaks of sending to England

enormous quantities of *matériel*, . . . tents, boots, saddlery, clothing, etc., but every effort was made to meet the ever-increasing demands made by the War Office, and it may be stated without exaggeration that India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the War.

It must not be forgotten, though Lord Hardinge has not reckoned it, that all wastage has been more than filled up, and 450,000 men represent this head; the increase in units has been 300,000, and including other military items, India had placed in the field up to the end of 1916 over a million of men.

In addition to this a British force of 80,000 was sent from India, fully trained and equipped at Indian cost, India receiving in exchange, many months later, 34 Territorial battalions and 29 batteries, "unfit for immediate employment on the frontier or in Mesopotamia, until they had been entirely re-armed and equipped, and their training completed".

Between the autumn of 1914 and the close of 1915, the defence of our own frontiers was a serious matter, and Lord Hardinge says:

The attitude of Afghanistan was for a long time doubtful, although I always had confidence in the personal loyalty of our ally the Amir; but I feared lest he might be overwhelmed by a wave of fanaticism, or by a successful Jihad of the tribes. . . . It suffices to mention that, although during the previous three years there had been no operations of any importance on the North-West frontier, there were, between Nov. 29, 1914 and Sept. 5, 1915, no less than seven serious attacks on the North-West frontier, all of which were effectively dealt with.

The military authorities had also to meet a German conspiracy early in 1915, 7,000 men arriving from

Canada and the United States, having planned to seize points of military vantage in the Panjab. In December of the same year another German spy-spiracy in Bengal, necessitating military preparations on land, and also naval patrols in the Bay of Bengal.

Lord Hardinge has been much attacked by the Tory and Unionist Press in England and India in England because of the Mesopotamia Report, and in India because his love for India brought him hatred from Anglo-India. India has affirmed her confidence in him, and with India's verdict he may well rest satisfied.

I do not care to dwell on the Mesopotamia Commission and its condemnation of the bureaucratic system prevailing here. Lord Hardinge vindicated himself and India. The bureaucratic system runs undefended. I recall that bureaucratic inefficiency came out in even more startling fashion in connection with the Afghan War of 1878-79 and 1879-80. In February 1880, the war charges were reported as over £4 millions, and the accounts showed a surplus of £1 million. On April 8th, the Government of India reported: "Outgoing for War very alarming, far exceeding estimate," and on the 13th April "it was announced that the cash balances had fallen in three months from thirteen crores to less than nine, owing to 'excessive Military drain'. . . . On the following day [April 22] a despatch was sent to the Viceroy, showing that there appeared a deficiency of not less than 5½ crores. This vast error was evidently due to an underestimate of war liabilities, which had led to such mis-information being sent before Parliament, and to the sudden discovery of inability to 'meet the usual drawings'."

It seemed that the Government knew only the amount audited, not the amount spent. Payments were entered as "advances," though they were not recoverable, and "the great negligence was evidently that of the heads of departmental accounts that such a mishap should occur under Home Rule, many years hence—which heaven forbid—I shudder to think of the comments of the *Englishman* and the *Madras Mail* on the shocking inefficiency of Indian officials.

In September last, our present Viceroy, H. E. K. Chelmsford, defended India against later attack by critics who try to minimise her sacrifices in order to lessen the gratitude felt by Great Britain towards her, lest that gratitude should give birth to justice, and justice should award freedom to India. Lord Chelmsford placed before his Council "in studying considered outline, a summary of what India has done during the past two years". Omitting references to what was done under Lord Hardinge, as stated above, I may quote from him:

On the outbreak of war of the 4,593 British officers on the Indian establishment, 530 who were at home were leave were detained by the War office for service in Europe. 2,600 Combatant Officers have been withdrawn

from India since the beginning of the War, excluding those who proceeded on service with their batteries or regiments. In order to make good these deficiencies and provide for war wastage the Indian Army Reserve of Officers was expanded from a total of 40, at which it stood on the 4th August, 1914, to one of 3,000

The establishment of Indian units has not only been kept up to strength, but has been considerably increased. There has been an augmentation of 20 per cent in the cavalry and of 40 per cent in the infantry, while the number of recruits enlisted since the beginning of the War is greater than the entire strength of the Indian Army as it existed on the 4th August, 1914.

Lord Chelmsford rightly pointed out:

The Army in India has thus proved a great Imperial asset, and in weighing the value of India's contribution to the War, it should be remembered that India's forces were no hasty improvisation, but were an army in being, fully equipped and supplied, which had previously cost India annually a large sum to maintain.

Lord Chelmsford has established what he calls a "Man-Power Board," the duty of which is "to collect and co-ordinate all the facts, with regard to the supply of man-power in India". It has branches in all the Provinces. A steady flow of reinforcements supplies the wastage at the various fronts, and the labour required for engineering, transport, etc. is now organised in 20 corps in Mesopotamia and 25 corps in France. In addition 60,000 artisans, labourers and specialists are serving in Mesopotamia and East Africa, and some 20,000 menials and followers have also gone overseas. Indian medical practitioners have accepted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service to the number of 500. In view of this fact, due to Great Britain's bitter need of help, may we not hope that this Service will welcome Indians in time of peace as well as in time of war, and will no longer bar the way by demanding the taking of a degree in the United Kingdom? It is also worthy of notice that the I. M. S. officers in charge of district duties have been largely replaced by Indian medical men; this, again should continue after the War. Another fact, that the Army Reserve of Officers has risen from 40 to 3,000, suggests that the throwing open of King's Commissions to qualified Indians should not be represented by a meagre nine. If English lads of 19 and 20 are worthy of King's Commissions—and the long roll of slain Second Lieutenants proves it—then certainly Indian lads, since Indians have fought as bravely as Englishmen, should find the door thrown open to them equally widely in their own country, and the Indian Army should be led by Indian officers.

With such a record of deeds as the one I have baldly sketched, it is not necessary to say much in words as to India's support of Great Britain and her Allies. She has proved up to the hilt her desire to remain within the Empire, to maintain her tie with Great Britain. But if Great Britain is to call successfully on her man-power, as Lord Chelmsford suggests

in his Man-Power Board, then must the man who fights or labours have a man's Rights in his own land. The lesson which springs out of this War is that it is absolutely necessary for the future safety of the Empire that India shall have Home Rule. Had her Man-Power been utilised earlier there would have been no War, for none would have dared to provoke Great Britain and India to a contest. But her Man-Power cannot be utilised while she is a subject Nation. She cannot afford to maintain a large army, if she is to support an English garrison, to pay for their goings and comings, to buy stores in England at exorbitant prices and send them back again when England needs them. She cannot afford to train men for England, and only have their services for five years. She cannot afford to keep huge Gold Reserves in England, and be straitened for cash, while she lends to England out of her Reserves, taken from her over-taxation, £27,000,000 for War expenses, and this, be it remembered, before the great War Loan. I once said in England. "The condition of India's loyalty is India's freedom." I may now add: "The condition of India's usefulness to the Empire is India's freedom." She will tax herself willingly when her taxes remain in the country and thus increase their productive power, when they foster her trade and create for her new industries.

Great Britain needs India as much as India needs England, for prosperity in Peace as well as for safety in War. Mr. Montagu has wisely said that "for equipment in War a Nation needs freedom in Peace". Therefore I say that, for both countries alike, the lesson of the War is Home Rule for India.

Let me close this part of my subject by laying at the feet of His Imperial Majesty the loving homage of the thousands here assembled, with the hope and belief that, ere long, we shall lay there the willing and grateful homage of a free Nation.

#### CAUSES OF THE NEW SPIRIT IN INDIA

Apart from the natural exchange of thought between East and West, the influence of English education, literature and ideals, the effect of travel in Europe, Japan and the United States of America, and other recognised causes for the changed outlook in India, there have been special forces at work during the last few years to arouse a New Spirit in India, and to alter her attitude of mind. These may be summed up as:

- (a) The Awakening of Asia.
- (b) Discussions abroad on Alien Rule and Imperial Reconstruction.
- (c) Loss of Belief in the Superiority of the White Races.

(d) The Awakening of the Merchants.

(e) The Awakening of the Women to claim their Ancient Position.

(f) The Awakening of the Masses.

Each of these causes has had its share in the splendid change of attitude in the Indian Nation, in the uprising of a spirit of pride of country, of independence, of self-reliance, of dignity, of self-respect. The War has quickened the rate of evolution of the world, and no country has experienced the quickening more than our Motherland.

#### (a) The Awakening of Asia

In a conversation I had with Lord Minto, soon after his arrival as Viceroy, he discussed the so-called "unrest in India," and recognised it as the inevitable result of English Education, of English Ideals of Democracy, of the Japanese victory over Russia, and of the changing conditions in the outer world. I was therefore not surprised to read his remark that he recognised, "frankly and publicly, that new aspirations were stirring in the hearts of the people, that they were part of a larger movement common to the whole East, and that it was necessary to satisfy them to a reasonable extent by giving them a larger share in the administration".

But the present movement in India will be very poorly understood, if it be regarded only in connexion with the movement in the East. The awakening of Asia is part of a world-movement, which has been quickened into marvellous rapidity by the world-war. The world-movement is towards Democracy, and for the West dates from the breaking away of the American Colonies from Great Britain, consummated in 1776, and its sequel in the French Revolution of 1789. Needless to say that its root was in the growth of modern science, undermining the fabric of intellectual servitude, in the work of the Encyclopaedists, and in that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and of Thomas Paine. In the East, the swift changes in Japan, the success of the Japanese Empire against Russia, the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in China and the establishment of a Chinese Republic, the efforts at improvement in Persia, hindered by the interference of Russia and Great Britain with her growing ambition, and the creation of British and Russian "spheres of influence," depriving her of her just liberty, and now the Russian Revolution and the probable rise of a Russian Republic in Europe and Asia, have all entirely changed the conditions before existing in India. Across Asia, beyond the Himalayas, stretch free and self-ruling Nations. India no longer sees as her Asian neighbours the huge domains of a Tsar and a Chinese despot, and compares her condition under British rule with those of their subject populations. British rule profited by the comparison,

at least until 1905, when the great period of depression set in. But in future, unless India gains Self-Government, she will look enviously at her Self-Governing neighbours, and the contrast will intensify her unrest.

But even if she gains Home Rule, as I believe she will, her position in the Empire will imperiously demand that she shall be strong as well as free, and becomes not only a vulnerable point in the Empire, as the Asian Nations evolve their own ambitions and rivalries, but also a possession to be battled for. Mr. Laing once said: "India is the milch-cow of England," a Kāmadhenu, in fact, a source of plenty; and if that view should arise in the future, the ownership of the milch-cow would become a matter of dispute, as of old between Vasishtha and Vishvāmitra. Hence India must be able to defend herself of self-defence both by land and sea. There may be a struggle for the primacy of Asia for supremacy in the Pacific, for the mastery of Australasia, to say nothing of the inevitable struggles, in which Japan is already endangering Indian industry and Indian trade, while India is unable to protect herself.

In order to face these larger issues with dignity, the Empire requires a contented, strong, self-dependent and armed India, able to hold her own and to aid the Dominions, especially Australia, with her small population and immense unoccupied and undefended area. India alone has the manpower which can effectively maintain the Empire in the East, and it is a short-sighted, a criminally short-sighted policy not to build up her strength as a Self-Governing State within the Commonwealth of Free Nations under the British Crown. The Englishmen in India talk loudly of their interests; what can this handful do to protect their interests against the East in the coming years? Only in a free and powerful India will they be safe. Those who read the Indian papers know how strongly, even during the war, they parade unchecked their pro-German sympathies and how likely after the War is an alliance between these two ambitious and warlike Nations. India will come out of the War with her army and navy unweakened, and her trade immensely strengthened. Every consideration of sane statesmanship would lead Great Britain to trust India more than any other power, so that the British Empire in Asia may rest on the sure foundation of Indian loyalty, the loyalty of a free and contented people, rather than be dependent on the continued friendship of a possible future ally. For international friendships are governed by National interests, and are built on quicksand, not on rock.

Englishmen in India must give up the idea that English dominance is necessary for the protection of their interests, amounting, in 1915, to £365,300,000 sterling. They do not claim to dominate the world,

States of America, because they have invested there £688,078,000. They do not claim to dominate the Argentine Republic, because they have invested there £269,808,000. Why then should they claim to dominate India on the ground of their investment? Britons must give up the idea that India is a possession to be exploited for their own benefit, and must see her as a friend, an equal, a Self-Governing Dominion within the Empire, a Nation like themselves, a willing partner in the Empire, and not a dependent. The democratic movement in Japan, China and Russia in Asia has sympathetically affected India, and it is idle to pretend that it will cease to affect her.

(b) **Discussions Abroad on Alien Rule and Reconstruction**

But there are other causes which have been working in India, consequent on the British attitude against autocracy and in defence of freedom in Europe, while her attitude to India has, until lately, been left in doubt. Therefore I spoke of a splendid opportunity lost. India at first believed whole-heartedly that Great Britain was fighting for the freedom of all Nationalities. Even now, Mr. Asquith declared—in his speech in the House of Commons reported here last October, on the peace resolution of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald—that “the Allies are fighting for nothing but freedom, and, an important addition—for nothing short of freedom”. In his speech declaring that Britain would stand by France in her claim for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, he spoke of “the intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke”. Is such a yoke less intolerable, less wounding to self-respect, here than in Alsace-Lorraine, where the rulers and the ruled are both of European blood, similar in religion and habits? As the War went on, India slowly and unwillingly came to realise that the hatred of autocracy was confined to autocracy in the West, and that the degradation was only regarded as intolerable for men of white races; that freedom was lavishly promised to all except to India; that new powers were to be given to the Dominions, but not to India. India was markedly left out of the speeches of statesmen dealing with the future of the Empire, and at last there was plain talk of the White Empire, the Empire of the Five Nations, and the “coloured races” were lumped together as the wards of the White Empire, doomed to an indefinite minority.

The peril was pressing; the menace unmistakable. The Reconstruction of the Empire was on the anvil; what was to be India's place therein? The Dominions were proclaimed as partners; was India to remain a Dependency? Mr. Bonar Law bade the Dominions strike while the iron was hot; was India to wait till it was cold? India saw her soldiers fighting for freedom in Flanders, in France, in Gallipoli, in Asia Minor, in

China, in Africa; was she to have no share of the freedom for which she fought? At last she sprang to her feet and cried, in the words of one of her noblest sons: “Freedom is my birthright; and I want it.” The words “Home Rule” became her Mantram. She claimed her place in the Empire.

Thus, while she continued to support, and even to increase, her army abroad, fighting for the Empire, and poured out her treasures as water for Hospital Ships, War Funds, Red Cross Organisations, and the gigantic War Loan, a dawning fear oppressed her, lest, if she did not take order with her own household, success in the War for the Empire might mean decreased liberty for herself.

The recognition of the right of the Indian Government to make its voice heard in Imperial matters, when they were under discussion in an Imperial Conference, was a step in the right direction. But disappointment was felt that while other countries were represented by responsible Ministers, the representation in India's case was of the Government, of a Government irresponsible to her, and not the representative of herself. No fault was found with the choice itself, but only with the non-representative character of the chosen, for they were selected by the Government, and not by the elected members of the Supreme Council. This defect in the resolution moved by the Hon. Khan Bahadur M M Shafi on October 2, 1915, was pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. He said—

My Lord, in view of a situation so full of hope and promise, it seems to me that my friend's Resolution does not go far enough. He pleads for official representation at the Imperial Conference. He does not plead for popular representation. He urges that an address be presented to His Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State for India, for official representation at the Imperial Council. My Lord, official representation may mean little or nothing. It may indeed be attended with some risk; for I am sorry to have to say—but say it I must—that our officials do not always see eye to eye with us as regards many great public questions which affect this country; and indeed their views, judged from our standpoint, may sometimes seem adverse to our interests. At the same time, my Lord, I recognise the fact that the Imperial Conference is an assemblage of officials pure and simple, consisting of Ministers of the United Kingdom and of the self-governing Colonies. But, my Lord, there is an essential difference between them and ourselves. In their case, the Ministers are the elect of the people, their organ and their voice, answerable to them for their conduct and their proceedings. In our case, our officials are public servants in name, but in reality they are the masters of the public. The situation may improve, and I trust it will, under the liberalising influence of your Excellency's beneficent administration; but we must take things as they are, and not indulge in building castles in the air which may vanish “like the baseless fabric of a vision”.

It was said to be an epoch-making event that “Indian Representatives” took part in the Conference. Representatives they were, but, as said, of the British Government in India, not of India, whereas their colleagues represented their Nations. They did good work, none the less, for they

were able and experienced men, though they failed us in the Imperial Preference Conference and, partially, on the Indentured Labour question. Yet we hope that the presence in the Conference of men of Indian birth may prove to be the proverbial "thin end of the wedge," and may have convinced their colleagues that, while India was still a Dependency, India's sons were fully their equals.

The Report of the Public Services Commission, though now too obviously obsolete to be discussed, caused both disappointment and resentment; for it showed that, in the eyes of the majority of the Commissioners, English domination in Indian administration was to be perpetual, and that 30 years hence she would only hold a pitiful 25 per cent of the higher appointments in the I.C.S. and the Police. I cannot, however, mention that Commission, even in passing, without voicing India's thanks to the Hon. Mr. Justice Rahim, for his rare courage in writing a solitary Minute of Dissent, in which he totally rejected the Report, and laid down the right principles which should govern recruitment for the Indian Civil Services.

India had but three representatives on the Commission; G. K. Gokhale died ere it made its Report, his end quickened by his sufferings during its work, by the humiliation of the way in which his countrymen were treated. Of Mr. Abdur Rahim I have already spoken. The Hon. Mr. M. B. Chaulakia signed the Report, but dissented from some of its most important recommendations. The whole Report was written "before the flood," and it is now merely an antiquarian curiosity.

India, for all these reasons, was forced to see before her a future of perpetual subordination: the Briton rules in Great Britain, the Frenchman in France, the American in America, each Dominion in its own area, but the Indian was to rule nowhere; alone among the peoples of the world, he was not to feel his own country as his own. "Britain for the British" was right and natural; "India for the Indians" was wrong, even seditious. It must be "India for the Empire," or not even for the Empire, but "for the rest of the Empire," careless of herself. "British support for British Trade" was patriotic and proper in Britain. "Swadeshi goods for Indians" showed a petty and anti-Imperial spirit in India. The Indian was to continue to live perpetually, and even thankfully, as Gopal Krishna Gokhale said he lived now, in "an atmosphere of inferiority," and to be proud to be a citizen (without rights) of the Empire, while its other component Nations were to be citizens (with rights) in their own countries first, and citizens of the Empire secondarily. Just as his trust in Great Britain was strained nearly to breaking point came the glad news of Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India, of the Viceroy's invitation to him, and of his

coming to hear for himself what India wanted. It was a ray of sunshine breaking through the fog. Confidence in Great Britain revived, and glad preparation was made to welcome the coming of a friend.

The attitude of India has changed to meet the changed attitude of the Governments of India and Great Britain. But let none imagine that this sequential change of attitude connotes any change in her determination to win Home Rule. She is ready to consider terms of peace, but it must be "peace with honour," and honour in this context means Freedom. If this be not granted, another more vigorous agitation will begin.

#### (c) Loss of Belief in the Superiority of the White Races

The undermining of this belief dates from the coming of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. Both bodies sought to lead the Indian people to a sense of the value of their own civilisation, to pride in their past, creating self-respect in the present, and self-confidence in the future. They destroyed the unhealthy inclination to imitate the West in all things, and taught discrimination, the using only of what was valuable in western thought and culture, and not of a mere slavish copying of everything. A great force was that of Swami Vivekananda, and his passionate love and admiration for India, and his exposure of the evils resulting from Materialism in the West. Take the following:

"Children of India, I am here to speak to you about some practical things, and my object in reminding you about the glories of the past is simply this. How often have I been told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing, and that we should look to the future. That is true. But out of the past we build the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind you, after that, look forward, march forward, and make a brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was, our ancestors were great. We must recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the blood that courses in our veins; we must have faith in that blood, and as it did in the past: and out of that faith, and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than what she has been.

And again:

I know for certain that millions, I say deliberately millions, in every civilised land are waiting for the message that will save them from the hideous abyss of materialism, into which modern money-worship is driving the world, and many of the leaders of the new Social Movements have already discovered that Vedanta in its highest form can alone spiritualise their social aspirations.

The process was continued by the admirers of Sanskrit literature expressed by European savants and philosophers. But the effect of the message was confined to the few and did not reach the many. The first great shock to their belief in white supremacy came from the triumph of Japan over Russia, the facing of a huge European Power by a comparatively

small eastern Nation, the exposure of the weakness and rottenness of the Russian leaders, and the contrast with their hardy virile opponents, ready to sacrifice everything for their country.

The second great shock has come from the frank brutality of German theories of the State, and their practical carrying out in the treatment of conquered districts and the laying waste of evacuated areas in retreat. The teachings of Bismarck and their practical application in France, Flanders, Belgium, Poland and Serbia have destroyed all the glamour of the superiority of Christendom over Asia. Its vaunted civilisation is seen to be but a thin veneer, and its religion a matter of form rather than of life. Gazing from afar at the ghastly heaps of dead and the hosts of the mutilated, at science turned into devilry and ever inventing new tortures for rending and slaying, Asia may be forgiven for thinking that, on the whole, she prefers her own religions and her own civilisations.

But even deeper than the outer tumult of war has pierced the doubt as to the reality of the Ideals of Liberty and Nationality so loudly proclaimed by the foremost western Nations, the doubt of the honesty of their champions. Sir James Meston said truly, a short time ago, that he had never, in his long experience, known Indians in so distrustful and suspicious a mood as that which he met in them to-day. And that is so. For long years Indians have been chafing over the many breaches of promises and pledges to them that remain unredeemed. The maintenance here of a system of political repression, of coercive measures increased in number and more harshly applied since 1905, the carrying of the system to a wider extent since the War for the sanctity of treaties and for the protection of Nationalities has been going on, have deepened the mistrust. A frank and courageous statemanship applied to the honest carrying out of large reforms too long delayed, can alone remove it. The time for political tinkering is past; the time for wise and definite changes is here.

To these deep causes must be added the comparison between the progressive policy of some of the Indian States in matters which most affect the happiness of the people, and the slow advance made under British administration. The Indian notes that this advance is made under the guidance of rulers and ministers of his own race. When he sees that the suggestions made in the People's Assembly in Mysore are fully considered and, when possible, given effect to, he realises that without the forms of power, the members exercise more real power than those in our Legislative Councils. He sees education spreading, new industries fostered, villagers encouraged to manage their own affairs and take the burden of their own responsibility, and he wonders why Indian incapacity is so much more efficient than British capacity.

Perhaps, after all, for Indians, Indian rule may be the best.

#### (1) The Awakening of the Merchants

Of the many forces that have created New India, the awakening of the Merchants into political life is perhaps the most potent, and the most pregnant with happy possibilities. Sir Dorab Tata, in the Industrial Conference in Bombay, 1915, advocated the yoking together of Politics and Industry. It is now coming about. Hitherto the merchants had remained immersed in their own occupations, but they were awakened by the War to the necessity of taking part in politics by finding that those very occupations were threatened with disaster by the attitude of the Government; as for instance, the refusal to lend a helping hand to industries which had been connected closely with German trade and were menaced with ruin by the War; by the refusal to aid the efforts made to replace necessaries, hitherto supplied by Germany, by the founding or financing of factories for their production at home; by the restrictions put on trade under pretext of the War, that prevented the legitimate expansion of promising branches of industry; by the absence of effort to relieve the stringency of the money market, wealthy merchants being unable to obtain cash to meet their liabilities here, because their English debtors could not transmit the money they owed; some were even obliged to sell the depreciated Government paper at heavy loss in order to maintain their credit; in other cases War Bonds were offered to them in lieu of cash for goods supplied. The details have varied in different centres, and the wealthy and independent merchants of Bombay have suffered less than the merchants of Madras, with whose difficulties I am naturally more familiar.

There, added difficulties constantly arise from the favouritism shewn by the Presidency Bank to English, as compared with Indian, clients, and the absence of Indians from its Directorate, complained of for years. The anxiety felt by the merchants was largely increased by the depreciation of Government paper, and apart from the heavy losses of capital incurred when necessity forced holders to sell for cash, an uneasy feeling arose as to the stability of the Government, when its securities fell so low.

Another disturbing cause was the alienation during many years of lands and minerals to foreigners, the Government looking on with indifference.

The copra and coir industry of the West Coast had passed into German hands; struck away from them by the War, there was danger of its being absorbed by the English; happily the firm of Tata & Sons stepped in and rescued it, and it remains an Indian industry. Ten years ago, the working of the blend known as monazite, an ingredient in munitions, was absorbed by Germany. Indian mica mines became



German property. Undressed hides were exported wholesale to Germany, although Mysore had shewn that they could be dressed and tanned better in Indian than in European factories, and only a little encouragement and help were needed to ensure their dressing and tanning, if not also their working, here. Instead of that, the undressed hides were bought up by Government at a price fixed by themselves, and were largely exported to be dressed, tanned and worked abroad. The Viceroy, speaking in the Supreme Council on September 5th last, stated that large orders had been given to "tanners in India," and that experimental work in tanning had yielded results which promised success on a commercial scale; he expressed the hope that, after the War, the tanning industry would undergo a great expansion for general purposes. But hide merchants are distressed by an order that hides are to be purchased at War prices, the British War Office buying them to provide with leather goods the civilian population in Britain. But what has the War Office to do with providing boots for civilians, and why should India be drained for civil as well as for military purposes? If the tanning experiments are being carried on with India's money by experts paid by India, and not by British capitalists, then the outcome should be the property of India and enrich the people of the country, not British merchants and manufactures settled here.

The War has turned the attention of Government to the wisdom of utilising India's immense natural resources, and the Viceroy speaks of organising these resources with "a view to making India more self-contained, and less dependent on the outer world for the supplies of manufactured goods". We heartily endorse this view. This has long been the cry from Indians, for India, with her varieties of soil and climate, can produce all the materials she needs, and with her surplus goods she can, as Phillimore said of her in the 17th century, "with the droppings of her soil feed distant nations". But the East India Company first, the British Government next, and lately exploiting bodies of Imperialist Traders, have vehemently insisted that India should supply raw materials, export them for manufacture abroad, and purchase, preferably within the Empire, the goods manufactured out of them. As Macaulay pointed out, the marvellous expansion of English industry was contemporaneous with the impoverishment of India. The reversal of this policy by the present Viceroy will earn India's undying gratitude, if he fosters Indian industries and not English industries in India. A witness before the Industries Commission stated that India should raise products for use outside, that is, as the East India Company put it, become a plantation for the supply of raw materials. The Viceroy must pardon us, if previous experience has made us anxious on this point. We cannot forget that a century ago the

traces of iron were found in the Central Provinces and that nothing was done to extract the metal. England then being the world's shop for iron, it was left for Tata to seize the opportunity, and his own huge profit, and not desiring a rise in the price of Rs. 30 are now sold at Rs. 1180. He started an industry, and Tata's steel is sought so largely that it cannot meet the demand. Had the iron been mined and worked here during these long years, India would not now be dependent on Britain for our steel, the want of which cripples the efforts to start new industries and to expand old ones, in order to supply the demand caused by the necessities of the war.

The Viceroy remarks truly that previous attempts were more sporadic than systematic, and that the

The marked success which has followed the organisation of research and demonstration work in agriculture, and the assistance which has been given to the mineral industries by the Geological Survey, striking examples that encourage a bold policy similar lines for the benefit of other and specially manufacturing industries.

Here, again, we must pause to remark on some of these experiments in scientific agriculture, and the efforts to meet the demands of England under the conditions of India. India works up short-stapled cotton. Especially in her hand-loom industry, she produces cotton suits for Lancashire. Lancashire wants long-stapled cotton and cannot get enough from the United States and Egypt. Therefore, India should substitute long-stapled cotton. We confess we do not see the advantage. Nor do we find, in our studies of the cotton trade, that England, which is set up as a model to be copied, has followed self-deceiving policies and has regulated her production so as to injure other countries to her own detriment.

However, the War has done for India what it has done for the interest of the Government in her industries that which the attempts of Indian capitalists have failed to do. The War brought about the Industries Commission, and the need for munitions for industrial organisation for their production. It has shown Indian merchants to see, by seizing the political weapon, that the organisation and management of industries by Government—under the Home Government, under their own control—does not reduce Indians to a more subordinate position than they now hold. It is this danger which has caused a great part in the fear which has caused the withdrawal of the Merchants. The tea industry, which is in the hands of English planters, and whose incomes derived from other agricultural profits have wholly escaped. If this policy be pursued, and the fostered in India with Indian money places the industry in foreign hands, Indians will, even more than the durbashes, and clerks, and other employees

English-captained firms, and will depend ever more and more on wages, driven lower and lower by increasing competition.

