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MY FIFTH YEAR

IN THE

Imperial Legislative Council

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INTRODUCTION

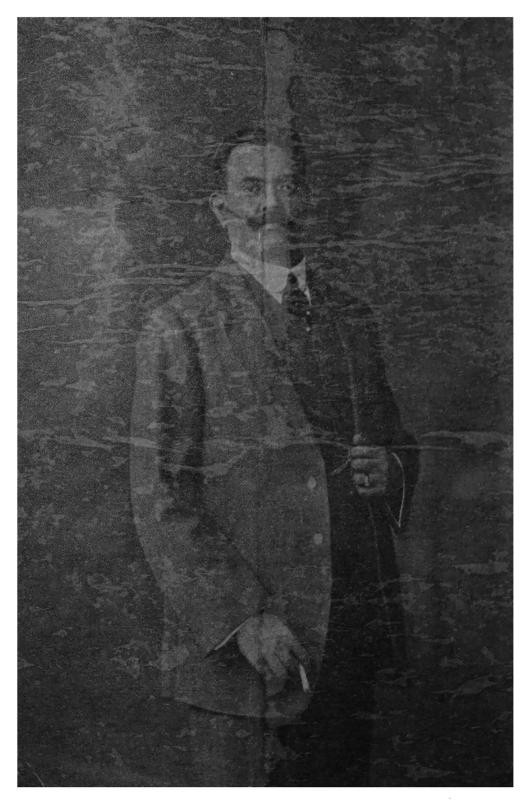
In issuing my annual pamphlet with a brief account of my public work both in and out of the Imperial Legislative Council, I consider it my duty—a duty that a representative owes to his constituency—to acquaint my numerous voters, and through them my community and co-religionists in South India with the nature and extent of the work, however feeble it be, done by their representative on the Council. But for the gigantic war and the extraordinary conditions created by it, far more legislative work would have been done during the last three years. Nevertheless, the year 1917 will ever remain a memorable one in the annals of modern India. H. E. Lord Chelmsford's sympathetic attitude towards the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of educated Indians, and his statesmanly speech to the Imperial Council in September last, indicate a bright future for India. And the visit to India of the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, -indeed a significant event of the times—marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of our political progress.

While it is easy to exaggerate differences amongst ourselves, it is really difficult to discern points of unity. This is not a time for any community, particularly the Moslem community long known for its cohesion and solidarity, to create artificial divisions and engender separatist feelings and tendencies within the community. While differences are bound to exist in any community, they need not keep them from realising their common interests. This is pre-eminently a time for united action, for making up differences and presenting a united front. Common concerted action alone between the two great communities, the Hindus and the Moslems, and between the different communities inhabiting this ancient land, will obtain for India an honourable place within the Empire.

Owing to ill-health I was obliged to be absent from the Simla sessions of the Council. Hence there is no record in this pamphlet of my Council work during September last. I hope and trust that this pamphlet will be found useful and enable my voters to take a more intelligent interest in the public life of the country. Questions and resolutions affecting the Moslem community—of an imperial character—are invited from them. In fact, all practical suggestions for the uplift of the Moslem community will be thankfully received.

5, Mount Road, Madras, 3 31st Fanuary, 1918.

MIR ASAD ALI



THE HON'BLE MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR

IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

SECTION I

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The following questions were put by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur during the sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, and the following answers were elicited from the Government:—

Delhi, 16th February, 1917

Cotton Industry in India

- (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to Professor J. A. Todd's paper on the cotton industry in India which was recently fead before the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts and to the practical suggestions contained therein for the improvement of the industry under Government auspices?
 - (b) If so, do Government propose to consider those suggestions?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill

- (a) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.
- (b) The Government of India are already considering the suggestions made by Professor Todd.

Delhi, 21st February, 1917

Hindus and Mussalmans employed in the Political and Foreign Department

2. What is the total number of Indians, Hindus and Mussalmans, employed in the Political and Foreign Department, who are drawing a salary of Rs. 250 or more per mensem?

Reply by the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) J. B. Wood

In the Secretariat of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, to which it is understood the question refers, the total number of Indians, Hindus and Musalmans, employed, who are drawing salaries of Rs. 250 or more per mensem, is five, namely, four Hindus and one Musalman.

Indigenous Systems of Medicine

8. With reference to my resolution regarding the investigation of the ancient indigenous systems of medicine which was accepted by Government after discussion in this Council on the 15th March 1916, will Government be pleased to state the result of their investigation in the matter so far?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock

The opinions of all Local Governments have not yet been received, but it is expected that the outstanding replies will shortly be sent in. The Government of India are unwilling to form any conclusions until they have considered the views of all Local Governments.

Government of India Scholarships

- 4. Will Government be pleased to state :-
 - (a) the total number of Government of India scholarships tenable abroad for Indians; and
 - (b) the number of Mussalman candidates to whom such scholarships have hitherto been granted?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair

The number of Government of India scholarships tenable abroad by Indians which are available for annual allotment are:—

- (a) Two Government of India scholarships awarded through the Universities, each tenable for three years.
- (b) Ten technical scholarships, each tenable for two years and in special cases, for three years.

- (c) Two language or oriental scholarships, each tenable for two years.
- (d) One scholarship for Indian women graduates, tenable from three to five years.

Hence the aggregate number of these scholarships which may be held in any one year, when the total annual number is awarded, may amount to not less than 33. Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans are also eligible for the technical scholarships.

The number of Muhammadans who have been awarded such scholarships since their inception is 26, excluding two who resigned the scholarships awarded them.

Delhi, 7th March, 1917

Free Elementary Education

5. Do Government propose to consider the advisability of making elementary education free at least in Municipal areas in each of the provinces as soon as conditions permit after the war is over?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair

The Government of India have not under consideration any scheme for making elementary education free after the war, but they do not wish to interfere in the discretion already possessed by Local Governments and Local Bodies to take such steps in respect of particular areas and classes when this may be considered educationally and financially desirable.

Post War Reforms

6. What action, if any, has been taken on the memorandum re post-war reforms which was submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in September last by certain non-official Additional Members of the Imperial Legislative Council?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock

It has been ascertained that the opinions of the gentlemen who signed the memorandum were duly laid before His Excellency as desired.

Number of Appointments (Civil or Military) made for Subjects of Native States

7. Have the Government made any declaration, under section 96-A of the Government of India Act, 1915, and has any subject of a Native State been appointed to any office, Civil or Military, since the passing of that Act? If so, what is the number of such appointments.

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock

The answers to the first two parts of the question are in the negative.

Non-official Bills, Resolutions and Supplementary Questions

8. With reference to my question re non-official bills, resolutions and supplementary questions, dated 27th September 1916, will Government be pleased to obtain the required information from Local Governments too and place it on the table as early as possible.

Reply by the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) G. R. Lowndes

The Government of India are not prepared to call upon Local Governments to undertake the preparation of the returns asked for, as in their opinion the expenditure of time and labour involved would not be justified by the utility of the result.

Delhi, 10th March, 1917

Newspapers subscribed for or subsidised by Government

- 9. Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for each province year by year from 1911 to 1916:—
 - (a) the names as well as the number of copies of newspapers, journals, magazines and other periodicals, (if any) English and Vernacular, subscribed for or subsidised by Government;
 - (b) the total amount of subsidy or subscription paid to such Indian and Anglo-Indian papers, respectively.

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock

The information asked for so far as it is available to the Government of India is embodied in the statement which is laid upon the table.

(a) & (b) The Imperial Government does not subsidise any Indian or Anglo-Indian Newspapers or periodicals but merely takes such number of copies as are required for Departmental purposes.

In 1911, the following newspapers were subsidised by the Local Governments named:—

	Copies		Amount of subsidy per -annum
			Rs.
Bombay	" Jagad Vritta "	10,000	16,000
Bengal	" Sulav Samachar".	25,000	62,000
United Provinces	" Independent " •	300	9 000
Eastern Bengal and	"Biswa Barta"	11,000	32,000

The subsidies in the last three cases were withdrawn after a year and have not been renewed. The period for which a subsidy was sanctioned in the case of the "Jagad Vritta" has not yet expired.

Dismissal of employees in the Drawing Department of the East Indian Railway at Dhanbad

- 10. (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a leading article in the "Mussalman" (Calcutta) of the 29th .December 1976, regarding the dismissal of employees in the drawing department of the East Indian Railway at Dhanbad?
 - -(b) Will Government be pleased to enquire into the matter and redress the grievances (if any) of such employees?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan

An extract from the "Mussalman" (Calcutta) of the 29th December 1916, which is the leading article referred to, has been obtained and the complete papers in the case furnished by the Agent of the East Indian Railway for the perusal of Government. From these it appears that a full enquiry was held into the case by the Government of Bihar and Orissa. The result of the enquiry was to show that the Mahomedan clerks were allowed to absent themselves from office up to 11 o'clock on the day of the festival to say their Id prayers, the concession having been granted on their application and after the Head clerk (himself a Mahomedan) had been consulted by the Resident Engineer, and that there was nothing in the circumstances of the case to indicate that the Resident Engineer was actuated by any religious bias towards his Mahomedan staff. The three Mahomedan clerks seem to have deliberately misrepresented facts, and to have made an entirely false accusation against their superior officer. The Agent of the East Indian Railway, therefore, gave instructions that they should be dismissed for insubordination. In these circumstances Government cannot admit that there is any grievance to be redressed.

Delhi, 20th March 1917

Internment of Syed Zainulabideen

11. Is it a fact that Syed Zainulabideen Sagaffi, merchant of Singapore, was on suspicion interned by the Madras Police in a common Jail? If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what action, if any, they have taken in the matter?

Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock

Two men who are strongly suspected of being enemy agents and are now under arrest have admitted travelling under Syed Zainulabideen's protection, and his own antecedents are not beyond suspicion. He was detained in the Madras Penitentiary. At the instance of the Singapore authorities he was subsequently released on a guarantee being given by a respectable member of his family at

Singapore that he would be kept out of mischief. No further action is at present contemplated.

Election Disputes

12. Do the Government contemplate publishing the election dispute cases of the Imperial and Provincial Councils for the year 1916, in which public enquiries were held?

Reply by the Hon'ble Mr. A. P. Muddiman

Public inquiries have been held in two cases arising out of the Imperial Council election of 1916. The first case was in connection with the election of the Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah who was, as the result of an inquiry held in Bombay Presidency fully exonerated from all charges brought against him and was declared duly elected. In this case witnesses were not examined on oath and it has been decided by the Government of India to treat the report of the inquiring officer as confidential.

The second case relates to the election of the Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rahim. In this case the Government of India directed an inquiry to be held under the provisions of the Indian Legislative Council (Elections Inquiries) Ordinance, 1916 (VIII of 1916) and the inquiry has been held in Calcutta. The report of the inquiring officer is now being considered by the Government of India.

In the case of disputes arising out of the elections of Provincial Councils inquiries are, under the provisions of the Regulations, held under the orders of the Local Governments, and the Government of India are not in a position to give any information regarding such cases.

SECTION II

SPEECHES DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLA-TIVE COUNCIL

The Madras Excise Revenue Being Wholly Provincialised

(16th February 1917)

" My lord, in rising to support the resolution moved by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma who has made a special study of this question, I desire to draw the attention of Government to the just and legitimate basis upon which the demand is made. The Hon'ble Mover has explained at length the need and the reason why the Madras Excise Revenue should be wholly provincialised. The resolution is well supported by Hon'ble Members, and I venture to think that the speakers have made out a strong case in favor of the course advocated. The whole Excise Revenue of Madras should be provincialised as is the case in several other provinces. In my opinion there is no need of further argument in support of the motion. As one of the representatives of Madras, I feel it is my bounden duty to support the resolution. I hope the resolution will meet with the acceptance of this Council."

Indian Defence Force Bill (21st February 1917)

"My lord, the European war has cast a deep gloom all over the Indian Empire. We are still under the shadow of a great and terrible war, and England and the Allies are fighting for the liberties of Europe. Two years and seven months have elapsed since the war broke out, and the prospect seems to be favourable to the Allies, who have yet a hard time before the enemy is beaten. It may not, however, be long before the Allies and England obtain a glorious victory.

England's victory is India's victory and England's loss is India's loss. With England we are bound to rise or fall. For the fortunes of this country are providentially interwoven with those of England. At the present crisis, India

does not lag behind the other Dominions in her loyal devotion and attachment to the British Throne and the Government. Her heroic part in the present world struggle is not only fully recognised in high and responsible quarters, but warmly appreciated by the British public and the press. I may be permitted to say that loyalty is often expressed better by deeds than by words. The Indian soldiers are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their British and Colonial comrades. India continues to give assistance materially in the mighty defence of the Empire which is ample evidence of her genuine and steadfast loyalty to the British Throne. Both in their own interests and in the larger interests of the Empire Indians are prepared to uphold and maintain the best traditions of the Empire.

" By the introduction of this Bill, an opportune moment has arrived for the educated and responsible Indians to enrol themselves in their own units for the defence of their own country. I am sure the people will whole-heartedly respond to this call. While the objective results may not be far-reaching, the moral victory would be great and while Indians are anxious to play a biggger part, they are equally prepared to sacrifice for the new and additional privileges they wish to enjoy. I heartily congratulate His Excellency the Commander-in-chief and the Government of India upon their broad-minded policy in introducing a timely Bill. At the same time, My Lord, I trust that the enrolment will be without distinction, and that the status and privileges for the Indian units will be the same as in the case of European British subjects in India. With these few remarks I beg to support the Bill."

The Budget

(23rd March, 1917)

"My Lord, I should like to join my Hon'ble colleagues in heartily congratulating the Honourable the Finance Member upon the remarkably satisfactory Budget he has presented to the Council. Without raising such additional taxation as may fall heavily on the vast bulk of the Indian population, he has steered his way clear through the Financial Statement for

1917-1918, and presented a War Budget that has already met with the general approval of the country.

"We are still passing through a grave international crisis. We feel and realise more and more the burden of the greatest War of modern times. The War has not only paralysed our industrial and commercial activities, but affected in some ways the peaceful progress of the country. We are at one with the Government in the firm determination to see the war through to a successful and glorious end. Like the burning wick that emits a bright flame before its final extinction, the enemy's last efforts seem to be formidable. But fortune has smiled on the Allies who are now within sight of ultimate victory. India, My Lord, I need hardly assure Your Excellency is still willing, and prepared to render to the British Empire all possble loyal assistance in men, material and money, and earnestly prays for the complete success of the British Arms in this world struggle.

"The Defence of India Bill, though it be a temporary measure, is an enactment of far-reaching importance. It is an epoch-making event. A beginning, and a right beginning, My Lord, has been made. Military Service is now thrown open, particularly to respectable classes and educated Indians who are desirous of proving their loyalty on the battle-field. Indian Volunteering, too, of which so much has been said on the public platform and written in the press, has by a stroke of the pen become a reality. It affords an excellent military training at any rate during the War, for our spirited young men and patriotic citizens. Both on my behalf and on behalf of the Moslem community whom I have the honour to represent in this Council I beg to offer Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government our deep and grateful thanks for the timely introduction of this noble measure. I do hope and trust that commissioned ranks will soon be thrown open to Indians, and that the Defence of India Act will after its short duration become a permanent measure to adorn the Indian Statute-book.

"I do not venture to discuss the War Budget, nor can I possibly digest the Financial Secretary's able memorandum in a couple of days. I may, however, be permitted to make a few observations more or less pertaining to the Budget,

"The War Loan has been well received throughout the country. It might have been made more attractive in order to catch popular imagination, either by the institution of prizes as the Madras Mail suggests or by some such means. Besides, India's war gift of a hundred million pounds to His Majesty's Government, small as it may seem, is yet another indication of India's readiness to bear cheerfully the burden of the Empire. To meet those ignorant and carping critics who are not quite satisfied with the part India has played in this great war, I need only refer to the Budget speeches of the Hon'ble the Finance Member, and the recent speech in the Council of my esteemed friend, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. In fact, India's gift of 000,000 is really worth about twenty times what it actually is. Is not the average income of a Britisher getting £40 per annum twenty times more than that of an Indian who gets less than £2 per annum? That a poor country like India should have already rendered so much aid in men, material and money is in itself an unmistakable proof of India's desire to play her part, as well and worthily as the Self-Governing Dominions, and of India's hope to deserve an equal and honourable treatment in the Counsels of the Empire.

"It is indeed satisfactory to note the progress during last year of education in general and Moslem education in particular. We are deeply thankful to Government for making a special recurring grant of £200,000 for improving the training and pay of teachers in primary and secondary schools. But for the war, education, the crying need of India, might have made still greater progress during the last two years. My Lord, education and sanitation should continue to receive the same attention as during your predecessor's regime.

"As for the new taxation proposals, they have been we'll thought out, so that the burden of taxation falls upon the classes who can bear it best. At the same time it cannot be forgotten that the pooler classes too contribute their own quota to the raising of additional revenue. The enhancement by 25 per cent of the duty on salt last year and the surcharge on railway goods traffic this year at the rate of one pie per maund on coal, coke and firewood, and two pies per maund on other articles, though sitting lightly on the poor, are also well devised expedients to get their share. The raising of duty on imported cotton goods and in respect of jute exports is welcome. But the continuance of the cotton excise duty will no longer be tolerated, especially in view of the attitude of the Lancashire manufacturers, as was evident in their recent deputation. A handful of Lancashire politicians in the House of Commons evidently want to control the fiscal policy of India. In this connection, I desire to express our heartiest thanks to the Secretary of State for India for his staunch advocacy of India's cause and able defence of India's case. It is high time, My Lord, that Indian public opinion should express itself in strong and unmistakable terms against the impost of the cotton excise duty, and urge the Government to abolish it as soon as the War is over.

"While the War lasts, the growing public expenditure, especially military expenditure, has to be met with from the revenues of the country. The announcement in the Financial Statement of the probable imposition of additional taxation on agricultural incomes, if future necessities demand it, is likely to create apprehensions in the minds of the agricultural classes. Instead of taxing agricultural incomes our import tariff rates may be revised and further enhanced for the benefit of India. I may also suggest in the event of absolute necessity the desirability of raising the postage commission on money orders, and charges of telegraphic messages. Besides, if the Hononrable the Financial Member believes in a policy of retrenchment, he ought to be able to show less public expenditure. While he is so cautious or overcautious in estimating figures on the revenue side, his caution on the expenditure side tends perhaps towards increased expenditure. As I suggested last year, economy may he introduced under the heads of the salaries and expenses of the "Civil Departments," and "Miscellaneous Civil Charges." In these and other ways sufficient additional sevenue can be raised without interfering with agricultural incomes, except perhaps in permanently settled tracts.

"The recent announcement of the temporary prohibition during the war of the Indian indentured labour emigration to the Colonies and other parts of the Empire has filled the public mind of India with no small satisfaction. Our grateful thanks are due to Your Excellency's Government for this statesmanly act. The thorny question of Indian indentured labour has long engaged the serious attention of both the Government and the people. Public opinion in this country and elsewhere has strongly condemned the ruinous system of indentured labour accompanied by degradation, immorality and vice. The time has come, My Lord, when this wicked trade should cease to exist. This temporary measure, I sincerely hope, is but the forerunner of the eventual prohibition altogether of the indenture system.

"The war has given India a splendid opportunity for improving her economic and industrial condition. But the Indian market has unfortunately been allowed to be captured either by neutrals or Allies, so much so India is unable to withstand the undesirable entry of foreign exploitation and compete fairly with foreign trade, even as regards the articles of manufacture formerly imported from the enemy countries. Had the Government of India been more on the alert and more determined, they would have pursued a truly liberal and sympathetic policy towards the industrial regeneration of India. The future greatness of this country depends to a very large extent upon her industrial and commercial expansion without which the country can never hope to thrive or prosper in the modern sense of the term. To wait till the labours of the Industries Commission are finished and till their final report sees the light of day is to miss a golden opportunity to create an industrial India. The Government will therefore do well to take early steps to devise workable plans for starting and aiding indigenous industries, and establish technical and industrial schools at important centres. My countrymen hope that, if the war be over this year. Your Excellency's regime will be associated with large industrial schemes forming the main item on the administrative programme. A prosperous India, My Lord, will be a valuable asset to the British Empire."

SECTION III

OTHER SPEECHES

THE SEVENTH ALL-INDIA AYURVEDIC AND UNANI TIBBI CONFERENCE

(Delhi, 17th March, 1917)

Presidential Address

Hakim Ajmal Khan, Haziq-ul-Mulk, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I thank you most warmly for your kindly inviting me to open the seventh session of your Conference here. Looking into the names of your past Presidents, I wish you had a more competent chairman to guide your deliberations to-day. However, my only apology for venturing to preside over this Conference consists in my deep sympathy with the objects of your Conference and in my humble efforts about this time last year to move the Government of India to recognise the claims of the indigenous systems of medicine. In the next place I cordially welcome every movement that tends to bring closer the Hindus and the Mussalmans on a common platform for their common good. Your Conference, I am happy to say, is one such movement as it brings together the Vaidvas and the Hakims for mutual exchange of thought and for common and united efforts.

It gives me, therefore, great pleasure to be in your midst and open this Conference in the Imperial capital, this ancient and historic city of Delhi where not very long ago the Unani system flourished under royal auspices. It is now a matter of history that in the days of the great Moghuls it enjoyed a high reputation for its excellence. Side by side with the Unani system, the Ayurvedic system too was in vogue. Subsequently, for want of State patronage and public support the two indigenous systems have languished. Once again under the peaceful and progressive British Rule India has been enjoying, the Ayurvedic and Unani systems which fortunately have not lost completely their vitality, can hope to thrive and flourish as in olden times.

I am neither a Hakim nor a Vaidya to discourse to you either on the relative merits of the two systems or on their respective methods of treatment. But as a layman and as one deeply interested in the revival of these systems for the benefit of millions of Indians, I propose to make a few general observations so as to indicate briefly on what lines healthy progress can be achieved in the direction of reconstructing the old system with modern materials.

That the Ayurvedic and Unani systems are not dead but are still living and will continue to exercise a profound influence, especially on the dumb millions of rural India, is an unmistakable proof of their inherent vitality and soundness. But, believe me, neither system has said the last word on medical science. While modern medical science is a growing one, the ancient systems have long ceased to grow and remained stagnant. Nevertheless there are still to be found many valuable discoveries in the ancient systems. which are quite unknown to the modern practitioner. Hence it is both desirable and necessary that efforts should be made to bring back to life the Ayurvedic and Unani systems in all their pristine purity and vigour, so that the rejuvenated systems may considerably enrich the modern medical science. If these systems have not already attracted the attention of the Government to an appreciable extent, it is, I believe, largely due to the fact that the medical expertswith notable exceptions indeed—to whom the Government look for advice are themselves ignorant of the intrinsic value of the ancient systems. Had we more Sir Pardey Lukises in the Indian Medical Service, the claims of the ancient systems should have been far more fully recognised and In strongly supporting my resolution regarding the investigation of the indigenous systems of medicine in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Surgeon-General Sir Charles Pardey Lukis was led to remark: "The motion now before us deals with a subject to which I have devoted considerable thought during the thirty-six years of my residence in the East, and as I said the other day at Indore, the longer I remain in India and the more I see of the country and its people, the more convinced I am that many of the empirical methods of treatment adopted by the

Vaids and Hakims are of the greatest value." Continuing the Surgeon-General said: "Why then should the Allopath arrogate to himself the right to appropriate for his individual benefit all new discoveries, denying these privileges to the practitioners of other systems of medicine? This appears to be especially unfair when it is borne in mind that 90 per cent. of the Indian population live in rural areas where the Vaids and Hakims are—and will be for many years to come—the chief attendants of those dumb millions alluded to in recent speeches in this Council." Writing recently on the indigenous systems the Madras Mail (20th February 1917), the leading Anglo-Indian daily of Southern India, says in one of its editorial columns: "Government can best encourage this system, in our opinion, in two ways. Firstly, by encouraging qualified European Medical men to make a serious study of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems, and secondly by considering some means of introducing a modicum of western scientific training into the numerous Ayurvedic teaching institutions now springing up all over the country, and eventually recognising the best of these institutions as medical schools of the lower grade; and the admissions of their students for the L.M.P. (Licensed Medical Practioners) Examinations." Lastly, no less a personage than Lord Hardinge, our popular ex-Viceroy, when laying the foundation stone of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College in March last, frankly said: "I came to the conclusion that our western system, however much it may strive after perfection. has not attained it yet, its theories are constantly undergoing change and development and its ideas of the causes and best methods of the treatment of cholera, malaria and plague to take some striking examples, have undergone remarkable transformations within quite recent years." With such impartial testimonies as these the cause of the indigenous system is bound to triumph.

It is indeed a healthy sign that Ayurvedic and Unani conferences and exhibitions in different parts of the country have attracted much public attention, and been reminding the people of their duty to endeavour to revive the ancient systems of medicine. Within recent years several Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries and pharmacies have been set up all

over the country. In this revival the undertaking of an exhaustive collection of complete available literature pertaining to the indigenous systems, ought to claim your foremost attention. Besides, the genuineness of these works should be thoroughly tested. A central library with all such works (including rare manuscripts and palmyra leaves) may be located probably at Delhi or Allahabad. A descriptive catalogue may well be prepared and published for public information. Most, if not nearly all, of these works are written in classical languages, such as Sanskrit and Arabic. A study of classical languages is by no means an easy task. Hence the ancient treatises of medicine are a sealed book to the vast bulk of the population. Translations of the standard works into English and as well as into the principal vernaculars of the country may then be undertaken with a view to popularise the ancient systems of medicine. This is perhaps the first thing needed in the revival of the systems. I am glad to be able to say that at the recent All-India Avurvedic Conference held at Poona it was resolved to undertake the collection and publication of Avurvedic books.

Should the indigenous systems of medicine be brought up to date, the need for adding a modern side to the Ayurvedic or Unani institution has to be recognised, and the subjects of Physiology, Anatomy, and Elementary Surgery should be included in the curricula of studies. Further, post-graduate courses of study, wherever practicable, may be provided for in order to encourage a comparative study of ancient and modern systems. Another important side to these institutions ought to consist in the training of the indigenous chemists and druggists. Specialisation is the modern feature of all education, and it opens up immense possibilities of research work. In every branch of human knowledge specialisation has yielded fruit in abundance, While a Hakim or a Vaidya is not only a medical practitioner but his own chemist or druggist, preparing medicines and administering the same to his patients. Moreover, he prepares only a few medicines, and these are more or less patent medicines, invariably used for all kinds of diseases. In fact, a Hakim or a Vaidya is supposed to be an all round man, the repository of all worldly lore. This old

conception must change before any real advance can be made in improving the indigenous systems. If each of the various branches of study in the Ayurvedic and Unani systems is specialised and completely studied, it will only enrich the medical knowledge of Indians. Again, if the selection and collection of plants, herbs and drugs or minerals, be entrusted to one set of persons, and if the preparation and manufacture of medicines be undertaken by another set of persons, it is so much the better for the practitioners of the indigenous systems who will then have more time at their disposal for purposes of specialisation and closer study. Side by side with theoretical instruction there is need for practical demonstration. So herbariums and pharmaceutical gardens may, if possible, be attached to the Ayurvedic or Unani institutions. If improvement is sought for along these and similar lines, I for one feel confident that the indigenous systems will ere long hold their own against the allopathic and other modern systems. But in the matter of surgery all credit should be given to the wonderful discoveries and inventions of modern science. It must in all fairness be admitted that anything like modern surgery was practically unknown to the ancients.

Both in British India and the Indian States measures are being adopted for reviving the old systems and placing them on a sound scientific footing. Great credit is due to the steady working of institutions like the Ayurveda Mahamandala of Allahabad, the Delhi Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College, the Madras Ayurvedic College and the various Ayurvedic Institutions at Hyderabad, Mysore, Bombay, Satara, Poona, Gondal, Calcutta, Benares, Lahore, Malabar and other places. The zeal with which many a Kaviraj like Messrs. Gananath Sen, Jogendranath Sen, and Yamini Bhushan Roy of Calcutta and Vaidyaratna Pandit Gopalacharlu of Madras, and others are pushing forward the cause of Ayurveda is highly commendable and praiseworthy. In this very city the fire of Unani and of Ayurveda is ever kept burning by the ceaseless and untiring efforts of our venerable Hakim Mahomed Ajmal Khan Sahib. The Government too is sympathetically disposed towards this cause, and I am hopeful that after the war is over-and let us, as dutiful and loyal subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, pray for the success of the British arms—it may possibly render aid to deserving institutions and offer facilities for the free growth and development of the indigenous systems.

The exhibition which forms an appendage to your Conference has an educative value of its own, and it should really open the eyes not only of the general public but of the Hakims and the Vaidyas themselves to the possibilities of the further development of the ancient systems of medicine. In this connection I should like to suggest to this Conference the desirability of holding its sittings not only in Upper India but throughout India, and should like to see one of its sessions held at a convenient centre in Southern India.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, once again from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have done me in inviting me to preside at the opening ceremony of this Conference. I now declare that this Conference is duly open, and wish its deliberations all success.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

THE HON'BLE NAWAB MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR

At the Annual Meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League held on Thursday, the 20th December 1917

LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

Allow me to thank you most heartily for the great honour you have done me in electing me as President of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, the premier political body amongst the Mussalmans of South India. The position you have called me to occupy is not merely one of honour but one of trust and responsibility. It is one of immense responsibility in view to the rapid development of Muslim politics in the country. Presiding as I do this evening in the place of the Hon'ble the Prince of Arcot whose resignation of the office of President we all sincerely deplore, and whose resignation the League was very reluctanly compelled

to accept under the circumstances, I fully recognise my own shortcomings as well as the arduous nature of my duties, but am hopeful that I may, through your willing aid and active co-operation, be enabled to discharge my duties to the satisfaction not only of the members of the League but of my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen.

The War and Muslim Loyalty

The war is still the most absorbing topic of the hour. It still continues with unabated fury, counting its victims by hundreds of thousands. The end of it does not yet seem to be within sight, though we can anticipate it. The position of Indian Mussalmans in the great world-war with Turkey ranged on the side of the enemy is indeed very trying. And yet the loyalty of Indian Mussalmans towards the British Throne and the British Government is as staunch and unswerving as ever before. For the British nation has long been recognised as the protecting power of true Moslem interests all over the world. Notwithstanding their religious fervour towards the Caliphate, the right-thinking Mussalmans in India have learned to dissociate matters purely political from those purely religious for all practical purposes. Notwithstanding the proverbial suspicion of the Englishman towards the coloured peoples including Mussalmans, I may be permitted, both in your name and in the name of the Moslem community to assure our rulers and the British Government of our deep and stead(ast loyalty, and of our firm determination to continue to render the Empire at this grave crisis all possible help in men and money and material towards the successful prosecution of the war. We pray to God for the speedy end of the war and for the complete success of the British arms.

Parties in Moslem Ranks

We meet here to-day not only under the shadow of the greatest war of modern times but under somewhat peculiar and difficult circumstances. The resignation of the Hon'ble the Prince of Arcot, the formation of a rival League, the sharp political differences within our own camp, the hostile attitude of a section of Anglo-Indians and their press towards the political demands of the Congress-League scheme, and

lastly, the too cautious, if not alarming, attitude of the bureaucracy towards the ever-growing aspirations of educated Indians, are all matters of deep concern to our future welfare and progress. Far from contemplating with misgivings on the prospect of the rise of new associations and new parties within the Moslem ranks, I desire to welcome them as co-workers in the same broad political field, and wish them Godspeed in their laudable endeavours to work for the uplift of the Moslem community. Healthy rivalry between different associations only tends to stimulate the quicker progress of the whole community.

My Attitude

You will, I dare say, pardon me for a little personal reference. It is well, Gentlemen, that you should know your President full well, his views on public questions and his attitude towards his community and fellow-countrymen. I may begin by assuring my co-religionists that I am as faithful a follower of Islam as any other Mussalman, and that I yield to none in my deep reverence for the Moslem religion. As a Mussalman, I strictly adhere to the principles and tenets of Islam, and abide by them, and shall stand by the community whose moral and material advancement ever claims my first and foremost attention. I have all along endeavoured to promote the best interests of my community. As your representative on the Imperial Legislative Council, I have always strongly advocated the cause of Muhammadan education, the mainspring of all reforms, as well as separate representation for Muhammadans even in local bodies such as District and Taluk Boards and Municipalities. I still firmly believe that in the present stage of Muhammadan society separate representation is badly needed not only in smaller bodies as a corollary to what obtains in the Indian Legislative Councils but in the Senate of the Madras University, the City Corporation, and the public services. Education is the crying need, particularly among the Muhammadans, and our educational interests can effectively be represented on the University Senate by Moslem representation. If Moslem education is to advance still further, Moslem graduates should be given thereon adequate

representation. Besides education, the Hedjaj question, Moslem religious and charitable endowments, Moslem public holidays and larger employment of Mussalmans in the public services have all claimed my first attention. In thus advocating the cause of Mussalmans, I have always considered myself a Mussalman first. But outside the community, every right-thinking Mussalman ought to be an Indian first and a Mussalman next. For the country belongs to-day not to any particular community, however preponderating that community may be, but to all classes and communities of His Majesty's Indian subjects. Consequently, to the Indian Mussalman, India is his country. Subjects of the same Sovereign, taxed by the same authority, and inhabitants of the same country, we have our common interests in the promotion of which all the Indian communities are equally interested. Hence I have interested myself in broad questions of administrative reform, such as the freedom of the press, the formation of the Indian Volunteer Corps, the Indian question in South Africa, the rise of food prices, and the defective working of railways, particularly in regard to the grievances of third-class passengers. All these and similar questions surely affect the Mussalman no less than the Hindu or the Christian. Was there a greater leader than Sir Syed Ahmed who exclaimed that the Hindus and the Mussalmans were the two eyes of India? A little more sympathy, truer insight and broader outlook will surely convince every liberal-minded Mussalman that while he is a Mussalman first in all communal matters, he is an Indian first in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the country as a whole. I may, therefore, assure my co-religionists as well as my countrymen of my profound belief in Islam, deep love for the community, unswerving loyalty to the British Government, and great attachment to the land of our adoption.

Our Policy

Our policy, Gentlemen, is as broad as it is sound. It aims at the moral and material advancement of our community, the maintenance and promotion of loyalty among the people of this country, and the attainment under the ægis of

Great Britain a system of Self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means. It is also our policy that we should live in peace and harmony with our sister communities in the land. Goodwill and concord between Mussalmans and Hindus will surely tend to the earlier realisation of the goal of our political ambition. What is really good for the country as a whole is equally good to each of the communities inhabiting India. In working out our policy great care must be taken to see that our demands are legitimate and reasonable and that our proposals are moderate and practicable. Any reform, be it social or political, if it is to bear fruit and confer a lasting good on the people must needs be gradual and progressive. Progressive liberalism in all matters of public importance, both communal and national, shall be our creed. By pursuing steadily this policy we shall be able to achieve satisfactory results. Our relation with the officials in the country should be as happy as their feelings towards the non-official representatives and the people should be cordial. While on the one hand, we fully recognise the splendid service the members of the Indian Civil Service have been rendering to the Indian Empire, we cannot forget we owe a duty to ourselves and our loyal community in that we should represent truly and correctly the views and feelings of the Moslem community on public Mutual understanding and mutual sympathy between the officials and the non-officials will help to solve with more ease and less difficulty many an intricate administrative problem.

Our Goal

The memorable announcement by the Secretary of State for India of the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to the Government of India as that of "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of Self-governing Institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire," the statesmanly speech of H. E. the Viceroy in opening the Simla sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, and the timely visit to India of the Secretary of State, the Right

Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu, must dispel the groundless fears entertained by sentimentalists amongst us as to India's political future. While there are far too many schemes of political reforms, the only recognised scheme from the nonofficial Indians so far seems to be the Congress-League Scheme. While I do not claim perfection to this scheme, I venture to submit that, as it has emanated from the two great political organisations of modern India, it deserves a foremost place among all the schemes. If I may, however, be permitted to express my individual opinion, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that no Congress scheme or proposal was ever before discussed so thoroughly both in the press and on the platform as the Lucknow joint-scheme. In the light of fresh experience gained, or new facts gathered from quite a number of varied schemes put forward by a number of public bodies and publicists, the Congress-League scheme, I think, deserves to be examined and reconsidered. For the question of communal representation now looms large before the public mind. When the Morley-Minto Reforms conceded separate representation to Mahomedans, it was feared that it would affect the harmonious co-operation of the Mussalmans with the Hindus. But the happy results so far have justified the practical wisdom of the Morley-Minto scheme.

Responsible Government as has been announced by the Secretary of State for India, is the goal towards which Indian communities are endeavouring to move and which they hope to reach in the fulness of time under the safe guidance of British administrators. As the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu says, it is to be achieved by the gradual development of Selfgoverning Institutions and by successive stages. The first substantial step to be taken should strike the imagination of educated India. For much will depend upon the nature of the first step whether the benevolent intentions of British Statesmen and the Royal Proclamations will be translated into actual practice. To England we look forward for the future greatness of India. India's destiny is providentially linked to England's destiny. With England we rise or fall. We hope and trust that the British nation, the liberator of small nationalities struggling to gain freedom under the beels

of aggressive nations, will gradually raise India to the status and dignity of a free and enlightened nation.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the patient hearing you have given me, and hope that dissensions within the camp, imaginary fears, and baseless claims will be things of the past, and that the Moslem-League will shortly enter on a new era of progress and prosperity, and will even more effectively voice the well-considered opinion of the cream of educated Mussalmans upon all public questions.

The Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India

At the fifteenth annual meeting of the Mahomedan Educational Association of Southern India under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, Hon'ble Mr. Mir Asad Alı Khan Bahadur proposed the adoption of the annual report. He traced the steady progress of the Association since it was formed in 1902, and paid handsome tribute to the memory of its first President, the late Mr. Justice Boddam. During the fourteen years of its existence, the Association had awarded as many as 670 scholarships, but for which the progress of higher education would have been considerably hampered. The Association had also brought about a general Mahomedan awakening, throughout the Presidency and the regular collection of subscriptions from year to year was an eloquent testimony to the sustained interest that Musalmans were taking in educational matters. The Musalmans of Madras had a reputation for their united and persistent efforts on behalf of national amelioration and the speaker hoped that notwithstanding the mischievous attempts made in certain quarters to introduce and foster the progress of disruption, based on racial or parochial considerations, the community would continue to work on the Islamic lines of universal brotherhood, and profit to the fullest extent by the enlightened guidance of leaders like, the Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahim.-Madras Mail, 9th April 1917.

The Anjuman of the Oriental Physicians

Presidential address, delivered on the 8th April 1917, at Madras, at the anniversary meeting of the Anjuman of the Oriental Physicians of Southern India.

(Translated from the Urdu speech)

GENTLEMEN,

I need hardly express to you my joy and sense of gratitude for the kindness you have done me in asking me to preside on this occasion, an occasion rendered memorable by the presence of learned and influential *Ulemas* from all over India. This is not the first time that I have come to take interest in your work, for I had once to preside at the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Conference held at Delhi. But I consider this my present election a greater honour,—greater because it comes from the people of my own Presidency.

Your Anjuman is one of the most useful institutions of its kind. Based as it is on sound principles and actuated as you are with the noblest of motives, I assure you it will prosper well in the future. You have named it 'the Anjuman of Oriental Physicians.' I suppose you refer thereby to the Avurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. I need hardly tell you these two systems are of indigenous and national growth. They are the product of our ancient civilization and are well suited to minister to our needs. As they are effective, they have got a firm hold on the minds and beliefs of the people of this land. Ever since my election to the Imperial Council, I have taken great interest in their progress. In fact I was the first to move a resolution in the Council on this subject and at the end of my speech Sir Pardey Lukis, the great scientist, gave evidence to their efficiency by remarking that much of the experience now gained by many a modern research in the field of medicine was already embodied in them. Gentlemen, I know the Medical Registration Act has made your position rather unenviable, but are you not thankful that this very Act has roused you from your slumber and awakened in you an earnest desire to resuscitate your decaying but valuable art. I am glad you have begun to work in this direction and I take your Anjuman to be but a result of this new awakening.

Ever since my resolution in the Imperial Council the subject has been engaging the attention of Provincial Governments. It was but the other day that a resolution was accepted by the Punjab Government. Whatever may be the help you can expect from these, I would earnestly advise you to rely more on yourselves and co-ordinate your efforts in the realisation of your aims, for in this as in every thing else, mutual good-will and co-operation are the essential conditions of success.

Here in Madras, we already see signs of revival. An Ayurvedic College has been established much to the credit of our Hindu brethren. For a long time past, it was a matter for deep humiliation and regret that our community had not founded even a Medical School for the study of the Unani system. Thanks to God, this unmerited slur has been removed through the generous donation of our friend, Khan Bahadur Mahammad Abdul Kuddus Badsha Saheb. We have got a well organised school, run and controlled by the Anjuman. You will all presently hear the report of its work and witness the ceremony of the award of prizes to the successful candidates.

In the local council a resolution was moved and accepted by the Government to the effect that an Indian officer be appointed to investigate into these and to collect data of their utility and efficacy. Let me take this opportunity to point out to the Government that it was desirable that two officers had been appointed, one for each, so that they could submit two separate reports. I do not mean thereby to suggest that the Unani System stands in need of a special officer to plead its cause. For who does not know the many great Doctors and Surgeons that this system produced among the Arabs in the mediæval period. Ar-Razi, whose works were used as text books in the Medical Colleges of Europe and which were translated in Latin is one of the greatest of them all. What of Bu Ali Sina !-whose works were translated in all the languages of the world and which were considered for over a period of ten centuries an authortiy on this subject. The famous French historian, Leban, writing on this point, says that medical instruction in the Colleges of France and Italy was based on the works of this great scientist. Abul Khasim Zahravi, who is known in Europe as 'Albuas' was the greatest Surgeon among the Arabs. He invented many surgical instruments, illustrations of which are to be found in his works. Haller, the historian, says that the surgeons of the fifteenth century depended mainly on his works for their operations. Ibne-Rasheed, whose works also were translated in Latin and went through many an edition. belongs to the same category. The prominence of the Medical Colleges at Silurno in the days of Italy's power and prosperity, says Leban, was due to the influence of the Arabs who had got control of it in the Norman period. He further states that the Arabs were the first Pharmaceutists and they were the inventors of those methods of treatment which are now considered, after the lapse of so many years, as modern inventions. The use of chloroform too was not unknown to them.

We are here to-day, gentlemen, not to wax eloquent on the past work of the Unani system, but to consider means of improvement in the future. I would only appeal to you once again to revive this dying science and make it sufficient to meet the requirements of the modern day. I have got great hopes in your Aujuman and in your energies in the realisation of your noble aim, and I am sure God will reward you with success.

SECTION IV

CONTRIBUTION TO THE PRESS

(The Madras Mail, 1st May 1917)

The City Municipal Bill

SIR,-It is to be regretted that Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait's amendment re separate representation for Mahomedans on the Corporation of Madras was unfortunately negatived at the recent special meeting of the Corporation. The principle of communal representation has not only been recognised by the Morley-Minto reforms but given effect to in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. It is but logical that the same principle should be adopted, more especially in the case of local bodies, such as Municipalities, District and Taluk Boards, and particularly in the case of a large metropolitan corporation like that of Madras. The Calcutta Corporation has followed it with advantage to the Muslim community there. The Muslim opinion here is strong in the matter, though, perhaps, not sufficiently loud, or clamorous. But the time has come when the representatives of the Muslim community not only in the City but throughout the Presidency, should bestir themselves and begin to agitate in a loyal and constitutional manner for obtaining their rightful place in the City Corpora-They should get up memorials signed by hundreds and thousands of Musalmans, besides leading and influential Muslim citizens and submit the same early to the Government of Madras. These memorials should urge on the Government the immediate necessity for throwing open to the Muslim community at least four of the elected seats on the Corpora-Unless this is done, there is probably no chance for Madras Muslims to vindicate their just cause. Rarely can they get another such splendid opportunity. Congress has recently recognised the Muslim claim for separate representation and allowed them 15 per cent. of the elected seats on the Local Council in their proposed scheme of reforms towards self-government. And, yet, we find the very Congress politicians in Madras are not liberal or

sagacious enough to grant the Mussalmans their just and legitimate due in civic life. Let my Hindu brethren beware of the consequence of such an attitude towards the members of their sister community. I still hold that Communal Representation in the present circumstances of the country is an effective way of building up true national interests. While each of the large and important communities secures separate representation either proportionate to their numerical strength or according to their political or historic importance, small communities in a minority may seek representation through nomination which a benevolent Government has often exercised for good. If Mahomedans are given separate representation, how does it harm the interests of the sister communities. If it does not, why should the Hindu community in particular fight shy of the question of separate Muslim representation? My views on this subject are already known to the public and I need not repeat them here. I expected the Hindu members of the Corporation to have been more generous in their treatment of the subject. The legitimate aspirations of the Muslim citizens ought to have been encouraged. As regards the provision in the City Municipal Bill re the composition of the Corporation, I would suggest that the number of Divisional Commissioners should be 28, out of which four seats should be allotted to the Muslim representatives elected by separate electorates, and the number of nominated members should be not more than seven, while the other figures for the Chambers of Commerce, the Trades Association and select public bodies may remain more or less the same. I should like to suggest also a further widening of the electorate and extension of the franchise, and the abolition of any distinction between Voter's and Municipal Councillor's qualifications. I do hope and trust that my Muslim brethren in Madras will wake up, realise their sense of duty and act promptly and firmly with zeal and perseverance, and endeavour by all constitutional means to press their just and legitimate claims upon the attention of the Government of Madras before the City Municipal Bill becomes law.

·Hyderabad (Deccan).

(Sd.) MIR ASAD ALI

SECTION Y

PRESS COMMENTS

Separate Muslim Representation on the Corporation

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan has written to the Madras Press deploring the action of the Madras City Fathers in rejecting the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan's amendment for providing for the separate representation of the Mussalman community on the Corporation-The principle of communal representation, he says, has been recognised by the authorities, because the Morley-Minto programme of political reforms is based on a recognition of this principle. The necessity for the separate representation of Muhammadan interests has also been conceded by the leaders of the National Congress, for at the last session of the Congress they were willing to concede separate representation to the Mohammedans on the Legislative Councils to the extent of 15 per cent. Nevertheless it is disappointing to find "that the very Congress politicians in Madras are not liberal or sagacious enough" to let the Mohamedans have their due share of representation on the Corporation. That the very class which admitted the justice of the demands of the Mussalmans in the Congress pandal should have helped in wrecking a proposal for giving practical effect to it on the Madras Corporation needs no comment. We think that the Madras Muslims have a just grievance owing to the manner in which Mr. Yakub Hasan's proposal has been disposed of by the City Fathers including a considerable number of Congress politicians. The Musalmans stand in need of having their interests safeguarded not merely on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils but also on Local Boards and Municipalities. "If Mohammedans are given separate representation, how does it harm the interests of the sister communities," asks the Khan Bahadur? If it does not, why should the Hindu community in particular fight shy of the question of separate Muslim representation? We hope that a reply to these questions will be forthcoming. If, as stated by Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan, the Calcutta Corporation has got

special representation of the Musalman community there is no earthly reason why in Madras it should be given the cold shoulder in a matter so intimately affecting their wellbeing. We hope that they would lose no time in adopting Mr. Asad Ali Khan's suggestion and get up memorials signed by as many Moslems as possible and present them to the Madras Government, who, we are sure, will give the question their sympathetic consideration.—The United India and Native States; 10th May 1917.

Railway Grievances

The Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan of Banganapalli who has done much service to the travelling public from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council once told us that the Mohamedan passengers travelling in the South are put to so much discomfort that they are afraid of travelling by rail. We would suggest the appointment of "Visitors" from amongst the leaders of Hindu and Mohamedan community, people like Sir Ebrahim Rahimatulla, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Fazalbhoy, Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan and others who are interested in railway questions. They may be invested with power to go on the lines once or twice a year and see things for themselves with a view to represent to the Railway authorities the grievances of the travelling public and explain to the public the railway point of view of things. This will lead to mutual understanding and clear up much mistrust and suspicion on both sides.—The "Bombay Mail," 1st July 1917.

Rally the Moderates

We appeal to the Government of Lord Chelmsford to rally the moderates and lend its weight and influence to those who will still help the Government by keeping their community aloof from the pernicious influence of a "movement which aims at the Government in the name of Reforms in the Government." The Mohamedans are, as we have said, desperate, because of their sense of neglect and helplessness. Let them be assured of the good-will and strength of the Government and matters may yet be right. Mr. Thambi Maracair and Nawab Asad Ali in Madras and Sir Fazulbhoy

and a host of other men in Bombay, Nawabs Abdul Majid and Zul Kader Jung in U.P., Nawab Fatteh Ali Khan and Min Mahomed Shafi in Punjab, Nawab Ali Chowdhari and Mr. Ari in Bengal and many other men in other places are real friends of the Government and if they think their community is to gain by making common cause with the Government, they will not hesitate in co-operating with the officials to make the people reasonable and sober. But if you think the Mohamedans do not desire special treatment; on think the Mohamedans should take their chance along with other Indians; in short, if you make the Mohamedans feel that their fate is joined with the other Indians, then they must support any scheme conceived by the other people. That is the naked truth.—The "Bombay Mail," 19th August 1917.

Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan's work in Council

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur represents Moslems in the Viceroy's Council has published his useful pamphlet: "My fourth year in the Viceroy's Council' which brings to the very door of his electors the nature of the work he is doing. The Honourable member is not a silent member. There is no question affecting Moslems which has escaped his attention. His sober views and moderation have made him largely in demand in public gatherings, as we find that he presided over the Cuddapah District Conference, and the Ceded Districts Union. No one can say that the Mir is not independent. His speech at the Cuddaph Conference was a model of its kind. He boldly criticised the sloth of the Government, protested against the Press Act in unmeasured terms, and his vehemence against the C.I.D. even brought him the tribute of New India. Bureaucracy comes in for its share of handling, but his observation on the British Government showed that he was a moderate who while he will criticise the Government, so that it may be better than what it is, he is against any catastrophic changes. He said: "As long as the heart of England is sound, we may be confident of our political victory. We have faith in the British sense of fairplay and justice; we have faith in the best traditions and constitutional history of the British nation; we have faith in the freedom-loving instincts and the large-heartedness of the British race; and we have faith in the benevolent intentions of the Indian Government. We do hope, therefore, that we may be given a fairly full measure of liberty which alone fits men for liberty and trust, by the blessings of an All-Merciful Creator, we shall march onward to our divinely appointed goal."

Let us remember that the Mir has signed the Nineteen Members' Memorandum and is an advocate of progress. But advocates of violence and passive resistance will drive away such active supporters to indifference, for surely the Mir cannot see eye to eye with Mr. Jinnah who wants passive resistance. The margin that divides the extremist from the moderate is small, for both are sincere, and both want to see the country advanced, but to-day, with passive resistance and the rest, the margin has widened a great deal indeed. Instead of doing any service to the country, those who are engaged in the extreme call for boisterous measures are wrecking the country. We want every patriot to realise that—The "Islamiah," 22nd August 1917.

Work in the Imperial Council

We have received a copy of a pamphlet issued by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, giving an account of his political work in the Council, on the platform and in the press. As on the occasion of his last election, objection was taken to his candidature on the score of his being the subject of a Native State, he immediately obtained naturalization as a British Indian Subject without jeopardising his rights as the brother of the present Nawab of Banganapalli and was then returned unopposed. The pamphlet records his work in the Council, gives the full text of the speeches delivered there, the resolutions moved and the interpellations put. Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan is a strong believer in the necessity for communal representation in the present condition of India, an opinion which we share with him. We note he is one of the signatories to the much advertised memorandum of the nineteen. The pamphlet is well calculated to place before his constituents the work that he did for them in the first year 'of his second term.—The "Justice," 25th August 1917.

Separate Muslim Representation

We draw the attention of our readers to an interesting and valued article from the pen of Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan who so worthily represents us in the Viceroy's Council. No one in Madras has a reputation for greater moderation and sound judgment, and the Khan Bahadur is not only a representative Moslem but he is also a representative Indian. And yet he has not hesitated to put down his views concisely lest we forget.—The "Islamiah," Madras, 29th August 1917.

Rendering Account

The Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan of Banganapalli has hit at a good and original idea in giving an account of his work in the Imperial Legislative Council to his electorate and we trust his example will be followed by others. In a small pamphlet under the title, " My fourth year in the Imperial Legislative Council," our worthy friend has rendered a complete account of his work as a representative of the people together with the opinions of those who are in a position to judge of political activities, we mean the press, Why should other popular representatives not do the same and render to their constituents an account of the work done by them when engaged on behalf of the people. Nawab Asad Ali Khan's resume of his work is instructive and interesting. He has served his community with honesty and fearlessness, regardless of popular favour or official frown. and that is what others should do .- The "Bombay Mail," 2nd September 1917.

Hon. Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan in the Council

We have to acknowledge the receipt from the Hon'ble Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan, of a copy of an interesting pamphlet embodying an account of his work in the Imperial Legislative Council during the fourth year of his membership. After a careful perusal we must say that it constitutes a fine record of public service of which the Honourable gentleman.

has every reason to be proud. The pamphlet before us contains abundant evidence of the ceaseless activity and vigilance displayed by him for safeguarding the interests of his countrymen in general and especially of the great Musalman community in India. Mr. Asad Ali Khan's interpellations and speeches in the Council prove that he has been by no means content to remain a silent member and that as a trusted representative of the people, he has taken every opportunity to present to the authorities the popular as distinct from the official view of Indian public questions. We find that the pamphlet includes Mr. Asad Ali Khan's valuable presidential address delivered at the Cuddapah Provincial Conference held at Rajampet in November 1916. Mr. Asad Ali Khan is a valuable political asset in the public life of the Presidency and his honourable career of public service and broad-minded patriotism ought to impel members of other aristocratic families to emulate his public spirit and zeal for the country's progress.—United India and Native States, November 1917.

The Madras Muslim League

The publication of the report of the Muslim League has given a weapon into the hands of extremists. There was a time when the Muslim League was retrograde and men like Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhamad Mahajir were not of it; at least their sympathies were not with it. But things have rapidly changed. The Prince of Arcot has resigned, but another Prince steps in, the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan, who will safely guide it in these days of exceptional difficulty.— "The Islamiah," 12th December 1917.

The Madras Muslim League

We printed yesterday extracts from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali Khan which was delivered last evening at the annual meeting of the Madras Muslim League. The Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali Khan does well to take a charitable view of the new associations and new parties that are being ushered into existence against the National Assemblies by welcoming them as "co-workers in the same broad political field," because "healthy rivalry

between different associations only tends to stimulate the quicker progress of the whole community." The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan is one of the "Nineteen" who submitted the memorable Memorandum and he states nothing but the bare fact when he says that "no Congress scheme or proposal was ever before discussed so thoroughly both in the press and on the platform as the Lucknow Joint Schene"; the scheme may or may not be perfect; but it was certainly not hastily drawn up. We have no doubt that the whole Muslim community shares the regret of the Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali Khan Bahadur at the defection of the Prince of Arcot from the Muslim League which is the body which has been so far representative of Muslim political opinion of the Presidency.—"The New India," 21st December 1917.

The Muslim League

In this connection we desire to draw attention to the observation of the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan of the Viceroy's Council with regard to the differences of opinion. He is too responsible a personage to indulge in volatile diatribe. He respects differences and most surely thinks that they are also working for the advance of the country who differ from us. This has been the constant theme of the Islamiah which has always tried to bridge the gulf of irresponsibility that is fast coming over public life through journalism of the New India type. The Islamiah is devoted to the creed of the South India Islamiah League, but on that account does not feel called upon to abuse every one who does not see eye to eye with it. We regret strongly that the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan should have associated himself with the Madras Moslem League with which we associate narrowness and schism in public work. On that account we do not disagree with him, we respect his views and publish the full text of his excellent address elsewhere. It is a sober presentiment of the case and his imagination has evidently been quickened by the arrival of the Secretary of State.—The Islamiah, 26th December 1917.

Moslem Aspirations

In his interesting address at the annual meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, the Hon'ble Mir Asad

Ali Khan Bahadur, referred to the recently risen parties in Moslem ranks. He expressed no misgivings; he sounded no trumpet of alarm; he was, on the whole, hopeful, and welcomed them as "co-workers in the same broad political field" and wished them "Godspeed in their laudable endeavours to work for the uplift of the Moslem community." "Healthy rivalry between different associations only tends to stimulate the quicker progress of the whole community." We wish that this feeling had marked the leaders of other warring communities at the present moment and that we had less demonstration of the belief that "those who are not of us are against us." Indeed no community is to-day more agitated than our Moslem brethren. Their wound is yet They have no taste yet of any official sympathy. Their internees are internees, still; their press is being most mercilessly gagged, and, as if this were not enough, they have internecine quarrels. As the Hon'ble Mr. Asad All Khan Bahadur, said :-- "The resignation of the Hon'ble the Prince of Arcot, the formation of a rival League, the sharp political differences within our own camp, the hostile attitude of a section of Anglo-Indians and their press towards the political demands of the Congress-League scheme, and lastly, the too cautious, if not alarming, attitude of the bureaucracy towards the ever-growing aspirations of educated Indians, are all matters of deep concern to our future welfare. and progress."

The Khan Bahadur is a staunch champion of Moslem interests; his views on communal representation are well-known, and in his speech he reiterated them. He has always strongly advocated the cause of Mahomedan education, the mainspring of all reforms, as well as separate representation for Mahomedans even in local bodies such as District and Taluk Boards and Municipalities. He believes that in the present stage of Mahomedan society separate representation is badly needed, not only in smaller bodies as a corollary to what obtains in the Indian Legislative Councils but in the Senate of the Madras University, the City Corporation, and the public services. "Education is the crying need, particularly among the Mahomedans, and pur educational interests can effectively be represented on

the University Senate by Moslem representatives. If Moslem education is to advance still further, Moslem graduates should be given thereon adequate representation. Besides education, the Hedjaj question, Moslem religious and charitable endowments, Moslem public holidays and larger employment of Mussalmans in the public services all claim my first attention."

We do not believe that any Mussalman could be more than that towards his own community; but the Khan Bahadur's words on larger affairs deserve the attention of the community. He said: "Outside the community, every right-thinking Mussalman ought to be an Indian first and a Mussalman next. For the country belongs to-day not to any particular community, however preponderating that community may be, but to all classes and communities of His Majesty's Indian subjects. Consequently, to the Indian Mussalman, India is his country. Subjects of the same Sovereign, taxed by the same authority, and inhabitants of the same country, we have our common interests in the promotion of which all the Indian communities are equally interested." And the Moslem goal in Indian politics, as described by the President of the Madras Muslim League is unexceptional. Their policy was defined as aiming at the moral and material advancement of the Moslem community, the maintenance and promotion of loyalty among the people of this country, and the attainment under the aegis of Great Britain of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means. "It is also our policy that we should live in peace and harmony with our sister communities in the land. Goodwill and concord between Mussalmans and Hindus will surely tend to the earlier realisation of the goal of our political ambition. What is really good for the country as a whole is equally good to each of the communities inhabiting India." It is, indeed, a remarkable address that the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur We publish its full text elsewhere for the consumption of misguided Moslems, who, in the belief that they are championing the Moslem cause or displaying their extra loyalty, are found in the camps of reactionaries.— " Indian Patriot," 22nd December 1917.

The Muslim League

The Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan's presidential address at the annual meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League dealt not only with subjects pertaining to Moslem progress but also with those larger questions affecting the well-being of the country in general. After referring to the pain caused to Indian Mohamedans by the action of the Sultan of Turkey in fighting on the side of Britain's enemies and assuring the British Government of the deep and steadfast loyalty of Indian Mohamedans and their determination to stand by the Empire during the present struggle the Nawab reiterated his well-known views with regard to the various political problems now agitating the public mind. While putting in a powerful plea for communal representation for his co-religionists at every stage of public life—the Taluq Board, the District Board, the Legislative Council, the City Corporation and the Senate of the University—he repeated his unswerving adherence to the Congress-League scheme.—United India and Native States, 10th Fanuary 1918.

Indian (or Non-Allopathic) Medical System and Government

(Translated from Urdu)

At that time we discussed in the *Qoumi Report* (18th March) on the excellent service rendered by the Honourable Nawab Sahib to the community and the country and emphasised that he performed his legitimate functions with devotion and perseverance. The community elected him as its representative and he has been representing the Muhammadans with sound knowledge and experience.

We would have published the full translation of the vigorous and effective speech of the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib, had there been sufficient space in the *Qoumi Report*.

This speech contains evidence of learning and politics. We believe that, as for knowledge, liberal thoughts, frankness and zeal it will ever be a memorable one.

The effect of his speech was that the Hon'ble Sir Pardey Lukis expressed that he acknowledged the efficacy and beneficial effects of the Ayurvedic and Unani modes of treatment and that he accepted on behalf of Government the resolution of the Nawab Sahib.

This incident is a clear and strong proof that the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan-

- always studies well every subject connected with the country and his co-religionists,
- (2) interests himself in and evinces sympathy with every occupation and work,
- (8) delivers his speech in the Council without any restraint, with integrity and with freedom of thought,
- (4) cares to see that his ideas are in general reasonable and practicable.

It is evident that a member who possesses these good qualities, merits and sociable nature is only fit to represent the community in the Council. In spite of the fact that the Nawab Sahib is a son of a Ruling Prince of an Indian State, he has been rendering greater service to the community. He had apparently no connection with the indigenous treatment, neither is he himself a Hakim nor a Vaidiya. But he by his resolution obliged not only all the Hakims and Vaidiyas of India but also lacs of individuals who are the followers of Hakims and Vayids.—The Qoumi Report, Madras, 14th April 1916.

Imperial Council Election

(Translated)

It is a matter of great rejoicing that Mr. Muhammad Sharif Khan Bahadur who competed with the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur for a seat in the Imperial Council has formally withdrawn his candidature. Whatever may be the reason of withdrawal, justice requires that both Mr. Shariff and the Muhammadan community deserve to be congratulated. At the previous election too both the gentlemen were competitors but at last Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan got a majority of votes. Subsequently his independent action in the Council has shown that Nawab Asad Ali Khan is a very useful member. He has no personal motives as a Muhammadan representative but putting himself to much inconvenience he realised his aims as may be seen from his three pamphlets in

English and Urdu published for the use of the general public, wherein all his proceedings are noted. As the tree is known by its fruit, a man is known by his actions. The reports of the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan are strong evidence in support.—Qoumi Report, Madras, 20th July 1916.

Indigenous System of Medicine

(Translated)

Fortunately in the Punjab, this success has been achieved. Here a resolution was brought forward in H. E. the Viceroy's Council in support of the indigenous medical practices which was accepted by the Government. The whole credit regarding this resolution goes to the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan in whose chapter of good deeds, this also will find a place.—"Alassar," Lahore, 27th Shawal-ul-Mukarant. 1334 H.

APPENDIX

The Resolutions of the Muslim League

PASSED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

The following resolutions were passed at the annual session of the Madras Presidency Muslim League held on the 12th December at the Lawley Hall with the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan in the chair:—

That this League on behalf of the Muslims of Southern India expresses its unswerving loyalty and devotion to the British Throne and prays for the glorious victory of the Allies in the present war.

That this League offers its hearty greetings to H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, whose visit portends great future for this country.

That this League places on record its deep regret that the Government of India have turned a deaf ear to the unanimous and persistent demand of hundreds of thousands of Mussalmans and Hindus assembled in thousands of meetings and through hundreds of recognised associations, for the release of Messis. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, and once more calls the attention of both H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India to the imperative necessity of removing the great injustice done to the entire Muslim community of India.

The League welcomes the policy of trust and conciliation recently inaugurated and urges the Government of India to give practical effect to it by releasing Messrs. Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Moulana Hasrath Mohani, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Moulvi Mahmudul Hassan and other Muslim internees.

That this League regrets that no Mohamedan has been placed on the 'Internment Committee' and requests the Government of India to repair the commission.

That this League requests the Government of Madras to make provision for the appointment of 'Conciliation Boards'

consisting of non-official Mahomadans and Hindus to enquire into and settle religious disputes whenever they arise.

That in the opinion of this League it is desirable that the management of awaks (public endowments) be entrusted to regularly constituted committees and not to individuals and requests the Government to keep this principle in view and enforce it when occasion arises.

That this League requests the Government of Madras to reserve & of the elected seats in the Senate of the Madras University for Mahomadans, to be filled up by election by registered Mahomadan graduates.

The League reiterates that at least four seats be reserved for Mahomadans in the Corporation of Madras and an adequate number in each Union, Municipality, Taluk and District Boards, and that these be filled by electorates, consisting purely of Mussalmans of the same qualifications as of others.

This meeting requests the Government either to pass an Act or issue an Executive order prohibiting the play of Music in front of Mosques, so that there may not be any violation, knowingly or unknowingly committed, of the already existing custom in this respect.

That this meeting places on record its heartfelt sympathy with the Muslim victims of the outrageous acts of the Hindus of Shahabad, Arrah and other villages in Behar, begs to thank H. H. the Nizam for his princely donation to the relief fund, appreciates the generosity of the Mussalmans of Ambur towards this object, and appeals to all Mussalmans throughout the presidency, rich and poor to contribute their mite to it.

This League regrets that owing to indiscretion and tactlessness of the Divisional Officer there occurred a disturbance at Chinnur in Cuddapah District, at the time of the Muharam and Dusserah processions resulting in the death of three Mussalmans owing to the firing by the Police on the order of the said officer. In view of these circumstances the League requests the Government of Madras to drop the proceedings against the Mussalmans of the locality.

This League protests against the action of the United Provinces Government in forfeiting the security of the Muslim paper—The New Era.

A resolution thanking the Government for recognition of Urdu as a language for legal transactions was carried.

Mr. Sadhullah Badcha Sahib subscribed Rs. 50 and Mr. Abdul Hakkim Rs. 500 for the Muslim victims in the Behar Muharram riots.

At the close of the session Mrs, Sarojini Naidu delivered a brilliant and stirring address on Hindu-Moslem amity in Urdu.

The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan in proposing a vote of thanks to the chair said that no two views were placed before the Secretary of State by the Moslems; for the present members of the South Indian Islamia League had accepted the address prepared by the Madras Muslim League to be presented to the Secretary of State.

MY SIXTH YEAR

IN THE

Imperial Legislative Council

PRINTED BY THOMPSON AND CO., AT THE "MINERVA" PRÉSS, \$3, POPHAM'S BROADWAY, MADRAS.

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FOREWORD

In presenting this pamphlet, entitled "My sixth year in the Imperial Legislative Council," to my constituency and through them to my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen, I desire to place before them a brief account, as is annually done, of my work in and out of the Imperial Legislative Council during the year 1918. For it is a duty I owe to my numerous voters who ought to be acquainted with the nature and extent of the work done by their elected representative. On a perusal of its contents the readers will be in a better position to judge of my humble service to the cause of Islam and of the country. While it is for me to work for the sake of work, it is for them to judge of its results, however feeble they be.

The end of the great world war, as sudden as it was unexpected, was the most notable event of the year. The conclusion of the armistice between the belligerent nations presaged not only the end of the greatest war the world has ever known, unparallelled in its ghastliness and deadliness, but the disappearance of Prussianism and all military aggression of the worst kind. The death-knell of modern militarism, not only in Europe but throughout the civilised world, has been sounded. The victory of peace is about to return, proclaiming goodwill among mankind. The dramatic suddenness with which the gigantic struggle was brought to an end, the trembling retreat of might before right, the return of a long wished for peace, and the triumphant victory of Great Britain and her Allies bespeak the timely intervention of the hand of

Providence to save humanity from the gravest perils of German "Kultur" and civilisation. The war has ended. and ended, let me hope, for a long time to come, if not for ever. It ought to bring about more healthy and peaceful relations among the great Powers of the world. The coming League of Nations will indeed be the precursor of the dawn of that Universal Peace towards the realisation of which the enlightened nations of the globe are devoutly marching with a quickened pace. While England has, no doubt, emerged from this ordeal greater and stronger, and more glorious and powerful than before, she has her serious responsibilities to realise in this onerous task as the greatest world power to-day. The great principles of righteousness, freedom and justice for which England has fought with undaunted courage and firm determination will long continue to inspire and guide her in all her dealings not only with free and self-governing nations but with all her subject nationalities and peoples, be they white or brown or black. For the length of her benig. nant sway over a world-wide commonwealth depends primarily and largely upon the perpetuation of these great principles of the moral Law on which are founded States. Empires and Commonwealths. India's participation in the war, her loyal and abundant response to the Empire's call during the gravest of crises, and her devoted attachment to the British Throne entitle her to an equal and honourable treatment among the self-governing members of the Empire. The representation of India by Indian nominees in the International Peace Conference, the elevation of an Indian for the first time in the history of Great Britain to a British Peerage and Cabinet rank, and the bright prospects of coming reforms are unmis. takable indications of the widened angle of vision the war has brought about. May the end of the war witness in India the timely establishment of Responsible Government in its first beginnings ! For a loyal, contented and prosperous India will be an invaluable asset and a standing monument of glory to the British Empire,

On the announcement of the conclusion of the armistice the following telegram was sent by me to H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India:—

"The Muslim Community of Madras Presidency and their representative most respectfully beg to express their congratulations on the cessation of hostilities and complete victory of the allied arms."