The industrial prospects in India are by no means discouraging, if Indians exert themselves to hold their own. Mr. Tozer, in his *British India and its Trade*, says:

The cotton and jute manufactures, already conducted on a large scale, offer scope for still further development. Sugar and tobacco are produced in large quantities, but both require the application of the latest scientific processes of cultivation and manufacture. Oil seeds might be crushed in India instead of being exported; while cotton seeds, as yet imperfectly utilised, can be turned to good account. Hides and skins, now largely exported raw, might be more largely tanned and dressed in India. Again, the woollen and silken fabrics manufactured in India are mostly coarse fabrics and there is scope for the production of finer goods. Although railways make their own rolling stock, they have to import wheels and axles, tyres and other iron work. At present steel is manufactured on a very small scale, and the number of iron foundries and machine shops, although increasing, is capable of greater expansion. Machinery and machine tools have for the most part to be imported. Millions of agriculturists and artisans use rude tools which might be replaced by similar articles that are more durable and of better make. Improved oil presses and hand-loom should find a profitable market. Paper-mills and flour mills might be established in greater numbers. There are openings also for the manufacture of sewing machines, fire-works, rope, boots and shoes, saddlery, harness, clock, watches, aniline and alazarine dyes, electrical appliances, glass and glassware, tea chests, gloves, rice, starch, matches, lamps, candles, soap, linen, hardware and cutlery.

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Indian merchants have seen the swift expansion of Japanese trade, and know that it is fostered by the Japanese Government both by protection and with bounties. They have to compete with it in their own land. Is it any wonder that they desire an Indian

Government? They see Japanese goods underselling them and flooding their own markets. Is it any wonder that they desire a Home Government, that will put duties on these foreign goods and protect their own products?

The furious uprising of the European Associations, ever indifferent to politics which only concern Indian interests, has shown them that their trade rivals dread the transfer of power, because they fear to lose the unfair privileges and advantages which they have always enjoyed, since the humble traders of the seventeenth century became the masters of India. They are not accustomed to a struggle on equal terms, and the prospect dismays them. They want privilege, not justice and a fair field. Much of their fear and anger, the need felt by Sir Hugh Bray for English dominance for the protection of English interests, lie in the fact that they dread the budget of a Home Government, even more than they dread a fair trade competition.

The Indian merchants now realise that in the trade-war after the end of the present War, they will go down unless they have power in their own country. Trade, commerce, industry, organised by the countrymen of the European Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations, mean ruin to the Indian merchants, traders and manufacturers. The favouritism of Governments and English Banks has spelt hard struggle during the period when organisation was wanting. When it is accompanied by organisation created and ruled by the foreigners, it will spell ruin. Mr. J. W. Root has rightly observed that to give Great Britain, under present circumstances,

the control over Indian foreign trade and internal industry that would be secured by a common tariff would be an unpardonable iniquity. . . . Can it be conceived that were India's fiscal arrangements placed to any considerable extent under the control of British legislators, they would not be regulated with an eye to British interests? Intense jealousy of India is always cropping up in everything affecting fiscal or industrial legislation.

Indian merchants are fully alive to this danger, and to avert it they are welcoming Home Rule.

The merchants also realise that fiscal autonomy can only come with political autonomy. Only the illogical demand fiscal autonomy and reject Home Rule. A budget framed by an Indian Finance Member would aim at a much increased expenditure on education, sanitation and irrigation—an expenditure that would result in increased capacity and increased health for the citizens and increased productiveness for the land. Railways would be constructed out of loans raised for the particular project, not out of revenue. Administration charges would be reduced by the reduction of salaries and greater economy. They have increased in a decade by Rs. 160 millions.

On the revenue side, the taxation on land would be lightened, so that cultivators might make a decent living by their labour. Exports of Indian monopolies,

German property. Undressed hides were exported wholesale to Germany, although Mysore had shewn that they could be dressed and tanned better in Indian than in European factories, and only a little encouragement and help were needed to ensure their dressing and tanning, if not also their working, here. Instead of that, the undressed hides were bought up by Government at a price fixed by themselves, and were largely exported to be dressed, tanned and worked abroad. The Viceroy, speaking in the Supreme Council on September 5th last, stated that large orders had been given to "tanners in India," and that experimental work in tanning had yielded results which promised success on a commercial scale; he expressed the hope that, after the War, the tanning industry would undergo a great expansion for general purposes. But hide merchants are distressed by an order that hides are to be purchased at War prices, the British War Office buying them to provide with leather goods the civilian population in Britain. But what has the War Office to do with providing boots for civilians, and why should India be drained for civil as well as for military purposes? If the tanning experiments are being carried on with India's money by experts paid by India, and not by British capitalists, then the outcome should be the property of India and enrich the people of the country, not British merchants and manufactures settled here.

The War has turned the attention of Government to the wisdom of utilising India's immense natural resources, and the Viceroy speaks of organising these resources with "a view to making India more self-contained, and less dependent on the outer world for the supplies of manufactured goods". We heartily endorse this view. This has long been the cry from Indians, for India, with her varieties of soil and climate, can produce all the materials she needs, and with her surplus goods she can, as Phillimore said of her in the 17th century, "with the droppings of her soil feed distant nations". But the East India Company first, the British Government next, and lately exploiting bodies of Imperialist Traders, have vehemently insisted that India should supply raw materials, export them for manufacture abroad, and purchase, preferably within the Empire, the goods manufactured out of them. As Macaulay pointed out, the marvellous expansion of English industry was contemporaneous with the impoverishment of India. The reversal of this policy by the present Viceroy will earn India's undying gratitude, if he fosters Indian industries and not English industries in India. A witness before the Industries Commission stated that India should raise products for use outside, that is, as the East India Company put it, become a plantation for the supply of raw materials. The Viceroy must pardon us, if previous experience has made us anxious on this point. We cannot forget that a century ago the

traces of iron were found in the Central Provinces and that nothing was done to extract the metal. England then being the world's shop for iron to her own huge profit, and not desiring a rival. It was left for Tata to seize the opportunity, and his steel of Rs. 30 are now sold at Rs. 1180. He started a steel industry, and Tata's steel is sought so largely that we cannot meet the demand. Had the iron been raised and worked here during these long years, we should not now be dependent on Britain for our machinery, the want of which cripples the efforts to found new industries and to expand old ones, in order to supply the demand caused by the necessary absorption of factories in Great Britain for War work.

The Viceroy remarks truly that previous "efforts were more sporadic than systematic," but proceeds

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Here, again, we must pause to remark that so far as these experiments in scientific agriculture rest on efforts to meet the demands of England, rather than those of India. India works up short-stapled cotton. Especially in her hand-loom industry, short-stapled cotton suits her. Lancashire wants long-stapled cotton and cannot get enough from the United States and Egypt. Therefore, India should substitute long-stapled cotton for short-stapled cotton. We confess we do not see the *sequitur*. Nor do we find, in our study of English trade, that England, which is set up as an example to be copied, has followed self-denying ordinances, and has regulated her production so as to help foreign countries to her own detriment.

However, the War has done for India, in awakening the interest of the Government in her industries, that which the attempts of Indian patriots have failed to do. The War brought about the Industries Commission, and the need for munitions has led to industrial organisation for their production. It is for Indian merchants to see, by seizing and utilising the political weapon, that the organisation and management of industries by Government—unless the Home Government, under their own control—does not reduce Indians to a more subordinate position than they now hold. It is this danger which is playing a great part in the fear which has caused the awakening of the Merchants. The tea industry, for instance, is in the hands of English planters, and while incomes derived from other agricultural profits have been drawn from other agricultural profits have been secured, incomes derived from tea—which is certainly an agricultural profit—have wholly escaped taxation. If this policy be pursued, and the fostering of industries with Indian money places the industries in foreign hands, Indians will, even more than the dubashes, and clerks, and other employees

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On the revenue side, the taxation on land would be lightened, so that cultivators might make a decent living by their labour. Exports of Indian monopolies

such as jute and indigo, would be heavily taxed. Imports would be taxed according to India's needs, and heavy duties laid on bounty-fed products. Imported liquors would carry a prohibitory duty, and they were imported in 1910-11 to the value of Rs. 1,89,81,666. Provisions, which were imported to the value of over 3 crores of rupees, might also be heavily taxed, being a luxury. Sugar rose in five years from 10 crores of rupees to 14 crores, and should be heavily taxed, so as to encourage its growth here. Cotton piece goods have risen from 37 crores to 41 crores and India should supply herself, as well as with silk piece goods, risen from 1½ crores to 2½ crores. Army expenditure at the moment cannot be reduced, but later, territorial armies would be raised and large reserves gradually formed. For a time English troops would remain, as in the South African Union, but the short service system would be abolished, and recruiting charges reduced.

Even so hasty a glance over the economic condition of India makes very plain the reasons for the awakening of Indian Merchants, and their entry into the Home Rule Camp.

#### (c) The Awakening of the Women

The position of women in the ancient Āryan civilisation was a very noble one. The great majority married, becoming, as Manu said, the Light of the Home; some took up the ascetic life, remained unmarried, and sought the knowledge of Brahman. The story of the Rāṇī Dāmayantī, to whom her husband's ministers came, when they were troubled by the Rājā's gambling; that of Gāndbārī, in the Council of Kings and warrior Chiefs, remonstrating with her headstrong son; in later days, those of Padmāvati of Chittoor, of Mirābai of Mārwar, the sweet poetess, of Tārābai of Thoda, the warrior, of Chānd Bibi, the defender of Ahmednagar, of Ahalya Bai of Indore, the Great Ruler—all these and countless others are well known.

Only in the last five or six generations has the Indian woman slipped away from her place at her husband's side, and left him unhelped in his public life. Even now, they wield great influence over husband and son, but lack thorough knowledge to aid. Culture has never forsaken them, but the English education of their husbands and sons, with the neglect of Samskrit and the Vernacular, have made a barrier between the culture of the husband and that of the wife, and have shut the woman out from her old sympathy with the larger life of men. While the interests of the husband have widened, those of the wife have narrowed. The materialising of the husband has tended also, by re-action, to render the wife's religion less broad and wise, and by throwing her on the family priest for guidance in religion, instead, as of old, on her husband, has made the religion entirely one of devotion; and lacking the

strong stimulus of knowledge, it more easily sloughs down into superstition, into dependence on faith not understood.

The wish to save their sons from the materialising results of English education awoke keen sympathy among Indian mothers with the movement to make Hinduism an integral part of education. It was perhaps, the first movement in modern days which awoke among them in all parts of India a real and living interest.

Then the troubles of Indians outside India roused the ever-quick sympathy of Indian women, and an attack in South Africa on the sacredness of Indian marriage drew large numbers of them out of their homes to protest against the wrong.

The Partition of Bengal was bitterly resented by Bengali women, and was another factor in the outward turning change. When the editor of an Extremist newspaper was prosecuted for sedition, convicted and sentenced, 500 Bengali women went to his moorings to shew their sympathy, not by condolences, but by congratulations. Such was the feeling of the unbent women of Bengal.

The Indentured Labour question, involving the dishonour of women, again, moved them deeply, and even sent a deputation to the Viceroy composed of women.

These were, perhaps, the chief outer causes which deep in the heart of India's daughters arose from the Mother's voice, calling on them to help her to stand and to be once more mistress in her own house. The Indian women, nursed on her old literature, with her wonderful ideals of womanly perfection, could not remain indifferent to the great movement for Indian liberty. And during the last few years the hidden fire long burning in their hearts, fire of love for Bharatamātā, fire of resentment against the lessening influence of the religion which they passionately feel an instinctive dislike of the foreigner as ruling in our land, have caused a marvellous awakening. The strength of the Home Rule movement is rendered tenfold greater by the adhesion to it of large numbers of women, who bring to its helping hand uncalculating heroism, the endurance, the self-sacrifice, of the feminine nature. Our League's recruits and recruiters are among the women of India, and the women of Madras boast that they marched in procession when the men were stoned, and that their prayers in the temples set the interred captives free. Home Rule has become so intertwined with religion by the prayers offered up in the great Southern Temples—sacred places of pilgrimage—now spreading from them to village temples, and a by its being preached, up and down the country by Sādhus and Sannyāsins, that it has become in the minds of the women and of the ever-religious men of this country, the surest way of winning all that

women of the higher classes and the men and women villagers. And that is why I have said that the two words, "Home Rule," have become a Mantram.

#### (c) The Awakening of the Masses

This is another startling phenomenon of our times, due of late to the teaching of Sādhus and Danujāsins and the campaign of prayer, just mentioned, but much more to the steady influence of the educated classes permeating the masses for very many years, the classes which, as we shall see, have their roots struck deep in the villages. It must be remembered that the raiyat, though innocent of English, has a culture of his own, made up of old traditions and legends and folk-lore, coming down from time immemorial. He is religious, knows the great laws of Karma and Reincarnation, is industrious and shrewd. He cares very little for who is the "Sirkar," and very much for the agents who come to collect his tax, or to meddle with his fields. In the old days, which, for him still live, the Panchayat managed the village affairs, and he was prosperous and contented, save when the King's tax-gatherer came, or soldiers harried his village. These were inevitable natural evils, like drought or flood; and if a raid came or an invasion, they felt they were suffering with their King, and in the tax they were sharing with their King, whereas they are crushed now in an iron machinery, without the human nexus that used to exist.

Home Rule has touched the raiyat through his village life, where the present order presses hardly upon him in ways that I shall refer to when dealing with agricultural conditions. He resents the rigid payment of tax in money instead of the variable tax in kind, the King's share of the produce. He resents the frequent resettlements, which force him to borrow from the money-lender to meet the higher claim. He wants the old Panchayat back again, he wants that his village should be managed by himself and his fellows, and he wants to get rid of the tyranny of petty officials, who have replaced the old useful communal servants.

We cannot leave out of the causes which have helped to awaken the masses, the influence of the Co-operative Movement, and the visits paid to villages by educated men for lectures on sanitation, hygiene, and other subjects. Messrs. Moreland and Ewing writing in the *Quarterly Review*, remarked :

The change of attitude on the part of the peasant, coupled with the progress made in organisation mainly through the Co-operative propaganda, is the outstanding achievement of the past decade, and at the same time the chief ground for the recent confidence with which agricultural reformers can now face the future.

In many parts of the country, where Conferences are carried on in the vernacular, the raiyats attend in large numbers, and often take part in the practical discussions on local affairs. They have begun to

hope, and to feel that they are a part of the great National Movement, and that for them also a better day is dawning.

The submerged classes have also felt the touch of a ray of hope, and are lifting up their bowed heads, and claiming, with more and more definiteness, their place in the Household of the Mother. Movements, created by themselves, or originating in the higher castes, have been stirring in them a sense of self-respect. The Brahmanas, awakening to a sense of their long-neglected duty, have done much to help them, and the prospect of their future brightens year by year.

By a just karma the higher castes are finding that attempts are being made by official and non-official Europeans to stir this class into opposition to Home Rule. They play upon the contempt with which they had been treated, and threaten them with a return of it, if "Brahmana Rule," as they call it, is gained. Twenty years ago and more, I ventured to urge the danger to Hindu Society that was hidden with the neglect of the submerged, and the folly of making it profitable for them to embrace Islam or Christianity which offered them a higher social status. Much has been done since then, but it is only a drop in the ocean needed. They know very well, of course, that all the castes, not the highest alone, are equally guilty, but that is a sorry comfort. Large numbers of them are, happily, willing to forget the past, and to work with their Indian fellow-countrymen for the future. It is the urgent duty of every lover of the Motherland to draw these, her neglected children, into the common Home.

Mr. Gandhi's capital idea of a monster petition for the Congress-League scheme, for which signatures were only to be taken after careful explanation of its scope and meaning, has proved to be an admirable method of political propaganda. The soil in the Madras Presidency has been well prepared by a wide distribution of popular literature, and the Propaganda Committee has scattered over the land in the vernaculars a simple explanation of Home Rule. The result of active work in the villages during the last year showed itself in the gathering in less than a month of nearly a million signatures. They have been taken in duplicate, so that we have a record of a huge number of people interested in Home Rule, and the hosts will increase in ever widening circles, preparing for the coming Freedom.

## WHY INDIA DEMANDS HOME RULE

INDIA demands Home Rule for two reasons, one essential and vital, the other less important but weighty: First, because Freedom is the birthright of every Nation: secondly, because her most important interests are now made subservient to the interests of the British Empire without her consent, and her resources are not utilised for her greatest needs. It is enough only to mention the money spent on her Army, not for local defence but for Imperial purposes, as compared with that spent on primary education.

### I. THE VITAL REASON

#### (a) What is a Nation?

Self-Government is necessary to the self-respect and dignity of a People; Other-Government emasculates a Nation, lowers its character, and lessens its capacity. The wrong done by the Arms Act, which Rājā Rāmpāl Singh voiced in the Second Congress as a wrong which outweighed all the benefits of British Rule, was its weakening and debasing effect on Indian manhood. "We cannot," he declared, "be grateful to it for degrading our natures, for systematically crushing out all martial spirit, for converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep." This was done not by the fact that a man did not carry arms—few carry them in England—but that men were deprived of the *right* to carry them. A Nation, an individual, cannot develop his capacities to the utmost, without Liberty. And this is recognised everywhere except in India. As Mazzini truly said:

God has written a line of His thought over the cradle of every people. That is its special mission. It cannot be cancelled, it must be freely developed

For what is a Nation? It is a spark of the Divine Fire, a fragment of the Divine Life, outbreathed into the world, and gathering round itself a mass of individuals, men, women and children, whom it binds together into one. Its qualities, its powers, in a word, its type, depend on the fragment of the Divine Life embodied in it, the Life which shapes it, evolves it, colours it, and makes it One. The magic of Nationality is the feeling of oneness, and the use of Nationality is to serve the world in the particular way for which its type fits it. This is what Mazzini called "its special mission," the duty given to it by God in its birth-hour. Thus India had the duty of spreading the idea of Dharma, Persia that of Purity, Egypt that of Science, Greece that of Beauty, Rome that of Law. But to render its full service to Humanity it must develop along its own lines, and be Self-determined in its evolution. It must be Itself, and not Another. The whole world suffers where a Nationality is distorted or suppressed, before its mission to the world is accomplished.

#### (b) The Cry for Self-Rule

Hence the cry of a Nation for Freedom, for Self-Rule, is not a cry of mere selfishness demanding Rights that it may enjoy more happiness. Even if that there is nothing wrong, for happiness means fullness of life, and to enjoy such fullness is a righteous claim. But the demand for Self-Rule is a demand for the evolution of its own nature for the Service of Humanity. It is a demand of the deepest Spirituality, an expression of the longing to give of the very best to the world. Hence dangers cannot deter it, nor threats appal, nor offerings of great pleasures lure it to give up its demand for Freedom. In the adapted words of a Christian Scripture it passionately cries: "What shall it profit a Nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own Soul? Shall a Nation give in exchange for its Soul? Better hardship and freedom, than luxury and slavery. This is the spirit of the Home Rule movement, and therefore it cannot be crushed, it cannot be destroyed, it is eternal and ever young. Nor can it be persuaded to exchange its birthright for any amount of efficiency-pottage at the hands of the bureaucrats.

#### (c) Stunting the Race

Coming closer to the daily life of the people as individuals, we see that the character of each man, woman and child is degraded and weakened by a foreign administration, and this is most keenly felt by the best Indians. Speaking on the employment of Indians in the Public Services, Gopāl Kṛṣṇa Gokhale has said:

A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian mind is going on under the present system. We must live the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority, the tallest of us must bend, in order that the exigencies of the system may be satisfied. The upward impulse which I may use such an expression, which every schoolboy at Eton or Harrow may feel, that he may one day be a Gladstone, a Nelson, or a Wellington, and which draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, is denied to us. The full height to which our mind is capable of rising can never be reached by us under the present system. The moral elevation which our Self-governing people feel cannot be felt by us. Our administrative and military talents must gradually appear owing to sheer disuse, till at last our lot, as that of wood and drawers of water in our own country, is stereotyped.

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has spoken in similar lines:

A bureaucratic administration, conducted by a vested interest agency, and centering all power in its hands and undertaking all responsibility, has acted as a dead weight on the Soul of India, stifling in us all sense of initiative for the lack of which we are condemned, atrophy in our nerves of action and what is most serious, necessary dwarfing in us all feeling of self-respect.

In this connexion the warning of Lord Salisbury to the Cooper's Hill students is significant:

No system of Government can be permanently successful where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed. There is nothing I would more earnestly desire

to impress upon all who leave this country for the purpose of governing India than that, if they choose to be so, they are the only enemies England has to fear. They are the persons who can, if they will, deal a blow of the deadliest character at the future rule of England.

I have ventured to urge this danger, which has increased of late years, in consequence of the growing self-respect of the Indians. But the ostrich policy is thought to be preferable in my part of the country.

This stunting of the race begins with the education of the child. The Schools differentiate between British and Indian teachers; the Colleges do the same. The students see first-class Indians superseded by young and third-rate foreigners; the Principal of a College should be a foreigner; foreign history is more important than Indian, to have written on English villages is a qualification for teaching economics in India; the whole atmosphere of the School and College emphasises the superiority of the foreigner, even when the professors abstain from open assertion thereof. The Education Department controls the education given, and it is planned on foreign models, and its object is to serve foreign rather than native ends, to make docile Government servants rather than patriotic citizens; high spirits, courage, self-respect, are not encouraged, and docility is regarded as the most precious quality in the student; pride in country, patriotism, ambition, are looked on as dangerous, and English, instead of Indian, Ideals are exalted; the blessings of a foreign rule and the incapacity of Indians to manage their own affairs are constantly inculcated. What wonder that boys thus trained often turn out, as men, time-servers and sycophants, and, finding their legitimate ambitions frustrated, become selfish and care little for the public weal? Their own inferiority has been so driven into them during their most impressionable years, that they do not even feel what Mr. Asquith called the "intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke".

#### (d) India's Rights

It is not a question whether the rule is good or bad. German efficiency in Germany is far greater than English efficiency in England; the Germans were better fed, had more amusements and leisure, less crushing poverty than the English. But would any Englishman therefore desire to see Germans occupying all the highest positions in England? Why not? Because the righteous self-respect and dignity of the free man revolt against foreign domination, however superior. As Mr. Asquith said at the beginning of the War, such a condition was "inconceivable and would be intolerable". Why then is it the one conceivable system here in India? Why is it not felt by all Indians to be intolerable? It is because it has become a habit, bred in us from childhood, to regard the sahib-log as our natural superiors, and the greatest

injury British rule has done to Indians is to deprive them of the natural instinct born in all free peoples the feeling of an inherent right to Self-determination, to be themselves. Indian dress, Indian food, Indian ways, Indian customs, are all looked on as second-rate; Indian mother-tongue and Indian literature cannot make an educated man. Indians as well as Englishmen take it for granted that the natural rights of every Nation do not belong to them; they claim "a larger share in the government of the country," instead of claiming the government of their own country, and they are expected to feel grateful for "boons," for concessions. Britain is to say what she will give. The whole thing is wrong topsy-turvy, irrational. Thank God that India's eyes are opening; that myriads of her people realise that they are men, with a man's right to freedom in his own country, a man's right to manage his own affairs. India is no longer on her knees for boons; she is on her feet for Rights. It is because I have taught this, that the English in India misunderstand me, and call me seditious; it is because I have taught this, that I am President of this Congress to-day.

This may seem strong language, because the plain truth is not usually put in India. But this is what every Briton feels in Britain for his own country, and what every Indian should feel in India for his. This is the Freedom for which the Allies are fighting; this is Democracy, the Spirit of the Age. And this is what every true Briton will feel is India's Right the moment India claims it for herself, as she is claiming it now. When this Right is gained, there will be the tie between India and Great Britain become a golden link of mutual love and service, and the iron chain of a foreign yoke will fall away. We shall live and work side by side, with no sense of distrust and dislike, working as brothers for common ends. And from that union shall arise the mightiest Empire or rather Commonwealth, that the world has ever known, a Commonwealth that, in God's good time shall put an end to War.

## II. THE SECONDARY REASONS

### (a) Tests of Efficiency

The Secondary Reasons for the present demand for Home Rule may be summed up in the blunt statement: "The present rule, while efficient in less important matters and in those which concern British interests, is inefficient in the greater matters on which the healthy life and happiness of the people depend." Looking at outer things, such as external order, posts and telegraphs—except where political agitators are concerned—main roads, railways, etc., foreign visitors, who expected to find a semi-savage country, hold up their hands in admiration. But



if they saw the life of the people, the masses of struggling clerks trying to educate their children on Rs. 25 (28s. 0½d.) a month, the masses of labourers with one meal a day, and the huts in which they live, they would find cause for thought. And if the educated men talked freely with them, they would be surprised at their bitterness. Gopal Kr̥ṣṇa Gokhale put the whole matter very plainly in 1911 :

(c) THE FIRST TEST APPLIED

*Education Page 19. Col. 2. line 4. After "six years ago."*

But even this percentage is illusory. It is recognised by educationists that children taught for less than four years lose what they had learned during that time. In the *Educational Statistics* (British India) for 1914—15, we find that 6,333,668 boys and 1,123,363 girls were under instruction, 7,462,031 children in all. Of these 5,434,576 had not passed the Lower Primary Stage, and of these 1,680,561 could not even read. If these be deducted from the total, we have only 2,027,455 children receiving education useful to them, giving us the appalling figure of .83 per cent. The money spent on the 5½ millions might as well be thrown into the Bay of Bengal. Railways, the introduction of Post and Telegraph, and other things of that kind. By measures for the moral and material improvement of the people, I mean what the Government does for education, what the Government does for sanitation, what the Government does for agricultural development, and so forth. That is my first test. The second test that I would apply is what steps the Government takes to give us a larger share in the administration of our local affairs—in municipalities and local boards. My third test is what voice the Government gives us in its Councils—in those deliberative assemblies, where policies are considered. And, lastly, we must consider how far Indians are admitted into the ranks of the public service

(b) A Change of System needed—Officials

Those were Gokhale's tests, and Indians can supply the results of their knowledge and experience to answer them. But before dealing with the failure to meet these tests, it is necessary to state here that it is not a question of blaming men, or of substituting Indians for Englishmen, but of changing the system itself. It is a commonplace that the best men become corrupted by the possession of irresponsible power. As Bernard Houghton says: "The possession of unchecked power corrupts some of the finer qualities." Officials quite honestly come to believe that those who try to change the system are undermining the security of the State. They identify the State with themselves, so that criticism of them is seen as treason to the State. The phenomenon is well-known in history, and it is only repeating itself in India. The same writer—I prefer to use his words rather than my own, for he expresses exactly my own views, and will not be considered to be prejudiced as I am thought to be—cogently remarks :

He (the official) has become an expert in reports and returns and matters of routine through many years of practice. They are the very woof and warp of his brain. He has no ideas, only reflexes. He views with acrid disfavour untried conceptions. From being constantly preoccupied with the manipulation of the machine he regards its smooth working, the ordered and harmonious regulation of glittering pieces of machinery, as the highest service he can render to the country of his adoption. He

determines that his particular cog-wheel at least shall be bright, smooth, silent, and with absolutely no back-sets. Not unnaturally in course of time he comes to envy the world through the strait embrasure of an open window. When perforce he must report on new proposals he will place in the forefront, not their influence on the life and progress of the people, but their convenience to the official hierarchy and the manner in which they affect its authority. Like the monks of old, or the squire in the typical English village, he cherishes a benevolent interest in the commonalty, and is quite willing, if

way they insinuate that, in spite of the labour of high-souled bureaucracy, all is perhaps not for the best in the best of all possible worlds—still less when they suggest reforms that had never occurred even to him to his order, and may clash with his most cherished ideals? It is for the officials to govern the country, and they alone have been initiated into the sacred mysteries of the machine. They alone understand the secret working of the machine, and the utmost the laity may tender respectful and helpful suggestions for their consideration, but no more. For those who dare to think and act for themselves, ignorant folly is only equalled by their arrogance, and is as though a handful of schoolboys were to dictate to their masters alterations in the traditional time-table to insist on a modified curriculum . . . These wise people [officials] confuse manly independence with disloyalty; they cannot conceive of natives except either as rebels or as timid sheep.

Other quotations on the effects of Bureaucracy may be found in Appendix I.

(c) Non-Official Anglo-Indians

The problem becomes more complicated by the existence in India of a small but powerful body of the same race as the higher officials; there are only 122,919 English-born persons in this country, while there are 255,000,000 in the British Raj, and another 70,000,000 in the Indian States, more or less affected by British influence. As a rule, these officials do not take any part in politics, being otherwise occupied; but they enter the field when the hope arises in Indian hearts of changes really typical to the Nation. John Stuart Mill observes on this point :

The individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortunes are not others those who most need to be held under political restraint. They are always one of the chief difficulties of the Government. Armed with the prestige and with the scornful overbearingness of the conqueror Nation, they have the feelings inspired by absolute power without its sense of responsibility.

Similarly, Sir John Lawrence wrote :

The difficulty in the way of the Government acting fairly in these matters is immense. If any

done, or attempted to be done, to help the natives, a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England, and finds sympathy and support there. I feel quite bewildered sometimes what to do. Every one is, in the abstract, for justice, moderation, and such like excellent qualities; but when one comes to apply such principles so as to affect anybody's interests, then a change comes over them.

Keene, speaking of the principle of treating equally all classes of the community, says :

The application of that maxim, however, could not be made without sometimes provoking opposition among the handful of white settlers in India who, even when not connected with the administration, claimed a kind of class ascendancy which was not only in the conditions of the country but also in the nature of the case. It was perhaps natural that in a land of caste the compatriots of the rulers should become—as Lord Lytton said—a kind of “white Bráhmaas”; and it was certain that, as a matter of fact, the pride of race and the possession of western civilisation created a sense of superiority, the display of which was ungraceful and even dangerous, when not tempered by official responsibility. This feeling had been sensitive enough in the days of Lord William Bentinck, when the class referred to was small in numbers and devoid of influence. It was now both more numerous, and—by reason of its connection with the newspapers of Calcutta and of London—it was far better able to make its passion heard.

During Lord Ripon's sympathetic administration the great outburst occurred against the Ilbert Bill in 1883. We are face to face with a similar phenomenon to-day, when we see the European Associations—under the leadership of the *Madras Mail*, the *Englishman* of Calcutta, the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, with their Tory and Unionist allies in the London press, and with aid of retired Indian officials and non-officials in England—desperately resisting the Reforms now proposed. Their opposition, we know, is a danger to the movement towards Freedom, and even when they have failed to impress England—as they are evidently failing—they will try to minimise or smother here the reforms which a statute has embodied. The Minto-Morley reforms were thus robbed of their usefulness, and a similar attempt, if not guarded against, will be made when the Congress-League Scheme is used as the basis for an Act.

#### (d) The Re-action on England

We cannot leave out of account here the deadly harm done to England herself by this un-English system of rule in India. Mr. Hobson has pointed out :

As our free Self-Governing Colonies have furnished hope, encouragement, and leading to the popular aspirations in Great Britain, not merely by practical success in the art of Self-Government, but by the wafting of a spirit of freedom and equality, so our despotically ruled Dependencies have ever served to damage the character of our people by feeding the habits of snobbish subservience, the admiration of wealth and rank, the corrupt survivals of the inequalities of feudalism. . . . Cobden writing in 1860 of our Indian Empire, put this pithy question: “Is it not just possible that we may become corrupted at home by the reaction of arbitrary political maxims in the East upon our domestic politics, just as Greece and Rome were demoralised by their contact with

Asia?” Not merely is the reaction possible, it is inevitable. As the despotic portion of our Empire has grown in area, a larger number of men, trained in the temper and methods of autocracy, as soldiers and civil officials in our Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Indian Empire, reinforced by numbers of merchants, planters, engineers, and overseers, whose lives have been those of a superior caste living an artificial life removed from all the healthy restraints of ordinary European Society, have returned to this country, bringing back the characters, sentiments and ideas imposed by this foreign environment.

It is a little hard on the I.C.S., that they should be foreigners here, and then, when they return to their native land, find that they have become foreigners there by the corrupting influences with which they are surrounded here. We import them as raw material to our own disadvantage, and when we export them as manufactured here, Great Britain and India alike suffer from their reactionary tendencies. The results are unsatisfactory to both sides.

#### (e) The First Test applied

Let us now apply Gokhale's first test. What has the Bureaucracy done for “education, sanitation, agricultural improvement, and so forth”? I must put the facts very briefly, but they are indisputable.

*Education.* The percentage to the whole population of children receiving education is 2·8, the percentage having risen by 0·9 since Mr. Gokhale moved his Education Bill six years ago. The percentage of children of school-going age attending school was 20·4 at the end of 1915. In 1913 the Government of India put the number of pupils at 4½ millions; this has been accomplished in 59 years, reckoning from Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch in 1854, which led to the formation of the Education Department. In 1870 an Education Act was passed in Great Britain, the condition of Education in England then much resembling our present position. grants-in-aid in England had been given since 1833, chiefly to Church Schools. Between 1870 and 1881 free and compulsory education was established, and in 12 years the attendance rose from 43·3 to nearly 100 per cent. There are now 6,000,000 children in the schools of England and Wales out of a population of 40 millions. Japan, before 1872, had a proportion of 28 per cent of children of school-going age in school, nearly 8 over our present proportion; in 24 years the percentage was raised to 92, and in 28 years education was free and compulsory. In Baroda education is free and largely compulsory and the percentage of boys is 100 per cent. Travancore has 81·1 per cent of boys and 33·2 of girls. Mysore has 45·8 of boys and 9·7 of girls. Baroda spends an. 6-6 per head on school-going children, British India annas three. Expenditure on education advanced between 1882 and 1907 by 57 lakhs. Land-revenue had increased by 8 crores, military expenditure by 13 crores, civil by 8 crores, and capital outlay on railways was 15 crores. (I am quoting G. K. Gokhale's

figures.) He ironically calculated that, if the population did not increase, every boy would be in school 115 years hence, and every girl in 665 years. Brother Delegates, we hope to do it more quickly under Home Rule. I submit that in Education the Bureaucracy is inefficient.

*Sanitation and Medical Relief.* The prevalence of plague, cholera, and above all malaria, shew the lack of sanitation alike in town and country. This lack is one of the causes contributing to the low average life-period in India—23·5 years. In England the life-period is 40 years, in New Zealand 60. The chief difficulty in the way of the treatment of disease is the encouragement of the foreign system of medicine, especially in rural parts, and the withholding of grants from the indigenous. Government Hospitals, Government Dispensaries, Government doctors, must all be on the foreign system. Ayurvedic and Unani medicines, Hospitals, Dispensaries, Physicians, are unrecognised, and to “cover” the latter is “infamous” conduct. Travancore gives grants-in-aid to 72 Vaidyashālas, at which 1,43,505 patients—22,000 more than in allopathic institutions—were treated in 1914-15 (the Report issued in 1917). Our Government cannot grapple with the medical needs of the people, yet will not allow the people’s money to be spent on the systems they prefer. Under Home Rule, the indigenous and the foreign systems will be treated with impartiality. I grant that the allopathic doctors do their utmost to supply the need, and show great self-sacrifice, but the need is too vast and their numbers too few. Efficiency on their own lines in this matter is therefore impossible for our bureaucratic Government, their fault lies in excluding the indigenous systems, which they have not condescended to examine before rejecting them. The result is that in sanitation and medical relief the Bureaucracy is inefficient.

*Agricultural Development.* The census of 1911 gives the agricultural population at 218·3 millions. Its frightful poverty is a matter of common knowledge; its ever-increasing load of indebtedness has been dwelt on for at least the last thirty odd years by Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha. Yet the increasing debt is accompanied with increasing taxation, land revenue having risen, as just stated, in 25 years, by 8 crores—80,000,000—of rupees. In addition to this there are local cesses, salt tax, etc. The salt tax, which presses most hardly on the very poor, was raised in the last budget by Rs. 9 millions. The inevitable result of this poverty is mal-nutrition, resulting in low vitality, lack of resistance to disease, short life-period, huge infantile mortality. Gopal Kṛṣṇa Gokhale, no mischievous agitator, repeated in 1905 the figures often quoted :

Forty millions of people, according to one great Anglo-Indian authority—Sir William Hunter—pass through life with only one meal a day. According to

another authority—Sir Charles Elliot—70 million people in India do not know what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied even once in the whole course of the year. The poverty of the people of India, thus considered by itself, is truly appalling. And if this state of things after a hundred years of your rule cannot claim that your principal aim in India had been the promotion of the interests of the Indian people.

It is sometimes said : “Why harp on these figures? We know them.” Our answer is that the figures are ever harping in the stomach of the people, and unless it continues, we cannot cease to draw attention to it. And Gokhale urged that “even this deplorable condition has been further deteriorating steadily.” We have no figures on malnutrition among the peasantry, but in Madras City, among an equally large urban population, we found that 78 per cent of our pupils were reported, after a medical inspection, as suffering from mal-nutrition. And the spare frame, the thinness of arms and legs, the pitifully weak grip on life, speak without words to the very eye. It needs an extraordinary lack of imagination not to suffer while these things are going on.

The peasants’ grievances are many and have been voiced year after year by this Congress. The Forest Laws, made by legislators inappreciative of the difficulties press hardly on them, and only in a small number of places have Forest Panchayats been established. In the few cases in which the experiment has been made, the results have been, in some cases marvellously good. The paucity of grazing grounds for their cattle, the lack of manure to feed their impoverished lands, the absence of fencing round forests, so that the cattle stray in when feeding, are impounded and to be redeemed, the fines and other punishments imposed for offences ill-understood, the want of wood for fuel, for tools, for repairs, the uncertain distribution of the available water, all these troubles are discussed in villages and in local Conferences. The Arbitration Act oppresses them, by leaving them defenceless against wild beasts and wild men. The union of Judicial and Executive functions makes justice often inaccessible, and always costly both in money and in time. Village officials naturally care more to please the Tahsildar and the Collector than the villagers to whom they are in no way responsible. And fears flourish, because there is always a third party to whom to resort, who may be flattered if his rank is high, bribed if it be low, whose favour can be secured in either case by cringing and by subservient tale-bearing. As regards the condition of agriculture in India, and the poverty of the agricultural population, the Bureaucracy is inefficient.

The application of Mr. Gokhale’s first test to handicrafts, to the strengthening of weak industries and the creation of new, to the care of old ways for traffic and of the coast transport shipping, to the protection of indigo and other industries

dyes against their German synthetic rivals, etc., would shew similar answers. We are suffering now from the supineness of the Bureaucracy as regards the development of the resources of the country, by its careless indifference to the usurping by Germans of some of those resources, and even now they are pursuing a similar policy of *laissez faire* towards Japanese enterprise, which, leaning on its own Government, is taking the place of Germany in shouldering Indians out of their own natural heritage.

In all prosperous countries crafts are found side by side with agriculture, and they lend each other mutual support. The extreme poverty of Ireland, and the loss of more than half its population by emigration, were the direct results of the destruction of its wool-industry by Great Britain, and the consequent throwing of the population entirely on the land for subsistence. A similar phenomenon has resulted here from a similar cause, but on a far more widespread scale. And here, a novel and portentous change for India, "a considerable landless class is developing, which involves economic danger," as the *Imperial Gazetteer* remarks, comparing the census returns of 1891 and 1901. "The ordinary agricultural labourers are employed on the land only during the busy seasons of the year, and in slack times a few are attracted to large trade-centres for temporary work." One recalls the influx into England of Irish labourers at harvest time. Professor Rādhākamal Mukerji has laid stress on the older conditions of village life; he says:

The village is still almost self-sufficing, and is in itself an economic unit. The village agriculturist grows all the food necessary for the inhabitants of the village. The smith makes the ploughshares for the cultivator, and the few iron utensils required for the household. He supplies these to the people, but does not get money in return. He is recompensed by mutual services from his fellow villagers. The potter supplies him with pots, the weaver with cloth, and the oilman with oil. From the cultivator each of these artisans receives his traditional share of grain. Thus almost all the economic transactions are carried on without the use of money. To the villagers money is only a store of value, not a medium of exchange. When they happen to be rich in money, they hoard it, either in coins or make ornaments made of gold and silver.

These conditions are changing in consequence of the pressure of poverty driving the villagers to the city, where they learn to substitute the competition of the town for the mutual helpfulness of the village. The difference of feeling, the change from trustfulness to suspicion, may be seen by visiting villages which are in the vicinity of a town and comparing their villagers with those who inhabit villages in purely rural areas. This economic and moral deterioration can only be checked by the re-establishment of a healthy and interesting village life, and this depends upon the re-establishment of the Panchayat as the unit of government, a question which I deal with presently. Village industries would then revive and an intercommunicating network would be formed

by Co-operative Societies. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar says in his pamphlet, *Co-operative Societies and Panchayats*:

The one method by which this evil [emigration to towns] can be arrested, and the economic and social standards of life of the rural people elevated is by the inauguration of healthy Panchayats in conjunction with the foundation of Co-operative institutions, which will have the effect of resuscitating village industries, and of creating organised social forces. The Indian village, when rightly reconstructed, would be an excellent foundation for well-developed co-operative industrial organisation.

Again:

The resuscitation of the village system has other bearings, not usually considered in connection with the general subject of the inauguration of the Panchayat system. One of the most important of these is the regeneration of the small industries of the land. Both in Europe and in India the decline of small industries has gone on *pari passu* with the decline of farming on a small scale. In countries like France agriculture has largely supported village industries, and small cultivators in that country have turned their attention to industry as a supplementary source of livelihood. The decline of village life in India is not only a political, but also an economic and industrial, problem. Whereas in Europe the cultural impulse has travelled from the city to the village, in India the reverse has been the case. The centre of social life in this country is the village, and not the town. Ours was essentially the cottage industry, and our artisans still work in their own huts, more or less out of touch with the commercial world. Throughout the world the tendency has been of late to lay considerable emphasis on distributive and industrial co-operation, based on a system of village industries and enterprise. Herein would be found the origins of the arts and crafts guilds and the garden cities, the idea underlying all these being to inaugurate a reign of Socialism and Co-operation, eradicating the entirely unequal distribution of wealth amongst producers and consumers. India has always been a country of small tenantry, and has thereby escaped many of the evils the western Nations have experienced owing to the concentration of wealth in a few hands. The communistic sense in our midst, and the fundamental tenets of our family life have checked such concentration of capital. This has been the cause for the non-development of factory industries on a large scale.

The need for these changes—to which England is returning, after full experience of the miseries of life in manufacturing towns—is pressing.

Addressing an English audience, G. K. Gokhale summed up the general state of India as follows:

Your average annual income has been estimated at about £42 per head. Ours, according to official estimates, is about £2 per head, and according to non-official estimates, only a little more than £1 per head. Your imports per head are about £13: ours about 5s. per head. The total deposits in your Postal Savings Bank amount to 148 million sterling, and you have in addition in the Trustees' Savings Banks about 52 million sterling. Our Postal Savings Bank deposits, with a population seven times as large as yours, are only about 7 million sterling, and even of this a little over one-tenth is held by Europeans. Your total paid-up capital of joint-stock companies is about 1,900 million sterling. Ours is not quite 26 million sterling and the greater part of this again is European. Four-fifths of our people are dependent upon agriculture, and agriculture has been for some time steadily deteriorating. Indian agriculturists are too poor, and are, moreover, too heavily indebted, to be able to apply any capital to land, and the result is that over the greater part of India agriculture is, as Sir James

Caird pointed out more than twenty-five years ago, only a process of exhaustion of the soil. The yield per acre is steadily diminishing, being now only about 8 to 9 bushels an acre against about 30 bushels here in England.

In all the matters which come under Gokhale's first test, the Bureaucracy has been and is inefficient.

(f) Give Indians a chance

All we say in the matter is: You have not succeeded in bringing education, health, prosperity, to the masses of the people. Is it not time to give Indians a chance of doing, for their own country, work similar to that which Japan and other Nations have done for theirs? Surely the claim is not unreasonable. If the Anglo-Indians say that the masses are their peculiar trust, and that the educated classes care not for them, but only for place and power, then we point to the Congress, to the speeches and the resolutions eloquent of their love and their knowledge. It is not their fault that they gaze on their country's poverty in helpless despair. Or let Mr. Justice Rahim answer:

As for the representation of the interests of the many scores of millions in India, if the claim be that they are better represented by European Officials than by educated Indian Officials or non-Officials, it is difficult to conceive how such reckless claim has come to be urged. The inability of English Officials to master the spoken languages of India, and their habits of life and modes of thought so completely divide them from the general population, that only an extremely limited few, possessed with extraordinary powers of insight, have ever been able to surmount the barriers. With the educated Indians, on the other hand, this knowledge is instinctive, and the view of religion and custom, so strong in the East, make their knowledge and sympathy more real than is to be seen in countries dominated by materialistic conceptions.

And it must be remembered that it is not lack of ability which has brought about bureaucratic inefficiency, for British traders and producers have done uncommonly well for themselves in India. But a Bureaucracy does not trouble itself about matters of this kind; the Russian Bureaucracy did not concern itself with the happiness of the Russian masses, but with their obedience and their paying of taxes. Bureaucracies are the same everywhere, and therefore it is the system we wage war upon, not the men; we do not want to substitute Indian bureaucrats for British bureaucrats; we want to abolish Bureaucracy, Government by Civil Servants.

(g) The other Tests applied

I need not delay over the second, third, and fourth tests, for the answers *sautent aux yeux*.

*The second test, Local Self-Government:* Under Lord Mayo (1869-72) some attempts were made at decentralisation, called by Keene "Home Rule," (1) and his policy was followed, on non-financial lines, as well by Lord Ripon, who tried to infuse into what Keene calls "the germs of Home Rule" "the breath of life". Now in 1917, an experimental and limited measure of local Home Rule is to be tried in Bengal. Though the Report of the Decentralisation Committee was published in 1909, we have not yet arrived at the

universal election of non-official Chairmen, and inefficient is the Bureaucracy under test.

*The third test, a Voice in the Council:* The part played by Indian elected members in the Legislative Council, Madras, was lately described by one of its members as "a farce". The Supreme Legislative Council was called by one of its members "a glorified debating Society". A table of resolutions proposed by Indian elected members, and passed or lost, was lately drawn up, and justified the caustic epithet. With regard to the Minto-Morley reforms, the Bureaucracy showed great efficiency in destroying the benefits intended by the Parliamentary Statute. But the third test shows that in giving Indians a Voice in the Councils the Bureaucracy was inefficient.

*The fourth test, the Admission of Indians to the Public Services:* this is shown, by the Report of the Commission, not to need any destructive criticism on the part of the Bureaucracy to prove their unwillingness to pass it, for the Report protects their privileged position.

We may add to Gokhale's tests one more which will be triumphantly passed, the success of the Bureaucracy in increasing the cost of administration. The estimates for the revenue of the present year stand at £86,199,600 sterling. The expenditure is reckoned at £85,572,100 sterling. The cost of administration stands at more than half the total revenue:

Civil Departments Salaries and Expenses	1,323,50
" Miscellaneous Charges ...	2,533,50
Military Services ...	2,115,00
	5,972,50

The reduction of the abnormal cost of government in India is of the most pressing nature, but it will never be done until we win Home Rule.

It will be seen that the Secondary Reasons for the demand for Home Rule are of the weightiest nature in themselves, and show the necessity for a change if India is to escape from a poverty which is liable to lead to National bankruptcy, as it has already led to a short life-period and a high death-rate, a wide-spread disease, and to a growing exhaustion of the soil. That some radical change must be brought about in the condition of our country, and that a Revolution of Hunger is to be expected, is a patent to all students of history, who know the poverty of the Indian masses to-day. The economic condition is due to many causes, but the inevitable lack of understanding by the Government is only one. A system of Government suitable to the West was forced on the East, destroying its own democratic and communal institutions and imposing bureaucratic methods which have enervated and deteriorated a people to whom they were alien and repellent. The result is not a matter for contentment, but for change. An inappropriate system

forced on an already highly civilised people was bound to fail. It has been rightly said that the poor only revolt, when the misery they are enduring is greater than the dangers of revolt. We need Home Rule to stop the daily suffering of our millions from the diminishing yield of the soil and the decay of village industries.

### ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

THESE fall under the heads of :

- (1) Reforms in the Government of India.
- (2) Reforms in the Governments of Provinces.
- (3) Reforms in Local Self-Government.

I prefer to take these in reverse order, building up the scheme of Government from its foundation, so that it may appear as a coherent whole, its parts interdependent. But I will say at the outset, to preclude mistake, that no scheme of Local Self-Government can succeed, unless the changes asked for last year in the Congress-League scheme are granted. That scheme is our irreducible minimum for Reforms worthy of the name. The long and futile tinkering at Local Self-Government since the days of Lord Ripon has conclusively proved that you can no more have a reality of Local Self-Government with unrepresentative Provincial Legislative Councils, or with such Councils as we have now—save in Bengal—with an official and nominated majority of members, with a complete British Executive, or a four to one British-majority-Executive, in which the solitary Indian member lends cover to objectionable measures which he is powerless to prevent, than you could have a healthy body with a diseased or undeveloped brain. Healthy brain, directing and controlling, must go with a healthy body. A foreign Executive, distrustful of Indian capacity to govern, busies itself more with official checks and controls than with the powers of the local membership. We are tired this grandmotherly legislation. If the Anglo-Indians think us babies—very well. Let the babies crawl by themselves, get up and try to walk and then tumble down, until by tumbles they learn equilibrium. If they learn to walk in leading strings they will always develop bow-legs. But let me remark, in passing, that wherever the Indians have been tried fairly, they have always succeeded. If the Governments of India and Great Britain, under official pressure, begin with Local Self-Government, and demand success in that department—or in any departments before they agree to the Congress-League scheme, at least—it means that they are marking time and are not making any real step forward. And let me say to the Governments of India and Britain, with all frankness and good-will, that India is demanding her Rights, and is not begging for concessions. It is for her to say with what she will

be satisfied—I appeal to the statement of the Premier of Great Britain in support of my assertion—and not for any other authority to say to her: “Thus far, and no further.” In this attitude, the Democracy of Great Britain, supports us; the Allies, fighting, as Mr. Asquith said, “for nothing short of freedom” support us; the great Republic of the United States of America supports us. Britain cannot deny her own traditions, contradict her own leading statesmen, and shame the free Commonwealth, of which she is the glorious Head, in the face of the world.

#### Unfit for Democracy?

We have been assured time after time, even to weariness, that India is totally unfit for Democratic institutions, having always lived under absolute rule of sorts. But that is not the opinion of historians, based on facts, though it may be the opinion of the Indian Civil Service, based on prejudices. As well said, in the Address presented to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu by the Home Rule Leagues :

The argument that Democracy is foreign to India cannot be alleged by any well-informed person. Maine and other historians recognise the fact that Democratic Institutions are essentially Aryan, and spread from India to Europe with the immigration of Aryan peoples; Panchayats, the “village republics,” had been the most stable institution of India, and only vanished during the last century under the pressure of the East India Company’s domination. They still exist within the castes, each caste forming within itself a thorough democracy, in which the same man may have as relations a prince and a peasant. Social rank does not depend so much on wealth and titles, as on learning and occupation. India is democratic in spirit, and in institutions left to her from the past and under her control in the present.

We have further the testimony of eminent Englishmen.

Sir John Lawrence said as long ago as 1864 :

The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs, and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people.

Sir Bartle Frere, in 1871, wrote :

Any one who has watched the working of Indian society will see that its genius is one to represent, not merely by election under Reform Acts, but represent generally by provisions, every class of the community, and when there is any difficulty respecting any matter to be laid before Government, it should be discussed among themselves. When there is any fellow-citizen to be rewarded or punished, there is always a caste meeting, and this is an expression, it seems to me, of the genius of the people, as it was of the old Saxons, to gather together in assemblies of different types to vote by tribes or hundreds.

As Mr. Chisholm Anstey said :

We are apt to forget in this country, when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government (if I may use such a term), that the East is the parent of Municipalities. Local Self-Government, in

the widest acceptance of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities, and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network, so that you have ready-made to your hand the frame-work of a great system of representation.

I might multiply these quotations, but to what end? The wise know them; the other-wise will not accept them, pipe we never so forcefully.

With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to consider the

#### REFORMS IN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

##### (a) General Principles

We have three extending areas to consider: (1) the Village; (2) the Group of Villages, each separated from others by larger or smaller spaces of land: this group plus the intervening lands forms the second area of control; (3) the District, consisting of conterminous Taluqs or Tahsils, for the most part, but also of tracts of waste and forest lands, owned by the Government.

There is an interesting reminiscence in this of the ancient grouping; there was a headman over a village; a higher grade of headman over a group of ten villages; a higher yet over one hundred villages, and so on in multiples of ten. The ancients liked this regular ascending scale; they liked to see orderly theories.

In the village, the electorate should be its resident householders, whether owners or occupiers, "that which concerns all may be judged by all". This gives to the man or woman resident a voice in the country, but the direct power is limited to electing representatives to deal with the questions immediately affecting the voter, while indirectly he reaches up through the higher grades to the governing of the whole country. Later, as education and experience spread, universal suffrage will elect our Legislative Councils, supreme and local. We take a leaf from England's book, and do not at first give the direct suffrage to the labourers except for the local Council. We make the electorate for the Provincial Legislative Council conterminous with the electorate of Taluk Boards.

We then distribute duties and powers on the principle that whatever belongs to the village exclusively should be controlled by the Village Council, while where a village institution is a fragment of a larger whole, the whole should be planned by the Council in the area of whose authority the whole exists, and the village fragment be assigned to it by the higher Council, to whom the Village Council should be responsible for its management of its own fragment. Let us take a School as illustration, and suppose that the educational scheme for the Province should be planned out by the Education

Department of the Provincial Government, and sanctioned by the Provincial Council, would include Provincial University or Universities, Colleges, High Schools, Secondary Schools, and Primary Schools, each with its manual training department of similar grade attached to it, and the having divisions for general manual training, and instruction of the workshops for those learning a trade as a means of livelihood. Every village would have its Elementary School, with the workshops needed in that particular village for trades practised therein; probably there would be a Secondary School in every Firka (Revenue Circle), and at least one High School in every Taluq, and in taluqs more than one; a College, or more, in each district, and one or more Universities for the Province. The Village Panchayat would be responsible for its own Elementary School, and for seeing that any promising boy or girl should be sent on to the Firka Secondary School. By this the School would be linked on to the larger life beyond the village, but its own control would be only over its own School, seeing that its share of the Provincial Education was carried out.

##### (b) The Panchayat

The existence of Village Communities in this form from time immemorial, with a considerable amount of organisation, is a matter of common knowledge, and in some parts of the country many inscriptions and records have been discovered which enable us to reconstruct the village life which continued in the south of India to the last century, and in Burma our own time. It received its deathblow by Sir Thomas Munro's individualistic raiyatwari scheme, and has been losing vitality since 1820. Mr. C. P. Rajwade, Aiyar, in the pamphlet before quoted, remarks:

In Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Book III, III 10 villagers are contemplated as constructing and maintaining in their corporate capacity works of public utility, and Professor Rhys Davids says: "Villagers are depicted in the Buddhist books as uniting all their capital to build mohallas and rest-houses, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and even pay out parks." (*Vide P. Bannerji's Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 293, note 2.) In Mysore, now many districts, the villagers give half a day's work, per week, for works of public utility, and the aggregate of the work done is astounding. Every village in the times of the *Arthashastra*, (4th century, B.C.) was an integral part of the general administrative system, and the village was the foundation of the government. The village government of those days participated in the administration of executive, but also of judicial functions, as will appear from the Ceylon inscriptions dealing with the administration of criminal suits of communal courts. To the credit of the Madras Government it must be said that, as against Sir T. Munro, who was a thorough individualist, the Madras Government desired in the early years of the last century to leave the authority of the village institutions unimpaired. But Sir Thomas Munro had his way, and the village communities lost their vitality.

The last Administration Report of Mysore (1881) says (p. 278) on "The Village Improvement Scheme,"

that "the villagers contributed Rs. 47,083 either in cash or in labour" during the year, the Government helping with grants amounting to Rs. 44,978. It says :

The village committees continued to evince much interest in this work, and many works of public utility, such as construction of school buildings, sinking wells and opening roads, clearing lantana and planting trees, were carried out through their exertions throughout the State.

Conferences of the village committees were held in four districts, "to take stock of the work done by the committees, to discuss the needs and requirements of the rural population, and to concert measures and draw up programmes for improving the economic and sanitary condition of the villages". The villagers fall in gladly with this communal work, which is on their traditional lines, going definite amounts of free labour, as stated above, to the improvement of their village. The old sense of communal obligation still survives, and the Mysore Government has wisely utilised and fostered it.

The characteristics of the village were : a group of houses surrounded by a large tract of land, arable and pasture ; each resident had a site free of rent for house, yard and garden. The establishment consisted of the officers and craftsmen, whose services were free to all, and who were given land, and various other rights to shares of produce, as remuneration. These consisted of a headman, an accountant, a watchman who also discharged some police functions, a boundary-man, a superintendent of tanks and watercourses, a pujari, a school master, an astrologer, a doctor, a musician, a poet, a dancing girl, a barber, a washerman, a cow-keeper, a potter, a smith and a carpenter. The village assembly governed, elected by "pot-tickets," and formed committees for branches of work ; the land was communal property and re-distributed from time to time. All householders appear to have had votes, but certain qualifications were laid down for eligibility for election as a Pancha (Councillor).

In the Report of the Decentralisation Committee appointed in 1907 by Edward VII—composed of five Englishmen and one Indian, Romesh Chandra Dutt—Part III, chap. xviii, § 694, we read :

Throughout the greater part of India the village constitutes the primary territorial unit of Government organisation, and from the villages are built up larger administrative entities.