It was acknowledged by the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy as follows:—

"I am directed to acknowledge with thanks the congratulations of the Muslim Community of Madras and their representative on the final victory of the Allies, conveyed in your telegram of the 16th November 1918, which has been placed before H. E. the Viceroy."

The Indian Reform Bill will shortly be introduced into Parliament, and it is to be hoped that substantial steps will be taken in the direction of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, and that the first beginnings of Responsible Government will not belie the great expectations the famous Parliamentary announce. ment of August 20 (1917) has raised in the patriotic bosoms of loyal Indians. The Southborough Committees have finished their labours, and their reports have been presented to the House of Commons. The Franchise Committee, I am glad to learn, have accepted the terms of the Congress-League scheme in regard to the proportion of Moslem representation in the Legislative Council. The rights of the Musalmans, I am sure, will be safeguarded through Communal Representation, and they will enjoy their rightful share of the new political privileges to which they are justly entitled by reason of their historic and political importance. Whatever was wanting in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, I presume, will be made up for by such changes as are necessary, when the Reform Bill passes through Parliament, The considered views of the Muslim community on the subject of Indian Reforms have already been placed before the Government of India as well as before the Franchise and Subjects Committees, presided over by Lord Southborough. Both my views and those of the Madras Presidency Muslim League of which I have the honour to be the President have been duly submitted to the authorities concerned and published in the newspapers. Let me hope that with the rest of the Empire India too will enjoy the blessings of political reconstruction.

During the year under review I attended all the meetings of the council both at Delhi and at Simla, and took part in their proceedings. Being invited by the Government of India, I attended the Delhi War Conference. As for my work in the Council a perusal of the first portion of this pamphlet will give my readers a fairly good idea. While this was to have been my last account of the work done in the Council, the term of membership in the Council has been extended by a year, so that my voters will yet have another pamphlet for 1919 issued to them early next year. By the time the next pamphlet is published the Indian Reform Bill will have been carried and passed into law. Legislative Councils will have been enlarged with new and additional privileges, and the electorates much widened with considerably larger additions to the present voting strength. In fact, a new political atmosphere will have been created, and a new political life will have dawned on the Indian horizon. Possibly, you may be called upon to return more than one representative for your community to the newly constituted Indian Legislative Assembly. In proportion as the new opportunities for doing public good are availed of and the newly acquired powers are used for the good of the country, we shall prove our fitness to enjoy still greater rights and larger privileges in the years to come. Hence all petty differences and personal prejudices should be given up, and the Muslim community should be prepared to present a solidly united front in demanding all

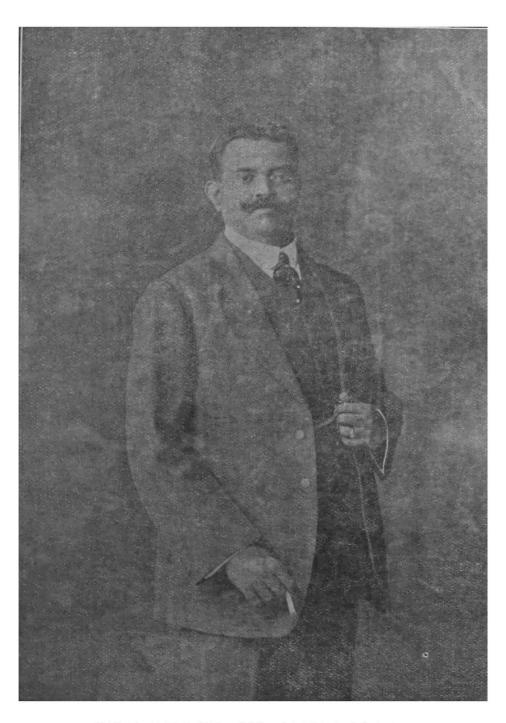
legitimate privileges both for the community and for the country.

On my return from the Delhi War Conference in May last, I had the honour of presiding over the third session of the Malabar District Conference at Tellicherry an account of which appears elsewhere in this pamphlet. In doing so, I had a golden opportunity of meeting a number of the leading Muslim voters of the Malabar District with whom I had the pleasure of exchanging friendly thoughts on the questions of the day. A similar opportunity presented itself to me when I presided over the anniversary celebration of the Begampore Muslim League at Dindigul, where I came into direct personal contact with a number of the Muslim voters of the Madura district. On such occasions a thrill of joy and pride passes through the veins of your representative as he is brought nearer and nearer the very homes of his constituency. When I was at Tellicherry, my fellowcountrymen, the distinguished representatives of the Hindu community, showed me all courtesy and honour for which my deep thanks are due to them. Wherever I went, I was happy to find healthy relations existing between the Hindus and the Musalmans. This is the first political lesson—the unity between the two great communities-that each of us has to learn, recognise and realise before the dream of an Indian nationality can ever be accomplished. Indian political progress is like unto a carriage and pair. Both the horses should march together, if the carriage is to move onward. The Hindu horse should not pull one way and the Muslim horse the other way, lest the carriage may remain at a standstill. Both must pull together and pull the same way with nearly the same speed. Hence the Musalmans and the Hindus should learn to fraternise with each other for the common good of India, the land of our adoption for centuries.

My object in publishing this little brochure will have been attained, if a perusal of its contents will enable my voters to take a more intelligent interest in the study of public questions, and follow diligently the course of public events which in these days of keen struggle and competition occur with rapid succession. While the world is moving fast, we in India cannot afford to sit idle with folded hands and content with our humble lot under the eastern sky. lest our society should be threatened with stagnation or eventual extinction. Under the ægis of British Rule let us be ready to march forward to our appointed goal, though distant it be-a free self-govern-United India as an integral part of the British Commonwealth. No work, therefore, is too small for us to do. Every little thing must be attempted with a clear conscience and everything must be done in a faithful way. Communal problems are no less important than national problems. But communal interests must yield to the larger national interests, whenever the latter conflict with the former. These facts should be borne in mind when questions and resolutions relating to the uplift of the Muslim community, and those of an imperial character are sent up to me for necessary action. They will be received thankfully, and all suggestions for the improvement of national work are welcome.

5, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS, 1st May 1919.

MIR ASAD ALL



THE HON'BLE MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR

In the Imperial Legislative Council

SECTION I QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The following questions were put by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur during the sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, and the following answers were elicited from the Government:—

Delhi, 27th February 1918

The Commercial Intelligence Department

1. Will Government be pleased to state what improvement has been made in the organization of the Commercial Intelligence Department within the last two years?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes)

The question of improving the organization of the Commercial Intelligence Department has been engaging the attention of the Government of India for some time past. It has been decided to continue the existing arrangements until the report of the Indian Industrial Commission is received.

Representation on the Imperial Legislative Council of Cantonments in Native States

2. With reference to my questions regarding the representation of cantonment stations in Indian States, such as Bangalore and Secunderabad, asked on the 9th September 1913, 9th January 1914, and 8th September 1914, do Government propose to consider the question of giving them representation on the Imperial Legislative Council in any scheme of impending reforms?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

Government are at present unable to make any statement as to the scope of the constitutional changes now under consideration.

Investigation of the indigenous system of medicine

- 3. Will Government be pleased to state
 - (a) whether they have received the views of all Local. Governments on the subject of my resolution moved in this Council on the 15th March 1916, recommending an investigation in regard to the indigenous systems of medicine?
 - (b) and if so, what action they have taken in the matter as the result of such investigation?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

The views of all the Local Governments and Administrations have been received by the Government of India. They are now, as stated in the reply given by the Hon'ble Sir James Du Boulay to the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul on February 6th, awaiting from the Chief Commissioner of Delhi the opinion of the Committee of the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference on the indigenous systems of medicine.

The Cotton Industry in India

4. With reference to the answer given to my question on the cotton industry in India asked on the 16th February 1917, that Government were considering the suggestions made by Professor Todd, will Government be pleased to state what action has since been taken to promote the industry?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill)

The Hon'ble member's attention is invited to the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes, to a question asked on the same subject by the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi on 6th February 1918. As stated by my Hon'ble colleague, the whole question will be carefully considered by the Government of India on receipt of the report of the Committee which has been appointed to investigate the possibility of extending the production of long-stapled cotton in India.

Delhi, 5th March 1918

Mussalmans interned in India

- 5. Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the following particulars as regards the Mussalmans interned in India, including Burma:—
 - (a) the total number interned;
 - (b) the name, birthplace, age and profession of each interned;
 - (c) the enactment under which each is interned;
 - (d) the date as well as the period of internment;
 - (e) the place of internment and, where the interned person is confined in jail, the name of such jail, and
 - (f) the amount of allowance given to (1) the interned and (2) his dependants, if any.

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

The Hon'ble Member is referred to the reply given to the question put by the Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan on the same subject.

Delhi, 8th March 1918

The Madeas Righ Court

- 6. (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the resolution regarding the Madras High Court recently moved and lost in the Madras Legislative Council?
 - (b) Will Government be pleased. (1) to publish the full correspondence, if any, between them and the Government of Madras over the question of fixing the permanent strength of the Madras High Court; and (2) to state whether in view of the increasing arrears of work, they contemplate raising the permanent strength to twelve Judges?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

(a) The Government of India have seen newspaper reports of the proceedings in the Madras Legislative Council.

- (b) (1) It is not customary in such cases to publish correspondence between the Government of India and a Local Government, and it is not proposed to make an exception to the usual practice in the present instance.
 - (2) The Government of India are not aware that the arrears in the Court's work are increasing, and there is no present intention of raising the present strength of Judges to twelve. A total staff of this number has however been sanctioned up to the end of the current year.

Moslem Representation in certain Madras Bills

- 7. Will Government be pleased to state
 - (a) whether sanction has been accorded to (1) the Madras City Municipal Rill, (2) the Madras District Municipalities Bill, and (8) the Madras Local Boards Bill;
 - (b) whether in connection with the Madras City
 Municipal Bill the question of separate
 Moslem representation received their due
 consideration, as in the case of the Calcutta
 Municipal Bill, and if so, whether it was one
 of their suggestions; and
 - (c) if no provision has been made in each of these Madras Bills for adequate Moslem representation on the local bodies, as has been done in the United Provinces, whether they intend to suggest its inclusion in the Bills before according their sanction to them?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair)

Sanction has not been accorded by the Government of India to the introduction of any of the Bills mentioned. The District Municipalities and Local Boards Bills have not been referred to the Government of India. The City Municipal Bill has been so referred, but orders will not issue until the opinion of the Corporation has been received by the Local Government. This Bill does not in its present form provide for separate Moslem representation, but a certain

number of Councillors are under it to be nominated by Government with the object, among others, of providing for the representation of communities who are in a permanent minority. No suggestion has been made by the Government of India for the provision of special Moslem representation in the Bill, and it is not intended to make such provision unless this is proposed by the Local Government.

Local Option

8. Will Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to recognise the principle of local option in areas or localities where local option is desired by a substantial majority of the inhabitants?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes)

The Hon'ble Member, I gather, means by his question to ask whether the Government are prepared to close all drinking shops in areas or localities where such closure is desired by a substantial majority of the inhabitants. What he exactly means by the words 'substantial majority' remains undefined. The Government have always felt the desirability of ascertaining and deferring to reasonable public opinion in excise matters as expressed by Advisory Committees. A few days ago I tried to point out in this Council the great difficulties surrounding the question of total prohibition, the certainty that illicit practices would follow prohibition, if that policy were adopted, and the necessity for considering the legitimate rights of the minority. If after considering these difficulties and after ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants, a Local Government should in the future recommend the closure of all drinking shops in any particular area, I do not think that the Hon'ble Member will be likely to find the Government of India standing in the way of the recommendation.

Delhi, 12th March 1918

Percentage of Alcohol in Country Spirits

- 9. Will Government be pleased to state
 - (a) whether the percentage of alcohol in country spirits and fermented liquor varies in different parts of the country, and if so, in what proportion;

- (b) the actual percentage of alcohol present (1) in each kind of country liquor, (2) in fermented liquor such as toddy or pachwai, and (8) in country beer; and
- (c) the retail selling prices in the principal cities of India of (1) country spirits, (2) toddy, and (8) beer, as well as each kind of foreign liquor.

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes)

The information for which the Hon'ble Member asks in clauses (a) and (b) of his question will be found so far as it is available in Major Bedford's report on alcoholic liquors in India, a copy of which I will be pleased to lend the Hon'ble Member if he so wishes.

A statement of the retail selling prices of country spirits and toddy in the principal cities of India will be laid on the table when the information has been collected. It is impossible to give this information in regard to beer and foreign liquors as they are sold in a variety of qualities, at prices which vary accordingly.

Indian and Avgle Indian Journals required by Government

10. Will Government be pleased to state the names and the number of copies of the Indian and Anglo-Indian newspapers, journals and other periodicals which are required for departmental purposes?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

A statement is laid upon the table embodying the information asked for by the Hon'ble Member. (Vide Appendix A).

Consumption of toddy, pachwai and other liquors

- 11. Will Government be pleased to state for each of the last five years (1918-1917), Province by Province:—
 - (a) the total quantity, as far as available, of (1) toddy, (2) pachwai, (8) other fermented liquor, and (4) beer, consumed in India;
 - (b) the total quantity of each kind of foreign liquor imported into India;

(c) the total quantity of all kinds of liquor exported from India?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes)

The complete figures desired by the Hon'ble Member cannot be given, but statements are laid upon the table giving all the information that is available. (Vide Appendix A).

Securities deposited under the Press Act, 1910

- 12. Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement for each of the last three years (1915, 1916 and 1917), showing, Province by Province:—
 - (a) the names of Urdu and Anglo-Urdu newspapers, journals and other periodicals (1) from which securities have been demanded under the Press Act of 1910, and (2) the securities of which have been forfeited, and the presses confiscated to the State under the same Act;
 - (b) the number of such papers as have stopped publication;
 - (c) the number of such papers as have been exempted from the payment of deposits under the Act, as well as the number of existing papers to which the Press Act has not been applied?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

The information asked for is being collected from Local Governments and Administrations and when it is complete, a statement will be laid upon the table.

Delhi, 14th March 1918

Food Grains used in the manufacture of Alcohol

- 13. Will Government be pleased to state for each of the last five years:—
 - (a) the total quantity of food grains used in the manufacture of beer and kindred liquor in this country; and
 - (b) the quantity of alcohol (in gallons) used for commercial and industrial purposes?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes)

There are no figures available which would enable me to answer the first part of the Hon'ble Member's question.

With regard to the second part, alcohol used for commercial and industrial purposes has only been shown separately in the statistics for the last two years. I am laying on the table a statement of the amounts of rectified and denatured spirits issued in the various provinces during the years, 1915-16 and 1916-17, which I hope will give the Hon'ble Member the information he desires. (Vide Appendix A).

Delhi, 18th March 1918

Moslem Representation on the Madras University

- 14. (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to (i) the resolution passed at the last annual meeting at Madras of the Madras Presidency Moslem League, regarding the reservation of a fourth of the elected seats in the Senate of the Madras University for Muhammadans, and (ii) the resolution passed at the District Moslem Educational Conference at Vellore (Madras), on the 17th February, regarding the desirability of amending the Indian Universities Act, VIII of 1904, so as to create a separate electorate of registered Moslem graduates for electing their own representatives to the University Senate?
 - (b) If so, do Government propose to consider the advisability of introducing any such change at an early date in the Universities Act?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair)

- (a) The Government has seen the latter but not the former of these resolutions.
- (b) It is not proposed to make any amendments in the law regarding the constitution of University Senates pending receipt of the report of the Calcutta University Commission.

Railway Survey between Yerragudipad and Atmakur

- 15. Will Government be pleased to state
 - (a) the result of the railway (metre gauge) survey between Yerragudipad and Atmakur in the Madras Presidency; and
 - (b) whether the survey line passes through or near the Banganapalle State, and if so, at what point?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan)

- (a) The Yerragudipad-Atmakur Railway was surveyed in the years, 1908 and 1909. The cost of the section from Yerragudipad to Nandyal, 71½ miles in length, was estimated at Rs. 40. 85 lacs, and the return on capital outlay at 2.08 per cent. The cost of the section from Nandyal to Atmakur, 30 miles in length, was estimated at Rs. 14.87 lacs and the return on capital at 2.9 per cent.
- (b) The line as surveyed runs for about \(\frac{3}{4} \) of a mile of its length through the Banganapalle State near Kottapalle village.

Delhi, 22nd March 1918

Securities deposited under the Press Act of 1910

- 16. Will Government be pleased to state, Province by Province, for each of the last three years
 - (a) the number of (1) monthly magazines or periodicals and (2) weekly journals for which securities were demanded under the Indian Press Act of 1910; and
 - (b) the number of such magazines and journals as have deposited securities under the Act?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

A statement is laid on the table giving the information desired by the Hon'ble Member. (Vide Appendix A).

Educational expenditure

- 17. Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement for each of the last five years, Province by Province, showing:—
 - (a) recurring grants,
 - (b) non-recurring grants; and
 - (c) unspent balances,

in regard to educational expenditure.

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran,

The statement asked for is laid on the table. (Vide Appendix A).

Simla, 18th September 1918

Publication of Criticisms on the Indian Reform Proposals

18. Do Government propose to publish the criticisms on the Indian Reform Proposals by Local Governments, public bodies and public men, and submit the same to the Secretary of State for India before the proposed constitutional changes are embodied in a Parliamentary Bill, and will the publication be made available to the public?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

The opinions of Local Governments and responsible criticisms received will be communicated to the Secretary of State before legislation is introduced into Parliament. It is not customary for the Government of India to publish such opinions and criticisms.

Food-grains used in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors

19. With reference to the reply given on 14th March last to my question regarding the total quantity of food-grains used in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors such as beer, do Government intend to advise provincial administrations to collect and include the necessary statistics in their respective annual reports on the excise administration?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes)

No, Sir, the Government do not propose to advise Provincial Administrations to collect and include the statistics suggested by the Hon'ble Member in their respective annual reports on the excise administration.

Simla, 23rd September 1918

Construction of railway line between Balharsha and Warangal

- 20. (a) Is it proposed to construct a railway line between Balharsha on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway and Warangal on the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, and if so, when?
 - (b) Is there any proposal to extend the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway line from Wanaparti Road to Kurnool or Nandyal, and if so, at what point will the proposed line meet the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway?
 - (c) Is it proposed to construct a railway line between Hingoli and Akola, and if so, when?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan)

- (a) The reply is in the affirmative. His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government who, as at present arranged, will finance the construction of the Balharsha-Warangal Railway, have proposed to defer the construction till the end of the War.
- (b) It was at one time proposed to construct a metre gauge connection between Hyderabad and Kurnool or Nandyal, with a view to linking up the metre gauge system of Hyderabad State with the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. This scheme has however been superseded in part by the Secunderabad Gadag project, of which the Secunderabad Wanaparti Road Railway forms the first section. There is no proposal at present before the Government of India for an extension of this railway to Kurnool or Nandyal.
- (c) It is not proposed to construct a railway between Hingoli and Akola. A reconnaissance

survey of a line from Akola to Basim has however recently been ordered by the Railway Board.

Changes in the running of trains on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway

- 21. (a) Have there been new changes in the running of trains on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway since the 1st of September, such as the cancellation of the Delhi 'Express' and the running of the 'Mail' only as far as Delhi?
 - (b) Is it a fact that no carriage is provided in the Bombay-Delhi mail for Intermediate class passengers and that such passengers are in consequence put to inconvenience? If so, do Government intend to draw the attention of the Railway authorities in this matter?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan)

The reply to part (a) of the question is in the affirmative. Before 1st September, a Mail train between Bombay and Peshawar and an Express train between Bombay and Delhi ran via the Great Indian Peniusular Railway, and a Mail train ran between Bombay and Lahore via Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. With a view to reducing passenger train mileage it was decided to run only one Mail train between Bombay and the Punjab, and the Bombay Baroda and Central India train now runs between Bombay and Peshawar, the Great Indian Peninsular Mail runs between Bombay and Delhi, and the Express train has been cancelled.

(b) Intermediate class accommodation has not hitherto been provided in the Great Indian Peninsular Mail and there may be difficulties in providing it now, but the matter will be taken up with the Great Indian Peninsular Administration.

Simla, 26th September 1918

Investigation of the indigenous system of medicine

22. (a) With reference to the reply given on the 27th

February last to my question on the subject,

will Government be pleased to lay on the

- table a statement of the views of Local Governments regarding the investigation of the indigenous system of medicine?
- (b) What further action do the Government of India propose to take in the matter?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent)

- (a) The views of the Local Governments and Administrations are summed up in a statement which I lay on the table.
- (b) The matter is under consideration. In reply to his question on the subject in February last, the Hon'ble Member was informed that the Government of India were awaiting the opinion of the Committee of the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference, That opinion is still awaited.

Statement

(Statement summing up the views of Local Governments and Administrations on the question of placing indigenous systems of medicine on a scientific basis)

The opinion unanimously expressed by Local Governments is that it is practically impossible to place the indigenous systems of medicine on a scientific basis. The systems are a survival of a state of medical knowledge which once prevailed in Europe, but has been superseded by a series of scientific investigations and discoveries extending over several centuries. They ignore the instruments of scientific investigation which have made modern medicine and surgery possible, and the theories on which they are based are demonstrably unsound. Even at the present time there are numerous practitioners who have superimposed a knowledge of western medicine on Ayurvedic instruction, or vice versa but there is evidence that these men do not possess the confidence of the people to the same degree as practitioners who have been trained solely in accordance with the strict tenets of the Ayurveda, and the latter are strongly opposed to any form of Government interference. If advance is to

be made on these lines, it is essential that there should be a strong movement among indigenous practitioners, supported by public opinion, to reform and organise themselves and of such a movement there is at present little or no evidence.

The hold which the ancient systems of medicine undoubtedly have on the masses of the population is attributable in part to a form of credulity analogous to the belief in the magical efficacy of quack drugs and patent medicines which, in spite of constant exposures and a much higher level of education, is still so widespread even in western countries but the popularity of these systems is chiefly due to the smallness of the fees which their practitioners are willing to accept. Training in western methods involves expense, and it is inevitable that practitioners so trained should raise their fees. The attendance at Government Hospitals and Dispensaries, where the treatment is gratuitous, proves that the value of western methods is appreciated, and the policy of Local Governments is to increase the facilities for such treatment. To divert the funds available for the purpose to the encouragement of systems which they cannot but regard as unsound would, in their opinion, be a grave misuse of public revenues.

There is, however, one line of research which is likely to be fruitful; and that is the scientific investigation of the properties of indigenous drugs. Several Local Governments have already considered measures for conducting such an investigation; but these measures have had to be postponed owing to the impossibility of obtaining during the War the services of competent pharmacologists.

Hardships of Third class passengers in obtaining

28. (a) Is it a fact that third class passengers at important junction stations, particularly at the terminal stations such as Egmore and the Central Station in Madras suffer great hardship, because the ticket window is not kept open sufficiently early so as to expedite the sale of tickets to the large number of

- passengers, that some passengers have to pay heavy bakshis to obtain tickets and that tickets are refused at the last moment?
- (b) Do Government propose to suggest to all Railway administrations measures to remedy these evils?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan)

- (a) A reference to the Time Tables and Coaching Tariffs of Railways shows that Railway Administrations arrange to keep booking offices open sufficiently long before the departure of trains to obviate inconvenience to intending passengers. No specific complaint has been received regarding the Central Station, Madras. A complaint received from the Railway Passengers' Association, Saidapet, regarding Egmore was referred to the Railway Administration, when it appeared that most of the points brought to notice had already been attended to and a satisfactory settlement effected at a meeting between the General Traffic Manager of the Railway and Representatives of the Association. Railway servants are forbidden to accept illegal gratifications and if they demand and accept wrongful payments before issue of tickets to passengers, they lay themselves open to criminal prosecution. The remedy for the evil where it exists lies, so far as the travelling public are concerned, in a prompt and definite complaint to the Agent of the Railway concerned.
- (b) The question of ameliorating the conditions of third class travel has been receiving the careful attention of Railways under the Railway Board. In this connection I lay on the table for the information of the Hon'ble Member, copies of three letters recently issued by the Board to Railway Administrations and Senior Government Inspectors.

SECTION II

SPEECHES DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Budget

"My Lord, the remarkable Financial Statement for 1918-19 reveals an excellent revenue position, a revenue surplus, and a cautious war budget without the imposition of fresh taxation. I take this opportunity to congratulate most heartily the Hon'ble Finance Member on his presenting an eminently satisfactory budget once again. On the eve of laying down the reins of high office the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer may look back with pride and satisfaction upon his career in the Financial Department, and rejoice to find that his valuable service to India and the Empire at a most critical period of her history is fully recognized and appreciated by his non-official colleagues in the Imperial Legislative Council.

"The Financial Statement assumes for budget purposes that the war is likely to continue for yet another year. The end of the gigantic world-struggle does not yet seem to be within sight. How to win the War is the one mighty resolve of the whole Empire. India, too, my Lord, is determined to continue to render the Empire every loyal assistance in the successful prosecution of the War. At such a time any criticism of the War budget ought to recognize at once the urgent needs of the British Empire. Neither is it possible for me to criticise the budget without a fair knowledge of the present military needs, nor is it advisable to press vigorously, as in normal times, the claims of India in matters of internal progress and reform. Nor is a week's time hardly sufficient to go through and digest a mass of statistics in the able memorandum prepared by the Financial Secretary.

"I should, however, like to place a few facts before the Council, as may suggest thoughts for future guidance. Until

the year when War broke out, education and sanitation, my Lord, continued to receive sufficient encouragement during your predecessor's regime. Since then War-conditions have naturally prevented your Excellency's Government from making large and substantial grants towards their expenditure. But it is to be regretted that even the grants since made to Local Governments could not fully be utilised. While the accumulation of non-recurring grants, made to education between 1911-12 and 1918-19, represents a fair sum of nearly £2½ millions, the unspent balance on the 1st of April 1919 is expected to be £854,000, or less than a third of the total expenditure of non-recurring grants. Further, the Financial Statement expresses that in view of War conditions they have to ask Local Governments to restrict drawings on their balances. Hence no appreciable progress could be made in education. Moreover, a special recurring grant of thirty lacs, allotted in the budget, for the development of primary education, is too small to be of practical value over such a large area. In view of the fowing importance of primary education this grant needs to be doubled, so as to be of real benefit to the cause of primary education. The Financial Member, I dare say, will see his way to make a grant of at least £400,000 instead of £200,000, without materially altering any budget item. Though substantial amounts are not available for improving education, efforts should be made to divert a good portion of the money spent on University or higher education to the more pressing needs of primary and secondary education. The need for trained teachers in Primary Schools is increasingly felt, especially in aided and unaided institutions. In Government Vernacular Primary Schools half the number of teachers are untrained men, and in Board and Municipal Schools far more than half the number are untrained men, while in aided and unaided Vernacular Primary Schools, the trained men form only about a seventh of the total number of teachers. The position is better in the Anglo-Vernacular Primary Schools under Government, Board, or Municipal management, where two thirds of the teachers are trained men. But in aided and unaided Anglo-Vernacular Schools less than a fourth of

the teachers are trained men. These figures clearly show that, if primary education is to make headway, more trained teachers are needed, and, consequently, more training schools in select centres. Whether in normal or abnormal times, adequate provision should be made to meet the growing needs of primary education. Also, I should like to suggest that a portion of the Imperial grants, both recurring and non-recurring, should be ear-marked for Moslem education. Fairly satisfactory as the progress of Moslem education has been in recent years, I believe there is need for an increased number of scholarships to Moslem youths who desire to pursue scientific or industrial education. For they have a better aptitude for such education than those of the sister community. Special Imperial grants too, should be earmarked for scientific and commercial education. A sum of Rs. 34,000 is all that Provincial revenues could find for promoting higher commercial education in 1916-17, and a sum of about Rs. 24,400 only for commercial schools.

"Nor can sanitation be neglected. Steeped as the masses have been for years past in ignorance and poverty, any amount expended on the improvement of rural sanitation so as to minimise the evils of preventible diseases is money well spent. Even there one finds nearly half the total expenditure of the non-recurring grants is shown as the unspent balance expected to be available on the 1st of April 1919. I wish, my Lord, that Local Governments are permitted to spend more of these non-recurring grants so as to leave little unspent balance, except where it is absolutely necessary.

"Under the revenue heads the rapid growth of the excise revenue cannot be contemplated with equanimity. It has nearly doubled itself within the last fifteen years. Within the last four years, it has increased by about 17 per cent. Nearly half the total revenue is shared between Madras and Bombay, the former alone contributing more than a fourth of the total revenue. While an increased revenue does not necessarily indicate a corresponding growth in the consumption of liquor, it represents, however, a large amount of money of the drinking classes, the vast bulk of whom are the

poor masses of India. The money they now waste on liquor may profitably be spent in securing for them increased comfort and better living. The Government, my Lord, I respectfully submit, is not morally entitled to raise revenue from the cursed liquor traffic.

"Under the expenditure items, the military item, as is indispensable and inevitable, tops the list. While I do not feel competent to criticise that item, I feel bound to say that a considerable decrease in expenditure should be looked forward to when normal times return. Within the last five years the expenditure has increased by about 40 per cent. Next in importance to military expenditure comes police expenditure. This expenditure, too, has shown a very rapid rise from £8.81 millions in 1907-08, to over £5\frac{1}{2} millions in 1917-18, and the budgeted figure for 1918-19 rises to £5.86 millions. Within the last ten years it has increased by about 74 per cent. A large increase, I dare say, must have occurred in the Criminal Investigation Department, whose expenditure alone has nearly trebled itself during the same period. increased expenditure leads to efficiency, I shall not grudge it. But I have reason to believe there is need for effective retrenchment in Police expenditure.

"In view of the impending reforms, public expenditure is likely to grow. The question of retrenchment is even more important than that of reform. I should like to suggest the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to scrutinise our public expenditure and suggest ways of Again, the post-war trade problems have to engage our serious attention, as the future financial strength of India will have to depend upon her economic prosperity. Without feeling any necessity for imposing fresh taxation the Government should consider the revenues of the country have to be augmented by a well-thought-out plan of Indian industrial expansion. Let me hope, my Lord, that, as soon as the war is over, greater encouragement will be given to scientific and commercial education, and that your Excellency's regime will mark the beginning of a new industrial era in this country."

18th March 1918

The East India Railway Company's Contract

"Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma. The Hon'ble Mover has put his case so well before the Council that I do not think it necessary to detain the Council any longer by repeating the same arguments. As the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department has expressed a wish to know the views of the members, I beg to say that I am one of the supporters of this Resolution. I hope the Member in charge will place the proceedings of the debate before the Secretary of State with his favourable endorsement."

19th March 1918

Internment Under the Defence of India Act

"Sir, after hearing the speeches of the Hon'ble Mover and the Hon'ble the Home Member and the sympathetic views taken by the latter, it is not necessary for me to say more, and it only remains for us to thank him for his sympathetic attitude. The Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea's Resolution makes a modest proposal. It does not aim even at the slightest alteration of any clause or provision in the Defence of India Act or the deportation Regulations. It wants the defence to remain on the defensive and not to assume the role of the offensive. It seeks to ensure the just and proper application of the Act or the Regulations to individual cases. It asks, therefore, for the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials.

"First, such public opinion as we have in this country desires to be satisfied in certain cases as to the justness of the enactment or enforcement of the Act as well as of the Regulations. Whether rightly or wrongly people have come to entertain a doubt as to their correct application in some cases. The sentiment is there, and it is growing stronger and stronger. In practical politics sentiment counts a good deal. With due deference to the authorities whose vast powers, resources and methods of investigation may unearth facts which otherwise can hardly be known to an unsuspecting public.

I feel bound to remark that, even with the best of intentions, the best of officials are after all human, and are liable to err. They are no more infallible than non-officials are. Even should there be one unjust case for a hundred just cases, the effect that that single case would produce upon public opinion would be so great that no enlightened Government could afford to neglect it. Hence the Government should be prepared to satisfy public opinion. It may be that the Government have in their possession such assured information as may not be disclosed to the public in the interests of public safety. But they can furnish the proposed Committee with such information as might be let in in the course of investigation, and thus help the Committee to arrive at safe and sound conclusions.

- "Secondly, justice requires that the sacred personal rights of the individual should be protected from envy or malice which too often in the affairs of men may involve even absolutely innocent persons into unexpected trouble. I consider it is one of the functions of a civilised Government to protect and safeguard the personal rights of the individual.
- "Thirdly, in the name of prestige which the Government values so much, and in the interests of efficiency of which the administration is so jealous, the Government should favour the appointment of the proposed Committee, so that there may be greater cordiality between the rulers and the ruled. Even where the prestige of the Government is assailed, the public will then voluntarily rush towards the support of constituted authority and help to maintain its prestige.
- "Fourthly, the appointment of a Committee will go a great way in securing that public co-operation which the police badly miss to-day for want of mutual confidence between them and the people. With accurate knowledge of facts the public will be less and less disposed to stand aloof from police investigation of the right sort.
- "For these reasons, I heartily support the Resolution before the Council, and trust that it will meet with the unanimous acceptance of the Council."

(19th March 1918)

Appointment of an Indian Member to the next Imperial War Conference

"Sir, while taking exception to the form in which the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea's Resolution is worded. I fully sympathize with the object of the Resolution. By the 'Indian Member for the next Imperial War Conference,' I suppose Mr. Bannerjea means an Indian representative chosen to assist in his advisory capacity the Secretary of State for India on the Imperial War Conference, 'formally agreed on the motion of the Prime Ministers of the great Dominions to modify its own constitution so as to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences.' We are not entitled. I presume, to send our own representatives to the Conference until its constitution is changed. We do hope that it will shortly be amended in the direction indicated Until such time we must rest content with the position that our representatives can be sent only in their advisory capacity as was done last year. Since no Indian representative can have a vote in the Conference, it is immaterial whether he is nominated by the Government either directly or on the recommendation of the elected members of this Council Mr Bannerjea evidently desires that the Government should be pleased to recognize the principle of election by appointing a representative recommended by the elected members of this Council. While no doubt or fear is entertained as to the excellence of the choice of the Government, patriotic feeling suggests a popular method of nomination.

"The Resolution, Sir, might have gone further and suggested the election of a non-official representative by the elected members of the Council. But it modestly suggests, for the ready acceptance of the Council, that the recommendation of the Council should influence the Government nomination of at least one Indian representative. Since it is to be, as it was, primarily a War Conference, it is but fitting in the nature of things that a popular representative should give expression to the popular feeling that India is prepared in these troublous times to share the burden of

the Empire, and it shall be his duty as India's spokesman to pledge India to give her best and materially assist the Empire in all possible ways to achieve a glorious victory. In fact, such a loyal expression will come with better grace from the people's representative. I do hope, therefore, that the elected members of this Council will be allowed the proud privilege of recommending to His Excellency the Viceroy one or two names of Indian representatives, one of whom he may be pleased to nominate to assist the Secretary of State for India on the Imperial War Conference. India's position and status within the Empire having been raised by admitting Indian representatives last year into the inner counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet, as well as of the Imperial War Conference, it is but meet that India should be allowed the choice of nominating her representative. More words are not needed to commend this timely Resolution to your acceptance. I, therefore, desire to give my hearty support to Mr. Bannerjea's Resolution."

(6th September 1918)

On Reform Proposals

"My Lord, I had the honour to welcome the proposed Reforms and to express my views on them on the 26th of July last. The Madras Presidency Moslem League, of which I have the honour to be the President, while welcoming the Reform Proposals and tendering their thanks to Your Excellency, suggests some modifications and improvements therein. These have already been published in the dailies of Madras.

"As a representative of the Moslems of the Madras Presidency, I tender my grateful thanks to Your Excellency and to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Reform Proposals. I acknowledge them to be on the whole a considerable advance over the present position. The scheme will constitute a real step towards responsible and progressive Government, when it is modified and improved in the light of the criticisms of responsible leaders and public bodies, as well as of the recommendations of the Committee of non-official members of this Council which it is proposed to appoint. I am, therefore, glad to give my hearty support

to the Resolution which is before the Council, though I would at the same time beg to be allowed to express the feeling of my co-religionists, who are disappointed with the scheme as regards the inadequacy of representation of their community. I hope that when these proposals take their final shape, the Mussalmans will get adequate representation in all bodies—Local, Provincial and Imperial." (Appendix B).

(9th September 1918)

Financial Assistance in Respect of the Cost of the Military Forces Raised, or to be Raised, in India

"My Lord, as I have been convinced by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer's speech, which has removed from my mind any apprehensions with regard to taxation, I beg to support this Resolution on the following grounds.

"I may be permitted to remind this Council of my esteemed friend and colleague, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' Resolution unanimously passed in Council just about this time four years ago. That memorable Resolution gave expression to their feelings of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to their King-Emperor and an assurance of their unflinching support to the British Government,' and further expressed the opinion that the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the War on the United Kingdom.' Since then, my Lord, India has been contributing her share in an ever increasing degree to the defence of the Empire, and I may assure this Council that she is still prepared to render further help in all possible ways. But the prolongation of the War demands still greater sacrifices. In his last message to India, His Majesty the King-Emperor asked us to realise that 'the need of the Empire is India's opportunity.

"Again, at the Delhi War Conference in April last, Your Excellency observed that 'the liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning.' So

the Resolution before the Council gives India yet another opportunity to help to win the liberty of the world. The military forces raised or to be raised in this country may not all be employed in the defence of our frontiers, and generally for home defence. Some have been and may be employed in Mesopotamia, and others sent to the eastern theatre of war. Considering the heavy financial burden of the British Empire as, in these terrible times of War, military expenditure continues to grow by leaps and bounds, we ought to be able to recognise the justice of India's increasing share in bearing a part of this heavy burden, not as a dependant but as an integral part of the British Empire. Though the end of the War is not yet in sight, it has, however, been brought appreciably nearer through the recent continued successes and victories of the British and their Allies on the Western Front. If this allied offensive is to be pushed vigorously further into the enemy's entrenched lines, more money is needed for putting forth still greater efforts. Enormous sacrifices in men and material have already been made in stoutly opposing the enemy's advance, and driving him back. To stop further bloodshed and further sacrifices every part of the Empire, including India, should now bestir itself and further aid the Empire in bringing this gigantic world struggle to an early and successful close. India is fully aware, my Lord, that her very future depends upon the complete success of the British arms. and that her political salvation lies in the liberal and progressive British methods of Administration along modern constitutional lines. Since the widened angle of vision has brought together much closer the rulers and the ruled, we have learnt to identify, in a large measure and to a great extent, our best interests with those of the British Empire. I desire, therefore, to give my warm support to the Finance Member's Resolution, and trust that it will meet with the unanimous acceptance of this Council."

SECTION III

OTHER SPEECHES

(5th May 1918)

Reply to the address of Welcome from the Tellicherry Muslim League

Brethren:—Please accept my warmest thanks for the address of welcome you have so kindly presented to me on my first visit to your historic town. The spiritual fervour that runs through the whole address inspires me with hope and fills me with joy. Born and brought up in the Islamic faith, I yield to none in my deep reverence for the blessed Prophet, my steadfast and abiding faith in the Holy Quran and my devotion to the Muslim cause. The great Islamic ideals I have often placed before me in all my public activities and the teachings of the Prophet have been the guiding principles of my conduct both in public and private.

In your beautiful address you refer to (1) the safety of Islam as trembling in the balance, and (2) the unfulfilled aspirations of United India. Most unfortunately Islam in Europe has fallen on evil days, but when the war terminates and peace is restored, let us hope that the cause of Islam is bound to triumph over fleeting temporal affairs. Next, I can hardly think of a United India without Musalmans. Musalmans no less than Hindus contribute towards the making of a United India, the dream of our political ambition. It has to be borne in mind that the politics of United India is virtually the politics of all classes and communities inhabiting this great land. Except in a very narrow sense, there is no Moslem politics apart from Indian national politics. I am sincerely glad that you appreciate this view, and have given expression to it in your address when you speak of United India as striving her utmost to take her proper place in the

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comity of Nations. India's future depends on the stability and continuance of British rule on modern democratic and progressive lines, and the genuine loyalty to the British throne of all Indian peoples. Moslem loyalty is as staunch and as deep as it can ever be. England is justly regarded by all loyal Musalmans as the greatest Moslem power too in the world.

Within the community I am a Musalman first and fore most. To work for the moral and material advancement of the Moslem community is a primary duty the laws of the Prophet have imposed on me. Nothing gives me greater satisfaction than a conscientious discharge of my duties to my co-religionists. Our first and greatest need to-day is education. By education within the community I mean a modern liberal education, inspired and guided by high Islamic ideals. When once this system of education is begun for the benefit of Moslem youths from the primary stage to the collegiate standard in special Moslem institutions, largely supported by private philanthropy, the pace of Moslem progress will be quickened, and the Moslem community will even more readily co-operate with the sister communities in their efforts to realize responsible government in India as early as possible. Malabar with nearly a million Moslem inhabitants should have a Moslem college, owned and manned by Mussalmans themselves. You need therefore to concentrate at once all your attention on Moslem education-how best it can be promoted.

As for our political future, it is so closely bound up with that of our sister communities that, in the realisation of our common political future, the steps we propose to take and the pace at which we ought to proceed in order to ensure our success will largely determine our fitness for larger political privileges, and the eventual enjoyment of responsible government under the aegis of Great Britain. Further, the kind of political work you do will either strengthen or weaken the hands of the parent League—the All-India Moslem League that stands, I take it, for progressive liberalism. While you are bound to carry out

the policy of the parent League, the parent League is bound to frame a policy in conformity with the well-considered views of local or branch Leagues such as yours. When you have reason to think that the parent League seeks to express views of its own sometimes going beyond its well-defined policy, it is for you to express emphatically your dissent from those views, provided your considered views do not trespass the bounds of the broad liberal policy with which the All-India League was founded. Again, when any local League attempts to soar rather too high in the political sky, it is undoubtedly the duty of the parent League to discipline it in the larger interests of Moslem or national politics.

It is highly gratifying to know that you have expressed in the address your generous appreciation of my humble work both in and out of the Imperial Legislative Council. I don't know if I deserve all your praises. But I have always endeavoured to do my duty, as your chosen representative, to my co-religionists and Islam as well as to my fellow-countrymen and the country, without courting favour or entertaining fear. What little I was able to do these few years I have done to the best of my ability and according to the light that is given to me, and if it was attended with success, that success was largely due to the blessings of the Prophet, and to the goodwill and courtesy, the active sympathy and willing co-operation of my community in all that I undertook to do for their good. Next to the approbation of one's own conscience, the approbation of one's own community and countrymen is the best reward of one's public duty. I have not known that my feeble work has entitled me to occupy a place in the warm corner of your hearts, and by your benevolent expressions you have laid me under a debt of obligation to you, and increased my sense of duty as well as of responsibility. Once again I thank you most heartily for welcoming me in felicitous language to Tellicherry, and wish your League all success and prosperity in coming years. Lastly. i pray that God may bless you all in your noble efforts to elevate the status of the Moslem community in Southern India.

(5th May 1918)

Reply to the address of welcome from the Imdadul Islam Sabha

Members of the Imdadul Islam Sabha,—It gives me great pleasure to be in your midst this evening and receive your kind address of welcome. I am happy to visit your beautiful town and thank you most sincerely for your hearty reception. It has long been my desire to come into personal contact with my wide constituency in their own towns and villages, and that desire is, however, partially fulfilled to-day. My heart therefore rejoices at the sight of my co-religionists welcoming me enthusiastically not so much for my princely rank or personal worth as for my humble service to the community and the cause of Islam.

In your patriotic address you refer to two important things, viz .- (1) the want of a Moslem language, and (2) the absence of a Moslem National School in your district. In my reply to the address of the local Muslim League. I have dwelt on the needs of Moslem education, and shall not reiterate here what I said this morning. Suffice it therefore to say that I fully recognize the value and importance of Urdu as a national language for my community in Malabar. Urdu, the lingua franca of India to-day as in the days of Moslem rule, thanks to our benevolent Government, has already been recognised as one of the few principal Vernaculars of the country. Though Arabic is the language of our holy religious literature. Urdu has come to be our national language in all temporal affairs. It is both desirable and necessary for the Mussalmans of the West Coast to adopt Urdu as their mother tongue and endeavour to found Urdu schools wherein English too may be taught as a secondary language. In the primary stages of education encouragement should be given to all patriotic Musalmans who wish to start as many maklabs as are needed for Moslem lads all over the district. Except in the higher stages of education, Urdu should be made the medium of instruction in all Moslem educational institutions. Also, I share with you your belief

^{*} Vide Appendix C.

that secular education combined with religious education will really and greatly improve the moral and material interests of my co-religionists. Such a healthy combination leads not merely to intellectual equipment so necessary for life's long battle in these hard days of struggle and competition but to the formation of character so essential to the spiritual development of man. You rightly attribute the cause of the want of enlightened leaders amongst you to the absence of educational facilities here. More depends on your own exertions than on the aid of the Government, if Moslem national education is to become an accomplished fact. I look forward therefore to the initiative to be taken by the enlightened members of the Malabar Moslem community. and can assure you that my services both in and out of the Imperial Legislative Council are always at your disposal. I am equally prepared to render you what assistance I can in furthering your educational interests.

Taking your inspiration and guidance from the inexhaustible source of the Holy religion of Islam, you ought to be able to live at peace with the members of your sister community without whose help and co-operation you cannot hope to achieve the Indian national progress. What is good for the country as a whole is equally good for each of the Indian communities. This is an important lesson that you will do well to learn and realize in every day practical life as you come into contact with men of different faiths. Moreover, you need to cultivate, as much as others should do, more friendly relations with those of your sister communities. With mutual sympathy and mutual understanding will come greater solidarity between Musalmans and Hindus. Musalmans have a bright future before them and their record of educational progress in the Presidency is one of which they may justly be proud. For 8 per cent of the Moslem population are literate against 7 per cent of the Hindu population in the Presidency. Though the number of Moslem graduates is too small, some of them have been men of parts who can favourably be compared with the best of graduates among Hindus or Christians. From this fact is evident that the Moslem brain is by no means inferior to that of the Hindu or the

Christian. Given equal opportunities and equal facilities, Moslem youths will hold their own with those of other communities. I cannot conclude my remarks better than by expressing my gratitude to you for all your kindness and wishing your Sabha a long prosperous career.

(5th May 1918)

Reply to the Address of Welcome from the Anwarul Islam Association*

Brothers of the Anwarul Islam Association,—When the heart is full, words fail to express adequately what is felt within. My grateful thanks are due to you for the cordial way in which you have received me in your midst and for the exceedingly kind words you have spoken of me You take pride in referring to my noble lineage but I am more proud of my community and the country than of my royal connection. For both the prince and the peasant at last find the same earthly grave. Further, we are living in a free democratic age when world influences tend to shape national ideals and when man, the child of God, finds in his fellow-man, be he rich or poor, high or low, young or old the same child of God. It is a real surprise to me to know that my public work, feeble as it has been, should have received such a happy recognition at your sympathetic hands.

The cause of the Moslem community and of the country, I believe, is the sacred cause of Islam. Islam binds us all together into one brotherhood and is so catholic that it embraces within one fold all Musalmans in the world. As brethren let us try to live in peace and harmony with all our sister communities in the land. The measure of our relationship with our neighbours will be tested by the readiness and willingness with which we are prepared to meet them on equal and friendly terms in the practical affairs of life. Want of understanding in the absence of sympathy is indeed a stumbling block in the way of rapprochement between Musalmans and Hindus. Like the two eyes equally necessary and equally important to the human body, the Musalmans and the Hindus, the two great communities in India, are

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equally essential to our body politic. Hence the advancement of India virtually means the advancement of each Indian community. Let us therefore march, hand in hand with each other and under the British flag which stands for justice and honour, ever onward and onward until we reach successfully the goal of India's national ambition.

Your address also refers to my bold and ready acceptance of the presidentship of the Madras Presidency Muslim League. I have accepted the office not for honour but for duty's sake and am fully conscious of the heavy responsibility that that office has thrown on me. I may also assure you that the President of the Madras League is neither a selfish moderate nor an impatient idealist but a progressive liberal. Whatever may be said of me in newspapers run on narrow partisan lines, I am what I am and what I have been by my deeds.

Before illiteracy is broken down and ignorance dispelled, our community is not likely to make any appreciable progress in the near future. Hence your first care and duty is to bring light before the Moslem masses by starting educational institutions throughout Malabar. In proportion as you advance in education you will advance politically, and be able to enjoy that freedom which is the birth-right of every individual and which is necessary for self-development.

I thank you once again, brothers, from the bottom of my heart for the address of welcome you have presented to me to-day, and assure you that the hearty reception you have given me will always be cherished by me with pleasant recollections. I pray that God will bless your association with longevity and prosperity that you may continue to do valuable service to the community and the country.

(On the 6th and 7th May 1918)

THE THIRD MALABAR DISTRICT CONFERENCE HELD AT TELLICHERRY.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Introduction

Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—In many respects the

most beautiful district, Malabar, a land of gardens and of the cocoanut palm with its rich and luxuriant cultivation and its extensive system of inland waterways of commercial importance, and with its more or less homogeneous population (the largest in the Presidency), speaking a common language and possessing common traditions, may well claim to form a little state in itself. Owing to heavy and unfailing rainfall throughout the district, Malabar enjoys the enviable reputation of practically knowing no famine. Besides agricultural industry in which nearly two-thirds of the population are engaged, a fairly large number, chiefly among the Mapillas, have taken to other industries, such as weaving and spinning, fish curing, pressing of cocoanut and gingelly oils, manufacture of tiles, bricks and earthenware from the special clay found in the district, and production of coir yarns for coir matting. Tea, coffee, rubber and cinnamon plantations and pepper estates form among the principal agricultural industries. The extensive sea-board of the district between which and the Mediterranean there used to exist considerable trade in very ancient times, indicates the great importance of its maritime commerce over its inland trade. Further, your district has already taken rapid strides in education, and about 11 per cent. of the population are literate, while 7 per 1,600 of the population are literate in English. As for female education, your district (Madras excepted) stands ahead of the other districts, and records the largest number (2,620) of women literate in English. Lastly, the martial spirit of your warlike races is still kept alive. Your district has often supplied fine material from among the pick of the Nair community. The Nair Regiment and the Nair Brigade testify to the fighting qualities of the Malayalee. In these and other respects Malayalam occupies a unique place in the Presidency. It has given me great pleasure to be in your midst, enjoy the fine scenery of your place as well as your magnificent hospitality, and take an active part in the political life of your district. I deem it a privilege, therefore, to be permitted to preside over the deliberations of the Third Malabar District Conference.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to express my grateful

thanks to the members of the Reception Committee for kindly inviting me to preside at this Conference. It is, I believe, an honour done not only to me but to the Moslem community whom I have the proud privilege of representing for two consecutive terms in the Imperial Legislative Council. While I should have preferred in the chair one of your district leaders who can speak with knowledge, experience and authority on the many pressing problems affecting your large district, I have but responded to your patriotic call to duty, and as an outsider, can make a few general observations, perhaps not altogether uninteresting to the enlightened audience before me. The presence of a large number of Musalmans in your district, the past historic associations, by no means friendly then, between Hindus and Musalmans during the eventful days of Haider and Tippu, the noteworthy fact that Cheraman Perumal, the last of the Chera Sovereigns, voluntarily resigned his throne early in the ninth century and retired to Mecca to adopt the Islamic faith, and above all, the goodwill of my fellow-countrymen here are among the reasons that induced me to accept the office of President. Following, as I do, two radical politicians who presided over the assembly on the previous occasions. I fear I may not be able to come up to your high expectations. But I assure you of my deep and sincere sympathies with all legitimate Indian aspirations, and of my genuine desire to work for the uplift of the classes as well as the masses in India. Liberalism is my creed, progress my watchword and freedom my goal. Let it then be our aim to realise freedom through progressive liberalism.

The War and Our Duty

The greatest world-struggle still continues in all its fury, and the war has reached a most critical stage. The collapse and ruin of Russia, the rapid progress of the enemy spring offensive on the Western front, the growing German menace in the East, and the gravity of the present military situation have filled the minds of thoughtful Indians with apprehensions. The war may possibly continue for another year, and its end is not yet within sight. It is a war between

Right and Might-Right backed up by Might and Might overlording Right. It is a war for the restoration of liberty not only in Europe but in the world-a righteous war on the part of the high-minded Allies to re-establish peace on earth and goodwill among mankind. Towards its successful prosecution India has already rendered yeoman service to the British Empire. India's magnanimous offers of help in men. money and material have been acknowledged and appreciated all over Great Britain. And now the call has come from the British Premier to the Government and the peoples of India, asking them to redouble their efforts. "I have no doubt," ran the Premier's message, "that India will add to the laurels which it has already won and equip itself on even a greater scale than now, as the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder, which it is the enemy's object to achieve." In his remarkable reply to this message, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, our Viceroy and Governor-General, said, "I feel confident that it will awake the Princes and the people's leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards." His Excellency further looks to them for their fullest effort and fullest sacrifice to save India from probable peril, and "secure the final triumph of the ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands." Is our loyalty still on trial? I say emphatically "no." It has been tried both in the past and in the present, and never been found wanting. Like a torch, the more it is shaken, the more it shines.

The Delhi Conference

Just returning from the Delhi Conference summoned by H. E. the Viceroy in response to the Premier's message, I consider it my duty to draw your attention to the great need for immediate active work in rendering further help to the Empire. In the course of his admirable speech which is still ringing in my ears, H. E. Lord Chelmsford has asked us all "to show that India's word given in the soft days of peace holds good in the iron times of war." Again, he said: "Forewarned we are forearmed. And if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear. India is

true to her allegiance. India stands for her right. No man addressing such an audience and stating such a cause can doubt for one moment what the response will be." Incidentally referring to the coming reforms, His Excellency observed: "In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning." At this important Conference of India's representatives was read His Majesty the King Emperor's message to the Conference. His Majesty was pleased to observe: "Great as has been India's contribution to the cause of the Allies, it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength." The King-Emperor has asked us to realise that "the need of the Empire is India's opportunity." In response to His Imperial Majesty's gracious message, and the Premier's call, the Conference has in regard to man-power finally adopted measures largely to increase voluntary recruitment during the present war, grant a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians, and substantially increase the pay of the Indian soldiers; and in regard to resources, it has suggested economy in every possible direction, control and regulation of all unessential building operations, and also, reduction of needless traffic by use, as far as possible, of local products, besides priority to be given on the railways to special necessaries, encouragement by Government of the construction of river craft and sailing ships to relieve the railways, and formation of Provincial Committees to help to stimulate local production of food stuffs and of war materials, reduce local consumption of war material, and prevent local irregularities in and inflation of price. We are living in stirring times, and have to face boldly the common danger that is ahead of us and that seems to threaten our future peaceful progress. Let all Indians with one mind and one heart follow the lead of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and prove India's great opportunity by loyal deeds, unselfishly and disinterestedly performed.

The urgent needs of the Empire
It seems to me that the gravity of the present situation

is not fully realised. Our countrymen are not probably. aware of the heavy calamities and indescribable hardships so heroically borne by our fellow British subjects in the. United Kingdom. While we are just beginning to feel the indirect effects of war conditions in the increasing rise of prices, the growing tightness of the money market, the paralysing of our industrial activity, and the waning of our general prosperity, the direct effects of the war such as the huge loss in men, money and material are being increasingly. felt in the belligerent countries. The Englishman's supreme coolness and fortitude in the presence of a great danger, his pluck and courage, his doggedness and pertinacity, and above all. his indomitable will have extorted the world's admiration. Out of consideration, therefore, for the feelings of our fellow subjects who have shown remarkable traits of fine human character, we are in duty bound to help them and the empire to the best of our ability and resources.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the time has come for Indians of all shades of political opinion to sink their differences in the face of the great common danger that seems to threaten the very existence of the Empire, unite together their mental and moral forces to combat the foe, and renew their efforts to help and promote the Allies' cause of Human Freedom. The time has come for all dutiful Indians to demonstrate their staunch and steadfast loyalty to the British Throne by deeds rather than by words. If sometimes we accuse the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy of lip-sympathy, are they not justified in their retort when they turn round and accuse us of lip-loyalty? What is now really wanted is still greater mutual trust and mutual co-operation between the rulers and the ruled, each side forgetting and forgiving the weaknesses or faults of the other side.

In the first place I submit that we have to suspend all violent political propagandism, lest our overzealous activities, practically harmless during normal times, should now embarrass the Government. Like the unseasonal rainfall that injures the crop, strong political agitation out of season will considerably damage even a good cause. Even at this Annual

Conference we shall do well to eschew controversial subjects as far as possible. On the other hand it is our bounden duty to consider resolutions relating to the war, the Premier's message, and the efforts of the Government of India.

Secondly, your district should be able to contribute largely to the various War Funds and subscribe liberally to the new War Loan that may soon be floated. If each district should do its duty, the Madras Presidency as a whole would not be found lagging behind her sister provinces. Let the request go forth from this Conference to the inhabitants of Malabar, inviting all classes and communities to subscribe to the Funds as well as the War Loan. It is your duty to take up this work in right carnest, organise a Central District Committee and Taluk and Village Committees, and carry on war work to a successful finish. Even poor people may be asked to contribute their mite and encouraged to invest their small savings in the Post Office cash certificates. Is it too much to expect a few lakhs to be raised in your rich, prosperous and fertile district? The measure of your true patriotism will be tested by the readiness with which you are prepared to render all possible aid to the Empire.

Thirdly, the question of man-power should be solved in a manner worthy of the reputation of your district, You have a splendid fighting material in your midst. It is gratifying to learn from what the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman said during the recent budget debate in the Madras Legislative Council " that no less than 1,600 men on the West Coast are at present serving in the army." It is also your ambition to raise a West Coast Regiment. The question has been engaging the sympathetic consideration of the Local Government. The present opportunity should, therefore, be fully availed of in securing quite a large number of recruits, both combatants and non-combatants, to the Indian Defence Force; and if possible, in raising a regiment of your own, For it need hardly be said that they alone are capable of selfrule who can defend themselves. More need not be said on this subject to a Malabar audience whose bright example deserves to be emulated by other districts.

Lastly, if you hold that India's destiny is linked to England's and that the connection between the two countries is providential, you cannot remain silent without following the very course of action that that Providence suggests. Educated Indians will be doing a real service to the Government by spreading correct and accurate information in regard to the progress of the war, allaying panic, discouraging mischief-making, removing vague and groundless fears, creating confidence in the popular mind, and assuring the people of the ultimate victory of the allied cause. If during this grave crisis nothing is done by thought, word, or deed to injure in the least Britain's best interests, and if active and honest attempts are made to ease the situation, then we shall be entitled to demand from the authorities what we deserve to obtain. Let us show that we are not mere critics but men of action capable of discharging high and responsible duties.

Organised Work

It is through organised work systematically carried on throughout the year that you can achieve any tangible results. I need not reiterate here what I said at Rajampet two years ago, presiding over the Cuddapah District Conference, on the need for organisation and continuity of work. Nor shall I travel over the same ground as was trodden by my predecessors in the chair. Two years have elapsed since your District Conference has been inaugurated and yet you have not begun to follow organised methods of work suggested in the previous presidential addresses. More important than all your resolutions relating to the problems of your district will be the one resolution dealing with organised work. This ought to engage your immediate attention. Not merely content with your District organisation and one or two Taluk Committees, you should see that each of your ten taluks (excluding Laccadive Islands) has a Taluk Congress Committee, and that at least a hundred important villages out of a large total of over 2,200 villages in the district possess each a village committee or association. What efforts have till now been made to start these branch organisations so necessary and important for co-ordinating district work, and

for united, collective and corporate action, I am really unable to say in the absence of definite information. I should like to see each village committee submitting an annual report of its work to the Taluk Committee at least three months prior to the date of the District Conference, and each Taluk Committee submitting its annual report to the District Committee at least two months prior to the date of the District Conference, so that the District Committee may be enabled to present at each Annual Conference a fairly full statement of the work done throughout the district. Our main resolutions have to be drafted on the basis of such valuable information as the District Report contains. Every delegate to the District Conference who shall be elected as such at least a month prior to the date of the Conference, should be previously (at least two weeks before the Conference week) provided with a printed copy of the District Report, and when the delegates assemble in Conference, they know what work has been done, and how much more yet remains to be done, and after comparing notes with one another, and taking stock of the work already performed between one Conference and the other, they may be in a position to suggest better and newer methods of work or ways and means to accelerate the speed of your political progress.

Further, wherever organised work were not possible, individual work should be encouraged. It is time that you begin to organise Taluk Conferences and Group conferences of villages whose proceedings shall be conducted wholly in the principal vernacular of the taluk or the village group. Even in your District Conference, the proceedings should largely be conducted in the main vernacular of the district and under the presidency of one of your district leaders. Moreover you are not bound to and need not follow the Congress mamool in your district and other smaller conferences. Instead of following the usual orthodox style, you may with great advantage adopt more practical methods suited to the needs of your district. Specialisation and concentration being the main features of modern education, we badly: need specialised study in every branch of the

district administration. A regular perusal of the District Committee Report cannot fail to stimulate a spirit of inquiry, and may lead to some of your delegates taking to a serious study of political science and economics a general knowledge of which is indispensable to them in their continued work of investigation. Economic inquiries into the condition of village life, if rightly conducted on fair and independent lines, will surely yield fruitful results. The needs of your district are so varied and so numerous that any number of your patriotic delegates can find work. Some may begin to study and investigate into the condition of the District or Taluk or Village Administration. Some may devote themselves to the study of the agricultural or sanitary or medical needs of the district. Some may engage themselves in studying the educational needs. Some may find delight in working for the social and moral uplift of your people. Some may be occupied with the work of devising plans for the economic and industrial advancement of the district. Some may interest themselves in the physical development of the people. Civil and criminal administration, police administration, forest administration, public finance, public works, and taxation are other important branches of administrative study for specialists. Short papers or addresses may be invited from such specialists to be read or taken as read at your Annual Conferences. Where such papers are somewhat lengthy, a short summary of the same may be permitted to be read. These papers and the District Report should be printed together with the Conference proceedings. What a mine of valuable information gathered from the non-official sources and from the non-official standpoint you will then have, and how useful it will be in promoting your political progress. If I may be permitted to suggest, I should like to say that one day of your Conference should be devoted to the reading of welcome and presidential addresses, the District Report, and the papers or addresses from the specialists submitted to the Conference; one day to a thorough discussion among the delegates of the important subjects to be placed before the Conference, and one day to recording the resolutions finally to be adopted

by the Conference. The first two days' sittings should be confined to the members of the Reception Committee and the delegates to the Conference, the latter only being allowed to vote, and on the third day the Conference may be thrown open to the public. Besides the regular Conference work, a series of public lectures by competent persons may be arranged for the benefit of the people during the Conference week. While I do not insist upon your following any or all of my suggestions, I would, however, ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to organise at once some such work. For otherwise what answer can you give me if I put the questionwhat have you done during one year between the last Conference at Calicut and this Conference at Tellicherry to translate into actual practice the resolutions passed, shall I say unanimously passed, at the last Conference with so much earnestness and enthusiasm? Please pardon me for this straight talk. For I mean well, and must ask you to bear in mind that my remarks are not those of a carping critic but of a candid friend offering constructive criticism in a friendly spirit. Now to the answer. Except that you have formally communicated these resolutions to the authorities concerned. you have done practically little in the way of organised work. Nor have you taken pains to create, educate and strengthen public opinion in the district. Suffice it, therefore, to draw your attention to the supreme importance of systematic and continued work, well-planned and well-organised that it may bear fruit a hundred-fold in coming years.

Coming reforms

The one burning topic of the hour, next in importance to the War, is the question of Responsible Government for India. What measure of Responsible Government we are likely to get depends not merely upon ourselves and upon our political organisations but upon the final decision of the British Parliament. We have submitted our scheme, the Congress-League Scheme, which has since been subjected to severe criticism in the press and on the platform. Others too have submitted their schemes. Each party claims excellence for its scheme. But the excellent scheme is yet to

be. In the meantime the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India who had been for some months in our midst. is understood to have framed a scheme out of the numerous schemes submitted. Without consulting the British Cabinet and obtaining their sanction, he will not allow his scheme to be published. The complicated military situation will hardly permit the British Cabinet for some time to come to bestow its thought on India. We shall, therefore, be welladvised in exercising self-restraint and patience at this juncture. For I hope that, as soon as the present military situa. tion improves, the Cabinet will not be slow to tackle the pressing Indian problem. Until the Government scheme is published, we have no means of ascertaining the degree and extent of Responsible Government foreshadowed by the memorable announcement in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India on the 20th of August 1917. From the announced policy of His Majesty's Government in India we have a right to expect an increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, particularly in the higher branches of administration where Indians are found in a considerable minority, as for instance the police administration, and gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. And we learn that substantial steps in this direction should be taken and that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. Further, the British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance. We are also told that ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the reform proposals (Italics are mine). Now, ladies and gentlemen, we do not expect the coming scheme of reform to go beyond the terms of this remarkable pronouncement. Since all political parties have agreed to the terms of the ministerial utterance, and accepted Responsible Government as their goal, we have only to wait and see whether the reform proposals that may shortly be published will conform

themselves to the terms of this policy agreeably to our wishes. We want, therefore, to place emphasis on two things just at this stage. We want (1) substantial steps to be taken in the direction of Responsible Government, and (2) wide publicity to be given to the coming scheme of reform. If, after the publication of the scheme, we are not satisfied with the substantial nature of the Government scheme, and if the first stage in the construction of the edifice of Responsible Government falls far short of the Congress-League scheme, then we shall begin to agitate and agitate in a constitutional manner. and continue to agitate till victory crowns our efforts. In the statement of policy the meaning of the terms substantial stebs remains undefined, and it is still shrouded in mystery. On the other hand what we mean by substantial steps is indicated in the Congress-League Scheme. Even though we may not get as much as our scheme desires to get, we shall, however, be prepared to be satisfied if the coming proposals grant some real power over the executive to the people's representatives in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils in certain important branches of the administration, if the non-official representatives are given an effective voice not only in the passing of legislation but in the shaping of the Government policy. and if Local Self-Government is made a reality by grant ing increased powers of control to local bodies made wholly or mainly elected, such as Municipalities, District and Taluk Boards, and Village Unions or Panchayats. Anything short of this I must emphatically declare not only as quite ungenerous of British statesmanship but as quite unacceptable to the thinking peoples of India. India's advance means England's gain. Great Britain is fighting to-day for the liberty not only of Europe but of the world, and stands for high ideals of justice and honour as the Viceroy's reply to the Premier's message concluded. India's honour as an integral part of the British Empire deserves to be upheld, and justice to India demands the first great instalment of political reform towards the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India. Since international forces and international influences are at work in shaping the destinies of humanity and since world factors operate on national polity, England's performances in India are being watched by the civilised world who henceforth will judge of England not only for the ideals she stands for in the United Kingdom and the west but for the ideals she stands for in India and the East. England's sacred pledges to India through her royal proclamations, royal messages and royal utterances and through Parliamentary Acts still remain unfulfilled. By granting to the faithful and loyal peoples of India political concessions and reforms from time to time until India is made to enjoy equal freedom, and equal rights and privileges with the self-governing members of the Empire, England will have covered herself with imperishable renown and glory, and will have stood before the bar of humanity and civilisation as the saviour of fallen nationalities.

The National Problem

Whatever ideals of nationality the earlier political workers in India had, the future of India, it seems to me, should belong not to any particular nationality or religious community but to all the nationalities and religious communities who inhabit the country. The future of India belongs to the Hindus, the Musalmans, the Budhists, the Parsees and the Christians (including Anglo-Indians). The very nation idea, the very conception of nationality in a modern sense, we must confers with gratitude, we owe to British Rule in our midst. Taking into consideration the peculiar conditions of India inhabited by a hetorogeneous population composed of a variety of races, nationalities and communities, widely differing from one another in caste, creed and colour, we have to find a proper solution of the national problem in India: whether an Indian nation is to be evolved by a unitary method or a federal method. It is apparent even to a casual observer that, as far as one's imagination goes, Indians of all creeds and castes can hardly ever be united to form a single nation. For acute religious and social differences do exist among the Hindus who form the vast majority of the Indian population. That other communities too have their wide differences cannot be denied. Practical politics will have to

tecognise this fact in determining uniformity of administration which in turn generates uniformity of sentiments. As a matter of fact, administrative methods differ in different provinces and are suited to local conditions. To hope, therefore, that these differences would vanish within a short time before the rising sun of political freedom is a highly debatable assumption. What then seems probable in the near future is a federation of the various Indian nationalities each of whom has a heavy task of nationbuilding before it. Like the United States of America, the United States of India is the ideal towards which we may march. Such a federal nationality is only possible of achievement under a strong central authority and progressively liberal administration, capable of holding the scales even between class and class, community and community, and man and man. Such an authority we find in the British Government, the greatest world-power to-day to which we are proud to belong. Under the aegis of Great Britain whose progressive constitution guarantees freedom to weak or oppressed nationalities, let us hope to evolve an Indian nationality on a federal basis until such time as it may please the infinitely merciful Almighty to unite us all into one nation, and make Indians a great people on earth. If this be the ideal of an Indian nationality to the gradual realisation of which we are slowly but surely marching not by our mortal wisdom and resolution but by the mysterious ways of Providence, let us act in conformity with the divine will, and prove ourselves worthy to accomplish His purpose. The very fact that you have called a Moslem representative to preside over your Conference which is mainly composed of Hindus, suggests this ideal of nationality. Let us strenuously cultivate this sense of nationality and often keep before the mind's eye that we are Indians first, Indians next and Indians last, Let the Indian-idea sink deep into your hearts that you may see the Indian in every fellow-countrymen of yours, be he high or low, young or old. What we badly need to-day is to Indianise ourselves without prejudice, of course, to our religious sentiments and social customs. The more we think of ourselves as Indians, the less communal or class

differences shall we feel. The sooner we Indianise ourselves, the quicker will be our political progress. Social and religious prejudices will gradually die away, and greater unity will prevail among all the inhabitants of India. In striving for the Indianising ideal, we are really trying to build an Indian nationality. Go forth and preach to the people in the villages this ideal, and I assure you that in the course of a few years the nation will blossom in your hamlets and cottages. There is great need for active work in this direction in preaching, popularising and fostering the national ideal until it bears fruit in abundance.

Parties in Indian Politics

It is a happy sign of the times that parties are coming into existence in the political life of the country. It cannot but be so. When we desire to get parliamentary institutions, party politics so essential to their efficient working, is sure to accompany them. The existence of parties is a clear indication of a healthy public life, only when each party has a definite policy to pursue and definite aims to achieve. Formerly, we had, broadly speaking two political parties. known as the Moderates and the Extremists. But even these parties did not exist in the earliest days of the Congress when there was but one party, the national party as they wished to be known, composed of the best intellects from all parts of India. Naturally, the pick of educated Indians in whose veins was running intense patriotism took upon themselves the responsibility of being the mouth-piece of all India, and acting as mediators between the rulers and the voiceless millions of India. Political life was in its infancy, and there was no room then for parties. Subsequently, as the Congress became disappointed with the bureaucracy in that many of its requests for better government continued to remain unheeded and unfulfilled, there arose a number of impatient idealists who, having lost all faith in constitutional agitation seemed to advocate violent methods of political agitation This is the beginning of party politics in Indian public life. How this party politics led to the Surat split and how the Congress was revived with a moderate and liberal constitution

are now matters of history. Lastly, when at Lucknow the two wings of the old Congress were united, and when, as a consequence, the Congress politics came to be practically identified with the Home Rule politics, the Conservative and Moderate elements in Indian society were awakened to their sense of duty. Party organisations have come into existence, challenging the authority of the present Congress to represent all India—all the Indian communities and their respective interests. There is, however, no cause for alarm. While communal differences will continue to exist as long as there is communal consciousness, common national interests will only be recognised when national consciousness is developed. To develop national consciousness, the creation of communal consciousness seems to me justified in the present strange conditions and circumstances of the country. As the political conscience of the Indian peoples becomes increasingly quickened, divergent views will necessarily arise, and people with more or, less the same views must organise themselves into parties. Though the new parties are still in formation, vacillating between dogmatic assertions and changing views, they may be grouped for the present under three main heads, namely, the Conservatives, the Liberals and the Radicals who demand Home Rule for India. The Zamindars and the other landed magnates. the wealthy merchants, and the title-hunters generally belong to the Conservative party. The middle and professional classes generally constitute the liberal party. From the ranks of the liberals have grown the radicals who represent to-day the extreme wing of Indian politics. Labour in our country remains quite unorganised and the time is not yet for the formation of a labour party. Now, Moderates as well as Extremists are to be found in each of these parties, namely, Conservatives and Ultra Conservatives, Liberals and Progressive Liberals, Radicals and Extreme Radicals. There are Conservatives who are quite content with the existing state of things, and Conservatives who desire slow changes slowly introduced from time to time. Among the Liberals may be included Moderate Liberals and Progressive Liberals. Similarly, we have Radicals who are for root and branch reform,

and Radicals who cry for the moon. The existence of thes parties, now scattered and not yet well organised, is reflected by the different shades of political opinion one meets with in the country. Organisations are wanted to keep these parties intact, and make them each a living force in Indian politics The time has come for well-defined party organisations to assert themselves, and make their voices heard. As party organisations are developed, party Conferences and even party Congresses may have to come into existence. Strange as my analysis of the parties may seem, I venture to submit that but for healthy rivalry there cannot be a free vigorous growth of public life in the country. But for the Home Rule activities, do you think there would have been so much of political enthusiasm in the country? Political agitators alone will not do. Political thinking has to We need political thinkers, cultivated. preachers, and political workers. We have hardly a political thinker in India who can favourably be compared with either a Mill or a Burke. But party organisations, when rightly conducted, will conduce to much political thinking and encourage political activity, so that in course of time India can boast of a few first rate political thinkers. India has produced able statesmen in the past and in the present. She has yet to produce great political thin-Without them the Congress politics is not likely to command any serious attention. Moreover, it is, in the nature of things, no longer possible for the Congress to represent all shades of political opinion. Nor can the Congress, as it is, be the accredited mouth-piece of all the Indian peoples with varied interests and different views. What the future of the Congress will be I do not venture to predict. But it seems to me that the Congress of Naorojis and Bonnerjees, Humes and Wedderburns, Mehtas and Gokhales, true to its past traditions, ought to continue to represent healthy and progressive liberalism. Changes there must be, but sudden, revolutionary and catastrophic changes are more likely to injure than promote our best interests, and more likely to retard than accelerate our political progress. Speaking of liberalism, Mr. Henry Asquith, the great ex-premier, said recently, "I venture to say that the liberal party combines with the fullest

democratic conviction and ardour a sense of proportion and perspective, practical methods of business, and the instincts and traditions of sane and far-seeing constructive statesmanship. That is the combination which a country requires, and while we are most anxious and ready to co-operate to the fullest degree with all others who have the same goal in view and who are equally detached from class and particularist aims we are not going to forfeit our own independence. because we believe that in the pursuit of liberal principles, as we have known and learnt them and as we believe them to be we can find and our country will find the best solution of the terrible, the unexampled problems with which it has pleased Providence in these days to confront the whole civilised world." High liberal principles being the same all over the civilised world. Mr. Asquith's noble utterance has an important bearing on the liberal politics of the Congress. Wedded as the Congress has long been to liberal principles, there has unfortunately been occasions when extreme radicalism seems to have foreshadowed the very liberal principles that gave it birth. Hence it is the duty of every thinking Congressman, be he a Hindu or a Musalman or a Christian, to see that the great Indian National Congress does not depart even a hair's breadth from high liberal principles, and that, when it unwittingly does depart, we should by every means that lies in our power endeavour to restore it to its unrivalled position as the best exponent of progressive liberalism.

Communal Representation

Bad as the principle of communal representation is in politics, as has been rightly observed by the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu, the question is bound to engage our attention as long as communal differences and peculiarities continue to exist. That they do exist cannot be denied. Hence political expediency will justify the adoption of the principle of communal representation in Legislative Councils and Local Self-Governing Bodies as well as in the Public Services of the country. Religion being the back-bone of the oriental peoples, communal representation on a broad religious basis is not only permissible but necessary. But communal representation within each religious community is one of doubt-

ful wisdom. Nevertheless, the fact has to be faced that political rights and privileges are at present monopolised by one or two sections or classes in each community to the detriment of the remaining numerous classes who far outnumber in wealth, rank, and position the few privileged classes. It is to guard against this danger of political power eventually passing into the hands of a narrow-minded and selfish oligarchy that important communities with a heavy stake in the country demand communal representation. Extremely difficult as the solution of the communal problem within the Hindu community is, a way has still to be found for preventing the undue predominance of any one class or section in the Councils of the Empire. More than the Government. the people themselves have a ready remedy for this in their own hands. It is the duty of communal organisations to rouse communal consciousness, influence communal electorates, and persuade the voters to vote in favour of their respective candidates, so long as caste clannishness continues to remain. Unfortunate as the Brahman-Non-Brahman controversy is, it is equally unfortunate that acute political differences too should exist between these classes. Hence, the absence of a compromising spirit in the leaders of either party is likely to widen the breach in national unity, and perpetuate class differences hardly favourable to the growth of a healthy public life. While national politics is neither Brahmin nor Non-Brahmin, neither Hindu, nor Musalman nor Christian but Indian, Indians of all classes and communities are bound to realise their common interests. While broad divisions of parties in politics are desirable, narrow divisions of parties within the same community are inadvisable and improper. While each community or social group should have its own organisation to promote its own, physical and intellectual, and social and moral interests, the representatives of all the communities should combine themselves in matters political, and group themselves into welldefined political parties, irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

Education

Of all reforms education forms the basis, and without education no community can ever hope to progress. The

cry for national education is heard on all sides but it seems to mean as differently as there are different minds and temperaments. If my Hindu brethren mean by national education the Hindu ideal of education, if my co-religionists intrepret it as meaning the Islamic ideal, and if my Christian fellow countrymen favour the Christian ideal, I fail to understand what national education really means to those who frequently talk about it. As education is so intimately connected with life, we should have a proper conception of life, individual, national and even international, and of life's duties, before we can appreciate the value of national educa-While on the one hand we ought not to be blind to the ancient ideals of education, and the best practical methods of ancient education inspired by their respective religious ideals, on the other hand we ought not to ignore the modern ideals of education so peculiarly suited to modern times, and the best practical methods of education known to the civilized world. Real national education should, therefore, be a happy combination of the ideals, ancient and modern, and of the methods, old and new, in so far as they harmonise with each other. A comparative study of the world's educational ideals and methods, past and present, cannot fail to stimulate our educational activities which in the light of educational research, may so shape themselves as to embody the best features of education known to civilised humanity. Such a system of education may claim to be a universal system of education, befitting a true University. It is education of this sort that India, still conservative and lethargic, badly needs to-day. Our own educational systems are but feeble attempts in this direction. Hence the present system of education in all its grades and in all its branches needs a considerable improvement, if India is to take her place among the free peoples of the world.

Descending from the general to the particular, we find that Malabar, as I remarked at the beginning, has shown great educational progress compared with the Presidency average of about 7 per cent. literate and 7 per thousand literate in English, Malabar's averages are 11 per cent. and per thousand respectively. Among the Hindus, the Presi-

dency averages are 7 per cent. literate, and 5 per thousand literate in English. Among the Musalmans, there are a little more than 8 per cent. literate and 5 per thousand literate in English. Among the Christian population of the Presidency which, I dare say, includes Anglo-Indians, they are about 16½ per cent. literate and about 5½ per cent. literate in English In Malabar, the literates amongst the Hindu, Moslem and Christian communities form 18 per cent, 6 per cent. and 82 per cent. respectively. and the literates in English among these are 7 per thousand, barely 1 per thousand, and 10 per cent. respectively. While the Hindu and Christian averages of the district have risen far above, the Musalman averages for Malabar have fallen far below the Presidency averages. While it is true that my co-religionists in your district have taken largely to industrial pursuits, they need to exert themselves in the direction of education. Considering the state of literacy among the Muslim population, I am not surprised at the smallness of the number of Muslim delegates here to-day. I would, therefore, appeal to my Mappilah co-religionists to bestir themselves and found educational institutions for the benefit of their little ones. But the paucity of the number of Christian delegates here cannot satisfactorily be accounted for, as Christians, excluding Anglo-Indians, stand first and foremost even in literacy in English not only in your district but throughout the Presidency. If you want to make your Conference a thoroughly representative body, you need the co-operation of all classes and communities. In so advanced a district as Malabar, you ought to have more than one First-Grade College, a few Second Grade Colleges and a good number of secondary schools in your taluq towns, and above all, a primary school for each of your numerous villages. While the principal vernaculars of your district may be employed as media of instruction in the primary and secondary stages of education, English shall not be neglected but studied as a secondary, language in the lower stages, and as the principal language and the medium of instruction in the higher stages of education. But for the magically unifying influence of English, where shall our Congresses

and Conferences be? By studying English, we are acquainting ourselves not merely with English thought and literature but with the world's best thought and literature.

Hindu and Moslem Relation

Whatever might have been the relations in the past between Hindus and Musalmans in your district, I am glad to hear that friendly relations seem to exist between them. Riots there were in the past and riots there have been rather occasionally. The recent Kasargod riot in your neighbouring district is a sad occurrence, and although some people are inclined to throw the entire blame on the Mappilahs, I may draw your attention to the fact that no quarrel will ever arise from one side only and no blame will attach itself to one party. However, I would appeal to my co-religionists in your district, a somewhat easily excitable material, to exercise selfrestraint, and help to prevent in future a recurrence of such a riot. That Hindus and Musalmans in Southern India move on more friendly terms than in Northern India is an admitted fact. Notwithstanding the unworthy attempts of interested parties to create ill-will between these two great communities. I believe, I am right in saying that happy relations between them continue to remain. While each community has its peculiarities and differences within the community, they have common political interests under a common Government. Mutual sympathy and understanding will undoubtedly promote great unity between them. Trite as the saying is-In union is strength-it teaches a lesson of paramount importance. Unity between Hindus and Musalmans is the first great political lesson that should be learnt and practised by those who aspire for Responsible Government in India. The very fact that there are to be found obstacles in the path of their combination testifies to the growing sense of unity between these two communities. Let my Hindu brethren and co-religionists beware of the machinations of the followers of Satan who seem to thrive on hatred, dissension and enmity. They who seek to divide not only community from community but man from man have verily their reward in their own destruction. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

This is not merely a Christian teaching but a universal spiritual maxim. Peace within and peace without is the creed of Islam. Peace, eternal and blessed peace, is the cardinal principle of Hinduism. All great religions preach peace and unity. Let us, therefore, exercise more charity, wider tolerance and greater forgiveness; and in proportion as we practise these divine qualities shall we be happy in our relations with each other. Our political demands, if they go in the name of a United India, will be nearer fulfilment, and sooner satisfied. In social and religious matters we ought to respect each other's differences and tolerate each other's peculiarities. Hindu music before mosques is as bad as Moslem processions before Hindu temples. Cow question is sanctity to the one but not to the other. Neither the one nor the other can be justified. The fewer the opportunities for each to wound the tender susceptibilities of the other, the greater the goodwill between them. As liberal education spreads more and more widely, it cannot but tend to unify the races and peoples of India, and weld them together into one political nation.

Conclusion

The time has come for the bureaucracy whose responsibility to the Indian peoples is practically nil to change its character to suit the growing needs of the country. Benevolent as the bureaucracy has on the whole been, it has far too much power either for good or for evil. Since the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, one of the few really brilliant Viceroys that ever came to India, the Executive has considerably strengthened its hands by passing a series of Acts, popularly known as repressive legislation, such as the Official Secrets Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Newspaper Incitement to Crimes Act, the Press Act and the Criminal Conspiracies Act. Excellent as these laws may be to meet emergent circumstances, their continuity even in normal times has tended to stifle public opinion, repress national ambition, suppress political activity and discourage independence of action. In fact they have worked so subtly as to lead to the disappearance of a healthy public life in the country. With all its vast powers the bureaucracy practically controls all public life and all

public movements through the never failing agency of the political branch of the ever present C. I. D. Further, its present policy seems to be concession, and coercion, by no means a healthy or even desirable combination. Instead, it ought to pursue a policy of concession and conciliation, a very happy combination that cannot fail to win the peoples' loyal co-operation in the administration of the country. While it is true that a subject people have only such politics as is allowed to them by foreign rulers, it is quite probable that a subject people can gradually be transformed into a free people by liberal-minded and far-seeing statesmanship, as is evident from the noble action of the United States of America, the freest and greatest of the world's democracies, towards the Philippines. Having tasted the sweets of English political literature and drunk deep their political wisdom, India too may expect a similar treatment as the Philippines at the hands of her rulers.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the future of our country is in our own hands. We can make or mar it. It will be what we determine it to be. Self-determination and self-expression are not empty words in the political vocabulary of our rulers. They are no less so in the vocabulary of Indians, their worthy disciples. They are pregnant with deep meaning, and are realisable ideals. It is no longer the self-determination or self-expression of a particular race or community but of United India. Though diverse are the forms in which that self-determination has expressed itself, there is running through them all a unity and the underlying unity is but the same. It is freedom, self-controlled freedom, the goal of our political ambition. Towards the gradual and steady attainment of that freedom, Hindus and Musalmans together with other communities have to march hand in hand with each other under the liberalising and progressive influences of self-governing institutions.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, most heartily for the patient hearing you have kindly accorded to me and trust that with your willing co-operation and active help I may be enabled to conduct the proceedings of this Conference which,

I do hope, may throughout be characterised by sobriety of views, soundness of judgment, and practical sagacity and statesmanship. Let it not be said of us that we have sought India's gain through England's adversity. Let it be our loyal endeavour throughout the present crisis to share with the rest of the British Empire the joys as well as the burdens of the Empire. With England we rise or fall. To England we look for our political and national emancipation from the thraldom of ages. May our deeds correspond to our words and our words to our thoughts!

THE THIRD MALABAR DISTRICT CONFERENCE

(Tellicherry, 7th May 1918)

(Concluding Speech)

Rajah of Chirakkal, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen! Our proceedings are well-nigh drawing to a close. The success of this Conference, I venture to submit, will be judged not by what we have done these two days but by what we may be enabled to do during the year. Notwithstanding doubts and fears, the proceedings have been brought to a successful termination. The Resolution you have passed to-day cover a wide range of subjects from the customary loyalty resolution to the burning question of Self-Government for India,—subjects relating to District and Provincial as well as national needs. In your resolution of loyalty, you express your firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and at all costs. The present is such an opportunity when you have to stand firmly by the Empire. The resolution on Self-Government wants full Responsible Government in India within a fixed time-limit. While appreciating the spirit of your resolution, all I can say is that it is a dangerous thing to venture to prophesy, especially in matters political.

Local Self-Government, Education, Regulation of Prices, Settlement and Co-operative movement are among the practical questions dealt with at this Conference. As regards man-power, I do hope that the delegates to this Conference who have enthusiastically voted in favour of the resolution will either enlist themselves in large numbers in the Indian Defence Force, or will do all that lies in their power to help the authorities in enlisting recruits and volunteers for the army during the present grave crisis.

Fellow-countrymen, and co-religionists, we need to realise the one hard fact that the road to Responsible Government in India is not all smooth. Nor is it strewn with roses. We have to toil hard and long, labour incessantly and perseveringly before we attempt to reach the goal, not so near as at first sight it may seem to be. While England can boast of centuries of political training and of parliamentary institu. tions, India can hardly think of any such political training even for a small decade. For the first beginnings of representative government came in 1910 with the Morley-Minto With the next substantial liberal instalment of reforms we hope to undergo a better political training. The art of Government is indeed a hard study. Nor is it easy to govern a State. How much more difficult is it to govern an Empire so vast and numerous, and so complex in its variety? It is like unto such a huge business concern as to require many powerful heads to plan schemes, and yet, many more skilful hands to execute the same. The immensity of the task and the stupendous nature of the responsibility can only be realized when you are actually engaged in administrative work. Hence, our criticism of administrative methods must needs be incomplete without administrative experience. If the fact is fully realised, there would be far less carping and destructive criticism in this country.

Now that your session has come to a successful close, let me tell you that your patriotic labours really begin now, and may not end till you next meet in conference. These two days you have but formulated your proposals, which remain to be carried out during the current year. It is unfortunate that you have not yet begun to feel the need for organised work to be carried on systematically from year's end to year's end. But I hope the subject will shortly engage your serious attention. Lastly, I must express my warmest and most grateful thanks to the Chairman, Office-bearers, and Members of your Reception Committee for their kind invitation and magnanimous hospitality during my brief stay in your midst. My special thanks are, however, due to my good friend Mr. Hajee Abdulla Essak Sait, who has spared no pains whatever in making my stay both pleasant and comfortable. Also I must thank my young volunteer friends who may in their turn play your part in public life, for their courteous attention, and willing help. In conclusion, if I may be permitted to suggest to you a motto, I would ask you to have Plato's line engraven deep on your hearts, and constantly feel inspired by reflecting on it:—

"In essence unity, in non-essence liberty, and in all things charity."

THE BEGUMPUR MUSLIM LEAGUE ANNIVERSARY

(6th October 1918)

Introductory Speech

BRETHREN.

In heartily responding to the kind invitation of your energetic Secretary, asking me to take the Chair on the present auspicious occasion, I consider it my duty, not merely because of my being the President of your parent League at Madras but also because of my being a fellow Muslim worker on the same broad field of Indian public life. to be here in your midst and be able to participate in the happy proceedings of the League's First Anniversary. It has given me no small pleasure to meet here and talk to a number of public spirited Musalmans, both young and old, all of them fired with equal zeal for the cause of Islam and filled with patriotic devotion to the service of their coreligionists in Southern India. Personally, I am thankful, pardon me for this digression, to my constituents and sympathisers in your district whose goodwill and cheer has always comforted me in all my endeavours for the uplift of the Muslim Community.

I am deeply obliged to Mr. M. J. Mohamed Meera Saheb Bahadur, your worthy President, for the hearty welcome he has extended to me and for all the kind and encouraging words he has spoken of me. What little I have been able to do these six years both in and out of the Council, I have done it without fear or favour and according to the light that is given to me, not for my personal good but for the benefit of my co-religionists and all other Indian brethren, and for the glory of Islam. Hence your thanks and praises, should go heavenward to the Spirit of Islam that has inspired me with noble ideals and high resolves, and enabled me to steer clear, amidst dangerous shoals and rocks, my vessel in the ocean of public life.

We have a long and wearied programme to go through and with your willing co-operation I hope to be able to bring the proceedings to a successful finish. After the reading of the Annual Report, three important lectures have been promised to you. I do not, therefore, wish to occupy much of your valuable time at this stage, but shall content myself with expressing my deep and sincere thanks to the office-bearers and members of the Begumpur Muslim League for asking me to preside over the first Anniversary celebration of the League and for their hospitable welcome. I now call upon Mr. Sulaiman Saheb to read the Annual Report for 1917-18.

Concluding Speech

When I began my introductory speech, I addressed you as "Brethren", but I now propose to address you as "My Brethren", as the tie between us has since grown to be closer and stronger.

MY BRETHREN,

Our proceedings are drawing nearly to a close. You naturally expect me to say much on the burning topics of the hour such as relate to the War, the Reform Proposals and the Muslim aspirations. Before I address you on these

important questions, let me congratulate you upon the successful celebration of the First Anniversary of the League. It is with great pleasure I listened to the reading of your First Annual Report which covers a wide ground of the League's activities in reasonable directions and within practicable limits. To have attempted so much within the brief span of one year reflects much credit upon the enterprising spirit of your infant League. I deeply sympathise with the laudable objects of your League, which aim at the physical, social, mental, moral and religious improvement of your members. You have the great advantage, even as you began your activities, of securing a building of your own, which undoubtedly gives your League a permanent character. You have a Library of readable books and a Reading Room well supplied with leading Dailies and Magazines besides the District Gasette. No local matter of importance has escaped your watchful attention, such as the opening of a Branch Post Office at Begumpur, the establishment of a Muslim Elementary School at Nagalnaickenpatty, the appointment of an Arabic and Urdu teacher at the local Madrasa, the raising of the Muslim Elementary School to a Secondary Grade the adequate representation of Dindigul Musalmans in the District and Taluq Boards, the enlargement of the culvert on the Dindigul-Mettupatti Road, the construction of pucca drains, the improvement of roads, the adoption of measures to prevent the accumulation of sewage water, the proper lighting of streets, the provision of dust bins and the removal to a safe place of the Hindu burial and burning ground. Besides, you have organized periodical public lectures and submitted resolutions to the Government on important occasions. Your financial position during the very first year of your existence has been sound and satisfactory, showing a total receipt of over Rs. 2,800 and a total expenditure of abou Rs. 2.000. Let me hope it will show still greater progress o.: the balance side in the coming year.

Among the resolutions passed at this meeting, you have given the loyalty resolution its first rightful and honoured place. Notwithstanding doubts and aspersions cast even by those who are or ought to be in a better position to gauge

Mohamedan sentiments and views during the present crisis. Muslim loyalty to the British throne has under most trying conditions stood the test of time. It has remained steady and staunch as ever, it may be, to the discomfiture of those who are trying to sow discord in the Moslem ranks. Moslem loyalty brings me to the all-absorbing topic of the War. It is a matter for congratulation and thanksgiving to the Almighty that the War has taken a distinctly favourable turn, and the Allies have reasons to feel gratified that their united efforts combined with the recent entry of the American Army into the Western theatre have succeeded in driving the enemy far back into the regions orginally occupied by the Further, the happy news of the surrender of Bulgaria and its timely withdrawal from the awful scene have considerably relieved the anxieties of the British and the Allies whose chances of victory bave thus been multiplied. These are indeed happy signs pointing to a speedy and successful termination of the War. It is our bounden duty to stand to gain in our onward march to the early realisable goal of political freedom. Let us therefore pray EK DIL for the complete success of the British arms and early close of the War to the lasting peace of the civilised world.

The subject of political freedom, so essential for Indian National advancement, brings me to the subject of the recently announced Reform Proposals. While we are deeply thankful to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India and H. E. the Viceroy for the Montague-Chelmsford scheme of reforms, which is a distinct advance in several directions over the Morley-Minto scheme, we are also of opinion that the scheme needs to be improved in certain particulars so as to prove really beneficial to the Indian peoples and so as to afford them real power and opportunities for exercising responsibility and thus improving their political position. Musalmans are also of opinion that adequate Moslem representation should be demanded not only in larger Councils but in smaller local bodies as well as in the public services of the country. The Congress League Scheme has

provided for such adequate representation on the Legislative Councils. It is our duty effectively to raise our voice and carry on our constitutional battle until victory crowns our persevering and persistent efforts. On the Madras Corporation too a fair number of elective seats should be thrown open to Musalmans who shall be returned to the Corporation by separate electorates. On the whole the Reforms promised to us seem to be of a liberal character and much of their eventual success will depend not only upon the final settlement of all important details connected therewith but upon the energy and enterprise displayed by Non-Official Indians in fully availing themselves of the new opportunities for responsible work and bravely meeting the new situation.

Now, my Brethren, to the Moslem aspirations. Indian National aspirations being common to the Moslems and the Hindus as well as the other inhabitants of India, we only stand to gain and not to lose by making common cause with the Hindus in their reasonable and legitimate demands for larger and larger political rights and privileges from time to time. Within the community we have our special needs such as relate to education, sanitation, industry and social reform. While our communal progress has so far been steady and satisfactory, it would have shown a greater record of achievement but for our educational backwardness in several parts of the Presidency. We have to increase the number of Moslem pupils of school-going age, and strive for the opening of more and more Musalman Elementary and Secondary Schools. Sanitary improvement is badly needed where poor Musalmans live. Again, I need hardly emphasise on the imperative need for industrial development among Moslems. For upon this depends their economic prosperity. Lastly the subject of Social Reform will broaden our outlook on life and widen our mental horizon. In our joint efforts with the Hindus we shall be able to achieve more solid results. The forces of progress have begun to unify and weld together the scattered units of India.

In conclusion, I pray that your infant League will have a long lease of life and a glorious career of public usefulness,

will probably serve as a bright example of disinterested public work. I wish your League all success and prosperity.

SECOND WAR LOAN MEETING AT HYDERABAD

12th July 1918

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, while explaining that the long and close connection of the Banganapalle State with certain noble families of Hyderabad and the great interest he always took in the progress and prosperity of the people of the Premier Musalman State, had impelled him to appear before an Hyderabad audience, surveyed in a clear and succinct way the military situation which the breakdown of the Russian Empire had created on the Russian frontier. The speaker was present at the War Conference at Delhi and was able to learn there a good many things which the general public could not ordinarily know and he was therefore in a position to say with the Hon'ble the Resident that the situation on the North-West frontier was indeed very grave. He was strongly of opinion that the duty of every patriotic Indian, whatever his creed or nationality, was to avert the catastrophe that assuredly threatened to overtake the country and pointed out that one of the ways in which this duty could be discharged was by making the War Loan a success. At the same time he made it clear that by subscribing to it, they were not doing any special favour to the British Government, or the Resident or to any dignitary present on the occasion. It was a duty which they owed to themselves, to their hearths and homes, their mosques and temples and to whatever they held sacred in their civilisation and culture.

Besides it was in itself a paying concern and their money would come back to them with ample profits. He asked them to do their bit in the matter and rise equal to the occasion and subscribe to the War Loan in a way worthy of the State to which they had the honour to belong. In conclusion he offered, by virtue of his connection with Hyderabad, to include his name in their list also with his first instalment of Rs. 1,000. (From a Correspondent).

SECTION IV

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PRESS

Military Training Colleges

(The Madras Mail, 9th April 1918)

To establish military training colleges at suitable centres in India to train capable Indians, including scions of royal houses and of aristocratic and noble families, to hold commissioned ranks in the Indian army will be a fitting corollary to the dispatching, for the first time in the history of the Empire, of Indian troops to the European theatres of war, the number of Victoria Crosses won by the Indian heroes, the recent throwing open to Indians of the commissioned ranks in the army, and the creation of the Indian Defence Force. Further the magnificent display of India's deep and steadfast loyalty from the proud prince down to the humble peasant, the increasing recognition of India's magnanimous offers of help in men, money and material during the war, and the admission of Indian representatives into the Imperial War Conference as well as the War Cabinet, will justify their early establishment in the best interests not only of India but of Great Britain. Had there been greater mutual understanding and mutual trust in past years between the rulers and the ruled, I venture to think, India alone would have supplied nearly half, if not more, of the man-power so much needed to-day on the western front, and the German menace would have ere long been a byword of reproach. While I do realise the serious difficulties often experienced by foreign administrators in entering into the spirit and feeling of the Indian peoples, and in endeavouring to make common cause with them in public matters, I submit it is not altogether an insuperable difficulty. With a little insight, quick imagination, and active sympathy the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy should have been able to capture the easily responsive hearts of loyal India. Among the many valuable lessons that the War has taught the civilised world.

may be mentioned the increasing faith in human destiny leading to the ultimate realisation of Universal Brotherhood. Comradeship in arms indeed generates the noblest types of patriotism. Fired with loyal devotion to the British Throne and zeal for his country's cause the Indian soldier, when he realises the fact that he is fighting not as a mercenary but as a patriotic citizen fighting for the Crown and country, will exemplify in himself a typical citizen. To realise this he must be trained in the school of responsibility. Hence the need for military training colleges.

Whatever may be said of the ulterior moral foundations on which rests the stability of a state, the hard fact remains that a state primarily rests upon its military strength and its military valour on land and sea. Far from alarming the bureaucracy and creating vague fear and unnecessary suspicion in their mind, an efficient Indian army fully equipped will be an invaluable imperial asset of which the British Empire may justly be proud. If the angle of vision has really widened, and if British Imperialism has really expanded beyond the narrow limits of race and colour, there ought to be no difficulty on the part of the Government in providing facilities for adequate military training to the sons of the soil. After what the Indian army has done in the west, particularly in the early stages of the war, after what the sturdy Gurkha, the gallant Pathan, the fine soldierly Sikh, and the brave Rajput, not to speak of others, have done to cover themselves with glory, there ought to be no hesitation in founding Indian 'Sandhursts' at important centres. In almost every part of India there are races and communities whose brave ancestors once fought with gallantry on the side of the John Company. With the revival of the martial spirit and with the development of fine physique will come chivalry and heroism which cannot fail to influence national character. Hence the proposal to start military colleges involves, no doubt, a momentous decision on which depends to a large extent the future advancement of this country as an integral part of the British Empire. In justice, therefore, to the legitimate claims of the Indian sections of the army, and in justice to the martial spirit of the war-like races still

left in India, attempts should be made to start at least one first class military college at an early date. It will be a practical proof of the desire of the Government to strengthen even more firmly the bond of fellowship between England and India.

INDIA'S MAN-POWER

An appeal to Musalmans

(The Hindu, 16th May 1918)

Brethren.—The British Empire is passing through a crisis the magnitude of which is hardly sufficiently realised even by a large number of educated Indians. To meet this grave crisis are needed all the resources of the Indian Empire. At the recent Delhi Conference the question of India's man-power and resources was fully discussed and resolutions were adopted recommending the encouragement of voluntary recruitment, and the increased supply of war materials. With the King's commissions thrown open to the Indians and with the pay of the Indian soldiers increased, enterprising Musalmans should find no difficulty in either enlisting themselves or inducing their brethren to enlist themselves in sufficiently large numbers in the army. They may also join the Indian Defence Force. While the army may be employed in any theatre of war, the Defence Force will remain in India for home defence. In ancient times Musalmans conquered by the sword a large portion of the world. The sword has never been a symbol of destruction as is fondly imagined but a symbol of construction. For the religion of the sword is verily the Holy Religion of Peace-Islam. Not long ago our Musalman sepoys distinguished themselves in the Carnatic as well as the Dekhan wars. Martial spirit is still in strong evidence amongst the Moslem population. Retired military pensioners are still to be found in large numbers in North Arcot, Kistna, Trichinopely and Bellary districts. Musalmans are still noted for those qualities which distinguish fighting races. Of the numerous advantages of military training may be mentioned the value of a fine physique, strict discipline, devotion to duty, and readiness to sacrifice, and also, the formation of a sturdy

will be doubly helping the Government. Either they may waive their right to any interest on their loans or give away their interest in charity to any War Fund. While it is true we have not many merchant princes or millionaires among our community in Southern India, we have still a fair number of Moslem philanthropists and nobleminded gentry who ought to subscribe to the loan. So far as the Moslem share is concerned, we ought to be able to show this time at least a greater record of progress than during the previous War Loan. Even the poor among us may be persuaded to invest their small savings in Post Office Cash Certificates, and these certificates can be cashed at any time during the five years. If we do not generously subscribe to the loan, who knows that we may have to bear the burden of new additional taxation. In order to lessen the chances of further taxation we should all try to make the second loan an unqualified success. If we help the Empire. it is not merely in the interests of the Empire itself but in our own interests. For the certainty of our progress depends upon the stability of the Empire. Duty, therefore, calls upon us to meet the urgent needs of the Empire. I request therefore all my co-religionisists to take up this matter in right earnest, and secure a large number of subscribers to the new loan.

To my Moslem Brethren

(The Hindu, May 21st 1918.)

Brethren,—Soon after my return from the Delhi War Conference, I presided over the Third Malabar District Conference at Tellicherry, and took that opportunity to dwell at length upon the urgent needs of the Empire in my presidential address, and exhorted the andience to take to immediate war work by enlisting recruits to the army and the Indian Defence Force in large numbers, and subscribing to the War Funds and the new War Loan. Also, I appealed to my Moslem brethren through the Madras Dailies on the same subject. I dare say they have gone through my Tellicherry address as well as my two letters to the press. In this last note I should like to assure my co-religionists of my

deep sympathy with them in any movement they may organise for themselves to render all loyal help to the British Government and the Empire, and of my willingness and readiness to participate in any of their proceedings, provided I am previously informed of the same. My services are always placed at the disposal of my co-religionists as well as fellow-countrymen.

Indian Reforms

(The Madras Mail, July 26,1918.)

While reserving my criticism of certain features and details of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Indian Constitutional Reforms, I must confess that the proposals do contain the germs of Responsible Government, and that the policy of August 20 has been adhered to in framing the scheme. The lengthy and exhaustive report, admirably and excellently written, breathes throughout a liberal and sympathetic spirit quite in keeping with the loftiness of the theme. In fact, it constitutes a splendid state document of considerable historic and political importance. That an honest and sincere attempt at reform has been made therein to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of educated Indians cannot be denied. But the scheme in some respects is so novel, so complex and complicated, and so different from the Congress-League Scheme that no just comparison can possibly be instituted between the two schemes. It is, however, gratifying to note that some of the essential features of the Congress-League Scheme find their fulfilment in the new proposals. The expansion of Legislative Councils so as to contain a substantially elected majority, the increase of the Indian element in the Executive Government, the binding nature of the budget resolutions, the privilege of asking supplementary questions extended to all the members, the exercise of responsibility in matters relating to transferred subjects, the complete provincialisation of revenue, the right of Provincial Governments to have certain powers of taxation and of borrowing, the proposed creation of direct electorates and widening of the franchise, the increased association of Indians in the Indian Civil Service, the establishment of a Privy Council for India, the transfer-

ring to the British estimates of the salary of the Secretary of State for India, the proposal of a Select Committee for Indian affairs of the House of Commons, the periodical commission of enquiry to review the Indian constitutional position, and the establishment of a Council of Princes are indeed remarkable changes of a far-reaching character which, when they come into force, ought to or will enable Indians to achieve considerable political progress within the next decade. There are, however, matters of vital importance, still left to be decided by the two Committees to be appointed to investigate into the question of the separation of Indian from provincial functions and that of recommending which of the functions assigned to the province should be transferred subjects; and into the question of examining constituencies and franchises, and determining the composition of each Legislative Council as well as of the Legislative Assembly. Further, the far too many safeguards provided for in the scheme so as to strengthen the hands of the Executive out of all proportion to the actual requirements of the situation not only err on the side of unduly excessive caution but may possibly hamper the free vigorous growth of constitutional government in this country. We need, therefore, to suspend our judgment upon these matters until after the publication of the Committees' reports. In fact, nearly half the value of the scheme will depend upon the shape it will ultimately assume when the Bill passes through Parliament. While practical suggestions may be made to improve the scheme and render it acceptable to representative Indian opinion, the scheme ought to be welcome by all sections of the Indian population, and deserves to adorn the Indian statute book. When the scheme is modified in the light of reasonable criticism from responsible leaders and the publicists it is bound to prove a real blessing to the people of India.

SECTION V

PRESS COMMENTS

MOSLEM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, YELLORE

This Conference, while expressing its entire sympathy with and whole-hearted approval of the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Sahib Bahadur in the Imperial Legislative Council in reference to the Unani and Ayurvedic systems of medical treatment, begs to emphasise the necessity of giving early effect to his recommendation.—(The Indian Patriol, 18th February 1918.)

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur

"My fifth year in the Imperial Legislative Council" is the title of a small pamphlet issued by the Moslem member in the Imperial Legislative Council representing Madras. He has published it for the benefit of his constituency to acquaint them with the quality and volume of public work he has been doing for them. It contains the text of the questions with answers, and speeches made by the member on various subjects. We have no doubt that the 'pamphlet serves the purpose which it is intended to serve.—The Tribune, Lahore, 22nd February 1918.

Work in the Council

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur has issued a pamphlet which is a record of his work in 1917—the fifth year of his membership in the Imperial Legislative Council. It is indeed a happy idea of Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur to try to acquaint his constituency and his community with the nature of the work in the Council as their representative; and this example may be followed by other Honourable members with advantage. In his introduction to the pamphlet, Mir Asad Ali Khan, who is one of the "Nineteen," warns his community against the tendency to create artificial

divisions, and points out that "while differences are bound to exist in any community they need not keep them from realising their common interests." He also invites from his community questions and resolutions of an imperial character as the basis for his work in the Council. The pamphlet contains, besides his speeches in the Council, his Presidential Address at the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference, his interesting Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the Madras Presidency Moslem League, and one or two other speeches.—New India, 28th February 1918.

Moslem Politics

These are days when differences of opinion in political matters get more and more emphasised for the simple reason that people are beginning to think for themselves. While many consider this constant expression of aggressive differences as an unhealthy sign, and make vigorous appeals for union, we are inclined to look upon it as a very hopeful sign indeed. They set people a thinking, and that is a great deal. The cause of the political progress of India only demands that the people should think of it, and be they moderates or be they extremists, the advancement of the cause is certain. Let us remember that to-day even the Madras Mail, and the Pioneer dare not oppose reforms: they only repeat the argument of "not yet." This is no small gain, for the time was not long ago when these people thought it impertinent of any Indian, whatsoever his position, to demand that he shall have responsible association with the Government. The work of political upliftment of India is going on apace, and no hand can arrest its progress. While, therefore, we are not concerned with any emphasis of difference of opinion, we sympathise with the appeal for unity which the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan has made to the Muhammadan community in the introduction to his "Fifth year in Council"—which, by the way, is an interesting record of his work, not only in the Viceroy's Council but outside it, as the President of the Ayurvedic and Unani Conference and the Madras Moslem League meeting. In his anxiety to serve his community which has sent him to the Council he

has been publishing these pamphlets in the hope that they "will be found useful and enable his voters to take a more intelligent interest in the public life of the country. Questions and resolutions affecting the Moslem Community of an Imperial character are invited from them. In fact all practical suggestions for the uplift of the Moslem Community will be thankfully received."

To his community, that is, of course, to such of them as are trained to think, he addresses an appeal to make up their differences. "While it is easy to exaggerate differences amongst ourselves, it is really difficult to discern points of unity." "This is not a time," he writes, "for any community, particularly for the Moslem Community, long known for its cohesion and solidarity, to create artificial divisions and engender separatist feelings and tendencies within the community." "While differences are bound to exist in any community, they need not keep them from realising their common interests. This is pre-eminently a time for united action, for making up differences and presenting a united front. And he goes on to add: Common concerted action alone between the two great communities, the Hindus and the Moslems and between different communities inhabiting this ancient land, will obtain for India an honourable place within the Empire." We commend this appeal to our Moslem brethern as indeed to the few unfortunates among Indians who have taken to disparage the claims of India. Even Anglo-Indian merchants have begun to think of the Indian politics which brings them face to face with living facts. Mr. Shirley Tremearne asked Europeans in India at the meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to " scrupulously abstain from the use of provocative or offensive language about their Indian fellow-subjects, and try and acquire a generous and sympathetic insight into the aims and aspirations of educated Indians." Of course, the Madras Mail has said that "Capital" is no British paper and Mr. Tremearne is the Editor of the "Capital" but no one who is not fanatically opposed to Indian progress will question the force and reasonableness of the above statement.-Indian Patriot, 1st March 1918.

A Conscientious Legislator

We have received a neatly printed pamphlet entitled, 'My fifth year in the Imperial Legislative Council" by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur. In a short introduction, the Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali explains that he considers it his duty to acquaint his numerous voters with the nature and character of the work done by their representative in the Legislative Council. The questions asked by him, the answers given to them, and his speeches in the Council, are reproduced. A section is devoted to speeches made outside the Council, another to his contributions to the Press, and the last to Press opinions on his work. The Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali's constituents are fortunate in that the whole pamphlet consists of rather less than 50 pages.—(The Indian Social Reformer, 3rd March 1918.)

THE YOW TO SERVE HUMANITY

(Translated from Telugu)

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, having served his countrymen in the Imperial Legislative Council for 5 years, has done his duties to the best satisfaction of his electors. The principle of presenting the people with a book showing the work he has done is to be found in the case of no Hon'ble Member except Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur. It is very satisfactory to find that Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur has published an account of the work he has done. Asad Ali Khan Bahadur is an Andhra. He is an Andhra Muhammadan. He is a brother of the Nawab of Banganapalli. He is an advocate of self-government, a supporter of the Indian National Congress, a sympathiser of the principle of linguis. tic division of the provinces. Recently he has published the book dealing with the public work he has done during his fifth year in the Legislative Council. Owing to ill-health he could not attend the Council last time, and hence that information could not be included in this book. Among the questions he asked in the Council there are many which are beneficial to the public and also of all-India interest. His speeches in the Council exhibit his powerful mastery of the subjects. In this book not only his work in the Council but

also his Presidential Address at the Madras Moslem League and some of his contributions to the press regarding certain bills are published.

It would be beneficial if other Legislative Council Members also published accounts of their work in the Legislative Councils and the service they have rendered to the public.—(The Andhra Patrika, 2nd March 1918).

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan

(Transtated from Tamil)

The people of this Province, especially Muhammadans, know the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan. He has been holding for the last five years a seat on the Imperial Legislative Council as a representative of the Muhammadan community. It has been his custom to bring out in book form every year the questions he asked, the resolutions he moved, and the speeches he delivered in that Council during that year. He has published a similar book for the year 1917 recording his services for that year, and a copy of it has been sent to us for our perusal. If one reads that book through, the nature of the services rendered by him to his community and to the country at large will become evident. We need hardly, mention that he possessed intense zeal and courage. One passage from the preface to the book is well worth mentioning here. He emphasises therein that the present is not the time for the Muhammadans to create rivalry between class and class owing to their differences of opinion, that if all classes are united, nothing is impossible of achievement, and that if they wished to secure a dignified place in the scheme of self-government, all religionists must work together in harmony. Will our people bear this valuable advice in mind, sink all their differences, present a united front and achieve their object? The present is the best opportunity to work whole-heartedly and zealously for the achievement of our common object. (The Swadesamitran, 2nd March 1918.)

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan issues year after year a record of his work in the Imperial Council, and the fifth year

of his term has been, as the four previous ones, very eventful. He has been in demand for public meetings and, as usual, his utterances are ear-marked with moderation and states-manship. He writes: "Owing to ill-health, I was obliged to be absent from the Simla sessions of the Council. Hence there is no record in this pamphlet of my Council work during September last. I hope and trust this pamphlet will be found useful and enable my voters to take a more intelligent interest in the public life of the country. Questions and resolutions affecting the Moslem community, of an Imperial character, are invited from them. In fact, all practical suggestions for the uplift of the Meslem community will be thankfully received."

Writing on higher politics, the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan writes: "While it is easy to exaggerate differences amongst ourselves, it is really difficult to discern points of unity. This is not a time for any community, particularly the Moslem community, long known for its cohesion and solidarity, to create artificial divisions and engender separatist feelings and tendencies within the community. While differences are bound to exist in any community, they need not keep them from realising their common interests. This is pre-eminently a time for united action, for making up differences and presenting a united front. Common concerted action alone between the two great communities, the Hindus and the Moslems, and between the different communities inhabiting this ancient land, will obtain for India an honourable place within the Empire."

In another place, he writes: "Nevertheless, the year1917 will ever remain a memorable one in the annals of
Modern India. H. E. Lord Chelmsford's sympathetic attitude
towards the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of educated Indians, and his statesmanly speech to the Imperial
Council in September last, indicate a bright future for India.
And the visit to India of the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S.
Montagu, the Secretary of State for India,—indeed a significant event of the times—marks the beginning of a new chap-

ter in the history of our political progress." (The Islamiah, March 6, 1918.)

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur

(Translated from Urdu)

The Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur (Madras), Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, has sent us a booklet for review. It shows his fifth year's activities in the Council, the interpellations and answers and the speeches which he made during the year. Besides, it contains his speech as the President of the seventh session of the Ayurvedic and Unani Conference held at Delhi and his speech as the President at the Annual Session of the Madras Presidency Muslim League and the opinions of the Press. We congratulate him, on his annually presenting a report of his work to his voters in order to enlighten them as to whether his work is satisfactorily done or not. We shall be glad if the other members follow his example. (The Oudh-ul Akbar, Lucknow, 7th March 1918).

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a pamphlet from the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan containing an account of the Hon'ble gentleman's activities during the fifth year of his term of office as a non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The pamphlet contains within the small compass of 45 pages much that is interesting in the public life of the present day. The Nawab's interpellations cover a wide variety of subjects of undoubtedly general interest and they are by no means confined to matters affecting solely his co-religionists. Besides the interpellations and the replies, the pamphlet contains the Hon'ble Member's speeches in the Council and elsewhere. Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan has been a powerful factor for progress among South Indian Moslems, while he is loyal to the Congress League Scheme of Reforms, besides being one of the promoters of the Hindu-Muslim rapproachement. It is a matter for thankfulness that when the Prince of Arcot and Shifal-ul-Mulk Zainulabidin Sahib are preaching the creed of political obscurantism and reaction in South India, Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan has remained loyal to the higher aspirations of the progressive section among the Indian Musalmans. (United India and Native States, 28th March 1918).

Election of the President for the Third Malabar District Conference

Rama Varma Valia Raja of Chirakal, M. R. A. S., F. R. H. S, F. R. S., Chairman of the Reception Committee, Third Malabar District Conference, 'said in his address:- "I would now ask you to formally elect as our President the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, our distinguished leader, who has laboured incessantly to create an entente cordiale between Hindus and Moslems, and succeeded in spite of the machinations of separatists, those insidious foes of Indian Nationalism, who tried to create discord with a view to carry on their own self-aggrandisement. We have closed our own ranks and to-day we give to the world the spectacle of a strong united people, who hail India as their motherland, devoted to her interests, uncontaminated by the spirit of racial or religious sectionalism, determined to bring about the suppression of such elements whether Hindu or Musalman as prevent her harmonious and homogeneous development, as will fit herself for taking the part which belongs of right to her, an important part in the working out of a system of Imperial consolidation. (From the Reception address.)

The Presidential Address of The Malabar District Conference

The address which the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur delivered as the President of the Third Malabar District Conference, which assembled at Tellicherry to-day is quite in keeping with the dignity, prestige and reputation with which he represents the Muhammadan interests of this presidency in the Imperial Legislative Council. There is a certain dignity and fixedness in his political opinions, and the principles he propounds are throughly progressive and liberal in their character and consistent with the position he occupies as a Member of a Royal family in this Presidency and as the representative of cultured Muhammadan opinion

in Madras. Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, belongs to the progressive school of Muhammadan opinion, devoted to the Congress and the Moslem League, and he occupies an accredited position not only as the representative of the Muhammadan community in the Legislative Council, but also as the President of the Madras Presidency Moslem League which has derived additional strength and value from his presidential connection with it. Mr. Asad Ali Khan is a fine specimen of a cultured and aristocratic Musalman, Aristocratic by birth and bearing, but liberal and enlightened in ais opinion, he maintains a sympathetic and tolerant attitude owards all parties in the Congress, which, he feels, should hrive by the presentation of the existing healthy party :haracteristics which distinguish each. He has followed the Congress through its various stages of progressive politics, and is not one of those who have lost faith in the Congress because of the division among Congressmen. On the other and his hope has risen with the development of differences and divisions in the Congress owing to the progress of, hought and opinion, and he does not belong to those who hrow up progressive work because certain parties in the longress' have attained dominance in the Councils of the longress. As a sane politician he recognises that parties nust rise and fall in any well-organised political body ecording to the strength and force of opinion, and there is o cause for alarm in such natural development which is the est indication of popular progress. It goes without saying hat Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur is a loyal adherent to the cheme of reforms jointly approved by the National Congress nd Moslem League. He believes in it and is prepared to tand by it. He is certain that in the coming reform the longress-League scheme is to be the first instalment and nat until we get it we must, fight for it. An emphatic utternce of this sort proceeding from the President of the Malabar District Conference supported as it is by the public opinion f the district, both Hindu and Muhammadan, has a rare alue. It may be easily distinguished from what passes for ublic opinion in certain quarters in Madras. It is not after I so easy to make individual opinion to get accepted as the pinion of a political party, and as far as Malabar is concerned the question may be accepted as decisive. Malabar is determined to stand for the Congress-League scheme and is in the least interested in the party warfare that is being carried on in certain quarters of Madras. It may be taken as the general view of the country at large. Neither the people of Malabar nor the President of the Conference is less loyal or less devoted to the cause of the Allies. The President has a nice conception of what is due from the country at large at the present moment, and he knows in what ways the people can help the Empire. Speaking in a district which has maintained a high place among the districts contributing to the man power of the Empire there was no necessity to speak on the importance of this particular matter. Yet he dwelt on the importance of recognising the principle that they alone are capable of self-rule who can defend themselves adding that "more need not be said on this subject to a Malabar audience whose right example deserves to be emulated by other districts." The political differences which divide the community at present are leading the nation towards solid unity. All have fixed their eye on a common destiny. As the political conflict of the Indian peoples becomes increasingly quickened, divergent views, said Mir Asad Ali Khan, will necessarily arise, and people with more or less the same views must organise themselves into parties. That is the way to develop a political community into a common organisation notwithstanding its differences. The whole organisation must grow and not be split on the rock of acute political differences such as arose at Surat. Out of the wreck at Surat arose the germs of national union which have again been consolidated into the national unity which was signalised at Lucknow where Moderates, Extremists, Home Rulers, all agreed to work in union. Much has been said about the Home Rule activity but Mir Asad Ali Khan believes—and all people will agree with him-that but for the stimulus supplied by the Home rule activities there could not have been so much of political enthusiasm in the country. But, he said, " political agitation while it is an essential part of our work must take its place with political thinking. India has produced capable statesmen in the past, and in due course it must be able toproduce first rate political thinkers. The Congress of Naoroji's and Boneriee's, Hume's and Wedderburn's, Mehta's and Gokhale's true to its past traditions, ought to continue to represent healthy and progressive liberalism. In this lies the hope of the progressive development of the country and the Wedded as the Congress has long been to liberal principles, there have been occasions when extreme radicalism seems to have overshadowed the very liberal principles that gave it birth, and it is, Mr. Asad Ali Khan insists, the duty of every thinking congressman, whatever may be his creed, to see that the great Indian National Congress does not depart from its high principles, and that when unwittingly it does depart, we should by every means in our power endeayour to restore it to its unrivalled position as the best exponent of progressive liberalism." It is not a counsel of despair that the President gives but a counsel of hope for the future of our national organisation. And it is a happy sign that among the different communities and creeds of India there is a steadily unifying force operating towards national unification, and that all communities are persuaded that this is a desirable consummation to be attained at all The President of the Conference has brought his own influences to bear upon the tendency that prevails towards peace and amity in the district and the influence of an aristocratic President of Mr. Ali Khan's prestige and position must add enormously to the value and the weight of words proceeding from the President of the Conference. His address is a remarkable compendium of political truths happily expressed and its effect upon the public opinion of the district must be wholly beneficial. We must congratulate the district on having secured Mir Asad Ali Kban as the President of the Political Conference which he so well utilized to impart sound political opinions. We must congratulate Mir Asad Ali Khan on his admirable speech. The bureaucracy whose responsibility to the people is practically nil has. according to Mir Asad Ali Khan, prevented healthy development of the capacity and character of the people. Benevolent, he admits, the bureaucracy has on the whole been, but it has far too much power either for good or for evil. Its general policy has been repressive and its general tendency is the same. The bureaucracy have worked so subtly as to

lead to the disappearance of a healthy public life in the country. With all its vast powers the bureaucracy practically controls all public life and all public movements through the never failing agency of the political branch of the ever present C.I.D. The speaker suggests that the time has now come for the bureaucracy to give up the close grip of popular freedom and to surrender into the hands of the people some of the powers and opportunities which they now wield for moulding the destinies of the people. This is the fundamental case he makes out against the bureaucracy. Everybody agrees in this view except the bureaucrat, and a change has become imminent. The only question is how much the bureaucracy will part with of the power which it has hitherto wielded and how far the people will be able to force power out of its hands. In other words whether it will have the grace to admit its own imperfections and make way for the removal of them by adequate means. There is no doubt that the bureaucracy will find it impossible in the long run to maintain its power and influence, and it would have to concede into the hands of the people those powers and opportunities which are necessary for their free growth. The only question is whether the bureaucracy will do this in time or whether it will obstinately stick to its powers and opportunities and disappoint the people of their opportunities and desires. They have not always proved the wisest of their class. They enjoy too much power to be supremely wise, and policy does not require them to relax the rigid adherence to their powers and privileges even as a matter of expediency. It has decidedly too much power in its hands to be always wisely and considerately used and it will be extremely well to restrict the opportunity for the misuse of its power and enlarge the freedom of the people to use many of those powers themselves.—{Indian Patriot. Madras. May 6, 1918).

The Third Malabar District Conference .

The address which was delivered by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur as President of the Third Malabar District Conference is interesting. The conspicuous feature of it was its moderation and sobriety, the temperate

language in which the thoughts were clothed by no means less remarkable. He entered a strong plea for the suspension of all political propagandism as long as the present grave crisis, of which he gave a full account, lasts, for the sinking of all political differences " in the face of the great common danger" and for "uniting together their mental and moral torces to combat the foe and renew their efforts to help and promote the Allies' cause of freedom." He exhorted his hearers "to demonstrate their staunch and steadfast loyalty to the British Throne by deeds and not by words." He paid a well deserved compliment to Malabar for the large number of recruits the district has supplied both to the combatant and non-combatant force in the past and encouraged them to put forth further efforts. He asked the educated Indians to spread correct and accurate information in regard to the progress of the war, allay panic, discourage mischief-making, remove vague and groundless fears, create confidence in the public mind and assure the people of the ultimate victory of the Allied cause. He took a sane view of the famous pronouncement of the 20th of August last and of the political reforms that would be granted in redemption of that declaration, dilated on the prime necessity of building up and fostering the idea of an Indian nationhood. At the same time, the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali clearly perceived the inevitability of conceding communal representation so long as communal differences and peculiarities exist. "The fact" said he, "has to be faced that political rights and privileges are at present monopolised by one or two sections or classes in each community to the detriment of the remaining numerous classes who far outnumber in wealth, rank and position the few privileged classes. It is to guard against this danger of political power eventually passing into the hands of a narrow minded and selfish oligarchy that important communities with a stake in the country demand communal representation." That is a true and correct statement of the position to which exception could not in reason be taken. Mr. Asad Ali does not lament the political split and the coming into existence of different political parties. He rejoices that they have come into being as the birth gives promise of more political thinking in the country in place of the chorus which but echoes one or two men's borrowed ideas. He does not believe in the theory of a united front, but gladly welcomes a divided one. He analyses the various political parties and classifies them into conservatives, whigs, liberals and radicals. We congratulate Mr. Asad Ali Khan Bahadur on his address which would help to correct the wrong-headedness of a small section of the people of Malabar. From the account which our correspondent sends us of the Conference, which appears elsewhere, the Conference was sparsely attended, and left much to be desired in the way of common courtesy to the President of their own choice and general behaviour. Like the insect which takes the colour of the leaf on which it sits, the forward politicians of this Conference have apparently absorbed the characteristics of the average Home Ruler. the conduct of the extremists being otherwise unaccountable. (Justice, May 8, 1918)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE THIRD MALABAR DISTRICT CONFERENCE

Parties.

"It is a happy sign of the times that parties are coming into existence in the political life of the country." So said the Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali Khan Bahadur yesterday in his presidential address at the Malabar District Conference which opened yesterday at Tellicherry. The Khan Bahadur's dictum can surely be accepted as correct. There is not much sign of real political thought when all politicians think or imagine that they think exactly alike on every subject. In the earlier days of the National Congress it was a joke against its meetings that there was never any "other side" in the deliberations. There were no debates or discussions: for every one came to the Congress apparently prepared beforehand to plump for every resolution that might be proposed. We have followed the proceedings of the Annual Congress for a good many years, and, until the time of " split" some years ago we don't remember an occasion on which any resolution was ever opposed or even amended. Each resolution was proposed and seconded and supported quite unnecessarily, as there was no sign of its not being carried and then it was carried unanimously. And finally, when there was no time for a further parade of tongues, a whole lot of different resolutions on all sorts of subjects were conglomerated into what was called an *omnibus* resolution, and this too was carried as unanimously as the rest.

There was occasion for enemies of the Congress to gibe. The proceedings suggested that the great majority of the members had no minds of their own, but were prepared to swear by whatever their leaders might put forward for their vows.

Things are very different now. "Parties are coming into existence," says the Khan Bahadur; and, as a matter of fact, they have come into existence already. This is truly a sign of truer political life; but the regrettable side of the business is the fact that the parties that have come into being are animated with so many bitter personalities that political life is spoiled altogether. Political differences are good, but an accompaniment of personal abuse is deplorable. India now is so torn by faction that it would be difficult for the different factions to make common cause on a common platform for general purposes. One man abuses another personally, and the conditions are not for India's good.—(The Madras Times, May 7, 1918).

The Malabar Conference

Elsewhere will be found published copious extracts from the addresses delivered by Mr. C. K. Rama Varma Raja and Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, Chairman of the Reception Committee and President respectively of the Third Malabar District Conference. The two speeches must have, no doubt, thrown bomb shells into the vast assembly composed mainly of Home Rulers, their friends and silent supporters. Both the distinguished gentlemen seem to have eschewed extreme politics which has fascinated a section of our countrymen, and declined to shout with those "patriots" who day in and day out preach such doctrines as Passive Resistance and organised opposition. Erring on the side of moderation, the two leaders spoke with a full sense of res-

ponsibility untrammelled by any limitations imposed by the " President of the National Congress" and her henchmen. In recent times we have heard of manifestoes and ultimatums to the Government, but the spirit that has an mated them is conspicuous by its absence in the addresses before us. Mr. Rama Varma Raja is not an extreme Home Ruler; he has realised the difficulties ahead, the seriousness of the situation in the Empire, and the need for orderly, cautious development. In this he is joined forces with by Mr. Asad Ali Khan who condemns any demand for catastrophic changes, any violent talk or agitation at a time when Englishmen's thoughts are centred round the war and war alone. Suspend all political agitation is his message to the Malayalees; they are asked to supply men and money forgetting all differences and the issues between the Government and the people, without wasting words or time on fruitless or excited talk. We are afraid that this straight talk will not commend itself to our roaring patriots, but we have no doubt, that the President has but reflected the thoughts of the majority of his country-Mr. Rama Varma Raja too does not mince matters; he exhorts his countrymen with that earnestness and thoroughness characteristic of his public life and activities to revive their dormant martial spirit, and to rush to the battlefield at the bidding of Britain to guard her honour and theirs. reference to the kalari system and the man power of the district will no doubt stimulate interest in recruiting. Self-Government looms large in the Raja's address but his references do not carry him without the borders of practical politics, nor does he indicate that complete autonomy tomorrow is India's demand. He supports the Congress-League scheme, and points out from historical and official records that when semi-savages like those of the Gilbert Islands, are fit for self-government, India's case for that system of Government is irresistible and based on solid foundations. Mr. Asad Ali Khan joins forces with the Raja and points out how unreasonable and untenable is the position taken up by our enemies. Mr. Asad Ali Khan recognises the difficulties, the complexity of the racial problem, and the diversity of the interests but pleads for a clearer understanding between communities, for the spirit of compromise and the

sacrifice of narrow or sectarian interests at the altar of the Motherland. Unity has to be found in diversity and he asks that instead of wasting words over acute controversies the leaders should set themselves about devising ways and means of evolving a solid, compact nation. Both the Raja and Mr. Asad Ali Khan regret the absence of organised political work and of political thinkers. The latter is pronounced in his views, and takes severely to task the tendency to divorce practical politics and sane thinking from public life. Without organised work, guided by sane thinkers there would be no danger of political visionaries misleading the populace or cramming into its head fantastic notions of Government and freedom. He regrets that although the Conference has passed into the third year of its existence, it has been barren of results, that is, practical work, and suggests the co-ordination of the activities of mofussal political bodies and the inauguration of weekly lectures, periodical publications and steady stimulations of the enquiring mind. We are glad that Mr. Ali Khan has indulged in plain speaking and pointed out that nothing is gained by an annual " field day" of two days: With regard to Mr. Montagu's visit and his promised reforms, Mr. Rama Varma Raja reflects the people's views and expresses the hope that after all Mr. Montagu's efforts would not turn out to be a case of the mountain in labour. The expectations created by his speeches and visit have to be met to the fullest possible extent, and the Raja hopes that Mr. Montagu would come out with a scheme that would satisfy the reasonable aspirations of his countrymen. Mr. Asad Ali Khan suggests that all agitation should be suspended during the pendency of the war, till after the reform scheme is published, and in the meantime to conserve power and to respond cheerfully to the Viceroy's call. We regret we have no space to-day to go at length into the two speeches but we have only to say that even in cold print they are inspiring and must repay perusal. As we have already said, the Raja and Mr. Asad Ali Khan have gone to business like practical politicians, free from emotions and visionary idealism. They have struck the right note, namely, our duty to England first and then after discharging this duty to combine and co-operate to bring about a satisfactory solution of the many problems staring us in the face to-day. These are anxious and troublous times, and we would earnestly commend the two remarkable speeches to the thoughtful attention of our countrymen. The two gentlemen are to be congratulated on the moderation of their language. The practical suggestions Mr. Asad Ali Khan has made ought to get that attention they deserve, and if our countrymen act up to them we have no fear of their being carried away by the frenzied outbursts of the extreme Home Ruler, and have every hope of their becoming practical instead of visionary politicians. (West Coast Spectator, 7th may 1918).

Conference Topics

In catching a Mussalman for the Presidentship of the Third Malabar District Conference the local Home Rulers have caught a veritable Tartar! They might have perhaps thought the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan would make a speech of learned length and thundering sound, hurl thunder clap after thunder clap on the devoted heads of the gentlemen constituting the Government or act as the Beasant gramaphone, the handle being turned from Adyar.

Instead of a speech drafted in approved Home Rule style, reared upon the presumption that India is over-ripe for complete autonomy, we have a matter of fact, sane and moderate pronouncement on contemporary political questions clothed in simple, plain language, free from emotions or frothy verbiage which fascinate the mob. We imagine that în going out of the Adyar line, Mir Asad Ali Khan has given offence to the roaring patriots who cry blood and thunder.

Wonder of wonders, Mr. Khan pleads for the suspension of controversies, even advocates their exclusion from the Conference and that the thoughts of the people ought solely to be devoted to the successful prosecution of the War! We congratulate the distinguished Khan Bahadur on his courage in joining issues with the "patriots" from whom the fiat has gone forth to agitate and agitate till wounded majesty was healed. We are sure that the presidential

address would cause searchings of the heart in Beasantine circles, but they do not dare or disown or attack Mr. Ali Khan, for he is a valuable asset.

Mr. Asad Ali Khan was candid. "Following as I do," he said, "the radical politicians who presided over the assembly on the previous occasions, I fear I may not be able to come up to your high expectations." He might not have satisfied the followers of these two radical politicians, but every right thinking man must admit that he has discharged his duty admirably well and indulged in a little plain speaking that must open the eyes of the Malayalees to their shortcomings and to their duty. He has declined to indulge in political cant and humbug, and this is all the more the reason why he should be congratulated.

Again, says Mr. Ali Khan:—"I submit that we have to suspend all political propagandism as long as the present grave crisis lasts, lest our overzealous activities practically harmless during normal times, should now embarrass the Government. Like the unseasonal rainfall that injures the crop strong political agitation out of season would considerably damage a good cause." We hope this piece of sensible advice will not be lost on our people, although there are persons abroad to advocate refined hooliganism and a spirit of silent hostility.

He spoke the truth when he said that the measure of our true patriotism would be "tested by the readiness with which we are prepared to render all possible help to the empire." Let us hope that these words have not fallen on ears deafened by the tremendous noise a microscopic, disappointed minority has set up. "I put the question," said Mr. Ali Khan, "what have you done during one year between the last Conference at Calicut and this Conference at Tellicherry to translate into actual practice the resolutions passed at the last Conference with so much earnestness and enthusiasm."

Echo answers, what? The President himself gives the answer,—" Except that you have formally communicated these resolutions to the authorities concerned, you have done practically little in the way of organised work. Nor have you

taken pains to create, educate and strengthen public opinion in the district." The "leaders" assembled in the pandal must have felt small when this straight talk went forth. The Malayalee, they say, can talk, but not act, but is it not time to live down this reproach? We are also glad that the President asked our people to cultivate patience, and not cry over reforms which are yet in the incubation stage.

He says that we should agitate and agitate till we are heard, only if after publication of the Government scheme we are not satisfied as to its substantial nature and if the first stage in the construction of the edifice of Responsible Government falls far short of the Congress-League scheme. Then we shall begin to agitate. "Even though we may not get as much as our scheme desires to get we shall however be prepared to be satisfied if the coming proposals grant some real power over the executive to the peoples' representatives." Wise and sensible words these. our special correspondent's report we publish elsewhere. it will be seen, that Mr. Asad Ali Khan's speech had to be abruptly terminated owing to constant interruption and shouts set up by the small body of irreconcilables who wield however a powerful voice, dissatisfied with the President's counsel of patience and moderation. It is disgraceful and cannot at all redound to the credit of these men that such a distinguished leader as Mr. Khan was not allowed to speak. Such outbursts of undignified and irresponsible partisanship cannot strengthen any cause, and it is deeply to be regretted that the elderly leaders present did not intervene and put down the disturbing elements. If these people were bent upon creating disturbances, of course, they should have been ejected from the pandal. (East Coast Specialor, 7th May 18) ..