The village is described from the *Gazetteer*, as above from older sources, with its "customary rules and its little staff of functionaries, artisans and traders". These villages, says the Report, "formerly possessed a large degree of local autonomy," but

This autonomy has now disappeared owing to the establishment of local civil and criminal courts, the present revenue and police organisation, the increase of communication, the growth of individualism, and the operation of the individual raiyatwari system which is extending even in the north of India. Nevertheless the village remains the first unit of administration, the

principal village functionaries—the headman, the accountant and the village watchman—are largely utilised and paid by Government, and there is still a certain amount of common village feeling and interests.

"Paid by Government"—those three words explain the killing of the old village system. The officials became the servants of a higher official—Sub-Tahsildar, Tahsildar, Deputy Collector or Collector—looking to him for favour and reward, not to the villagers. Thus they became village tyrants instead of village servants, and the Soul of the Village, the responsibility to one's brother-villagers, died.

It is admitted that the village communities have disintegrated under British administration, but the Report urges their re-establishment. It seems that some witness doubted "whether the people are sufficiently advanced in education and independence for any measure of village autonomy"; there speaks the spirit of the bureaucrat. The villages had been autonomous for thousands of years; invasions, changes of rule, lapse of time, had left them active; a century and a half of British rule had made them unfit, in this witness' mind, to manage their own affairs. Why this strange deterioration under a rule supposed to be uplifting? Because, on the Procrustes-bed of Bureaucracy, all that did not fit it had to be chopped off; the villagers had their own ways, which had served them well, but they were not the Collector's ways, so they were bad. Only Home Rule will re-integrate Village Government.

However, the Report desires the development of a Panchayat system, and says (§ 736) :

We consider that as Local Self-Government should commence in the villages with the establishment of Village Panchayats, so the next step should be the constitution of boards for areas of smaller size than a district. We desire therefore, to see sub-district boards universally established as the principal agencies of rural board associations.

Unhappily it adds to its recommendation a condition which, however well meant, would ensure its being still-born as a dead failure. For it is essential, says the Report, that the Panchayat movement

should be completely under the eye and hand of the district authorities. Supervision of affairs in the villages is, and should remain, one of the main functions of Tahsildars and Sub-divisional Officers.

Tie up a baby's arms and legs, and then leave it to teach itself to walk. If it does not succeed, blame the baby. The free baby will learn equilibrium through tumbles; the tied-up baby will become paralysed, and will never walk.

I hope that our Secretary of State will establish Panchayats by an Act based on the admirable one drawn up by the Hon. Mr. T. Rangachariar, that he tried vainly to introduce in the Madras Legislative Council. I have handed it to him with Mr. Rangachariar's careful and weighty monograph, and it may be that the rejected of Madras may be the accepted of Westminster. The Act will be found as Appendix III.



I may quote here, on the establishment of Panchayats, what I have said elsewhere :

Village needs would thus be made known, and if necessary they could be represented by the Panchayat to a higher authority. The village would become articulate through its Panchayat, and would no longer be the dumb and often driven creature which it is to-day. And it would be brought into touch with the larger life. The Panchayat might invite lecturers, organise discussions, arrange amusements, games, etc. All village life would be lifted to a higher level, widened and enriched by such organisation, and each village, further, forming one of a group of villages, would realise its unity with others, and thus become an organ of the larger corporate life.

The corresponding unit in the Towns to the Village in the country is the Ward, and the Ward Panchayat, like the Village one, should be elected by Household Suffrage. All towns with populations over 5,000 should have Ward Panchayats under control of the Municipality. Below that population, a Ward Panchayat would be the only municipal authority. These Ward Councils should take up the smaller town matters, now neglected, because the Municipality is too heavily burdened to attend to them properly. The Elementary Schools in each Ward should be in its charge; scavenging and sanitation generally, and care for the cleanliness of the streets and latrines; provision and superintendence of stands for hire vehicles and resting carts, with water-troughs for horses and cattle; the inspection of foodstuffs and prevention of adulteration; arbitration in small disputes as in France—where so much litigation is prevented by the appointment of a small tradesman as a local judge—inspection of workshops, wells, etc.—all these matters would naturally fall into the hands of the Ward Councils. Where there is a Municipality, that body would delegate to the Ward Council such matters as it thought fit.

#### (c) The Taluq or Tahsil Board

The next rung in the ladder of Local Self-Government will be the body intermediate between the Panchayat and the District Board; the name will vary in different Provinces. With us in Madras, the Presidency is divided into 26 Districts and these into 96 Taluqs; for general purposes these may, if preferred, be termed Sub-Districts, the name used in the Decentralisation Commission Report. But the Taluq, or its corresponding division outside Madras, should be the area controlled by the Board. The Report calls them Sub-District Boards, but itself suggests the better name of Taluq or Tahsil, taking these definite areas, already existing, as the area of control for the Boards intermediate between Panchayats and District Board. In each of these there should be a Board, its electorate consisting of the Panchayats in its area, and of all persons

now qualified to vote in Firkas; the electorate should be only a property one and may be amended. Panchas would thus have a second vote earned for public service, and would have their representatives on the Taluq Board, each representing own village's common interests. The Decentralisation Report strongly urges that these Boards should be an essential part of the scheme of Local Government, with adequate resources and a means of independence.

Their functions should include control of Secondary and High Schools, with Model Farms, Technical Institutes in urban areas, roads and their lighting where necessary, and irrigation channels outside villages, but with the Taluq, should be under their care. They should form Co-operative Societies, and where these are not established, they should hold machinery for hiring to villagers, establishments for storage of grain, dairy-farms, and stud-bands to be hired to villagers, breeding-stations, and generally they should organise industries where Co-operative Societies are not available.

#### (d) District Boards

Some of our political reformers would abolish District Boards. As at present advised, I propose to keep them.

This third grade upwards of Local Self-Government consists of the District Boards in the country and Municipalities in the larger towns. The electorate of the District Board should be the Taluq Board under its jurisdiction, and the general Taluq Board. This gives every Taluq Board member the same rights as in the case of Panchas, deserved by him.

Their functions would be to discharge all duties which affect the District as a whole, to supervise the Taluq Boards, and to decide appeals from Panchayats from a Taluq Board decision. They would assign the proportion of local taxes raised in each Taluq, and the grants to be made each from the grant received from the Provincial Council for the District. They would appoint necessary District Officers, such as the District Public Works Department, the District Sanitary Inspector, etc. Public roads, ways and waterways, would be under their control. The District Town would include the District Buildings, and the District Colleges for Agriculture, Industries, Crafts.

Even in Lord Ripon's time there was an organisation making for self-government. His remarks :

The germs of Home Rule already exist in the traditional institutions of the rural areas, often described, but in towns and cities never leading strings—local bodies regulating the vanity and the watch-and-ward of the streets.

Slow as progress has been, yet some progress has been made, and when these Boards are wholly elective, have elected chairmen, and real power over their own areas, the progress will be rapid. When Local Self-Government is established as an essential part of Home Rule, we shall see the Village Panchayat abolishing such degrading punishments as the stocks and flogging, and the villagers will be treated as free men, worthy of respect. Moreover agriculture will be taught at convenient centres, and model farms will be established both for training and experiment. Mysore has three such farms. The raiyats will be helped to improved methods of cultivation, suitable manures, and clean seed of the best kinds. The Forest Laws will be modified and the ancient fashion of rings of grazing ground will be provided for their cattle. In Mysore, "the major portions of the forests were thrown open," says the last Report, "for the grazing of cattle of all descriptions, except goats". Panchayats will supervise village schools suitable to the circumstances of the village, and training for adult raiyats willing to learn, while Taluq Boards will, as suggested, arrange for the provision of stud-bulls, grain-storage, agricultural machinery, etc., at reasonable terms for hire. Boys of bright intelligence will have the opportunity, through scholarships, of rising through Schools to College, or of good agricultural or industrial or craft training. These things are not dreams, but things done in other civilised countries, where the people have Home Rule. In the Educational Rescript of the Emperor of Japan, published in 1872, he directed that "henceforth Education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member". 24 years later, as we have seen, 92 per cent of the Japanese children of school-going age were in school. Why should not Indians do as well as Japanese, when here also Education is controlled by men of their own race? For it must not be forgotten that the educated class is rooted in their ancestral villages, and many relatives of Vakils are Raiyats. Despite the caste-system, there is much more blending of classes here than in the West, and the village and town populations are closely inter-related. The bright boy of a Raiyat's family becomes a Vakil, while the duller remains a Raiyat. This keen sympathy has been shown in the earnest but futile resolutions of the Congress from its second session onwards, and when we have Home Rule the resolutions will become operative.

(e) Local Government Board

The Local Government system must have at its head a Local Government Board, and its functions must be defined by an Act of the Provincial Legislative Council, on the lines of the Local Government Board Act of 1871, and the subsequent cognate

enactments, as proposed in the address of the Home Rule Leagues presented last month in Delhi. The remarks of the Royal Sanitary Commission in England in 1879 are very apposite here, though naturally spoken there, under the circumstances, of the need of a central sanitary officer :

One recognised and sufficiently powerful Minister, not to centralise administration, but, on the contrary, to set local life in motion—a real motive power, and an authority to be referred to for assistance and guidance by all the sanitary authorities for Local Government throughout the country

The Commissioners go on to describe the difficulties besetting Local Government in England, in words which recall the despairing remarks of our Municipal President in Madras :

Great is the *vis inertiae* to be overcome, the repugnance to self-taxation, the practical distrust of science; and the number of persons interested in offending against sanitary laws, even amongst those who must constitute chiefly the local authorities to enforce them.

These difficulties are alleged by Englishmen in India as reasons for withholding complete local Self-Government, and for making timid experiments that may continue for centuries. Englishmen in England, face to face with similar difficulties, find in them only reasons for setting "local life in motion".

The object of the English Act was

to concentrate in one department of the Government the supervision of the laws relating to public health, the relief of the poor, and local Government.

The Board is composed of unpaid members who do nothing—the Lord President of the Council, all the Secretaries of State, the Lord Privy Seal and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a most august and reverend body. All the Board is empowered to do can be done, and is so done, by the President of the Board, who sits in Parliament, is generally a Cabinet Minister, and has a salary of £2,600 a year. He has a Permanent Secretary with five assistants, a Legal Adviser, a Chief Engineering Inspector, a Chief Medical Officer, with a staff of medical inspectors, architects and engineers, with the "ordinary staff of a Government Office". If, under our scheme of the Executive Council, an Indian member was the President of the Local Government, omitting the ornamental Board, it might suffice.

The "growth of the Functions of the Board" is indicated by its absorption of the duties of the Poor Law Commissioners and Poor Law Board by 41 Acts of Parliament between 1835 and 1870, and by 154 Acts between 1871 and 1907, both inclusive. The legal authority states that the lists are probably "not exhaustive". They suffice. On Regulations, Orders, Bye-Laws, *et hoc genus omne*, I do not dare to enter. The President of our Board, when appointed, may study them.

## PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AND

## SUPREME LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Scheme of the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League has been before the country for a year, and has been presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. It is printed as Appendix IV. I do not discuss it here, as it has been fully discussed, from all points of view, during the past two years. We have all worked for it, honestly and zealously, confining ourselves within its four corners. We have now to remember that we have the duty of helping the country to work under it during the transitional period for which it was designed—differing in this from the *Memo-randum of the Nineteen*, which was suggested as containing Post-War Reforms. The Congress-League scheme was, professedly, a bridge, leading from the present condition to that considered in the third part of last year's Congress Resolution :

That, in the Reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

That now becomes our Objective. We must continue to agitate for the Congress Scheme until it is passed. The final scheme will, of course, include the place of the Indian States under completed Self-Government, and of the representation of India in the Central Imperial Council, or Parliament, or Cabinet—questions which were deliberately left out of our transitional scheme.

On the general question of the work of the Provincial Legislative Councils, I may perhaps say that it will be their duty to make grants to District Boards which, in turn, will distribute them to the Taluq and Village Boards in their area. No interference with their use of grants should be made, save where palpable irregularities justify the interference of the Local Government President. Freedom to work and to blunder—to a non-ruinous extent—must be allowed if Local Self-Government is to become a reality.

Another large portion of their work will be the fostering of industries in their Provinces, and the helping of the District Boards by experiments of general utility, so as to prevent useless reduplications of research. Thus, in Mysore, experiments were carried on with respect to ragi, paddy, sugar-cane, ground-nut, areca-nut and cotton, useful to the whole State. Demonstrations in the use of machinery and apparatus—churns, ploughs, seed drills, etc.—would probably be conducted best by Provincial officers. So also demonstrations of improved methods of jaggery-making, of preservation of cattle-manure, that, in Mysore, were attended by

gatherings of raiyats. Lectures and publications in vernacular literature were also carried on. New kinds of ploughs were introduced, and held by a hire-purchase system. Mineral and chemical analyses, mycological and entomological researches are best carried on at a well-equipped Central Institute. But these divisions will be settled by experiment. It is good to read that, in Mysore, the raiyats welcomed the instruction offered.

I mention these facts in order to show something of what is being done by Indians for Indians in an Indian State. It may reassure the timid and make them feel that Home Rule implies prosperity, and not catastrophe.

## SELF-GOVERNMENT BY COMPARTMENTS

Lately, a new scheme has been suggested in the country, after careful preliminary notice in the Anglo-Indian Press. It is known as "Self-Government by compartments". It is eagerly watched by the Europeans, and creates a dual set of authorities, one on the present lines, in which all real power is vested; the other a shadowy wraith, of a responsible Ministry and a Council, sitting, ruling a department, or departments, of Government, to be given more power if the Government approves of them, to be given power if the real Government disapproves of them. The real Government can ensure the success of the scheme by giving them such important departments as Education and Sanitation, which need very heavy outlay, and restricting the funds allowed to them with contumely as incompetent. The lesson of the Government should be laid to heart, for it has had a trial of a similar system, in which it has played the part of the real Government in the scheme. Or the real Government may reserve the unimportant departments on which it is a "prentice hands, so that failure may not matter, the country will be indifferent to them. There are many other objections to the scheme, however, the giving of a stone for bread. But the chief objection is that it keeps India entirely subordinate, while she demands Self-Government. It breeds a distrust of Indian capacity, characterised by Bureaucracy, and makes the preposterous claim of India is to remain in leading-strings by the Nation claims the right to rule her, and give her crumbs of freedom from its own well-spread net. It is the negation of every principle which our Allies have proclaimed in the face of the world. The Congress has asked for a definite list of Reforms; it can be satisfied with nothing less than the adoption of their essential principles.

may ask for more; we cannot ask for less. Nations go forward, not backward, in their struggle for Freedom.

#### DEPUTATION

If, as I suppose, you will send a Deputation to England, to discuss the actual Statute which will have to be passed in Parliament to give effect to the Scheme, you would do well to give them a mandate to stand unflinchingly by the essential principles of the scheme: the substantial majority in the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, and the power of the purse. If these are not granted, further discussion is useless; if they are, then we can discuss subsidiary matters.

If such a Deputation be sent, we must agitate strongly and steadily here in support of it. It is said that the battle of India is to be fought in Britain. In the sense that we must put our demands clearly before Britain, that is true. But the real-battle must be fought here, for Britain will naturally limit her legislation to that which India strongly demands. The great Labour party will help us with its votes, but we must show, by our attitude here, that we are determined to win our Freedom.

#### VERNACULAR

There is also much work to do in helping the people to prepare themselves for the new powers which will be placed in their hands. And for this, the work must be done in the vernaculars of each Province, as only by their mother-tongue can the heart and brain of the masses be reached.

Sooner or later, preferably sooner, Provinces will have to be re-delimited on a linguistic basis. The official languages, for a time, will have to be two, the Vernacular and English, as in some parts of Canada French and English are used. Only then will the masses be able to take their full share in public life.

#### THE NEW OBJECTIVE

What is to be our new Objective?

We have to formulate a scheme to carry out the third part of the Congress Resolution; we can do this only so far as British India is concerned: (i) The place of the Indian States will have to be considered by the United Kingdom in the light of the treaties existing between the Paramount Power and the Princes. So far as British India is concerned, we have to see that no arrangement is come to affecting it, which admits to any voice in our Councils any Prince who retains absolute power within his own State, or who is not ruling on lines similar to those adopted within British India. Nor must any have

authority in British India, which is not also possessed over his State by British India. (ii) With regard to any Central Imperial Authority, whatever it may be, India must have a position commensurate with her importance in the Empire, otherwise she will be ruled by the United Kingdom and the Dominions in all Imperial matters, and may be turned into a plantation, with her industrial development strangled. If, as is suggested, the War Council should evolve into the Central Authority, then its powers should be confined to questions of Imperial Defence. No other question should be introduced without being referred to the Self-Governing Nations composing the Empire, and, if one Nation objects to it, the question must remain excluded. Each such Nation must exercise complete control over its own tariff and

Dominions now exercise

The visit to India of the Indian Secretary of S makes it necessary that we should formulate definitely what we demand, for it is now clear legislation is on the anvil, and we must take Mr Be Law's advice to strike while the iron is hot

With regard to our new objective, I suggest we should ask the British Government to pass a during 1918, establishing Self-Government in India lines resembling those of the Commonwealth Australia, the act to come into force at a date to laid down therein, preferably 1923, at the latest the intermediate five or ten years being occupied the transference of the Government from British Indian hands, maintaining the British tie as in Dominions.

The transference may be made in stages, beginning with some such scheme as that of the Congo League, with its widened electorate, the essence being: half the Executive Councils elected by elected members of the legislatures, control of purse, and a substantial majority in the Supreme Provincial Councils.

We asked first for representation, which supposed to give influence: this has proved to be nothing. Now we ask for a partnership in governing of India: the Governments have the power of dissolution and the veto; the people have power of the purse: that is the second stage partnership of equals—co-operation. The third will be that of complete Home Rule, to come automatically in 1923, or 1928.

appointment of its Privy Councillors, the Governor-General and the Governors, while exercising that right with the approval of the Secretary of State for India, shall also call upon a member of the Legislative Council to form a Ministry, the members of which shall be sworn in as Privy Councillors, but who shall be removable by a vote of want of confidence passed in the Legislature.

(v) The Indian Army and Navy, for Indian Defence, shall be under the control of the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown, and shall be supported out of the revenues of India. The contribution of India to Imperial Defence shall be adjusted between the Government of India and the War Council.

(vi) The formation, regulation, and encouragement of the Mercantile Marine shall vest in the Government of India, subject to such international regulations as may be agreed upon after the War.

With regard to iii, iv, and v, I may add:

(iii) Much discussion will arise on this proposal, but it is submitted that the great variety of interests of opinions in India of themselves render hasty legislation—the checking of which is supposed to be the function of a second Chamber—unlikely. The power of the Governor to dissolve the Council, inherent in the prerogative, with the power of veto, give sufficient check in a country so conservative as India.

(iv) In the United Kingdom, the Cabinet has no statutory basis. The King in Council theoretically rules, i.e., the King and his Privy Counsellors. But the ignorance of George II of the English language caused him to retire from the presidency of the Council, and the Cabinet grew up. Every member of the Cabinet is sworn in as a Privy Counsellor, and, when the Cabinet falls, its members remain Privy Counsellors; but only attend when summoned on great State occasions. We have to respect the rights of the Crown, while, at the same time, we create the responsibility of Ministers to the Legislature.

(v) "Indian Army" means an Army composed of Indians and officered by Indians, and does not include the British soldiers now employed here. Thus the country will be relieved of the relatively huge cost now incurred for the short service system, transport, depôts and recruiting in England, and the like. The Indian Army will be composed of Territorials and large Reserves.

#### THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

The year 1917 will ever remain memorable in Indian history for the sudden change in the policy of Great Britain towards India. The swiftness of the change is marvellous, almost incredible even to us who have striven for it. On August 20th, the first demand of last year's Congress was granted in substance though not in form; we asked for a Royal Proclamation, because that was the most gracious and impressive form and would have made our Emperor yet more popular; we have been given an announcement by the Cabinet of Great Britain, representing the Royal Will.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State is now among us, with other well-known public men from the United Kingdom. At this stage, nought can be said of the outcome of the visit. But I may rightly place on record the fact that free and full speech has been granted to India's representatives, with friendly and patient hearing from H. E. the Viceroy and from Mr. Montagu.

There has been no shutting out of opinion from the present bureaucratic system of Government. For Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, and myself were severally granted full freedom of speech and liberty was given to prominent members of the Congress and Muslim League. The Home Secretary and I were treated equally well.

The outcome is on the lap of the God. We have the strength of the vested interests against us, but we have faith in the Justice of God and the friendliness of all Britons who are true to the traditions of their country. The wish now is that labour in Great Britain to exchange fraternal greetings with the Congress and Home Rule Leagues in sign of the new Brotherhood between the British and Indian Democracies. The Home Rule League has appointed Mr. Baptista as their fraternal delegate to the Annual Labour Conference next month and Mr. Graham Pole comes to us from them. I trust that the Congress will also nominate its fraternal delegate to the Labour Conference, and welcome him to us, and that a link will thus be formed which will draw closer together the United Kingdom and India. For this, as well as for the course of the Secretary of State to India, will 1917 be a red-letter year.

#### OUR INTERNED BROTHERS

It is with deep sorrow that we deplore the non-release of the Muslim leaders, Mr. Iqbal and Shaukat Ali. For three and a half years they have been withdrawn from the world and condemned to the living death of internment. To high-spirited and devoted patriots, such a fate could be more galling and more exasperating than had they sinned deeply, the penalty of imprisonment and we, who believe in their innocence, cannot but at their feet the expression of our sympathy, admiration, and our assurance that their present drawn-out suffering will be transmuted into joy when the doors are thrown open to them and they receive the homage of the Nation.

#### OUR DIVISIONS

Many observers of Indian public life deplore the fissiparous tendency in our political life and reactionaries make this a reason for denying us constitutional liberty. Rightly considered, a reason for granting it, though to some extent it may seem paradoxical. But what is the remedy?

We have a Nation, composed of many tribes and opinions, trying to obtain liberty for itself, above it, a Government, holding all the reins of patronage, and able to crush by Executive action those whom it considers to be advocates of

changes. It tends to ally itself with any party or community which will help it to stave off legislation that diminishes its power. Its natural tendency is to watch for any sign of fission, and to ally itself with the weaker party to crush the stronger, as did the East India Company in its so-called "conquest of India". If there be no sign of fission, it may be possible to initiate one, on the lines of the despatch to Lord Lytton when Viceroy of India with regard to a desired War: "If there be no pretext, you must invent one." A similar policy was followed when Dadabhai Naoroji was sent to the British Parliament; Mr. Bhowmagri was set up against him, and succeeded in ousting a strong reformer and replacing him by a reactionary. No political situation could be more unhealthy.

First, take the two great communities of Hindus and Musalmans. They form two natural parties in the Nation, with the Christian Government above them as the third party for whose favour they compete. Hence Hindu-Musalman divisions, riots and the rest—which do not exist in Indian States, wherein the Ruler belongs to one of the two Great Religions, and has to rule men of both—and the constant efforts to dissolve the Entente Cordiale arrived at after long discussions at Calcutta and at Lucknow last year.

There will always be a number in each community who do not feel themselves bound by any agreement come to by the organised political bodies, containing the more reasonable and far-seeing of each community; and these again, motivated by bribe or threat, unofficial but made by officials, an unorganised and irresponsible crowd, will always lend recruits to support the Government, in the hope of obtaining special concessions for their sectional interests.

Hence, also, the anti-Brāhmaṇa movement, in the Madras Presidency, with its Association of a few hundred members and its three organs in the Press. It is now happily obscured by a real non-Brahmana Association, the Madras Presidency Association, led by the veteran leader, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, and already many thousands strong. The anti-Brāhmaṇa movement aims chiefly at places in the administration, and hopes to gain them more easily by praising the Government and opposing Home Rulers.

Hence, also, various similar movements in other Provinces, any stick being good enough for beating the Home Rule dog.

There is no need for anxiety about these divisions, which must always present kaleidoscopic changes, so long as India is under the rule of an irresponsible Government.

When the third, non-National party, no longer governs, the National parties will become grouped into healthy constituents of the body politic, distinguished by differences of principle. The use of power will create a sense of responsibility, and responsibility will bring about reasonable discipline.

We make too much of these transitory difficulties and quarrels, and give them an importance far beyond their real mischief-making power. They will assume their proper proportions when we have won Home Rule.

#### ISOLATED REFORMS

I do not propose to dwell on the isolated Reforms for which the Congress has asked during the whole period of its existence. A list of the more important ones will be found as Appendix V. The majority of Congressmen are tired of asking for the same thing over and over again, and feel that it is better to concentrate on Home Rule, since, once the people have power, they can get rid of bad laws and make good ones for themselves.

Indian Legislatures will take up the Congress Resolutions, and carry into law all that are applicable to the changed conditions. Free India will separate Executive from Judicial functions, and also separate Revenue Officers, Judiciary and Police, place the lower Judiciary under the High Court instead of the Executive, pass Education Acts, make trial by Jury general, protect her Emigrants and Indians settled abroad, deal with Land Settlement equitably, organise and develop Indian Industries, examine for her Services within her own borders, re-organise her administration so as to abolish racial inequalities, and establish Military Colleges to fit her youth for Emperor's Commissions.

The whole of the special legislation against constitutional agitation—as understood in Great Britain—penalising writing and speech which do not incite to crime nor transgress the law of libel, will be swept away, as unworthy of a civilised country. The Executive will be deprived of the power to punish without trial, to imprison, incarcerate, impoverish, deport, intern and extern, on secret police accusations and suspicions, and confidential reports of magistrates. No man shall thus suffer without knowing his offence, nor be deprived of liberty without open trial and full opportunity of defence. Peaceful political propaganda, processions, flags and meetings will not be interfered with by Magistrates and Police Officers. In fact, India will once more enjoy the ordinary elementary human rights secured by Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights.

Think of the joy of being a free man in a free country, the equal of other civilised men; of breathing in an India at last purged of the poisonous atmosphere of coercion; of knowing that liberty of person and safety of property cannot be touched save by open trial; that one cannot become a criminal unconsciously, and at the whim of an Executive, shrouded in darkness; that one enjoys the ordinary liberty of a civilised human being in a country ruled by law alone, uninterfered with by

arbitrary Executive Orders. That security can only come to us with Home Rule.

#### CONCLUSION

Fellow-Delegates: Pardon me that I have kept you so long. Only once in my life can I take this Congress Chair, and speak my heart out to you on this country that we love so well. Who can tell, in the present keen strife, if I shall be left free to speak to you again, to work with you as your leader, during this coming year of office. If I am allowed to carry on my work, then I crave your help during the coming year. You have trusted me enough to elect me as your President; trust me enough to work with me as your President, until I prove false to your trust. You cannot always agree with me, and I do not shrink from your criticism. I only ask you not to take for granted the truth of everything said against me by my enemies, for I cannot spare time to answer them. I cannot promise to please you always, but I can promise to strive my best to serve the Nation, as I judge of service. I cannot promise to agree with and to follow you always; the duty of a leader is to lead. While he should always consult his colleagues and listen to their advice, the final responsibility before the public must be his, and his, therefore, the final decision. A general should see further than his officers and his army, and cannot explain, while battles are going on, every move in a campaign; he is to be justified or condemned by his results. Up till now, knowing myself to be of this Nation only by love and service, not by birth, I have claimed no authority of leadership, but have only fought in the front of the battle and served as best I might. Now, by your election, I take the place which you have given, and will strive to fill it worthily.

Enough of myself. Let us think of it to allow  
To see India free, to see her hold her place  
among the Nations, to see her sons and daughters  
respected everywhere, to see her work of the  
mighty Past, engaged in building a glorious  
Future—is not this worth working for, worth  
suffering for, worth living and worth dying for?  
Is there any other land which evokes such  
for her spirituality, such admiration for her  
ature, such homage for her valour, as this  
Mother of Nations, from whose womb  
the races that now, in Europe and Asia,  
leading the world? And has any land since  
India has suffered, since her sword was  
Kurukshetra, and the peoples of Europe  
swept across her borders, laid waste to her  
discrowned her Kings. They came to conquer  
they remained to be absorbed. Atlas  
mingled peoples, the Divine Artificer  
Nation, compact not only of her own virtues  
of those her foes had brought to help  
ually eliminating the vices which they  
brought.

After a history of millennia, stretched  
out of the ken of mortal eyes; having lived  
not died with, the mighty civilisations  
having seen them rise and flourish and  
only their sepulchres remained, deep  
crust; having wrought, and triumphed,  
and having survived all changes  
who has been verily the Crucified  
now stands on this her Resurrection  
Immortal, the Glorious, the Ever-Young  
shall soon be seen, proud and self-reliant  
free, the radiant Splendour of Asia,  
and the Blessing of the World.