The War and National Unity.

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur's powerful exhortation at the Tellicherry Conference to sink all differences and to co-operate with the Government in the successful prosecution of the war has been received in certain quarters with feelings of distrust. We have already made

it clear that whatever our differences with the bureaucrats we have reached a stage in our political life when it is absolutely necessary that we should combine to avert a disaster that is fast approaching our gates. We propose in this article to show how the nations directly participating in the war have settled domestic quarrels for the time being to attack the common foe, and have put themselves to sacrifices to conserve their energy. We hope that the examples of these nations will be calmly pondered over by our people and they would act in such a manner as would bring forth their full energies. Indeed these are days when a little clear political thinking will do much good and Mr. Asad Ali Khan was perfectly right when he demanded that there should arise a new school of political thinkers to replace the demagogues who are taking the country to undesirable ways. (West Coast Speciator, 9th 1918).

Topics of the times

Our representative who has just returned from Tellicherry says that the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan's presidential address has commended itself very favourably to the majority of the delegates. Dissatisfaction at the President's stout refusal to endorse the Home Rulers' extreme propaganda especially at this time is confined to a microscopic minority, which has however been unable, to influence the majority. This is evident that in spite of the loud noise set up by the few, the cause of the moderate still holds fast in Malabar.

We have heard nothing of the Conference having decided to take up propagandist work as suggested by the President. We need hardly say that the dissemination of sound and correct political knowledge is a desideratum in Malabar where public opinion is yet in the nebulous state. We have always held that without this requisite it is foolish to expect any enthusiasm for politics in Malabar. We do not know if Mr. Asad Ali Khan's candid reproof will have any effect on the Malyalees if the Congress Committees and Home Rule-Leagues would profit by the lecture so forcibly delivered by the distinguished President.

Our representative says that when the President suggested the desirability of stopping all political agitation there were shouts of disapproval set up by a few school boys and extremists hailing from South Malabar. We are not surprised that there were such shouts of disapproval; for we know we have in our midst a company of irreconcilables who will not be content unless the Government of the country is handed over to the Adyar party. We are glad that no responsible or elderly politician in the pavilion shouted with the mob, although they cannot be absolved from blame for the interruptions.

The disgraceful exhibition of temper and impatience of criticism which the irreconcilables showed, make it clear that self-respecting and honest politicians can have nothing to do with them. Mr. Asad Ali Khan was the guest of the Malayalees; he came invited and gave out his honest opinions which are entitled to respectful attention. But the irreconcilables cast all rules of hospitality to the winds, were so rowdy that the President had to leave a portion of his speech undelivered. These Home Rule Extremists charge bureaucrats with impatience of criticism, but they have made it very clear that they themselves cannot tolerate honest differences of opinion.

We hope that the Extremist Home Rulers have realised the magnitude of the insult offered to the respected and distinguished President whose views on current politics are so well-known. Knowing his views they ought not to have invited him and having invited him, it was their duty to have given him a respectful hearing. But for their mad act of hooliganism and irresponsible rowdyism, the Extremists are alienating moderates and self-respecting politicians, and we put it to them if it is politic to do so. It is to be regretted that there is none to check these irresponsible young men who are yet to learn the virtue of toleration and compromise in politics.

They are not prepared to suspend political agitation during the pendancy of the war; they are not prepared to find recruits, which is evident from the shouts of disapproval that greeted the President when he referred to Mr. Gillman's

statement about recruitment in Malabar and they want to embarrass the Government to the extreme end. They are of course welcome to hold these views but when they attempt to thrust them on others or to mob those who hold opposite views, we have to draw the line and to assert emphatically that we can have and will have nothing to do with such Bolsheviks. The young men who shout down speakers and express outrageous views are innocent; they are mere tools in the hands of the crafty and they are misled. A terrible responsibility, therefore, rests with those who make use of them (West Coast Speciator, 19h May 1918.)

Propaganda

The Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, in his address as President of the Malabar District Conference, held at Tellicherry, yesterday, seems to be of two minds. First, ignoring the fact that the Delhi War Conference left political propaganda untouched, he gratuitously declared that "we have to suspend all political propagandism as long as the present grave crisis lasts." But in the course of his address, he discussed the "Coming Reforms," and stated that "if the first stage in the construction of the edifice of Responsible Government falls far short of the Congress-League Scheme, then we shall begin to agitate, and agitate in a constitutional manner, and continue to agitate till vicory crowns our efforts." That is spoken as a good Congressman, but we find it difficult to reconcile it with the first quotation given The Reforms are to be published, it is said, within some two months, and the "present grave crisis" will only be graver two months hence. It is surely obvious that the publication of the Reforms will invole discussion, nay, will necessitate it.

To accept the Hon'ble Mir. Asad Ali Khan's proposal would be the more unwise in that the Government has not accepted the bargain offered to it by the European community here-though the British race does not bargain-to cease agitation if the Reforms were put off to the end of the War. Mr. Welby, in fact, is the prince of bargainers, only unfortunately he drives such a hard bargain that the customer ap-

proached never accepts it. The European community will carry on its propaganda here and in England, while we can only carry on ours here. Under these circumstances we cannot accept the Hon. Mir Asad Ali's proposal. In a correct copy of the Address received after the above was in print, the words first quoted are changed as follows:—" We have to suspend all violent political propagandism, lest our overzealous activities" etc. (New India, May 1918.)

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan's Speech

(Appeared in the Yustice)

Sir,—I commend the Presidential speech of the Malabar District Conference delivered by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur to the consideration of the hot-headed firebrands and the Home Rule agitators. It is a well-considered one, pregnant with broad views and remarkable for its moderation. It is full of common sense. It is a comprehensive one, full of advice and thought. He has his misgivings about the future of the Indian National Congress, and he is not for immediate Self-government and I conclude this brief notice by quoting his own words. "Changes there must be, but sudden, revolutionary and catastrophic changes are more likely to injure than promote our best interests, and more likely to retard than accelerate our political progress." Truly and well said. We want leaders of the type of Mr. Asad Ali Khan.

Madura, 9th May 1918. (Sd.) P. R. Venkatesalu Naidu.

Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan's Yiews

Presiding over the Malabar District Conference, Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan delivered a speech which, for moderation and a precise statement of facts, may be taken as a model. We cannot resist the temptation of comparing the recent outburst of the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hussain with the Khan Bahadur, the President of the Moslem League in Madras. He is no extreme politician who would have Self-Government to-morrow, and although his association with

the Moslem League, with its present traditions, is likely to give his views an extreme tinge, his address is remarkable for its moderation and sound common sense. He takes a broad view of events; and although a Muhammadan, he is an Indian first and foremost. Speaking of the national problem for India, he said: "Whatever ideals of nationality the earlier political workers in India had, the future of India, it seems to me, should belong to no particular nationality or religious community but to all the nationalities and religious communities who inhabit the country. The future of India belongs to the Hindus, the Mussalmans, the Buddhists, the Parsees and the Christians (including Anglo-Indians). The very nation-idea, the very conception of nationality in a modern sense, we must confess with gratitude, is due to British influence and the presence of British rule in our midst.

Political dreamers and fire brands would find it rather inconvenient that the Khan Bahadur whose acceptance of the Congress-League Scheme has made them claim him as their man and as a partisan of all their break neck proposals, should have made it plain that with him progress meant something quite different from the reeling rush of some forward men. He did not hesitate to speak out; and for a member of a princely family and for one who has a stake in the land this courageous course was certainly commendable. " It is apparent even to a casual observer that as far as one's imagination goes, Indians of all creeds and castes can hardly ever be united to form a single nation. For acute religious and social differences exist among the Hindus who form the vast majority of the Indian population. To hope, therefore, that these differences would vanish within a short time before the rising sun of political freedom is a highly debatable assumption. A federal nationality is only possible of achievement under a strong central authority and progressively liberal administration, capable of holding the scales even between class and class, community and community, and man and man. Such an authority we find in the British Government, the greatest World-Power to-day to which we are proud to belong. Under Great Britain whose progressive constitution guarantees freedom to weak

or oppressed nationalities, let us hope to evolve an Indian nationality on a federal basis until such time as it may please the infinitely merciful Almighty to unite us all into one nation, and make Indians a great people on earth."

We welcome from a Moslem leader of the League's political creed the exceedingly wise statement that the Indian National Congress should maintain a high ideal. To quote him: "What the future of the Congress will to I do not venture to predict. But it seems to me that the Congress of Naorojis and Bonerjees, Humes and Wedderburns, Mehtas and Gokhales, true to its past traditions, ought to continue to represent healthy and progressive liberalism. Changes there must be, but sudden, revolutionary and catastrophic changes are more likely to injure than promote our best interests, and more likely to retard than accelerate our political progress.

Though, as a President of a District Conference, the Khan Bahadur was speaking as an Indian and not as a Mussalman, he could not help touching on the problem that affects the community. We are all familiar with the views of the Khan Bahadur on communal representation; and in these days of Brahmin-Non-Brahmin controversy, it was well that he expressed himself thus: "Religion being the backbone of the oriental peoples, communal representation on a broad religious basis is not only permissible but necessary. But communal representation within each religious community is one of doubtful wisdom. Nevertheless, the fact has to be faced that politicial rights and privileges are at present monopolised by one or two sections or classes in each community to the detriment of the remaining numerous classes who far outnumber in wealth, rank and position the few privileged classes. It is to guard against this danger of political power eventually passing into the hands of a narrow-minded and selfish oligarchy that important communities, with a heavy stake in the country demand communal representation. Extremely difficult as the solution of the communal problem within the Hindu community is, a way has still to be found for preventing the undue predominance of any one class or section in the councils of the Empire."

Moslem backwardness in education seldom came into more

prominence than when figures were quoted in connection. with an educationally forward district as Malabar. Of all reforms education forms the basis, and without education. no community can ever hope to progress. We find that Malabar has shown great educational progress compared with the Presidency averages of about 7 per cent. literate and 7 per 1000 literate in English, Malabar's averages are 11 per cent. and 7 per 1000 respectively. Among the Hindus, the Presidency averages are 7 per cent. literate and 5 per 1000 literate in English. Among the Mussalmans, they are a little more than 8 per cent. literate and 5 per 1000 literate in English. Among the Christian population of the Presidency which includes Anglo-Indians they are about 161 per cent. literate and about 5% per cent. literate in English. In Malabar, the literates amongst the Hindu, Moslem and Christian communities form 13 per cent., 6 per cent., and 32 per cent., respectively, and the literates in English among these are 7 per 1000, barely 1 per 1000, and 10 per cent. respectively. "While the Hindu and Christian averages of the district have risen far above, the Mussalman averages for Malabar have fallen far below the Presidency averages. While it is true that my co-religionists in your district have taken largely to industrial pursuits, they need to exert themselves in the direction of education. Considering the state of literacy among the Moslem population, I am not surprised at the smallness of the number of the Moslem delegates here to-day. I would therefore appeal to my Mappilla co religionists to bestir themselves and found educational institutions for the benefit of their little ones."

Upon the question of Hindu-Moslem riots which, with a people as excitable as the Mappillas, is a very important question, the Khan Bahadur had an appeal to address to his co-religionists: "I would appeal to my co-religionists in your district, a somewhat easily excitable material, to exercise self-restraint, and help to prevent in future a recurrence of such a riot. The Hindus and Mussalmans in Southern India move in more friendly terms than in Northern India is an admitted fact. Notwithstanding the unworthy attempts of interested parties to create ill-will between these two great

communities, I believe, I am right in saying that happy relations between them continue to remain. While each community has its peculiarities and differences within the community, they have common political interests. Mutual sympathy and understanding will undoubtedly promote greater unity between them." (Al Islam, May 8, 1918.)

Political Notes

In his presidential address at the Malabar Conference, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali spoke as follows: "Since the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, one of the few really brilliant Viceroys that ever came to India, the Executive has considerably strengthened its hands by passing a series of acts. popularly known as repressive legislation, such as the Official Secrets Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Newspaper Incitement to Crimes Act, the Press Act and the Criminal Conspiracies Act. Excellent as these acts may be to meet emergent circumstances, their continuity even in normal times has tended to stifle public opinion, repress national ambition, suppress political activity and discourage independence of action. In fact, they have worked so subtly as to lead to the disappearance of a healthy public life in the country. With all its vast powers the bureaucracy practically controls all public life and all public movements through the never-failing agency of the political branch of the ever present C. I. D. Further, its present policy seems to be Concession and Coercion, by no means a healthy or even desirable combination. Instead it ought to pursue a policy of Concession and Conciliation, a very happy combination that cannot fail to win the peoples' loyal co-operation in the administration of the country.

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In another place, he said: : 'Self-determination and self-expression are not empty words in the political vocabulary of our rulers. They are not less so in the vocabulary of Indians, their worthy disciples. They are pregnant with deep meaning and are realisable ideals. It is no longer the self-determination or self-expression of a particular race or

community but of United India. Though diverse are the forms in which that self-determination has expressed itself, there is running through them all a unity, and the underlying unity is but the same. It is freedom, self-controlled freedom, the goal of our political ambition. Towards the gradual and steady attainment of that freedom, Hindus and Mussalmans, together with other communities have to march hand in hand with each other under the liberalising and progressive influences of self-governing institutions."

In our leading article we have shown how with som

In our leading article we have shown how, with some of the points that the Khan Bahadur has touched and some of the views that he has expressed, we are in entire agreement (Al Islam, May 8, 1918).

An Insult to a Moslem Leader

No Muhammadan who takes any interest in public affairs can read the extracts that we publish elsewhere under the above heading in another page. 'The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan is a most respected leader, but because he would not vomit fire and blood to the liking of the Home Rulers who had invited him to preside over the Conference at Tellicherry, he was subjected to what can be described only as an insult. Of course, we know that there are public men and women too-and public organs who would applaud the action of those who interrupt a chairman or a president and make it impossible for him to continue. This is called patriotism in some quarters; in other quarters it is described as the right spirit which would fit India for Self-Government. What with Mr. Salla Gurusawmy Chetty's excursion into politics and minority representation and labourers' grievances and Mr. Cunnan Chetty's oratorical outburst into high democracy, the patriotic press has had not space to review at length the remarkable utterance of the moderate leader of the Madras Muslim League. The truth is, the Hon'ble Member has disappointed the expectation of the Congress Leaguers in Home Rule garb and we would not be surprised if he was repudiated by those who find in the British and in the German two foreign nations in both of whom they are not interested. What we wish to protest against is the utter demoralisation to which public life has been reduced-Honoured leaders are not respected, and if a President would dare talk common sense, he would be hooted. We look upon this spirit with a great deal of alarm, and hope that every one interested in the welfare of the country will nip it in the bud, while respected leaders are held up to ridicule the moment they would advocate moderation. Even Mrs. Beasant is about to be dethroned, new leaders are being manufactured with striking rapidity. (Al Islam, May 15, 1918).

Let us Prove our worth

Nawab Mir Aşad Ali Khan of Banganapalli who is doing very useful work as a Muhammadan representative in the Viceroy's Legislative Council has said some pert things as President of the Malabar District Conference which need reproduction here. He said the time had come for Indians of all shades of public opinion to sink differences in the face of a great common danger that seemed to threaten the very existence of the empire. "Unite together your mental and moral forces to combat the foe and renew your efforts to help and promote the Allies' cause of human freedom. The time has come for all dutiful Indians to demonstrate their staunch and steadfast loyalty to the British throne by deeds rather than by words."

Referring to man-power, he said, the question should be solved in a manner worthy of the reputation of the district. Now we endorse every word in this. If we are to win concessions, let us prove ourselves worthy of them. As Sir Michael O'Dwyer correctly said the present situation is the test of our loyalty and devotion and will show our fitness or unfitness for the work of Self-Government. If we will bear our part honourably and sincerely, as an integral part of the British Empire, we will surely get our reward. If we fail, we fail for ever. It is honest truth and the "Chronicle" is not justified in calling names to Sir Michael for uttering this truth. Let us prove our worth. (The Bombay Mail).

Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan at Tellicherry: Moslem Deputations

Tellicherry, May 6.—In point of political, social and religious associations Malabar is not in any way behind the metropolis or sister districts in this presidency. Taking advantage of the happy opportunity of the visit of the Vice-President of the South India Muhammadan Educational Association, the Muslim leaders in the town of Tellicherry organised deputations of three important bodies, (1) of Tellicherry Branch of the All India Muslim League (2) the Anwarul-Islam Sabha and (3) Imdadul Sabha to represent to him the grievances under which they were labouring and calling upon him to use his influence with the powers that be in the Imperial Legislative Council to bring about an amelioration of their condition. The one thing common to all the three addresses was the want of proper educational facilities. The first and the most important function took place in the historic bungalow known as Thulsa Seth bungalow in the heart of Tellicherry town where the elite of the town had assembled to accord a right royal welcome to the President elect.

Muslim League

The welcome address which was beautifully printed on white satin silk and enclosed in a beautifully carved buffalo horn, ebony coloured frame, was in exhibition on a table in the spacious hall of the bungalow and was much admired.

In reply to the address the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur said he could hardly think of a United India without Musalmans. The Musalmans no less than Hindus contributed towards the making of a united political ambition.

After the President's speech the young boys of Madrasa Jusufia sang beautiful national songs in the Arabic language and after the distribution of flowers and light refreshments the guests dispersed. The function was a great success.

Before the assembly broke, Mr. K. S. Menon, Bar-at-Law, addressed a few words, in the course of which he thanked the Musalman Community of Tellicherry on behalf of his Hindu brothers for having invited them to that function, thus

giving them a chance to co-operate with them in their efforts to ameliorate their condition and to mingle with them freely. He wished the league every success that it richly deserved. (Cheers).

Messrs. Issack Bros., Bunkers and Merchants, Tellicherry, gave a sumptuous dinner to the principal guests and to the President elect. Invitations to it had been sent on a lavish scale to the far off Andras. A letter expressing regret at the inability to attend the functions was received from Kuddus Badsha Sahib Khan Bahadur, two telegrams from Colombo from leading Tellicherry merchants there and one from Sultan Mot amed Ali, Raja of Cannanore, were received, but all of them breathed a sentiment of success to the Tellicherry function.

Anwarul Islam Sabha

In the afternoon the President elect was taken in procession accompanied by music to a neat little building in the heart of the town where the members of the Anwarul Islam Sabha presented him with a welcome address. The address was read by Mr V. C. Kunhi Nair, ex-Dewan to the Ali Raja of Cannanore and Mr. H. A. Essak Sait presented the guest with a miniature silver sword as a memento of his visit to that body. A religious hymn was also sung.

Imdadul Sabha

The last function of a strenuous day of deputation came off at 8 o'clock where again the local Mussalmans of light and leading at Tellicherry had assembled at Imdadul Sabha. The proceedings took place in the hall of a mercantile firm in the heart of the town. The guests as they arrived were received by the Sabha and conducted to seats arranged on the floor where they sat in a truly oriental fashion on dhurries spread on the ground and the guests sat squatting. Punctually at the appointed hour the guest of the evening arrived escorted by the choristers of Moslem youths who chanted some elegant and beautiful Arabic ditties, with skill and dexterity. The song was much appreciated by those assembled. The guest was conducted under a floral pandal upstairs

in the hall and was presented with an address of welcome enclosed in a beautiful metallic casket which was neatly executed by local craftsmen. It was a neat little box of oblong, shape worked on springs which soon exposed to view a telescope in which was enclosed a beautifully printed satin silver parchment address.

The guests then dispersed. The thoroughfares were, beautifully lit and the arrangements made throughout the day at different functions were quite good and the whole day passed off without a hitch. It must be mentioned that before, the guests dispersed at Anwarul Islam Sabha, an excellent group photo was taken with the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali. Khan Bahadur in their midst. (By wire. The Indian Patriot; May 8, 1918).

The Searchlight

Malabar Moslems

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan's visit to Tellicherry was the occasion for Malabar Moslems to pay their dutiful respects to an enlightened Muhammadan leader. Mir Asad Ali Khan has been prominently before the public for many years, and his co-religionists throughout the Presidency respect and revere him. As a representative of the Muhammadan interests in the Imperial Legislative Council he has espoused the interests of the Muhammadans always and has shown considerable interest in their welfare. The Tellicherry Moslem League lost no time in drafting an address of welcome to Mir Asad Ali Khan which referred to several important matters concerning the Mappillas of Malabar. The address also referred to the aspirations of United India on which the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan addressed the following wise words:- "I can hardly think of a United India without Mussalmans. Mussalmans no less than Hindus, contribute towards the making of a United India, the dream of our political ambition. It has to be borne in mind that the politics of United India is virtually the politics of all classes and communities inhabiting this great land. Except in a very narrow sense there is no Moslem politics apart from Indian National politics."

Moslem Education

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali recognises that first and fore-most their attention must be directed to education. His appeal is for liberal education inspired and guided by high Islamic ideals, and he points out that, "when once this system of education is begun for the benefit of Moslem youths from the primary stage to the collegiate standard in special Moslem institutions, largely supported by private philanthropy the pace of Moslem progress will be quickened, and the Moslem community even more readily co-operate with the sister communities in their efforts to realise Responsible Government in India as early as possible."

And his call to Malabar to wake up and set to work is worthy of the noble cause he has been advocating. He says:—" Malabar with nearly a million Moslem inhabitants should have a Moslem College, owned and manned by Mussalmans themselves. You need therefore to concentrate at once all your attention on Moslem education, how best it can be promoted." We realise that the Mappillas of Malabar need considerable encouragement and we trust that the Muhammadan leaders will realise the backward condition of the Malabar Moslems in point of education and do all they can to promote and encourage education among them. Mir Asad Ali Khan's advice, we hope, will not fail to produce the desired result.

Their political Future

We realise keenly the force of Mir Asad Ali Khan's arguments regarding the political future of the Muhammadans. His observation that "the steps we purpose to take and the pace at which we ought to proceed in order to ensure our success will largely determine our fitness for larger political privileges and the eventual enjoyment of Responsible Government under the aegis of Great Britain," shows considerable political acumen and foresight. He appeals to his co-religionists to stand by the All-India Moslem League which stands "for progressive liberalism." Every other Moslem League in the District, he says, must form part of the All-India Moslem League and work in conjunction with

it. Differences should vanish; peace and amity should reign. We have often had opportunity to speak of rapprochement between Mussalmans and Hindus, and we are glad to see that Mr. Asad Ali Khan's views are well thought out and are the result of experience and wisdom. We cannot but quote his words. He says: " Want of understanding in the absence of sympathy is indeed a stumbling block in the way of rapprochement between Mussalmans and Hindus. Like the two eyes equally necessary and equally important to the human body the Mussalmans and the Hindus, the two great communities in India, are equally essential to our body politic. Hence the advancement of India virtually means the advancement of each Indian community. Let us therefore march 'hand in hand with each other and under the British flag which stands for justice and honor ever onward and onward, until we reach successfully the goal of India's national ambition." (The Indian Pairiol, May 8, 1918.)

An appeal

I'he Hon'ble Mr. Mir Asad Ali has issued an appeal to Mahummadans to respond to the Empire's call. It is a golden opportunity, he says, for Muhammadans to prove their manliness and their valour in devotion to duty. "I appeal" he says, "to my Moslem brethren to arm themselves under the British flag for preventing the approach of the enemy within our borders and restoring peace through war, if ever the peace of India is seriously threatened." Meetings, he says, should at once be organised throughout the Presidency and the recruitment of Muhammadans begun. (The Madras Times, May 17, 1918)

Recruitment

The Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan has been following up his speech at the Tellicherry Conference with some timely appeals to his countrymen to aid recruitment and to encourage Government loans. We publish elsewhere one of the appeals and we have every hope that the appeal will go deep into the very heart of the community. (Al Islam, 26th May 1918).

War loan

The Express of Bankipur writes as follows:-

"In view of the fact that Islam prohibits Mussalmans from taking interest on loans we are glad to note that a Muhammadan leader of Madras, Mr. Asad Ali, Khan, has issued an appeal to his co-religionists not only to subscribe liberally to help the Government at this critical period, but to waive their rights to any interest on their loans or give away the interest on charity to any war fund. No attitude can be nobler than this and it is hoped that the Muhammadan millionaires will not fail to rise equal to the occasion and make the sacrifice that is demanded of them for their king and country." (Al Islam, May 29, 1918.)

Non-Official War Appeals

The Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan has issued an appeal to the Muhammadans to respond to the Empire's call. It is a golden opportunity, he says, for Muhammadans to prove their manliness and their valour. Meetings should at once be organised throughout the Presidency. (The Pioneer, May 19, 1918.)

Subscription to the war loan

A correspondent writes:—" Apropos the very patriotic proposal of the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan, that Muhammadans should liberally subscribe to the war loan and can mark the interest for charitable purposes, may I point out that this lacks the business element? European firms who subscribe borrow from bank or financial agents on interest and pay back the interest they get—they simply take the money by the right hand and give it by the left. But Muhammadans cannot do so, and hence all the trouble." (Al Islam, June 5, 1918.)

A War Pamphlet

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, the representative of Moslem interests in the Imperial Council has published in pamphlet form some of his articles and speeches on the war, under the heading "A war pamphlet." We are

sure that the sentiments to which he has given expression will be shared by the majority of the Moslem community.

be shared by the majority of the Moslem community.

In his foreword to his co-religionists, he says:—"You are probably aware of the gravity of the present military situation and of the proceedings of the recent War Conference at Delhi. As your representative in the Imperial Legislative Council, I attended the Delhi Conference. I have since been endeavouring to impress upon my community the necessity for vigorous efforts to aid the Empire in this crisis. In this little pamphlet I have gathered together all my letters to the press on the subject, together with an extract from my Presidential Address to the Third Malabar District Conference. A perusal of my writings on war service cannot fail to rouse your enthusiasm, and stimulate your interest in the loyal defence of the Empire. If this pamphlet be the means of some organised effort by Mussalmans at different centres to enlist recruits to the army and the Indian Defence Force, and promote the Second War Loan among them it would have served its purpose, and I would have done part of my duty as a loyal and faithful citizen of the Empire."

APPENDIX A

The Malabar District Conference

Third Session.

Tellicherry, 6th May 1918.—The Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali Khan, the President elect of the Third Malabar District Conference, arrived here the day before yesterday. On his way, he was given a hearty reception at the Mahe station by some of his co-religionists. At the local station the arrangements made by the Reception Committee left nothing to be desired. He was received on the platform by the Elaya Rajah of Chirakkal and some other gentlemen and taken in a grand procession headed by three caparisoned elephants, accompanied by Panchavadam, through some of the principal streets which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion. Welcome arches were to be crossed here and there, and the community which exhibited more enthusiasm than others was his own. The President is the guest of Messrs. Issack Bros., the wealthjest family in North and South Malabar.

Opening Day

Tellicherry, May 6th.—The Third Malabar District Conference opened this forenoon in a spacious and well decorated pandal at Tiruvangad, a healthy suburb of Tellicherry. Both in point of attendance of delegates and visitors, the Conference can be pronounced as a success. Three hundred and twenty delegates attended the Conference and nearly four hundred visitors were present. Besides these there was a large concourse of inhabitants of the city anxiously watching the proceedings from outside. Punctually at 12 noon Rama Varma Valia Raja of Chirakkal in his capacity as Chairman of the Reception Committee scouted by a band of young volunteers, entered the Pandal and was escorted to his seat on the 'dais'. A few minutes later the President-elect accompanied by the prominent members of the Reception Committee and

escorted by a full complement of volunteers entered the pandal to the tune or shouts of "Vande Mataram". There was also a good sprinkling of Indian ladies among the audience.

Rama Varma Valia Rajah of Chirakkal then delivered an interesting address.

Mr. Kunhi Raman Menon, M.A, B.L., at the request of the President, translated the salient points in the address for the education of those who were innocent of the English language among those present in the audience.

Mr. C. S. Menon, Bar-at-Law, then read letters and telegrams of sympathy from Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, Editor of the "Indian Patriot," Madras, and wishing the Conference every success. Similar communications were read out from Md. Khuddus Batcha Saheb Khan Bahadur, Madras, Vengayil Cunhi Krishna Nayanar, Sultan Ali Rajah of Cannanore and others.

The Junior Raja of Kadathnad said that it was only after coming to the Conference pandal that he was asked to move thelproposition of the election of the President. After listening to the excellent addresses just read out which were in themselves learned and able and exhaustive, it would be folly on his part to try and imitate them. He would then simply propose that Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur do take the chair.

Mr. H. A. H. Essack Sait said: - I heartily second the motion.

Mr. K. S. Menon (Bar,-at-Law) in supporting the motion said that he had been asked by the Reception Committee of the Conference to support the motion. Those who had been following the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council and to those who have been watching the political developments in their own province, their President-elect could not be an unfamiliar figure. He was a staunch friend and ardent supporter of the Moslems as well as the Hindus. As a scion of the ancient and noble family of rulers of the State of Banganapalli, with considerable experience of administration and legislation in the Province, with a thorough knowledge of the difficulties of the rulers and the ruled respectively whose motto in politics as had been hinted by the Chairman

of the Reception Committee in the concluding portion of his address, as to his progressive liberalism and whose work in the Legislative Council for two consecutive terms require no words from me to commend to your acceptance. Their choice could never have fallen on a better man than the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur. (Cheers.) About his work in the Imperial Legislative Council and about his deep interest in the matter of Elementary and Free Primary Education and in the progress of the Auyurvedic and Unani systems of medicine, which he had been good enough to publish year after year would give them a very good idea of himself. In conclusion he would only add that he would not come between them and the President-elect by detaining them with a long speech of his but would conclude by wishing every success to that session. (Cheers.)

Mr. M. Nambiar translated and gave a resume of these speeches in Malayalam.

The Presidential Address

The President-elect who rose amidst deafening cheers, delivered the address. (Indian Patriot, 6th May, 1918.)

APPENDIX B

Report of the Committee of non-officials appointed by a Resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 7th September 1918.

We, the undersigned non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, beg to report as follows:

On the 7th September, the Imperial Legislative Council on the motion of Babu Surendranath Banerjee resolved by a majority of 46 to 2. "This Council thanks His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India for the reform proposals and recognises them as a genuine effort and a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India;" and it resolved further by a majority of 48 to 2; "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a Committee consisting of all the non-official members of this Council to be appointed to consider the Reform report and make recommendations to the Government of India."

In accordance with the above resolution, the committee of non-official members met five times on the following dates:—the 12th, 14th, 16th, 20th and 21st September. The largest number of members present on any day was 24; the smallest number present on any day was 19. The names of the members who were present at any meeting are given in Appendix B-1.

The Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjee was elected Chairman of the Committee and the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Sreenivesa Sastri Secretary.

The Hon'ble Messrs. Hogg and Ironside intimated at the earliest stage of our deliberations that as they were not going to sign the report they would not vote on any questions considered by the Committee but would take part in the discussions.

We considered that the most convenient procedure would be to deal with the recommendations of the Reform Report in the order of the summary given in Appendix B-1. The numbering below follows the numbering in that Appendix and the headings are also taken therefrom.

Parliament and the India Office

1 to 8. Agreed

- 4: Agreed, subject as regards the Council of India, to the following:
 - (1) It should be purely advisory
 - (2) The total strength should not exceed eight:
 - (3) Half the members should be Indians, and;
 - (4) The Indian members should be elected by the non-official members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

The Government of India

- 5. This is subject to qualifications mentioned below in this report.
- There should be no Privy Council for India as recommended.

The Executive

7. One-half of the members of the Executive Government, including Ministers to be mentioned below, should be Indians.

8 and 9. Agreed.

The Legislature

- 10 and 11. Agreed, subject to the following:-
 - (1) The Landholders' interest should be represented in the Council of State by six members, including the two provided for in the report;
 - . (2) The life of each Council of State should be three years; and
 - (3) The question of the regulations as to the qualifications for the membership of the

Council of State should be referred to the Franchise Committee mentioned in recommendation 54.

- 12. Agreed, subject to the following :-
 - (1) The proportion of Muhammadan representatives in the Legislative Assembly should be regulated in accordance with the provisions of the resolution of the Indian National Congress on Self-Government adopted at Lucknow in December 1916 and reprinted in Appendix B-II.
 - (2) The President of the Assembly should be elected by itself.
- 18. Agreed.
- 14. Agreed, with the addition: "but he should order a re-election and summon the new Houses within four months from the date of dissolution."
- 15. Agreed, with the following modification:-
 - (1) The principle of Responsible Government should be introduced into the Government of India and certain subjects transferred to the control of the Legislature with Ministers in charge thereof as in the case of Provincial Governments; (The Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh voted against this modification and the Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi refrained from voting);
 - (2) The procedure of certification mentioned in 15 A and B should be applied to the following subjects only:— the Army, Navy, relations with Ruling Princes and matters directly affecting the public peace, tranquillity and defence of the country;
 - (8) The following should be added at the end of 15 A; "provided that any emergency measures so passed should not remain in force for more than a year."

16 to 22. Agreed.

The two following resolutions were adopted as bearing on this head but do not relate to any specific recommendations in the report:—

- (1) Saving such equal and equitable imperial obligations as may be agreed upon as resting on all parts of the Empire, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Indian Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the Governments of the Self Governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policies.
- (2) The budget of the Government of Indian should be placed before the Indian Legislature and the procedure with regard to the resolutions of that body affecting the transferred subject should be the same as is prescribed in the case of non-certified bills.

The Provinces

- 28. Agreed, subject to the following:— Whenever the Government of India exercise the over-riding power of legislation mentioned in para. 212 of the report in respect of transferred subjects, they should adopt the ordinary procedure and not the procedure by certification.
- 24. Agreed.

Provincial Executives

- 25. Agreed, subject to the following:— But there should be no additional members or members without portfolios.
- 26. Agreed.
- 27. Agreed with the addition "and to be placed, as regards status and emoluments, on a footing of equality with members of the Executive Council."

- 28. This should be dropped.
- 29. and 80. Agreed.

Provincial Legislatures

- 81. Agreed, subject to the following:—The proportion of Muhammadan representatives in the Provincial Legislative Councils should be regulated in accordance with the provisions of the resolution of the Indian National Congress on Self-Government adopted at Lucknow in December 1916 and reprinted in Appendix B-II.
- **82.** The President and Vice-President of the Council should be elected by itself.
- 33. Agreed with the addition: "But he should order a re-election and summon the new Council within four months from the date of dissolution."
- 34. to 42. Agreed.
- 43. Agreed, subject to the following .—The Governor should not have the power to decline to allow a certified clause, bill or amendment to be discussed."
- 44 to 46. Agreed.

FINANCE

- 47. to 49. Agreed.
- 50. Agreed, subject to the following in the should be made clear that proposals for fresh taxation, referred to in para 257 of the report should be presented to the Legislative Council by the Government as a whole."

Local Self-Covernment

81. Agreeda.

Medification of Provincial Constitutions

52. Agreed, subject to the following:—"No proposals for removing any transferred subjects to the reserved list in case of serious maladministration should take effect unless they have been considered and approved by the Select Committee for Indian

affairs to be appointed by the House of Commons under recommendation 8.

Preliminary Action

- 58. Agreed with the addition:—This Committee should also be instructed to recommend which of the functions of the Government of India should be transferred subjects."
- 54. Agreed with the addition :—"This Committee should make recommendations as to the composition of the Council of State also and the qualifications of members of this body."
- 55. Agreed.

Commission of Enquiry

56. The commission should review likewise the constitution of the Council of India and its relations with the Government of India.

The Native States

- 57 to 62. Not considered.
- 63. Agreed.

The Public Services

- 64. to 66. Agreed.
- 67. (1) In the Indian Civil Service the percentage recruited in India should be 50 per cent. of the whole cadre until the position is reviewed by the Commission of Enquiry.
 - (2) 25 per cent. of the annual recruitment for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be from His Majesty's Indian subjects.
- 68. The recommendation as to rates of pay, incremental time scales, maximum ordinary pension and special pensions, and Indian Civil Service annuities, is not approved. The recommendation as to leave rules is approved.
- 89. Agrend.

Appendix B-1

Members who were present at any of the meetings of the Committee:—

The Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjee.

- .. Mian Muhammad Shafi.
- .. The Maharajah of Kassimbazar.
- , Rai Sitanath Roy Bahadur.
- Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan.
- " Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia.
 - Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.
- " Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
 - Mr. V. J. Patel.
- ., Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
- " Raja Sir Rampal Singh.
- " Mr. K. K. Chanda.
- Mr. G. S. Khaparde.
- " Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayangar.
 - Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul.
- " Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
 - Raja of Kanika.
 - Kija Ot Kallika
- Mir Asad Ali Khan.
- " Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.
- .. Mr. M. Hogg.
- .. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
- .. Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha.
- " Mr. W. A. Ironside.
- " Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.
- Rai Bhadur Krishna Sahay.

Appendix B-II

Extracts from the resolution of the Indian National: Congress assembled at Lucknow in December 1916 regarding the representation of Muhammadans.

"..... the Muhammadans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:—

Punjab	One half of the	e elected Indian	Members
United Provinces	80 per cent.	do.	
Bengal	40 per cent.	do.	
Behar	25 per cent	do.	
Central Provinces	15 per cent.	do:	
Madras	15 per cent,	do.	
Bombay	One-third	do.	

Provided that Muhammadans shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests."

"One-third of the Indian elected members (in the Indian Legislative Council) should be Muhammadans, elected by separate Muhammadan electorates in the several Provinces in the proportion, as hearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Muhammadan electorates."

Appendix C

Bismillah-i-Rrahman-i-Rraheem

To

THE HONOURABLE

NAWAB MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR.

JENAB,

With uplifted hands of prayer and thanksgiving to the Almighty for granting us this opportunity of meeting you in person and with those abiding sentiments of brotherly affection, which is the key-stone in the Arch of Islam, the religion of peace within and peace without, we the members of the Tellicherry branch of the All-India Muslim League, are gathered here to offer you these words of greeting. In grateful appreciation of your good work in the cause of the Muslim community as our worthy representative in the Imperial Legislative Council, as the Vice-President of the South Indian Muhammadan Educational Association, and also as the President of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, we welcome you with pleasure and pride to this historic little town of ours.

At this critical stage in the world's history, when the safety of Islam is trembling in the balance and United India is striving her utmost to take her proper place in the comity of Nations, agreeably to the promises held forth in the great Proclamation of 1858 and in the subsequent Royal Messages, your advocacy of our cause is certainly in keeping with the noble traditions of your illustrious Royal House, which coupled with the self-denying services of that glorious little band of Muslim patriots, must constitute the bulwark of Islam, lest it should experience that orphanic helplessness which was the anxious concern of our blessed Prophet during His last moments. Here we need hardly point out to you, Sir, that by such disinterested services and devotion you are sealing your Reman (faith), thereby establishing a claim, in whatever humble measure it may be, to be ranked among the

magnificent array of those illustrious disciples of the Prophet who are described in His felicitous words as " Masters in this world and Monarchs in the next."

May the Lord of all Mercies help you and us to attain this state of eternal bliss,

IS THE EARNEST PRAYER OF YOUR LOVING BRETHREN.
TELLICHERRY, }
6th May 1918.

Appendix Ç. 2

To

THE HONOURABLE

NAWAB MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR.

SIR.

Embracing this happy opportunity at a time when the Moslem hearts of Tellicherry look with eagerness to the advent of a Muslim leader in our midst, we take the privilege of approaching you with this humble address.

With grateful hearts we welcome you, our accredited leader and worthy representative in the Imperial Legislative Council to this little town, the metropolis of North Malabar.

As the Vice-President of the South Indian Muhammadan Educational Association, you have always evinced a keen interest in the education of the Muslims of this Presidency and this emboldens us to invite your kind attention to the two chief educational disabilities under which we labour, namely, the want of a National Language and the entire absence of a National School to impart to our children religious and secular education side by side. The sad dearth of men of light and leading among the Moslems of Malabar is clearly traceable to these unfortunate disabilities.

'Since the Holy Religion of Islam amply provides for all human progress both spiritual and temporal, we need hardly point out to you, Sir, that for a real amelioration of our

condition we have to take our inspiration and guidance from that inexhaustible source and so long as our so called educational institutions continue to, be paths leading us astray from that Fountain of Happiness and Knowledge we cannot in reason expect to be anything better than we are.

We, however, take our consolation in the hope that in the hands of such worthy leaders as you in whose veins runs a blood throbbing with purest patriotism and vivid vitality, the destinies of our community will be moulded into such a shape that will be a model for all others to copy and take after.

With these few words and with the fervent prayer to the All-Merciful to bless you with a long and happy career, we humbly welcome you to our pretty little town.

TELLICHERY,
6th May 1919.

We are, Sir,
Yours fraternally,
THE MEMBERS OF THE IMDADUL
ISLAM SABHA.

Appendix C-3

To

THE HONOURABLE
NAWAB MIR ASAD ALI
KHAN BAHADUR.

REVERED BROTHER.

We, the members of the Anwarul Islam Association, accord to you a most hearty welcome on this, the occasion of your first visit to our town. Words can hardly express our feelings of sincere and heartfelt gratefulness towards the Almighty for having given us this opportunity of coming to direct personal contact with, and being inspired by, one of the noblest scions of an ancient Royal Family of Southern India, one of the most leading minds of our community and one of the most prominent personalities of the day. As opportunities of this kind are extremely few and far between, we embrace this with the greatest glee and approach you with an address of welcome.

The selfless and untiring efforts you make for the amelioration of the moral and material conditions of our communi-Ay, the paternal solicitude with which you champion the cause of the Moslems, both in and out of the Imperial Legislative Council where we have the honor of being represented by you, the enthusiasm and earnestness with which you defend Islamic interests both in the Press and on the Platform. all these, Sir, have endeared you to us more strongly than ever and have not a little conduced to band us together with feelings of mutual devotion and fraternal solidarity. Your excellent work for the educational uplift of our community as the Vice-President of the South Indian Muhammadan Educational Association has laid us under a deep debt of gratitude to you. Your bold and ready acceptance of the Presidentship of the Madras Prsesidency Moslem League, at a time when the destiny of our community as well as that of the Mother country was almost trembling in the balance, has evoked unbounded admiration not only in the minds of your brothers in faith but of all right-minded Indians of whatever faith or creed.

That you may be pleased to reserve a corner of your sympathetic and magnanimous heart for the poor community to which we belong and which through the aid of great men like you is slowly but surely emerging from the dire darkness of illiteracy and ignorance, is our humble request to you. May the Almighty graciously grant you a long lease of a happy and prosperous life for the service of Islam and the Motherland, is the earnest prayer of

Your Loving Brothers.

TELLICHERRY,

6th May 1918.

Thompson & Co., Printers, Madras.

MY SEVENTH YEAR

IN THE

Imperial Legislative Council

PRINTED BY THOMPSON AND CO., AT THE "MINERVA" PRESS, 88, POPHAM'S BROADWAY, MADRAS.

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FOREWORD

This pamphlet which is primarily intended for my voters in the Madras Presidency and through them for my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen, sees the seventh year of its publication. It gives a brief account of my public work both in and outside the Imperial Legislative Council, wherein I have been privileged to represent the Muslim interests of South India for two consecutive terms. My term of membership in the Council will shortly expire, and one more pamphlet, the eighth and last of its kind, is due to my wide constituency. By the time the next pamphlet is issued the electioneering campaign under the Government of India Act of 1919, embodying the new reform proposals. will have begun, and party manouvres will have been employed to secure seats in the new Councils and Assemblies. I have already announced my intention to stand as a candidate for the Council of State to represent again the Muslim interests of South India.

During the year under review three questions engaged the most serious attention of Indian leaders and publicists of all schools of political thought, namely, the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 in both the Houses of Parliament, the settlement of the Turkish Peace Terms, and the Punjah Tragedy. The new Reforms Act has been passed, and has received the Royal assent, and the rules and regulations too under the Act, have on the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, been passed in Parliament. The Turkish Peace Terms have been concluded, though not to the satisfaction of the Moslem world. The disappointing nature of its terms, not to speak of the breach of faith on the part of the British Premier, and the weakening of the Khilafat power, have driven Indian Mussalmans in particular to despair.

Lastly, the Hunter Committee's lengthy report on the Punjab affairs, has not given so much satisfaction and relief as was expected. In fact, the majority report failed to render justice to the aggrieved parties, while the minority report at least attempted to satisfy the wounded feelings of the Indian public. But the non-official report of enquiry published by the Indian Congress Sub-Committee represents strongly the popular view of the Punjab Tragety, as one of the worst blunders of the bureaucratic administration.

In whatever I attempted to do both in and out of the Council I have always kept in mind the duty I owe to Islam, country and community. While respecting the considered views and noble sentiments of my co-religionists and of my countrymen, I have acted in matters of general interest on my own initiative and responsibility, and endeavoured to serve the highest interests of my community and the country to the best of my knowledge and capacity. In doing so some of my acts might probably have not given satisfaction to a number of my co-religonists. But I leave my work to be judged by my posterity. Neither actuated by a desire to please the bureaucracy and its officials whose favours I never sought to obtain but whose frowns I dared to face, nor prompted by selfish ends to seek popular applause and thus earn cheap notoriety. I have laboured strictly on constitutional lines for the good of my co-religionists and of the Indian peoples, and tried to promote friendly feelings and harmonious relations between the rulers and the ruled.

In November last I have had the honour of presiding over the eighth session of the Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference at Poona. The Conference was opened by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay. My presidential address which appears elsewhere in this pamphlet covered a wide ground. The Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp, c.s.I., (then) Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, was pleased to

express his appreciation of the address in the following terms:

"I have read through your address at the Educational Conference at Poona with very great interest. I must congratulate you upon it. It is really an admirable address and contains a large fund of sound common sense. I do not fully agree with you on all points, e.g., I would not go quite so far as you regarding the mode of instruction, but I was very much interested in the address as a whole."—(18th November 1919).

On the 7th of July 1919 I despatched the following telegram to the Private Secretary to H. E. The Viceroy at Simla:

"On behalf Madras Muslims and myself I offer heartiest congratulations to Viceroy on peace signing. Wishing Empire's triumph."

The telegram was kindly acknowledged by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras in the following terms:

"Sir—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram, dated the 7th July 1919, conveying congratulations on the signing of the peace treaty."

If a perusal of this pamphlet will enable my constituency to take an intelligent interest in the study of public questions and judge of the work done by their elected representative in and outside the Council, it will have achieved its object and served its purpose.

MADRAS,
20th August 1920.

MIR ASAD ALI.



THE HON'BLE MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR

In the Imperial Legislative Council

SECTION I

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The following questions were put by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur during the sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, and the following answers were elicited from the Government:—

Delhi, Wednesday, the 19th February 1919. Publication of the reports of the Franchise and Subjects Committees.

- 1. Will Government be pleased to state-
- (a) whether the reports of the Franchise and Subjects Committees will be published and made available for the public;
- (b) whether an opportunity will be given to the members of this Council to discuss at length the Reform proposals soon after the introduction into Parliament of the Bill on the subject?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM VINCENT)

- (a) The reports will not be published before submission to the Secretary of State and it will rest with the Secretary of State to determine what papers shall be made public; but the Government of India are confident that all important official correspondence and reports in connection with the Reforms proposals since the date of the publication of the Report by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State will be published.
- (b) The Government of India are not prepared to give any undertaking upon the point,

Investigation of the indigenous systems of medicine

- 2. With reference to the reply given on the 26th September 1918 to my question on the subject will Government be pleased to state:—
- (a) whether the opinion of the Committee of the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference on the indigenous systems of medicine, has been received, and if so, will they be pleased to lay it on the table along with the opinions, if any, received from other non-official bodies?
- (b) whether they propose to invite further the opinion of independent non-official medical practitioners on the subject before the matter under consideration is finally disposed of?
- (c) what measures have already been considered by the various Local Governments for conducting the scientific investigations of the properties of indigenous drugs and whether these measures, if postponed during the war, will be resumed early?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM VINCENT)

- (a) The opinion of the Committee of the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference has not yet been received; no other non-official body has addressed the Government of India on the subject.
- (b) Some of the principal Local Governments consulted independent non-official medical practitioners before submitting their reports, and it is not proposed to invite any further opinions.
- (c) The Government of India notice that on the 30th of July last the Government of Bombay accepted a resolution moved in their Legislative Council for the appointment of a Committee which will recommend what steps should be taken to start a pharmacological laboratory or research institute in medicine at a suitable centre in the Presidency for scientific experiment with and research into indigenous drugs. They have, however, received no report on this subject from the Government of Bombay or from any other Government, and they would suggest that information, if required, as to what each Government is doing should be elicited by questions in the local Legislative Councils,

Delhi, Wednesday, the 26th February, 1919. Steps taken by Government to control the prices of foodstuffs and cloth.

- 3. Will Government be pleased to state-
- (a) what steps have already been taken by Local Governments to control the high prices of foodstuffs and cloth; and
- (b) what further steps they propose to take to reduce prices as far as possible?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir CLAUDE HILL)

In respect of foodstuffs, certain Local Governments have submitted proposals for fixing prices under the Defence of India Rules, but the Government of India are reluctant to sanction general measures of this kind, as the fixation of prices is feasible only under a guarantee of supply : but. where supplies can be adequately con rolled, as in the case of imports, effective measures have been taken in several provinces. In addition to traffic restrictions designed to prevent the depletion of definite areas, permits for the imports of foodstuffs from other provinces or for the move. ment of foodstuffs from one part of the province to another are granted only to merchants who agree to sell them at fixed prices. In Madras, for instance, contravention of the conditions laid down entails the removal of the offender from the register of merchants entitled to obtain railway permits. In Bombay, the maximum prices of rice imported from Burma and of wheat imported from the Punjab are announced from time to time. Similarly a maximum selling price has been fixed in Calcutta for Burma rice. In Madras, importers of Burma rice are allowed to sell the rice only at a definite profit per bag or per maund. In the Punjab, with a view to checking the excessive price of wheat, the Articles of Commerce Ordinance has been utilized to obtain the supplies required for the Army.

The Government of India have no information of any further measures contemplated by the Local Governments.

As regards cloth, I would draw the Hon'ble Member's attention to the Press Communique issued by the Controller

of Cotton Cloth on the 80th January, a copy of which was laid upon the table at the last meeting on the 19th February. I might also mention that in September 1918, steps were taken in Bengal under the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules to restrict dealings in cotton cloth to persons in possession of Government licenses, the object being to eliminate speculators and profiteers, whose dealings had helped to force up prices.

The Indian Munitions Board

- 4. Will Government be pleased to state-
- (a) the total cost so far of the establishment of the Indian Munitions Board since its inception;
- (b) the total strength of its establishment, officers and clerks, civil and military, European, Anglo-Indian and Indian; and
- (c) the total number of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians respectively employed under the Board drawing a salary of Rs. 100 and more per mensem?

(Reply by His Excellency the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF)

- (a) The total cost of the establishment of the Indian Munitions Board, that is to say, the total cost of the salaries for the period from its inception to the end of December 1918 is Rs. 7,470,419, or approximately 1.2 per cent. of the total expenditure during the same period. This figure includes the salaries of employees in Ordnance and Army Clothing Factories, excluding those engaged on daily wages.
- (b) The strength of the establishment on the 31st December 1918 was as follows:—

Officers-

Civil	Europeans Anglo-Indians Indians	•••	•••	•••	185 12 8
Military	Europeans Anglo-Indians Indians	•••	•••	•••	158 nıl nil

Clerks-

Civil	Europeans Anglo-Indians Indians	•••	•••	•••	34 155 2 ,108
Military	Europeans Anglo-Indians Indians	•••	•••	•••	25 1 1

(c) The total number of employees drawing a salary of Rs. 100 or more on 31st December 1918 was as follows:—

Europeans	•••	•••	•••	946
Anglo-Indians	•••	•••	***	203
Indians			•••	288

Restoration to the Caliph of all the sacred places of Islam

- 5. (a) Are Government aware of the strength and volume of Moslem feeling throughout the country in the matter of the restoration to the Caliph of all the sacred places of Islam now in the hands of Great Britain and the Allies?
- (b) Do Government propose to move the Secretary of State to bring this question before the Peace Conference?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM VINCENT)

Government have nothing to add to the letter which was recently addressed to the All-India Moslem League under instructions from his Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

A copy of it is laid upon the table.

No. 203, dated the 15th February 1919.

From—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To-The Secretary, All-India Moslem League.

I am directed to acknowledge on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, a telegram of January the 1st from the All-India Moslem League, containing the substance of certain resolutions passed at its recent meetings.

2. As regards the Khalifat His Majesty's Government adhere as they have throughout adhered to their public

pronouncement that the question of the Khalifat is one that solely affects Moslems and is therefore one that must be decided by Moslems themselves without interference.

- 3. I am, however, to take this opportunity of repudiating emphatically the suggestions contained in one of the resolutions passed by the League, that there has been some deviation on the part of His Majesty's Government from the pledges given regarding Moslem holy places. They announced that the holy places would be immune from attack or molestation by the British naval and military forces, so long as there was no interference with pilgrims from India to them. Not only was this pledge observed in the spirit and letter during the actual occupation by His Majesty's forces of the territories in which holy places are situated, but steps have been taken and are being taken to ensure the strict observance of the sanctity of the holy places during our occupation of such territories.
- 4. In conclusion I am to state that His Majesty's Government fully appreciate the feeling of both Indians and the Moslems in regard to the momentous questions to be decided at the Peace Conference and they authorise the Government of India to say that they may rest assured that due consideration will be given to that feeling by His Majesty's representatives at the Peace Conference.

Delhi, Friday, the 7th March 1919. Rice in the Madras Presidency.

- 6. (a) Will Government be pleased to state for each of the last ten years—
- (1) the quantity of rice (i) exported from, and (ii) imported into the Madras Presidency; and
 - (2) the total number of acres annually cultivated?
- (b) What is the quantity of rice now held in stock throughout the Presidency and the period for which it can last?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir CLAUDE HILL)

I lay on the table statements showing:-

(1) the quantity of rice exported from and imported into the Madras Presidency during the ten years ending 1917-18; and

(2) the acreage under rice in that Presidency during the same period.

Regarding the quantity of rice held in stock in the Madras Presidency, the Hon'ble Member is referred to the reply given at the Council Meeting on the 6th February to the question asked by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul regarding the grain census of India generally, in which it was explained that the estimates of stocks furn'shed by Local Governments were too unreliable to justify any confident opinion being based upon them as to the sufficiency or otherwise of the grain supply of any particular province.

Statement showing the acreage under rice in the Madras Presidency during the 10 years ending 1917-18.

Year				Acres
1908-09	•••	•••	•••	7,361,000
1909-10	•••	•••	•••	7,675,000
1910 –11	•••	•••	•••	7,787,000
1911-12	•••	•••	•••	10,288,000
1912-13	•••	•••	•••	10,944,000
1913-14	•••	•••	•••	10,678,000
1914-15	•••	•••	•••	10,876,000
1915–16	•••	•••	•••	11,223,000
1916-17	•••	•••	•••	11,516,000
1917-18	•••	4	•••	11,554,000

As regards 1918-19, the area sown up to 1st December 1918—the latest date up to which i formation is available—is estimated to be 8,847,000 acres. The final area is likely to be below 10,000,000 acres.

Statement showing the quantity of rice exported from and imported into the Madras Presidency during the 10 years ending 1917-18.-

. Quality of rice	1		IMPORTS		EXPORTS				
		Ву	SEA	-	Ву	By sea			
	Year	From foreign countries	From ports in India and Burma	By rail and river	To foreign destina- tions.	To ports in India and Burma.	By rail and river		
		1:08-09	Cwts. 11,991	Cwts. 3,246,8#2	Cwts. 418,953	Cwts. 178,162	Cwts, 78,156	Cwts. 41,502	
	1909-10	3,304	7,002,522	217,964	347,023	21,868	45,720	d	
		1910-11	480	4,003,738	550,213	460,881	47,220	44,107	
		1911-12	480	2,200,344	928,494	547 083	59,928	70,298	
Discourse that II is be		1912-13	719	2,460,023	1,093,146	401,485	22,475	52,193	
Rice in the Husk	1913-14	182	3,984 295	463,563	207,750	18,525	79,758		
	1914-18	294	3,823,576	264,502	318,004	8,519	127,499		
		1915-16	203	3,340,803	6 0,187	250 167	53,036	206,759	
		1916-17	86	1,626,853	975,801	440,636	3,594	44,533	

85 | 859,446 | 485,032

2,298 103,519

209,278

		•						
j	1908-09	121,436	2,340,445	238,892	3,519,212	191,048	1,162,308	
	1909-10	29,243	3,569,711	388,146	2,089,536	160,724	1,608,581	
1	1910-11	1,753	3,158,117	603,990	2,168,115	240,409	1,684,845	
10	1911-12	522	2,375,305	811,572	2,524,138	277,182	1,837,624	
Rice not in the husk	1912-13	395	2,877,189	1,103,324	2,220,007	219,992	1,762,032	
Nice not in the nusk }	1913-14	3,408	2,387,345	281,486	3,098,891	237,430	2,078,482	
i	1914–1ŏ	7,328	2,377,258	72,094	3,665,068	203,845	2,210,458	
i	1915-16	6,291	1,953,559	862,970	4,784,463	403,721	2.651,167	
	1916-17	16,990	1,835,143	927 829	3 681,859	237,056	1,503,616	9
j	1917-18	20,582	1,665,746	1,098,753	3,456,425	206,971	2,244,726	
	ì	1	1	Ī]	1	1	

Delhi, Tuesday, the 18th March, 1919 Subordinate establishment of the Accountant-General and Deputy Accountant-General's Office at Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Nagpur

7. Will Government be pleased to state the number of clerks (i) Hindu, (ii) Musalman, and (iii) Christian, in the subordinate service in the offices of the Accountant-General and Deputy Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs, at (a) Calcutta, (b) Madras, (c) Delhi and (d) Nagpur?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir JAMES MESTON)

The information is being obtained and will be handed to the Hon'ble member as soon as it is available.

* (See next page.)

	Name of Office			Number of Hindus	Number of Mussalmans	Number of Christians	Total	
1.	Accountant-General, Posts & Telegraphs, Calcutta		Permanent Temporary	911 60	40 8	. 14	965 64	
2 .	Deputy Accountant General, Posts & Telegraphs, Delhi		Permanent Temporary	294 80	62 40	10 2	366 122	
3.	Deputy-Accountant General, Posts & Telegraphs, Nagpur		Permanent Temporary	208 145	28 24	7 18	238 187	
4.	Deputy Accountant General, Posts & Pelegraphs, Madras	•••	Permanent Temporary	2 22 59	19 12	33 7	27 4 78	
	. Grand Total	•••	Permanent Temporary	1,680 344	149 79	64 28	1,843 451	_

Delhi, Wednesday, the 19th March, 1919 Waiting rooms for Purdah Ladies and a Mussalman Refreshment Stall at Victoria Terminus Station

- 8. (a) Do the Great Indian Peninsula Railway authorities contemplate remodelling the railway stations between Bhopal and Delhi, and if so, do they propose to include in their plan a waiting room for purdah ladies at each important station, such as Manmad?
- (b) Do Government propose to suggest to the railway authorities the advisability of opening a Musalman refreshment stall at the Victoria Terminus station at Bombay?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir ARTHUR ANDERSON)

- (a) It has been ascertained that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway authorities only contemplate remodelling Jhansi station at present. In carrying out the alterations at Jhansi they propose to provide separate waiting rooms for Indian gentlemen and Indian ladies.
- (b) Government have not received any representation as regards the necessity for opening a Musalman refreshment stall at the Victoria Terminus Station, Bombay. It is understood that the Railway authorities do not consider it necessary.

Delhi, Friday, the 21st March, 1919 Prohibition of Intoxicating Liquors

- 9. (a) Are Government in receipt of a copy of the resolutions passed at the fifteenth session of the All-India Temperance Conference held at Delhi on the 80th of December last?
- (b) Is it a fact that the United States of America have adopted prohibition as their national policy in regard to intoxicating liquors?
- (c) Do Government propose to adopt the ideal of prohibition as the goal of their Excise policy?

(Reply by the Hon ble Sir THOMAS HOLLAND) ...

- (a) The answer is in the negative.
- (b) I have no official information, but I understand from the press that the answer is in the affirmative.

(c) The Hon'ble Member is referred to the speech of the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes on the 20th February 1918, in the Imperial Legislative Council, on a resolution moved by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma in which the policy of Government was explained.

Deputation Allowances granted to the Accountants and Clarks of the Military Accounts Department

- Will Government be pleased to state—
- (a) whether the deputation allowance granted to the accountants and clerks of the Military Accounts Department, serving in the Field Office at Poona, has been declared to be compensatory and non-remunerative?
- (b) whether the deputation allowance granted to the accountants and clerks of Civil Departments on deputation to the Field Office at Poona counts towards their pension and leave allowances?
- (c) if the answer to the first two parts of the question is in the affirmative, whether in view of the orders of the Secretary of State for India defining remunerative and compensatory deputation allowances, Government proposed to reconsider their decision referred to in (a)?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir FAMES MESTON)

- (a) and (b) The reply is in the affirmative.
- (c) Government do not propose to reconsider their decision. The following are the reasons which led them to differentiate in the matter of these allowances, between Military Accounts Department accountants and clerks and Civil Department accountants and clerks employed in the Field Office at Poona. In the case of the former, the work which they perform in the Field Office is of the same character as in their own Divisional offices. A compensatory allowance was granted to them because service in the Poona Field office was regarded as equivalent in some respects to service in the field, and men of this class employed in the field draw under rule a field allowance, which does not count towards leave allowance and pension, or in other words is compensatory in character.
- ... A remunerative allowance, on the other hand, has been given to accountants and clerks deputed to the Field Office

from Civil Departments, because in their case the deputation involved not only the undertaking of new and unfamiliar duties but also generally speaking increased work and responsibility.

Simla, Wednesday, the 10th September, 1919 Appointment of a Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Martial Law in the Punjab

11. "My Lord, with your permission, I beg to with-draw this question? (No. 34)."

† The question was by leave withdrawn.

Deportation without trial under the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Regulation

12. Will Government be pleased to state the number of instances up-to-date in which the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Madras Regulation II of 1819 and the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 empowering deportation without trial, have been used, since the transfer in 1858 of India to the Crown?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM VINCENT)

I regret that the information asked for by the Hon'ble Member is not available.

Simla, Friday, the 12th September 1919 The Asiatics Trading Act

18. Has the attention of Government been drawn to the recent enactment by the South African Union legislature of the Asiatics Trading Act and to allegations that serious disabilities are thereby imposed upon the Indian community in the Transvaal? It so, what steps have Government taken to safeguard Indian interests in the colony?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sin GEORGE BARNES)

This matter was fully dealt with in His Excellency's speech on the opening day of this Session, to which I refer the Hon'ble Member."

Since a Committee of inquiry was already appointed, this ques-

Simla, Wednesday, the 17th September, 1919 Express train service between Madras and Manmad, etc.

- 14. Do Government propose
- (a) to abolish the Express train service between Madras and Manmad, and
- (b) to add Intermediate class carriages to the G. I. P. mail train between Bombay and Delhi?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir ARTHUR ANDERSON)

- "(a) The Express train service between Madras and Manmad was discontinued in 1917. The question of its reintroduction will be considered when the present shortage of engines on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway has been made good by replacements from England.
- (b) It is not proposed to attach Intermediate class carriages to the Bombay—Delhi Mail the load of which is strictly limited. Such accommodation is, however, provided on the fast Express between Bombay and Delhi.

Subordinate Accounts Service (Posts and Telegraphs)

- 15. Do Government propose to consider-
- (a) whether any reasonable saving in public expenditure cannot be effected by abolishing the present distinction between junior and senior Accountants among the members of the All-India Subordinate Accounts Service (Posts and Telegraphs); and
- (b) whether a proportion of the vacancies on the staff of the Subordinate Accounts Service cannot be reserved for the members of the backward provinces and the depressed classes, and whether such members will be exempted from the operation of the rules for departmental examinations?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir H. F. HOWARD)

The answer is in the negative to both portions of the question.

Restoration of train services in India

16. Have any steps been taken to restore the train services in India to what they were in pre-war days?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir ARTHUR ANDERSON)

"The Hon'ble Member's attention is drawn to the reply given on the 1st March last, to a similar question asked by the Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Pay Bahadur

Some of the pre-war services have been restored, but a return to the full normal standard can only be gradual, as the replacement of engines and rolling stock from England must necessarily take some time.

Simla, Friday, the 19th September, 1919 The Indian Majority Act

- 17. (a) Are Government aware of the decision of the Madras High Court in S. A. No. 1277-1916, regarding the right of a Muhammadan girl to release her dower?
- (b) Has their attention been drawn to a letter on 'The majority of Muhammadan women', which appeared in the 'Madras Mail' of the 5th March 1918?
- (c) Do Government contemplate a change in the provisions of the Indian Majority Act, 1875, so as to exempt Muhammadan women of sixteen years of age and over, (who according to Muhammadan Law have attained majority) from the operation of the Act?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM VINCENT)

- (a) Yes.
- (b) No.
- (c) Government will examine the question of the desirability of amending the Act of 1875."

Measures taken to control and check the growth of food prices

- 18. (a) What measures have been adopted and what further measures are proposed to control and check the growth of food prices in the different provinces?
- (b) Will Government lay on the table a statement for each province describing the steps taken so far to mitigate the sufferings of the poor on account of the high prices of foodstuffs?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Mr. R. A. MANT)

The Foodstuffs Commissioner has been instructed to write a report on the operations of his Department in the past-year, and this report will be published. It will contain information in general terms on the questions referred to by the Hon'ble Member. Local Governments will no doubt consider the advisability of obtaining, for publication, similar reports from their Directors of Civil Supplies.

Pension of Mahomed Hayat of Kurnool

- 19. (a) Have Government received any petitions from Mahomed Hayat, Khan Bahadur, a political pensioner at Kurnool, regarding the increase of his pension?
- (b) If so, what action do they propose to take in the matter?
- (c) Do they propose to grant substantial allowances to the Khandans at Kurnool? Are not these Khandans now in receipt of small pensions?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. HOLLAND)

- (a) A petition, dated the 17th October 1911, was received direct from Muhammad Hayat Khan and was sent to the Government of Madras with the request that the petitioner might be informed that his representation could not be entertained by the Government of India unless submitted through the local authority. Further, direct petitions were received in December, 1911, January, 1913, and February and August 1919, and were similarly forwarded to the Local Government for disposal.
- (b) The Government of India do not propose to take any action in the matter unless they are addressed by the Local Government.
- (c) The Kurnool pensions are administered in accordance with principles formulated by the Government of Madras in 18% and approved by the Government of India. The Government of India have not received from the Madras Government any proposals for the increase of any of the pensions now granted, nor have they any recent information as to the amounts disbursed to individual pensioners.

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur, put a supplementary question:

Regarding this third part, I should like to know whether the Government of India will ask the Local Government for their opinion on account of the scarcity and high prices of grain?

(Reply by the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. HOLLAND)

I understand that the Hon'ble Member wishes to know whether the Government of India will ask the Local Government whether, on account of the high prices of grain, some increase might not be made in the pensions. I have discussed the matter with the Hon'ble Mr. Marjoribanks, and I propose to go through the file with him and, if I may answer the Hon'ble Member privately afterwards, I think he will be satisfied.

SECTION II

SPEECHES DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

[7th February, 1919] ON ROWLATT BILLS

My LORD,—I beg to associate myself with the other nonofficial Indian Members in supporting this amendment. In
doing to, I would appeal to your Excellency and your Excellency's Government to drop the Bill for the present. If the
Government is not prepared to drop it altogether, they can
at least accept the motion which is before the Council asking
for its postponement. It is a dangerous measure, and were
the Bill to be passed, the consequences would be disastrous
to this country. I trust the Government will consider the
matter thoroughly, and knowing the general feeling of
almost all Indian communities to be against it, will drop this
drastic Bill and give people cause to be satisfied with the
Government's action and be contented, but not discontented.

With these few words, my Lord, I beg to support the motion before the Council.

(10th September, 1919)

RESOLUTION re CONGRATULATIONS TO HIS MAJESTY'S NAVAL, MILITARY AND AIR FORCES, ETC., ON CONCLUSION OF A VICTORIOUS PEACE

MY LORD,—I beg heartily to support the Resolution on behalf of the Moslem community of Madras.

(11th September, 1919)

THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL

MY LORD,—I desire not only to support the Bill but congratulate the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry for introducing this measure at an opportune moment, a new and welcome departure in the administration of tariff.

SECTION III

OTHER SPEECHES

(Saturday, 12th July, 1919)

ASIATIC AMENDMENT BILL

Members of the Colonial Society, ladies and gentlemen :- Let me thank you heartily for the honour you have done me in proposing me to the chair. It was nearly six years ago that I had the honour and privilege of presiding over a similar public meeting held in the Victoria Public Hall to consider the then grave situation of the Indian settlers and labourers in South Africa. Since then momentous changes have taken place in the relationship between the Indian colonists and the Union Government. The opportune visit to South Africa of the late Mr. Gokhale, attended with beneficial results, the soothing effect of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement in 1914, and the recommendations of the inter-Allied Conferences at London on Indian immigration to the British Colonies are now happily matters of history. While it is yet a long way off for the Indian settler in South Africa to attain to full civic freedom, he may still congratulate himself on the fact that some of his outstanding grievances have been redressed, thanks largely to the earnest and praiseworthy efforts of the Government of India and thanks to the good sense of the Union Government. We owe it to the genius of Lord Hardinge that the status of the Indian subjects in the colony has not only been raised but preserved.

While the world is rejoicing at the return of peace, and the Indian Empire is full of hope with regard to the coming reforms, a tale of woe reaches us from distant Transvaal. The Asiatics Trading Act now on the legislative anvil of the Union Government and about to become law seeks to impose serious disabilities in future upon the Indian settlers in the Transvaal as regards their rights to trade and own property

even as shareholders of companies or as mortgagees. As recently announced in Parliament in answer to a question, the matter seems to be controversial as it is alleged that the Act, while it does not interfere with the rights of the existing companies, only prevents any future attempt to circumvent the law of the district. While it is true that the Act will not interfere with the rights of the existing companies of shareholders who own landed property in the Transvaal mining areas, it is also true that it practically denies to the Indian settlers there the right to acquire a trading license or own property. Whatever may be the advantage of the principle of reciprocity of treatment, as lately agreed to by the London inter departmental conference, the rights of the British Indian subjects in the colony to trade unhampered by unjust restrictions born of colour prejudice and one-sided economic necessity and to own property in the Transvaal unhindered by legislative enactments, ought to be fully and unreservedly recognised even before the colonial Indian aspires for political equality with the union citizen. While it is, no doubt, too much to say that the Act of the Union Parliament is a breach of the compact of 1914, the fact has to be admitted that the Union Government have already promised to respect and preserve the vested rights of the Indian settlers, and the Indian settlers, I take it, mean not only those who enjoy the right to-day but those who may come after them. Nor am I to believe that the restricted rights of the Indian Colonist are to remain the same for ever without a change for the better. Restrictions have gradually to be removed, and rights have to be enlarged from time to time, as Indians show an unmistakable tendency towards progress. For it is the birth right of every British subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, be he white or brown or black, to enjoy the fullest measure of freedom guaranteed by law within His Imperial Majesty's vast dominions. Indian settlers in South Africa are working their way to obtain the full rights of British citizenship

., The South African Indian problem is more truly a national problem with us, and it is even more important than the question of Indian reforms. As has rightly been observed by H. E. Lord Chelmstord in his speech to the Imperial

Legislative Council on the 5th of September 1917, "the position of India within the Empire has obviously the first claim on our attention." While we are grateful to His Excellency's Government for the bold initiative they have taken under the Defence of India Act temporarily to prohibit indentured emigration to the colonies, we hope and trust that with the practical abolition of indentured labour will come a truly sympathetic treatment of the Indian settlers, as decided by the London Conference, and a fair and just recognition of the legitimate rights of the Indian colonists.

We have met here to consider also the situation of Indian labour in Ceylon under the newly passed laws. I do not propose, however, to enter into details which may well be left to the speakers that may follow me. But I wish to emphasise the point that the honour and interests of the Indian labourer should be safeguarded in every colony or crown colony. The scarcity of Indian labour, particularly in the southern districts, for agricultural purposes, is in itself a strong ground why we should not allow any labour emigration to Cevien. But when the Indian labourer is put to serious inconvenience and hardship, it is our duty to help him to secure his legitimate rights. Further, labour in Cevlon is not so attractive as that in a distant colony. For these reasons we must emphatically protest against any measures as they injuriously affect the material and moral interests of the Indian labourers in Ceylon. Whether in South Africa or Ceylon or any other colony or crown colony, the position of the Indian will continue, I venture to think, to remain more or less the same until and unless the colonial policy of the British Empire broadens itself and the policy of each colony rises superior to considerations of race or colour. Even the best of South African statesmen like General Botha and General Smuts are not free from the pride of colour. Imperialism even in the United Kingdom has yet to transcend the limits of race and colour before Indians can hope to enjoy to the full the rights of British citizenship. Until then, the Indian problem whether at home or in the colony, will continue to engage the serious thoughts of the best statesmen of the Empire, and Indians themselves will have to assert their rights and continue to agitate in a peaceful and constitutional manner for a policy of self-determination.

N.B.—The following cable was sent on the 17th July 1919, to the Colonial Secretary and to the Secretary of State for India by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, the Chairman of the public meeting held on the 11th instant:—"The citizens of Madras emphatically protest against the Asiatic Bill of Transvaal which will in a few years reduce the descendants of existing Indian families to helotry without property rights or profession and drive them from the country of their birth to seek new homes. The legislation is based upon a gross misreading of the 1914 settlement. The meeting urges interference. The legislation is producing the greatest indignation. The first part of the Bill implies refusal of future licenses in the gold districts and the second part interferes with long enjoyed rights."

THE

Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference

EIGHTH SESSION AT POONA 14th, 15th & 16th November 1919

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

THE HON'BLE MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR

INTRODUCTION

Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,-

Let me begin by expressing both on my behalf and on behalf of the Muslim community of Bombay our deep and grateful thanks to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for his gracious presence here yesterday and for condescending to open this Conference. His Excellency's ready response to our loyal and humble invitation is, I take it, an eloquent proof of His Excellency's abiding interest in the promotion of Muslim education. We hope and trust that the c. use of Muslim education in Bombay will receive a fresh stimulus during His Excellency's regime, and the most sympathetic treatment not only at His Excellency's hands but at the hands of His Excellency's government. Now, I am deeply thankful to the organisers of this Conference for kindly inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the eighth session of the Bombay Muhammadan Educational Conference at the ancient and historic city of Poona. I esteem it a great privilege to be permitted to preside at your Conference. While your choice of the President might have fallen on abler and worthier shoulders found within your own province,

I have responded to your invitation in obedience to the mandate of my co-religionists. My profound and lasting interest in the progress of Muslim education is my apology for venturing to address you from the chair. However onerous and difficult the task of the President may be, it can be rendered smooth and pleasant by the willing assistance and active co-operation of the delegates assembled in Conference. Our deliberations these three days, it is to be hoped, will be characterised by breadth of view as well as depth of thought and by soundness of judgment as well as sweetness of speech (moderation). In a large Conference of this kind, conflicting views and contentious subjects will probably arise. But it is our duty, as enlightened members of society, to see that, while differences are tolerated, unity of aim and of purpose is secured. By approaching the problem of Muslim education with disinterested motives and by taking a dispassionate view of the resolutions that may be placed before this Conference, we shall be able to arrive at satisfactory conclusions and solve the problem successfully, not only to the benefit of Musalmans but to the glory of Islam.

The War

The gigantic world struggle has come to an end. Peace has returned to the world, awaiting to re-establish her full sway over the globe. As loyal subjects of the British Crown, we take this opportunity to congratulate most heartily His Imperial Majesty, our King-Emperor, and His Majesty's government both in England and India upon the splendid victory that the Allied cause has won and upon the conclusion of an honourable peace. The Turkish settlement in which Indian Musalmans with the rest of the Moslem world are deeply interested yet awaits solution. But the rumoured dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and consequently the dignity of the Caliphate have caused no little anxiety to Musalmans all over the world. I believe I am but echoing your united feelings when I say that the British Power as the greatest ally of Musalmans will effectively intercede at least on behalf of their numerous loyal Muslim subjects and in consultation with her Allies endeavour to preserve the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire and thus help to maintain the world-wide prestige of the Caliphate.

While the war lasted, the progress of Indian education, as also that of any other form of national activity, suffered not a little, and the progress of Muslim education too was adversely affected. With the dawn of peace and the advent of new reforms begins a new chapter in the history of modern India. Reconstruction is the cry of the hour all over the civilised world-reconstruction of society on a strong moral basis. Reforms of all kinds are floating in the air. Educational, social, political and religious reforms are being undertaken in various countries with a view to produce a new order of things, and in fact, to re-make the world. Not only is the need of a change in almost every sphere of national life keenly and widely felt all over Europe and America, but the long slumbering East inspired by the bright example of the awakened Japan has already begun to shake off its lethargy and move forward with astonishing rapidity. India which cannot possibly escape this world influence also begins to move with the spirit of the times, notwithstanding her political limitations. She too aspires to a higher and nobler national existence and strives hard for the realisation of her national ambitions. Education lies at the bottom of our common national life. As the national life of India, now so happily symbolised by the Hindu-Moslem unity, depends largely on the educational progress of the Indian communities, our educational needs too grow, expand, and broaden so as to embrace the national ideal.

Importance of Education

Education, I have often expressed it, is the mainspring of all reforms There is no sphere of human activity where education does not penetrate. In fact, education is the basis of every form of public activity. The problem of education is ever increasing in importance all over the world, and continues to receive the greatest attention of master minds. It is really becoming too vast and complex to be easily comprehended, and presents various aspects. A solution of the problem requires utmost consideration, deep concentration and assiduous labour. It no longer concerns itself with simple instruction as of yore. Education means to-day a hundred and one things, not merely in its relation to the teacher or the taught, the subjects taught or the mode of instruction, the responsibility of the State or the well-being

of society but in everything that pertains to the life of the future citizen, the training of his intellect as well as the building up of his character. The very construction of school buildings and their sanitary condition, the health of the pupils and their medical inspection, the Kindergarten system with nature study, the school museum, the provision of sports, the play-ground, the gymnasium, the Boy Scout movement, the hostel system, the laboratory, the library, the debating society, the school or college magazine, the bewildering variety in the methods of instruction, the curriculum of studies, the system of examinations, the medium of instruction, the provision of manual training, the introduction of visual instruction, the different treatment of education in its various stages from the collegiate down to the elementary standard, the lecture course, the tutorial system, the postgraduate course, the research work, the training of the teacher and his salary and retiring gratuity, the teacher's provident fund scheme, the department of education, the educational service, the University administration—all these and many more things are covered by modern education. In fact, education is a world in itself, and it, therefore, requires a world-wide treatment. Primary education was until recently regarded as the chief function of a State. But America, the freest and most progressive of the nations of the world, has shown us that the chief function of a modern State should extend even to secondary education. Attempts are being made to make secondary education there free, if not compulsory. Who knows if a time may not come in some remote future when collegiate education too will be made as free as primary education? Such is the great value and importance of modern education.

The Scope of our Conference

Conferences such as we hold to-day may trace their origin to the institution of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, founded by the late Sir Syed Ahmed, an illustrious name in the roll of Indian Moslem celebrities. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the nucleus of the coming Muslim University, is the greatest achievement of the great Moslem leader and patriot, and it bears eloquent testimony to the genius of his

statesmanship. With such distinguished pioneers in the field of Muslim education as the late Sir Syed Ahmed, the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and other public-spirited leaders and under such distinguished auspices commenced the work of Moslem education with such wonderful results as we see to-day in the political awakening of Musalmans and in their desire to play a worthy part in the public life of the country. Muslim Educational Conferences have successfully carried on propaganda work. We meet here to-day in our Provincial Conference to carry on the work so well begun and resolve to translate into actual practice what we preach on the platform. We are not here as educationists or educational experts to deal with the practical side of education. enter into the details of educational schemes, and suggest suitable methods in the carrying out of the schemes. We leave and rightly leave this kind of work to be done by those who are actively engaged, whether directly or indirectly, in educational institutions. But we are here, I suppose, to consider the question of education in its broad aspect. We love to play our part as spectators, and the spectators often see more of the game than the players themselves. Though we are laymen, we still claim to see and do see more of the results of educational activities. Also, we meet here as representatives of the Moslem community to consider our own educational needs, criticise the educational policy of the State, particularly in its relation to the needs of our community, formulate our considered views on educational topics, and devise ways and means for the furtherance of our educational interests. We set ourselves to the task of creating and strengthening a healthy public opinion on Muslim education in all its varied aspects. We are more concerned with the educational policy of the State than with the details of the educational administration. Our deliberations here are chiefly meant to influence the authorities concerned and enable the Government to shape or alter their educational policy so as to satisfy our educational needs and meet our particular requirements. For, as a large and distinct Indian community, we have our special needs and our problems require seperate treatment. We have a civilisation and culture of our own, hardly inferior to any other civilisation and culture; and we mean to preserve our

entity and our type, not only for the good of the community but for the good of the world. Our Conference, therefore, is an expression in reality of that entity and of that type. Just as individual entities and types can never disappear from the world but can persist to the end of time, communal and national entities and types too will continue to remain as long as the sun and the moon last. Hence the need for our communal representation not only on the governing bodies of educational institutions but on the Senates of Indian Universities. Besides, our Conference exists also to safeguard our communal interests and preserve our communal rights in all matters relating to Muslim education. Lastly, we meet at our annual gatherings as the accredited spokesmen of the community to voice their united feelings on educational matters.

Our Educational Progress

Taking a bird's-eye view of Muslim educational achievement throughout India, we have no cause for dissatisfaction. It is gratifying to learn that our youths have competed successfully with those of our sister community and that they are endeavouring to hold their own with others in the race of life. It is true that they have yet to make their way in higher education. Judging from the results so far achieved, particularly within the last decade, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the educational progress of the community. In British India the Muhammadan population comprises nearly 58 million souls (57,950,000). Out of these 1,866,742 pupils according to the latest figures for 1917-18, against 1,551,151 in 1912, are under instruction. The total number of Muhammadan pupils forms 23 per cent. of the total school population, the same proportion their total population bears to the total Indian population, though Muhammadan pupils form but 31 per cent. of the Muhammadan population. The number of Muhammadan pupils under instruction has nearly doubled itself within the last ten years. As for literacy, 3.8 per cent. of the Muhammadan population are literate, against 5.9 per cent. of the total Indian population. Of the total number of pupils of all races, 10 3 per cent. of Muhammadan pupils are undergoing training in colleges, 15.9 per cent. in secondary institutions, and 22 2 per cent. in primary schools. The educational position in colleges, secondary institutions, and primary schools is better from the mere numerical standpoint in the N.- W. Frontier Province, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa than in the major provinces of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. For instance in the Punjab 22.4 per cent. of Muhammadan pupils are in colleges, 28.9 per cent. in secondary institutions, and 39.3 per cent. in primary schools. In the United Provinces the percentages are 20.8 per cent., 177 per cent., and 14.5 per cent., respectively. Taking the proportion of the Muhammadan population to the total Indian population and that of the number of Muhammadan pupils to the total number of Indian pupils of all races, the educational position of Muhammadan scholars in Central Provinces and Berar and Madras is much bettter than in any other province. While the position in Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces is at a premium, that in Bombay is at par, and that in the Punjab, Bengal and Assam is at a discount, as is evident from the following table :-

(Figures for 1916-17)

	(0		
	Percentage of Muhammadan population to total population.		Percentage of Muhammadan pupils to total No. of pupils.
Madras	•••	6.6	11.1
Bombay		20.4	19.2
Bengal	•••	52.7	45.0
United Provinces	• • •	14.1	18.2
Punjab	•••	54.8	40.8
Bihar and Orissa	•••	10 6	13.0
Central Provinces	&		
Berar	•••	4·1	$9 \cdot 2$
Assam	•••	28.1	23.8
NW. Frontier Province.		92.8	70.9
Burma		3.5	4.2

The examination results during the last quinquennium (between 1911-12 and 1916-17) equally testify to the progress of Moslem education. In M.A. & M.Sc. degree examinations 62 Muslim candidates were successful in 1916-17, against 22 candidates in 1911-12; in B.A. and B.Sc. degree examina-

ions, 403, against 227 students; in the Intermediate examinations, 737, against 415 students; and in the Matriculation examinations, 2,806, against 1,282 candidates. The above figures illustrate the present position of Muslim higher education in India. Satisfactory as the progress on the whole has been, still greater efforts are needed, if real efficiency is to be attained and if Muhammadans are to rise in the scale of civilised nations.

Taking the figures for Bombay I find that your boys number 5.5 per cent. of the Muhammadan male population and your girls number 1.7 per cent. of the female population. In the year 1917-18 there were 138 students in Arts Colleges. of whom one was a female student. In the Professional Colleges there were altogether 60 Muslim students, against 1.512 Hindus and 127 Indian Christians. It is rather unfortunate that Medicine, Engineering and Teaching have not attracted as many Moslem students as those of the sistercommunity in proportion to their respective populations. The deed of the hour consists in more Muhammadans taking to higher or modern liberal education. So far as the primary stage is concerned, the Muslim pupils have taken their place side by side with the Hindu pupils. But in the upper primary and middle stages of education, they have yet to show a greater record of progress. From the latest report of the Director of Public Instruction for Bombay I learn that the largest number of Muhammadan pupils is to be found in the lower primary stage of Education, a little over 87,200 boys and 23,000 girls, whereas in the upper primary stage they number about 9,000 and 900 respectively. As figures rise in the upper primary stage, a correspondingly larger number of pupils will be found in the middle and high stages of education, whence students may be drawn to colleges in sufficient numbers. Much attention, therefore, needs to be paid to the system of secondary education which deserves to be encouraged and largely supported out of both public and private funds.

From the above general survey of Muslim education necessarily brief and cursory, let me proceed to the enunciation of our educational ideal—the goal of Muslim ambition. As we grasp the ideal we shall be better able to follow the ecommendations of the Calcutta University Commission

whose admirable report, five volumes of which have already been published, constitutes the ablest and most important educational document ever produced in India. Though relating primarily to the situation in Bengal, the valuable suggestions made in the report are widely applicable to similar conditions in other parts of India, and the principles they enunciate are of a wide and general character.

Our Educational Ideal

At the outset it is well to recognise fully and clearly what our educational ideal is. The ideal of education in its widest sense is verily the ideal of life. If life is but an expression of the soul within, education is the drawing out of that expression—the drawing out of the latent faculties in man. If happiness be the aim of life, it is also the aim of education. Education in its lower aspect is the process that makes a man live a truly happy life. It is the means to an What then is the Moslem ideal of education? Not differing fundamentally from the ideal of education, the Muslim ideal has a special significance as a necessary type in the evolution of humanity. The Muslim ideal, therefore, is to make a true Musalman. Again, to be a true Musalman is to be a true man. In other words, Moslem education makes a Musalman, just as education makes a man. To live a life inspired by the spirit of Islam and regulated according to the fundamental principles of the Moslem faith is the ideal of Moslem education. Our ideal has a two-fold aspect, communal as well as national. In its communal aspect, the ideal is typical of the sacred teachings of Quran, and Hadis and in its national or international aspect, it symbolises the universal aspect of Islam. Every great world religion, be it Muhammadanism, Christianity, Hinduism or Buddhism, recognises the great fact that it is at once individualistic and universal. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man are the cardinal principles of each great religion. But the actual practice of the same may differ in each case. For in no religion is the practice so widely and intensely followed as in For it is wholly and essentially democratic that of Islam. in its aims and practices, and the brotherhood of man is more an accomplished fact in Islam than merely an accepted creed as in other religions. It is this democratic character combined

with the simplicity of its teachings and the eminently practical nature of its tenets that enhance the supreme value of Islam as among the greatest religions of the world. To conserve and preserve, therefore, the ancient learning of Islam as embodied faith as well as the in the holy Arabic literature ought to be the goal of Muslim education. A true follower of the Prophet is a true follower of God, and all true followers of God are verily true followers of the Prophet, whether they know it or not, and whether they profess Islam or any other faith. In this broad and progressively liberal sense the Muslim ideal in its national or international aspect is verily the ideal of humanity. If Muslim education fails to realise these two aspects—the com. munal and the national—of the ideal, it is no longer worthy to be pursued. But it showed us in the past, as it still shows us, how the communal ideal was not inconsistent with the pan-Islamic ideal all over the world, and we, therefore, hope that, as we seek to build the future of Islam on the foundations of the present, inspired by the glories of the past, the two-fold ideal will long and for ever continue to guide the Islamic people in the right path and stimulate those who may come after them and their posterity to nobler deeds and worthier purposes.

Moslem Religious and Moral Instruction

The enunciation of the ideal of Moslem education brings me directly to the subject of our religious and moral instruction. Under the peculiar conditions prevailing in this country whose government is alien by race, language and religion and whose peoples too differ in race, language and religion, the religious neutrality of the government, though a blessing in some respects, has tended to make public education more and more secular. While the intellect of the pupil has expanded, his moral character has not been developed to the same extent. In one sense modern education in this country appears to be too secular to build up character or make an all-round man. Surely secular education was long looked upon with suspicion by my co-religionists who truly attached more value to Islamic teachings and they did not for a long time fully avail themselves of the benefits of English education taught in secular institutions. But under the stress of

modern life and as a means of self-preservation their apathy vanished, and they began to evince interest in the pursuit of modern education. Fairly good numbers of Muslim pupils have begun to study in these secular institutions, and thus gain the advantages of modern education. But the old spirit has been asserting itself in season and out of season, so that the need for separate communal institutions is increasingly felt. Muslim education has begun to enter upon a new and healthy career, as is evidenced by the holding of Muslim Educational Conferences in different parts of the country. Thoughtful men amongst us have come to recognise the great value of religious and moral instruction to our boys and girls, especially in the primary and secondary stages of education. It is their birth-right to be instructed in the teachings of Islam during the most impressionable period of their lives. Not only should we be jealous of guarding them against the teachings of alien faiths, especially when they are too young to form a judgment of their own but we must use every means in our power to protect them from the insiduous dangers of irreligion and irreverence. There are still some extreme radicals amongst the modern educated Musalmans who believe that character may be formed even without the aid of Islamic teaching. If you, gentlemen, really and sincerely believe that there is nothing in Islamic teachings worthy to build up character, ennoble life, elevate the mind and uplift the soul towards the Almighty, then you need not pay heed to the incessant cry of religious instruction for our boys and girls; and you may go further and give up Islam with a view to embrace a higher and nobler faith. But, believe me, brethren, when I say that the teachings of Islam were not built on such slender foundations as to drive us to despair. They were built on the bed-rock of time, so as to last for all time. Its teachings coming from the Most High and revealed through the Prophet are eternal verities of life, and they represent the great Universal Law, at once the life and soul of the vast universe.

The Medium of Instruction

Closely connected with religious instruction is the vehicle through which such instruction is conveyed. Hence the value of the medium of instruction. Opinions differ among

Musalmans themselves as to the medium of instruction in the different stages of education. So far as the primary and middle stages of education are concerned, there is practically unanimity of opinion that Urdu, the living language of Musalmans, should be the medium of instruction. In the high school and college stages of education it is suggested that the medium may be either English, the present lingua franca of educated India, or both English and the principal vernacular of the locality (bilingual). There are some elucational enthusiasts who favour the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction even in college classes except of course for English language subjects. There are also enthusiasts at the other end advocating English as the medium of instruction in school as well as college courses of study. It is perhaps not unknown to many of us that the vernaculars of the country are woefully neglected. The report of the Calcutta University Commission draws our attention to the fact that no education can be sound which does not recognise the great value of the vernaculars. "No young man in England," says the report, " would be considered to have received a sound and good education unless he possessed a mastery over his own vernacular, had learnt to avoid grammatical errors, and had acquired a taste for the niceties of the idioms of his mother-tongue." In India a pupil considers himself to have received a sound education if he but learnt the English tongue just enough for practical purposes, and seldom devotes even a tenth of his attention to the study of his vernacular. Not only should vernacular studies in schools and colleges be encouraged far more than hitherto but the vernaculars should be employed therein more largely as the medium of instruction. Except in the English language subjects, and a few scientific subjects, including mathematics, the leading vernacular of the locality should be the medium of instruction in all secondary schools. In college classes English, the court language, should be the medium of instruction. "The question," says the Hon'ble Justice Sir Abdur Rahim, "between English and the vernaculars is one of difficulty and capable only of a tentative and gradual solution. English is the language of the Government, the Courts, and public business generally and also of commerce, and it is fast becoming the common

anguage of the intelligent and progressive middle class throughout India. It contains a richer, more varied and more scientific vocabulary, and more useful and better educative literature than any Indian vernacular. It is the only language in India through whose medium we can readily obtain firsthand accurate information about things, events and peoples all over the world. There can be no question, therefore, that English must be retained as the medium of education in the Universities in British India.' After examining a number of distinguished witnesses the Calcutta University Commission recommend changes in agreement generally with the views of this address. The report says, "We advocate (1) more attention to the rational teaching of the mother tongue as a method of mind training; (2) (a) reduction of the use of English as a medium of instruction up to the present Matriculation stage; and (b) its retention as a medium above that stage; (3) the adoption of improved methods of teaching English and the introduction of more highly trained teachers of English both in the secondary schools and the intermediate colleges; (4) more drastic tests for all of a practical knowledge of English, and (5) an abandonment of the system of examining non-literary students in the difficulties of classical texts." Also, the report lays " stress on the continued necessity of improving the vernaculars, through which the results of Western as well as of Eastern knowledge can alone be conveyed to the masses of the people." In this connection, I find you had your own difficulties as regards the medium of instruction in Urdu schools. But fortunately the decision arrived at after much deliberation at a Conference of leaders of Muhammadan opinion seemed to have been warmly welcomed by the Muhammadan community throughout the Presidency. The decision is, as the Government review of the report of the Director of Public Instruction says, "to give the Muhammadan community in every area the option of having their children taught through the medium of Urdu or the local vernacular with the local vernacular or Urdu, as the case may be, as a compulsory second language."

The Teachers and the taught

The medium of instruction implies three things—the language, the teacher and the taught. So far as Muslim edu-

cation is concerned, Urdu should be the medium of instruction in all primary and lower secondary stages of education, while English shall be a second language: English and Urdu shall be the media of instruction in higher secondary schools and English only as the medium in colleges, while the classics such as Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and Persian shall be either second or optional languages. Hence in primary and secondary schools for Muhammadan boys and girls Musalman teachers are indispensable. What is more important they should be trained men and women. In proportion as the number of the trained teachers increases, the cause of Muslim education will advance. The official figures for all India for 1917-18 tell us that there were 48,850 trained teachers in Vernacular Primary Schools, against 121,457 untrained teachers and 22,281 trained teachers, against 35,831 untrained teachers in Anglo-Vernacular prinary schools. In Middle Schools there were 11,081 trained vernacular teachers, against 9,152 untrained teachers, and 2,834 trained Anglo Vernacular teachers, against 8.522 untrained hands. In High Schools there were 2,319 trained vernacular teachers against 2,170 untrained teachers; and 6,037 trained Angla-Vernacular teachers, against 16,496 untrained teachers. From these figures it is evident that more trained teachers are wanted in primary, middle and high schools. So far ag Bombay is concerned, the figures for the official year 1917-18 tell us that there were 9,920 trained teachers, against 15,729 untrained teachers in all Primary Schools; and 190 trained teachers, against 1,049 untrained teachers in Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools; and 536 trained teachers, against 1.641 untrained teachers in High Schools. The need for more trained teachers is increasingly felt in Bombay as in other parts of India. In Bombay at any rate the teaching profession in its higher grade seems to attract few Musalman candidates. During 1917-18, only 37 Musalmans in all India took the post-graduate degrees in teaching and 37 Musalmans obtained the under-graduate licenses or diplomas in teaching. But in Bombay not one Musalman obtained his degree or diploma in teaching during the same year, whereas 29 Hindus obtained the post-graduate degrees. This state of things should be remedied, if higher education for Musalmans should achieve any considerable success. Next, the pay and

prospect of the teacher should be improved in order to attain better results, particularly in private institutions. The improvement of the teacher means that of the taught. Attention should be paid not only to the mental training of the pupil but to his physical and moral training. Characterbuilding is even far more important than examination-passing. Unfortunately in this country undue importance is paid to the passing of examinations as the be-all and end-all of education, whereas far less importance is attached to the acquisition of knowledge or the attainment of culture. Those who have taken their University degrees are not necessarily all cultured men: nor are all cultured men University graduates. The aim of the student should be to secure the cultivation of his mind rather than a pass at the examination. It is, therefore, the daty of parents to inculcate this idea in the minds of their children. Mere expansion of intellect at the sacrifice of one's health and mere acquisition of knowledge without character are of little value. mind in a sound body is an old and excellent maxim. How often we neglect this truth is evident from the physical break-down of many a pupil, their shortness of sight. their loss of memory and their stunted growth. The care of the pupils' health should engage the increasing attention not only of the State or of the school or college authorities but of the public. Educational Advisory Boards for each district should be formed, composed chiefly of non-official representatives who will devote their particular attention to the many sided activities of educational life.

The Different Stages and kinds of Education

From the subject of the taught let me proceed to the consideration of the different stages and kinds of education such as primary, secondary and college stages and literary or cultural, and vocational or professional kinds, particularly in relation to the needs of the Muslim community. While it is both inadvisable and unnecessary to insist upon any uniformity of type in schools or colleges, sufficient freedom should be allowed to educational institutions each to develop its own healthy type according to the needs of particular localities and the requirements of particular classes or communities, provided the end of education is ever steadily and firmly

kept in view—the acquisition of knowledge for the sake of knowledge. As "knowledge is power" when applied to practical life, it fits one for the battle of life and enables one to discharge well one's duties as a citizen.

(a) Primary Education

As one deeply interested in the promotion chiefly of primary education, I may be permitted to make a few suggestions to improve its quality. Primary schools may be divided into two kinds-incomplete and complete primary schools. Further, they may differ in type according to the nature of localities, as for instance in rural or urban areas, in agricultural or industrial centres. In rural or agricultural areas an agricultural side may be added to primary education; and in urban or industrial areas, a commercial side may be added to it. Further, rural schools may well be termed agricultural schools, as instruction in modern methods of agriculture will be its chief work. Further, an agricultural school need not necessarily exclude technical or industrial education of an elementary type. While the course of study in an incomplete elementary or primary school should extend to a period of five years, that in a complete primary school should last an additional six years. For at the end of eleven years, a village pupil ought to have completed a system of education which would help him to earn his livelihood as an agricultural farmer or cultivator, or as a village artisan or trader. The chief vernacular of the locality should be the medium of instruction as well as the principal language to be taught, while English may be taught as a second language. While during the first five years in an incomplete primary school a training in the Three R's, reading, writing and arithmetic, is essential, moral and religious instruction with graded lessons must be imparted to pupils. In the next six years in a complete primary school the curriculum of studies should, besides the subjects indicated above, include history, geography, civics, elementary science, a rudimentary outline of physiology in addition to agricultural or technical subjects and religious study. This type of primary education supplemented by a graded course of physical drill and exercise, a course of manual training and visual instruction should more or less be complete in itself, so that pupils

passing out of such a school begin life at once without further ambition of prosecuting higher studies. Again, this type of education will satisfy the needs of the large majority of the population. If, however, parents desire that their children should pursue secondary education, pupils after passing through the first five years in an incomplete primary school should be selected to join a lower secondary school. Bright and promising boys, aided by free scholarships, may thus be picked up for a higher course of study.

Ever since the defeat of the late Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, the movement in favour of compulsory elementary education has steadily been gaining ground. During the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, education and sanitation received the greatest attention, and large and substantial grants were made to education. The annual recurring allotments amounted at the end of 1916-17 to 124 lakhs of rupees. Be it said to the credit of the Government of India, they have spared no pains whatever in promoting the cause of primary education, so far as circumstances permitted. But for the war, still greater progress would have been achieved in the field of primary education. A private Bill permitting Municipalities (save that of Bombay City) to introduce free and compulsory elementary education throughout the Bombay Presidency was passed into law last year. The compulsion will be operative in the case of the children who have completed six but not eleven years of age. It is gratifying to learn that the example of Bombay has been followed by the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. Bombay," says Mr. H. Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, in his interesting report on Indian Education for 1917-18, "where alone an Act has already come into force, the Bandra and Surat Municipalities have applied for permission to introduce compulsion and have proposed to levy additional taxation. The Government of Bombay propose to contribute ordinarily to the extent of one-half towards the cost of free and compulsory education introduced under the Act. The Bombay Municipality too has drawn up a programme of rapid extension of primary education in Bombay City within the next ten years

with a view to compulsion at the end of that period." So far so good. But the progress of Muslim education on modern lines in our Maktabs and Mulla schools needs the continued support of private agencies. Opinion difers as to the advisability of introducing English into the Maktabs and Mulla schools. But Musalmans are, I believe, by no means so illiberal as not to move with the spirit of the times. It was our mistake in the past that we did not fully realise the importance of modern liberal education. Un'ess and until our Maktabs and Mulla schools are so improved that pupils trained therein may seek admission into secondary schools without difficulty, the future of Muslim education cannot be as bright as we hope it will be. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of the community to start more primary schools for our boys and girls, and convert the existing Maktabs and Mulla schools into efficient primary schools of a modern type, while preserving at the same time their distinctly Muslim character. Ordinarily such schools should limit admission to Muslim pupils. The Government should set up more primary schools only as models in select centres in rural and urban areas. wherein admission should extend to pupils of all creeds and races. But provision should be made, as in communal institutions, for moral and religious instruction on non-sectarian lines. Where no such provision is made, the large religious communities of India, such as the Hindus and the Musalmans, should take the matter into their own hands, and provide for such instruction in Government schools at the expense of the community. For the sake of the education of their children a community ought to be willing to tax itself in the shape of an education cess. What is more important is to provide for a 'conscience clause' in any system of primary and secondary education, so that religious instruction in an alien faith may not be forced upon pupils of different faiths as in Christian Missionary institutions. While appreciating the laudable motives of Christian Missionaries, I feel it my duty to advocate the need for the liberty of conscience in all Government-aided Missionary schools.

(b) Secondary Education

Secondary schools too may be divided into two kinds—lower and higher secondary schools. Secondary school

education should last six years, three years in the lower secondary school corresponding to the middle school of the present day and three years in the higher secondary school corresponding to the modern high school. As far as possible, secondary education should be complete in itself, just in the same way as primary education outlined above ought to be complete. A pupil who leaves the higher secondary school with a school-leaving certificate should be deemed eligible for Government employment and for University and special courses of higher study. Hence secondary education should both be literary and professional, while in primary schools the classes of pupils should be known as standards, those in secondary schools as forms. The six forms together in a complete Secondary or High School. each covering a period of one year, should represent a complete stage of secondary education. From the first to the third form in a lower secondary school instruction should be given in language study, elementary mathematics, civics, history and geography. When a pupil finishes his third form course, specialisation should begin so as to afford easy facilities for the pupil to proceed to an arts course, or a scientific course, or a technical or industrial course, or a professional course at the end of his final school term. Courses of study should be so well-framed and the curriculum of subjects to be taught so well-arranged that a pupil may according to his own aptitude be allowed to choose his future line of study with the advice and guidance of his parent and his teacher. Secondary schoo's too may differ in type according as they are situated in sural or urban areas. They may be more largely agricultural in rural areas, technical and industrial in urban areas, and literary or cultural in metropolitan towns. In Moslem secondary schools religious and moral instruction must be made compulsory as in primary schools. While in the lower secondary schools, all the subjects taught shall be compulsory, in the higher secondary school English, Mathematics and one of the principal vernaculars of the place shall be compulsory, while the optional subjects may include History, Civics, Paysics, Chemistry, Physiology, classical languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic, vernaculars, besides commercial and technical studies. At the end of a higher secondary course of education, a youth should be well-equipped for the battle of life. If he chooses, he may pursue an arts or scientific course in a college or higher studies in commercial or technical training. "A better secondary education," says the report of the Calcutta University Commission, 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 most relieve the situation is a breakdown of the prejudice against working with the hands. Such a change would be promoted by a good modern course of secondary education in which the training of the hand and study of science have an important place without detriment to the training given through language, literature, and history."

The importance of secondary education can fully be realised upon a little reflection that it occupies a golden mean between primary and college education. While the benefits of college education go to a few and those of primary education to the many, the advantages of secondary education are reaped by a fairly large number of the middle class. Further, secondary schools are feeders to colleges. As things stand at present, unduly large attention is paid in India to collegiate education, while sufficient attention has not been paid to primary education and little attention is paid to secondary education. Secondary education conveyed through what are known as Public Schools claims the largest attention in the United Kingdom and forms the chief feature of the English system of education. In America too increasing attention is being bestowed on secondary education in its cultural and vocational aspects. In the same manner as we deal with primary education, the Muslim community should have secondary schools of their own wherein a healthy combination of religious and secular education will lead to the eventual realisation of Muslim ambitions. "As I stated in the last review," says Mr. H. Sharp in his latest Quinquennial Review on education, "the problem that now faces the Muhammadans is the maintenance of religious observance and discipline amid the disintegrating influences of higher secular education." Many causes in the past stood in the way of Musalman youths pursuing their studies in higher secondary schools. The poverty of the

Muslim community in general, their backwardness, the inguistic difficulty, the demand for religious instruction, and want of Muhammadan representation on the governing bodies of educational institutions, as endorsed by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Education Department, have retarded the spread of secondary education among the Muhammadans. It is the duty of Conferences like this to devise means for the early removal of these undesirable causes.

College Education

College education which presents problems of no little difficulty represents the highest stage of education. A college course in arts should ordinarily continue for a period of four years. The First in Arts or Intermediate examination should be abolished for good. The first year of a college course may prepare candidates for the Entrance or Matriculation Examination, the passing of which entitles them to be admitted into the college. School-leaving certificates will obtain admission into the Matriculation class of a college. Not more than three chances should be given to pupils to enable them to pass the Matriculation examination, the second and third chances being given in the second year of study with an interval of six months. The Matriculation course being under the direct supervision of a college, each college should in the first place provide seats for its own Matriculates, and the remaining seats, as far as there is room in the college, may be filled by Matriculates from other colleges or Universities. A three years' course in an arts college should be sufficient to enable students to qualify themselves for University degrees, while the Honours course may extend by a year. Suitable provision should be made in every college for postgraduate courses and research work. Other faculties such as law, medicine, engineering, and teaching, should be promoted by separate colleges, one college for one faculty, in the same way as separate colleges are necessary for the training of students in agriculture, veterinary study, forestry, technology and commerce. In these and other professional colleges, courses of study may extend to a period of three or five years, as the case may be. Indian Universities should be prepared to grant degrees and diplomas to graduates in ali the above faculties. Wherever there are no separate theological colleges for each great religious community, provision may well be made for an oriental faculty in arts colleges, thereby encouraging the study of oriental religions through oriental classics and sacred literature. Theological colleges too should be recognised by a University and degrees in theology should be conferred upon duly qualified students. Specialisation being the characteristic feature of modern education, separate colleges are needed for the promotion of separate faculties.

In the matter of college education too, we desire to have communal institutions, while the Government, as in the case of primary and secondary schools, should confine its efforts to setting up model colleges in each faculty. Communal colleges, wherever they are sufficient in number and in close proximity to one another, may eventually develop into Communal Universities. Whatever may be said against the establishment of denominational Universities, the peculiar social and religious and political conditions of India afford justification for the founding of communal Universities. While in the primary and secondary stages of education, communal institutions ought to restrict admission solely to the members of their respective communities, as in the case of European educational institutions, in the collegiate or University stage of education, there ought to be no restriction whatever to the admission of students on the ground of race or creed. But institutions founded by particular communities will largely retain the characteristic features of their respective communities, and each such communal institution will be free to develop its own type. In the matter of religious education alone, the liberty of conscience should be respected, as in the case of the lower stages of education, particularly in Government schools. While the Christian Missionary Colleges impart religious instruction to their students, in the Christian faith, though in receipt of State aid, I see no reason why the Moslem or the Hindu Colleges should not, while receiving State aid, impart religious education to their students in their respective faiths. Further, separate hostels, if not separate messing arrangements, should be provided for separate religious denominations, wherever colleges exist. Though com.

munal in origin, collegiate education ought to aim at the nationalisation of Indian races and creeds by promoting toleration and charity. "In the highest education of the Presidency," tays the report of the Calcutta University Commission, "Mussalmans and Hindus should co-operate each considerately respectful of the other's convictions and ready to preserve communal traditions within the wider frame-work of the University's corporate life."

As for Bombay, it is satisfactory to learn from the Report submitted by the Committee of officials and non-officials appointed by the Bombay Government in November 1918 to inquire into the question of providing additional facilities for education in the Government Arts Colleges, by means of (i) increasing accommodation in these Colleges, and (ii) establishing new Colleges in suitable centres, that most of their general and many of their specific recommendations have been approved by the Government. As a result, the Government are prepared (1) to subsidise any private college approved by them to the extent of one-third of its assets or one-fourth of its total admitted expenditure (whichever is the less), (2) to request the Director of Public Instruction to submit proposals for increasing the accommodation in all Government Colleges, (3) to establish a Government firstgrade Arts College in Salsette with the aid of Sir Mahomed Yusuf's munificent donation, and (4) to give the usual grantin-aid to the proposed two colleges in Northern and Southern Mahratta districts, when these are started at suitable places by private agencies. While the Committee recommended the tree distribution of colleges over the Presidency to satisfy the needs of different localities, the Government who did not accept this recommendation " are of opinion that it is better to concentrate collegiate teaching in a few main centres and create University towns rather than to encourage scattered institutions all over the Presidency." However desirable it may be that collegiate education should spread widely all over the Presidency, in the present condition of affairs it is hardly advisable to encourage such a scheme. I am, therefore, in agreement with the considered opinion of the local Government and should like to see that Poona, Ahmedabad and Karachi should in course of time become University

centres as Bombay, and colleges in each centre developing themselves into a University of the teaching and residential type. As for the Committee's recommendation to start a Women's College at Bombay, the Government do not think that the time has yet come for the establishment of such a college. Perhaps local conditions may justify their decision which is shared by no less eminent an educationist of Bombay than the Hon'ble Mr. Paranipye. In this respect we in Madras are ahead of you in having two first-grade Women's Colleges, besides a fair number of high schools for our girls. Referring to higher education in Bombay, I am inclined to think that each province should contribute its largest possible share to the founding of the Muslim University at Aligarh, which is long due. While the Hindu University has not only become an accomplished fact but has been doing excellent work in its own way and along the lines best suited to the genius of the Hindu community, the Muslim University is still a paper scheme awaiting fulfilment We shall be wanting in our duty if we do not remember the Muslim University in our Educational Conference.

Professional and Special Schools

School-leaving certificates should entitle their holders to seek admission into professional schools in the same way as Matriculates are admitted into professional colleges, except in a few cases, as Law Colleges wherein arts graduates alone are entitled to admission. Among the professional schools may be mentioned Law Schools, training candidates for Pleadership examination, Medical Schools training them for the Medical Practitioners' Examinations, Engineering Schools for preparing lower grade engineers, Normal or Training School for training teachers of Elementary Schools, Agricultural Schools for training future farmers or cultivators, Forest Schools for giving a training in Forestry, Veterinary Schools for training Veterinary physicians and surgeons, Technical Schools for training pupils in Elementary technology or Mechanical or Electrical Engineering, and Commercial Schools for giving a training in commercial studies. Some of these schools may be complete in themselves, such as law and medical schools. For further studies in law or medicine only graduates in arts should be eligible for admission into

Law or Medical Colleges. In this connection I should like to suggest the advisability of adding an oriental side to the Government Medical Schools and Colleges, whereby instruction may be imparted to students in the indigneous systems of medicine as taught by the Unani and Ayurvedic schools of medical thought. If the Government will not do it, it becomes the imperative duty of the two large Indian communities, the Muslim and the Hindu to encourage and support communal medical institutions to teach the Unani and Ayurvedic systems. As for law schools, only Matriculates can seek admission into them, as also into such professional colleges as Medical and Engineering Colleges.

Muslim Women's Education

The position of Indian women's education is far from satisfactory, owing perhaps to a variety of causes such as the peculiar social and religious conditions of Indian women of different faiths, and their peculiar habits, manners and customs. The subordinate position that women generally occupy in the East, the restrictions imposed upon their legitimate freedom by age-long social customs and usages, the system of early marriage, the custom of burdah, the lack of women teachers, and the absence of a special curriculum of studies have been the chief causes that have long stood in the way of women's education in India. While the sister community have availed themselves of the few opportunities opened to Indians, and made a little progress in female education, we, Mussalmans, are far behind our Hindu brethren in the matter. Nearly all the causes described above have stood in the way of Muslim female education. While there is nothing in the teachings of Islam that is opposed to the advocacy of female education, it is rather strange that the community should have long neglected the education of their girls. The question is not so much of considering the advisability of women's education as of denying to women their birthright of education. The illiteracy of women is the chief cause of men's degradation in the larger spheres of national life. It is now too late in the twentieth century to question either the need for or the importance of female education. We must hasten to make rapid progress in women's education. "It is not as an isolated problem," says

the report of the Calcutta University Commission, "that we have to consider the education of women. It has the most profound influence upon the whole texture of national life, and the whole movement of national thought; and, until some working solution is found for this problem, it must remain impossible to bring the education of men into a sound and healthy condition." In India to-day we have but 1.03 per cent. of the female population under instruction, and only 1.0 per cent. literate. Only about 111 per cent. of the direct expenditure in 1916-17 on education went to girls' institutions of all kinds. In 1917-18 there were in India only 12 Muslim female students, against 285 Hindu, 288 Indian Christian, and 870 European and Anglo-Indian students in Arts Colleges; 5 Muslim students, against 24 Hindu, 48 Indian Christian, and 42 European and Ango-Indian students in Medical Colleges; and only 7 Hindu, 11 Indian Christian and 40 European and Anglo-Indian students in Teachers' Colleges, while the Muslim female pupils numbered 601, against 6,546 Hindus in High schools: 4,504, against 22,967 Hindus in Middle schools; and 240,630, against 678,896 Hindus in Primary Schools. In the same year there were 81 Muslim female pupils against 37 Hindu, 190 Indian Christian and 19 European and Anglo-Indian pupils in Medical Schools 219 Muslim popils, against 875 Hindus, 1,503 Indian Christians, and 269 European and Anglo-Indians in Training Schools for teachers; and 55 Muslim pupils, against 471 Hindus, 1,724 Indian Christians and 847 European and Anglo-Indians in Technical and Industrial Schools. figures for the same year in private institutions tell us that there were 998 Muslim girls in advanced Arabic or Persian Schools, 2,597 girls in Vernacular Elementary Schools, and 42,541 girls in the Koran Schools. All the above figures indicate generally the progress of female education, including that of Muslim pupils, in British India for the official year 1917-18. Coming to Bombay, I find there was only one Muslim female student, against 57 Hindu, 23 Indian Christian and 7 European and Anglo-Indian students in Arts Colleges. There was not a single Muslim female student in Medical Colleges where there were 16 Hindus, 19 Indian Christians and 2 Europeans and Auglo-Indians. There were 75 Muslim pupils, against 1,264 Hindu, 494 Indian Christian and 1,762

European and Anglo-Indian pupils in High Schools; and 35 Muslim pupils, against 780 Hindu, 2,008 Indian Christian and 749 European and Anglo-Indian pupils in Middle Schools; and 23.861 Muslim pupils, against 94,488 Hindu pupils in Primary Schools. Under the heading of Special Education there were 46 Muslim pupils, against 398 Hindu, 202 Indian Christian, and 41 European and Anglo-Indian pupils in Training Schools; 4 Muslim pupils, against \$ Hindu and 7 Indian Christian pupils in Medical Schools: 5 Muslim pupils against 209 Hindu pupils in Technical and Industrial Schools. In Commercial Schools there were only 22 Indian Christian and 41 European and Anglo-Indian pupils. This is the general position in Bombay. Comparing the position of Bombay with that of India as regards female education in general and Muslim female education in particular, we feel how great is the seed for further efforts to promote Muslim female education. More than for boys separate and special schools are badly wanted for Muslim girls in the best and highest interests of the community itself.

Control of Education

The different stages of education require different kinds of control. Primary education should more or less be under popular control. In Municipal areas it should be under the control of Municipalities, while in rural areas the control should be exerdsed by local boards (District and Taluk Boards) through non-official committees to be formed and known as Educational Advisory Boards. Secondary education should be under the control, partly of the State and partly of the public, through non-official committees to be formed and known as Advisory Councils of Education. College education should be under the control of the University. Special schools may be controlled chiefly by the education department of the State. To what extent the State should control higher education in India is a question of no little importance. "Any attempt," says the Seventh Quinquennial Review on Indian Education (1912-17), "to impose over the whole of India a single iron bound system would be doomed to failure. The Central Government confines itself to the consideration of educational problems in their broadest aspect, to large financial matters and similar subjects. Each

province has built up and administers its own system." Notwithstanding this statement of policy, there is need for the University administration to be less officialised, as well as for the relaxation of departmental control over Secondary edu-As for popular control, it should take into consideration communal needs and communal rights. In all nonofficial bodies and in all governing bodies o' educational institutions Musalmans should be given adequate representation in proportion to their numerical strength, if not to their historic and political importance. This should be observed more especially in the matter of University education. For upon the extent of the progress of higher aducation among Musalmans depends the future of Incian "Speaking for the Mahomedans," says the Hon'ble Justice Sir Abdur Rahim, "it is extremely importan; that they should be adequately represented in the government of the University, including the Senate, the Syndicate the Board of Studies, the Examining Board, and also on the governing bodies of hostels, messes and lodgings." Again, Mr. M. A. N. Hydari of Hyderabad (Deccan) says: "I am strongly of opinion that in the highest interests of University life, even from its purely academic side, it is necessary that the needs and interests of particular communities like the Muhammadan community should be specially considered in the government of the University, its courses of study, and its residential and other arrangements." The latest observation of Dr. Sadler's Commission only strengthens the case for Muslim communal representation in the University. "In matters of educational administration," says the report of the Calcutta University Commission, "as in other branches of administration communal representation may in the present condition of India be necessary and for certain purposes we have advocated it." The above opinions of eminent authorities bear eloquent testimony to the full recognition of the communal principle in the educational administration. The nonofficial voice should more largely prevail in University administration, and it should more largely influence the policy of the State with regard to secondary and primary education. Sufficient freedom and scope should be given to colleges and schools that they may develop into really useful and efficient institutions.

The Future of Muslim Education

Whether Masalmans will be content to be treated as a backward community or whether they desire to be treated as a progressive community—that is the question that stares us in the tace. The answer to this question will determine our place in the rational life of India. There can be but one answer, viz., we desire to go forward and take our rightful place among the progressive Indian communities. The only way to attain process is to avail ourselves of the opportunities afforded to us by modern liberal education. In proportion as we make the bist use of the educational facilities which a benevolent Government in true Christian spirit has offered to us from time to time, we shall be able to advance our material interests and gradually evolve a higher type of civilisation and culture. Since the days of the Indian Education Commission of 1882, the question of Muslim education has been engaging the serious attention of the State. The Commission made valuable recommendations with regard to Muslim secondary and primary education, such as the State financial aid in the shape of special grants, the grant of scholarships and free studentships, the addition of secular subjects to the curricula of Muslim schools, the fixing of special standards for primary schools, the provision for instruction in Urdu and Persian, the encouragement of higher education among Musalmans, the training of Muslim teachers. the appointment of Muslim Inspectors of Schools, the separate treatment of Mislim education in the annual report of the Director of Public Instruction, the encouragement of Moslem Educational Associations, and the distribution to Musalmans of a larger share of Government patronage. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 went no further. And the recent report of the Calcutta University Commission makes a few practical suggestions to improve Muslim education in Bengal. What is generally good for Bengal Musalmans 18 equally good for Musalmans in other parts of India. reservation for Musalmans of twenty-nve per cent. of the vacancies each year in all Government and Aided Colleges, and of certain percentage of the vacancies each year in each class in all Government Schools, the presence of a Muslim element on the staff of every school, in addition to the teachers of Ambic and Persian, and the provision for a

fair number of Special Assistant Inspectors of Schools, besides an Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim education are the principal recommendations of the Calcutta Commission. If improvements are carried out in Muslim education along the lines suggested by the Indian Education Commission of 1892 most of whose recommendations have since been given effect to, and by Dr. Sadler's Commission and along the lines suggested in the different portions of this address, the cause of Muslim education will soon triumph and rapid educational progress will ensue.

Conclusion

If literacy is to be the principal test of a country's civilisation, India which can show no more than about 6 per cent. literate of her vast population, stands belind most civilised countries in the world. In this country about 10.6 per cent. of the male population are literate, while only 1.0 per cent of the female population is literate. While the United States of America can boast of about 20 per cent, population under instruction in elementary schools, England and Wales, about 1(1 per cent. of population, Japan, about 18 per cent, of her population, and even Ceylon, about 9 per cent. of her population, poor India can show only 2.88 per cent. of her population, in primary schools. In the matter of secondary education India ranks above France or Japin but below the United States, while the percentage of England and Wales is slightly higher than that of India. While the United States shows 1.5 per cent of her population in secondary schools, and England 0.6 per cent. of her population, India can show 0.4 per cent of her population in secondary schools. In the matter of higher educaton, it is believed that India compares favourably with many progressive countries of the west. The percentage is nearly the same in the case of Bengal and of the United Kingdom. test of primary education is even more important than any other test. Hence Musalmans should sestir themselves. and make every possible effort to spreid far and wide primary education within the community. A memory of bygone superiority, pride of race, religious tears and devout attachment to Islamic learning, as pointed out by Dr. Sadler's

Commission seem to have acted prejudicially against Musalmans going infor modern education. But the key to educational success lies in the path of modern liberal education. "The future of Inda," says the report of the Calcutta Commission, "depends upon finding a civilisation which will be a happy union of the Hindu, Islamic and European civilisations." This is also the view generally held by the most thoughtful of Indian patriots. Nor is this view inconsistent with the ideal of Moslem education. While I am himly of opinion that the Mislem community "shall preserve its social and religious personalities and its communal traditions," I think and rightly think that every Musalman should feel that he is an Indian partiot too. Within the community we are communalists; within the country we are nationalists-I use the term in its broadest signincance; and within the world we are cosmopolitans. In other words, we are Musalmans within the Moslem fold; Indians in India, and citizens of the world outside India. None of these three aspects of citizenship is to my mind opposed to the true spirit of Islam. For communalism in its broader aspect is nationalism, and nationalism in its broader aspect is internationalism. Ever keeping the Islanic ideal before the mind's eye, let us march onward "leart within and God overhead," to our destined goal. Let us not stop until victory crowns our earnest efforts to wipe off illiteracy from the Muslim community and unti the Muslim community becomes quite enlightened to play its worthy part not only in Indian but m international public life. For an enlightened Muslim community in Incia will be an honour to the whole Muslim world.

CONCLUDING SPEECH

Brother-Delegates and Brethren :-

Before I proceed to make a few concluding remarks, I teel it my duty to express both on your schalf and on my behalf our deep sympathy with Her Excellency Lady Willingdon at Madras in her sad family bereavement, as I have learnt to-day with deep regret from a Madras telegram of her brother Lord Brassey's death in London, under most painful circumstances.

In bringing this year's session to a close, I desire to touch upon one or two points. In the first place we are much indebted to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for his very sympathetic speech on the opening day and for his kind assurance that His Excellency's Government will be ready to help the cause of Muslim education upon the community endeavouring to put forth their earnest efforts in promoting it. We hope and trust that the Government will tuily realise the growing needs of the Muslim community, and that they, as an earnest of what his Excellency has said, will be pleased to give effect to, at least before we re-assemble in conference next year, such of the resolutions as appeal to them for practical help.

While the state has its own responsibility in the matter of education, the people too have their cwn responsibility far greater and far heavier than that of the state. Peculiarly situated as India with her widely differing faces and creeds has been under foreign rule, the state initiative cannot possibly cover a wide ground except through the whole-hearted co-operation of the people themselves. It is, however, often asked whether the Government have done as much as they ought to have done in promoting Indian education, particularly Muslim education. But I am a firm believer in the gospel of self-help. Self-help is the best help on which we can all rely with certainty as to the result. While heartily welcoming state-aid even to a greater extent than hitherto, I teel strongly that popular aid a essential, if not imperative, to the growth of our educational system.

It augurs well for the future of India that there is a growing reciprocity of feeling between the two great Indian communities—the Musalman and the Hindu, as is evident from the sympathetic speeches made by Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society and others. Let it, therefore, be remembered that in the general educational advancement of India the united sympathies and combined efforts of the two communities will accomplish far speedier and far greater results.

Lastly, I am grateful to the Chairman and the Office-bearers of the Reception Committee for their hearty reception to me and for their kind praises on my service to the community and the country, which I hope to be able to deserve. I am also very thankful to my young volunteer friends, the hope of the community, for the zeal and readiness with which they have served me, and for making pleasant and comfortable my brief stay in your midst. I trust that their unselfish devotion to the cause of Muslim education and their spirit of pacrifice will lead to the eventual realisation of their ambitions, when they come to take our place in this conference.

Now, brethren, our deliberations have come, I believe, to a successful close. Though we are nearing the end of the session, we are not nearing the end of our activities. In fact, as each conference closes its session, a new chapter begins and a fresh stimulus is given to our renewed activities. Our work indeed never ceases. But it continues in one unceasing flow from year's end to year's end. As we disperse let it not be said against us that we go to slumber for a year to wake up only at the next conference session. Let it be the endeavour of every delegate to carry out, to the best of his ability, the resolutions of the conference, so that our labours may yield fruit in abundance.

I thank you most warmly, gentlemen, once again for your active co-operation and for all your kindnesses which have enabled me to conduct the proceedings in a smooth and pleasant manner, and for all your efforts to make this conference a great success.

Now, I declare this conference is dissolved.

SECTION FV

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PRESS

Indian Industrial Progress

The tollowing article was published in the July issue (1919) of Commerce and Industries, Madrat:

Food and clothing are the prime necessaries of a people. In a country like India possessing in abundance nature's gifts. the food problem can never present an insuperable difficulty except perhaps in the worst famine years. And yet the food products of foreign countries are imported into this country by an ever increasing number of the decent folk in urban areas, and the contagion seems to spread through rural parts too. Even as a luxury, it is inadvisable that wealthy Indians should encourage the use of foreign foods such as malt or milk foods, preserved or dried fruits and vegetables, preserved meat, tinned fish and animal essences. If needed, these can be preduced within the country itself. Money spent on these oreign luxuries is not merely a waste, but it inflicts an injury upon the indigenous trade.

Again, in the matter of clothing India has been made a helpless dependant upon the foreign manufacturer whose finished products made out of the very raw materials that India supplies plentifully she is obliged to purchase at a higher rate. More than a third of India's toal imports consists of cotton manufactures, with twists and yarns, and raw cotton included. In fact, India's textile industry has long been captured by the foreign exploiter whose free trade policy and peculiar advantage derived from mechanical inventions and the use of up-to-date machinery have driven out the indigenous manufacturer from the trade. Nevertheless, India is still capable of recovering heself, provided the government are generous enough to aid her in her industrial expansion by erecting a wall of preferential tariff over at least the textile fabrics. The subtle ways by which the

industrial domination of India by a foreign country continues to drain India's wealth are far more to be dreaded than her political domination by a foreign power. Hence the need for greater vigilance in preventing the growth of the imports of piece goods. In the matter of both food and clothing, India ought to be self-sufficient and self-contained.

Agriculture forms to-day by far the largest industry in India, and it is carried on very largely by antiquated me hods with poor results. Agriculture alone can never contribute to the sum total of national prosperity. But agriculture and other industries including manufactures of finished products always make a country rich and prosperous. What is required at present in this country is a system of improved agriculture with modern tools and implements and with scientific methods. Where the yield per acre has doubled or nearly trebled itself is the criterion of true agricultural progress. Further, protection of a few select industries guaranteed by the State will enable India to regain her former prestige as a manufacturing country. While free trade may continue to remain, a form of preferential tariff may still be adopted in such cases as cotton manufactures. Notwithstanding State aid and the formidable obstacles of aggressive foreign competition, Bombay mills have been able to compete fairly with the foreign manufacturer. The mill made dhoties such as the Ahamedabad variety were selling in pre-war days as cheap as foreign cloth. With state aid they should be able to oust the foreign manufacturer from the Indian market. It was the selfish policy of the East India Company, as is acknowledged by certain fair-minded English writers themselves, that killed virtually India's indigenous manufactures. Even when the Government of India was transferred in 1857 to the Crown, the country was in such a sad plight that she could not possibly recover the lost ground. Nor has direct British rule embarked upon a policy of industrial expansion. So India has continued to remain for nearly six decades the dumping ground of all foreign exploiters. But fortunately the world war has changed the Englishman's angle of vision, and the present efforts to solve the post-war trade problems within the Empire to the mutual advantage and satisfaction of the members thereof cannot fail to bring India fairly in line with the self-governing Dominions and improve her commercial relations with the rest of the Empire.

What India badly needs to-day is the creation of an industrial spirit, so that capital may not fight shy of enterprise, and labour may not sink into apathy, the initiation of an industrial policy on the part of the State, so that indigenous trade may revive and commercial prosperity may flow in its train, and lastly, the application of science to the promotion of indigenous industries, so that India may compete fairly with the progressive foreign manufacturer. If coal and iron are not to be found in abundance so as to enable India to assume the role of a manufacturing country in modern times. India can vet find industrial salvation in the development of her water power and electricity, not to speak of her mineral resources It is, however, gratifying to learn that H. E. Lord Chelmsford's government have resolved to pursue an industrial policy which, when generously carried out, cannot fail to afford India larger commercial and trading facilities.

The adoption of the valued suggestions contained in the report of the Indian Industrial Commission as soon as the country is restored to normal conditions, the vigorous prosecution of an industrial programme, and the imposition of a kind of preferential tariff within the Empire, at least with regard to certain specified commodities, will surely mark the beginning of India's economic independence which is so closely bound up with her political liberty. While both economic independence and political independence act and react upon each other, each depends upon the other for its very stability. When the new reforms are granted to Indians with real power in so far as the transferred departments of the administration are concerned, the first duty of the Indian representatives ought to lie in the direction of securing for India a sound economic policy so as to ensure her prosperity and material progress.

The future of the Ottoman Empire

The following article appeared in the *Indian Review* (Madras) for September 1919:

The future of the Ottoman Empire is a topic of absorbing interest to Musalmans all over the world. The Turkish peace settlement has not yet been made, and the question of the Turkish settlement is really too delicate to be handled satisfactorily by Indian Musalmans who as loyal subjects of the British Crown have to realise their sense of serious responsibility in the matter. In this instance, our responsibility is two-fold. As British Indian citizens we have little political relation with Turkey or any other foreign power. We may, however, wish well of Turkey and her future. In the next place, our natural sympathies with Turkey arise from teligious considerations. As co-religionists and fellow-members of the great Islamic brotherhood, we stand related to the Caliphate of the Sultan of Turkey. In this sense I share the strong feelings of my co-religionists that the independence and integrity of the Caliphate.should be preserved. It has also to be remembered that the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire as suggested by some of the greedy Allies will probably affect the honour and prestige of the Caliphate. Hence Indian Musalmans with the rest of their co-religionists all over the world are anxious to maintain unimpaired the supreme dignity of the Caliphate. "While we do not challenge," said the British Premier, "the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national The internationalisation and neutralisation of condition." the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is a matter the full significance of which is hardly realised by those Indian Musalmans who desire the restoration to Turkey of all her lost possessions. Further, the restoration of conquered territories, chiefly inhabited by non-Turkish peoples, is a matter which ought to be decided by the Peace Conference. Opinion, however, is divided as to whether

the separate national existence of countries, like Arabia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine is compatible with the Turkish suzerainty over them in Asia Minor and Thrace. While recognising separate governments in these provinces, each of them practically independent in its internal affairs, Turkey can yet retain her suzerainty over all of them.

Since sentiment plays such a large part in the affairs of men that it cannot altogether be ignored, the religious sentiments of the eighty million Musalman subjects within the British Empire, not to speak of the vast millions outside it, ought to count, when the peace delegates conclude their deliberations with regard to the final settlement of the Turkish peace terms in a just and honourable way. I do hope and trust that Great Britain, as the largest Moslem power too in the world, will in the generosity of her international or world policy come to the rescue of Turkey in an evil hour and save her from falling to pieces. The feelings of Indian Musalmans in the matter, I am glad to be able to write, have been duly represented by the Government of India to whom our grateful thanks are due both to the members of the Peace Conference and the authorities in England.

SECTION V

PUBLIC COMMENTS

My Sixth Year in the Imperial Legislative Council

We have received a copy of a pamphlet with the above title, which is a good record of the work done by the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan in the Imperial Council and outside it during the year 1918. In his "Foreword" the Hon'ble gentleman is naturally pleased that the Franchise Committee "have accepted the terms of the Congress League Scheme in regard to the proportion of Muslim representation in the legislative council." While communal problems are no less important than national problems, we are glad to find he also recognises that "communal interests must yield to the larger national interests whenever the latter conflict with the former." These, he says, should be borne in mind when questions and resolutions relating to the uplift of the Muslim community and those of an imperial character are sent up to him for necessary action. The pamphlet contains, among others, his speeches in the council, addresses at the Malabar District Conference and the Begumpore Muslim League anniversary, and press comments on his work. We only wish that the other Hon'bles will follow Mr. Asad Ali Khan's example and publish accounts of their stewardship-United India and Native States (2nd July 1919).

My Sixth Year in the Imperial Legislative Council

(By the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan, Thompson & Co., Madras.)

This is a collection of the speeches and writings of the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan. The book contains all that has been written or spoken by the Hon'ble member during the sixth year of his membership in the Imperial Legislative Council. It shows that the Hon'ble gentleman has done his work to the best of his capacity, and if after all he has not accomplished much, it is only because of the cumbersome bureaucratic machinery which by the mere nature of its con-

stitution delays—the practical realisation of many useful ideals.—The West Coast Spectator (5th July 1919).

Muslim Educational Conference at Poona

In the course of his presidential address at the eighthsession of the Bombay Provincial Muslim Educational Conference held at Poona in November last, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay who opened the Conference, said:

"Let me, on behalf of the Conference, tender my warmest welcome to the Hon'ble Mir Asid Ali Khan who has accepted your invitation to preside over this Conference. Apart from the fact that he is a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, he is an educationist of repute, and he will, I am confident, ably preside over your deliberations. I have studied with great interest the Hon. Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Jaffer's speech, and from this and the presidential address which the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan will read to you this afternoon, you will find clear evidence that the speakers at all events are determined to leave no stone unturned in their efforts to secure improvements in the education of the Muhammadan community."

Muslim Educational Conference

"At the opening to-day, at Poona, of the Bombay Muslim Educational Conference, the Hon'ble Ktan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Bahadur delivered a long and comprehensive presidential address in which he dealt very vigorously with the need for the extension of educational facilities to his community. Extracts from the address will be found in another column, and we think that the champions of Muslim education in Madras will heartily approve the sentiments expressed by the Poona President in respect to what he considers should be the Muslim educational ideal and the method that should be adopted in connection with the religious and moral instruction of Muslims. Another important matter for consideration is that relating to the teachers and the taught. What appears to be a great desideratum is the need for increasing the number of trained men and women teachers in the primary and lower secondary stages of education, and this applies as much to Hindu as

to Muhammadan education. For, as Mr. Mir Asad Ali rightly remarks, in proportion as the number of trained teachers increases, the cause of Muslim—and, for the matter of that, general—education will advance. This sentiment is emphasised by the figures available from the latest All-India returns of education, from which it is gathered that, while the number of trained teachers employed in the primary and middle school departments number 18 and 212, the untrained teachers number 166 and 440 These figures are significant as showing what great need there is for replacing untrained by trained teachers.—Madras Mail (14-11-19).

Moslem Education

"The eighth session of the Bombay Muslim Educational Conference which met at Poona last week was remarkable for the energy and enthusiasm displayed by its delegates and for the presence of representatives of non-Moslems who took a continued interest in its proceedings. The selection of the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan, who has taken a considerable and constructive part in Moslem educational progress in Southern India, was a happy one."—Bombay Chronicle (21-11-19).

Mahomedan Education

A very successful session of the Mahomedan Educational Conference (Bombay) closed at Poona on the 16th November. The detailed report appears elsewhere in this number. The energy and enthusiasm displayed by the delegates was remarkable. The President, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan, was well chosen, as he had taken a considerable and constructive part in Moslem educational progress in Southern India.—The Collegian (November 1919).