## APPENDIX I

### ON BUREAUCRACY

#### ON THE ARYA SAMAJ.

Here a religious development, essentially puritanical in principle, evinced like Puritanism in political matters, a sturdy independence but little to the taste of a bureaucratic Government. Accordingly, its followers were treated with contumely, the leaders deported or otherwise punished, their proceedings watched with the jealousy of an Abdul Hamid, and all and sundry were given to understand that, although the association remained within the letter of the law, that was the utmost that could be said in its favour. All loyal, all respectable men would do well to shun its contamination. Who can doubt that, had the attitude of the other religions towards authority been different to what it is, they too would have incurred the disfavour of Government? *Pp. 39, 40.*

#### ON THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Closely parallel with the action of the Government against the Arya Samāj is their attitude towards the Indian National Congress. The glittering torch which the one has held up in the domain of religion the other has kindled in the domain of politics. The National Congress has striven to arouse the people from their servile slumber, to incite them to think for themselves politically, to criticise the action or inaction of Government, to remedy abuses, and to originate reform. It is the first-fruits of Western leaven working in Oriental politics. In fact, it has done more: it has created politics in India. To a people accustomed from immemorial ages to timid submission to authority and dull acquiescence with injustice, it has preached the right of private judgment, the right of the citizen to stand forth to criticise the acts of the rulers and to propose remedies. Strange augury in a land of political lotus-eaters! From the rock had sprung forth green foliage, the lifeless desert was filled with the murmur of spring waters. Their discussions breathed a spirit of frank criticism, free from carping or cavilling, a criticism not untouched by a note of sincere and at times well-warranted indignation. It was a such a criticism as one constantly hears in England from moderate, not extreme, opponents of the party in power. The reforms they suggested, whether one concurs or not in their present expediency, were the reforms of reasonable and sane observers of Indian politics. Some, such as the reduction of the salt duty and the reversal of the "forward" policy on the Afghan frontier, the Government of India have since adopted with complete success. Others, as the separation of judicial and executive functions, have received their tardy benediction. The speeches and resolutions breathe a spirit of entire loyalty, a touching deference to the British Throne and the British Parliament.

With what welcome has the bureaucracy greeted this first dawn of national life? An enlightened Government would have actively encouraged a political movement so quick with inspiration and with love of ordered progress; a sagacious one would at least have extended to it its countenance. Not so the Indian bureaucracy. For the first time they beheld their monopoly of statecraft openly challenged; for the first time they heard questions of high policy discussed with the frankness and freedom that characterise a parliamentary debate. Sacrilegious hands had been laid on the ark of mysteries. When it became evident that the National Congress had come to stay, the amused contempt which its first meetings evoked gave place to

apprehension and some degree of alarm. The epithet "disloyalty," which under a bureaucracy has the same taint as the mediæval "heresy"—an epitome, in fact, of all that is irretrievably damnable—was freely bandied about with reference to its proceedings. It booted nothing that the resolutions passed were studiously loyal, that the form of discussion in no way transgressed the limits of the home Parliament, that more than one distinguished civilian was closely associated with its committees.

The mere fact that its members were in opposition, albeit a reasonable and proper opposition, to the Government of India overrode all pleas in its favour. From successive Viceroys, who viewed its proceedings with chilly disapproval, to the jackals of the semi-official press, who have never wearied in traducing and denouncing its proceedings, the National Congress has met from officialdom but "the welcome of war-knives." Bureaucracy has never hesitated to avow frankly its antipathy to everything connected with the Congress. It is undermining the whole structure of British rule, it fomented disaffection; better suppress its proceedings summarily than run the risk of an Armageddon in the future. For your bureaucrat, like your thorough-going militarist, suffers from a kind of political dyspepsia; he takes the dyspeptic's gloomy view of future eventualities. If a certain country builds an extra *Dreadnought*, that is a sure presage of a wanton and crushing invasion of our defenceless shores. If in India a native in all good faith denounces some rather obvious defect in our rule, he is clearly the instigator of disaffection, the fore-runner of another Indian Mutiny. These worthy people confuse mainly independence with disloyalty; they cannot conceive of natives except either as rebels or as timid sheep.

*Pp. 40—44*

#### FREE PRESS

The general attitude of a despotism towards the press is sufficiently obvious. It is one of dislike tinged by diffidence—the diffidence of the polished gentleman towards the small boy of whose actions he is uncertain and against whom he cannot with dignity retaliate. There is no medicine so distasteful as free criticism to your true despot, whether autocrat or bureaucrat; indeed, any light of publicity on his proceedings he deprecates as both unnecessary and indecorous. Like the mole, he loves to work in secret, only presenting the finished molehill for the public gaze. *Pp. 49, 50.*

Taken as a whole, the press of India remains an entity which the Government would very well do without if they could. To the end of the chapter the advantages they may derive from it—those it confers on the people—are to them relatively unimportant—will appear but a dross when weighed in the balance against the irritation and resentment, which its criticisms excite in the official mind. Biologists describe amongst the denizens of the deep a certain catfish, whose function in nature is to maintain in health the other fishes by constantly irritating and biting them and keeping them generally on the move. Well, the Indian press is the catfish of the Government of India. And if for that reason only, the latter cannot be expected greatly to love it. *Pp. 51, 52.*

#### DRUGGING WITH OPIUM.

We make bold to say that by the inculcation of submission, and the crushing of personal initiative, the bureaucracy is inflicting the gravest moral injury with which it is possible for one people to curse another. To deprive a people by conquest of its political independence is an evil, for it wounds its self-respect and enfeebles it



vitality, but it is an evil which material prosperity may to some extent counterbalance. But to maintain them after conquest in a state of perpetual tutelage, to treat them as children who shall have no will of their own, whose chief glory shall lie in servile obedience to commands—that is more than a wrong: it is a sin against humanity. It is as though after making a man captive we drugged him with opium in order to keep him quiet and obedient to orders.

For the stultification of national and personal ideals, which results from a despotic system, is nothing short of bedwaring inspiration in a nation's manhood. Nations advance, a people becomes great, not through docility and submissiveness, but by the free play of aspiration and thought, the liberty to advance along all lines of legitimate progress in a self-respecting independence of spirit. That is the very antithesis of the bureaucratic ideal. Efficiency of the machine, not the living organic growth of a people—progress, if such there be, on the initiative of the Government, not progress on the initiative of the people, such are its watchwords. *Pp 57, 58*

Here, then, lies the third defect of the Government of India. In addition to the necessary bane of a foreign domination and the gratuitous evils springing from its system of repression and tutelage, it is destitute of the human touch that can link the sympathies of the ruled to their rulers, and that atones for so many shortcomings. Can we wonder at the more emancipated spirits beating themselves against the granite walls of their prison with bitterness and despair, aye, sometimes with crime and dark iniquity? *P 60*

#### EDUCATION.

They (officials) seem to regard education as though it were some potent medicine, to be administered only by the most skilful physicians, and even then with caution and misgivings.

Clearly, then, officials in India have received no antecedent bias towards a general diffusion of education. And what little fervour may still remain in them—official routine and bureaucratic influences will probably chill to freezing point. To a bureaucrat, education, unless confined within the strictest limits, is of necessity odious. If you educate the proletariat, if you scatter schools broadcast, you prepare the ground for the dissemination of all kinds of disloyalty and upstart ideas, you make people critical and impatient of official control, and, worst of all, you teach them to be independent and to think for themselves, quite possibly on lines which officials regard as pernicious. All this is wrong, very wrong. Much better that they should retain their traditional docility to rulers, who alone know what is best for their subjects. Once the people really begin to think for themselves, it is impossible to say to what lengths they may be led, what crude and ill-advised ideas may begin to ferment. The office of Government, or at least of a bureaucratic Government, is to guide and control the people, and an educated people is notoriously impatient of control from without. Indeed, a certain school of officials openly ascribes the present unrest in India to education, which it deprecates as the prolific seed-bed of sedition and disloyalty. *Pp 67, 68*

The official attitude towards a Bill so moderate and so cautious as that of Mr Gokhale fully explains the halting progress made until quite recently in Indian education. *P 70*

To devote two-fifths of the total revenue to the Army meant the starving of education and the loss of millions of lives through quite preventable disease. It is no exaggeration to say that Russia has caused infinitely greater evil to India by the menace of war than she can ever achieve by war itself. *P. 79.*

#### BUREAUCRACY AND SACERDOTALISM

In its mental outlook a bureaucracy has much in common with a sacerdotal system. There is the same

aloofness from and sense of superiority to the common people, the same belief in their own omniscience, the same kindly benevolence to the laity if only they accept unquestioned the guidance of the elect. On the other hand, criticism inspires in each case an angry impatience, the people or laity being conceived of as ignorant, and shut off by an impassable barrier from the practice of the mysteries. It is not without cause that the Indian press stigmatises the Simla officials as an hierarchy. A bureaucratic polity is a sacerdotal polity. And the segregation during the large, sometimes the greater, part of the year of the various Governments in sequestered hilltops is closely analogous to the segregation of monks on sacred mountains. *Pp 86, 87*

#### PUBLIC OPINION À LA BUREAUCRAT

Hardly less wide of the mark was his [Lord Curzon's] appeal not the same occasion for a temperate and suggestive—not hostile—public opinion, which was to be representative of native sentiment generally and not of one section of it. Such a public opinion deferentially brought to the notice of Government—very much as a number of nice little boys with Eton jackets and white collars might make a suggestion to their headmaster—would, no doubt, be entirely consonant with the ideals of an enlightened bureaucrat. It would gently stimulate him without the introduction of any rude or jarring element. But, outside a comic opera, no more impossible dream was ever dreamed. *Pp 116, 117*

#### THE DECAY OF A NATION.

If you deprive a nation of all share in its own Government, in the forging of its destiny, you emasculate its energies, undermine its character, and scar, as with a hot iron, its self-respect. In the sphere of the intellect such a Government spells, not progress but decay. *P 160.*

As for the community itself, how can it possibly develop into a virile nation when persistently relegated to the position of little children divorced from all public affairs, divorced from all that makes for the soul of a people? Naturally in these circumstances manly virtues decay, docility and submission are all the vogue. It is not the freeman but the thrall whom the bureaucrat delights to honour. Every flash of independence will be snuffed out, only a nation of helots, brooding over past independence in a twilight of effete materialism, remains. Officials would no doubt deprecate such a consummation as the goal of their rule, but except in so far as that rule is modified and its aims amended by outside influences, it must undoubtedly produce that result. What avails it to prate of some vaguely remote self-government, when all the time every act is sapping the virility that alone can make Self-Government a success? *Pp 169, 170*

*Bureaucratic Government.* Bernard Houghton, late I. C. S.

## APPENDIX II

### LIFE IN VILLAGES

THE village life is being transformed. The city sends to the village Manchester cloths, and these are replacing the cloths woven by its weavers. Not only weavers, but also other artisans are losing their occupations and turning to agriculture. The cheap kerosene oil from Baku or New York threatens the oilman's existence. Brass and copper, which have been used for vessels from time immemorial, are threatened by cheap enamelled ironware imported from Europe. The village sugar-cane is also in danger on account of the competition from imported sugar, which is sold at a very low price. The manufacture of sugar from *gur* (molasses) tends to become unremunerative. The demand for *gur* also falls off when the price of sugar is brought down by competition. There is also *pari passu* a transformation of the tastes of the consumers. They abandon *gur* for crystal sugar. Home-woven cloths are now replaced by manufactured cloths for being too coarse. All local industries are attacked,

and many have been destroyed. Villages that for centuries followed customary practices are brought into contact with the world's market all on a sudden. For steamship and railways which have established the connection have been built in so short an interval as hardly to allow breathing time to the village which slumbered so long under the dominion of custom. Thus the sudden introduction of competition into an economic unit, which had from time immemorial followed custom, has wrought a mighty change.

New economic ideas have now begun to influence the minds of the villagers. In some of the villages the weavers and the blacksmiths have no doubt been compelled to leave their occupations on account of foreign competition, but more men are leaving their hereditary occupations of their own accord. All Brahmins are not priests now. Many, indeed, live according to the old ideals, and view the temptations and vices of the West in "silent, deep disdain." But a few of them who have felt the impulse of a new life have gone to the cities. Those who are intelligent become lawyers or government servants, and those who fail in the competition become petty clerks in railway or mercantile offices. The middle classes also leave their village and get scattered all over the country to earn a living. A writer<sup>1</sup> thus laments the decline of villages in Bengal. "In days long gone by our villages vied with each other as to which had the best Samskrit Pandits and the best *Tols*, which had the largest number of Durga Pujas and where the largest number of people of all castes were fed. The days are gone by when each village was proud of the products of its looms, of the hoes made its blacksmiths, its *Jatras*, and its *Baroari poojaks*. But where are those things now? Echo answers where? At day time you will find large and expensive buildings either wholly unoccupied or in the occupation of a few old women. Is there a pestilence in the village? Ah no! for you will see the houses and huts of the peasantry full to overcrowding. It is the houses of the middle-class Bhadrалоkes that are wholly or partly unoccupied and that gives to the whole village the look of a deserted village." Not only the middle class but the field labourers also have found their ancestral occupations not sufficiently paying and have felt the need of moving to other places. The Government public works, the factories, the tea, indigo, and coffee plantations, the mining operations, as well as the facilities for foreign emigration all tend to shake the old immobility of labour. As the *Imperial Gazetteer* writes "A comparison of census returns of 1891 and 1901 shows that a considerable landless class is developing which involves economic danger, because the increase has been most marked in districts where the rural population is already congested or in provinces in which there is a special liability to periodic famines. The ordinary agricultural labourers are employed on the land only during the busy seasons of the year and in slack times a few are attracted to large trade-centres for temporary work."<sup>2</sup> The attraction to towns and other trade centres increases as trade industries develop and this movement is accelerated in famine years. "Agricultural labourers migrate from Bengal and the Central Provinces to Assam, from the United Provinces to Bengal, from Madras and Chittagong to Burma, and outside India to Ceylon, Mauritius, South Africa, British Guiana, and other colonies in search of agricultural and other employment." In Madras, where emigration has been comparatively easy, there is almost a chronic scarcity of labour. In some districts the agricultural operations have been much impeded and at times endangered by the constant and sudden desertion of agricultural labourers, who, after entering into contract to cultivate the land on certain conditions, emigrate to foreign parts without the slightest notice to their employers.<sup>3</sup>

There are also other great far-reaching effects of this migration of labour. There has been engendered an aversion from the parent plough and the workshop. The demand for labour, again, has withdrawn the most valuable and potential elements from society—the flower of the agricultural population and rural artisans—so that not only agriculture but the handicrafts also suffer. The production of cereals has diminished a great deal, while the foreign exports have a continuous tendency to increase. The village market is no longer isolated, the demand for food in any part of India tends also to affect it. The population has increased and the standard of living has also become higher. The coolie emigrants or the middle class who return to the villages bring with them good savings and live on better fare than they were content with before they emigrated. The increased demand for food is, however, unaccompanied by an increased out-turn of agricultural produce. The price of food-stuffs has consequently risen by 32 per cent. The exodus to towns is still going on at an alarming rate, the towns still continue to offer easy employment to the middle classes and labourers, and ready markets for the products of the village artisans. They offer high material prospects to the ambitious, and in general provide all the mechanical facilities and pleasures of life to satisfy those whose standard of life has suddenly been raised. The landlords pass their lives amid the luxuries of the towns, and lose touch with their tenants. The sturdy cultivators become domestic servants, and the middle-class independent Bhadrалоkes become clerks in mercantile offices and Government establishments. Thus the villages are all deserted and left as wastes and become prey to malaria. Paternal estates, tanks and orchards which have been handed down from generation to generation are left to decay. The cattle gradually deteriorate in quality. Milk and dairy produce become gradually scarce, and pisciculture and horticulture become unknown. The movement of the population from the village to the city is in fact not only working a complete revolution in the habits and ideals of our people, but its economic consequences are far more serious than are ordinarily supposed. It has made our middle class helplessly subservient to employment and service, and has also killed the independence of our peasant proprietors. It has jeopardised our food supply, and is fraught with the gravest peril not only to our handicrafts but also to our national industry, agriculture.

*The Foundation of Indian Economics* Professor

Radhakamal Mukerji.

#### VILLAGE CO-OPERATION

A great deal of missionary work lies before us for the purpose of organising instruction in Co-operation and its benefits. It may be said that the Co-operative Movement, marvellous as its expansion has been in India, could have been led to even greater lengths if the existing village structure had been utilised for the purpose. The net result has been that, in India, Co-operation has progressed only in one direction, namely, Co-operative Credit. Agricultural Co-operation and purchase and sale on the Co-operative basis are still undeveloped. Where the village community has still some vitality, the village artisan, who often holds some plot of land free, as remuneration for services, is a producer to a community which is an association of consumers. Whether the village communities in their old vigour can be revived or not, the economic benefits can be resuscitated. The Village-Store Movement of the West, especially as developed in England, is of the utmost instructiveness to us. In England the Distributive Society is of greater significance than any other form of Co-operation. The little village shop develops into a store, which expands later on into several departments, and in course of time the increase in distributive trade leads to the establishment of departments for production. The sale of vegetables leads to their cultivation. The boot trade leads often to a boot factory. (Vide

<sup>1</sup> *The Bengalee*, August 3, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc cit.*, Vol III p. 2

<sup>3</sup> G. S. Iyer, *Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India*, p. 207.

*Report of the Proceedings of the Congress of International Co-operative Alliance, 1910*) "The wholesale societies in Great Britain have established factories and workshops of their own for making shoes, clothing, hardware, biscuits, jams and pickles. They have tried tea-planting in Ceylon, farming in Great Britain and Ireland." These societies, started with the idea of distribution, have transcended their original limits and have begun to provide their members with housing accommodation. Many Co-operative Unions put aside a proportion of their profits as a fund for education, and elect special committees, and thus do a great deal in training the masses in Co-operative modes of thought. The advantages of the system have already been indicated. They consist, firstly, in production becoming easier by the elimination of risk, which arises from the fact that the consumer and the producer are members of the same community. Large economies are effected, and the daily requisites are supplied at a cheap rate without the intervention of middlemen. Secondly, the habit of paying cash down is encouraged, and no higher school of Democracy can be conceived than a properly worked Co-operative Union of the kind indicated.

One of the main items in the programme for the renewal of village communities would be the establishment of village stores, the villagers contributing a small subscription and giving the amount to a committee of men elected by the inhabitants of the village. Stores for the sale of provisions and clothing at market prices, with cash payments, and based on the distribution of the profits amongst the villagers themselves in proportion to their purchases, would be an excellent departure. As the sales increase, the village industrial workers might be comprehended in this scheme, and gradually a distributive society will attract other departments of activity, such as the running of schools for agricultural or technical instruction, libraries and so forth. In the distant past, as observed by the Commission, decentralisation has been the spirit of the Indian social system, and the decentralisation indicated above would be an ideal line of progress. What has been done in Japan within 20 years, and by Sir Horace Plunket in Ireland in his own life-time, might surely be attempted in India and with equal chance of success. Such a system will also save India from some of the evil effects of the newer industrialism of the West, with its insistence on an endless division of labour and its forgetfulness of the general well-being. Specialisation in the West has overstepped its limits, and the problems of capital and labour have become wellnigh insoluble. The dehumanising of labour, on account of the inordinate centralisation of industry and its control by a few, ought to be avoided here, and except in certain inevitable cases, like mining, railway, and a few other industries, India ought not to divorce work on land from industrial work. In any future reorganisation of Indian industry, the Co-operative system must be the foundation by which each labourer will have a share both in the control and in the profits of the industries. Thus only will the opportunities be extended for general industrial progress, and the revival of the cottage industry which is being annihilated, can be sought for in no other manner. It will not only be difficult, but even were it easy it would not be expedient, to reproduce in India all the features and problems of western industrial life. The difference between city and village, between labourer and capitalist, between specialist and layman, between ethics and commercial morality, are differences which are the results of a too rigid adherence to western industrial ideals and habits of thought, and our traditions may be utilised for the purpose of fostering the growth of industry on thoroughly different lines. The small industry, for which India is eminently fitted by the simplicity of its social structure, has no place for any great economic friction and no place for class conflicts. In order that the village organisation may gradually evolve on the lines above indicated, Village Panchayats should not be placed under District or sub-District Boards, but be subject only to certain powers of veto and supervision given to Government; the Panchayats should

be free to develop independently, and on their own responsibility.

*Co-operation and Panchayats, with other Necessary Reforms* C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Fellow of the Madras University.

### APPENDIX III

#### MADRAS PANCHAYATS ACT I OF 1916

[The "Madras Parliament" is merely a Debating Society, working under Parliamentary Rules.]

*Preamble*—An Act for authorising the institution of Village Panchayats, and District Panchayats, in the Presidency of Madras and for amending laws in relation thereto and relating to Village Courts.

It being desirable to revive the ancient institution of Panchayats, with a view to diminish the expense of litigation and to render the principal and more intelligent inhabitants useful and self-reliant by employing them in the work of local government and of administering justice to their neighbours.

It is hereby enacted as follows.

*Preliminary*—Title—1. This Act may be called the Madras Panchayats Act I of 1916.

*Commencement*

2. It shall come into force at once.

3. It extends to the Presidency of Madras, provided that the Local Government may by notification exempt any district or portions of district, any area or portions of area, from the operation of this Act for a period of 5 years from the commencement of this Act, provided also that it shall be further competent to the Local Government to extend the period for a further period of 5 years if authorised therefor by a resolution in the Council for making laws and regulations.

3 (a). In this Act and the Rules thereunder unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context

(1) "Panchayat" means a Panchayat constituted under this Act, and includes a District Panchayat or a Village Panchayat.

Panjab Panchayat Act VI of 1912

(2) "Bench" means the members of a Panchayat nominated for the trial of a suit under this Act.

(3) "District Munsif" and "Subordinate Judge" shall mean a District Munsif and Subordinate Judge within the meaning of the Madras Civil Courts Act III of 1873.

(4) "Revenue Divisional Officer" means a Revenue Divisional Officer within the meaning of the standing orders of the Board of Revenue.

(5) "Registrar" includes an Assistant Registrar and means the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

(6) "Immovable property" does not include growing crops or grass.

(7) "Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act.

Panjab Panchayat Act VI of 1912

(8) "Village" includes a village so declared under this Act.

(9) "District Board" shall mean a District Board constituted under the provisions of Act V of 1884.

(10) "Public Road" means a road within the meaning of Act V of 1884. And "Street" includes public pathways.

(11) "Village Munsif" means a Village Munsif within the meaning of Madras Act I of 1889.

## CHAPTER I

## CONSTITUTION AND JURISDICTION

4 (a) The Local Government may from time to time by notification declare any village or villages or portion or portions thereof to be a village for the purposes of this Act.

s. 5 of Act V, 1884, Madras L. B. Act

(b) The Local Government shall by notification establish a Panchayat or Panchayats for each village or group of villages declared to be a village under the Act and fix the maximum number of members for each Panchayat provided however that there shall be a minimum of five members on each Panchayat

s. 3 of the Panjab Panchayat Act VI of 1912

5. The members of a Panchayat shall be appointed in accordance with the rules under this Act and shall hold office for a period of 3 years provided however that for the present not less than two-thirds of the members shall be appointed by election by the inhabitants. Inhabitants shall mean adult resident owners or occupiers of house or land in the village, and includes a member of a joint Hindu family, trustee, or guardian of infant householders or landowners

s. 4 of the Panjab Panchayat Act VI of 1912

The Village Munsif of each village shall *ex officio* be a member of the Panchayat

6 (a) The Local Government shall also by notification establish a District Panchayat or Panchayats for each District within the jurisdiction of a District Munsif under the Madras Civil Courts Act III of 1873 and fix the maximum number of members for each District Panchayat

s. 6 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884.

(b) Members of the District Panchayat shall be appointed in accordance with the rules under the Act and shall hold office for 3 years.

s. 4 (a) of the P. P. Act.

7. Subject to such rules as may be made from time to time, no person shall be made a member of a District Panchayat who has not been a resident of the district for one year or proprietor of land or local agent therein for such proprietor

8 (a) Every Village Panchayat shall appoint every year from among their own number such committees consisting of such number of persons as may be prescribed by the rules for the purpose of carrying out the administrative powers and duties vested in the Panchayat by this Act provided that no member shall be entitled to sit on more than two committees.

(b) The proceedings of every such committee shall be recorded in writing and submitted to the whole Panchayat at least once every year on a day to be specified by the rules hereunder.

9 Subject to such rules as may be framed no person shall be appointed a member of a Village Panchayat unless he be resident in such village for 3 years or be a proprietor or holder of land therein or his local agent, provided that such proprietor or local agent shall not be appointed unless he be a resident within one mile from some part of such village.

s. 7 of the Bengal Chaukidari Act of 1870.\*

10 Every Panchayat shall elect once a year their own chairman from among their own number any person not being the Village Munsif or Karnam, who shall be *ex officio* chairman of each committee and each committee shall elect every year a vice-chairman from among their own number any person not being a Village Munsif or Karnam of the village

s. 123 of the Madras L. B. Act of 1884.

11 The District Judge or Subordinate Judge having jurisdiction in their respective areas may by order in writing suspend or remove any member of a Panchayat, subject to such appeal if any as may be prescribed by the rules

s. 126 of the Madras L. B. Act of 1884.

12 The Local Government in each village or group of villages in which there is a Panchayat established shall provide an office for the transaction of its business.

s. 129 of the Madras L. B. Act of 1884.

13 If any person appointed to be a member of a Panchayat shall refuse to undertake the office or wilfully omit to perform the duties thereof and shall not within 30 days from the date of his appointment or from such omission show grounds to the satisfaction of the Subordinate Judge for such refusal or omission he shall be liable to a penalty which may extend to Rs 25 provided that every person who shall have paid any penalty under the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to be a member and shall not be liable to be reappointed a member of a Panchayat for the space of 3 years from the date of payment of such penalty

s. 8 of the Bengal Chaukidari Act of 1870

14. No member of a Panchayat after the expiry of his term of office shall be again appointed a member of a Panchayat without his consent till after the lapse of 3 years.

s. 9a B. C. A. of 1870.

15. Every Panchayat shall, subject to such rules as may from time to time be prescribed, have jurisdiction to exercise all or any of the functions and powers administrative or judicial hereby conferred upon it

## CHAPTER II

## ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS

16 To enable the Panchayat to carry out the purposes of this Act, all public roads, streets, drains, tanks, wells, minor irrigation sources, ferries, burning grounds and burial grounds, bathing ghats, village pasture grounds, playgrounds, minor reserves in forests, and other public places in the village shall be under the control and management of the Village Panchayat.

ss 49 50 M L B A, 1884

17 Every Panchayat shall in the village under its authority subject to such rules as may from time to time be prescribed and so far as the funds at its disposal permit have the control of and provide for the following matters:

ss 95 and 141 M L B A, 1884

(a) Lighting of public roads and streets,

(b) constructing, repairing, maintaining and cleansing the public roads, streets, bridges and other means of communication, tanks, wells, drains, minor irrigation channels, bathing ghats, burning grounds and burial grounds, and other public places in the village,

(c) constructing and repairing tanks and wells and such other works as will supply the inhabitants of the village with a sufficient supply of water for domestic use;

(d) the establishment and maintenance and repair of hospitals, dispensaries, choultries, markets, cattle pounds, slaughterhouses, latrines, water works and the payment of all charges connected with the objects for which such buildings have been constructed,

(e) the diffusion of primary education including elementary manual instruction, and with this view the construction and repair of school houses and workshops establishment and maintenance of schools either

wholly or partly by grants-in-aid, organisation, management and development of local industries,

(f) the maintenance and repairing of the minor irrigation channels and irrigation sources in the village,

(g) the maintenance, preservation and control of the minor rural forest reserves within the boundaries of the village concerned,

(h) the management and control of fairs and ferries;

(i) the establishment of village relief works in times of famine and scarcity and the distribution of famine relief funds and control of such village famine works,

(j) the distribution of agricultural loans and taccavi advances,

(k) the control and supervision of the village police and petty village servants,

(l) the preservation, maintenance and control of village sites, threshing floors and all other communal properties and the organisation and conduct of village charities and village trusts usually managed by village communities,

(m) all other measures of local public utility calculated to promote the safety and material advancement health comfort and convenience of the people generally;

(n) recommending for the guidance of the Revenue authorities claims for remission or suspension of Land Revenue,

(o) regulating the distribution of water within the village limits for purposes of irrigation

18. (a) Every Village Panchayat shall so far as may be, subject to the control of the District Board, have and exercise all the powers conferred on the Taluk Board and its president by sections 99, 100, 101, and 117 and also the powers under sections 129, 134, 143 (a) and 143 (b) of the Madras Compulsory Labour Act, Act V of 1884

- s. 99, closing and cleaning of wells.
- s. 100, directing owners to fill tanks, etc.
- s. 101, cleaning unwholesome buildings.
- s. 117, private latrines.
- s. 134, appointment of servants
- s. 143 (a), filthy buildings.
- s. 143 (b), wells in bad order

(b) The Chairman of the Village Panchayat shall have all the powers conferred on the head of a village under Madras Act I of 1858

19 The Panchayat may from time to time, subject to such general rules that may be framed by the Local Government in consultation with the District Board for carrying out of all or any of the purposes recited in the aforesaid sections also frame its own bye-laws not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act or rules made thereunder by the Local Government which after approval by the District Board shall be published in the District Gazette and in such other manner as it may deem expedient and thereupon such bye-laws shall have the force of law.