Miscellaneous events

At the unveiling ceremony by Mr. C. A. Brackenbury, I. C. S., the Political Agent, of the portraits of the Nawab Sahib, and Mr. and Mrs. J.C. Molony at the Molony Club, Banganapallee (Kurnool District), on the 5th March 1919, Kban Bahadur Dr. Khaja Mahomed Hussain Sahib, President of the Club, thanked the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, on behalf of the members of the Club, for

presenting the oil paintings of the Nawab and of Mr. and Mrs. Molony.

At the annual general meeting of the Mahomedan Educational Association of Southern India held in March last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Jistice Abdur Rahim, the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur was elected as one of the Vice-Presidents of the association.

In March last the prominent non-official India membes of the Imperial Legislative Council headed by the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Kt., Messrs. Surendranath Banerjemian Muhammad Shafi, and V. S. Srinivasa Sastry issued a manifesto against the passive resistance movement of Mr. M. K. Ghandi. The Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Kh.in Bahadur too was one of the signatories to the manifesto which, "while strongly condemning the Rowlatt bills as drastic and unnecessary, disapproved of the passive resistance movement started as a protest against the Rowlatt bills. The signatories further said they dissociated themselves from them in the best interest of the country, especially in view of the reform proposals which are about to be laid before Parliament in the form of a bill.

In April last the deputation of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, headed by its President, the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, waited on Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Wellingdon on their arrival at Madras, and presented them with an address of welcome on behalf of the league.

When the Madras Liberal League was started in April last, the Hon'ble Nawab Asad Ali Khan Bahadur joined it as a member.

When an influentially signed circular was published in September last, suggesting the holding of a conference at Lucknow to discuss the Khilafat question, the burning topic of the hour, the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur was one of the signatories to the circular, as representing the Madras Presidency.

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur had given notice of a question which he desired to put in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the Turkish peace settlement. The question was disallowed by His Excellency the President, as questions affecting the relations of His Majesty's government with a foreign state are not permissible under rule 3 a) of the question rules.

In November last when Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford arrived in Madras they were presented with welcome addresses from public bodies. The Madras Presidency Muslim League, headed by the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, presented an address of welcome on behalf of the Muslim community of South India. After heartily welcoming Their Excellencies and congratulating them on the conclusion of the war, he dwelt upon the Khilakat question, the reform proposals, the Punjab tragedy, the release of Moslem internees and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and other repressive legislation like the Press Act.

APPENDIX

H. E. Lord Chelmsford's reply to the Muslim addresses of welcome on the occasion of his visit to Madras in November 1919:—

The Viceroy's Reply

THE KHALIFATE QUISTION

I am very pleased to meet here the eading representatives of the Mahomedan community of Southern India. The sentiments of that community have been voiced to-day by important associations, viz., the Southern India Islamia League, the Presidency Muslim League, the two Anjumans and the Mahomedan Educational Association of Southern India. I realise to the full and sympathise most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Moslems in India regarding the result of the negotiation of peace with Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are. I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Government and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Moslem representatives were delegates to Paris to attend the Peace Conference, and whatever may be the result of the negotiations—and this must depend on factors which affect other interests than those of India or England-Indian Mosloms may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law, speaking in the House of Commons on November 8rd said that the British Government was aware of the interest of Indian Mahomedans in the future of Turkey and that they would give, as they had already given, full weight and consideration to their views.

The Afghan Peace Treaty

Satisfaction has been expressed at the conclusion of peace with the neighbouring Mahomedan Government of Afghanistan. I share with you the feeling of relief at the termination of hostilities. The quarrel was none of our seeking, and it is a satisfaction that those who attacked us

realised so readily the mistake made by them. Peace has been concluded, and I hope that this will be followed later on by a treaty of real friendship. It would be a cause of genuine satisfaction to us to have a strong, progressive and friendly Government established at Kabul. We have no aspirations or ambitions in that quarter except to live on good terms with our neighbour, and we trust that the young Amir has fully realised the unwisdom of the action which first marked his succession to his greatly revered father, His Majesty Habibula Khan, who was throughout his reign a true and royal friend of the British Government.

Mahomedan Education

You have aluded to my solicitude for Mahomedan education. The Government of India have at various times given substantial proof of their interest in this matter. In April 1918 they addressed the local Governments exhaustively on the subject, and the Government of Madras put forward a list of schemes for the advancement of your education. The Government of India assisted these schemes by giving in the following year a recurring grant for their support and they followed this up with a non-recurring grant in 1915.

I can assure you that the subject is one which, though primarily the care of the local Governments, is watched with unceasing interest by the Government of India. I am glad to hear of the success of the Madrassa-Azam, and I hope that this and similar institutions will remove the complaint, which is not confined to the Musalmans of this Presidency, that they have fallen behind certain other communities in the matter of higher education. Signs have not been wanting during the last fifteen years that the Mahomedan community have fully realised the handicap which this fact has entailed upon them and figures show that they are making up leeway.

MY EIGHTH YEAR

IN THE

Imperial Legislative Council

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INTRODÚCTIÓN

With the publication of this brochure, the eighth of its kind which chronicles my doings in and out of the Imperial Legislative Council, closes a chapter of my political activity under the Morley-Minto scheme of Indian reforms. A new chapter opens under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. If I am successfully returned to the Council of State for which I stand as a candidate on behalf of the Muslim Community of the Madras Presidency, I hope to be able to issue a similar pamphlet annually with a brief statement of my work in and out of the Council.

Morley-Minto Councils

In presenting this pamphlet to my voters in the new constituency I desire to acquaint them with a short resume of my past work in the Indian Legislative Council for two consecutive terms. Under the stringent regulations of the Government of India Act of 1909 no great achievement by non-official (elected) members was possible, even though they had the will to do so. questions or interpellations were permitted to be entertained under certain limits and restrictions. They were more often modified than necessary under the plea of conformity with the rules. The answers to the same were so cleverly framed that they were rather frequently either evasive or insufficient, laconic or unsatisfactory. Our resolutions brought before the Council were merely in the nature of recommendations which the Executive Government were not bound to accept or carry out. Further, the nature and scope of both questions and resolutions were somewhat unduly restricted. Again, certain specific subjects were

altogether excluded from being asked as questions or from being discussed as resolutions. Private bills of the elected nembers, even where they happened to succeed such cases were few and far between-unfortunately underwent many as tage of mutilation before they became law. Some bills seldom saw the light of pubicity and some bills seldom passed the committee stage. Resolutions were more often boycotted by the overwhelming official majority. Some questions as well as resolutions were disallowed under the officially convenient plea that they did not conduce to public safety or interest. Our budget discussions were more of academic than of practical interest. It has, therefore, to be painfully confessed that non-official elected representatives who were practically in the unenviable position of being figure-heads to adorn the council chamber, could do little real work or shape the policy of the Government in matters of legislation or of administration. In these circumstances and under a defective constitution it was hopeless for an earnest worker or conscientious legislator either to achieve any great result or to serve to the full his constituency. Nevertheless the non-official spokesmen were content to do their duty, and they often voiced the feelings, particularly of the educated public on important questions. and the popular view was thus kept before the official mind, so as to open their (bureaucratic) eyes to the pressing need of administrative changes and to the redress of outstanding grievances from time to time.

A brief Summary of my Work

Within this limited sphere of action and under the disadvantages of an anachronistic constitution I tried my best to advance even by slow degrees the cause of the Muslim community and promote the interests of the country. In my endeavours to serve the Muslim community I placed Muhammadan education in the forefront of my council programme. For I was, and am, fully convinced that there could be no communal nor

national progress without educational progress. Questions relating to Muslim education, I am glad to say, have often received a very sympathetic attention from the Government, and often elicited fairly full and satisfactory answers. In May 1913 the Government of India issued a circular to the various local Governments. suggesting therein several methods of improving Muslim education. Since then there has been slow but steady progress in Muhammadan education all over India. Increased grants have been placed at the disposal of local Governments to meet the special and growing needs of the Muslim community. During 1914-15 a recurring imperial grant of Rs. 30,000 was made towards the expansion of Muhammadan education in Madras. In the same year the proportion of Muslim pupils at schools to those of a school-going age in the Madras Presidency was 42.4 per cent. Much more yet remains to be done. Perhaps, the new councils with education as a transferred subject under the control of an Indian Minister, will afford far greater opportunities for extended service in this direction.

The next topic of great interest to Musalmans, is or ought to be, the question of their separate and adequate representation through separate electorates in the councils of the Empire. As a result of the successful agitation on this question, the Congress-League compact allowed fair and due representation to the Muslim Community in their suggested scheme of constitutional reforms. It is gratifying to note that increased representation in the new councils and chambers has been given to the Muslim community. But it is to be regretted that Musalmans have not yet been given separate representation in local bodies such as metropolitan corporations and mofussil municipalities as well as District and Taluk Boards. Unless and until Muhammadans secure their right of representation through separate electorates in these local bodies, the Muslim agitation for communal representation must continue, and renewed efforts

should be made in the newly reformed councils about to come into existence to achieve their desired object. The adequate representation of Muhammadans in the public services and the governing bodies of Indian Universities. the higher appointment of Musalmans, the formation of Conciliation Boards or Advisory Committees to enquire into and settle amicably Hindu-Muslim disputes and thus avert occasional riots in different parts of the country, the Muslim Charitable and Religious Endowments, the support of the Wakf Bill, the Hedjaz question, the care of Muhammadan orphanages, the Muslim public holidays (there are now four holidays in Madras instead of one in 1913), the liberty of the Muslim press, the release of the Muslim internees during the war, and the cause of Muhammadan progress in general were among the principal items of my work for the community. Besides serving the Muslim community; I tried to and did work for the country of our adoption. Among the subjects dealt with may be mentioned the repeal or amendment of the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act and such other legislative enactments, the ecomonic improvement of the people. the regulation of growing food prices, the control of food stuffs through export and import, the industrial advancement of the country, the revision of the pay of low paid clerks in Government service, particularly in the postal department, the training of Indian youths in munition factories, the establishment of military training colleges, the larger representation of the Indian element in the Indian Volunteer Force, the raising of deserving Indians to the commissioned ranks in the Indian army. representation of cantonment stations in the Imperial Council, the construction of new Delhi, the redress of the numerous grievances of the third class passengers on Indian railways, the improvement of train services on the main lines, the provision of waiting accommodation to gosha ladies at important railway stations, the abnormal expenditure on the police and C.L. D. establishments, the temperance reform and excise

administration, the Indian States and Public Services examinations, the status and position of Indians in the colonies, and the question of constitutional reforms. In my budget speeches I pleaded both for reform and retrenchment, and suggested the revision and enhancement of tariff rates in order to augment the public revenue In March 1916 I moved a resolution of considerable public interest, re the investigation of the ancient and indigenous systems of medicine such as the Ayurvedia and Unani systems. The resolution which was for tunately accepted by the Indian Legislative Council, required the Government to investigate the possibility of placing these systems on a scientific basis. It was heartily supported not only by ten of my non-official colleagues but by the late Hon'ble Surgeon General Sir Pardey Lukis whose practical sympathies with the eastern systems of medicine were only too wellknown. In a Statement presented to the council in September 1918 the Government gave a brief summary of the views of local Governments on the subject of my resolution. It is highly disappointing to learn that local Governments have failed to approach the question with practical sympathy and they stated that it was practically impossible to place these systems of medicine on a spientific basis. They were, however, good enough at least to acknowledge that research was fruitful along the line of scientific investigation of the properties of indigenous drugs. While some local Governments made an attempt in this direction, it had to be postponed for want of scientific experts during the war. In February 1919 the Government of India in answer to my question stated that the Government of Bombay accepted a resolution moved in their Legislative Council for the appointment of a committee to go into the question and recommend the steps to be taken to start a pharmacological laboratory or research institute in medicine at a suitable centre in the Presidency for scientific experiment with and research into indigenous drugs. It is to be boped that this question which has, however, not met with encouragement at the hands of the Government of Madras, will be taken up in all earnestness by the elected representatives in the newly reformed councils.

The War

The most absorbing topic of interest during the past four years was the war. It is hardly necessary for me to write here of India's magnificent response in men. money and material to Britain's appeal and the Empire's call to duty, and of England's high appreciation of India's loval offers in a variety of ways. The war happily ended. though its after-effects are still keenly felt all over the world. The world unrest to-day is largely due to the economic distress brought about by the war. However. the nations of the civilised world are looking forward to more peaceful times and better conditions of existence. The dreadful events of the war, the greatest the world has ever witnessed, are now matters of history. But the lessons of the war are still of great interest, and they cannot fail to influence the international policy of the civilised globe. Of these lessons the most important ones are (1) that Righteousness exalteth a nation: (2) that sacrifice-willing and ready sacrifice-always wins: (3) that Freedom's battle is never lost; (4) that Right is might; and (5) that Truth, Honour and Justice triumph in the long run. The war has put an end to military aggressiveness, the foe of humanity, and brute force was completely subjugated by moral force. If these valuable lessons are borne in mind and translated into actual practice, the nations of the world can vet continue to live in peace and harmony. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity will reign supreme as the foundation stone of civilisation and culture. If England that has fought for liberty-for the liberty of small nationalities-remains true to her honourable traditions, she will long continue to be the most powerful friend of humanity.

The Reforms

It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge that the first move towards new reforms was made, and that a brief sketch of the constitutional changes India needed was embodied in a Memorandum submitted to H. E. the Viceroy. I was one of the nineteen (non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council) who drew up and signed the Memorandum. That memorable document contained the germs of the new reforms under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Though it is true that India has not been granted even a modicum of Responsible Government, the first bold step has been taken in the direction of Responsible Government for India as an integral part of the British Empire. Several important constitutional changes have been made along the path of responsible self-government. The institution of two chambers of Indian legislature—the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly, the enlargement of Legislative Councils with large elected majorities and with wide powers and increased functions, the liberal extension of franchise to large numbers of Indians, the administration of transferred subjects by Indian ministers with fairly independent powers, the increased opportunities for discussing the budget and voting on it, the greater autonomy of provincial governments, the placing of the salary of the Secretary of State for India on the British estimate to be voted for by Parliament, the relaxation of the Secretary of State's control over the Indian and provincial administrations, the appointment of a High Commissioner for India and of a Public Service Commission and the statutory provision for a periodical Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the working of the British administration in India generally and into the working of the constitutional changes particularly in order to suggest from time to time necessary reforms in the Indian constitution—these are indeed vast changes of no little moment and their far-reaching consequences upon the future political development of India cannot be

denied. With these remarkable changes the new chambers and councils will soon be ushered into existence; and Indian politicians and publicists will have far more opportunities under the new Act to make their voices heard and their influence felt, and effectively devote their labours to the service of the people.

The Non-Co-operation Trio

The Punjab Tragedy, the Khilafat movement and the Non-Co-operation programme form the three burning topics of the hour. While the Punjab incident is perhaps the greatest administrative folly within recent vears, the deliberate attempt to lower the prestige of the Khilafat is one of the worst political follies committed by European nations in the name of peace and honour. Hence the birth of the non-co-operation movement. As for the Punjab tragedy no sufficient reparation has yet been made for the many acts of kross injustice and of truelty perpetrated upon a defenceless and innecent mob-The master wrong doers of the tragedy have been either allowed to go scottfree or not adequately punished for their atrocious deeds. Hence the loud-crying wrongs of the Punjab still remain unredressed-a stain on the fair name of the British Indian administration. With regard to the Khilafat both Britain and Europe have allowed their reputation to be tarnished. The British Premier's plighted word was really cast to the winds, and the Allied Powers conjointly helped to weaken considerably the only first rate Muslim Power in the world. Though Turkey might have accepted the peace terms and though a section of Muhammadans might have acquiesced in the inevitable, the feeling is still running high in the breast of every devout Musalman who hopes to see the honour and dignity of the Khilafat soon restored. To combine the Punjab tragedy with the Khilafat question and agitate under the menacing banner of non-co-operation for righting the wrongs done is the pastime of the Ghandi school of politicians. White I am

inclined to admit that non-co-operation is a working principle, both legitimate and constitutional, and believe that it is the only effective weapon in the hands of a weak and oppressed people, I am not prepared to go with Mr. M. K. Ghandi for whom I entertain great respect and cherish high admiration in the immediate adoption of his elaborate programme. If the programme is to be directed against the new reforms, no strong justification exists for its adoption. For the country ought to feel satisfied at the great constitutional changes made under the new Act. If it is directed against the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy for the Khilafat wrongs, it is surely as unnecessary as it is uncharitable. For the Indian Government have done their best to represent the volume and strength of Muslim feeling in the matter to the authorities in England and to the Imperial Peace Conference through the Secretary of State for India. If it is directed against the Government for the Punjab wrongs, there may be a little justification. But the doings of exceptional times ought to be judged by a different standard than is usually employed in normal times. Further, there is no need for such an elaborate programme which practically exhausts all the resources of the non-co-operators, so that they will be left quite resourceless on future occasions. In view of the great constitutional changes about to be introduced into this country, changes which may be given a fair and honest trial by all sections of Indian politicians, it seems to me highly undesirable that the non-co-operation programme should be urged at this stage of the country's progress and at this time of world-unrest. Should, however. occasion arise-may God forbid it !-- for the adoption of such a programme by reason of exceptional circumstances and calamitous political follies of the first magnitude, I will not hesitate to advise the adaption of the non-co-operation programme. As a matter of fact. non-co-operation in varying degrees and in varying stages is being practised in many spheres of dife

both by individuals and by communities. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy in India is perhaps the most powerful non-co-operator we have seen. For, whenever they choose, they effectively practise non-coperation in Legislative Councils by withdrawing their support to popular measures. Similarly in administrative matters too they do non-co-operate not infrequently with the popular forces. When His Excellency Lord Chelmsford describes Mr. Ghandhi's scheme as a most foolish and mischievous scheme. I take it as an eloquent testimony borne by the highest official authority in the land to the inherent power and efficacy of the nonco-operation movement. Where I differ with non-co-operationists is in point of time and of justification. as I am able to see, it is neither expedient nor advisable that the non-co-operation programme should now be adopted. Unless by peaceful means we prepare the ground for more effective action in the years to come, we are not, by adopting this programme, likely to benefit either our countrymen or humanity.

H. E. Lord Chelmsford

With the inauguration of the newly reformed councils His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's tenure of office will be drawing to its close. At the end of my first term of membership in the council. I made a brief reference to Lord Hardinge, our ex-Viceroy and his administration. I feel, therefore, bound to refer to the present Viceroy and his administration. Of late His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has come in for a large share of public criticism. Unlike Lord Hardinge who was a master in diplomacy, Lord Chelmsford is an open-minded and straightforward nobleman. As he outlined in his very first speech on landing the shores of Bombay, he has been following the liberal policy of his predecessor, though to his misfortune the Punjab tragedy was perhaps the blackest spot in his eventful administration. In judging of his career and administration in India, two things should be taken into consideration, namely, the period during which he has been Viceroy and the condition of India during this time. While Lord Hardinge paved the way, to some extent, for his successor to face the war situation, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford had to bear along with great mental strain the tremendous responsibility of viceroyalty during the period of the greatest war of modern times. Whether in relation to the war and its heavy responsibilities or to the post-war reforms with its hopes and fears, whether in relation to external or internal matters, His Excellency's position might better be imagined than described. A full appreciation of the crttical situation in which his Lordship was placed during years of painful anxiety and ceaseless trouble can prevent much uncharitable criticism levelled against his head. Nevertheless he cannot escape his responsibility in the handling of the Punjab situation. That his Lordship has erred, and gievously erred, in not vindicating the honor of the Punjab every fair-minded critic of his Lordship's administration will admit. Nor can I forget, in this connection, the responsibility of Mr. Ghandi and other leaders for the Punjab occurrences. Had His Excellency shown greater practical sympathy with the Punjab sufferers and greater firmness of action in dealing with the Punjab officials, he would have been acclaimed a more popular Viceroy than his predecessor. The selection of Indian representatives to serve on the Imperial War Conference in London on the International Conference of Labour at Washington, U.S., and on the League of Nations in Europe, the appointment of the first Indian Governor (Lord Sinha who was also the first Indian Under Secretary of State for India and first Indian to sit in the House of Lords), and the appointment of three Indians to the Vicerov's Executive Council, the strenuous advocacy of the cause of Indians abroad as in South Africa, British East Africa, Fiji Islands and Ceylon, the shaping of Indian reforms, the successful initiation of an industrial policy and the pleading of the Muslim

cause in the matter of the Khilafat before the British Government at Home, all these reflect no little credit upon His Excellency Lord Chemisford who has in these and other ways rendered great service to India and the Empire during exceptional years. If Lord Hardinge's administration was greatly occupied by great educational and sanitary schemes, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's administration was more or less fully occupied by momentous schemes of preparation to meet the war exigencies, the new reform scheme of great constitutional changes, and the inauguration of a large industrial programme. It may justly be said that His Excellency has truly laid the foundations of India's industrial development. On the whole His Excellency's administration has proved itself beneficial to the country.

Conclusion

Outside the Council my public work for the community was confined to the Madras Presidency Muslim League, of which I was President until recently when I was obliged to resign my office on account of the changed policy of the League, and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, and other similar institutions. I had also the proud privilege of presiding over the Poona session of the Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference that was opened by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay. As an Indian I was called upon to fill the onerous task of presiding over the Cuddapah District Conference at Rajampet and the Malabar District Conference at Tellicherry. In my visits to the Southern districts I was the recipient of numerous acts of kindness at the hands of both Hindu and Muslim brethren. I showed practical sympathy with all progressive movements in India, and in my own way, worked for the advancement of Indian national interests.

Let me now conclude this lengthy introduction in the pregnant words of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford (in the course of his opening speech to the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla in September 1919):

"We have come through five terrible years, years full of trouble, years such as the author of Christian Litany might well have had in mind when he wrote. From plague, pestilence and famine; from battle and murder, and sudden death; good Lord! deliver us. We have come through them however successfully, and the new era of peace has opened for us auspiciously. With the renewal of peace nature is giving us the promise of plenty. The ravaged world will look to us, who have escaped unscathed, for the material with which to rebuild itself.

"Let us then grasp our opportunities with both hands. We can of course spend our time in futile wrangling over the past. We can, if we are unwise, throw away these opportunities by fanning racial bitterness. I hope, however, we shall do none of these things. But let us rather, leaving those things which are behind, reach forward to those things which are before in the sure and certain confidence that success will crown our efforts, if they are devoted with a single eye to our country's good."

MADRAS, 25th November 1920.

MIR ASAD ALI.





THE HON'BLE MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR

In the Imperial Legislative Council

SECTION I

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The following questions were put by the Honourable Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur during the sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, and the following answers were elicited from the Government.

(Delhi, 8th March 1920)

Simla Exodus

- 1. Will Government state for each of the last ten years the expenditure on their exodus to Simla under the following heads:
 - (a) Travelling allowances to officers and clerks;
 - (b) Special Simla allowances to them, such as house or rent allowances and any other allowances;
 - (c) Expenditure on account of the carriage by railway of Government materials, including Government records, books, stationery, furniture and sundries;
 - (d) Expenses of Legislative sessions, including all the allowances to members of the Council, Executive and Legislative, and the additional cost of the Legislative establishment at Simla; and
 - (e) Miscellaneous expenses, covering altogether expenses not ordinarily incurred at Delhi during the stay of the Government there?

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied:-

The information required by the Hon'ble member is being collected, and when it is received a Statement will be laid on the table. (Vide Statement No. 1)

Number of Hindu and Mohammedan Guards Employed in various Railways

- 2. (a) Is it a fact that on all the principal railways in India Indians are not generally employed as guards in Mail and Passenger Trains?
 - (b) Will Government lay on the table a Statement showing for each of the last ten years the number of Hindus and Mohammedans employed as (i) guards in charge of Mail and Passenger trains, and (ii) District officers, on private and State railways, respectively?

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :-

- (a) Indians are employed as guards on Mail and Passenger trains to the full extent to which men of suitable qualification can be obtained, and the proportion is increasing.
- (b) The labour involved in obtaining the information asked for by the Hon'ble member is very great, and the Statement would take a considerable time to compile. In the opinion of Government the result would not justify the expenditure of clerical time which the collection of the figures would necessarily involve.

Liquor Shops in the Punjab

- 3. (a) Is it a fact that the period for which liquorshops are auctioned has been extended to three years in certain districts in the Punjab, and if so, what led to this change?
 - (b) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of substituting the fixed fee system for three years for the auction system in those districts as an experimental measure?

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied:-

(a) The Government of India have no information on the point.

(b) The Hon'ble Member is referred to the Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the year 1917-18, from which he will see that a return to the fixed fee system is not considered advisable by the Government of the Punjab. The proper place for the question asked by the Hon'ble Member is the local Legislative Council, and the Government of India do not propose to take any action in the matter.

(Delhi, 11th March, 1920)

Number of Mussalmans employed as Judges in various Courts

4. Will Government state for each province the number of Mussalmans employed as (a) Judges of (i) High Courts, (ii) Courts of Small Causes, (ii) Chief Courts; (b) District and Sessions Judges, and (c) Subordinate Judges?

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :-

I lay on the table a Statement giving the information desired. (Vide Statement No. 2)

Rice in the Madras Presidency

- 5. Will Government lay on the table a Statement for each of the last ten years showing—
 - (a) the total quantity of rice exported from and imported into the Madras Presidency;
 - (b) the retail rates of the different quantities of rice in each quarter of a year; and
 - (c) the total consumption of rice in each district of the Presidency?

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied :-

(a) A Statement is laid on the table giving the information required for the ten years ending 1917-18, the latest year for which full figures can at present be obtained. (b) and (c) The information asked for is not available. (Vide Statement No. 3)

Electrical Treatment of Seeds

- 6. Will Government state:-
 - (a) whether they are aware of the process of the electrical treatment of seeds?
 - (b) Whether it has been tried in India and with what result? and
 - (c) Whether they propose to consider measures for the introduction of extension of the process?"

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied :-

The answer to (a) is in the affirmative and to (b) in the negative. As regards (c), the Wolfram process to which the Hon'ble Member presumably refers has failed to give the results claimed for it, when tested at the experimental stations of Rothamsted and Wye in England. It is, therefore, premature to consider measures for its introduction.

Government Excise Policy

- 7. Will Government state :-
 - (a) whether their present abkari policy aims at the diminution in the consumption of liquor?
 - (b) whether the high duty policy has succeeded in checking consumption, and if so, whether a Statement can be furnished showing the effect of the increase of revenue upon consumption during the last ten years? and
 - (c) whether it is the policy of Government to encourage abstinence?

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :-

(a) and (c) The Government of India have not deviated from the policy outlined in the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy published along with papers relating to Excise Administration in India, 1914, and issued as a Supplement to the Gazette of India, dated the 13th

March 1915. From His Excellency's speech it will be observed that the settled policy of the Government of India has been that of securing maximum-taxation with a minimum of consumption, and the chief means adopted for the prevention of any undue expansion of consumption has been a steady and judicious raising of the duties on all classes of intoxicants accompanied by a reduction in the facilities for obtaining them. This policy is still being kept steadily in view.

(b) A Statement is placed on the table giving the figures for the consumption of country liquor and the gross revenue derived from this source during the ten years 1909-1910 to 1918-19. The Hon'ble Member may perhaps be able to draw his own conclusions from these figures. (Vide Statement No. 4)

(Delhi, 17th March, 1920)

Agricultural Schools and Colleges

- 8 Will Government state for each Province
 - (a the number of agricultural colleges, agricultural schools, technical or commercial schools and agricultural and technical schools; and
 - (b) the annual expenditure incurred on each of the above institutions?

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied :-

A Statement is laid on the table giving the information required so far as it is available in respect of the last financial year. (Vide Statement No. 5)

Purchase of Rice in the Madras Presidency

9. Will Government state for each of the last six years the quantity of rice purchased for military or other Government purposes in the Madras Presidency?

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied :-

I lay on the table a Statement showing the purchases for military purposes, so far as details are available. The Government of India have no information of any purchases for other Government purposes. (Vide Statement No.6)

, (Delhi, 22nd March, 1920)

Separate Waiting Rooms for Purdah Ladies at Bangalore Station

10. Has any representation been made to the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway authorities as regards the provision of a separate waiting room for purdah ladies at Bangalore station, and, if so, what action was taken by the authorities in the matter?

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :-

The Agent, Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, reports that no such representation has been made, but that separate waiting rooms exist for first and second class lady passengers, and may be used by purdah ladies travelling first and second class.

(Simla, 31st August, 1920)

India and the League of Nations

- 11. (a) Did Government make any representation to the Council of the League of Nations on the subject of India's representation on the governing bodies of the International Labour Office?
 - (b) If so, what is the result of their representation?

The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Holland replied:—

(a) As mentioned by His Excellency in his opening address, the Government of India has claimed that India should be included among the eight States of chief industrial importance, and as such should be entitled to a separate seat on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

(b) We have been informed that the claim will be brought before the Council of the League of Nations at the earliest practicable date.

(Simla, 2nd September, 1920) Foodstuffs

- 12. (a) Are Government aware of the economic distress of the middle classes of the Indian population, especially those with fixed incomes, on account of the high food prices?
 - (b) Do Government contemplate any proposal to restrict, if not altogether to prohibit, the export from India of surplus grains such as wheat and rice, until their prices in India appreciably go down?
 - (c) Do Government propose to enact immediate measures to fix the maximum prices of foodstuffs with a view to check profiteering?

The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma replied :-

- (a) Government are aware that some hardship exists on account of high prices of foodstuffs, but the rise in food prices in India is far less than in many other countries and is to some extent compensated for by an increase in wages.
- (b) The export of all foodgrains from India, including wheat and rice, is already prohibited, and only small rations are allowed to be exported to places, mostly with large Indian populations, which are dependent on India for their maintenance.
- (c) The reply is in the negative.

(Simla, 8th September, 1920)

Extension of Railway Line from Wanaparti Road to Kurnool

13. (a) Have the Nizam's Government applied for sanction for the extension of the metre guage

- tailway line from Wanaparti Road to Kurnool?
- (b) If the answer is in the negative, do Government contemplate drawing the attention of the Durbar to the question of its early completion?

The Hon'ble Colonel W. D. Waghorn replied :-

- (a) The section from Wanaparti Road to Gadwal has already been sanctioned as part of the Secunderabad Gadwal Railway, and His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have applied for sanction to its extension from Gadwal to Kurnool.
- (b) The proposed extension is under consideration.

Construction of Railway Line From Warangal to Balharsha

- 14. (a) Is a broad guage railway under construction from Warangal to Balharsha? If so, will Government state when it will be opened for traffic?
 - (b) If the answer to (a) is in the negative, do Government contemplate asking the Durbar concerned to take the work in hand at an early date?

The Hon'ble Colonel W. D. Waghorn replied :-

- (a) The reply is in the negative.
- (b) Proposals have been received from His Exalted
 Highness the Nizam's Government for the
 construction of this line of railway and are
 under consideration.

Charges by steam-ship companies who convey pilgrims to the Hedjaz

15. (a) Is it a fact that the steam-ship companies which ordinarily convey pilgrims from India to the Hedjaz have this year charged such high

passage rates as to deter many pilgrims from undertaking the Hai?

(h) If sa, have Government taken any steps to meet this state of affairs and ameliorate the conditions under which the Haj is undertaken?

The Hon'ble Mr. M. M. Shaft replied :-

- (a) It is a fact that steam-ship companies can now ohtain such high freights for cargoes that they insist upon higher rates for pilgrim tickets to and from the Hedjaz than formerly, alleging that otherwise it would pay them better to confine their attention to cargoes which would not necessarily be conveyed from the ports whence the pilgrims are accustomed to start. It is not known whether this had deterred intending pilgrims from undertaking the Haj. But, to judge from the large number of pilgrims who have sailed from Indian ports to Jeddah, it appears to be improbable that any large number have been so deterred. Reports to hand show that some 22,000 have this year sailed from Indian ports, as against some 12,000 last year. These figures include a certain number of non-Indian pilgrims, who travel to Jeddah vja India.
- (b) Last year, in view of the high rates which were probably in excess of what the poorer pilgrims could pay, Government defrayed a portion of the passage money of pilgrims to the Hedjaz, so as to bring the rates to their pre-war level. This action of Government was highly appreciated in the Muhammadan press and, it is believed, afforded great relief. This year similar difficulties were not apprehended. But, in the course of the pilgrim season, the principal steam-ship company insisted on raising its rates, the alternative

being the discontinuance of pilgrim traffic. Although Government considered this action on the part of the Company difficult to justify, the predicament was so serious for the large number of pilgrims who had already started on the journey, that they decided to give a concession somewhat similar to that given last year. It is expected that this concession will cost about 4 lakhs of rupees.

Moreover, in view of the paucity of shipping, Government obtained the release of a vessel which was being used by the Admiralty as a transport. Government has also despatched to Jeddah a large field-hospital under Captain Ahmed, for the convenience of pilgrims who are British subjects. The cost will be borne mainly by the Government of India. But the Governments of other British territories which send pilgrims are expected to contribute, and one has already agreed to do so to an extent proportionate to the number of its pilgrims. Government are also prepared within reasonable limit to assist the repatriation of any Indian Pilgrims stranded at Jeddah.

Government Purchase of Sugar

16. Is it a fact that Government are purchasing sugar on a large scale from the refineries in India? If so, will Government state whether the object of the purchase is for exporting to other countries or for controlling the present high prices or for any other purpose?

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :-

The military authorities are in the ordinary course purchasing a certain amount of sugar from refineries in India to meet the requirements of troops in this country and in Mesopotamia. No purchases are being made by Government for any other purpose,

STATEMENT No. 1

Expenditure due to Simla Exodus and sessions of Legislative and Excoutive Councils from 1909-10 to 1918-19
Hill Journey Allowances

(Sub-heads (a) and (b) of question)

Iajor and Minor Heads.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12,	1912-15	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916 -1 7.	1917-18.	1918-19.	Total.
8-General Adminis-		·		<u> </u>		'					
tration. Staff and house-hold of Gover-											
note-General	14,325	14,840	9.983	17.025	12,575	13,771	10,998	15.138	18,536	11,480	1,38,671
ivil Secretariats	5,00,613		3,13,157			2,06,956	2,06,717		2,40,756	2,44,897	25,64,708
lilitary Secretariat	81,308	40,439	30,426	23,854	29,656	81.819	33.190	88,550	41,526	38,268	3,88,902
ublic Works Secreta-	53,446	46,995	19,768	18,863	19,531	21,705	21,708	21,874	22,100	14,957	2,60,947
Total	6.49.692	4.12.547	3.73.894	2.00.626	2.42.614	2.74.251	2,72,613	2 95 024	8.99.920	0,09,002	09,59,900
	-,,,	-,,,		Hill Jour			, - , ,-,,-,	_,00,000		•	
				ads (c) ar							
aff and house-hold of	1	ı 1					1	1	1	1	
Governor-General	51,628				20.034	00.000	***	•~	664		1,20,087
ivil Secretariat	43,179 7,665				20,620 3,376	26,022 4 786				37,576 5,480	
(ilitary Secretariat ublic Works Secreta-	1,000	0,010	4,468	0,101	0,010	4 100	5,579	9,519	6,491	9,400	03,00
riat	2,952	2,249	4,020	166	535	798	838	1,398	865	1,490	15,311
Total	1.05,424	1,22,108	53,735	29,739	24,531	31,606	80,913	41,002	33,629	45,725	5,16,05

Note:—As the items of expenditure mentioned in the Hon'ble Member's question do not agree with account heads and as the vouchers and registers for certain periods have been destroyed under rules, it has not been possible to collectionate figures. The Statement above gives approximately the information required under sub-heads (a) (b) (c) and (e) of the question. As regards (d) no information is available, but it may be assumed that the cost of the Legislative Session at Simla does not greatly exceed the cost which would be incurred, if the Session were held at Delhi instead.

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STATEMENT No. 2.

Statement showing the number of Musalmans employed in the several provinces as Judges of High Courts, Chief Courts, and Courts of Small Causes, District and Sessions Ludges and Subordinate Judges.

				J.uu	ges. unu	Succrama	e T mages	•	
Provides. High Court			Chief	Small Causes.	District and Bessions Judges.	nate Judger	Remarks.		
Bombay (in	 cluding Sir	ıd) .	1 1 1		1 2	 9	1 7 1	One of these is at present temporary. One of these is an Additional District and Sessions Judge.	
United Pro	vinces		1		•••	. g.	ı	Two of these are Officiating as Sessions and Subordinate Judges.	15
Punjab			1.		***	8	19	Additional Judge.	
Burma	orter Contraction	***		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	****	***	7501	Officiating Judge	
Bibae and	Orissa.	.444		"	***	•••	7(a)	(a): Including 1 S.F.T. and 3 Officiating officers.	
Central Pro	vinees:	.		•••			3	l	
Assam	•••	1000			1(6)	ic)	1(d)	(b) Extra Assistant Commissioner exercising Small Cause Court powers. (c) Holding Appointments of Legal Remembrancer. (d) Temporary.	
Coorg				-	-		} 	} `` •	
Dalhi	***	~~			***		9 8	1	
North-Wee	t Frontier	Province	•••	· •••	8	•••	8'		

STATEMENT No. 3

Slatement showing exports from and imports into the Madras Presidency of cleaned rice during each of the ten years 1908-09 to 1917-18,

	Per	ied.		Exporte from Madras Presi- dency.	Imports into Madras Presi- dency	
				TONS.	TONS.	
90-80 0	•••	•••	•••	466,656	502,924	
1909-10	***	•••		435,043	788,459	
910-11	•••	•••	•••	433,960	469.172	
1911-12	•••	•	•••	469.961	509,796	
1919-13		•••		439,189	560.849	
1918-14		6		549,369	588,998	
1914-15	•••	444		585,941	563,946	
1915-16				805,553	677,262	
1916-17		•••		606,978	559.449	
1917 18		•••	•••	670,791	582. 377	

Norm.—The above figures represent exports and imports by sea to and from threign countries, by sea to and from other Indian ports, and by rail to and from other Provinces.

The figures of rice in the husk have been converted into cleaned lice in the ratio of 7 to 8.

STATEMENT No. 4

Statement showing the consumption of country spirits in India and gross excise revenue during the ten years 1969—1910 to 1918—1919.

	Year.		Consumption Gallons (London Proof).	Ravênue.
1909-1910			78,36,684	4,46,51,000
1910-1911	••	•••	92 78 080	5,99,75,000
1911-1912	••		97,37,672	5,68,53,000
1912-1913	•••	•••	1,02,39,357	6,19,67,000
1918-1914	••	***	83,51,909	6,11,59,983
1914-1915	•••	••	87,85,619	6,58,00,496
1916-1916	••		85,85,494	6,85,80,941
1916- 1 917	••		95,41,266	6,96,47,359
1919-1918	•	.8.	98,77,219	7,68,43,157
1918-1919	•••	.1.	99,81,771	7,68,24,269

STATEMENT No. 5

Statement showing the number of (i) Technical and Industrial Schools, (ii) Commercial Schools, and (iii) Agricultural Colleges and Schools in the various Provinces in India and the expenditure incurred on their account during the year 1918-19.

Province.	Numbe Schoo		Number o		Coll	<u> </u>	50	bools.
			Number o	-			<u> </u>	
		į.	Schools.	Expenditure.	Number.	Expendi- ture.	Number	Expendi-
Madras Bombay Bengal United Provinces Bunpab Bihar and Orissa Gentral Provinces Assam Other Administrations India (Imperial)	36 28 28 25 6 6 41 11	4,94,265 8,69,681 9,97,848 1,14,991 9,322 98,011 67,033 10,645 13,878 	9 43 90 1 7 5	15,984 88,488 55,964 13,161 19,542 6,187 813	1 1 1 1 1 1 	98,500 1,03,000 1,63,593 72,800 98,000 52,500 6,62,130	5 	22,000 1 1,400

[•] Includes 233,920 for the Office of the Agricultural Advisor and Director of the Agricultural Institute and College, Pusa, N.B.—There are also one Government Commercial College in Bombay with an expenditure of Rs. 81,545 and two Aided minercial Colleges in the United Provinces with an expenditure of Rs. 12,036.

15

STATEMENT No. 6

Statement showing purchases of rice in the Madras Presidency for military purposes.

					TONE.
1914.15		•••	•••	•••	22
1915-16	••	•••	•••		76
1916-17	•••	•••	***	•••	155
1 918 .	•••	•••	•••	•••	60
1919		•••	•••	•••	Nil



SECTION II

SPEECHES DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(30th January, 1920)

His Majesty's Proclamation on Indian Reforms

My Lord,—I have much pleasure in associating myself with those who support the Resolution which is before the Council. In doing so, I may be permitted to say that the King-Emperor's Proclamation has been cordially received by the Indian communities of all shades of opinion. We are deeply grateful to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor for the Royal Proclamation, and this Proclamation is, in my opinion, largely due to your Excellency's initiative in the matter of Indian reforms. I think, my Lord, it is my duty to support the Resolution both on my own behalf and on behalf of my community, and I, therefore, tender our sincere and loyal devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. As far as I know, the Mahommedans of the Madras Presidency are quite satisfied with this Act, and they hope the Madras Government will have due regard to the safeguarding of their interests.

(18th February, 1920)

Resolution re. the Location of the Government of India Head-Quarters

. Sir,—The resolution moved by my Honourable colleague implies more than what appears on the surface of it. Even as it appears, its meaning is not quite clear. Divested of its new garb, it is virtually a resolution against the exodus of the Government to the hills. It is evidently an old friend with a new face. As it stands, the resolution asks for two things, first, for the permanent location in one place of the head-quarters of the Government of India, and secondly, for the

selection of a suitable centre for the purpose The significant. shall I say purposeful, use of the word " headquarters" instead of the word "capital" is worthy of a clever lawyer. As we are all well aware, Delhi, the modern capital of the Indian Empire, is the permanent headquarters of the Government, while Simla, the beautiful hill city, is the temporary headquarters of the Heads of administrations with their respective staffs. So Delhi satisfies the terms of the resolution. and the resolution seems to me quite superfluous. resolution aims at the abandonment of Simla as the summer headquarters, opinion is divided even among the non-official members of the Council as to the desirability of the proposal. While it is both desirable and necessary that the headquarters should remain much longer at Delhi and that the Simla official season should be shortened along with a considerable curtailment of the exodus expenditure, it is neither advisable nor expedient that the exodus to Simla should altogether cease. The objection to the exodus, it appears to me, is more often sentimental than rational. When exceptional circumstances require it, the exodus may temporarily cease at any time.

If the resolution, Sir, contemplates a change of capital from Delhi, may I venture to ask what becomes of, the sanctity of the Royal word in honour and praise of which a loyal resolution was passed unanimously in the Council on the opening day? Was it not after deep deliberation and thoughtful consideration that Delhi was chosen as the new headquarters of the Government of India? For sufficiently good reasons the ancient Indraprastha of the Hindus and the old court of the Moghuls was selected as the prime seat of the British Indian administration. To my mind new Delhi stands as the symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. If, however, my Honourable friend desires a change from Delhi on orthodox grounds, I may be permitted to assure him that modern courts are guided by practial politicians and scientific experts, and not by time serving priests and opportune astrologers. Again, is it reasonable to abandon Delhi, after spending about five and a half crores of the taxpayers' money, more than half

the sanctioned total estimate for the new capital? Is there a more suitable centre in Northern India than Delhi whence the frontier policy of the Indian Government can successfully be carried out? Even for political and military or stratagic reasons, an imperial city like Delhi is better fitted to be the seat of the central Government.

Further, none of the provincial capitals can vie with Delhi in historic greatness or political importance. If it is, however, suggested that a new centre should be chosen as the headquarters, it means the re-construction of a new capital on a modern scale, which the present financial condition of India can scarcely allow. Moreover, the re-building of a new headquarters away from Delhi means in one sense the putting off for yet another generation of the political progress of the country. And a frequent change of capital is in itself highly objectionable. For good or evil, I do hope it is for good, the seat of the Supreme Government has come to stay at Delhi, and let us all endeavour to make Delhi the worthy capital of the British Indian Empire. For these and other reasons it is out of the question now to think of the change of headquarters from Delhi.

Even after listening to the various speeches of my Honourable colleagues, I feel convinced that a change of head-quarters is uncalled for. Almost every provincial capital and a few large cities have been mentioned and this changing frame of mind of the non-official members is in itself a strong ground that, since there is no unanimity of opinion among themselves as to a suitable centre, no change is needed. Again, the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea pleaded with his characteristic eloquence in favour of Calcutta and said that the India of 1911 is not the India of 1920. Following the same line of argument, I may be permitted to say that the India of 1930 or 1940 will not be the same. So it follows that the capital should change each time that great political changes take place in India. I am not convinced by the force of this argument,

Lastly, it is expedient that the construction of new Delhi should proceed even more quickly than in the past and that the coming Budget should allot a substantial amount for the purpose. If the resolution, however, means to suggest that either Delhi or Simla should continue to be the head-quarters of the Government throughout the year, it does not look like a feasible or practicable proposal, chiefly owing to climatic conditions. If the resolution is inspired by the Calcutta Anglo-Indian sentiment, it seems to me that no repetition of unsettling a settled fact, as in the case of the Partition of Bengal, is possible in the present circumstances of the country, though the coming royal visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales may be looked forward to for the accomplishment of the event. For these reasons I oppose the resolution before the Council.

(23rd February, 1920)

Resolution Re. the Extension & Improvement of Mohamedan Education

Sir,-As far as I know, in my own Presidency the suggestions and recommendations of the Government of India have not been fully carried out. Last November when I had the honour to preside over the Mohamedan Educational Conference held in the Bombay Presidency, I had the opportunity to know that the suggestions made by the Government of India were not all given effect to in the Bombay Presidency too and my Hon'ble friend Nawab Ali Chaudhri also told us that all of them have not been carried out by the Bengal Government to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans there. Therefore, I feel that the Government of India should further take steps to ascertain from the various Local Governments as to what the various Committees appointed by the Local Governments have been doing in the matter of the extension and improvement of Muhammadan education. Though I differ from the form in which the Hon'ble Mover has worded the resolution. yet I deeply sympathise with the object of his resolution. With these words, I beg to suggest to the Government of India to take more pains to see that their recommendations are fully carried out by the Local Governments in the various provinces, and I would also suggest to my friend not to press the resolution in this Council.

(26th February, 1920) Hindu Marriage Validity Bill

Sir,—The Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill concerns Hindus and Hindus only and opinion is divided among Hindus them selves as to the practicability of the measure. Personally speaking, I am in sympathy with the principles of the Bill. For the proposed measure aims at a greater solidarity among my Hindu brethren. Between the Hon'ble Mover's optimism on the one hand and the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's pessimism on the other, we Musalmans, find ourselves in a delicate situation and feel we are hardly competent to pronounce a sound opinion on the measure. Hence it is both inadvisable and undesirable that Musalmans should be called upon to sit on the Select Committee. Further. no precedent should be created whereby any piece of social legislation affecting a particular community, especially when it is interwoven with religious customs and usages, may come under the review of the representatives of other communities in the Council, except perhaps when the proposed measure is of such a general character as to concern all the Indian communities. For these reasons I rise to oppose the Hon'ble Home Member's amendment, and if the amendment were carried, I shall have respectfully to decline to serve on the Committee.

(3rd March, 1920)

Indian Red Cross Society Bill

Sir, -With your permission I beg to welcome this measure on behalf of the Muhammadan Members of this Council and of the community. I may also be allowed to join with my friends, Mr. Banerjea and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, in the expression of appreciation which they have accorded to the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill in connection with this Bill. I do so also on behalf of Madras.

(8th March, 1920)

The Budget

Sir,-While congratulating the Hon'ble Mr. Hailey on his first satisfactory budget, I cannot help feeling that he has to face more difficult times ahead, especially in view to coming changes, and to the need for providing ways and means to meet our capital liabilities, as well as the war bonds and loans within the next three or four years. A fair revenue position and an anticipated budget surplus of a little over £ 2 millions for 1920-21, the maintenance of reasonably high silver reserves and the ability to keep down within manageable proportions the floating debt of India (which is said to have reached about 68 crores in October last) without the necessity of increasing the fiduciary note issue, the re-arrangement of the super-tax and the adoption of a railway programme, and above all, the absence of any additional burden to the country in the shape of fresh taxation are among the salient features of the Financial Statement. The Statement, the last of its kind under the Government of India Act of 1909, I venture to submit, calls for little criticism. With the menacing situation in the middle East and the Bolshevist schemes at our very doors, we cannot reasonably expect any appreciable reduction in our military expenditure in the present budget, nor can we look to any special grant under the heads of Education and Sanitation with a current deficit of about $£14\frac{1}{9}$ millions staring us in the face.

I may, however, be permitted to make a few general observations. In noticing the general revenue position it is satisfactory to note that the budget for 1920-21 provides for an increase in revenue of about £4½ millions over the revised

estimate for 1919-20. While an increased revenue under customs and stamps, income-tax and railways, and posts and telegraphs is welcome, that under excise and opium is to be viewed with little satisfaction. The excise revenue has grown from about £7 millions in 1910-11 to about £1314 millions in 1920-21 (budget). It has nearly doubled itself within the last ten years. While the Provincial revenue has increased by about 46 per cent., within the last 5 years, the Imperial revenue has risen by about 95 per cent., during the same period. My own Presidency, which enjoys a high reputation for the efficiency of its Abkari administration. contributes over three-fourths of the total provincial increase in the revised estimate for 1919-20 over the budget of that vear. While an increase in the excise revenue does not necessarily indicate a corresponding growth in consumption, it represents, however, that the major portion of the revenue is derived from the poorer classes whom the cursed drink habit unfortunately impoverishes. But an increase by leaps and bounds may also suggest an increased consumption of liquor. It is unfortunate that excise should be looked to as a fruitful source of ever-expanding revenue. While we ought not to look to any increase in opium revenue too, we find that, while the revenue from the sale of provision and medical opium has decreased by about 11 pericent, that from the sale of excise opium has risen by about 13 per cent., within the last five years.

As for the railways, we may anticipate a further increase in the ordinary passenger traffic, and consequently a higher revenue from that source might probably have been budgetted for. While the railway administrations have been profiting themselves through increased earnings, it becomes their bounden duty to provide for greater facilities for train service and for increased comforts to the travelling public, especially the third class passengers who contribute largely to the revenue, and whose manifold grievances have from time to time been brought to the notice of this Council.

Coming to the expenditure position, I find that military services, the largest item on the expenditure side, claim nearly two-fitths or about 40 per cent, of the total expenditure. both Imperial and Provincial. While I hesitate to criticise the military policy of the Government in the absence of a full and accurate knowledge of the present military needs and of the details of the military administration, I fear that a growing military expenditure in times of peace may probably lead to the starvation of the civil needs of the country. While it is true that a smaller item has been budgetted for, it may not be known until the actual figures for 1920-21 are obtained whether there might not be an increase over the budget estimate, as is the case this year even after deducting the Afghan war expenses. For even then the revised estimate for 1919-20 exceeds the budget estimate for the same year by about £2 millions. Though it is not possible to reduce military expenditure to the pre-war standard, the pruning knife of the Hon'ble Finance Member has yet to be applied to large military items. Again, salaries and expenses of Civil Departments have increased by about 20 per cent, within three years, as the budget estimate shows. Though posts and telegraphs show a large budgetted expenditure for 1920-21. an increase of about 5 per cent, over the actuals for 1918-19. it is gratifying to learn from the Financial Secretary's memorandum that a part of the increase is due to the revision of pay of various establishments. The grievances of postal and telegraph subordinates have been before the Government for a long time. I trust, therefore, that a substantial part of the increased expenditure under posts and telegraphs will go to meet their legitimate wants.

With the presentation of this budget closes an eventful chapter in the history of Indian Legislative Reform. By this time next year, the Indian Legislative Assembly with wider opportunities may probably go into a detailed examination of the Imperial budget, and suggest ways and means for the social and economic development of the country. In this

connection, I should like to suggest that the Financial Statement accompanied with the Financial Secretary's memorandum should first be presented to the members of the new Assembly. One week after such presentation, the first stage shall merely open the various heads of the Financial Statement. At least a week should elapse between the opening and the discussion stage. During the second stage the resolutions pertaining to the Financial Statement should be discussed. A week after that, the Assembly may go into a general discussion of the Statement. Three or four days after the third stage of general discussion, the Hon'ble Finance member should present the budget in its final form. The adoption of this procedure, it seems to me, will be more useful and convenient to the non-official representatives.

Speech in support of an Amendment to Clause 22 of the Dacca University Bill.

Sir,—I beg to support the amendment of the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea. Instead of having only a Faculty of Islamic Studies, the Dacca University should have a Faculty of Oriental Studies as in the Punjab University and degrees similar to those of B.A and M. A. should be granted for proficiency in Sanskrit as well as in Arabic.

Dacca University Bill

. With your permission, Sir, I should like to congratulate the Government of India on the Dacca University Bill about to be passed in this Council. As this measure becomes law, one more University will come into existence in India. It will be the first University of its kind—a unitary teaching and residential University on lines more or less similar to those suggested by the weighty report of the Calcutta University Commission. While the vastness and immense educational possibilities of this country may require quite a number of such universities, it is none too soon that the Dacca University scheme has been ushered into existence. What

is particularly gratifying from the Muhammadan standpoint is that a suitable provision for the adequate representation of Muhammadan interests on the governing bodies of
the University has been embodied in the Bill. By doing so,
the Bill as a whole has come to find favour with the Muslim
community all over India. In this connection I desire on
behalf of my community to thank heartily the Hindu Members
of this Council not only for the cordial support they have
accorded to this measure, but for their generous aid to the
cause of Muslim communal representation on the managing
bodies of the new University.

I trust, Sir, that similar Universities will at no distant date spring forth in some of the major provinces of India. With these words I heartily welome the Bill before the Council.

(27th August, 1920)

The Aligarh Muslim University Bill

Sir,-In heartily welcoming the Bill to establish and incorporate a teaching and residential Muslim University at Aligarh, I may be permitted to offer both on behalf of the Muslim community of the Southern Presidency and on my own behalf our heart-felt congratulations to the Government of India and to the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education upon the maturity of the scheme. Though we were first in the field in launching out a scheme for a teaching and residential University on denominational lines, our sister community which started much later the Benares scheme, achieved their object much sooner than we ourselves. But the long delay in our case has only succeeded in giving us a better Bill to-day than what was orginally anticipated. While at this stage I do not propose to enter into the details of the · Bill, some of which no doubt require modification, I feel confident that the Select Committee on the bill will render justice to legitimate Muslim claims.

By the introduction of this Bill we are adding to-day one more University of a teaching and residential type. University education on modern lines will prove to be a great feon to the Indian Muslim community. The Aligarh University, when it is ushered into existence, will undoubtedly be an epoch-making event in the history of the progress of Indian Muslim education. With the door of universal knowledge wide open to Muslim young men in a University of their own, the intellectual progress of the Muslim community is assured. With the imparting of Muslim religious education to Muslim young men and the direct encouragement of Oriental and Islamic studies, their moral and spiritual progress is assured. In one important respect the proposed University at Aligarh will differ from the existing Universities of a teaching and residential type in that it will not, as recommended by the Calcutta University Commission, include intermediate classes. So greater concentration will be given to the development of the cultural side of higher liberal education.

While a few years, ago the Hindu University Bill was introduced by a Hindu Member, the Muslim University Bill is now introduced by a Muslim Member, in charge of the same portfolio. When he lays down the reins of office, the Hon'ble Mr. Mian Muhamad Shafi may well be proud of two great achievements in his high official life, namely, the introduction of the Dacca University Bill and of the Aligarh University Bill. Notwithstanding their divided attention between the Khilafat movement and the Non-Co-operation scheme. Musalmans all over India will have cause to rejoice at the introduction of this timely measure, which is fraught with incalculable good to the community. Let me hope and trust that in the proposed University at Aligarh, the East and the West will meet together, as they never did before, and that a healthy combination of the best elements in the two cultures will produce a new race of intellectual Muhamadans who will be the pride of their adopted country and the glory of Islam.

With these words, Sir, I accord my heartiest support to the introduction of the Bill before the Council.

SECTION III

Contributions to the Press CONGRESS AND LEAGUE SESSIONS.

Mr. Mir Asad Ali's Views

Interviewed on behalf of the "Madras Mail," the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, the Muslim representative of Madras on the Imperial Legislative Council, expressed himself as follows on the proceedings of the recent Congress and Muslim League.

Reforms

I have carefully gone through the proceedings of the Congress and the Muslim League held at Amritsar. The one thing that has impressed me with a striking force is the absence of far-sightedness in the decisions arrived at especially in regard to the Reforms Act. The Congress appears to me more seriously at fault in this respect than its sister organisation. The reason for this lies, I should think, in the fact that the Congress is more swamped by the extreme forward school than the League. This is evidenced by the more enthusiastic reception the League has accorded to the Reforms Act, and the desire it has expressed to work it in a spirit of less obstruction, although both the bodies have failed in giving the proper lead to the country which the needs of the situation demanded. No doubt, there were a great many things which had not been conceded to us in the Act. But I am sure that every unbiassed Indian will recognise that the Act is a great step in the building up of India's freedom, and that fact has to be acknowledged with profound thanks to all those that have contributed to its present shape, I strongly hold that the Congress and, in a lesser degree, the League have not risen equal to the occasion and shaken off the unbending and obstructionist attitude which has characterised some of its most important leaders since the beginning of the war.

I sincerely hope that in spite of whatever was done in the open Congress, its leaders will now seriously re-consider their decision and whole-heartedly try to make the Act a success; for I have a great apprehension that, unless their attitude is changed for the better, they will be able, as circumstances stand, to swamp even the new Legislative Councils and render the task of the Ministers and the Government in general an extremely difficult one. For however much wisdom and statesmanship may be on the side of the Moderates, they are, so far as I can see, in a decided minority in almost every Province, and if I may say so, even out of touch with those who are to be the electors of the future. If the Moderates are serious in their professions to carry the country with them, they must, without losing any further time, start a huge propagandist work all over India and prepare the people to return to the Councils, men who would so work the Act as to hasten the consummation of India's freedom so graciously promised in His Majesty's recent Proclamation. I do not attach the slightest importance to the fears entertained in the Indian extremist camp, that the European Civilians will try to wreck the great scheme by creating difficulties smooth working of the constitution. The European Civilians by nature are an extremely accommodating lot and will accept the settled fact with a perfectly good grace.

Viceroy's Recall

In regard to the resolutions passed in the Congress and the League demanding the recall of the Viceroy, the Hon ble gentleman said:—

It is really a pity that the discussion over the subject should have been so devoid of decorum and decency. The Viceroy no doubt was responsible for the introduction of the martial law in the Punjab and however much he might have been misled by the men on the spot, he will have to face the effect of his actions. But so long as the Hunter Committee's report was not published, nobody could be justified in suggesting the proper steps that have to be taken against him.

To attribute motives at this stage and subject him to ridicule and abuse is neither manly nor honest. My belief is that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer have by their mad and reprehensible actions brought misfortune on the Viceroy, who, whatever his errors of judgment and weaknesses, hardly deserves this treatment meted out to him during the Congress session.

Cow Killing in Bakrid

Asked as to the effect the resolution passed by the League recommending abstention from sacrificing cows during the Bakrid, Mr. Mir Asad Ali said:—

Personally I do welcome that resolution, but I wonder: whether it will appeal in practice to the poorer and vast majority of Mussalmans of India, with whom it is more an economic question than sentimental. However, it is a move in the right direction, especially as it will give satisfaction to our Hindu compatriots. But I must say this that the resolution is not well thought out and will not solve the difficulty and is mapplicable to South Indian conditions. In Northern India, the sacrifice of cows may be the chief cause of friction between the two great communities, but in Southern India it is not. What now and then disturbs the relationship in the South is the question of musical processions before mosques. The League would have been better advised if, while conceding what is a sentimental point to the Hindus on the one hand, it had asked for a corresponding concession from them on the other. That would have gone a long way to achieve the object in view of bringing about a better relationship between the two sister communities.

Khilafat

In the matter of Khilafat he said :--

The resolutions have got my whole-hearted support although the time has not yet come for the Mahomedans of India to think of retaliatory measures, such as boycott of British goods, abstention from co-operation with Government and the rest, I take this opportunity to strongly

deprecate the insimuations by certain interested parties that the Shiah community has held aloof in pressing for the preservation and integrity of the Khilafat and the Turkish Empire. As every one acquainted with the history of Islam and its civilisation knows full well that, whatever be the differences, between one sect and another, no true Mussalman could countenance with feelings of unconcern the dismemberment and destruction of the Turkish Empire and the Khilafat. It will be a really unfortunate day for the British Empire, if any decision is taken which will jeopardise the Khilafat and its temporal side, in contravention of the pledges of responsible British statesmen and the Wilsonean principles of unhampered nationality and self-determination. For I have no, hesitation in saying that an adverse decision in the matter of His Majesty the Sultan's religious and temporal status will forebode really a very grave consequence to the peace and prosperity of the British Empire. The Madras Mail. 17th January 1920.

Muslims and Madras Corporation

Sir I am not surprised at the result of the recent municinal elections at Madras, so far as Mussalmans are concerned. Their present inadequate representation on the Corporation of Madras, is a foregone conclusion. Only two Mussalmans were returned to the Corporation by the divisional electorates and one through institutional election. Had there been granted communal representation to Mussalmans, as in the case of the Legislative Councils, Mussalmans of Madras would have the satisfaction of returning to the Corporation a fixed number of their own representatives through their own electorates. But this was not to be. Notwithstanding the fight of my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan Sait both in the Corporation of Madras and in the Madras Legislative Council, the Government did not see their way to grant communal representation to Madras Mussalmans. Now, the result, of the recent municipal elections clearly proves the soundness of the Muslim claim for communal representation by separate electorates.

But unfortunately the matter was allowed to rest as well as rust there. Madras Mussalmans have not risen equal to the occasion but have long remained quite inactive as regards their legitimate claims, in spite of my oft-repeated warnings in the press that, if they failed to agitate constitutionally for their civic rights, their chances of success would be little during the municipal elections. Out of the thirty total divisional elected seats. Mussalmans ought to claim at least five seats. Five Divisional electorates ought to be formed for the city, such as Triplicane (including Mount Road, Thiruvatteeswaranpettah, etc.) Royapettah, Godown Street including adjacent streets), Muthialpet (including Moore Street, Angappa Naick Street and other streets), and Periamet. This matter should at least now be taken in earnest, so that, when the next election comes, the Mussalmans may not have to lose their communal rights and privileges. What little help I am capable of I shall gladly render to my co-religionists in Madras, if they should begin to work in the right direction.—(The Madras Mail, 9th February, '20)

Announcement of Candidature

Mr. Asad Ali Khan Bahadur writes:--

May I ask you to announce that I intend to stand for the Council of State from the Muhammedan constituency of the Madras Presidency.—(The Hindu, 24th May, '20).

An election manifesto

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur who represents the Mussalmans of South India in the Imperial Legislative Council, issues the following Manifesto to the Muslim voters of the Madras Presidency whose names have been enrolled in the new Muhammadan Electoral Roll for the Indian Council of State.

To Muslim Voters

Brethren,—Having already announced my candidature to the Indian Council of State, I desire to acquaint my new constituency through this manifesto with a bare reference to my work for two consecutive terms in the Imperial Legislative Council as the elected representative of the Muslim Community of the Madras Presidency. In December 1912 I was first elected by the Muslim voters of the Presidency to represent South Indian Mussalmans on the Imperial Legislative Council as successor to the Prince of Arcot. As I happen to be a member of the ruling family of the Banganapalle State, I was perhaps chosen to succeed the Prince. On the expiry of my term in 1916, an objection that was overlooked during my previous election was raised that as a member of an Indian State I could not represent British Indian interests in the Council. Fortunately for me. I obtained a British Indian Certificate of Naturalisation without prejudice to my status and rights as brother of the Nawab of Banganapalle. So I was re-elected to the Imperial Council in August 1916, practically unopposed Since my first election in 1912, I have been issuing regularly at the end of every year a . pamphlet describing my public activities both in and out of the Council. A perusal of these eight pamphlets. each of which contains my questions and speeches in the Council as well as my public utterances and press contributions, besides press and public comments upon my work, cannot fail to interest the reader and convince him of my sincere devotion to the cause of Islam, the Muslim community in particular and the country in general. It will also acquaint him with the nature and extent of my work in and outside the Council. Extremely difficult as the task of an elected member of an Indian Legislative Council has been under the peculiar social and religious conditions of so vast a country as India, and under the recognised political limitations of the Indian community under a foreign rule, I have endeavoured to the best of my knowledge and capacity to promote the highest interests of my community and of my countrymen, irrespective of caste or creed, race or colour. Muhammadan progress through higher liberal education has always claimed my foremost attention. Separate Muhammadan representation even in local bodies and adequate representation of Muhammadan interests in public services and corporate bodies formed the most important themes in my programme of work for Mussalmans. It is, however, gratifying to note there has been a marked improvement within recent years in the directions above indicated. Besides, larger national questions have always engaged my serious attention and as an Indian, I have always stood for the rights and privileges as well as for the liberties of Indian citizens. The repressive measures of legislation I have always opposed in a constitutional manner and by constitutional means. As a healthy Liberal in Indian politics, I have done my duty both for the Muslim community and for the country, regardless of official favours or frowns. Lastly, I leave it to my posterity to judge of my work, however little it may be, in the Council and in public.

As you are already aware, the Muslim community of the Presidency is allowed to return under the new reform regulations one representative to the Council of State. I request, therefore, that my constituents spread throughout the Presidency will be so kind as to give me their encouraging support by voting in my favour during the forthcoming election in December next. If I am returned to the State Council, I need hardly assure my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen that I will continue to labour in the best interests of the Muslim community and of the Indian peoples.—(The Madras Mail; 1st October, 1920).

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali has addressed the following letter to the Honorary Secretary, the Madras Presidency Muslim League:—

DEAR SIR,—The Turkish question with the Khilafat agitation and the Punjab tragedy have produced great disquietude in the minds of the people. The dismemberment of Turkey has touched me to the quick, as in the case of many a devout Mussalman. The humiliating terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty have caused deep resentment to the whole Muslim world. Nor am I less mindful of the scanty justice rendered to the wrong-doers in the lamentable Punjab affairs.

The recent disallowance by H. E. Lord Chelmsford of the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's resolution of the Punjab affair has only added insult to injury. I have given vent to my feelings on more than one occasion both in and outside the Indian Legislative Council, as also in the press and in my nterviews.

While fully aware of the incompetence of the present bureaucratic administration to cope with the growing political situation in the country. I should certainly hesitate to advise the adoption of any unconstitutional or impracticable programme of public action to mark the deep resentment felt. particularly by the educated classes all over India. However excellent the principle of non-co-operation may be, it cannot be adopted as a practical measure, unless the country (educated Indians of all schools of thought together with their numerous followers) is prepared to carry it out in spite of all anticipated obstructions and until the time is ripe for such a concerted action, which ought to be based upon strongly justifiable grounds. Hence, after a long and deliberate consideration. I have come to the conclusion that the adoption of the non-co-operation programme as elaborated by Mr. M.K. Ghandi and as adopted by the Congress as well as by the All. India Muslim League, is both inadvisable and inexpedient, besides being calculated to do more harm than good to the people in the present condition of Indian society. So I have signed the non official manifesto against the non-co-operation movement recently issued at Simla by some of the prominent Members of the Legislative Council.

When I accepted the office of President of the Madras League in succession to the Prince of Arcot, I felt it was a great privilege and honour to guide the deliberations of the League, and trusted that the tone of Muslim politics, both at the headquarters and in Provincial centres, would continue to be healthy, liberal and consistent. But unfortunately this was not to be, as is evident from the proceedings of the All-India Muslim League within recent years. In these circumstances it is but meet that your President, whose liberal views and

policy are in conflict with the too radical views and extreme policy of the parent League, should deem it his duty to tender his resignation of the office of President, particularly with a view to afford freedom of action to the Provincial League in accordance with the changed policy of the parent League.

While resigning my office as well as membership of the League, I desire to assure my co-religionists that I will still continue to labour, as in the past, for the good of my community, for the cause of my countrymen and for the glory of Islam. I hope and trust fthat my resignation will be accepted.

Wishing the League every success. -- (Madras Mail, 1st October, 1920.)

Miscellaneous

(From a Correspondent)

The Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur was one of the signatories, along with eighteen others, all non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council, to the petition for mercy in the Katarpur case, submitted to the Secretary of State for India through the Government of India.

Upon the Hon'ble Member's interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council re the raising of family allowance to the Khandan's family of Kurnool, and his further representation of the matter to the proper authorities, a substantial increase in the allowance was granted to Muhammad Hayath Khan Bahadur, Political Pensioner, Kurnool.

The Hon'ble Nawab Saheb has liberally subscribed to many educational and charitable institutions, and also to H. R. H. The Prince of Wales Reception Fund, Madras.

APPENDIX

NON-CO-OPERATION SCHEME

A Non-Official Denunciation

Simla, August 27.—The following Manifesto has been issued:—

We the undersigned non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, while deeply regretting the resolution of the House of Lords on the Punjab affairs and the decision of the Allies over the Khilafat question, desire to express our emphatic disapproval of the policy and principle of non-co-operation. It is our deliberate conviction that the movement can do no good but is fraught with harm to the best interests of the country. It will introduce elements of disorder and discord which will be fatal to the successful working of the Reform Act on which the future of the country so largely depends.

(Signed)

Rajah of Mahmudabad,
Maharaja of Kasimbazar,
Surendranath Bañerjea,
Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari,
V. S. Srinivasa Sastry,
Sunder Singh Majithia,
Mir Asad Ali,
R. D. Tata,
Col. Umar Hyat Khan,
Khan Sahib Bhutt,
Syed Mahomed Ali.

THE DUMB SHALL SPEAK,

AND

THE DEAF SHALL HEAR;

OB,

THE RYOT, THE ZEMINDAR, AND THE GOVERNMENT,

A PAPER BY
MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE,

TO BE READ

ON FRIDAY, JUNE 1ST, 1883.

RIGHT HON. SIR BARTLE FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
IN THE CHAIR.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 26, CHARING CROSS, S.W 1883.

PRECIS.

INDIA is almost wholly an agricultural country, or rather a country of tillage. The new Bengal Rent Law Bill will decide the fate of about sixty millions. Each year adds alike to the difficulty and the necessity of solving these questions.

The spirit of the day is all for improving the condition of the peasantry.

The new Bill does not violate the permanent settlement. The advantages to the Bengal landlord are as great as to the cultivator in the new Bill. No time is to be lost. The ryot is learning his rights. The new Bill is not a "confiscation" of rights to the zemindar—but a restoration of rights to the ryots. The ryot can now only obtain redress by going to law; but he is ruined if he goes to law.

In three quarters of a century the Government revenue has increased to three and half millions, whilst the zemindar's rental has grown from about a third of a million gross to more than thirteen millions. But this rental of thirteen millions is only an official return for road-cess purposes. The real amount, including illegal exactions, paid annually by the occupants of the soil, is said to be between twenty-five and thirty millions. But taking it at thirteen millions only, the ryots now pay an excessive exaction of £8,273,000 yearly. If this be valued at twenty years' purchase, "we have deprived the "cultivators of this enormous sum of £165,000,000 and given it to the "zemindars, who still cry for more."

We have "confiscated" the zemindar's duties, having conferred the land on the sole condition of their performance.

"Ryots have been toiling in Madras and starving in the Deccan, in "order that gentlemen in Bengal may enjoy incomes of hundreds of "thousands a year free from taxes."

REMEDIES.

"If reform does not begin from on high, it will begin from below."
That Government is the true friend of the zemindars which gives

them prosperous paying tenants, instead of rack-rented runaways. The remedies are:—

- (1) Occupancy rights, or fixity of tenure.
- (2) Fair rents.

A complete public record of the holdings of the ryots has yet to be made.

(3) If free sale, then the sale to be only to another cultivator.

Avoid giving the power of killing the goose which lays the golden eggs.

- (4) To take from the ryot the power of contracting himself out of his rights.
 - (5) A regular survey.
 - (6) Effective penalties for illegal exactions beyond the rent.
- (7) Behar: all evils are intensified among these twenty millions of poor low-castes, and require more stringent remedies; also compensation for disturbance; an accurate public register, and a much more active administration.

Ryots' meetings in 1881, and ryots' petitions are quoted from.

Two indirect remedies are further suggested,

- (8) Revival of village communities.
- (9) Encouragement of trades and industries.

THE

DUMB SHALL SPEAK, & THE DEAF SHALL HEAR;

THE RYOT, THE ZEMINDAR, AND THE GOVERNMENT.

BENGAL LAND QUESTIONS.

INTERESTS SO LARGE THAT WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN THEM.

THE time has now come. A tremendous wave is rolling over India—
India which we cannot colonize, and which, unlike the colonies, has
the Land Question in all its intensity. The new Bengal Rent Law
Bill is afloat—a measure which will decide the fortunes of the Bengal
agricultural classes for the next century almost as completely as the
Permanent Settlement has done for the past. It is from the growing
discontent of the country so urgent that we do not care for it. This
is no paradox: the interests involved are so enormous that we prefer
to turn away our head, saying that we cannot understand them. We
will not look them in the face; we shut our eyes; they are too big for
our vision.

The Land Question in India dwarfs all others in importance, because India, unlike England, is almost solely an agricultural country.* "The Hindus," says the Permanent Settlement, "are compelled by the "dictates of religion to depend solely upon the produce of the lands for "subsistence." The suffering or happiness of tens of millions is what

 90 per cent. of the rural and 80 per cent. of the total population of India are agricultural.

Estimating the adult men of India at 62 millions, of these 342 millions are returned as agricultural, or 56.2 per cent., besides large numbers of women and children; besides 74 millions of agricultural labourers, or 12.3 per cent.

Three classes—potters, weavers, and beggars (one million)—with the labourers, numbers 13 millions of adult males, and represent a population of 40 millions, or about one-fifth of the whole population. They are always the first to fall in famine. The next class above is that of the small tenants, little better off than the labourers, and only next to fall,

we have to deal with when we speak of land in India. For years and years every month has been entangling and increasing the confusion and the problems to be solved; for years and years every month has added alike to the difficulty and the necessity of solving them. There must be some further step in our relation to the Indian Land Questions—in the relations between the West and the East. They cannot remain stationary. What is it to be?

DIFFICULTY BY DELAY BECOMES IMPOSSIBILITY IN SOLVING BENGAL LAND QUESTIONS.

At last the difficulty can no longer be staved off; at last an Act can no longer be delayed, both lest difficulty become impossibility, and lest cultivators, sometimes expressing themselves in agrarian riots, murders, and always in litigation, should altogether take the matter into their own hands.

Now is the hour.

The Viceroy, the Government of India, the Government of Bengal, the Government of India at home—all have their attention seriously fixed on it. Reports upon reports and draft bills on draft bills have been issued.

Everything is ripe.

The English in England have too long said, What is the use of taking up this abstract question? The English in India reply, It has come to the front.

The leader of public opinion here has taken it up. The spirit of the day is with us.

The Times of November 13, 1882, has so masterly an article on this subject that we cannot but quote it. It says that we are now "concerned with questions which touch the very foundations of society," "questions of enormous difficulty as well as of enormous importance," and that we "must rejoice that the Government of India is making an honest and earnest effort to settle them." "The British roj will be weighed in the same scales as the dynasties it has supplanted, and if found wanting will share their fate." "The impoverishment of the Indian cultivator" is discussed, and it is said "that, in varying degrees," "life has been made harder for the tillers of the soil by a Government which has honestly laboured to benefit them, and has, in fact, removed or mitigated many grievous evils formerly suffered by them. . . . Where once land competed for cultivators, cultivators now compete for land." . . .

"But these unavoidable difficulties, inhering in the very nature of our civilization, are aggravated by causes due to, and therefore removable by, legislation."

"The Bengal Rent Bill is an attempt to deal with the evils which have grown during the last ninety years out of one of the most remarkable blunders ever made by well-meaning rulers. When the East India Company sought to place the revenue of Bengal upon an intelligible and satisfactory footing, it found itself confronted

SPIRIT OF THE DAY ALL FOR IMPROVING CONDITION OF PEASANTRY.

The spirit of the day all tends to improving the condition of the masses, and above all of those hitherto escaping observation—the peasantry—all over Europe. Now India, almost as big and as thickly populated as Europe, is nearly all peasantry.

with a mass of customary rights of the most intricate kind, based upon a general principle quite incomprehensible to the Englishman of that generation. Between the actual cultivator and the sovereign there was no one possessing rights over the soil. The revenue consisted of the rent, and the occupier, so long as he paid the stipulated sum, had an indefeasible title. A land system without a landlord appeared so strange an anomaly that the first thing the officials of the day did was to cast about for some set of men of which to create a landlord class. After much sadly misused research, they came to the conclusion that the zemindars, or taxfarmers of the old régime, were the proper persons to erect into the missing class. Although, theoretically, these revenue-collectors had no rights over the land beyond that of collecting rent and retaining for themselves a certain fixed allowance, they had, through the laxity or weakness of the rulers, acquired great weight and influence. They exacted, as tax-farmers in the East invariably do, a great deal more than their legitimate claims, and they probably paid in many cases a great deal less to the exchequer than the area under their management ought to have produced. They were able to make themselves heard, and they bore a superficial resemblance to the English landlord. Lord Cornwallis accordingly made them the corner-stone of his system by declaring them owners in perpetuity of the land they formerly farmed. . . . The ryots were known to have rights of an extensive kind, but it was assumed . . . that the pleasant relations obtaining between English landlords and tenants would spring up in Bengal, and that a fair rent would be settled by contract. The zemindars very shortly began to employ the vast powers thus left at their disposal, as well as to sub-let their rights to men who pressed them even more harshly, and soon it was found that the condition of the agriculturist was becoming deplorable. Power had, however, been very carefully reserved, in the regulations by which the Permanent Settlement was carried out, for the Government of India to interfere for the preservation of the ancient rights of the cultivators. In virtue of that power attempts were made from time to time to protect the ryots from the effects of unlimited competition; but the difficulty of discovering their actual rights was further complicated by the artificial system grafted upon the old customs, and the principal result of the Acts passed for their benefit has been to make the relations between landlord and tenant more and more bewildering. The Bengal Rent Act now under consideration is an attempt to revert, in some degree, to the original land tenure of the country. . . . It need not be said that such an attempt now wears the aspect of interference with private property. The zemindars are in possession of rights conferred upon them by ourselves, but which were not ours to confer. . . . The Chief Justice of Bengal takes the view natural to a Conservative lawyer. The proposed interference with vested rights appears to him a ruinous policy of confiscation. But the vested rights of the ryots are older, greater, and more important to the State than those of the zemindars. The great injustice of the Permanent Settlement must be remedied under terrible penalties for those we govern and for ourselves."

In Europe we have been working up to this climax. Had it not been for the emancipation of the peasants in Germany during Napoleon's time, would Germany ever have been what it is?

Then there is Russia's emancipation of the serfs in 1861, though as yet it has not done all it ought.

ADVANTAGE TO BENGAL LANDLORD OF PROPOSED NEW BILL AS WELL AS TO CULTIVATOR IN REALLY CARRYING OUT PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

In India we also have been working up to a crisis. E.g., in Bengal the Act of 1859 and other similar enactments for the ryots, but still insufficient. Could the Land Question but be really well settled in Bengal, could the Permanent Settlement* of 1793 but be really carried out, what an advantage to both zemindar (landowner) and ryot† (cultivator): to the zemindar in giving him a contented and thriving peasantry, instead of one often on the verge of starvation, always on the verge of refusing to pay rent at all; to the ryot in securing him such rights as will prevent the oppressions by which "the relations between the landlord and tenant are strained to the utmost degree," and the general discontent which will go on increasing "till the "amendment of the rent laws lays the foundation for a better state of "things."

If not, what a future of trouble, ending we know not how, not only for Bengal, but for India!

THE NIGHT IS FAR SPENT. THE DAY IS AT HAND.

And there is not an hour to be lost.

It has been truly said that it is not despair, not utter want and misery, which leads to revolution: it is the gradual awakening from this state to know our higher wants. Education commissions, local self-government schemes, show which way the tide is turning. The ignorant ryot is learning his rights; he is learning that a higher rent

* To study this Permanent Settlement of 1793, is to receive a revelation of rights we knew not of. And therefore I shall make no apology for giving copious extracts from it in notes. Much of the first part about improvements and security would seem to apply to the ryots now instead of to the zemindars. "We are yours but the land is ours," says the Russian peasant.

† Who is a ryot?

The Rent Law Bills' definition is:—A tenant who holds land for purposes of agriculture, horticulture, or pasture, or who has come into possession for such purposes,

A tenant may be a tenure-holder, a ryot, or a person holding under a ryot.

cannot be legally demanded than that entered in the road-cess registers.

But abwabs or illegal exactions are levied instead of or over and above enhanced rents. Cesses are not calculated on the abwabs, but on the rent. "And in this way the arrangement is used to reduce "the Government demand."

And what is to come of this?

CORROBORATION AND CORRECTION ALIKE INVITED.

It seems almost an impertinence to lay my facts before any who have been in India—which I have not—and who may even have seen great service in India; but what I have to try to state on these vast questions rests upon a mass of documentary evidence which few in India and very few in England have seen. India has been familiar to me for more than twenty years from documents—the plain unvarnished evidence of plain witnesses.

I do most earnestly beg alike for support and friendly opposition—alike for corroboration and correction—from those who know India, perhaps by their own splendid services.

PRESENT CONDITION OF RYOTS IN BENGAL, AND FIRST AS TO LAND TENURE AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT, OR RATHER VIOLATION OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.*

(1) In what sense are the zemindars to be understood at all as proprietors, landlords, landowners?

The answer to this question is simple. The zemindars were not originally proprietors or landlords; and it may be shown beyond

• It will be remembered what the Regulations of the Permanent Settlement were, but it may be useful here to insert in notes some of its principal provisions.

" A.D. 1793. REGULATION II.

"In the British territories in Bengal, the greater part of the materials required for the numerous and valuable manufactures and most of the other principal articles of export are the produce of the lands; it follows that the commerce and consequently the wealth of the country must increase in proportion to the extension of its agriculture. But it is not for commercial purposes alone that the encouragement of agriculture is essential to the welfare of these provinces. The Hindus who form the body of the people ure compelled, by the dictates of religion, to depend solely upon the produce of the lands for subsistence; and the generality of such of the lower orders of the natives as are not of that persuasion are from habit or necessity in a similar predicament.

"The extensive failure or destruction of the crops that occasionally arises from drought or inundation is in consequence invariably followed by famine, the ravages of which are felt chiefly by the cultivators of the soil and the manufacturers, from

contradiction that they were not made so by the Permanent Settlement in the feudal sense of absolute owners of the soil.

What were they made? "Persons empowered, under certain "very rigid restrictions, to receive from the occupants of the soil a whose labours the country derives both its subsistence and wealth. Experience having evinced that adequate supplies of grain are not obtainable from abroad in seasons of scarcity, the country must necessarily continue subject to these calamities until the proprietors and cultivators of the lands shall have the means of increasing the number of the reservoirs, embankments, and other artificial works, by which, to a great degree, the untimely cessation of the periodical rains may be provided against, and the lands protected from inundation; and, as a necessary consequence, the stock of grain in the country at large shall always be sufficient to supply those occasional but less extensive deficencies in the annual produce which may be expected to occur notwithstanding the adoption of the above precautions to obviate them. To effect these improvements in agriculture which must necessarily be followed by the increase of every article of produce, has accordingly been one of the primary objects to which the attention of the British Administration has been directed in its arrangements for the internal government of these provinces. As being the two fundamental measures essential to the attainment of it, the property in the soil has been declared to be vested in the landholders, and the revenue payable to Government from each estate has been fixed for ever.

"These measures have at once rendered it the interest of the proprietors to improve their estates, and give them the means of raising the funds necessary for that purpose. The property in the soil was never before formally declared to be vested in the landowners, nor were they allowed to transfer such rights as they did possess or raise money on the credit of their tenures without the previous sanction of Government. With respect to the public demand upon each estate, it was liable to annual or frequent variation, at the discretion of Government. The amount of it was fixed upon an an estimate formed by the public officers of the aggregate of the rents payable by the ryots or tenants for each begah of land in cultivation, of which, after deducting the expenses of collection, ten-elerenths were usually considered the right of the public, and the remainder the share of the landholder. Refusal to pay the sum required of him was followed by his removal from the management of his lands, and the public dues were either let in farm or collected by an officer of Government, and the above-mentioned share of the landholder, or such sum as special custom or the orders of Government might have fixed, was paid to him by the farmer or from the public treasury. When the extension of cultivation was productive of only a heavier assessment, and even the possession of the property was uncertain, the hereditary landholder had little inducement to improve his estate, and moneyed men had no encouragement to embark their capital in the purchase or improvement of land, whilst not only the profit, but the security for the capital itself was so precarious. The same causes, therefore, which prevented the improvement of land, depreciated its value. Further measures, however, are essential to the attainment of the important object above stated. All questions between Government and the landholders respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenue and disputed claims between the latter and their ryots, or other persons concerned in the collection of their rents, have hitherto been cognizable in the Courts of Maal Adawlut or Revenue Courts.

"The collectors of the revenue preside in these courts as judges, and an appeal

fixed rental, settled by the Government on ascertained principles."
Neither by the terms of the original settlement and original laws
of these provinces, nor by modern laws, are zemindars unlimited
proprietors, or ryots without rights or claims to protection."

lies from their decision to the Board of Revenue, and from the decrees of that Board to the Governor-General in Council in the Department of Revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure whilst the revenue officers are vested with these judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these courts from their irregular summary and often ex parte proceedings, and from the collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals who have been wronged by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them for administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other security, therefore, must be given to landed property, and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing, in its executive capacity, the rights and privileges which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders.

"The revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the regulations, must be subject to the cognizance of courts of judicature, superintended by judges who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants.

"The collectors of the revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the courts of judicature, and collect the public dues subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorized to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it. No power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the regulations can be infringed, or the value of landed property affected. Land must, in consequence, become the most desirable of all property, and the industry of the people will be directed to those improvements in agriculture which are as essential to their own welfare as to the prosperity of the State. The following rules, being the rules passed for the guidance of the directors and the Board of Revenue on June 8th, 1787, and April 25th, 1788, with alterations adapted to the principles above stated, have been accordingly enacted.

* The Code of 1793 recognized in the "fullest manner the rights of the ryots to hold at the established rates, and to be freed from abwabs, these vexatious imposts over and above the public revenue or rent; and that Code is full of provisions and declarations making it clear that the intention of the framers was by no means to abstan from interference between zemindars and ryots. On the contrary, the duty of protecting the lower mass of the community—the ryots—was recognized and asserted by the Government of that day in the amplest manner. . . . Rather would it be a ground of reproach to the Government if under such circumstances it should fail to interfere effectually."

(2) What was the "contract" made, and with whom, by the Permanent Settlement? And has it been kept?

* "A.D. 1793. REGULATION I.

"Assessment in former times liable to variation at the discretion of the Government.

"VII.—ABTICLE VI. It is well known to the zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, as well as to the inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in general, that from the earliest times unto the present period the public assessment upon the lands has never been fixed, but that, according to established usage and custom, the rulers of these provinces have from time to time demanded an increase of assessment from the proprietors of land; and that, for the purpose of obtaining this increase, not only frequent investigations have been made to ascertain the actual produce of their estates, but that it has been the practice to deprive them of the management of their lands, and either to let them in farm or to appoint officers on the part of Government to collect the assessment immediately from the ryots."

Motives of the Court of Directors for abolishing the usage and fixing the assessment which is declared unalterable by any future Government.

"The Honourable Court of Directors, considering these usages and measures to be detrimental to the prosperity of the country, have, with a view to promote the future ease and happiness of the people, authorized the foregoing declarations; and the zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land with or on behalf of whom a settlement has been or may be concluded, are to consider these orders fixing the amount of assessment as irrevocable and not liable to alteration by any persons whom the Court of Directors may hereafter appoint to the administration of their affairs in this country."

Proprietors expected to improve their estates in consequence of the profits being secured to them. [But when ryots are left to improve their land, the profits are not secured to them. Ryots are "expected to improve their lands" in consequence of the profits not being secured them.—Author's Note.]

"The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and that no demand will ever be made upon them, their heirs and successors, by the present or any future Government, for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates."

Conduct to be observed by the proprietors of land towards their dependent talookdars and ruots.

"To discharge the revenues at the stipulated periods without delay or evasion, and to conduct themselves with good faith and moderation towards their dependent talookdars and ryots, are duties at all times indispensably required from the proprietors of land, and a strict observance of those duties is now more than ever incumbent on them in return for the benefits which they will themselves derive from the orders now issued. The Governor-General in Council therefore expects that the proprietors of land will not only act in this manner themselves towards their

1st point. There are to be no cesses, i.e. no arbitrary taxes levied at the pleasure of the zemindar.*

What is the fact?

dependent takooldars and ryots, but also enjoin the strictest adherence to the same principles in the persons whom they may appoint to collect the rents from them." [Have they done this?]

No claims for remissions or suspensions be admitted on any account.

Lands of proprietors to be invariably sold for arrears.

"He further expects that, without deviating from this line of conduct, they will regularly discharge the revenue in all seasons; and he accordingly notifies to them, that, in future, no claims or applications for suspensions or remissions, on account of drought, inundation, or other calamity of season will be attended to, but that in the event of any zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land with or on behalf of whom a settlement has been or may be concluded, or his or her heirs or successors, failing in the punctual discharge of the public revenue which has been or may be assessed upon their lands under the above-mentioned regulations, a sale of the whole of the lands of the defaulter, or such portion of them as may be sufficient to make good the arrear, will positively and invariably take place."

* REGULATION VIII.

Further rules to prevent undue eractions from the talookdars.

Proprietors not to demand an increase from talookdars, excepting in the cases herein specified.

- "LI. The following rules are prescribed to prevent undue exactions from the dependent talookdars:—
- "First. No zemindar or other actual proprietor of land shall demand an increase from the talookdars dependent on him, although he should himself be subject to payment of an increase of jummat to Government, except upon proof that he is entitled so to do, either by the special custom of the district, or by the conditions under which the talookdar holds his tenure; or that the talookdar by receiving batements from his jumma has subjected himself to the payment of the increase demanded, and that the lands are capable of affording it."

Penalty for proprietors making exactions from talookdars.

"Second. If in any instance it be proved that a zemindar or other actual proprietor of land exacts more from a talookdar than he has a right to, the court shall adjudge him to pay a penalty of double the amount of such exaction, with all costs of suit to the party injured."

Proprietors and farmers of land prohibited imposing any new abwab or mhatoot on the ryots, and penalty in case of disobedience.

"LV. No actual proprietor of land or dependent talookdar or farmer of land of whatever description shall impose any new abwab or mhatoot upon the ryots under any pretence whatever. Every exaction of this nature shall be punished by a penalty equal to three times the amount imposed; and if at any future period it be discovered that new abwab or mhatoot have been imposed, the person imposing the same shall be hable to this penalty for the entire period of such impositions."

[†] Jumma=Amount of rent or revenue payable, including all cesses, as well as land-tax.

2nd. The revenue or taxes are to be paid by the zemindar, and not out of the rent.

How has this been observed?

3rd. The zemindars are not to raise their rents, and on this condition the revenue or taxes on them are not to be increased.

What do the official reports tell us about this?

4th. The zemindar is to undertake roads, lesser public works, &c. Has he done so?

Does he not rather avail himself of public works undertaken by the Government as a reason for raising his rents?

But, 5th, the ryot was to have redress in case of exaction. He often fails to obtain redress.

6th. The Governor-General promises regulations for the protection of the cultivators of the soil. Were they ever fully carried out?

7th. The zemindar was to give leases. But are genuine leases granted? Or is there any proper system of sub-letting?*

* REGULATION VIII.

Ryots may demand pottans † of proprietors of land and farmers who are also required to grant them.

Penalty in case of refusal.

"LIX. A ryot when his rent has been ascertained and settled, may demand a pottah from the actual proprietor of land, dependent talookdar, or farmer of whom he holds his lands, or from the person acting for him; and any refusal to deliver the pottahs, upon being proved in the Court of Dewanny Adawlut of the zillah, shall be punished by the court by a fine proportioned to the expense and trouble of the ryot in consequence of such refusal. Actual proprietors of land, dependent talookdars, and farmers are also required to cause a pottah for the adjusted rent to be prepared and tendered to the ryot, either granting the same themselves, or entrusting their agents to grant the same.

Restrictions on farmers and agents in granting pottahs.

"No farmer, however, without special permission from the proprietor of the lands, or (if the lands form part of a dependent talook) the dependent talookdar shall grant a pottah extending beyond the period of his own lease, nor shall any agent grant a pottah without authority from the proprietor or dependent talookdar or the manager of disqualified proprietors.

All existing leases to under-farmers and ryots to remain in force until the period of their expiration.

Exception to the rule.

"LX. First. All leases to under-farmers and ryots made previous to the conclusion of the settlement, and not contrary to any regulation, are to remain in force until the period of their expiration unless proved to have been obtained by collusion or from persons not authorized to grant them."

[†] Pottah == Deed of lease.

(3) Can the restoration of the rights of the ryots, whether original or acquired under the present Settlement, be deemed "confiscation," as it is often called?

ILLEGAL EXACTIONS BY ZEMINDARS.

The Government accepted the right and duty "as Sovereign" of "interposing its authority from time to time" as might be necessary "to prevent the ryots being improperly disturbed in their possessions, "or loaded with unwarrantable exactions," those exactions being any further demand, either by way of enhancement or cesses, beyond a definite prescribed rental described as the "pergunnah rate," and those disturbances being attempted ejectment.

In No. 46 of the "Records of the Government of Bengal," November, 1871, we find:—

"Not only is it the duty of the Government to protect all classes of the people, and especially those who, from their situation, are most helpless*—a duty the performance of which they have specially

No proprietor of land or dependent talookdar or farmer of land, shall cancel the pottahs of Khood Kasht ryots, texcept in certain specified cases.

"Second. No actual proprietor of land or farmer, or persons acting under their authority, shall cancel the pottahs of the Khood Kasht ryots except upon proof that they have been obtained by collusion; or that the rents paid by them within the last three years have been reduced below the rate of nirkbundy of the pergunnah, or that they have obtained collusive deductions, or upon a general measurement of the pergunnah for the purpose of equalizing and correcting the assessment. The rule contained in this clause is not to be considered applicable to Behar."

Time allowed to proprietors of land and dependent talookdars and farmers of land to prepare and deliver pottahs to the ryots.

Claims on engagements contrary to those ordered, how to be considered and decided on.

"LXI. The proprietors of estates and the dependent talookdars and farmers of land in Bengal are allowed until the end of the Bengal year 1198, and those in Behar and Orissa until the end of the Fussily and Wallaity year 1198, to prepare and deliver pottahs to the ryots in conformity to the preceding rules (but after the expiration of the year 1198 no engagements for rents, contrary to those ordered, are to be held valid); and in the event of any claims being preferred by proprietors of estates or dependent talookdars, farmers, or ryots, on engagements wherein the consolidation of the assul, abwab, &c. shall appear not to have been made, they are to be non-suited, with costs."

- * Regulation I, embodying the famous proclamation of Lord Cornwallis to the zemindars in 1793.
 - "A.D. 1793. REGULATION I OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

Government to enact such regulations as they may think necessary for the welfare of the dependent talookdars and cultivators, and proprietors: not to withhold the revenue on that account.

⁺ Khood Kasht raiat = a cultivator of his own hereditary land = a resident ryot.

- "reserved to themselves as a condition of the Permanent Settlement—
 "but it is also their interest to carry out that duty, because the extent
 "to which the burden, not only of the taxation, which should properly
 "fall in certain specified proportions on different classes of the com"munity, but even of the actual personal expenses of the proprietors, is
 "thrown indiscriminately upon the lowest class, and that the least able
 "to support it, must of course interfere greatly with the legitimate
 "power of Government to impose fresh taxes, and such undue and
- "VIII.—ARTICLE VII. To prevent any misconstruction of the foregoing articles, the Governor-General in Council thinks it necessary to make the following declarations to the zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land.
- "First. It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think it necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil, and no semindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay."

[And this, it will be observed, precedes, not follows, the "Declaration" given in note 2, p. 4. The protection of the ryots comes first.]

All internal duties that may be hereafter established to belong exclusively to Government.

"Second. The Governor-General in Council having on July 28, 1790, directed the sayer" collections to be abolished, a full compensation was granted to the proprietors of land for the loss of revenue sustained by them in consequence of this abolition; and he now declares, that if he should hereafter think it proper to re-establish the sayer collections, or any other internal duties, and to appoint officers on the part of Government to collect them, no proprietor of land will be admitted to any participation thereof, or be entitled to make any claims for remissions of assessment on that account."

Jumma that may be assessed or alienated lands to belong exclusively to Government.

"Third. The Governor-General in Council will impose such assessment as he may deem equitable on all lands at present alienated and paying no public revenue, which have been or may be proved to be held under illegal or invalid titles. The assessment so imposed will belong to Government, and no proprietor of land will be entitled to any part of it."

Police allowances in land or money received by proprietors whose jumma is declared fixed, resumable by Government.

"Fourth. The jumms of those zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, which is declared fixed in the foregoing articles, is to be considered entirely unconnected with and exclusive of any allowances which have been made to them in the adjustment of their jumms, for keeping up tannahs or

^{*} Sayer=all other sources of revenue besides the land tax.

[†] Tannahs=police jurisdictions.

"illegal pressure on the part of the zemindars on the great and indigent mass of the people, must be attended with great and imminent perils of a political character."

It is the Government which says this. "Such considerations fully "warrant the interference of Government in view to correct the "admitted insufficiency of the existing laws enacted for the protection "of the inferior tenantry of the country."

police establishments, and also of the produce of any lands which they may have been permitted to appropriate for the same purpose; and the Governor-General in Council reserves to himself the option of resuming the whole or part of such allowances or produce of such lands according as he may think proper in consequence of his having exonerated the proprietors of land from the charge of keeping the peace, and appointed officers on the part of Government to superintend the police of the country."

Allowances that may be so resumed not to be added to the jumms, but to be collected separately and applied solely to the police.

"The Governor-General in Council, however, declares that the allowances or produce of lands which may be resumed will be appropriated to no other purpose but that of defraying the expense of the police; and that instructions will be sent to collectors, not to add such allowances or the produce of such lands to the jumma of the proprietors of land, but to collect the amount from them separately."

Estates of disqualified proprietors not liable to sale for arrears of assessment accruing whilst they are deprived of the management of them.

"Fifth. Nothing contained in this proclamation shall be construed to render the lands of several descriptions of disqualified proprietors specified in the first article of the regulations regarding disqualified landholders, passed on July 15, 1791, liable to sale for any arrears which have accrued or may accrue on the fixed jumma that has been or may be assessed upon their lands under the abovementioned regulations for the decennial settlement; provided that such arrears have accrued or may accrue during the time that they have been or may be dispossessed of the management of their lands under the said regulations of July 15, 1791. It is to be understood, however, that whenever all or any of the descriptions of disqualified landholders specified in the first article of the last-mentioned regulations shall be permitted to assume or retain the management of their lands in consequence of the ground of their disqualification no longer existing, or of the Governor-General in Council dispensing with, altering, or abolishing those regulations, the lands of such proprietors will be held responsible for the payment of the fixed jumma that has been or may be assessed thereon, from the time that the management may devolve upon them, in the same manner as the lands of all actual proprietors of land who are declared qualified for the management of their estates, and also of all actual proprietors who are unqualified for such management by natural or other disabilities, but do not come within the descriptions of disqualified landholders specified in the first article of the regulations of July 15, 1791, are and will be held answerable for any arrears that are or may become due from them on the fixed jumma which they, or any persons on their behalf, have engaged or may engage to pay, under the above-mentioned regulations for the decennial settlement."

In one of those invaluable administrative reports of Sir George Campbell (1873), too little known, or rather not at all known among the ordinary public in England, we find:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor's attention was prominently called to "the subject by the Magistrate-Collector of Balasore, in Orissa, where "the system is peculiarly inexcusable, because in that province there "is not the ordinary zemindari tenure of Bengal." There all the old "ryots have long leases from the Government direct, and the zemindars "are still in respect of them mere rent collectors, who have not the " shadow of a right of any enhanced rent. Yet it was shown that they "exacted eleven different kinds of annual cess, besides seventeen descrip-"tions of occasional tax. Among the former were cesses to recoup "themselves for the postal payments, cesses on account of the telegraph "wire running through their estates (a pure imposition, as this cost "them nothing), cesses to reimburse them for income tax, and so on. "There were presents exacted for the zemindari underlings, presents "very compulsory in their nature, on every occasion of a zemindar "moving from home, or of a magistrate travelling through the estate, " on account of fictitious expenses that were never incurred."

It is the Government that say this.

So far for Orissa.

In "Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal," we find, referring particularly to Burdwan, Rajshaye, Cooch Behar, Dacca, Chittagong, Patna, Bhaugulpur, Chota Nagpur, Assam, and Presidency Division, &c., that it is "clear that, in spite of the law, cesses in "large numbers are levied from ryots by almost every zemindar in the "country; the fact being that owing to the absence of sufficient agency "in Bengal, those parts of the regulations which give rights and "privileges to zemindars have not only been maintained, but stretched "to the utmost, while those parts which restrained them and limited "their rights have been utterly set at nought."

We read of "duress or violence used by zemindars to enforce "illegal cesses," &c.

Among the "abwabs," or "illegal cesses," we find :-

"A charge for providing bracelets for the ladies of the zemindar's family."

[There is no "charge" for "providing" (not "bracelets." but) cloth-

^{* &}quot;His Honour (Sir G. Campbell) believes that up to the time of the settlement under Regulation IX, of 1833, many of them (zemindars) had no such rights (proprietary), but were sarbarakars or managers on behalf of Government, and that only."

"ing for the ryot and the ryot's wife coming out of their close hut, "half-starved and half-clothed, into the morning air and shivering with fever; nor for food, nor anything else for the sick.

The charity or relief extorted is from the ryots to the zemindar's ladies.

We find "a cess levied by zemindars on their visiting their estates." [What do they do "on visiting their estates" for their ryots?]

"A charge on boats, a sort of landing fee."

"Presented to zemindars by washermen," "by barber," "by "sweeper." [Do we English in England know what this "sweeper" who has "presents" "levied" upon him?] And all these are ANNUAL.

NOT HE WHO EATS, BUT HE WHO IS EATEN, PAYS.

One of these is "for eating mangoes by ZEMINDARS" (not by those who pay).

Another, for "use of tooth powder by zemindar."

A "marriage cess" is general.

In "Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal," we find, for the Presidency Division—that is, close to the head-quarters of the English powers at Calcutta which created these zemindars under special conditions:—

"A contribution made to the zemindar when he is involved in debt requiring speedy clearance."

[The ryot is always "in debt;" often compelled to work all his life in bondage to the usurers for his father's debts. No one contributes for him.]

- "On occasions of religious ceremonies in the zemindar's house."
- "On the occasion of the audit of his own accounts."
- "Forced labour exacted from the ryots without payment."

THE RYOT SELMS ALWAYS TO PAY, AND NOT OFTEN TO BE PAID.

He pays on his own marriage, he pays on his son's marriage, he pays on his daughter's marriage, he pays on his second marriage (if he is of low caste and marries a second time), he pays on the zemindar's marriage, he pays on the zemindar's son's marriage, he pays on the "Gomastah's (agent's) son's" or "Gomastah's daughter's" marriage, he pays on the zemindar's son's birth, he pays on the "zemindar's "son's" first taking rice," he pays on the zemindar's funeral, he pays on his own "ploughing of land," he "pays to the zemindar on his

• Some of these abwabs, or illegal cesses levied by the zemindars, are "general;" others are levied by "some," zemindars; others by "many;" others are levied, one by this, another by the other zemindar; none by none, as one may say

"making a tour through his estates," he pays for being "permitted to "perform puja or any festival" himself, he pays equally for the zemindar performing puja, he pays a-tax for "presents to fakirs," the very drum pays for being beat "at processions, marriages, and feasts."

When "a farmer" takes a lease, he does not pay a fee: he "levies "a fee at heavy rates."

The ryot "takes rice, fish, and other articles of food on occasions "of feasts in zemindar's house."

Then come the "fines."

The very "bides from the carcases of beasts thrown away" have a tax levied upon them.

The ryot pays:-

"For keeping and buying elephants."

" For court expenses."

"For keeping establishments."

"A fee charged on every oven made by a ryot for boiling the "juice of the date-trees and sugar candy," &c.

The ryot pays a fee for everything he does himself, and for everything the zemindar does not do for himself or the ryot, and makes the ryot do for him. And this paying is often by the most poverty-stricken creature in the universe—a ryot, who is generally on the brink of starvation, and who, when drought or inundation comes, no longer on the brink, falls into absolute famine.

There is a Bengali proverb, "The same love that the Mahommedan has to his fowl" (he fattens it in order to kill it), "the same the "zemindar has to the ryot." But the proverb lies, for the zemindar does not even fatten his ryot.

"The magistrate of the district remarks that the road cess having given the zemindars a legal power to levy charges, it is reasonable to "apprehend that the ryots will be more helpless than ever."

THE "EXACTIONS" ARE FULFILLED. BUT WHERE ARE THE "CONDITIONS?"

There are none fulfilled.

The ryot pays "contributions to meet the expenses of district "post," one of the express "conditions" on which privileges were granted to zemindars being that they were to maintain the institutions of a civilized country. And he pays for the police.

The ryot has to make "annual payments to the agents of the

When the zemindar goes to his estate, the ryot has to pay for everything, and also to pay the servants.

"zemindars;" payments "at the opening of the rent year;" payments at the close; payments everywhere; payments everywhen.

"Besides the above, contributions for the support of schools, and for the construction or repair of roads and bridges"—the zemindars having been created expressly to make roads, for one thing, among others—"are often levied in addition to casual cesses on the occasion of marriage or other ceremonies, or on the occasion of the zemindar visiting his estate."

"Lovy of fines for settlement of party disputes among ryots is also "a common practice."

The very presentation of a "petition" to the zemindar is "levied "upon"—from the "petitioner," of course.

It is the Government which says all this; and we must not think that the Government is supine. It appears from these very documents that the result of a "crusade against cesses... will be a very general "move on the part of the zemindars to raise the rents, in which the "weakest will go to the wall, and not without a great deal of individual "suffering... especially among the harder working and poorer class "of cultivators."

"How few of these measures," meaning the "best half" of Lord Cornwallis's "great policy," the "conditions," says a famed Anglo-Indian, Sir Bartle Frere, "were carried out or attempted up to our "time; how many of them still remain barely attempted and incom-"plete, may be seen by a reference to the excellent Administrative "Reports of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell." To the same I appeal. And since that time, while the ryot has learnt more of his rights, what has been done to give them to him, or to raise his condition? Wages are rising a little, but prices are rising much more.

We seem to have "confiscated" the zemindar's duties, while confirming and enlarging his (so-called) rights; we seem to have allowed these fictions of rights—at first only winked at by Government's sleepy eyes—to become settled rights and ownership; to have allowed the duties which we forgot or neglected to require from him to become nil, though he held the land on these sole conditions; to have conferred new rights without conditions or corresponding duties.*

The Government went to sleep.—Perhaps it would be more correct to say that our oldest provinces, Bengal and Behar, have always been the most under-governed. We set up judicial tribunals and left them alone to do justice between man and man, as if oppressor and oppressed were "man and man." Under the Permanent Settlement, Government divested itself of revenue functions, and there were no local administrative officers, as in other parts of India. For half a century there

The law gives more or less protection to the ryots, but the landlord party cry out against this as an infringement of the rights of property, forgetting that it was the condition on which their right of property was created.

But if the law is there, why is it not carried out?

INCREASED PROFITS OF ZEMINDAE WITHOUT PAYMENT FOR THEM.

To sum up: "Who stole the goose from the common? The "common man. But who stole the common from the goose? The "lord."

The zemindar has the increased profits of the land arising out of railroads, canals, progress of commerce, without paying for any of them. He gains more than anyone by all Government works, towards which he contributes next to nothing, for he has the power, though not the right, of throwing many taxes upon the ryots.

was no local government for Bengal. The country was divided into enormous districts with no sub-divisions, and the few magistrates had little real control.

In 1834, and indeed up to 1853, the administration of Bengal formed a part of the duties devolving on the Governor-General.

He had to assist him, a single secretary for Bengal, a senior civilian with the usual establishment of a secretary to Government, i.e., deputy-assistants and clerks. There was a Revenue Board which dealt with questions of Land Revenue, and a Board of Customs, salt and opium. All members of both boards were European civilians, as were the judges of the Supreme Court of Control and Appeal in judicial matters.

In each district were usually a judge, a collector and a magistrate—all European civilians, with occasionally a junior civilian as assistant. Over several collectorates was a Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit. Such was the whole European administrative machinery for all the millions of the population.

Since 1853 a Lieutenant-Governor has been appointed, and a gradual addition has been made to the local administrative machinery, but it is still far too small for the task of governing so many millions; and of what little machinery exists all the influential posts are in the hands of Europeans.

Native zemindars exercise all sorts of administrative powers without any sanction of law. But legally till within the last few years, no native of Bengal had by law higher independent administrative authority than a village constable in England.

The Permanent Settlement, as it regarded the weaker vessels, the ryots, became therefore a dead letter, for the Government itself did not attend to it. We left all almost to chance: which means that the zemindars had and have the stronger crying-out power, the press power, the purse power, the greater command of law and lawyers, and therefore carried all before them. In the end the reformed Puritan Mahommedan doctrines have made their democratic way among the Mahommedan cultivators, chiefly in Eastern Bengal, and these have formed powerful land leagues against the zemindars, and have successfully rebelled against the indigo planters.

What security is there that he pays anything at all himself?

What security is there that he does not extract the highest possible or more than possible rent from the ryots?

The zemindar does not improve himself, and he does not give the ryot the security which makes it worth while for him to improve. If there is irrigation, the ryot says, and says truly, the zemindar takes the whole profits of the water. Colonel Haig found that, where the Government had charged a rupi or half a rupi for water, the zemindar had added three rupis to the rent.

No good laws or education can compensate India if we stereotype a form of society which ought to have passed away.

A MAN MUST BAT AND LIVE IN ORDER TO BE EDUCATED.

It is no use to talk of educating the ryot when he is, as the missionaries urge, "crushed and spiritless under the accumulated evils "of his position."

In a paper on Vernacular Education, signed by twenty-four missionaries, some years ago, we find:—"The uneducated ryot is utterly "defenceless. Detection of forged documents by him is impossible. "An ignorant people fall an easy prey to corrupt underlings of the "zemindars and the courts, who are always eager for bribes. Moreover, "if the people speak truly, even the police and petty officers of "Government greatly tyrannize over them."

It is a mockery to wait for education, though it has done much, to enable the ryots to do away with these evils for themselves. Rather what education we have given has enabled them to feel their evils more. This constitutes the danger of the situation.

We boast, as our claim to hold India, of the security we give to life and property—to peace and justice. The property is poverty except to a few; the life degenerates every year with the race. The peace and justice are for the usurer and zemindar. The people who used to be murdered under the native raj do not thank us. The Brahmin regrets his power—The Mussulman his supremacy.

The "unlucky experiment," as Sir H. Maine mildly calls it, "tried "at the end of last century by Lord Cornwallis," has been an over-throw of rights of cultivators. They had clear and solid rights in the land. But modern ideas of political economy made them into a kind of serf.

The weapon of the Bengal zemindars is litigation, but they want energy, and a large proportion of them have not pressed their claims to extremity.

ILLEGAL EXACTIONS ARE, HOWEVER-NOT WERE, BUT ARE-UNIVERSAL.

In 1879 we find a minute by Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on the "appointment" of the "Commission to "consider the question of amending the Rent Law of Bengal," in which he says that semindars declare the amended "Arrears of Rent Realization Bill" to be of little use to them, and it is they who ask for the Commission.

It is something that there should be "free discussion and deliberation" on the subject; but do we examine the ryots and ascertain what their actual condition is?

ILLEGAL COURSES [HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE], 1879.

We find much matter to the purpose in the Supplements to The Calcutta Gazette—to the purpose, as showing the things acknowledged by Government. This is not the voice of people "disagreeing." It is the High Court of Judicature which speaks.

The High Court of Judicature begins:—"March 4, 1879. 13. The "judges desire to reiterate once more what they have repeatedly "asserted before, that organized resistance to the payments of rents by "ryots is invariably due to systematic efforts to enhance them with "or without cause; that bad relations between zemindar and ryot are "almost universally due, either to the property changing hands, and "to the speculator's attempt to augment the yield of his purchase, or "to the zemindar allowing some one, a middleman, to come between him and the ryots, the middleman talookdar, or whatever he be "called, being left very commonly to raise the profit which he pays by "putting pressure on the ryots.

"14. The judges desire to express the astonishment that they feel at "the observations frequently made on the subject of riots arising out "of rent disputes. Zemindars and perhaps officials are apt to think "that the ryots are to blame. Now it seems to the Court that, from "the nature of the case, the blame must generally rest with the "zemindar. Of course the judges do not mean to say that he is not "more or less frequently subjected to great annoyance, and perhaps to "loss; but so long as he confines himself to legal measures for enforcing his right, there cannot ordinarily be a riot. If rent is refused, "he can sue; if he is resisted in distraining, he can apply to a Court for assistance; if he is entitled to measure lands and is opposed, he "can do the same. There is a legal remedy in each case, and if there is a riot it can hardly be that it does not result from his impatience, "pride, and preference for illegal courses. An obstinate ryot can be

"coerced, but he can legally only be coerced by the aid of the Court; "if no other coercion is attempted there is no occasion for a riot."

The ryots' riots, it is thus said, are the result of the zemindar—of his preference for illegal courses.

THE JUDGES ADDRESS THE BODY OF LANDOWNERS, AND THE GOVERNMENT ENFORCES IT IN THE "GAZETTE."

"The blame," in riots, "must generally rest with the zemindars," the High Court says:—

The documents following after this, upon which the minute of the High Court is based, are painfully interesting.

ENHANCEMENT OF RENTS [HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE], "GAZETTE," 1879.

"The fact is the zemindars seeking enhancement get the best of it, "either by open decree, favourable compromise, or other settlement "agreeable to the zemindar. The ryots cannot afford to carry on "appeals. The zemindar can and does."

This has been forcibly stated elsewhere. But the remarkable thing is—all this appearing in *The Gazette*, and—nothing being done.

And further on (this is still from The Gazette): it is "district "judges" who speak:—

"Zemindars sell out by auction the right of determining, of collecting, and above all of screwing up the rents. When the disagreeable task has been effected, the zemindar re-enters on the estate and
claims to work on the enhanced rent-roll, for the ijaradar's rent collection papers are always carefully stipulated for beforehand. When
a substantial but refractory ryot has managed to hold his own against
series of successive ijaradars, then the zemindar or the later ijaradar
selects him for the ultima ratio of an enhancement suit. As Mr.
Lyall truly observes, it is only as a last resource that a Tipperah
zemindar betakes himself to anything so decorous as a suit-at-law in
order to obtain an enhancement."

Is this "system of periodical, usually triennial, ijara auctions" an unusual case of trickery?

It is stated elsewhere that "here" it is the "customary method of "dealing with ryots even on the zemindaris of really worthy gentle"men."

It is said elsewhere that the zemindar takes to it in almost every district.

One judge goes on (naming some zemindars by name, but their name is "Legion"): "By undisputed rents is meant what the zemindar "chooses to describe to the executive authorities as undisputed rents."

"As a rule, enhancement suits are almost avowedly mere engines "for harassing by expensive processes." "The usual device is to allege "all the possible grounds, increase in area, increase in fertility, "increase in crop value, increase in rates payable by neighbour ryots "of the same class, to hop from the one ground to the other, to fence "over all of them, and to prove none."

It is a judge who speaks.

"As a rule, rent rates even in this fertile district have already been screwed up too high, thanks to the high-handed practices which prevail among ijaradars."

This is from the district judge of Tipperah, but it is not contradicted that these are the practices of zemindars in almost all cases. "Combinations to withhold all rents are a legitimate sequel to "the customary measures for enforcing enhanced rents. Zemindars "and ijaradar substitutes for zemindars, on finding increase in values, "have resorted largely to the other test—that of the increase in rent "rates paid by similar ryots for similar lands. Then in too many "cases the result was intriguing and manœuvring. The standard "device was to bribe this or that member of the ryot class to tell a lie "that he was paying at such and such rates, when in reality, by a "secret treaty, he was to pay only at such or such a rate much "lower. It was this extremely reprehensible intriguing which called "forth combinations to withhold all rents as the only means available "to resist improper enhancement of rents."

[If this is "perjury" it would almost seem a case for the Criminal, not the Civil Courts.]

"There never yet was any sustained combination to withhold rents "which was not a perfectly legitimate reply to a challenge thrown down by the rent claimant himself."

STATE OF THINGS IN A COUNTRY NOMINALLY GOVERNED BY LAW.

The judge virtually says to the people, "We cannot protect you by law; you must protect yourselves by riots!"

* Many things come out incidentally from these remarkable official documents, relating primarily to Eastern Bengal, but true as to zemindar practices in other districts, which illustrate what will be found in other parts of this paper. One is the internal tendency to village wrangling," only "repressed" by the "external danger." Another, "the collector magistrates" are "naturally impressed by the complaints which they hear from their zemindars"—apparently from want of agricultural education of their own. Qualified experts in agriculture seem greatly wanted to make "calculations." "The law says that any increase to the zemindar is to come out of the surplus which remains after labour and stock have been allowed for; in other words, that the zemindar's rent is not to be taken out of the

These Gazettes and official documents are read by the daily increasing class of educated Hindus (not zemindars), increasing under our own influences at Calcutta, Bombay, &c.*

There is a public opinion rising up now; and whatever they think of us, what must we think of ourselves?

ENHANCEMENT, "UNEARNED INCREMENT" [HIGH COURT], 1879.

The Gazette (the High Court) goes on to comment upon the "unearned increment," and the absurdity of this. It says, "Is the "profit by the substitution of valuable jute for coarse rice to be "treated as unearned? Is the bulk, or even a large share of the "profit of that change, to pass necessarily into the pockets of the "zemindars?" . . . If that is to be so, the ryots will be unwise if "they go on introducing new and valuable staples to replace the old ones; "that is to say, go on furnishing the means for raising rents on them-"selves and their neighbours."

ryot's wage earnings, or out of the ryot's working capital." . . "Unfortunately for the zemindar, the law has been reasonable enough to insist that the other, or disbursement side, shall also be looked to. There also the values are found to have increased considerably." It is added that "such calculations" are "difficult." And it seems a truism that agricultural "calculations" can only be well made by "officers well trained" in agriculture.

Another, that practical measures "would do more than reams of reports and sheafs of bills to ensure the much-needed agrarian reforms." How true is this everywhere! Another, "It seems easier to cure symptoms than to cure diseases," says the judge, in reference to "the quartering of punitive police," instead of going to the root of the evil.

As to "agrarian outrage or reprisal:"

"That process first of all begins," it is repeated, "in demands for enhancement, and not till thereafter is followed up by combinations among the ryots for the withholding of rent,"

There are two curious papers by munsifs in the same Gazette, in one of which is an account of how the orthodox Hindus, or "respectable people," "very seldom, if ever, come to give their evidence" at once, saying: "though served with a summons, that it would be derogatory to their dignity if they come merely on a summons," &c. Is this because false evidence hired and contracted for is so common?

"When a village has gone on strike, the landlord singles out a few of the leading men and bribes them to his side with a false measurement, or he throws in a few begahs of land into their pottahs under some fancy name. These men then go to court ready to swear anything against the men on strike, and in a day or two some of them find their houses burnt down about their ears." This was actually "set as a translation paper" ("appropriately enough") "at the half-yearly examination of assistant-magistrates and deputy collectors." Might not some such examination papers be "appropriately" set to Civil Service candidates for India here in England?

This is the key to the whole problem. We see elsewhere a zemindar raising his rents on account of the "bountiful rain which "it has pleased Providence to send." We often see that ryots will not take the water provided by irrigation works on account of the absolute certainty of having their rents raised at once.

So far the judge.

That the ryots do say what the judge supposes, viz., that they will not furnish the means for raising their rents, is unfortunately too truc. But it is strange for the judge to have to speak for the ryots thus. In England it would be an "agitator," a "people's delegate," who would say these things. In India it must be a judge; and what is more, a High Court.

And thus the High Court of Judicature issues a document speaking out from the whole body. It used to be a complaint that the 13 or 15 judges would not speak out as a body. But here, where the whole Court has to make such a case, it should surely draw our attention. There are worse things which might be quoted, but it is not often one has judges as witnesses and a High Court as prosecutors.

But where are the native members of Council? Do these members help, or do they join against their own flesh and blood, like Saturn devouring their own children?

It was our lot to hear a Prime Minister of England say, with a gesture of grief, "It is enough to drive one to despair," referring to the want of help and energy in native members of Council, who should be allies in reforming these things for the cultivator, and who are, on the contrary, hindrances.

I have thus endeavoured rather to put the state of feeling and grievances of the ryots as regards this momentous land question before those much better able than I to judge of what the remedies should be in the Bill now drafted by the Government of India upon the basis of the Bengal Rent Commission's Draft Bill, of the Government of Bengal's, and of various other reports.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS.

THE CONDITION OF THE BYOT.

He is underfed: yet always works hard.

He is helplessly exposed to periodical famines.

He is for the most part in debt.

He is more or less at the mercy of the zemindar, in a country where custom, nor contract, is the rule, and where he must contract himself out of all his rights—of the zemindar, who can raise his rents as much as he likes—and where there is such competition in land, the cultivator is helpless—of the zemindar, who can impose upon him what cesses or taxes he pleases, and he can only obtain redress by going to law; but he is ruined if he goes to law (unless, indeed, he combines in a strong land league against the zemindar).

He is overcrowded and degraded.

He is morally and physically deteriorating, and will be worse in the next generation than in this, if nothing be done.

He is expected to protect himself, and in some measure some have done so of late years by combinations. But he is not protected against the main things: absence of tenant right, meaning that the ryot is always to pay the same rent, and while he pays it not to be evicted; and of illegal abwabs.

That is to say, that the zemindars can impose any rent or cesses which they please,* but are guaranteed against any raising of a rent charge imposed upon them. Hence any improvement in the value of property goes to them instead of going to revenue, public works, &c.

The arbitrary creation by "Proclamation" of a class which has not, as it were, grown up in the soil, could scarcely be expected to succeed; nor was the idea that if the English Government created a Bengal zemindar, he would turn into an English landlord, with all his power of duty and traditions of duty, less visionary than would have been the transplanting of tropical vegetation into the fields of England, and expecting it to flourish there.

The zemindars (about 130,000) have performed perhaps not one of the duties of the landlord class in England.

The cultivators (numbering about 10,000,000 holdings, not numbering the subordinate "tenure holders," about 1,000,000) are in a state which calls more loudly for redress year by year.†

The revenue in 1793, at the time of the Permanent Settlement, was about 3 millions; the zemindars' share was one-eleventh of the revenue.

In three-quarters of a century the Government revenue has increased to $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions, while the zemindars' rental has grown from about a third of a million gross to more than 13 millions net. We

* A sample case :-

The bailiff of a wealthy landholder in Bengal lately wrote to his law-agent in Calcutta as follows: "His Honour, my master, purposes to raise the rents on his estate 5 per cent., in consequence of the recent providential fall of rain; and 2 per cent. more to meet the cess which the Government has imposed on him, in order to diffuse the blessings of education amongst his tenants.

- † Between the zemindars and the cultivators come 724,000 intermediary estates, 620,000 being of a rental below £10.
 - : See Bengal Regulations II, 1.

have given away a land revenue as large as the whole land revenue of all India; for we have allowed between 25 and 30 millions, reckoning illegal exactions, &c., to be extorted from the occupants of the soil, out of which Government receives, instead of ten-elevenths, which was the rule at the Permanent Settlement, about one-cighth.

The loss to the ryots, six millions of whom have holdings of only between two and three acres, paying less than 10s a year, whose condition is deplorable, and nine millions of whom pay less than £2 a year, is as great as that to the State. And do the average zemindars, who are supposed to gain, prosper? But few. How can they? Few do aught which makes men prosper.

Were a prophet to describe this state of things to the Englishman, as Nathan did to David, would not the prophet, on the Englishman rising in his righteous wrath, point to him and say: Thou ART THE MAN?

You ask whether matters as described in the foregoing pages are so still?

Here is the answer.

As has been well said, though this state of things is now being removed by decentralization, "ryots have been toiling in Madras and "starving in the Deccan, in order that gentlemen in Bengal may enjoy "incomes of hundreds of thousands a year free from taxes."

"The richest province of India has been to a large extent defended, "administered, educated, supplied with roads, barracks, hospitals, rail"ways, and canals, and relieved in famine, at the expense of the rest of
"the community."

Well may Niebuhr call the Permanent Settlement "one of the "most unfortunate but best-intentioned schemes that ever ruined a "country."

But he was wrong in his word. It was not the Permanent Settlement, it was the violation of the Permanent Settlement that did this.

The mistake arose "from describing those with whom the Per-"manent Settlement was made as the actual proprietors of the land;" thus the Court of Directors wrote in 1819.

The mistake arose from conceiving that if we described them as the "actual proprietors of the land," that "description" would make them perform its duties.

We must not stay to consider the famous Act of 1859, which seems to have done some harm in recognizing a wholly unprivileged class; in fixing 12 years for the acquisition of occupancy rights [as the Bill stood, every "resident ryot" had a right of occupancy, and three years' cultivation of land made a "resident" ryot even in lands not previously in their occupation, and for which they had no written lease]; in restricting the right to sit at fixed rents to a very limited class, and in providing how to harass occupancy tenants, not so entitled, in order to enhance their rates.

Landlords and tenants are alike dissatisfied. [A full account of this Act of 1859 may be found in a memorandum by Mr. Mackenzie in the Rent Law Commission Report.]

Twenty years afterwards, in 1879, the condition of the tenantry, a blot on civilized administration, is described by officials themselves, as we have seen. As we have seen, the reform which is every year more vitally imperative, and every year more difficult of attainment, has been exhaustively discussed by Government. And their Bill is now launched.

The moment for reconciliation between the classes has been strongly, it is hoped not rightly, said to have passed away for ever.

Something must be done, if only to avert political danger of the gravest kind. There is universal official testimony that nothing is softening down, but all and everything which concerns an impoverished, degraded, and rack-rented peasantry becoming more embittered and threatening overy day.

Adjustment must be effected, but each year matters for adjustments are becoming more entangled.

So far from matters adjusting themselves, the efforts of the landlords to destroy occupancy rights are, where property is increasing in value, yet "more determined and successful."

SUMMARY FOR BEHAR IN 1878.

And what is the state of things now in Behar, a province of twenty millions of people? We will see what it was in 1878. It is declared

Loss to the ryots, loss to the State. Who gains? "Heads I win, tails you lose," might be the motto of the zemindar.

In rent suits and other forms of litigation, possession is nine points of the law. Here is a notice of appeal in a fine case:—"Your Honour may be right, I may be wrong; I may be right and Honour wrong; let Honour give me back the fine, and then at Day of Resurrection, when all hearts will be open, if I am wrong, I will most gladly, sir, return your Honour the money."

To shift the burden of proof in disputed rent cases is the landlord's game, and to have the money till the tenant proves it is not due.

The zemindars have more publicizing power than the ryots; they can command better advocates, better representation. There is always the danger that they will get all the proposed Bill will give them, while concessions to the ryots will be lopped off.

that the "lawlessness" of the landlords, the "cruelty" of their "illegal exactions," keep the "deep and hopeless poverty" of the cultivators at only just above starvation point. In 1878 the Bengal Government thus gives its own testimony:—"In Behar, what is most "wanted is some ready means of enabling the ryot to resist illegal "restraint, illegal enhancement, and illegal cesses, and to prove and "maintain his occupancy rights. Apart from the backwardness and "poverty of the ryot, there are many points in the existing system of "zemindari management which seem to call for speedy amendment, "The loose system of zemindari accounts, the entire absence of leases "and counterparts, the universal prevalence of illegal distraint, the "oppressions incident to a realization of rents in kind, the practice of "amalgamating holdings so as to destroy evidence of continuous holding, "are evils which necessarily prevent any possible development of "agricultural prosperity among the tenant class, and place them "practically at the mercy of their landlords, or of the thekadars " (contractors for a lease), to whom ordinarily their landlords from "time to time transfer their rights."

It is the Government which says this.

A committee of indigo planters and zemindars have themselves reported that the ryots had lost all their rights.

You ask whether matters as described in the foregoing pages are so now?

Here, then, is the answer.

BENGAL RENT LAW COMMISSION, 1880.

We now come to the Commission on the Bengal Rent Law, which reported in 1880.

In a memorandum appended to the report, after a statement in figures of the enormous increase of forced sales of "immovables," most, if not all of the "movables" having been taken, showing that "forced sales of real property, which always affect the poorer classes," have "doubled within the last four years;" after a statement in figures of the increase within the last seven years of suits for arrears, with or without ejectment, to the enormous amount of 130,000 in 1878, mortgages and sales of less than 100 rupees having almost trebled within the same period; after a statement in figures that "the "number of thefts last year has again risen to almost a famine height," we are asked: "Can we, then, say that the people who, in spite of the "most solemn promises of the State to the contrary, have been deprived of a sum nearly equal to the amount of the Franco-German "indemnity, whose movable property is almost nothing, whose lands

"are being sold twice as fast as they were five years ago, who are compelled to encumber their property three times as often as seven years ago, and whose criminal population has reached the figure it was in famine times, are in a fit state to have their rents increased and their customary possession destroyed?"

We are asked "how far it is advisable to give any further facilities "for enhancement without protecting the ryots from the ejectment "theory, which has more or less developed within the last seven or "eight years."

Mark well: the question is not to abolish the Permanent Settlement, but to carry out the Permanent Settlement.

"The Government revenue of the Permanent Settlement was about "£2,850,000, and eight-tenths of the gross rental. One-third of the "land was waste, it is said. On these conditions, if the whole of "Bengal had been under cultivation, the gross rental would be "£4,764,000. According to the Report of the Board of Revenue, it "was, in 1877, equal to £13,037,000. In other words, the rates of "rent, which were intended to be fixed by the Permanent Settlement, "have been trebled, and the ryots are now being compelled to pay an "excessive exaction of £8,273,000 yearly. If this annuity be valued at "twenty years' purchase, it appears that we have deprived the cultivators " of this enormous sum of £165,000,000 and given it to the zemindars, who "still cry for more. What large portions of this enormous income are "squandered by 'mismanagement, extravagance, and want of self-"restraint' may be gathered by a reference to the Report on Wards' " Estates for 1877-8, and other years. During the last few years the "Government has spent 'crores' (out of the public revenues) on "famine. Every Administration Report since 1873 dwells on the bad "feeling existing, and the riots and murders which have occurred "through disputes between landlords and tenants."

Do we still say that our rule has brought peace, and law, and justice to India?

"An act to prevent agrarian disturbances had to be passed, and a committee appointed to inquire why the ryots in Behar had abandoned their holdings and fled to Nepaul."

It is stated that the people in Bengal, at least in some parts, are so near the "extreme limit of self-support," that very little more will "compel Government" to hold "a cadastral survey of the whole "province, and record, once for all, the rights of the people before "they are swept away."

In another memorandum to the Bengal Rent Law Commission Report, on which were two native gentlemen representing especially

the zemindari interest, it is pointed out that there is "much to be "said" for their, the zemindars', "view of the facts, and it is not at "all likely to be left unsaid. The landed and wealthy classes of "Bengal have powerful organs in the press, and powerful friends "both here and at home. They are, many of them, very amiable " persons, of great intelligence and great benevolence. Officials are "glad to do them favours, and find it pleasant to be on friendly " relations with them. Every prejudice arising out of the Western "notions of property, and the relations of landlord and tenant in "Great Britain, is entirely on their side. It is only at the cost of much "dry study of old records, old laws, and old books, and from a close " and critical examination of certain apparently anomalous survivals " in the rural economy of the province, that one comes to learn that "there is, even in permanently settled Bengal, quite another side of "the land question which is not represented in the zemindar's "statement of the case-which has been affected less than is supposed " by modern legislation—which concerns the interests of vast masses " of unfriended peasants, and which the occurrences of recent years " make it necessary, once for all, to bring prominently under the "consideration of Government and the Legislature."

HERE ARE THE WRONGS: BUT WHERE ARE THE RIGHTS? WHAT ARE THE REMEDIES?

"Gentlemen," said the last Emperor of Russia, at once the champion of the principle and the victim of its failure, "if reform "does not begin from on high, it will begin from below." The dumb ryot is finding speech, the deaf government has long since awakened and heard, and the deaf zemindar will hear.

We say no longer, we do not care for the people of India: but—we would care, if only we could understand.

This is a humble earnest contribution to our understanding of part at least of Indian legislative work, which is now being so actively undertaken by the Viceroy and Government of India.

This Government is the true friend of the zemindars, because it seeks to give them good, prosperous, paying tenants instead of rack-rented runaways.

Capitalists are wanted as well as cultivators.

Peasant proprietors are often opposed to improvements. They do

not care for people twenty miles off. For instance, peasant proprietors care not for roads to distant places. Therefore we want landlords and capitalists.

If there were no landlords we think we should have to create them. But we did create them.

And this is the result. Neither do zemindars care for improvements or for people two miles off.

What is the remedy for this state of things?

Certainly not to murder the landlords.

Violence is used to collect the illegal cesses.

What is the remedy for it?

Certainly not to use violence to resist them.

A legal remedy must be sought.

What is the legal remedy?

REMEDIES PROPOSED FOR THE CONDITION OF THE RYOTS IN BENGAL,
AS REGARDS LAND TENURE AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT, OR RATHER
VIOLATION OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

What was done under the Permanent Settlement compared with what might have been done:

What may still be done:

- (a) In protecting the ryot under the old settlements.
- (b) In giving new settlements, either making the ryot's payment the fixed element, or enabling him to purchase on easy terms.
 - 1. Rights of occupancy, or fixity of tenure.

The laws of 1793 gave fixity of tenure to all resident ryots. This is not disputed.

The zemindar appeals to the Permanent Settlement.

So can the ryot.

It is not now whether anything is to be done, but what is to be done?

One remedy proposed is: that the right of occupancy should be attached, not to the ryot, but to the land; that there should be people's land, "ryottee land," as in the old Aryan law, as in European laws, where land is kept for the people, whoever might be the holder.

Another remedy is: to give occupancy right to all resident ryots, privilege on solid ground. Practically this amounts nearly to the same thing.

A counter proposal is: if the ryot or his predecessor has held for twelve years in the same village or estate, though not the same land, this to constitute occupancy right. The khudkasht or "settled" ryot's status to depend not on the holding of one and the same plot of land for twelve years, but on the holding of any ryottee land (whether the same or not it does not matter) in the same village or estate for a period of twelve years whether before or after the passing of the Act.

The general principle of the Act of 1859 was that any resident ryot, for the future as for the past, who had settled himself down for a long course of years, cultivated the land, set up houses and fences, and so on, should be deemed to have a right of occupancy, unless it was shown that he held under a special contract.

But the rights of the old-established ryots were seriously injured by the Act of 1859, which threw on them the burden of proving, not merely that they have held for twelve years in the village or estate, but further, that they have so held in every one of the particular fields or plots in respect of which they claim to have rights of occupancy—a burden which, it need hardly be said, it is impossible for them, in the absence of any trustworthy agricultural records, to discharge. "And, as regards the acquisition of rights of occupancy by new "comers, a matter which is always regarded as absolutely necessary "for the prosperity of the agriculturist class in this country, it "becomes almost impossible under a law which enables the landlord "to prevent it by the simple device of shifting the tenant from one "holding to another before the period of twelve years has run "out."

An amendment of the occupancy provisions of Act X of 1859 in the manner proposed, i.e., twelve years' occupancy of land in the same village or estate to give the right, although the land, or some of it may have been changed, as now proposed,—the distinction between resident and non-resident ryots* being practically given up—would not materially differ in practice from the proposal to give the occupancy rights to all ryots.

2. Remedy: Fair rents; right of enchancement.

The laws of 1793 clearly gave permanency to the ryots as well as to the zemindars, fixed rents as well as fixity of tenure.

• The terms "khordkasht" and "paikast" (purely Persian; Mogul official terms brought from Northern India) were never quite applicable to Bengal; and now, when regular communities are not the rule in Bengal, and hamlets are much scattered, they define scarcely anything. Where, in regular village communities, each aggregation of cultivators live in their own village (as in most parts of India), the distinction between the cultivators of their own lands, i.e., of the lands of their own village, and the temporary cultivators living in another village, is clear enough.

The law of 1793 gave no right of or facilities for enhancement against a ryot paying the ordinary pergunnah rate.

Where the revenue is fixed, it is obviously unfair that fixity-oftenure men should be liable to enhanced rents.