20 The Local Government in consultation with the several District Boards shall have power to frame rules and bye-laws of general applicability throughout the respective districts in the matter referred to in s. 17.

#### 21. Mode of transacting business

(a) The Panchayats or the committees thereof shall meet for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be prescribed by the rules,

(b) the Chairman or the Vice-chairman shall preside at each meeting and in his absence the members of the Panchayat shall elect one of their number present to preside thereat,

s. 130 (i) M L B Act 1884

(c) all questions coming before a meeting shall be decided by a majority and in the case of equality of

votes the Chairman or presiding member shall have a second or casting vote,

s. 130 (v) M L B A, 1884.

(d) no business shall be transacted unless at least one-third of the Panchayatdars be present not being less than 3 in number

s. 130 (m) M L B A, 1884

22 (a) Minutes of resolutions passed at each meeting shall be recorded in a book kept for the purpose and shall be signed by the Chairman or the member of the Panchayat who presides and shall be open to inspection by the inhabitants of the area of the Panchayat,

s. 131 M. L. B. A., 1884

(b) copies of the resolutions shall be sent by the Chairman in 3 days after the passing thereof to the President of the District Board.

s. 132 (i) and (n) M L B A, 1884.

23. (a) The resolutions of the Panchayat shall be carried out by the Chairman in whom the entire executive power is vested and who shall be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the purposes of this Act

(b) Any Chairman may with the previous consent of the Panchayat and on his own responsibility authorise any member of the Panchayat by order in writing to exercise for not more than four months any of the powers conferred on the Chairman by this Act and may cancel or modify such authority

24 (1) The Chairman may by order in writing require the Karnam of the village comprised within the Panchayat limits to furnish within a reasonable time any statement account or return in respect of such village for any of the purposes of this Act

s. 133 M L B A, 1884

(2) Any Karnam who, without reasonable cause disobeys such order shall, be liable on conviction by a magistrate to a fine of not more than Rs. 20

25 (1) If on complaint made or by other means the District Board has reason to consider that any Panchayat has passed any resolution order or proceeding in excess of its authority the President of the District Board may by notice in writing call upon the Panchayat to show cause to the satisfaction of the District Board within such time as shall be specified in the notice why such resolution, order or proceeding shall not be set aside

s. 135 (i) and (ii) M L B. A., 1884.

(2) If the Panchayat fails to show such cause within the time specified to the satisfaction of the District Board the District Board may by a resolution passed to that effect at a meeting and supported by not less than two-thirds of the members for the time being of such Board set aside the resolution, order or proceeding of such Panchayat and may pass such other orders as it may deem fit

26. (1) The District Board may from time to time employ such officers as may be required for the purpose of superintending and inspecting the working of Panchayats within the District or may authorise any officer of Government in that behalf.

s. 136 M L B A, 1884

(2) Any officer so employed or authorised may at any time, inspect any property, accounts, books and other documents under the control of the Panchayat and may record such remarks as he may deem necessary for the information of the Panchayat and shall submit a copy of such remarks for the consideration of the District Board.

27 (1) In cases of emergency the Revenue Officer in charge of the division of the District wherein any Panchayat is situated or any person duly authorised in that behalf by the Governor in Council may provide for the execution of any work or the doing of any act which

the Panchayat is empowered to execute or do and the immediate execution or the doing of which is, in his opinion necessary for the service or safety of the public and may direct that the expense of executing or doing the act shall be paid by the Panchayat

s 137 M. L. B. A., 1884

(2) If the expense be not so paid the Revenue Officer may make an order in writing directing the person having custody of the fund at the disposal of the Panchayat to pay the same in priority to any other charges against such fund except charges for the service of authorised loans or for the establishment. Such person shall, so far as the funds to the credit of the Panchayat admit be bound to comply with such order.

(3) A report of any action taken under this section shall at once be forwarded by such Revenue Officer or other person to the District Board and to the Panchayat

28. (1) If at any time it appears to the District Board that a Panchayat has made default in performing any duty imposed upon it by this Act the President may by an order in writing fix a period for the performance of such duty

s. 138 M. L. B. A., 1884.

(2) If the duty is not performed within the period so fixed, the District Board may appoint some person to perform it and may direct that the expense of performing it shall be paid within such time as he may fix to such person by the Panchayat.

(3) If the expense be not so paid the District Board may make an order in writing directing the person having custody of the fund at the disposal of the Panchayat to pay the same in priority to any other charges against such fund except charges for the service of authorised loans or for the establishment. Such person shall so far as the funds to the credit of the Panchayat admit be bound to comply with such order.

### CHAPTER III JUDICIAL CIVIL

29 All suits pending in the courts of the Village Munsif at the time of this Act coming into force shall be deemed to have been instituted under this Act and all decrees passed by Village Munsifs before such date may be executed under the provisions hereinafter contained relating to execution of decrees passed under this Act.

s 5 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

30. The Village Panchayat or any Bench thereof shall be deemed to be a Village Court within the meaning of the Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

31 All suits instituted before the Village Panchayat shall be tried by a Bench of 3 members therefor nominated as provided herein.

32 A list of persons forming the Village Panchayat shall be prepared by the Chairman of the Panchayat and shall be hung up in the office of the Panchayat and in such other places of public resort as the Panchayat may direct.

s. 9 (ii) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

33. (1) In any suit which may be instituted before the Panchayat of any village the plaintiff in his plaint or the defendant in his answer may nominate as a member of that Bench any person named in the list mentioned in s 32, provided that such person is not his servant dependant relative or tenant or otherwise personally interested in the result of the suit.

s 9 (iii) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

(2) When either party has nominated such a person the other party shall be required to nominate one also

s 9 (iv) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

After two clear days from the date of service of the requisition under this clause if it has not been complied with the Chairman shall select by casting lots from the list a person to serve on the Bench on behalf of the person so making default

34 The Chairman shall summon the two persons thus chosen to sit together with himself and if either party objects to his taking part in the Bench some other person mentioned in the list and agreed to by both parties or chosen by casting lots from among the persons in the list shall take the place of the Chairman

s. 9 (v) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889

35 (1) The Chairman or the member chosen in his behalf shall be the President of such Bench and shall regulate the procedure and issue all summonses notices and the like in his own name but the decree shall run in the name of all the three members of the Bench. If the members of the Bench cannot agree the opinion of the majority shall prevail.

s 9 (vi) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

(2) No person summoned under this section to serve on a Bench shall be bound to sit for more than 5 days in any month, provided that every such person shall be bound to attend the trial of any case which has been commenced before him until its completion.

s. 9 (vii) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

(3) Whoever being duly summoned under this section to serve on a Bench without reasonable excuse declines or omits to do so shall on proof of the default before the District Munsif of the locality be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs 20

s. 9 (viii) of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

36 (a) The Chairman of a Panchayat shall keep a register of suits preferred to the Panchayat and shall write the proceedings of the Court and it shall be the duty of the village Karnam if so required to assist in keeping such register and in writing the proceedings of the Court

s. 10 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889

(b) It shall be the duty of the village servants usually employed in carrying messages to serve all summons, notices, orders issued under this Act and to act under the orders of the Chairman in seizing and selling movables attached under this Act

s 11 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

(c) It shall be competent to the District Board, subject to the consent of the Governor in Council, to appoint any person in lieu of or in addition to the village Karnam or village servants mentioned in ss. 36 a and b.

s. 12 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

37. The following are the suits which shall be cognisable by Panchayat Courts, *viz*

(1) claims for money due on contract or for personal property or for the value of such property when the debt or demand does not exceed in amount or value the sum of Rs. 100 whether on balance of account or otherwise: provided that no action shall be brought in any such Court:

s. 13 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

(1) on a balance of a partnership account unless the balance shall have been struck by the parties or their agents;

(2) for a share or part of a share under an intestacy or for a legacy or part of a legacy under a will;

(3) by or against Government or public officers in their official capacity,

(4) by and against minors or persons of unsound mind.

38. With the written consent of both parties executed before the Court a Panchayat may hear and

determine suits of the nature described in s. 37 to any extent in value subject to such rules as may be prescribed by the Local Government from time to time as to Court fees and other fees.

s. 14 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

39. Subject to the provisions contained in s. 40 every suit brought under this Act shall be instituted in the Court of the Panchayat within the local limits of whose jurisdiction all the defendants at the time of the commencement of the suit reside or carry on business or personally work for gain and in cases where all the defendants do not so reside or carry on business or personally work for gain the suit shall be instituted in the place where the cause of action arose.

s. 15 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

Explanation :—A Panchayat Court shall be deemed to be the Court of the lowest grade for the purpose of s. 15 of C. P. C. of 1908.

40. No member of a Panchayat shall try any suit to which he is a party or in which he is personally interested or shall adjudicate upon any proceeding connected with or arising out of such suit.

s. 16 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

41. No Panchayat shall try any suit brought on a cause of action which has been heard and determined by a Court of competent jurisdiction in a former suit between the same parties or those under whom they claim.

s. 17 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

42. Every suit instituted in a Panchayat shall include the whole of the claim which the plaintiff is entitled to make in respect of the cause of action but he may relinquish any portion of his claim in order to bring the suit within the jurisdiction of such Court.

s. 18 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

If a plaintiff omit to sue in respect of or intentionally relinquish any portion of his claim he shall be precluded from bringing a fresh suit for or in respect of the portion so omitted or relinquished.

43. If in the decision of a suit cognisable by a Panchayat under sections 37 and 39, it becomes necessary to decide incidentally any matter in dispute between the parties to the suit concerning title to immovable property or the legal character of either of them or of those under whom they claim or the existence of any contract or obligation which if it had been the immediate subject-matter of the suit would not be cognisable under this Act by a Panchayat it shall be competent to the Panchayat to decide such question of title legal character contract or obligation as far as may be necessary for the determination of such suit but such decision shall not be evidence of such title legal character contract or obligation in any other action though between the same parties or their representatives.

44. The provisions of the Indian Limitation Act IX of 1908 shall apply to suits and applications under this Act.

s. 20 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

Provided that no suit or application shall be entertained by a Panchayat after the expiration of three years from the time when the right to sue or make the application first accrued.

45. The District Munsif may on the application of any of the parties withdraw any suit from a Village Court and try the suit himself as if it had been instituted in his Court or transfer it for trial to the District Panchayat within the limits of his jurisdiction provided that any party applying to have a suit withdrawn from a Panchayat shall before any order of transfer is made pay the amount of fees payable in respect thereof under the Court Fees Act.

s. 21 of Madras Village Courts Act I of 1889.

Provided also the District Munsif may himself cause, instead of transferring the suit to the District Panchayat, try the suit himself if in his opinion it involves the decision on intricate questions of law and refer it for trial to a Court competent to try the suit. Such Court shall be bound to try the suit if it has been instituted in that Court.

46. (a) The District Panchayat shall consist of an odd number never less than three and more than five and the majority shall decide. The District Panchayat shall sit at the station where the District Munsif Court is held.

s. 3 (i) of Reg. VII of 1816.

(b) The parties shall each nominate one member chosen from a list of persons appointed from time to time of this Act and published in accordance with the hereunder and the District Munsif shall preside over the rest of the Bench.

s. 3 (v) of Reg. VII of 1816.

(c) If either party object to any one of the members nominated to compose the District Panchayat and the District Munsif considers such objection well grounded he shall withdraw such member and shall appoint others chosen by casting lots from a list of persons maintained therefor.

s. 3 (v) of Reg. VII of 1816.

(d) The District Panchayat shall be summoned in the manner herein prescribed shall be served by written summons of the District Munsif.

s. 6. (i) of Reg. VII of 1816.

(e) The District Panchayat shall be empowered to proceed to determine such suits in accordance with the subject to the rules in the Village Courts Act.

47. In suits filed before the Village Court any stamp duty payable shall be half an anna if the amount up to Rs. 100 and for amounts more than Rs. 100 the duty payable shall be that fixed by the rules in force hereunder.

48. The provisions of chapters IV, V, VI and VII of the Village Courts Act shall so far as they are applicable to Panchayats.

c. iv. Institution and framing of suits.

Issue of summons to parties.

Adjournments and appearances.

c. v. Hearing, withdrawal or compromising of suits and of witnesses

c. vi. Decree and execution.

49. The District Munsif may on a petition presented within 60 days from the date of the decree or order of any Panchayat Court by any party aggrieved by such decree or order or by any party to such decree or order on the ground of corruption, partiality or misconduct of the Panchayat set aside such decree or order.

s. 73 M. V. C., 1839.

or of its having exercised the powers vested in it by law,

or otherwise acted illegally, or with material irregularity,

provided that no decree or order shall be set aside without notice to the parties pending disposal of any such petition and that the District Munsif may stay execution of the decree or order.

A petition under this section shall be filed after 60 days by the District Munsif and shall be set aside without notice to the parties pending disposal of any such petition and that the District Munsif shall refer all such petitions to the District Judge or District Judge in charge if the value exceeds Rs. 2,500.

50. The District Munsif shall assist the District Panchayat in the trial of suits by providing such necessary assistance for enforcing the attendance of witnesses and production of documents and in carrying

may be necessary and shall also subject to rules to be framed by the High Court incur all expenditure in that connection as part of the expenditure of his Court

51. Any person refusing to attend on a requisition by the District Munsif without proper cause shall be liable to a fine which may extend to Rs. 50.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

52. (a) All Civil Courts shall on the application of either party transfer all suits or claims arising out of disputes relating to religious or social or caste matters to District Panchayats and the District Panchayats shall try and determine such suits in the ordinary way.

(b) All Civil Courts shall have power on their own motion or on the application of either party to refer for trial and determination of suits or claims regarding lands or crops the validity of which claims may depend on the determination of disputed boundaries and also suits arising out of disputes respecting irrigation of land between private persons to District or Village Panchayats and the Village or District Panchayats shall have power to try and determine such suits in the same way as ordinary suits instituted therein or transferred thereto.

Madras Village Land D Regulation XII, 1916.

### CHAPTER IV

#### JUDICIAL: CRIMINAL

53. The Panchayat or a Bench thereof consisting of not less than three members shall in cases of trivial nature such as abusive language and inconsiderable assaults or affrays and petty thefts where the value of the property does not exceed Rs. 20,

a. 10 (xi) Regulation XI of 1916 (Police).  
a. 6 (c) Regulation IV of 1921.

have the power and authority on a verbal examination either to dismiss the parties or if the offence charged shall be found to have been committed by the persons accused of it and shall appear deserving of punishment to confine the offending parties in the village choultry for a time not exceeding 12 hours or impose a fine not exceeding Rs. 10.

54. The Heads of villages and Karnams shall be bound to assist the Panchayats in the performance of the duties imposed on the Panchayat by the previous section.

55. It shall be the duty of the Chairman of a Panchayat to arrange a Bench of the Panchayat for the disposal of complaints under s. 53 and the same procedure as in civil suits for the constitution of the court shall be followed.

### CHAPTER V

#### FINANCE

56. In each village, there shall be constituted a fund called the Village Fund, and unless otherwise appropriated under this Act there shall be placed at the credit thereof.

a. 56 of Madras Local Boards Act, 1884.

(1) The whole of the proceeds of house taxes now levied or hereafter to be levied in the village under Act 5 of 1884 and half of the proceeds of the taxes and fees now or hereafter to be levied by the District Board under this Act in that area.

(2) All fines and penalties levied under the provisions of this Act within the area of the village.

(3) Cattle pound receipts.

(4) All contributions received from the District Boards and Municipal Councils and all moneys which may be received by the Panchayat in trust for all or any of the purposes of this Act.

(5) All Court fees levied in suits filed before the Panchayat.

(6) Realizations from village pasture fees, village forests, fishery income, and ferries and fairs as by the rules to be framed by the Local Government the Panchayat may be empowered to collect.

(7) The incomes from charitable or other trust funds or village communal funds which may have been set apart for communal purposes of the village of which the Panchayat has the control and management

(8) All funds which may be collected in the area for education.

57. The village fund may be lodged in such Co-operative Society or other bank as the Chairman under the rules framed by the Governor in Council may be authorised to lodge in.

a. 56 (ii) of Madras Local Boards Act, 1884.

58. All expenses incurred by the Panchayat shall be paid out of such fund and all orders and cheques on that fund shall be signed by the chairman or in his absence by any person authorised by him in writing in that behalf and the bank in which such funds are lodged shall so far as the funds to the credit of the Panchayat admit pay all such orders and cheques so signed

a. 56 (ii) Madras Local Boards Act, 1884.

59. The Local Government shall provide the Village Panchayats with the necessary funds for the purpose of carrying out the duties imposed on the Panchayats under this Act and shall also render all reasonable assistance to the Panchayats to perform the duties by issuing suitable instructions to their officers in the various departments concerned and by delegating so far as may be such powers as they or their officers possess under Madras Act I of 1858 for compulsory labour and under Boards Standing Order No. 86 and under the Laws and Rules relating to forest ferries fairs and markets.

60. Every Panchayat shall furnish to the District Board at such time and manner as may be prescribed by the rules an estimate of their probable receipts during the next financial year and of the expenditure for the next ensuing year and of the time thereof and the District Board may at its meeting modify it or pass any orders it thinks fit.

### CHAPTER VI

#### MISCELLANEOUS

61. It shall be the duty of the Registrar and Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies as also of the Collector, and Revenue Divisional Officers in the course of their inspection to inspect the Village Panchayats and report on their working to the Local Government.

62. On the receipt of such report it shall be competent for the Local Government to exercise the powers contained in the proviso to s. 123 of the Madras Act of 1884.

63. The Governor in Council may from time to time with the approval of District Boards frame rules consistent with this Act

a. 144 Madras Local Boards Act V of 1884.

i. as to the qualification of electors and of candidates, the appointment as members of a Panchayat by election and the method and time of appointment of members of a Panchayat by election and in regard to the following matters;

(a) the division of the village or a part thereof into wards;

(b) the number of representatives for each ward;

(c) the provision if any if made for the special representation of any classes of the community;

(d) the registration of elections;



(e) the nomination of candidates at the time of election and the mode of recording votes;

(f) any other matters regarding the system of representation and of election.

ii. As to the qualifications of members of a Panchayat to be appointed chairman by election and the method and time of appointment of such chairman.

iii. As to matters connected with and mentioned in ss. 4 to 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 27, 46, 47, 50, 56-cl. vi, 57, 59 and 60.

iv. As to the formation of committees and powers of committees.

v. As to the preparation of plans and estimates for works which are to be partly or wholly constructed at the expense of Panchayats and as to authority by which and the conditions subject to which such plans and estimates may be sanctioned.

vi. As to the accounts to be kept and as to the manner in which such accounts shall be audited and published.

vii. As to the preparation of estimates of receipts and expenditure and the authority by whom and the condition subject to which such estimates may be sanctioned.

viii. As to the returns statements and reports to be submitted and the authorities if any through whom they ought to be submitted.

ix. As to the mode in which Government Officers are to advise and assist Panchayats in carrying out the purposes of this Act.

x. As to pay or any remuneration to the Chairman of a Panchayat and also as to travelling allowances to members and Chairman of District Panchayats.

xi. Generally for the guidance of Panchayats, their agents and officers of Government in all matters connected with the carrying out of this Act.

64. i. All schools and other institutions of an educational character all hospitals, dispensaries and other institutions maintained by Panchayats and all accounts, books, registers, returns, reports, statements, and other documents appertaining thereto shall at all times be open to the inspection of such officers of Government as the Governor in Council may from time to time appoint in that behalf.

s. 152 Madras Local Boards Act V of 1884.

ii. The Governor in Council may from time to time appoint such officers as may be required for the purpose of inspecting and superintending the operations of Panchayats or any particular Panchayat and also such secretaries, clerks and other servants as may be necessary for the exercise of the power vested in him by this Act and may assign to them such salaries if any as he shall think reasonable and the expense incurred by reason of such appointment shall be defrayed by the District Board.

65. The District Board may from time to time with the sanction of the Governor in Council make bye-laws and cancel or alter the same:

s. 152 A Madras Local Boards Act V of 1884.

i. for the general or special regulation or control of markets, slaughterhouses, cart-stands, burial and burning grounds and offensive trades and all matters connected with conservancy;

ii. for regulating the use of public roads and traffic thereon and for securing cleanliness, safety and order in respect of the same;

iii. for carrying out all the purposes of this Act, and may affix fines and penalties not exceeding Rs. 20 for the infringement of such bye-laws.

66. (1) No action shall be brought against any Panchayat or against any member or servant of such Panchayat or against any person acting under the directions of such Panchayat or of a member or servant

of such Panchayat on account of any error or reporting to be done in pursuance or execution or intended execution of this Act or in respect of any default in the execution of this Act unless such action is commenced within a period of one month next after notice in writing delivered or left either at the office of the Chairman at the place of abode of such member or servant or at the place of abode of the intended plaintiff; and unless it is proved to have been so delivered or left for the defendant

s. 156 Madras Local Boards Act V of 1884.

(2) If the Panchayat or member or servant to whom notice is given as provided by sub-section (1) before action is commenced tender amends to the plaintiff sufficient in the opinion of the Court such plaintiff shall not recover more than the amount tendered.

(3) No action such as is described in sub-section (1) shall lie unless the action for the recovery of movable property or for a declaration of title thereto is commenced within six months after the accrual of the cause of action.

(4) No action shall be brought against the Chairman of a Panchayat on account of any error or default in pursuance or execution or intended execution of this Act if such error or default made in good faith; but any such action shall not be maintainable by a Court unless it is proved to the satisfaction of the Court that the Chairman acted negligently or in bad faith.

## APPENDIX IV

A SCHEME of reforms passed by the National Congress on December 29th, 1916, and by The All-India Muslim League on December 31st, 1916.

### RESOLUTION

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of great civilisations and have shown great capacity for self-government and administration, and to the progress and public spirit made by them during the last century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and that the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be persuaded to issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the avowed policy of British Government to confer Self-Government on India in an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme passed by the All-India Congress Committee and the All-India Muslim League (detailed below).

(c) That in the reconstruction of India shall be lifted from the position of a dependent to that of an equal partner in the Empire of the British Governing Dominions.

## REFORM SCHEME

### I. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall be constituted, four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 25 in the major Provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the smaller Provinces.

3. The members of Councils shall be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Muhammadans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions

PANJAB—One-half of the elected Indian Members.		
UNITED PROVINCES—30 p. c.	"	"
BENGALE—40 p. c.	"	"
BIHAR—25 p. c.	"	"
CENTRAL PROVINCES—15 p. c.	"	"
MADRAS—15 p. c.	"	"
BOMBAY—One-third	"	"

Provided that no Muhammadan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7 (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

## II. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent Services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

## III. IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Muhammadans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Muhammadans elected by separate Muhammadan electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Muhammadan electorates

*Vide* proviso to section I, clause 4

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-Provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any

tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

#### IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a Province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

#### V. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

#### VI. INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of

Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with the

2. Indians should be placed on a footing equal in respect of status and rights of citizenship with the subjects of His Majesty the King through

#### VII. MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS

1. The military and naval services should be both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist

3. Executive Officers in India shall have powers entrusted to them, and the judicial powers of a Province shall be placed under the high

#### APPENDIX V

THE following list is taken from the resolutions presented by the All-India Congress Committee to the Secretary of State for India on November 1917.

20. *Unsatisfied demands.*—India's independence is not only sentimental. There are weighty reasons which make it imperative. The conditions reform has not much chance. The repeated proposals and protestations of the National Congress which after so many years have not materialised on account of the attitude of the Government of India and the various Local Governments:

- (1) Abolition of the India Council (1856)
- (2) Simultaneous examinations (1856)
- (3) Equitable apportionment of military expenditure between India and England (1856)
- (4) Extension of trial by jury (1856)
- (5) Finality to be given to the *Watan* system (1856)
- (6) Enabling accused persons, instead of being taken to the magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions (1856)
- (7) Separation of judicial from administrative functions (1856)
- (8) Volunteering among Indians (1856)
- (9) Establishment of military colleges for the training of Indians as officers (1856)
- (10) Amendment of the Arms Act (1857)
- (11) An active policy of technical and industrial development (1857)
- (12) Reform of the Land Revenue of the Government (1859)
- (13) *Re* Currency policy (1892)
- (14) Constitution of an independent Indian Police Service in India (1893)
- (15) Abolition of Exchange Commission (1893)
- (16) Abolition of Begar (forced labour) and (forced contributions of surplus produce)
- (17) Reduction of "Home Charges" (1893)
- (18) Repeal of the Cotton Excise (1893)
- (19) Recruitment of the higher judiciary to the bar (1894)
- (20) Condition of Indians in the Colonies (1894)
- (21) Repeal of the Government of India Act of 1858 and notification of 1891 relating to the Indian states (1894)

- (22) Measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness (1895).
- (23) Improvement in the conditions of third class railway travelling (1895).
- (24) Financial independence to Provinces (1896).
- (25) Reorganisation of the Educational Services so as to do justice to Indians (1896).
- (26) Repeal of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827, respectively (1897).
- (27) *Re* the Sedition Act of 1898 (1897).
- (28) *Re* the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Act of 1898 (1897).
- (29) *Re* the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899 (1898).
- (30) *Re* the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 (1899).
- (31) Enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India (1900).
- (32) Larger employment of Indians in the minor civil services (1900).
- (33) Restriction of the employment of Indians in the superior offices of the Public Works Department (1900).
- (34) Admission of Indians to the Police competitive examination in England and their larger employment in the higher ranks of the police (1901).
- (35) *Re* the increase of £786,000 per annum in the capitation charges borne by India on account of the British forces in this country (1902).
- (36) *Re* the recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission (1902).
- (37) *Re* the Indian Universities Act of 1904 (1903).
- (38) *Re* the Official Secrets Act of 1904 (1903).
- (39) Cost of the India Office and the salary of the Secretary of State (1904).
- (40) Revival of periodical parliamentary enquiries into Indian affairs (1905).
- (41) *Advance in Local Self-Government* (1905).
- (42) *Re* the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908 (1908).
- (43) *Re* the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 (1908).
- (44) Free and compulsory primary education (1908).
- (45) Reform of Legislative Councils Regulations (1909).
- (46) Enquiry into the system of administration of the North-West Frontier Province (1909).
- (47) To throw open the office of Law Member to advocates, vakils and attorneys (1910).
- (48) *Re* the Seditious Meetings Act (1910).
- (49) *Re* the Indian Press Act (1910).
- (50) Enquiry into the growth of public expenditure (1910).
- (51) Amnesty to political prisoners (1910).
- (52) Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill (1911).
- (53) Governor in Council for the United Provinces (1911).
- (54) Constitution of and Executive Council in the Punjab (1911).
- (55) Reform of the India Council (1913).
- (56) *Re* Indian students in England (1915).

Is further proof wanted of the reasonableness of the complaint that reform is very slow-footed in India, and that a more or less radical reconstitution of Government both on the Executive and the Legislative side is essential for speeding up the administration?

It must be remembered that the most important of these resolutions have been brought up year after year for 31 years.

**कौन्सिल ऑफ स्टेट व लेजिस्लेटिव्ह असेम्ब्ली हीं उपडग्याच्या प्रसंगी नामदार व्हाइसराय  
व हिज रॉयल हायनेस ड्यूक ऑफ कर्नॉट यांनी केलेली भाषणे.**

नामदार व्हाइसरॉय व हिज रॉयल हायनेस ड्यूक ऑफ कर्नॉट यांच्या स्वान्या आपआपला राजाजमा व कौन्सिल ऑफ स्टेट व लेजिस्लेटिव्ह असेम्ब्ली यांचे अध्यक्ष पासह येउन उच्चातनाबरील आपआपला स्थानी विरावमान झाल्या.

नामदार व्हाइसरॉय सहेब म्हणाले :—

कौन्सिल ऑफ स्टेट मधील नामदार सभासद व लेजिस्लेटिव्ह असेम्ब्ली मधील सभासद हो,

हिंदुस्थान सरकारतंबंधी आक्राच्या ६२ व्या कडनाअन्वये एका महत्वाच्या सनारंभाकरितां मी तुम्हांस येथे बोलावले आहे.

हिंदी कायदेकानूनंडळ जें आज नव्याने उपडावयाचें आहे तें सन १९१७ च्या आगस्ट महिन्यांतलें मलिक माआझम यांच्या सरकारने जाहीर केलेल्या धोरणाचें दृश्य फल आहे. तो जाहीरनामा म्हणजे हिंदुस्थानच्या अनेक प्रकारच्या माहितीने भरलेल्या इतिहासांतलें एक अत्यंत महत्वाचा उद्गार होय असे त्याचें वर्णन करण्यांत आले आहे, व तें त्याचें वर्णन यथार्थ आहे असे मला वाटतें. आपल्या माहित आहेच कीं इतिहास म्हणजे अखंड चालू राहणारें असे एक कथानक आहे. निसर्गांतलें व्यवहाराप्रमाणें मानवी व्यवहारंतही कोणत्याही गोष्टीस निर्विकल्प असा आरंभ होत नसतो. तसेंच, धोक्या वर्गीच्या काळावधीत प्रथित केलेलीं स्थित्यंतरे केवडीही मोठी असली तरी इतिहासकाराच्या दृष्टीला हीं स्थित्यंतरे म्हणजे अवांतर स्थित्यंतरांचे ते अवश्य घडून येणारे परिणामच असे वाटणान. मात्र एवढेंच कीं ते घडून येण्यापूर्वीच्या काळावधीत त्या त्या वेळीं त्यांचें निरकें आकलन केलें जात नाहीं अगर त्यांची तरी जागृत मनाला भासत नाहीं. ही गोष्ट जरी हिंदुस्थानांतलें ब्रिटिश अमलाच्या इतिहासातंबंधानें स्पष्टपणे दिसून येते तरी ती इतरत्र आढळून येत नाहीं. सन १९१२ च्या आक्रांत राज्यकारभाराच्या मानूळ पद्धतींवरून फारच निराळ्या प्रकारचा मोठा व संस्मरणीय असा एक फेरफार करण्यांत आला आहे. त्याच्या योगानें एक युग संपल्यासारखें होऊन दुसरें सुरू झाले आहे. याप्रमाणें जरी परिस्थिति आहे तरी हा आक्रांतलें विशेष घडामोडी घडवून आणणाऱ्या ठरावांचें बाज गेल्या इतकेंचत्तरांतलें बऱ्याच वर्षांपूर्वीं केलेल्या कित्येक कायद्यांमध्ये फेरले गेले होते व हिंदुस्थानांतलें ब्रिटिशांस आजपर्यंत जें मार्गदर्शक व प्रेरक असे धोरण होते तेंच धोरण व तोच हेतू सद्दरहू ठरावांच्या मुद्राशीं आहे.

ब्रिटिश धोरणाच्या स्वरूपाचें हें लक्षण ज्यांस पटणार नाहीं असे काहीं लोक आहेत. ब्रिटिश सरकारचा खरोखर हेतू सर्व सत्ता नेहमीं आपल्या हातीं ठेवणें हाच अमून राज्यकारभारांतलें कित्येक हक्क औदार्यबुद्धीनें दिलेले असले तरी लोकांच्या मागण्या अजिबात नाकारल्या असता तें नैरस्तुत्तरेतनाचें हेर्डल या कारणानुळेच केवळ सदरील सवउती देण्यांत आल्या आहेत व त्या देनांना दिरंगाई व अंधूकपणाच झालेला आहे अशी त्यांची समजूत आहे. हा आरोपस इतिहास पुष्टि देणार नाहीं अशी माझी खत्री आहे. एकदां माझी इतिहासकारास हिंदुस्थानांतलें ब्रिटिशांच्या कामगिरीचें परीक्षण करताना त्यांच्या दुष्कृत चुका व दोषस्थले आढळून येतील तरी त्यांच्या अमदानीच्या सर्व काळांत त्यांच्या मनधरुंजुडे नेहमीं कांहीं एक उच्च विशिष्ट हेतू होता ही गोष्ट त्यांच्या नजरेस आल्यावांचून राहणार नाहीं; व ब्रिटिशांनीं आपल्या शिरावर घेतलेल्या कार्याच्या अननुभूत स्वरूपाविषयीं व अवाढव्य व्यावृत्तिविषयीं तो त्यांचें कौतुकच करील. कारण प्राचीन रिसायतीवैकीं एकाही रिसायतीमध्ये या दिशेनें केव्हांही प्रयत्न झालेला नाहीं. त्या रिसायतीमध्ये स्वातंत्र्यदर्शक अशा कोणत्याही संस्था केव्हांही अस्तित्वांत नव्हत्या. रोमन साम्राज्यप्रधानीं एकाद्या रिसायतीच्या संस्थापकांस जें पूर्वीं स्वातंत्र्य भोगतां येत होते ते पुढें त्या रिसायतीची बड झाल्यानें नष्ट होई. स्थानिक राज्यकारभाराच्या निरनिराळ्या स्वतंत्रांत आणि राज्यांतलें अनेक जातीन व लेकांस जे कांहीं व्यक्तिविक्रम हक्क होते त्यांत बरेच फरक होते हें निर्विवाद आहे परंतु असे जरी निरनिराळे भेद होते तरी त्यांनुळे मध्यवर्ती सरकारच्या निरंकुश सत्तेवर त्यांचा कांहींच परिणाम होत नसे. परंतु ज्या वेळीं ब्रिटनमध्ये स्वातंत्र्य पूर्णपणें संस्थापित झाले त्या वेळीं ब्रिटन व हिंदुस्थान यांचो भावेक्यता

एकत्र निगडित झाली, आणि तेव्हापासून ब्रिटिश सरकारच्या संस्थांना ज्या सवलती व हक्क होते ते सवलती व हक्क हिंदुस्थानात देण्याचे ध्येय त्याने आपल्यापुढे एकसारखे ठेवले आहे. या गोष्टीच्या सत्यतेवर जर कोणात विशेष पुरावा पाहिजे असेल तर हिंदुस्थानांत शिक्षण कोणत्या माषेनून द्यावे या प्रश्नावरील हिंदुस्थानात मेकालेचे महत्वाचे निमित्त मी त्यान पाहाण्यात सांगेन. त्यांचे म्हणणे असे होत की, इंग्लंडात पाश्चिमात्य देशांना कल्पनांचा प्रसार करावयाचा तो इंग्लिश भाषेच्याच द्वारे करता येईल. हा त्यांच्या मताने योयाने पुढे नेटनेटी कार्य घडून आले. हिंदुस्थानच्या लोकांपुढे ठेवलेल्या आदर्शावरहुकुम त्यांची राखण प्रगति व्हावी अशी मागणी करण्यापर्यंत हिंदुस्थानांतील सुशिक्षित लोकांच्या मनाची तयारी होण्यास जी वेळ लागला कारणे झाली त्या सर्वांमधून त्यांचा इंग्लिश इतिहासकार व अध्यापक यांच्या वाङ्मयाची व विचारांची प्रगति परिचय हेच विशेष कारण झाले असे म्हटले पाहिजे. कारण आमच्या कवीपैकी एकाने म्हटलेच आहे की, “शेक्सपियरची भाषा बोलणाऱ्या आम्हा लोकांस स्वातंत्र्यसौख्य असलेच पाहिजे.”

अशा प्रकारच्या प्रयत्नांत इंग्लंडला ज्या अडचणी आल्या त्या खरोखर फारच मोठ्या होत्या. या वेळ विस्तार क्षेत्र, तेथील मोठी लोकसंख्या व निरनिराळ्या जाती, तसेच निरंकुश राजसत्तेमध्ये शतकां शतके गेल्यामुळे हाडीमाशी खिळून गेलेल्या संकपी व कल्पना कौरेसारख्या अडचणी एकाद्या हुतात्म्याने मुसद्दास सुद्धा अनुलंघनीय वाटल्या असत्या. इंग्लंड देशांत राजकीय प्रगति घडवून आणतेवेळी ज्या अडचणी यांचा अवलंब करण्यांत आला होता तेच उपाय ब्रिटिश मुसद्दासांनी सदरील अडचणी दूर करण्याच्या यत्नात योजले. इंग्लिश स्वराज्य हे एकाएकी झालेल्या क्रांतीचा अमर आकस्मिक स्थित्यंतराचा परिणाम नसून क्रमाने व अनेक शतकांच्या संतत प्रयत्नांनी त्याला हल्लीचे स्वरूप प्राप्त झाले आहे. ब्रिटिशांच्या हिंदुस्थानातील राजकीय उदरगतीचे उल्कान्त स्वरूप त्याच दिशेने आंखलेले आहे. ब्रिटिश सरकाराने जी नवीन घटना प्रस्तावित केली आहे ती कांही चकाकणारी अगर डोळे दिपविणारी नाही, पण ती बदल होण्यास अक्काशा ठेवत आहे. हळुहळु प्रगति करणे, जसजसे लोकांचे पाऊल पुढे पडेल त्या त्या मानाने दरेक वेळी या यत्नात योजना जुळत्या करून घेणे आणि आपल्यापूर्वी होऊन गेलेल्या अमळदारांनी घेतलेल्या पायावर सनसत्या राज्यकारभाराची इमनत उभारणे या गोष्टी करण्याने सरकाराचे समाधान होत आहे. म्हणजे इंग्लंडच्या यत्नात घाने म्हणतात त्याप्रमाणे ब्रिटिश सत्तेवरील हिंदुस्थानसंबंधाने म्हणता येईल की हिंदुस्थान हा एक अमळदार आहे की तेथे “स्वातंत्र्य उत्तरोत्तर व क्रमशः विस्तार पावत जात आहे.”

ब्रिटिश राज्यसत्तेखाली हिंदुस्थानांतील सनदशीर राजकीय प्रगतीच्या इतिहासाचे निरनिराळे भाग कांही भाग पडू शकतील. यापैकी पहिला भाग सन १८६१ च्या आक्टाने संपतो असे म्हणण्यास हरकत नाही. या काळावधीत ब्रिटिश सरकार, आपले मुख्य वाढविणे व त्यांची स्थिरस्थावर करणे, मोगल पातशाहीच्या ल्य झाल्यावर विकडे तिकडे जी बेबंदशाही माजली होती ती मोडून मुख्यवस्था स्थापन करणे, तसेच, त्या व तुल्या यांची मुधारणा करणे, फौजदारी कायदा सुसंघटित करणे, न्यायाधिकारी कोर्टे व मुक्ति सिव्हिल सर्व्हिस स्थापणे, यांसारख्या राज्यकारभारांतील मुधारणा घडवून आणण्यांत गुंतलेले असे सरकारच्या राज्यकारभारशकटाची रचना जुळवून ती सुसंघटित करणे ही मुख्य कामगिरी होती. या कामांत निरनिराळे इलाखे एका सर्वसाधारण पद्धतीखाली अंमलबजावणीत आले. दरम्यानच्या कांही मुलखावर अंमल अंमल मुरू करण्यांत आला. गव्हर्नर जनरल इन् कौन्सिल यांचा कायदेकानू करण्याचा, तसाच अंमलबजावणी करण्याचा अधिकार सर्व प्रांतांवर चालू करण्यांत येऊन त्यांचा अंमल सर्व रयतेवर चालू झाला. त्याच वेळी स्थानिक कौन्सिले निर्माण करून अगर त्यांची पुनर्रचना करून स्थानिक कामे व स्थानिक माहिती उपलब्ध होण्याची तरतूद करण्यांत आली. ज्या आक्टाने हा पहिला भाग लागू झाला त्यांत हिंदुस्थानांतील लोकांची देशाच्या राज्यकारभाराशी सांगड घालण्याचे तत्व स्पष्टपणे उघड करण्यांत आले. या आक्टाने निर्माण करण्यांत आलेली कौन्सिले अजूनही सरकारच्या कायदेकानू करण्याच्या कामाच्या हेत्या; तथापि लोकांचे म्हणणे ऐकून घेणे हा लोकांचा हक्क व कार्यकारी अमलदारांच्या केलेले कायदेकानू बरोबर आहेत हे प्रतिपादन करण्याचा त्यांचा हक्क हे दोन्ही मान्य करण्यांत आले. हिंदी लोकांना कायदेकानू करण्याच्या कामांत भाग देण्यांत आला.

दुसरा भाग सन १८९२ च्या आक्टाने पुरा झाला. दरम्यानच्या वर्षात विशेष महत्वाची व कामगिरी दिशांनी प्रगति झाली. युनिव्हर्सिटी स्थापन झाल्या; दुय्यम प्रतीच्या शिक्षणाचे पाऊल बरेच पुढे पुढे आणि मोठमोठ्या प्रांतांतून म्युनिसिपल व डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्डे निर्माण करण्यांत आले. हिंदी लोकांपैकी

लहान पण महत्वाच्या भागाने वनेझाही जास्त हक्कासाठी मागणी केली व ही त्यांची मागणी त्यागाची आहे असे सन १८९१ च्या आक्टाने ब्रिटिश सरकाराने कडू केले. या आक्टाने कौन्सिलाने बजेटा-संबंधाने प्रश्न विचारण्याचा व त्याविषयी वादविवाद करण्याचा हक्क देण्यांत आला; व त्याच काळ केवळ कायदेकानू करणाऱ्या अंगर सल्लामसलत देण्याच्या योग्यतेकडे जारत मंगडगाणे वाढे असे मान्य करण्यांत आले. या आक्टाने केलेला अर्थ महत्वाचा फेरफार म्हणता म्हणजे निवडणुकांचे तसे स्वीकारण्यांत आले हा होय. सर्व बिनसरकारी सभासद सरकारकडून नेमते जाण्याचे चाड होते हे मंत्र आहे परंतु ज्या अर्थी नेमणूक करणाऱ्या संस्थांच्या शिक्कारशी पुढे कमवरात स्वीकारण्यांत आल्या त्या अर्थी बिनसरकारी सभासदांवर बरेच सभासद लोकनिमुक्तच होणे ही गोष्ट पूर्णपणे स्थगित राहिली. कायदे-कानू करणाऱ्या कौन्सिलाने हिंदी लोक देण्याची आवश्यकता सन १८९१ च्या आक्टाने मान्य करण्यांत आलीच होती. सन १८९२ च्या आक्टाने त्याने आणखी पुढे मजल मारली. कौन्सिलामध्ये आणते प्रतिनिधी निवडून देण्याचा हिंदी लोकांस हक्क आहे हे सदरील आक्टाने तबतः मान्य करण्यांत आले.

तिसऱ्या भागाशी लार्ड नोले व लार्ड मिटो यांची नांवे कायमचीच सलग राहतील. सन १८९२ च्या सुधारणांचा अनुभव एकंदरीत चांगलाच ठरला. सरकारी कामकाजांत लोकांच्या पुढाऱ्यांच्या सहकार्यानुळे लोकांच्या स्वाभाविक व कायदेशीर महत्वाकांक्षेस व राज्यकारभाराच्या शिक्षणास मार्ग मिळाला. सन १८९२ च्या सुधारणा ज्या प्रेरणेने करण्यांत आल्या तिचे कार्य चाडूच होते व निळा रूतने-जपानी युद्धासारख्या इतर वाड गोष्टींनी जास्त जोर आला. आपली स्वतःची योग्यता काय आहे हे समजण्यास व त्यासंबंधाने आपल्यांत काय सामर्थ्य आहे याचा ठाव पहाण्यास व नागरिकांच्या हक्कांसंबंधाने ब्रिटिश लोकांच्या हक्कांवरोंवर आपल्यास किती हक्क सांगतां येईल हे अजमावण्यास कांहीं उच्च वर्गीतील लोकांस फट्टे लागले होते. एकंदरीत हिंदुस्थानचे राष्ट्रीय जागृतीचे कार्य चाडूच होते. राज्यकारभाराच्या गाढ्यास हे स्थित्यंतर जुळते होईल असे करावे हाच मोले-मिटो सुधारणा करण्याचा प्रांजल हेतु होता. लेजिस्लेटिव्ह कौन्सिले वित्तुत करण्यांत आली, स्थानिक कौन्सिलंत सरकारी सभासद निम्याडून जास्त होते त्यांची संख्या कमी करण्यांत आली; आणि निवडणुकांचे तसे कायदेशीरपणे स्विकारण्यांत आले. कौन्सिलच्या कामकाजाच्या स्वरूपांत सुद्धा केलेले फेरफार कमी महत्वाचे नव्हते. त्यांस बजेटावर भरपूर वादविवाद करण्याचा, त्यावर ठराव आणण्याचा व मत देण्याचा अधिकार देण्यांत आला होता. केवळ बजेटावरच ठराव आणण्याचा व मते देण्याचा अधिकार देण्यांत आला होता असे नसून सार्वजनिक महत्वाच्या सर्व बाबींवर तसे करण्याचा अधिकार देण्यांत आला होता. हे अधिकारदान देणारांची अशी अटकळ होती की, ह्या सुधारलेल्या घटनेच्या योगाने मंदसुधारणावादी या योजनेस अनुमोदन देतील व पुढे बरीच वर्षेपर्यंत अधिकारसमतेत दबड्यादबड करण्याचे प्रयोजन राहणार नाही. परंतु हे भविष्य खरे ठरले नाही. ते तसे होणार हे आम्हाला पुढे येत गेलेल्या अनुभवाच्या दृष्टीने हट्टी चांगले कळून आले. तामुरती स्थितिस्थापकता जी प्राप्त झाली होती ती तशीच फार दिवस टिकणार नाही अशा प्रकारची होती. प्रस्तुत सुधारणा मुरू करण्यास जी जोराची कारणे झाली त्यांची तीव्रता व क्षेत्र वित्तुत होत चालले होते. आपल्या देशाच्या राज्यकारभारांत आपला आणखी जास्त हात असावा अशी मुदिकित हिंदी लोकांचे मागणी उत्तरोत्तर फार निकडीची होऊ लागली. मोले-मिटो सुधारणांच्या कार्याक्षेत्रात ही मागणी समाधानकारक रीतीने पुरवितां येईना. प्रस्तुत घटनेच्या योगाने हिंदी लोकांस आपले विचार स्पष्टपणे उच्चारण्यास जास्त सवड प्राप्त झाली आहे; सरकारच्या धोरणावर व सरकारी राज्यकारभारावर दाव बसविण्यास त्यांस जास्त सत्ता मिळाली आहे. तयारी यांत जवाबदारीची जाणांवे कोठेच नव्हती. सर्व दावर्तीत अखेरचा निकाल करणे सरकारकडेच होते; व चर्चा करण्यापलीकडे कौन्सिलंत कांहींही अधिकार नव्हता. एकतंत्री संसदेचे तसे जरी बरेच कमी केलेले होते तरी ते अद्यापि चाडू होत. पाश्चिमात्य राज्यघटनाशास्त्राशी त्याचा एकजीव करण्याचा प्रयत्न करतांना अगदी नवीन दिशेने पुनर्रचना करण्याची आवश्यकता थोडा काळ लांबेल एवढेच.

१९१६-१७ साली अशा प्रकारची परिस्थिति माझ्या सरकारच्यापुढे उभी राहिली. शेवटी आम्ही ठरविले की, ब्रिटिशांच्या धोरणांत कांहीं नवीन उपक्रम केला पाहिजे, नवीन दिशेनिर्माण केला पाहिजे. मोले-मिटो सुधारणांच्या मार्गाने जास्त कांहीं करता येण्यास वाव नव्हता. त्या दिशेने जेवढा मार्ग आक्रमण्यासारखा होता तेवढी मजल मारण्यांत आली होती. राज्यकारभाराच्या पद्धतीत फक्त एकच फेरबदल करता येण्यासारखा होता व त्यामुळे न काढून टाकतां येण्यासारख्या कार्यकार्यामंडळाची कायदेकानूबाबत

व राज्यकारभाराबाबत कामें सर्वस्वी लोकनियुक्त कौन्सिलांच्या आधीन झाली असती व त्या परिणाम अखेरीस राज्यकारभाराचा सर्व गाडाच बंद पडला असता. कार्यकारीमंडळ देशास राज्यकारभारासंबंधानें जबाबदार होऊन बसले असतें; परंतु ती जबाबदारी पार पाडण्यासाठीं अवश्य पाण्या तजविजी करण्यास त्यांना सत्ता राहिली नसती. शेवटीं ज्या मार्गानें या प्रश्नाचा उलगडा आणविला होईल असें वाटलें त्याचें तात्त्विक स्वरूप मलिक माआझम यांच्या सरकारानें आमच्या मतैक्यानें १९१७ च्या आगष्ट महिन्यांत प्रसिद्ध केलेल्या जाहीरनाम्यांत सूचित केलें. जबाबदार राज्यपद्धति होईल व्हावी या हेतूनें स्वराज्याच्या संस्थांची हळूहळू वाढ करणें हें ध्येय सदरील जाहीरनाम्यांत नमूद करण्यांत आले होतें व त्याच दिशेनें मलिक माआझम यांच्या सरकारच्या धोरणाचा रोख राहावयाचा आहे. राज्यकारभाराचे कामांत हिंदुस्थानांतील लोकांचें उत्तरोत्तर जास्त अंश असतें अशी ब्रिटिश सरकारची पूर्वापेक्षा इच्छा होती. त्या अर्थानें एक अविच्छिन्न असा धागा सन १८६१ चा आक्ट व सन १९१७ च्या आगस्टाच्या जाहीरनामा यांस एकत्र जोडीत आहे. प्रस्तुत पृथकरणांत सदरील जाहीरनामा हा संबंध ब्रिटिश सरकारानांत चालू असलेल्या धोरणाचें अगदीं अलीकडील व संस्मरणीय असें मूर्त स्वरूप आहे. प्रमाण एवढे मोठे फरक आहेत कीं त्यांमुळे रूपांतही मोठा बदल झाला आहे. सदरील बदल हा यांपैकी कोणता होय. पूर्वीच्या सर्व सुधारणांमध्ये अजिबात नष्ट न झालेले अनियंत्रित राज्यसत्तेचें तत्व या प्रथमतःच अगदीं दूर सारण्यांत आलें; ब्रिटिश सरकार म्हणजे परोपकारप्रेरित स्वेच्छाचारी अशी राज्यसत्ता होय ह्या कल्पनेस शेवटची तिलांजलि देण्यांत आली व तिच्या बदला एक मार्गावर अधिकारीसंस्था अशी कल्पना रूढ करण्यांत आली. हिंदुस्थानचें पाऊल कालान्तरानें साम्राज्याच्या पूर्ण स्वराज्य प्राप्त होणाऱ्या मार्गाकडे वळविण्यासाठीं त्याला मदत करणें हेंच त्या संस्थेचें काम असा आहे. ही कार्यनिष्पत्ति होण्यास लागणाऱ्या कालावधीत देखरेख ठेवण्याचे कामीं कित्येक अधिकार जखरच पडेल तर मध्यें हात घालण्याचा अधिकार राखून ठेवण्यांत येईल. आणि सरकारनें दिलेलीं आदेश पूर्ण करण्यास शक्य तितक्या लौकर महत्त्वाचे उपाय करण्यांत येतील.

सन १९१९ च्या आक्टांत पुढें नवीच धोरणास कोणकोणत्या तऱ्हेनें विवक्षित मूर्त स्वरूप देणें झालें व तें धोरण काय आहे यासंबंधाचें तपशीलवार वर्णन मीं येथें करित नाहीं. त्याविषयीचे काही प्रसिद्ध झालेले आहेत त्यांत तें दिलेले आहे.

सन १९१६ च्या मे महिन्यांत राज्यपद्धतीच्या सुधारणेचा प्रश्न मी प्रथमतः हातीं घेतला. हिंदुस्थानांतील ब्रिटिश अंमल दाखिल करणारे धोरण जाहीर करण्याची आवश्यकता व तें ध्येय ठरवून घेण्याच्या दिशेनें करावयाच्या तजविजी मी मलिक माआझम यांच्या सरकाराच्या मनावर सदांच संबंध वर्षभर व सन १९१७ च्या पहिल्या सहामाहींत विविधविषयांचा जोराचा प्रयत्न केला. कारण त्या प्रकारचा जाहीरनामा साम्राज्याच्या अत्यन्त उच्च स्थानावरील अधिकाऱ्यांकडूनच बाहेर पडला त्याचा उत्तम परिणाम होईल अशाबद्दल मला पूर्ण खात्री होती. तो जाहीरनामा सन १९१७ च्या आगस्ट महिन्यांत बाहेर पडला व त्याप्रमाणें सर्व व्यवस्था पार पाडण्यास काय काय केलें असे याबद्दल मलिक माआझम यांच्या सरकाराकडे मजबूत शिफारस करण्यासाठीं मी बोलावल्यांतले सिक्रेटरी ऑफ स्टेट्स नोव्हेंबरमध्ये हिंदुस्थानांत आले. त्याप्रमाणें ते येथें आले नसते तर मी त्या सांगतां कीं हिंदुस्थान सरकार व मलिक माआझम यांचें सरकार यांचे दरम्यान या कामासंबंधी एकमेकांकडे खलिता पाठविण्याचें काम अद्याप चालू असतें. हें काम याहून जास्त मतैक्यानें व मोठ्या मनानें दुसऱ्या कोणाही दोघां मनुष्यांस करतां आलें नसतें. मतभेद असतील आणि अशा कामांत मतभेद कोठें व केव्हां नसतात ?

आम्ही काय काय योजना सुचविल्या व त्या सुचविण्याचीं आमचीं कारणें काय होती तीं हिंदुस्थानच्या राज्यपद्धतीतील सुधारणा यांवरील रिपोर्टांमध्ये नमूद केलेले आहे. त्यांसंबंधानें विस्तृत मते व कित्येक ठिकाणीं कडक रीतीनें टीका करण्यांत आली. कित्येक बाबतींत पार्लमेंटानें जरी फेरफार केले, तरी आमच्या योजनेतील विशेष गोष्ट म्हणजे जिला सर्वत्र हल्लीं द्विदल राज्यपद्धति मती ती सन १९१९ च्या आक्टाचा पाया आहे. आमच्या योजनेसंबंधानें अखेरचा अभिप्राय आपण पिढ्यांनीं द्यावयाचा आहे. तो काय दिला जाईल हें मी आतांच सांगत नाहीं. तथापि कित्येक संस्थांसंबंधानें आमचें काय म्हणणें आहे हें सांगण्याचा आम्हांस हक्क पोंचतो. सन १९१७ च्या ३ महिन्यांतील जाहीरनाम्यास शक्य तितकें पूर्ण मूर्त स्वरूप देण्याचा आमच्या योजनेत आम्ही प्रामाणिक



प्रयत्न केला आहे. त्यावेळीं जीं आम्हासनें देण्यांत आलीं तीं कमी करण्याचा अगर तीं निरर्थक करण्याचा येथें अगर इंग्लंडमध्ये बिलकूल प्रयत्न झालेला नाही. तसेंच, हिंदी लोकांचा या बाबतींत सद्दा आम्ही घेतला नाही असा आम्हांवर आरोप करतां यावयाचा नाही. प्रत्येक गोष्टींत आम्ही लोकांचें मत घेतलें आहे. हिंदी राज्यपद्धतीतील सुधारणांवरील रिपोर्टीतील सूचना शक्य तितक्या लवकर लोकांना कळविण्यांत आल्या होत्या. त्यांजवरील लोकांची टीका छान्छून सेक्रेटरी ऑफ स्टेट यांजकडे रवाना करण्यांत आली व जाइन्ट कमिटीपुढें आपआपले अभिप्राय मांडण्यास सर्वास पूर्ण संधि देण्यांत आली. चर्चेचा दरेक मुद्दा, दरेक सूचना, दरेक फेरफार यांचा तुलनात्मक रीतीनें पूर्ण विचार करण्यांत आला व त्याबद्दल पूर्ण ज्ञाननी करण्यांत आली. आम्ही जें महत्कार्य हातीं घेतलें होतें तें उत्तम रीतीनें शेवटास नेण्यास जें जें कांहीं आमच्या मते करावयास पाहिजे होतें त्यापैकीं करावयाचें असे आम्ही कांहीं ठेवले नाही. ब्रिटन व हिंदुस्थान यांस साजेल अशा प्रकारची जी देणगी आम्हास द्यावयाची होती ती देण्याचे कामीं आम्ही आपल्या बुद्धीप्रमाणें पराकाष्ठा केली आहे. हिंदुस्थानच्या कल्याणासाठीं मलिक माआझम राजेसाहेब व बादशाह यांनीं अनेक वेळां कळकळ दाखविली आहे व त्यांनींच यावेळींसुद्धां हिज रॉयल हायनेस ब्यूक ऑफ कॅनॉट यांस आपल्या वतीनें नवीन हिंदी कायदेमंडळें उघडण्यास इकडे पाठवून आमच्या चार वर्षांच्या उद्योगाच्या फलश्रुतीसंबंधानें आपला शिक्कामोर्तब केला आहे. ब्यूकसाहेब हे हिंदुस्थानास नवीन नाहीत. त्यांच्या आयुष्याचीं सुमारे पांचएक वर्षे त्यांनीं या देशांत घालविलीं आहेत; ते स्वतः इंडियन लेजिस्लेटिव्ह कौन्सिलचे सभासदही होते. हिंदी लोक व त्यांच्या गरजा त्यांच्या परिचयाच्या आहेत; व त्यांचे हिताविषयीची त्यांची कळकळ केव्हांही कमी झालेली नाही. मलिक माआझम राजेसाहेब व बादशाह यांचे प्रतिनिधी म्हणूनच केवळ नव्हे तर हिंदुस्थानचे ते जुने व सन्मान्य असे स्नेही म्हणून त्यांचा आपण आज सत्कार करित आहोंत.

हिज रॉयल हायनेस यांस कौन्सिल ऑफ स्टेट व लेजिस्लेटिव्ह असेम्ब्ली या दोन्ही सभा उघडण्याची मी आनंदानें विनंति करितों.

हिज रॉयल हायनेस ब्यूक ऑफ कॅनॉट म्हणाले—

नामदार व्हाइसराय व हिंदी कायदे मंडळांतील गृहस्थ हो, मलिक माआझम राजे साहेब व बादशाह यांचा संदेश मी आपला आहे तो संदेश येणेंप्रमाणे:—

मलिक माआझम राजेसाहेब व बादशाह यांचा हिंदी कायदेकानून करणाऱ्या मंडळांस संदेश.

पार्लमेंटाच्या ज्या आकटानें ब्रिटिश हिंदुस्थानासाठीं एक राज्यकारभारपद्धति स्थापन केली त्या आकटाला मी संमति दिल्यास एक वर्ष होऊन गेलें आहे. मध्यंतरींचा काल सदरील पद्धतीस आवश्यक अशा रचनेची पूर्तता करण्यांत गेला; त्या आकटानें संस्थापित झालेल्या कायदेकानून करणाऱ्या मंडळांचें प्रथम अधिवेशन तुम्ही आज पहात आहां. या मंगल प्रसंगीं आपलें व निरनिराळ्या प्रांतिक कौन्सिलांच्या सभासदांचें मी अभिनंदन करतो व तुमच्या व त्यांच्या प्रयत्नांस यत्न प्राप्त व्हावें अशी माझी मनःपूर्वक इच्छा असल्याचें मी कळवीत आहे.

आपल्या मातृदेशास स्वराज्य प्राप्त व्हावें असें कित्येक वर्षांसून कदाचित् कित्येक पिढ्यां देशभक्त व राजनिष्ठ अशा हिंदी लोकांस वाटत होतें. माझ्या साम्राज्यांतर्गत स्वराज्यास हिंदुस्थानांत आज श्रारंभ झाला असून माझ्या इतर वसाहती उपभोगीत असलेले स्वातंत्र्य मिळण्याच्या दिशेनें तुम्हांस फारच मोठें क्षेत्र व विपुल संधि प्राप्त झाली आहे.

नव्या कौन्सिलांतील लोकांचे पहिले प्रतिनिधी म्हणून तुम्हांवर विशेष मोठी जबाबदारी येऊन पडली आहे. कारण राज्यकारभारांत हा जो मोठा फेरफार करण्यांत आला तो शहाणपणाचा होता ह्याविषयी जगाची खात्री होणें हें तुम्हीं ज्याप्रमाणें कामकाज कराल व निर्णय ठरविण्यांत जी न्यायबुद्धि दाखवाल त्यावर अवलंबून आहे. राजकीय उलढालींत भय घेण्यास जे तुमचे देशवांधव अद्याप लायक झालेले नाहीत त्यांचें विस्मरण न होऊं देणें, त्यांच्या उन्नतीसाठीं झटणें व तुमच्याप्रमाणें त्यांच्याही हितसंबंधाची जोपासना करणें ह्या गोष्टीची जबाबदारीसुद्धां तुमच्यावर आहे.

तुमच्या कामाकडे मी सहानुभूतीनें निरंतर पहात राहीन; तसेंच, हिंदुस्थान व साम्राज्य यां-  
संबंधानें तुम्ही आपलें कर्तव्य निश्चयपूर्वक बजावाल असा मला पूर्ण भरंवसा आहे.

तुम्हाला ठाऊक आहेच की, आपली आशीर्वाचने व नवीन हिंदा कायदेकानूनमंडळे उधळीत अतिकारपत्र साम्राज्यांचे वारस युवराज यांजबरोबर देऊन त्यांना पाठविण्याचा मलिक माआझम यांचा भाग होता. कांही कारणामुळे त्यांचे येणे झाले नाही व मलिक माआझम यांच्या वतीने ही कामे करण्याविषयी त्यांची आज्ञा झाली. राजघराण्यांतील सर्वांत वडील माणूस असल्यामुळे व ज्या महाराणी व्हिक्टोरिया हिंदुस्थानावरील प्रेम व कळकळ लोकांच्या स्मरणांत सदैव वसत आहे त्यांचा ह्यात असलेला एकटा म्हणून त्यांनी माझी योजना केली ; कांहीं घरे मी हिंदुस्थानची सेवा केली असल्यामुळे व तेथील राजे व लोकांचे पुढारी यांपैकी पुष्कळांशी माझा स्नेहही असल्यामुळे हिंदुस्थानावर माझे स्वतःचें फारसे आहे. म्हणून या संस्मरणीय प्रसंगी तुमचें अभिनंदन करण्यास या ठिकाणी मला अत्यंत आनंद होत आहे.

दिल्ली शहरानें अनेक शतके पुष्कळ ऐतिहासिक दरबारांचा थाटमाट व समारंभ पाहिले आहेत. तुम्हांपैकी पुष्कळांस असे दैन समारंभ तरी पाहिल्याचें आढळत असेल. वीस वर्षे जेव्हां माझे बंधु बादशाह सालवे एडवर्ड यांचा राज्यारोहणसमारंभ झाला तेव्हां या दैर्घ्यसमारंभांत मी भाग घेतलेला होता. त्यानंतर नऊ वर्षांनी बादशाह पंचम जार्ज व महाराणी सहिष्णु हिंदुस्थानच्या संस्थानिकांचे व लोकांचे मोठ्या थाटमाटांत मुजरे घेतले त्यावेळचे त्यांचे तें वैभव चित्रीत पाहिले आहे. मी वर्णन केलेल्या या समारंभाची शोभा व दीप्ति आजच्या समारंभांत नसेल. राजनिष्ठेच्या अकृत्रिमपणाच्या बाबतींत तो त्यापेक्षां मुळीच कमी नाही. त्यानें एक नवीनच व निराळी दाखविली आहे. त्याच्यायोगानें एका मोठ्या देशांत राष्ट्रीय भावनेची जागृति झाल्याचें स्पष्ट होत आहे.

ह्या समारंभानें राज्यकारभारपद्धतीतील ज्या फेरफारास प्रारंभ होत आहे त्याच्याच सारखी जगागोष्ट माझ्या माहितीप्रमाणे तरी जगाच्या इतिहासांत कोठेही झालेली नाही. ज्या रीतीने सदरहू कार्ये करता येत आहे त्या रीतीसारखी रीति क्वचित्च आढळेल. राजकीय स्वातंत्र्य पुष्कळ वेळां दंगलीनें, आपसांतील यादवीने, शांतता व सार्वजनिक सुरक्षिता यांचा भंग होऊनच मिळविण्यांत येत असते. जास्त स्वातंत्र्याची वाढती इच्छा व तें उपभोगण्याची वाढती लायकी दुर्गोचर झाली झाली ते एका राष्ट्रानें दुसऱ्या राष्ट्राला देणगी म्हणून बहाल केले असें क्वचित्च घडून येतें. हिंदुस्थानास अशा देणगीचा आज लाभ होत आहे. या देणगीचा पहिला हप्ता मिळविण्याकरिता हिंदुस्थान त्या देणगीस लायक झाला आहे हे सिद्ध करून दाखविण्यासाठी तुम्हांपैकी ज्यांनी लोकां-अगर लोकस्फुटीस न मानतां परिश्रम केले व मातृभूमीच्या सेवेत आपणें बरेचसे आयुष्य खर्च केले त्या गृहस्थांचें मी मोठ्या प्रेमानें अभिनंदन करतो. आज जो मार्ग खुला करण्यांत आला आहे तो असा व तुमचे पश्चात् तुमचें कार्य पुढें चालविण्यास जे येतील ते विश्वासाने व निश्चयानें आक्रमिततांसां मला भरंवसा आहे.

ज्यावेळी हिंदुस्थान ब्रिटिश राज्याच्या ताब्यांतील मुख्य झाला त्यावेळी तो त्याच्या पालकांशी आला; ब्रिटननें या देशातील घडामोडी व आंतरराष्ट्रीय लढ्यांच्या गुंतागुंती यांपासून उद्धरण्या संकटांतून त्याचा खूब शक्तीनें बचाव केला. त्यावेळी प्रस्थापित असलेले सरकार जरी अशक्त होते तथापि तें मरहूम महाराणी व्हिक्टोरिया यांनी सन १८५८ च्या आपल्या प्रसिद्ध जाहिरनाम्यांत तत्वे घातली होती तीच तत्वे त्यास आधारभूत होती. सदरहू जाहिरनाम्याचें सारसर्वस्व उताऱ्यांत प्रथित झालेले आहे. “त्यांची आबादानी हेंच आमचें सामर्थ्य; त्यांचा संतोष हीच राज्याची मजबुती, व त्यांची कृतज्ञता हेंच आम्हांस उत्तम फळ होय.” या विस्तृत व शांतता यद्यपि दंगेधोपे होऊन कित्येक वेळां धोक्यांत आली व ती प्रस्थापित करण्यास शक्तीचा उपयोग करावा लागला तथापि मलिक माआझम यांच्या वतीने व त्यांच्या सहाय्य संमतीनें बोलतां हिंदुस्थानचा राज्यकारभार जबरदस्ती अगर दारा यांच्या मदतीवर चालणारा होता अगर चालवितां येईल ह्या कल्पनेचा मी मोठ्या जोरानें निषेध करतो. राज्यकारभार कित्येक प्रश्नांसंबंधानें कित्येक प्रसंगी प्रत्येक सरकारापुढें अशी परिस्थिति येऊन उभी राहिली तीस तोंड देण्यासाठी सामान्य नियम सोडून अन्य उपाय योजावे लागतात; तथापि अशा परिस्थितीत झाली तरी स्पष्ट व विवक्षित मर्यादा असतेच. इंग्लंडप्रमाणेंच हिंदुस्थानचे बाबतींत मी मर्यादा काळजीपूर्वक मलिक माआझम यांचें सरकार आजपर्यंत या मर्यादेस अनुसरून वागलें आहे तसेंच वागेल.

मानदार अक्षरसय आणि समेतल्याप्रकारे एकतंत्री राज्यसत्तेच्या तत्वाचा पूर्णपणे त्याम वर-  
ण्यांत आला आहे. ते तत्त्व कायम ठेवणे म्हणजे हिंदू जनच्या लोकांचा सत्ता हे ब्रिटिश सत्तेने भंग्य  
होय असे जे भरतूम महाराणी व्हिक्टोरिया यांनी जाहीर केले त्यात वेदांती जुळते हाणार नाही; तराच,  
हिंदी लोकांच्या कायदेशीर मागण्या, त्यांच्या महत्वाकांक्षा व राजकीय सुधारणेत त्यांनी केलेली प्रगति  
त्या सर्वांनी वित्तगत होणार आहे. यापुढे हिंदूस्थानाला आपला बोजा रक्ताच्या आधिकाधिक  
बाहावा लागेल. तो होजा वतीं हलवा नाही. राज्यकारभारान्या या नवीन पद्धतीने पोवना व  
जन्म मोठ्या धामधुमीच्या काळांत हाटेला आहे. दोन वर्षांपुढी जे युद्ध संपात हाटे त्यामुळे राष्ट्रांच्या  
हरीबदलपाखेरीज आणखी बरेच घडून आटे आहे. सुदरतू युद्धापासून जो मोधळ माजला आहे तो कांहीं  
काळाने शांत होईल. तथापि त्या आगीतून जग जें बाहेर पडले तें आता पूर्णसारखें राहिणें  
नाहीं. नव्या नव्या महत्वाकांक्षा उद्दिष्टित झाल्या आहेत, नवे नवे प्रश्न पुढे आटे आहेत व जुने जे  
होते ते फार निकडीवर आटे आहेत. युद्ध व त्याचे परिणाम यांच्या तडाख्यांतून हिंदुस्थान सुटले  
असल्यामुळे इतर देशांशी भविष्यकालाशी टक्कर देण्यास त्यास ज्यस्त सोपीचे शालें आहे. हिंदु-  
स्थानच्या भौतिक साधनांस धक्का पोचलेला नाही; त्याची सांपत्तिक घडी शाबूत असून देशा-  
तील उद्योगधंदे वाढण्याच्या मार्गावर आहेत. तथापि या जगद्व्यापी युद्धाच्या परिणामापासून तें  
अगदीच अलित राहिल असें नही. पृथ्वीवरील सर्व देश एकमेकांशी पूर्वी कधी नव्हते इतके निगडित  
झाले आहेत. सर्वत्र लोकांच्या मनांत खळबळ सुरू झाली असून त्या सर्वांस संशयवादाच्या  
ज्वराची संसर्गबाधा होत आहे. त्यांची लक्षणे हिंदुस्थानांत स्पष्ट दिसू लागली आहेत. त्याच्यापुढे हल्लीं  
जे इतर प्रश्न आहेत ते केवळ त्याच्या स्वतःविषयीचे आहेत. राजनीतीच्या मार्गातील अननुभव केव्हां  
केव्हां मोठा शस्त्रात्मक होतो. मतभेदांज्यांसां त्याचे अधिकार व जबाबदारी काय आहे हे शिकवावें  
लागेल. लहान व एका जातीच्या लोकांनी वसलेल्या देशांत ज्या अडचणीकडे दुर्लक्ष केले तरी चालतें  
अशा अडचणी धर्म, जात व चाळीरीती यांच्या संबंधाचे प्रश्न सोडवितांना उपास्थित होतील.

हिंदी कायदेकानू करणान्या मंडळांतील सभ्यगृहस्थ हो, तुम्हांस अशा प्रकारचे काम करावयाचे  
आहे. ते करित असतांना तुमच्याशी ज्यांचा हितसंबंध पोचतो अशा जगाची ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यांत आप-  
ल्याबरोबर भागीदार म्हणून तुमचे अभिनंदन करणान्या साम्राज्यांतील इतर राष्ट्रांची व आशिया खंडांतील  
अज्ञात अशा शक्तींचा हिंदुस्थान भावी मार्गदर्शक म्हणून त्याकडे पाहणान्या राष्ट्रांच्या मोठमोठ्या कौन्सिलांची  
बारीक नजर तुमच्याकडे असेल. व्यक्तिशः तुमची जबाबदारी मोठी आहे. तावडलेव निकाळांत आणाव-  
याच्या प्रभाची विल्हेवाट बरिष्ठ कौन्सिलकडून न होता ती प्रांतिक कौन्सिलकडून होईल अशी कदाचित्  
तुम्हांस बलबचर शंका बाटत असेल. प्रांतांतील दिवाणाचा सार्वजनिक कामकाजाशी जास्त निकट  
संबंध येईल व त्यायोगे लोकसेवा करण्यास त्यांस जास्त संधि मिळेल असे तुम्हांस कदाचित् वाटेल  
परंतु हे कांहीं मर्यादीयत व खरे आहे. हिंदुस्थान सरकारचे धोरणवर व त्यानींमुकर केलेल्या मोठींवर  
हिंदी कायदेकानू करणान्या मंडळांच्या मताचा गतकालांत जेवडा दाब पडत असे त्यापेक्षां तो फारच  
जास्त पडाना असा सन १९१९ च्या आक्टाचा स्पष्ट उद्देश आहे. राज्यकारभाराच्या या नवीन  
पद्धतीचे तव अमलांत आणण्यास सरकार पार्लमेंटाशी त्याची स्वतःची जबाबदारी कायम ठेवून शक्य  
तितका अवसर देईल. आजभित्तीपासून बरिष्ठ सरकाराच्या प्रत्येक अधिकारस्तंभेपदीत तुमचे वजन पोंहचूं  
लागेल. त्याच्या कारभाराच्या दरेक भागांत तें जाणवूं लागेल. प्रातापुरता तुमचा संबंध येतो असें नाही  
तर तो सर्व ब्रिटिश हिंदुस्थानाशी येणार आहे. या दृष्टीनें मुत्सदीपणा दाखविण्यास यापेक्षां जास्त  
क्षेत्राची जरूरी नाही. ज्या पद्धतीनें तुम्ही आपल्या वजनाचा उपयोग कराल, सल्लामसल्ल्यांत शहाणपण  
व दूरदर्शीपणा दाखवाल व तुम्हावरील जोखमाच्या कामासंबंधानें तुमचा ज्या मानानें उत्साह दिमून येईल  
त्यावर हिंदुस्थानाला पूर्ण स्वराज्य मिळण्याच्या ध्येयाकडे हिंदुस्थानची प्रगति होणें अवलंबून राहील.

ही उच्च कर्तव्ये पार पाडण्यासाठी कायदेमंडळ योग्यरीतीनें सज्ज करण्यांत आलें आहे  
याबद्दल राजकायदृष्ट्या व्यवस्था करितां आली तेथवर खात्री देण्यासाठी दोन सभा बनविण्यांत  
आल्या आहेत. ज्ञानवृद्ध व जगाचा अनुभव घेतल्यामुळे ज्यांच्या विचारांत पोक्तपणा आला आहे  
अशा वयोवृद्ध मुत्सदांची एक सभा कौन्सिल ऑफ स्टेट म्हणून खरी सेनेट निर्माण करण्याचा पार्ल-  
मेंटला विचार होता. सावधगिरी व नेमस्तपणा राखण्यासाठी या सभेला फेरतपसणी करण्याचा—अमळ  
माजविण्याचा नव्हे—व बरिष्ठ सभेनें केलेल्या कामांचें परीक्षण व विल्हेवाट करण्याचा अधिकार असेल.

लोकांच्या गरजा जास्त सरळपणे पुढे मांडणे हे काम असेम्ब्लीने करावयाचे आहे. सैनिक व व्यापक जमिनीचे मालक व शहरांतील रहिवासी, हिंदू व मुसलमान, शिखे व ख्रिश्चन अशा सर्व वर्गांच्या व जातीच्या लोकांचे प्रतिनिधी त्या सभेत असतील. दरेक वर्गास व दरेक समाजास सामान्य वादविवादाचे वेळी लोक पाठवून त्यांस असलेल्या विशिष्ट माहितीचा लाभ देता येईल, आणि बिनसरकारी ब्रिटिश समाजास प्रतिनिधीकडूनही मदत मिळेल अशी अपेक्षा आहे. त्यांनी आजपर्यंत हिंदुस्थानच्या व्यापार व उद्योगधंद्याची मोठीच सेवा केलेली आहे. हे प्रतिनिधी हिंदुस्थानच्या राजकीय जीविताचे व वडविवादाचे साक्षर करण्यास आपल्या स्वतःच्या देशांतील प्रातिनिधिक संस्थांच्या विशेष अनुभवाची जोड देतील काय.

अशा रीतीने तयार झालेल्या कायदेकानू करणाऱ्या मंडळामध्ये मोठे जोराचे मतभेद व भिन्नता दिसून येणारच व तसे होणे रास्तही आहे. सृष्ट जगांतल्याप्रमाणे राजकीय जगामध्ये कलह असणे हे प्रगतीचे एक लक्षण आहे. राजनीति म्हणजे कायदेकानू करणाऱ्या संस्थांत व राज्यकारणांत व्यवस्थिति लावण्यासाठी झगडणारी इच्छा, सहानुभूति व हितसंबंध यांच्या घर्षणाची क्रिया प्रातिनिधिक संस्थांचा विशेष गुण म्हणजे परस्परांस विरुद्ध असलेल्या हितसंबंधाच्या अंध लढ्याच्या अंध बौद्धिक वादविवाद, तडजोड, परमतसहिष्णुता व सन्माननीये प्रतिस्पर्धाविषयी आदर ह्या गोष्टी स्थापना त्यांची प्रवृत्ति असते. मनोविकार व पूर्वग्रह यांजवर एकादी कायदेकानू करणारी संस्था ताबा ठेवण्याचे सामर्थ्य ज्या मानाने दाखवील त्यावरून टिकाऊ अशी जयप्राप्ति मिळणारविषयीची तिची लायकी अजून साधते. हे विचार प्रदर्शित केल्याबद्दल मला कोणत्याही क्षमा मागण्याचे कारण नाही. कारण तुमच्यासाठी ते अगोदरच आले असतील. हिंदुस्थान देशांतील भिन्नभिन्न अशा लोकसमूहांमध्ये हेतूची जास्त वाक्यता झालेली दिसावी ही जी या देशाच्या स्नेहांची इच्छा आहे तीमुळेच तर हे विचार मनांत आतात. तुमच्या सर्व विचारविनिमयांमध्ये मूलभूत बाबींसंबंधाने तुमच्यांत सतत ऐक्यबुद्धि वसू द्याव्यात. बुद्धीचा हिंदुस्थानांत आजमितीपर्यंत अभाव आहे. परंतु अद्यापिही जर का या बुद्धीची चिकाटीने जेवढी करण्यांत आली तर ती या देशाचे सामर्थ्य वाढवील.

हिंदी कायदेमंडळांतील सभ्यगृहस्थ हो, येथवर तुमच्या कर्तव्यांसंबंधाने मी बोललों. आजच्या हक काय आहेत त्यासंबंधाने दोन शब्द बोलून मी आपले भाषण पुरे करतो. दोन्ही सभांतील निवडलेले प्रतिनिधि म्हणून तुम्हाला विशेष मान मिळाला आहे. सनदशीर स्वातंत्र्याच्या दिशेने निव्वन मार्ग आक्रमण करित असता त्याच्या आघाडीवर असण्यासाठी त्याने निवडलेले लोक म्हणून तुम्हांना इतिहासांत निरंतर लिहिलेली राहतील. तुम्हाला यश येवो व हिंदुस्थानने तुमच्यावर जो भार वसवला आहे त्यास साजेरी तुमच्या परिश्रमाची कार्यनिष्पत्ति होवो अशी माझी परमेश्वर प्रार्थना आहे.

नामदार व्हाइसरायसाहेब, तुमच्या कारकीर्दीची मुदत संपत आली आहे. जगांतील बहुतेक देशांत अलीकडील कांहीं वर्षे मोठ्या आणीबाणीची व काळजीची गेली; हिंदुस्थानांतही तशीच स्थिति. तुम्हांलाही अत्यंत मोठ्या जिकारीच्या प्रसंगास तोंड द्यावे लागले हे मला चांगले माहित आहे. तुमच्या कर्तव्यबुद्धीची जबरदस्त जाणीव तुम्हास कार्यास नेहमी प्रवृत्त करित होती, एकाच ध्येयाने तुम्ही प्रयत्न होता व तुमचे अचल धैर्य तुम्ही कायम ठेवले होते हे सर्व मी पूर्णपणे जाणतो.

पहिल्यापासून तुम्ही आपल्यापुढे एक विशिष्ट हेतु धरला होता. हिंदुस्थानाला राजकीय व वैयक्तिक विवक्षित मुक्तामापर्यंत परमेश्वर करील तर आणून सोडावयाचे असा तुमचा दृढनिश्चय होता. निव्वन कारणांच्या सर्व प्रसंगांतून व अडचणींतून तुम्ही त्या निश्चयाला चिकटून राहिलां होता. आज तुमच्या आपल्या मातृदेशाकडे व आपले अधिकारीची वस्त्रे दुसऱ्याकडे जाण्याच्या वेळेकडे लागले आहे. आणि अशा प्रसंगां सर्वांस वाटते त्याप्रमाणे, दैवाने जास्त मेहेर नजर केली असती तर ज्या गोष्टींकरिता करण्याची इच्छा झाली असती अशा गोष्टींसंबंधाने तुमचे मनास दिलगिरी वाटत आहे अशा वेळेकडे तुम्ही जर या सभेवरून आपली नजर फिरवाल तर व्हाइसरायसाहेब, तुम्हाला असे खात्रीपूर्वक वाटते "आपण यासाठीच श्रम घेतले व त्यांत आपल्यास यश आले."

राजकीय उन्नतिसंबंधाने तुम्ही व सेक्रेटरी ऑफ स्टेट मिळून फार दूरदर्शीपणाने तयार झालेल्या योजनेला आज मूर्त स्वरूप आले आहे व त्याबद्दल मी तुमचे अंतःकरणपूर्वक अभिनंदन करत आहे. इमारतीचा नकाशा—तिजविषयी बराच गैरसमज होता तरी भविष्यकाळी राष्ट्र आपली कृतज्ञता अशी खात्री वाटल्यावरून—तयार करण्याचे काम मोठ्या काळजीने व मेहनतीने केले त्या

पाया उत्तम रीतीने रचला गेला आहे हें आपण अधिकारावर असतांच प्रत्यक्ष डोळ्यांनी पहाण्यास मिळालें ही गोष्ट हिंदुस्थानच्या भवितव्यतेस वळण देण्याचें काम करीत असलेल्या मुत्सद्दयास मोठ्या अभिमानाची अशीच वाटली पाहिजे. तुमच्या मागून जे नामदार व्हाइसराय येतील त्यांस व त्यांच्या कार्येकनिष्ठ मदतनिशांस व सल्लामसलतगारांस या नव्या हिंदी कायदेकानू करणाऱ्या मंडळांत काम करणें सुलभ वाटेले, त्यांत हिंदुस्थानच्या गरजा व आकांक्षा यांचे खरें स्वरूप दृग्गोचर होईल आणि ते स्वतः व त्यांच्या हवाली केलेले असंख्य प्रजाजन यांच्या दरम्यान हें मंडळ न तुटणारा दुवा आहे असें आढळून येईल असा मला भरंवसा आहे.

आतां मी सन १९१९ च्या हिंदुस्थान सरकारसंबंधी आक्टाअन्वये स्थापन केलेले कौन्सिल ऑफ स्टेट व लेजिस्लेटिव्ह असेम्ब्ली योग्य रीतीने उघडली असल्याचें जाहिर करतो.

सम्यगृहस्थ हो, आजच्या सरकारी कार्यक्रमांतील मजवर सोंपविलेले काम मी संपविलें आहे. आतां मी आपल्या स्वतःसंबंधानें दोन शब्द बोलणार आहे ते- तुम्ही शांतपणें ऐकून घ्याल अशी मला आशा आहे.

ज्या ज्या लोकांमध्ये परस्पर स्नेहबुद्धि होती व असावयास पाहिजे अशांच्या दरम्यान वितुष्ट व तुटकपणा आलेला आहे असें मला मी जमिनीवर पाय ठेवल्यानंतर आढळून आलें. हिंदुस्थानच्या मुखावर अमृतसरची छाया पसरली आहे. पंजाबांत घडलेल्या भयंकर प्रकारासंबंधाने मलिक माआझम बादशाह यांस किती वाईट वाटत आहे हें मला चांगलें ठाऊक आहे. त्यासंबंधानें मला जितकें वाईट वाटत आहे तितकें कोणासही वाटत नसेल.

माझे आतां इतकें वय झाले आहे कीं, ज्या लोकांचीं मनें दुखावली आहेत त्यांची समजूत करावी व जे एकमेकांपासून फाटून गेले आहेत त्यांचें सख्य घडवून आणावें असें मला वाटूं लागलें आहे. मला अत्यंत प्रिय अशा या हिंदुस्थान देशास ही माझी बहुतेक अखेरचीच भेट आहे व या भेटीत या नव्या राजधानीत नवीन राज्यपद्धति सुरू करून देतांना माझ्या अन्तःकरणापासून निवणाऱ्या अगदीं साध्या शब्दांत मला एक विनंति करावयाची आहे. या विनंतीचा अनादर होणार नाही किंवा तिची टीका केली जाणार नाही अशी मला उभेद आहे.

माझा अनुभव मला सांगतो कीं गैरसमज हा बहुतकरून दोन्ही पक्षांच्या चुकांचा परिणाम असतो. हिंदुस्थानचा एक जुना मित्र या नात्यानें मी तुम्हांला ब्रिटिश व हिंदी लोकांला आग्रहपूर्वक सांगतो कीं, गतकालाबरोबरच गतकालीन गैरसमज व चुका गाडून टाका, जेथें क्षमा केली पाहिजे तेथें क्षमा करा व आजमितीपासून ज्या आकांक्षा उद्भूत होतील त्याप्रमाणें त्यांचें कार्य घडवून आणण्यासाठीं एकमेकांच्या हातांत हात घालून कार्यास लागा.

नामदार व्हाइसराय साहेब म्हणाले :—

आजचा कार्यक्रम संपला आहे हें सांगण्यापूर्वीं आज सुरवातीस मी जें भाषण केलें त्यांत आणखी दोन शब्दांची भर घालावी असें मला वाटत आहे. हिज रॉयल हायनेस यांनीं आपल्या भाषणाच्या अखेरीस आपणासर्वास जी स्वतः विनंति केली तीमुळें श्रेण्यांवेकीं प्रत्येकाच्या मनावर परिणाम झाल्याशिवाय राहिला नसेल. 'गतकालीं ज्या ज्या चुका घडल्या व जे जे गैरसमज उत्पन्न झाले ते सर्व त्या काळाबरोबरच आपणास विसरतां येणार नाहीत काय ? ज्या गोष्टींसंबंधानें आपणास क्षमा करावयास पाहिजे आहे त्याबद्दल आपणास तसें करतां येणार नाही अगर एकोप्यानें काम करतां येणार नाही काय ?' हिज रॉयल हायनेस यांचेच शब्दांत मी बोलतो. त्या शब्दांपेक्षां जास्त चांगले शब्द मला योजतां येत नाहीत.

आजचा कार्यक्रम संपला आहे असें मी जाहिर करतो.

(True translation.)

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