Before the Act of 1859 there was no right of enhancement. By that Act twelve years' men were given occupancy rights, but liable to enhancement. That Act declared the majority of the long-settled resident ryots of that day to have fixity of tenure, but not fixity of rent. It, however, laid down, regulated, and defined the grounds upon which alone the existing rents could be enhanced.

But the law was only enforced by the action of the courts. There was still no attempt to make a public record of the holdings of the ryots.

In Eastern Bengal the commutations of the zemindar's right of enhancement into fixed rents by voluntary agreements on payment of a fine have risen from 50,000 a year to 125,000 or 130,000 a year. The recent papers show this number as formally registered.

This may indeed be thought a better course than one now proposed: -viz, the right of enhancement to include leave to the zemindar to apply to the collector—the collector to act for the zemindar in order to carry a right of enhancement which he could not carry out for himself. This putting in motion the collector to settle and record the rents is entirely at the option of the zemindar.

The collector is to make, too, a record of the prices of agricultural produce for future reference in enhancement suits.

There is no provision whatever enabling the ryots similarly to call in the collector to make a record for their protection.

Instead of this, assistance should be given to the zemindar to obtain a fair enhancement in the rare cases of his increasing by his own expenditure—e.g., by irrigation or drainage—the productive powers of land.

As regards the unearned increment due to increase in value of produce, as well as increase earned by the ryot, no facilities should be given.

But the object should be not only to prevent undue enhancement, but to allow existing unfair rents to be reduced. And for this due provision should be made. It, however, hardly appears to have been made.

If the more summary procedure for rent suits is to be given to the zemindars, then sufficient protection against illegal execution must be given to the ryots.

If improved means of enhancing the rent are to be given to the

zemindar, at the option of the zemindar, then the ryots should be entitled to come in and demand that a public record should be made for their protection. The zemindars should not have the sole option of this.

This second remedy should properly be limited to sufficient facilities for collecting existing rents through summary and effective courts:—

I.e., improved facilities for collecting bond fide existing rents should be given, as a set-off to the twelve years' right of occupancy to those who have held in the same village or estate, the zemindar taking the old law of 1859, and making effective the twelve years' rule, with the provision that it is to be operative notwithstanding change of land within the same village or estate.

3. Remedy: Free sale.

It is proposed to concede free sale to all occupancy ryots; to put no check on forced sales; all ryots' rights to be freely transferable, either by voluntary or by compulsory sale; but the sale to be only to another cultivator; not to be to a non-cultivator, who might keep the old ryot on without any rights at all, as is often done by the money-lenders in the Deccan.

But where, as in India, the cultivator has no inclination to emigrate the right of free sale is not urgently desired by him. On the other hand, it is liked by the landlords on account of the facility for realizing rents which it gives them.

Forced sales are an almost unmitigated evil, owing to the presence on the soil of an expropriated people, deeming themselves unjustly deprived of their immemorial rights, as in the North-West Provinces in the time of the Mutiny; and as in the Deccan so lately.

Suggested Remedy, a Homestead Law, as in America.

The holding of the Indian villager, having probably had its origin in a distribution of the community lands, might be protected for a time at least by a law that no man can be forced to divest himself of that portion of the community land assigned him for his living. So much land is treated as a trust rather than a property. This protects as much land as is necessary for his individual cultivation, together with the implements of cultivation.

To give the power of free sale to a people unaccustomed to such rights seems to be giving them the power of killing the goose which laid the golden eggs.

We become enamoured of peasant proprietors until we find out that they mean money-lenders. But the money-lender does wish to keep the goose alive. He wants to get as much out of it as he can. We shall not find it to be the same here. 4. There is one remedy as to the necessity of which all are unanious; and that is, to take from the ryot the power of contracting himself to of these provisions, and so protect him in the privileges granted him. his refers more particularly to his occupancy rights, but also to other ghts.

A right of occupancy is to be acquired under the new Bill by a titled ryot holding ryottee land "notwithstanding any contract to the contrary." It appears absolutely necessary to prevent our legislation om being overridden by contract. We seem fully justified in directing ar Courts not to enforce contracts, the clear intention of which is to efeat the intentions of the legislature. Here is a sample contract aid to be imposed by Bengal zemindars on Bengal ryots: ["An unce of fact is worth a ton of theory."]

- 1 Monthly instalments drive the ryot the money-lender before the harvest, nd they enable zemindars to wrong is ryot by bringing suits every month ad saddling the ryot with costs.
 - 2 Thirty-seven and a half per cent.
- 3 Bamboo-clumps are "necessaries" or a ryot.
- 4 By Act X of 1871, the ryot is ound to pay half the road cess.
- 5 By Act II of 1878, one-half only of the Public Works' cess is thrown on he ryot.
- 6 By Act VIII of 1862, all the dak ess is payable by the zemindar.
- 7 The imposition of such cesses is bsolutely illegal. See Reg. VIII of .793, and Act VIII of 1869.
- 8 Not the value of even one-fourth he value of the tree.
- 9 I.e., If the land is taken up for public purposes, the zemindar is to get he price paid by Government; the yot nothing.
- N B. The kabuliyat is given by the yot and remains with the zemindar. The patta is given by the zemindar and remains with the ryot. This latter

(1) Kabuliyat.

I, cultivator . take the lease of . bighas of land . I will pay the rent at your kachahri . according to monthly 1 equal instalments. If I fail to pay the rent on due date, I will pay interest at the rate of 2 two pice per rupee per meusem . I will cultivate the land with my own hands . I and my heirs will never acquire a right of occupancy in the land. I will not sub-let . erect buildings, excavate tanks, plant bamboo-clumps 3 and gardens . or transfer or alienate the lands.

I and my heirs will pay, in addition to the rent, road cess 4,

Public Works cess 5,

zemindaree dak cess 6, and any other cess which Government may lovy in future, together with any cess 7 which you may levy.

I will not cut any trees whatever. You are at liberty to cut trees on payment of one-fourth of the price of the wood 8.

I and my heirs will not claim any compensation 9 that may be awarded under Act X of 1870, and under any other law.

(2) Patta (pottah).

You shall enjoy the land paying rent . . and having rights as per kabuliyat.

[This is all]

document gives no details, so that the ignorant tenant never has an opportunity of understanding the nature of his rights and obligations; all these are only entered in the Kabuliyat, which is in the custody of the zemindar.

This is the kind of document—contract we cannot call it—by which our legislation is overridden.

Well may a recent dispatch of the Government of India say:—
"Such is the power of the zemindars, so numerous and effective are
"the means possessed by most of them for inducing the ryots to accept
"agreements which, if history, custom, and expediency be regarded, are
"wrongful and contrary to good policy, that to uphold contracts in
"contravention of the main purpose of the Bill would be, in our belief,
"to condemn it to defeat and failure. It is absolutely necessary that
"such contracts should be disallowed, and, in this conclusion, we have
"the support not only of the Bengal Government, but also of the almost
"unanimous opinions of the Bengal Officers."

What the present Bill provides shall attach to the tenancy notwithstanding any contract to the contrary is briefly as follows:—

- (1) The ryot may use the land in any manner which does not render it unfit for the purposes of the tenancy.
 - (2) He may make improvements on it as provided by the Bill.
- (3) He must pay rent at fair and equitable rates as determined by the Bill. \cdot
- (4) He cannot be ejected, except under a decree passed for breach of certain conditions, or for using the land in such a way as to render it unfit for the purposes of the tenancy.
 - (5) He may sub-let the land.
- (6) His interest is to be transferable, subject to certain rights reserved to the landlord; and
 - (7) His interest is to descend as if it were land.
- "These rights, it will be seen, include the three F's: fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale."
 - 5. Remedy: A regular survey.

In reference to 2, fair rents, right of enhancement, it has been proposed to have a system of district rates and produce rates; in other words, fixing tables of rates for particular tracts; fair rates instead of fair rents for particular holdings. Without a regular survey this would be impossible. On every ground, however, a survey is imperative for Bengal; and a survey and record of rights and payments, as at least regards Wards' Estates and other special estates and areas in Bengal, should be undertaken at once. We are ashamed that European

official administration of Wards' Estates has too often administered them oppressively, as if heaping up riches for the Ward were the only thing to be regarded.

The obligation to maintain district and village accountants has come down in the old laws, though it is now quite unheeded.

The obligation to give written pottahs, or leases, to the ryots, much insisted upon in the old laws, is also little observed, or the pottahs contain no details.

Where anything like a public record of cultivators' rents has been kept, the cultivators, even in poor and dark Behar, have ceased to be wholly at the mercy of landlords. Landlords in Bengal are, in accordance with the provisions of Sir George Campbell's Road Cess Act, required to file in the magistrate's court statements of their lands and of the rents paid to them by their ryots. It was, of course, of importance to the landlords for their own purposes that their receipts from rent should appear at as low a figure as possible.

In Mozufferpore, then, one and another of the ryots of the district came to learn that the record of rent, filed by the landlord, could be used as evidence against himself in any rent suit between landlord and ryot.

Then for the next three months from every part of the district ryots came trooping into Mozufferpore, paid their inspection fee, got a certified copy of the rent at which they were said to hold their lands, and from that time refused to pay the zemindar one rupee more than that amount, which, it need hardly be added, was not in all cases identical with the rent actually paid by the ryot up to that time.

[The rule that one-half of the amount of the road cess is to be paid by the ryot, and the other half by the zemindar, is constantly infringed in practice. Sometimes zemindars realize the full amount of the road cess from the ryots.]

It is a satisfaction to know that instead of the ryots being always at the mercy of their landlords, it is possible now for unjust landlords to be at the mercy of their ryots.

The remedy therefore proposed is:

A public record for the protection of the rights conferred by law on the ryots.

That the holdings of the ryots should be recorded, as in the province of Benares.

That public accountants should be maintained.

And that some such machinery as that of the North-West Provinces for protecting the people should be adopted.

6. Remedy: Effective penalties for illegal exactions beyond the rent.

The present penalty for illegal exactions is that the ryot may sue for twice the amount in damages; e.g., for an illegal cess of one rupee, the damages, if the suit be successful, will be two rupees. This is a ridiculous remedy.

In the Permanent Settlement regulations the remedy is—confiscation. This is a tremendous remedy. There is absolute power provided to confiscate the estates of the zemindar, if he fail in carrying out those conditions upon which alone he received them. He has failed, as has been seen; but his estates have not been confiscated. This has been disallowed, even in those worst instances which elsewhere would have been made use of pour encourager les autres. The argument for negativing it seems to have been: "All landlords "are to be left to do illegal acts, because all landlords do do illegal "acts."

Remedy: Instead of the tremendous, never-used remedy of confiscation, a thorough eradication of illegal cesses so generally imposed in defiance of law, adequate deterrent penalties being exacted.

And as protection against illegal exactions, a public record for future safety.

 Remedy: Criminal prosecution, not civil action, for breach of law by landlord.

It has been suggested that "barefaced systematic violations of the "law by the landowners" should be met, not by "a civil action by a "frightened and resourceless peasant," who has no money to pay the fees, but by criminal law—e.g., that illegal distraint (universally prevalent in Behar) should be punishable by fine and imprisonment; that the omission to give written leases or receipts should be punished, "not by "the possibility of a suit, but by the certainty of a criminal prosecution "and a penal sentence."

It is answered: But you have the legal power of confiscation of estates, and you never use it. The reply of course is: There is a middle course between a tremendous and a ridiculous remedy.*

And the ryot whispers, though a "dumb animal," "We stand upon "our immemorial rights of occupancy" and "We look upon a lease "rather as a 'long notice to quit."

It will be remembered that in 1860, in Bengal, a proposition actually passed into law for six months, enforcing contracts between the European (planter) and the ryot, not, as they are in all civilized countries, by an action for damages in a civil court, but by a criminal suit with the penalty of imprisonment. Sir John Lawrence strenuously opposed these "Specific Performance Clauses." It may be said that the landlord ought not to be subject, though it is not in reality a similar case, to what is condemned for the ryot.

BEHAR.

8. Behar, the evils of which are so much more crying than those of Bengal, must occupy a different category. The Behar ryot will submit to be ousted from all his immemorial rights: he has no fight in him. The late Commission of indigo planters and zemindars themselves admit that they have been chopping and changing the lands of poor ignorant ryots, so that there is scarcely a right left in Behar. The Behar ryot has lost the right of occupancy by one field being taken for indigo one year, another another. The Behar Commission tells us that while 60 per cent. of the ryots have held land in the same village for more than twelve years, less than 1 per cent. hold exactly the same land as twelve years ago.

Behar has a different race, a different language, and different social institutions from Bengal; and though Bengal without Behar, has forty millions of people, yet Behar has half that number. Twenty millions of people is a kingdom; and of this kingdom the great zemindars have respected very few old rights and have adopted the worst system of all, that of temporary middlemen farmers (ticcadars). Under this system the villages are put up to the highest bidder, and let to a speculator, from whose hands they have fallen into those of European indigo planters, who give very high village rents to the zemindar, but take his (arrogated) feudal power and have no voluntary contracts with the ryot.

There are very few Mahommedan cultivators in Behar—the tough and resolute element of Bengal. The Behar ryots are a mass of poor low castes. They were not strong enough to bring their cases before the Courts, and this is the result. They are crushed by constant and excessive increase of rent. Rents have been doubled, and more, within a few years. Rack-renting is extreme. At least half the gross produce,—but often more—generally paid in kind, goes to the zemindar, who supplies nothing but the land. There is scarcely anything like it in any other part of the world.

BEHAR: HERE ARE THE WRONGS; BUT WHERE ARE THE RIGHTS?

The rights conferred on the ryots in 1793 extended to those of Behar, as also did the settlement of 1859.

But as the mixed Commission of 1878 tells us they have been deprived of all these rights and ground down to the lowest point, The Local Commission, the Bengal Rent Law Commission, the Famine Commission, Sir Stuart Bayley (Commissioner in Sir George Campbell's Licutenant Governorship), Sir Richard Temple, Sir Ashley Eden,

"all gave the same account of the "deep poverty and misery of the "ryots," the "grinding traditional oppression," the "condition of the "peasantry lower than that of any other peasantry with equal natural "conditions." "There can be no doubt whatever that the combined "influence of the zemindars and the ticcadars (temporary middlemen "farmers) has ground the ryots of Behar down to a state of extreme "depression and misery.

"The tenants are said to have no rights, to be subject to the exac"tion of forced labour, to illegal distraint, and to numerous illegal
"cesses.

"It is this great curse of Behar which makes the ryots of the richest provinces of Bengal the poorest and most wretched class we find in the "country."

BEHAR: WHAT ARE THE REMEDIES?

Proposed Remedy.—Every ryot who has held for three years any portion of what may be called peasants' land, as distinguished from lords' land, and has held some land of this kind in the same estate for twelve years (though not the same land) shall have right of occupancy, as laid down by Act X of 1859.

Every ryot who has not established a right of occupancy under the law of 1859, but who has held for three years, shall have, if dispossessed, a year's rent as compensation for disturbance, and also compensation for improvements.

Another Proposed Remedy.—Also to restore the old system of public accountants and public accounts; for any concession of rights is of little use unless these rights are recorded and protected by an accurate public register and by a much more active administration.

This last is the more necessary, because Behar, as has been said, is an immense province, the one division of Patna containing as many people as the Presidency of Bombay, and several single districts as many as minor European kingdoms, while the sub-divisions are equal to districts in other parts of India.

Additional Proposed Remedy.—To undertake at once the survey and settlement (i.e. record) of the Patna Division, equal in population and probably in number of tenures to the Bombay Presidency, in order to settle fair rents, to cut down rents plainly exorbitant, and to bring up those beneath fair and prevailing rates to that standard on the zemindar's demand.

An actual existing remedy is, a Voluntary Association of indigo planters; who have just appointed an agent of their own to go about and investigate complaints.

Had the Bengal planters adopted the plan which these planters in Behar have adopted with good effect, viz., of having a paid agent whose special duty it is to inquire into all cases of oppression and of disputes between planters and ryots, the result in Bengal would have been very different. The Bengal indigo planters would not give way. They refused reform, and revolution took place. The trade has, to a great extent, collapsed.

Provision for an effective survey, record, and settlement of rights in the Patna Division, and eventually for the whole province of Behar,—and as regards Bengal for the survey and record of rights and payments in Wards' Estates and other special estates and areas in Bengal, must be immediately made if any remedies are to be efficient or any rights secured at all.

I wish we had space to go farther into the exhaustive Report of the Rent Law Commission, the Draft Bill which it prepared, the Draft Bill which followed, prepared by Mr. Reynolds, Secretary to the Bengal Government, and circulated by Government for the opinions of the Judges, the Civil Services and the public; and other Draft Bills, Government opinions and amendments—papers which for intensity of interest are almost terrible—and for research and statesmanlike ability are almost equal to the transcendent importance of the subject.

But, before going into any question of indirect remedies, it might be as well to ask what speech, if any, has come from the hitherto dumb ryots themselves in all this stir and struggle?

RYOTS' MEETINGS, 1881.

During 1881 ryots' meetings were held in Calcutta, Hugly, Burdwan, in the twenty-four Pergunnas, Birbhum, in Nuddea and other places, showing how a public opinion is at last being created among them; at these, resolutions were regularly passed. And petitions also were prepared and signed. I propose to notice the resolutions only of one meeting—that at Calcutta—and two petitions.

These resolutions concern Mr. Reynolds' Bill. This Bill gives all resident ryots right of occupancy, but requires ryots claiming fixed rents to go back to 1839, twenty years before the Act of 1859, instead of twenty years from the date of action.

Resolution 2 protests against Mr. Reynolds's Draft Bill "as being "calculated to deprive the ryots and under-tenure holders of an important "right which they have enjoyed since 1859. That inasmuch as these sections require ryots and tenure holders in permanently settled estates "claiming a fixed rent, to produce evidence to show that they have been "in possession of their holdings at such a fixed rent ever since 1839, and

"not for twenty years before the institution of the suit, as required "by Act X, of 1859, and the Draft Bill of the Rent Commissioners, "and that, inasmuch as in the vast majority of cases it will not be "possible for the ryots to produce such evidence extending over such a "length of time, this meeting is of opinion that the existing law on "the subject should not be altered."

[How, indeed, could farmers in England bring such proof?]

Resolution 3. "That this meeting, while it feels grateful to his "Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for the intention he has expressed "to confer upon all settled cultivators the boon of occupancy right, is of. "opinion that the same right should be conferred upon paikast (non-"resident) ryots who have been or shall be in continued possession of "their land for twelve years or more; and this meeting views with "regret that under the Bill, as drafted by Mr. Reynolds, paikast ryots "are not allowed to retain their land against the will of the zemindar, "though under the provisions of the Bill as drafted by the Rent Com-"missioners, ryots who have held land for three years could not be "evicted so long as they paid rent regularly." [Paikast ryots are, however, few in number, and generally not poor.]

Resolution 6. "That this meeting strongly protests against the "alteration proposed by Mr. Reynolds, in sections 36 and 77 of the old "Bill, by which the right to build pucka-houses and to cut trees without "the consent of the zemindar had been granted to the ryots, but which "have been withdrawn under the provisions of the new Bill. This "meeting thinks it most undesirable that these rights should be with"held from the ryots; as in the first case they should be encouraged to build pucka-houses, and as in the second to allow the cutting of trees, "&c., to be regulated by local customs, would place the ryots entirely at the mercy of the zemindars, and lead to constant litigations."

BYOTS' PETITION, 1881.

The ryots' petition to Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, from which I propose to quote, also states that "it is hopeless "to expect that men in the position of your petitioners, without any "education,* and who cannot take care of their own interests, would "be found able, as a rule, to produce receipts extending over a period

* The state of ignorance of the ryots was thus described by a native gentleman: "The country is yet in primæval darkness: the millions are dumb; they do not know who governs them; what is finance; who makes laws. All that they know is that they live in Maharanee's Moolluk (i.e., in Queen's dominions), and that the Deputy-Magistrate, or the Magistrate who governs them, is their Hakim or Judge. They therefore require a protector, a guardian, to save them from oppression of the strong and the rich, and from the freaks of the Mofussil Hakim."

"of nearly forty years," even "admitting that these receipts might be "preserved, if proper care were taken of them." But "rent receipts "are for the most part given in loose sheets of paper of the worst kind, "which are stored away by the ryots in handis (earthenware vessels) "and other receptacles of a similar nature; and it would be next to "impossible, in a climate like that of this country, to preserve them "for more than twenty years at the outside." "A serious blow would be dealt at the interest of the ryots" if this were "to be incorporated in the proposed Rent Law."

3. "Ryots who had been in continued possession of their holdings "for a period of twelve years and more were declared occupancy ryots "under the old Bill. This right is taken away from paikast ryots "under the provisions of the new Bill. Your Petitioners would " respectfully pray that paikast* ryots, who have been, or shall be, in "continued possession of their land for a period of twelve years and "more, may be placed on the same footing with khood-kast (resident "or occupancy tenant) ryots, and may be declared to be ryots enjoying "the occupancy right. It cannot be to the good of the State or "conducive to the welfare of the agricultural community that any "portion of the community should be reduced to the position of mere "tenants at will, who may be evicted from their lands at the will of "the zemindar, and who, in this respect, is at liberty to exercise an "unbounded discretion, unfaltered by any salutary provision of the "law. But under the Bill, as drafted by Mr. Reynolds, paikast ryots "have virtually been reduced to this position; for under its provisions "ryots are not allowed to retain their land against the will of the "zemindar, though under the Bill, as drafted by the Rent Commis-"sioners, ryots who had paid rent for three years could not be evicted, "as long as they paid their rent regularly."

The Permanent Settlement may be claimed by the ryots to maintain their rights, just as much as by the zemindars to maintain theirs.

And the leading ryots seem now happily to have got hold of this. The Petition says: 4. "The zemindars have been all-powerful; and "though the rent payable to the zemindar was fixed in the same way as "the revenue payable by him to Government, the zemindar has gone "on enhancing his rent; and what, indeed, is truly remarkable, the "Legislature has ratified with its authority the power of the zemindar to "claim enhancement of rent—a power expressly taken away from him by "the provisions of the Permanent Settlement."

• The distinction between resident and non-resident ryots is practically abandoned. It is said that it never was quite applicable to Bengal, and it is shown that now, at any rate, when regular communities are not the rule in Bengal, and hamlets are much scattered, those terms are not definite or sufficient.

- ". . Your Petitioners cannot but complain that the time "during which rents shall not be liable to enhancement has been "limited to only ten years, which actually places the Bengal ryot in a "worse position than that of the ryot in Upper India and Bombay, "with whom the Government fixes the rent for thirty years, during "which it is not liable to enhancement. Further, your Petitioners "cannot but regret that it is proposed to allow the zemindar to raise "the rent to double its former rate."
- 5. "Your Petitioners are of opinion that the cumbrous machinery "provided for the disposal of rent suits in the Rent Bill is unnecessary, and that the rapid disposal of such cases would be greatly "facilitated by the appointment, if necessary, of additional Moonsifs "who shall take cognizance exclusively of rent suits."

So far the Petition.

As regards the zemindars, no speedy mode of realizing undisputed rents from the ryots has been devised. There will still be room (I again quote from native authorities) for the ryot to file false receipts, to prove false payments, and to produce false evidence in rent fuits in our Courts of Justice. "You know the sad history of this unfortunate "country," say these native authorities, who are in favour of the ryots. "There is no check, no restraint of public opinion here. "Corruption is systematically practised in our Courts of Justice. "The ministerial officers—the Amlahs of our Courts of Law-are "proverbially corrupt. They extort large sums of money from the "litigants. One can get plenty of witnesses in this country ready to "swear by anything and to give false evidence for money. In not a "few cases, forged documents are produced; sometimes the crime is "detected, sometimes it is done in such an ingenious manner that it "escapes scrutiny. Imagine the state of such a weak and unprotected "class as the ryots in a court of justice. They generally depend for "legal advice on the law agents-the Mooktars-who do not fail to "rob them of the little they have. The field for work in this country "is very extensive, but alas! the workers are so few."

INDIAN ASSOCIATION'S PETITION, 1881.

The other petition I propose to quote from on the subject is one from the Indian Association, also in 1881.

It is the only Association in Bengal which may justly be called the people's Association.

It begins by noticing the ryots' public meetings, which enable us "to form a tolerably correct idea of the views of the ryots them"selves," and by showing the importance "that Government should

"know what the views of the ryots are." It shows "that the relations between landlords and tenants are in a most unsatisfactory state.

It quotes from the famous Regulation I, of 1793, expressly reserving the power of interfering for the benefit of the ryot.*

The zemindars quote from the Permanent Settlement. But it is the ryots' advocates, and not the zemindars, who are the true followers of the Permanent Settlement.

There is a further quotation from a dispatch of the Court of Directors, previous to the conclusion of the Permanent Settlement, about "interposing our authority in making from time to time all "such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the ryots being "improperly disturbed in their possession, or loaded with unwarrant-"able exactions." . . . "Our interposition" being "clearly con-"sistent with the practice of Mogul Government" . . "that the "cultivator of the soil duly paying his rent should not be dispossessed "of the land he occupied."

6. "... Under the Regulations of the Permanent Settlement, "the zemindars have no power to enhance rents beyond the pergunnah "rate—the rate that prevailed in the pergunnah at the time of the "Permanent Settlement."... "But surely it is both opposed to "reason, and to all sense of fairness, that zemindars should repudiate "that portion of the Regulations which would be to the benefit of the "ryot, but that they should be allowed to seek shelter behind," &c., &c.

7. "... The prosperity of the peasantry means the prosperity "of the zemindar. A teeming population of impoverished ryots is "what no prudent zemindar would like to have on his state. If the "ryots find it hard to maintain themselves, they will find it much "harder to pay their rents. If, on the contrary, they are prosperous "and well to do, they will pay the rents punctually, the zemindars will "get their dues; there will be less of litigation, less of those bitter and "angry feelings which now unhappily characterize the relations between "landlords and tenants."

We now return to the remedies, but have only space for two proposed remedies, both *indirect* ones, among many others to be hereafter touched upon; and on these two probably all will be agreed.

- 9. Remedy-Revival of Village Communities.-There is an increas-
- First, it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil; and so zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay.

ing feeling in favour of reviving as far as possible the ancient village communities, of paying greater attention to the village system, indigenous to the soil of India, but much destroyed in Bengal, of making the immemorial headmen of the village act more as organs of the cultivators,—in favour, too, of the custom of summoning village headmen by Government officials as these make their rounds.

It would appear as if Lord Ripon's Local Representation scheme were to begin, as it ought, by Village Representation, which is almost identical with India.

10. Remedy—Encouragement of trades and industries.—The consequence of the want of other employments is excessive competition for land, upon which follows rack-renting. There is little competition in India except for land.

This immense subject, which is now receiving the attention of the Government of India, can only be glanced at here.

If the condition of the peasantry had not been set to rights in the Punjab by John Lawrence, when the Mutiny broke out, where should we have been?

At the outbreak of the Mutiny, in the west of Bombay Presidency, the chiefs tried to make the ryots join the revolt. And they refused. They said: "When we were under you, what did you do for us?" Therefore, we will not rise against the English who have improved "our condition."

Our own safety is a reason for solving this tremendous problem.

To sum up in a few words:--

What is wanted is:—(1) Fixity of Tenure, or Occupancy Rights:
(2) Fair rents, in a country where from time immemorial the ryot's right to have his payments fixed by the authority of Government has been recognized: (3) A complete public record of the holdings of the ryots: (4) Free sale is doubtful; but, if free sale, then the sale to be only to another cultivator. What is wanted is: (5) To take from the ryot the power of contracting himself out of his rights: (6) Effective penalties for illegal exactions beyond the rent: (7) Above all, a regular survey in Bengal; the re-establishment of public accountants: (8) In Behar all evils are intensified and the above wants and others more keenly felt. Compensation for disturbance is wanted; an accurate public register, and a much more active administration. As indirect remedies: (9) Revival of village communities; and (10) Encouragement of trades and industries are wanted.

G. NORMAN AND SON, PRINTERS, HART STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.

Protected Princes in India

By
SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

"BE JUST AND FEAR NOT"

THIS article is a plea for the establishment of a tribunal to provide a public and judicial hearing in cases, civil and criminal, affecting the interests of Indian Princes; and more especially those cases in which the Paramount Power, now acting as sole arbiter, is itself an interested party. In no other way can the position of Indian Princes be rendered secure, as guaranteed by Queen Victoria in the Proclamation of 1858, when assuming the direct Government of India. On that memorable occasion Her Majesty, speaking on behalf of the British people, declared, "We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own"; an inviolable pledge, endorsed and ratified by King Edward and King George.

The conception of such a tribunal is nothing new or strange: the principle was enunciated, one and a quarter centuries ago, by Edmund Burke when, as the cardinal factors of a good—and safe—administration in India, he prescribed "a government by law, and publicity in every executive and judicial concern." And a definite proposal on these lines was put forward by Mr. John Bright in his great speech of June 24, 1858, in the House of Commons, when he foreshadowed the main provisions of Queen Victoria's Proclamation. In that speech he proposed the establishment of "a Court of Appeal, the judges of which should be judges of the highest character in India," for the settlement of disputes in which the Government of India

was a party; and he added, "I would not suffer these questions to come upon the floor of this House. I would not forbid them by statute, but I would establish a court which should render it unnecessary for any man in India to cross the ocean to seek for that justice which he would then be able to get in his own country without corruption and secret bargain."

Again, twenty years later, the claim for this measure of justice was revived by Sir David Wedderburn, an independent member of the House of Commons, who had made India his special study, and was deeply interested in her welfare. In the article, now republished by favour of the Nineteenth Century, he points out that the Indian Princes "enjoy neither the independence of foreign princes, nor the privileges of British subjects"; also, that the procedure now followed in political cases is open to grave abuses, the decision being based on secret enquiry, and confidential reports from political agents, without the sanctions of publicity and recorded evidence.

On January 1, 1877, at Delhi, before a solemn assemblage of the princes and people of India, proclamation was made that Queen Victoria had assumed the title of Empress of India; and Sir David quotes with sympathy the "Deccan Address" of December, 1876, a document indicating the royal boons which, following ancient usage, would have added special grace to Her Majesty's historic announcement. In this document a hope was expressed that the opportunity would be taken to bring the Princes of India into more cordial association with the Councils of the Empire, so that those dependent Sovereigns might be confirmed as "a permanent and integral portion of the Imperial system," With what seems prophetic intuition of coming events, the framers of the Address, speaking for enlightened Indian opinion, declared that by the development of free

institutions the people of India would become more manly and self-reliant; and would "welcome their connection with England as a providential arrangement intended for their welfare, and resolve to abide by it through all the troubles and trials of their mutual growth."

Accordingly, in the present European crisis, the Indian Princes, as the natural leaders of the Indian people, have, with one accord, placed their personal serivce and all the resources of their States at the disposal of the King-Emperor; and there could not be a more fitting occasion for a gracious act of Imperial recognition, which would secure to them their rights, dignity, and honour; and at the same time would be welcomed by the whole of India.

The establishment of a suitable tribunal to make public enquiry, and advise His Majesty's Government with regard to cases affecting the interests of the Ruling Chiefs, would be to them practical proof that the Paramount Power is determined to do justice, without fear and without favour; and would inspire in their minds confidence in the enduring goodwill of the British people

To those who understand the Indian character it will be evident that the path of safety lies in the direction of mutual trust and practical solidarity of interests.

W. WEDDERBURN.

Meredith, Gloucester. November, 1914.

PROTECTED PRINCES IN INDIA

W W

WHEN proclamation was made, on the 1st of January, 1877. to all the Indian princes assembled around the walls of Delhi, that the Queen of the United Kingdom had assumed her statutory title of Empress of India, an uneasy feeling was aroused in the minds of those princes as to the political changes which the new title so pompously announced might be expected to involve. The native prince resembles the British farmer in believing that, however unsatisfactory the existing state of affairs may be, any change is likely to be for the worse; but after the lapse of a year alarm seems to have given place to disappointment, for exaggerated hopes as well as fears had been entertained by many. Certainly the occasion seemed a fitting one for the inauguration of useful reforms in the complicated relations subsisting between the British Government and the native chiefs, from the Nizam with his 0.000,000 subjects down to a Kathiawar Girasia with his cluster of mud huts and his revenue of one thousand rupees. The old policy of annexation upon the slightest pretext has indeed been formally abandoned, and the ruling chiefs at the Imperial assemblage received distinct assurances that the new Empress has no intention of reducing their numbers, or diminishing the extent of territory which they now possess. Nor have these assurances been words only, for in the recent case of the Gaekwar a practical proof has been given that the Paramount Power is unwilling to annex, even under the most tempting conditions. Of all native States the one best qualified to excite British cupidity is Baroda, embracing a fertile and populous territory intermingled with our own in a manner calculated to produce endless difficulties as to revenue and jurisdiction, lving near Bombay, our principal seaport, and incapable of

offering any resistance to our forces. This State was ruled in 1875 by a treacherous tyrant of proved incapacity for government and without any legitimate heir. Here was certainly a strong case for annexation according to the notions of 1855, and Malhar Rao would have been the last Gaekwar had the Dalhousie ideas been still in favour. But the experience of twenty years has altered our policy in India as well as in Turkey, and after the deposition of the offending prince no attempt was made at rectification of frontiers, nor was a British official appointed to administer the State. The widow of Malhar Rao's brother and predecessor was allowed to adopt a child, said to be descended from the original founder of the Gaekwar dynasty, and to him the principality was transferred, while the regency during his minority was intrusted to a native administrator from a remote part of India, Sir Tranjore Madava Rao of Travancore. Such a course cannot fail to produce a tranquillising effect upon the native mind; and as we did not annex Baroda in 1875, it may be taken for granted that the encroaching red line is not likely to make much progress upon the map of India in the immediate future, and that the time is vet distant when the prophecy ascribed to Hyder Ali shall be fulfilled: "Sab lál howega," all shall become red.

If this be the case, and if we are still to have the native princes in our midst, it is desirable that their constitutional position in the Empire should be clearly determined, and that their part should be assigned to them in its general administration. Hitherto no definite policy has guided the Government of India in dealing with the protected chiefs, who have been coaxed and bullied, patronised and snubbed, according to the temper of individuals in the highest quarters, cajolery and patronage being at present the order of the day, although there are already symptoms of a change. At the Delhi assemblage it seems to have been taken for granted that the highest ambition of a Raja is, or ought to be, the possession of a golden medal, a silken banner, and an heraldic coat-of-arms. Titles of dignity and orders of knighthood have been distributed with a lavish hand, extra guns have been fired in salutes, even honorary rank in the

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British army has been conferred upon Hindoo chiefs. If the great princes felt a secret humiliation in being summoned from all parts of India to grace the triumph of a British viceroy at Delhi, nothing was spared that stars and ribbons and blank cartridge could do to alleviate their humiliation. At the same time they were given to understand clearly that the British Government are equally unwilling to relinquish and to annex, and that no demands would be entertained upon such vexed questions as Gwalior Fort or the Berars. Altogether recent occurrences go to prove the desire of our Government, so far as India proper is concerned, to maintain intact our existing frontier, and to annex, if anywhere, beyond the external boundaries of Hindostan. Nearly fourfifths of the population of India are already under British rule, but 50,000,000 are still subject to native rulers, besides 5,000,000 in Mysore, who will be placed under the young Maharaja when he attains his majority, and two-fifths of the entire area of the country are included in the native States. The authority possessed by the numerous chiefs, who rule collectively over a territory equal in area to France, Germany, and Spain, varies greatly in degree, some of them being wealthy princes, holding powers of life and death over populations equal to those of second-class European kingdoms, while others resemble feudal barons, exercising a limited jurisdiction over one or two villages, and others again are no more than petty squires. A complete manual of what may be called the Indian Peerage, with its numerous and varied grades, has just been given to the public in a work containing detailed information about all the native chiefs and States of India. Of those who maintain soldiers there are as many as four hundred and sixty, with a grand total of more than 300,000 troops, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, about two-thirds of this numerically strong force belonging to ten important States. The numbers of these troops may seem alarming, especially when we hear that the artillery consists of 9,390 men and 5,252 guns; but most of the latter are fit only for a museum of antiquities, and the functions of the former consist mainly in firing salutes from such guns as may be mounted on

carriages and may be expected not to burst. It is certain that most, but not all, of the native armies are kept for show, and are not effective in a military sense; above all it must be remembered that they do not possess breech-loaders.

The average life of an Indian prince is short, and the period of minority according to English law is long, so that native States are frequently under a regency, and a large proportion of those seated upon the "gádí" or cushion of State are children. When all the Indian princes assembled at Delhi for the Imperial proclamation, only three were entitled to a royal salute of twenty-one guns-viz., the Nizam, the Gaekwar, and the Maharaja of Mysore—and all three were children. During the minority of young chiefs the Paramount Power claims a special right of intervention, and, like the Roman senate and people in similar cases, assumes the office of guardian. The manner and degree of intervention have varied greatly from time to time, and so many different experiments have been tried that something is now really known as to the most suitable mode of government for a protected native State. In some cases a British official has been appointed with large powers to govern the country, and without his express sanction not a single rupee can be spent: e.g., Kolhapur, the oldest surviving Mahratta State, where chronic minority has recently prevailed, the late Raja having died just as he attained majority. In the case of Baroda a distinguished native statesman has been summoned from a distance, and placed in authority over the minor's dominions. In other instances native regency of local notables has been formed, and left to act mainly upon its own discretion. Perhaps the most successful of all arrangements has been that of "joint administrators," such as was adopted by the Bombay Government for the State of Bhaunagar in the Kathihawar peninsula. Here a member of the Bombay Civil Service was appointed to administer the State during a minority in conjunction with a Brahman of high character and great experience, the minister of the former chief. These two administrators exercised jointly the same powers as had been enjoyed by the late Thákur, but in case any irreconcilable difference of opinion

should arise between them a casting vote was given to the European official. It was confidently expected that this special power would seldom be employed, and that if European and native happened to take opposite views of a question a fair compromise would generally be effected; but it was deemed desirable that, when this could not be done, English ideas should be allowed to prevail. result was that during a joint administration of six years and a half the casting vote was never once employed; a happy blending of European and native ideas was accomplished, whereby local opinion was carried along with many reforms that appeared desirable from an English point of view, while in other cases the danger was avoided of injuring the people, as they are so frequently injured in India, by energetic endeavours to do them good against their will. The native minister, thoroughly understanding his own countrymen, kept his European colleague clear of the besetting error of forcing on changes beneficial in themselves, but premature. At the same time the strong sense of duty and the love of justice, for which natives give full credit to the "Sahebs," influenced all the dealings of the Bhaunagar Darbár, and, the selection of the two colleagues having been peculiarly fortunate, an almost ideal government was the result. Among other merits this arrangement has maintained a continuity ot men and measures, and will leave the State in a condition fitted for the resumption of native rule when the young Thákur attains his majority.

During the course of a prolonged tour through India, in British territory and in native States, nowhere have I seen more distinct evidences of general contentment and material prosperity than in Bhaunagar, which does not enjoy special advantages of climate, soil, or position, being an arid, treeless country, without railroads or good harbours. During the last half-dozen years roads, bridges, tanks and plantations have been made on all sides, useful and elegant public buildings have been erected, such as schools, court-houses, lighthouses, and travellers' bungalows, while regular steam communication with the mainland has been organised across the Gulf of Cambay. A branch railway to join the "Bombay,

Baroda, and Central India" line has been also proposed by the Bhaunagar Darbár, who offered to advance the money necessary for its construction at a low rate of interest; but the scheme has not yet received the sanction of the British Government, although it is difficult to imagine any objections to it on public grounds, and there is reason to fear that it has met with interested opposition, as the proposed branch railway to the port of Bhaunagar might divert a portion of the cotton traffic now passing along the main line.

The reproductive works and permanent improvements, of which we hear so much, and see so little, in British India, have been actually carried out with success in this native State, with an area of 2,784 square miles, containing about 400,000 inhabitants, and possessing a gross revenue of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, a quarter of a million sterling. It may be asked: "Have not the future resources of the State been heavily mortgaged in this process by the contraction of debt? Have not the people been crushed with taxation in order to effect improvements such as an Indian community is too poor to afford?" The reply is that the Bhaunagar treasury contains a surplus accumulated to meet the possible exigencies of famine or pestilence (war being happily out of the question in a protected State), and that taxation, as distinct from land-revenue or rent, is so light as to be almost unfelt. Salt in particular is scarcely taxed at all, bringing in less than 8,000 rupees, opium upwards of 18,000 rupees, taxes on trades, etc., 73,000 rupees, and customs by land and sea 3,11,000 rupees: altogether a small proportion of a total revenue of 26,00,000 rupees. As regards the land-revenue, on the other hand, the amount paid in Bhaunagar is equal to five rupees per head of the population, while it varies in the British Provinces according to the following table:-

					R	pees	Annas	Pies
Assam		•••				IJ	5	0
Bengal		•••				9	3	0
Bombay						2	4	0
Madras and	Nort	h-west	Prov	inces		I	5	0
Punjab						1	1	7

As land-revenue is the rent payable to the State as owning the soil, a large amount so paid is less an indication of oppres-

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sion than of a productive and well-cultivated soul, while a low figure is usually the result of sterility or overpopulation.

The people of Bhaunagar, even the humblest classes, are conspicuous, beyond those of any other part of India that I have visited, for the abundance and cleanliness of their garments, and in a climate where clothing is rather a matter of dignity than of necessity such a fact is full of significance. Even in this country the pawning of the Sunday suit is one of the earliest and surest symptoms of hard times among the working classes, and in India there is no surer sign of prosperity in any district than the amount of clothing habitually worn by the inhabitants. opportunity for judging of the material condition of the inhabitants was afforded by the great Mohammedan festival of the Mohurrum, which took place while I was in Bhaunagar, and which brought crowds of well-dressed and well-fed cultivators into the town to join in the revels of the citizens. Although the Mussulmans are few and uninfluential in this part of Guzerat, the festival is eminently popular, and all took part in it, including Brahmans and Raiputs, with as great a zest as if Hindoo divinities, not Mussulman martyrs, had been thereby honoured and lamented. The scene was simply the Italian Carnival or Saturnalia in an Eastern garb, and seemed brilliant even to eyes fresh from the gorgeous pageantry of Delhi; but whereas the display at Delhi was the result of official pressure and princely emulation, this was the spontaneous holiday-making of a prosperous commonalty. Among the many honourable and pleasant functions which an Indian civilian may be called upon to discharge, few if any are preferable to such an appointment as that of administering a well-to-do native state, where he can literally "scatter plenty o'er a smiling land." But changes in the Indian service are sudden and violent, and great was the consternation of the Bhaunagar people when a telegram arrived from headquarters ordering off their English administrator to the other end of the Presidency to take charge of a famine-stricken district in the Southern Mahratta country. The chorus of lamentation was universal from the young Thákur downwards. Mr. P.* was leaving the place without any prospect of returning, and there was little either to hope or to fear from him in the future; but high and low vied with each other in their testimony of affectionate gratitude and regret. As a witness of what then passed, I was satisfied that it is possible, although by no means easy, for a genuine friendship to arise between British officers and the natives over whom and through whom they rule.

Between the people of India and the British authorities there is no class which occupies a more independent position than the missionaries of various Christian denominations, and although their converts are few, they frequently succeed in acquiring the complete confidence of the natives as being men of courage, integrity, and culture, totally unconnected with the Government. The evidence of such men upon native affairs, especially as regards the raivats, is perhaps the most valuable that can be obtained, and in the case of Bhaunagar there is the authority of the local missionary for stating that the cultivators are "in the most prosperous condition." The young Thákur has been carefully educated under English tuition, he has also been for some time associated with the joint administrators in the management of public affairs in order to prepare him for the duties which he will soon have to discharge on his own responsibility, and it may be reasonably hoped that the country will continue to prosper under his rule.

I have dwelt at some length upon the case of Bhaunagar, partly because I had special opportunities for observing and understanding the management of this State, which is by no means Utopia, and partly because the success of this experiment seems to have an important bearing upon our general policy in dealing with native States, if not with our own provinces also. Under the system of joint administrators the cheap and simple machinery of native rule has been used to carry out the more enlightened principles of the British Government. How far is it possible to administer India generally in a similar manner and with similar results? In attempting to answer this question we are at once brought face to face

^{*} Mr. Percival.-ED.

with our most serious Indian difficulty—finance. Our "home charges" and our military expenditure stand in the way, and render cheap administration impossible; we cannot afford expensive improvements, however desirable; we must tax salt, even though its price has been thereby increased fivefold within forty years, because of the many millions of tribute payable as home charges to England, and because upon our provinces falls the entire cost of the army that holds and defends India. The protected States, on the other hand, enjoy complete exemption from war and all its burdens. "Pax Britannica" reigns from the Snowy Range to Cape Comorin, and for this British India is alone responsible, the contributions in men or money by the native chiefs being seldom more than nominal; that of Bhaunagar is one lakh and three quarters, 17,500l.

Being thus practically exempt from tribute or military charges, the revenue of a native State, after defraying all necessary costs of administration, provides a large margin without the necessity for laying upon the people any really burdensome taxation. How this surplus may be expended is a matter of vital interest, as it is available for those public works of which the country stands most urgently in need, if it is not squandered upon the caprices and luxuries of the ruling chief. A long minority under careful guardianship is a fortunate contingency for a private property, and happy is the native State that has a child for its nominal ruler. opportunity then presents itself for reaping the advantages of British administration without incurring its cost, for paying off arrears of debt, for effecting all sorts of permanent improvements, and even for laying by money to meet extraordinary emergencies. Meanwhile the young chief may be educated for his position, and the stifling atmosphere (moral and physical) of the Zenana may be exchanged for the bracing influences of a college such as has been established at Rajkote for the illustrious youths of Kathiawar. Rajput boys of the highest rank receive a liberal education modelled upon that which in English public schools is deemed suitable for the rising generation of our statesmen and legislators. Many games, including cricket, football,

and gymnastics, are encouraged, and personal competition upon equal terms is developed among lads hitherto reared in haughty and indolent isolation.

The contrast between the condition of a British Indian Province and a well-governed native State brings out into strong prominence the one truly serious danger which menaces our Indian Empire. On the 5th of January, 1877, took place the most striking spectacle of the "Imperial assemblage," when all the troops collected in the vast camp were paraded before the Viceroy. First marched the military retainers of the native princes, a motley and brilliant host, infantry, cavalry, and elephants, glittering with gold and silver, armed with every variety of weapon, and arrayed in every variety of garb. Four field-pieces represented the artillery of this picturesque army, the famous golden and silver guns of the Gaekwar, the guns themselves, their carriages, the housings, and even the horns of the bullocks that drew them, displaying the precious metals only. Then came the British troops, perfect in appointments and discipline, a force capable of marching "from Delhi to Rámeshwar" without encountering any opposition that could seriously delay its progress. Among the cavalry and infantry were native troops from all the three Presidencies, but the artillery was exclusively in European hands. The matchless horse-artillery thundering by at racing speed seemed the very embodiment of British supremacy, while the golden toy-guns symbolised the wealth and the weakness of our great feudatories.

The native princes keep soldiers mainly for show and for amusement, and can at any time dispense with their services, if financial considerations render it desirable so to do. With the British Government it is otherwise; to them a powerful army is absolutely indispensable, they have to keep the peace for the whole Indian Empire at the expense of their own Provinces, unaided by the native States or by the mother country. The authority of a solitary British resident or political agent is indeed supreme in the protected States, but European batteries and bayonets in the background are essential to the maintenance of that authority. If it were possible to dispense with these auxiliaries to moral suasion,

the financial condition of British India might soon become no less prosperous and solvent than that of a native State during a minority. Meanwhile how do matters stand with us? Financial collapse impends over us perpetually; our annual deficit is a matter of course, and can only be concealed upon occasion by dexterous manipulation of the Indian budget, and by affecting to treat as "extraordinary" years those in which wars, famines, or pestilences occur. It is in fact no "ordinary" year when some such events do not occur in any part of our Indian Empire, and it is clear, taking one year with another, that our revenue shows no disposition to increase proportionately to our expenditure. For all emergencies we continue to borrow: we spend casual windfalls as if they were derived from permanent income; we are menaced with the failure of the opium revenue through Chinese competition, and the repeal of import duties through British manufacturing interests; while the salt-tax is attacked simultaneously by the friends of humanity and by the owners of English salt-works. Indian financiers may well be at their wits' end: any considerable increase of taxation is impossible, and the choice seems to lie between sweeping retrenchment and bankruptcy. The example of the native States, most of them naturally poorer than our own Provinces, proves that an Indian community can easily support all the burdens of government, except "home charges" and European soldiers. How far it may be possible to retrench upon these two items of expenditure, or how far the contributions of the feudatories towards Imperial revenue may be increased, this is not the occasion to inquire; but the suppression of military contingents from certain native States, and the substitution of money payments in their place, would conduce alike to economy and efficiency. It is worthy of note that in 1875 6 the cost of the army in India was 15,308,460l., and this, together with the expenditure in England on account of stores, pensions, interest on debt, loss by exchange, etc. amounts to a full half of all the ordinary expenses of our Indian Empire. The inhabitants of our Provinces may well think that they pay dearly for their privileges as British subjects.

In our relations with the native States an important practical reform might easily be effected, which would remove one of the greatest blots upon our Indian administration. There exists at present no judicial tribunal for the decision of cases, civil or criminal, to which the protected princes of India are In all such cases the British Government, as the paramount power, acting in their executive capacity, decide without appeal, inasmuch as the ultimate appeal lies to the Secretary of State for India, who is himself the highest executive officer of the Government. If the Secretary of State confirms the decision of his own subordinates, there remains as a court of appeal only the floor of the House of Commons. where a last effort may be made by a native prince, if he is wealthy or influential enough, to force his grievances upon the attention of Parliament and of the public. When the Government of India is arraigned before Parliament upon charges of injustice towards a native prince, all judicial evidence is wanting for the proof or disproof of such charges. No record of proceedings at any former trial is available, no witnesses upon either side are heard, mere ex parte statements for and against Government are made, the Opposition front bench comes to the rescue of the Ministry, and usually the original decision against the appellant is once more confirmed. A less satisfactory tribunal can hardly be imagined, but it is at present the only one open to an Indian prince who has had the misfortune to incur the wrath of the paramount power, and it is certain that neither in India nor in England can a native prince hope to obtain a hearing which shall be public, impartial, and complete, even when his most important interests are involved. In particular, when accused of a crime, he is denied the privileges enjoyed by the meanest British subject: he is not tried by his Peers, nor confronted with his accusers, whom he has no opportunity of crossexamining.

There is thus no justice for the protected chief, according to the sense in which the word justice is usually understood; he is not amenable to the jurisdiction of the British Courts, nor can he avail himself of their protection. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council works well as a Court of

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Appeal for British India, but it takes cognisance only of cases which have been judicially decided, and is therefore not open for appeal to ruling chiefs, whose cases are not tried before properly constituted courts. Our mainstay in India (besides British breech-loaders) is admitted to be our character for justice. "The Sahebs do not understand us. and they constantly make mistakes, but they endeavour to do justice, and they do not fear the face of man." In these words a native has briefly summed up his countrymen's opinion of their masters, and this character for justice we are bound to maintain. So far as our judges and magistrates are concerned there is in this respect every cause for satisfaction: before them the humblest raivat may plead fearlessly and successfully, even if his adversary be the Vicerov himself. The Government of India may be a despotism, but this has been hitherto tempered by a free press and an independent judiciary, whereby the worst evils of despotism have been obviated, and the High Courts have never failed to resist any attempt at encroachment on the part of the Executive. An inhabitant of British India, who may find himself at variance with the Government under whom he lives, will have his case tried before a properly constituted local tribunal; he enjoys the right of appealing to the High Court of his Presidency, and if need be, as a last resort, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A public hearing will be accorded to both sides of the case, the evidence on which the decision rests will be duly recorded, and the ultimate Court of Appeal is absolutely beyond the control of the Indian Executive. Very different are the proceedings if the accused, or the would-be litigant, happens to be one of the protected chiefs, who enjoy neither the independence of foreign princes, nor the privileges of British subjects.

In cases of dispute between rival chiefs the British Government may indeed act as an impartial arbiter, but even then the method of conducting the inquiry is very objectionable. The matter is investigated secretly by a Political Agent, through whom pass all communications between Government and the disputants, and upon whose confidentially expressed opinion the ultimate decision is based.

Such a course of proceeding is open to grave abuses, and considerations of general policy are confessedly allowed to weigh no less than the intrinsic merits of the case in decisions, the reasons for which are seldom made public. More especially does this occur when the dispute has arisen between a ruling prince and other subordinate chiefs, whom he may claim as his subjects, but who assert a kind of tributary independence. It is almost impossible to draw a distinct line of demarcation between independent and subject chiefs, so numerous are the grades of power and importance between the Nizam and a petty Talukdár. In certain cases the smaller chiefs have been recognised as independent princelings, in others they have been regarded as a sort of feudal nobility, but the general tenor of British policy has been to strengthen the hands of the more conspicuous and influential princes, who have thus been enabled to curtail seriously the powers and privileges of the lesser Sirdars. The wisdom of such a policy in itself is less clear than the injustice of allowing considerations of selfish expediency to sway the decisions of an arbiter.

Nevertheless it may be conceded that, if the whole procedure were public and judicial, no better arbiter than the British Government could be appointed for the disputes between native chiefs, and the possession of irresistible force obviates all difficulty as to enforcing awards. However bitter may be the quarrel or the sense of injury, there can be no question of an appeal to arms, or any breach of that "Roman peace" which England has established throughout India—a boon beyond all cavil. But when protected princes are accused of distinct crimes, the British Government act in the joint capacity of prosecutor, judge, and executioner, occasionally also of executor and heir-at-law to the accused. In no part of the British Empire can the meanest citizen be subjected to such a mockery of a trial as that which is reserved for an Indian prince, nominally a sovereign. Down to a recent date his condemnation for any crime or misdemeanour was apt to be followed by the annexation of a portion of his territory to the British dominions, and it was then, of course, impossible to persuade the natives that a fair trial had taken place. Even now, when confiscation of territory does not

immediately follow conviction, and in cases where the Government may themselves be regarded as unbiased judges, they are by no means in possession of unbiased evidence. They do not themselves examine the witnesses for the prosecution and defence; as a rule, they see with the eyes and hear with the ears of the local resident official, who from the nature of his position can hardly avoid being more or less of a partisan. Residing on the spot, where he takes an active and even a controlling part in local politics, he is liable to be personally involved in the affair which he has to investigate, and he may be committed beforehand to a particular view of the question. Even when (as happens occasionally) a special commission is appointed to investigate and report, the proceedings are not necessarily public; they are regarded as political or diplomatic rather than judicial, and are apt to be clouded over with traditional diplomatic obscurity.

In short, everything is conducted secretly, and herein is the root of the evil: our Government cannot hope to obtain credit for acting impartially so long as this "hole-andcorner" system is maintained. Edmund Burke, speaking in 1786, recommended "as the means of reforming Indian abuses a combination of three things-a government by law, trial by jury, and publicity in every executive and judicial concern." The experience of well nigh a century confirms thoroughly the recommendation of Mr. Burke. If the existing system is objectionable when the British Government are acting in the capacity of arbiters or criminal judges, having no direct interest in the question at issue, it is needless to enlarge upon the evils liable to ensue when they sit as judges with closed doors upon cases to which they are themselves parties. A most difficult and responsible duty devolves upon the so-called "Politicals," to whom has been entrusted hitherto the conduct of the peculiar relations subsisting between the British Government and the native chiefs. These Politicals are called upon to act as administrators, as diplomatists, and as judges, controlling with greater or less authority some 800 chiefs and some 55,000,000 people. Ably and faithfully their arduous duties have been discharged, and no body of public servants can boast of more distinguished names than the Politicals, most of whom are soldiers,

but who have rather laboured to preserve peace and to maintain good faith than to promote a policy of aggrandisement and annexation. Had it been otherwise, and had our Indian political system been carried out by less worthy agents, it could hardly have survived until now. Nevertheless, the interests of justice would be safer even in the hands of inferior men conducting their inquiries in the light of day than they can be in those of first-class officers working without a sense of responsibility to public opinion. Open justice should be our mainstay on native territory as well as in our own Provinces; and we have nothing to fear from publicity, even in the political department. A secret system affords opportunities for intrigue, corruption, and chicanery, in all of which the natives have the advantage; our officers are hoodwinked and misled by diplomatists subtler and less honest than themselves. What is required is the substitution of the judicial for the diplomatic system in dealing with protected States. The mere existence of an impartial tribunal, however constituted, before which the Government might be compelled to assign publicly the reasons for their policy, would be a complete protection against any act of flagrant injustice. Possibly no existing tribunal would be competent to undertake such functions, and it may be necessary to create a special Court for the purpose. Above all, it is desirable "to render it unnecessary for any man in India to cross the ocean to seek for justice," even from so competent a tribunal as the Privy Council affords.

When the India Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, on the 24th of June, 1858, Mr. John Bright said:

I would establish a Court of Appeal, the judges of which should be judges of the highest character in India, for the settlement of those many disputes which have arisen between the Government of India and its subjects, some native and some European. I would not suffer these questions to come upon the floor of this House. I would not forbid them by statute, but I would establish a Court which should render it unnecessary for any man in India to cross the ocean to seek for that justice which he would then be able to get in his own country without corruption or secret bargain.

When this excellent suggestion was made by Mr. Bright, he may have used the word "subjects" inadvertently, but by

so doing he excludes from the advantages of his proposal the very persons who really stand in need. As already stated. British subjects, if involved in dispute with the Government, can have recourse to judges of the highest character in India, besides the last Court of Appeal in London, while no legal machinery exists for adjudicating between the British Government and the native chiefs. Royal Proclamation of 1858 announced a new policy with regard to the native States, declaring that their rights would be respected and their governments maintained. In particular the declaration that her Majesty (then assuming the direct administration of India) would accept and recognise the claims of children adopted in due form by native princes, has been styled the Magna Charta of the Protected States. "Only act on the Queen's Proclamation, and you may send these soldiers all back again as soon as you please." General Jacob, in his Western India, mentions the above remark as having been made to himself by a native officer of experience on witnessing the arrival of European reinforcements.

In January, 1877, when the Imperial Proclamation was made before the largest and most brilliant assemblage of Maharajas, Rajas, and Nawabs ever yet seen in India, an opportunity equal to that of 1858 presented itself for reassuring native minds, by the announcement of practical reforms affecting the feudatories of the new Empire. Formal declarations of future policy on the part of the British Government produce upon the natives the effect of deeds, rather than of words, so strong is the general reliance upon our good faith, and when it has been resolved to adopt a generous policy, no time should be lost in making it known as widely as possible. The opportunity has, however, been thrown away, and it cannot be doubted that there was a feeling of keen disappointment among the assembled chiefs, when they found that they had come so far to hear so little, and to receive no boons more valuable than medals and ribbons.

This gathering together of eastern kings resulted in a procession, rivalling in magnificence the "long victorious pomp" of a Roman triumph, and in a vast circus, crowded with all that is wealthy and powerful in India. The splendour of the scene will doubtless be realised by the

English public when the great canvas of Mr. Val Prinsep is placed before their eyes, but it was nothing better than a costly theatrical pageant.

If any radical reform is to be effected in the political system of India, it can hardly be expected that the Government will take the initiative in condemning arrangements under which they have so long wielded absolute power over the feudatory States. Although the present policy of Government is favourable to the maintenance of native rule, old traditions of intervention and confiscation still linger in the political department. It is to Parliament and to British public opinion that the "protected" princes must look for protection. The British nation occupies, as regards India, the position of an absentee landlord, unable to investigate personally the disputes between his agents and his tenants, and leaving everything to the discretion of the agents. These may be able and upright men, but their one-sided decisions are not likely to satisfy the tenants.

In the House of Commons the mantle of Mr. Bright, as a tribune of the Indian people, seems to have fallen upon Mr. Fawcett, and India has been singularly fortunate in securing the disinterested services of two such men, unconnected by official or family ties with that country. Mr. Bright has not of late taken a prominent part in Indian parliamentary debates, but India has to thank him for many wise and eloquent utterances on her behalf, and in particular for that in which he shadowed forth the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1858.

"Be just and fear not" is the motto which he has chosen, and it ought to be that of the British Government in India. It is pleasing to find that by acting consistently up to this motto a British statesman, without holding office in any Government, may make his name a household word wherever the English language is spoken, as Mr. Bright had already done ten years ago. At the present time, it may be in New England, or it may be in India, to mention the name of John Bright at a public meeting is to produce a cheer, although so considerable a period of time has passed since the events

^{&#}x27; Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by John Bright, M.P., vol. i, India I. House of Commons, June 24, 1858.

with which that name is mainly associated, whether in America or in Hindostan.

It would not be difficult to multiply statements of hardship suffered by protected chiefs at the hands of Government, but it is of the very nature of the political system that such statements should be mere ex parte complaints, as we have not access to the confidential reports of the Government agents. Whether, or not, injustice has been committed in any particular case we cannot certainly know, but we know that all proper means were not adopted for arriving at a just conclu-Even with the best intentions and the utmost care, mustakes and miscarriages of justice will occur, but the real evil of the secret system is, that under it Government never can obtain credit for having made honest mistakes, and the worst of motives are attributed by those who feel themselves aggrieved. Indeed, one cannot help feeling "astonished at the moderation" of a Government who, acting as prosecutor and judge, are able to confiscate the property of an accused person, without having to assign publicly any reason for so doing. In a recent instance jurisdiction over a large tract of territory was restored to the State of Bhaunagar after the lapse of more than half a century, during which the villages in question were administered by the British Government as a punishment for misconduct on the part of the Thákur. The legal validity of this restitution was disputed, as involving the cession of what was virtually British territory, to cede which was said to be beyond the competency of the Indian Government, and a case was raised to test the question. The High Court of Bombay decided against the validity of the cession "in time of peace," but this decision was overruled by the Privy Council, and the restitution has been definitively carried out, an act calculated to have a very reassuring effect throughout the protected States.

The principle of arbitration, which has been so successfully applied to the settlement of disputes between independent nations, might be difficult of application in India, when the paramount power is directly concerned, but it is in complete harmony with native ideas and practice in ordinary life, and panchayets or juries of native chiefs would command the confidence of their own countrymen.

It is much to be regretted that the opportunity was missed in the recent Baroda case of establishing a precedent for the trial of native chiefs by their peers in open court, and credit must be given to Lord Northbrook for at least making an attempt in the right direction, although the experiment was not fairly carried out. The reigning Gaekwar was accused of attempting to poison the British Resident at his court. and a Commission was appointed by the Government of India to investigate the case. This Commission was composed of three British officers and three natives, two of whom were sovereign chiefs of very high rank, the Maharajas of Gwalior and Jeypore. To obtain the consent of two such eminent and powerful princes to serve on the Commission was in itself a notable political success, and no pains should have been spared in order to prove that our Government appreciated their services and co-operation, especially as the tendency of native opinion was to regard the condemnation of the Gaekwar as a foregone conclusion, and the appointment of native commissioners as a mere farce. The inquiry was conducted judicially, counsel being heard on either side, and many witnesses being examined; but when the Commission came to report it was found that the Europeans and natives took opposite views of the case, the former condemning the Gaekwar as guilty, the latter regarding the charge against him as "not proven." The Government were thus placed upon the horns of a dilemma, as the commissioners were equally divided, and there was no casting vote. It was resolved to depose the Gaekwar, and thus to endorse the decision of the European commissioners and ignore the natives, a course which seems to have been ill-judged.

It was of little importance whether the particular offence in question was brought home to Malhár Rao or not; so bad was his general character that ample reasons for deposing him could readily have been adduced, but to condemn him on a charge from which his own peers and countrymen had virtually acquitted him was to make him a martyr in the eyes of natives, and to pass a needless slight upon distinguished chiefs, whose friendly co-operation in Imperial affairs it is most desirable to secure.

During the terrible crisis of 1857 the capitals of the native

princes, almost without a single exception, were as rocks of refuge amid a sea of mutiny and massacre. Everywhere these princes cast in their lot with us, even when our fortunes seemed to be at the lowest, and it is an ungracious task now to inquire what may have been the motives prompting this course of action in individual cases. It proved to be as prudent a course as was that of the German princes, few in number, who sided with Prussia against Austria in 1866. Γo the protection aftorded by some native chiefs, often at their own personal risk, many British fugitives owed their lives, and to the active military aid of others, notably the Sikh Rajas of Patiála and Theend, was due in no small degree the capture of Delhi, before the arrival of any reinforcements from England. No one will dispute the substantial services rendered to us during the mutiny by the rulers of native States, although there may be doubts as to the merit of certain individuals. The case of the Maharaja Holkar is in many respects a typical one: his troops mutinied and attacked the British Residency at Indore, the Maharaja having warned the Resident three weeks previously that these troops could not be depended upon, and having vainly urged him to send ladies, children and treasure into the fort at Mhow, which was garrisoned by European artillery. It is difficult to imagine a stronger proof of good faith than was afforded by Holkar in giving this warning and advice at so critical a period as the 9th of June, 1857, when the Bengal army was in open mutiny and the gravest apprehensions were entertained as to the armies of Madras and Bombay. Hindostan proper was in the hands of the mutineers, the Deccan was in a state of ferment, while throughout Central India and the whole Mahratta country a word from Holkar would have sufficed to produce a general rising. The temptation to speak that word was perhaps strong, but it was not spoken. Holkar remained faithful to the British alliance, even when his own soldiers turned against him, and when a battery of six guns represented the power of England in Central India. ingratitude and injustice of imputing treachery to Holkar under these circumstances has been recently exposed in a posthumous work by Mr. John Dickinson, entitled the "Last Counsels of an Unknown Counsellor." In position and conduct during the great mutiny, Sindia, the Maharaja of Gwalior, resembled strongly his brother Mahratta Prince at Indore, and although the same accusations have not been openly preferred against him, he also has been treated with ungenerous suspicion, and has been deprived of the great rock-fortress which overhangs his capital city. Sindia's services to the British Government have been amply recognised so far as titles are concerned: he stands first on the list of Knights Grand Commanders of the Star of India, his name appears, along with those of the German Emperor and Marshal MacMahon, among the Knights Grand Cross of the Bath, and he is a General in the British Army. It is to be feared, however, that he is not satisfied, and that he would consider the restitution of Gwalior fort a better proof of gratitude and confidence than all these dignities and titles.

Some ridicule has been recently cast upon Lord Beaconsfield for establishing an order of chivalry for ladies in a country where women are condemned to absolute social seclusion, but worthy "Dames of the Imperial Crown of India" may be found from time to time among the Ranees and Begums. In India, as in England, it has long been held that women are unfit to discharge any public functions, except the highest of all, and history proves that in both countries some of the most eminent rulers have been female sovereigns. The most conspicuous Indian case is that of Bhopál, which has been governed for three generations by Mussulman princesses, and is regarded as a model State.

The number of native chiefs exercising a modified sovereignty, and paying tribute direct to the British Government without an intermediate superior, is gradually being reduced by voluntary action on their own part. Kathiáwar is no doubt an extreme case, as being much subdivided, but here with a population of less than two millions and a half, there were in 1860 as many as 224 chiefs, divided into seven classes, according to their rank and wealth. This number is now tending steadily to diminish, among the lowest classes, who are conscious of not having sufficient power to govern, and are glad to relinquish their jurisdiction into the hands of their Paramount, thus lapsing from the condition of medieval barons into that of modern nobles.

Shortly before Lord Lytton's imperial assemblage took place, a very remarkable document was prepared by the Poona Sarvajanak Sabhá, an influential native association. It was known as the Deccan Address to her Majesty, and bore originally the date of 5th December, 1876, being intended as a reply to the gracious proclamation to be issued on the approaching New Year's day. It was, in fact, a petition praying her Majesty to inaugurate a number of important reforms upon the auspicious occasion of her assuming the new title of Empress of India, such a course being in accordance with Indian traditional usage. It begins by stating the many advantages enjoyed by the people of India since her Majesty's rule began in clemency and justice, and the great proclamation issued in 1858. A prominent place is given to the fact that "the native princes, great and small, are protected by the strength of the paramount power from internal dissensions, and the continuance as the feudatory members of the Empire has been assured to them beyond all risk of change." Satisfaction is expressed at the honour conferred upon India by the assumption of the Imperial title, and various apprehensions are described as having been at first aroused and subsequently allayed in connection with that title. In particular, "it was apprehended at one time that the treaty rights and independence of the princes and chiefs of the country would be to some extent overridden by claims founded upon the assumption of the Imperial title. On this point your most gracious Majesty's Ministers have vouchsafed an assurance that beyond legalising de jure what has been true in fact—namely, that the British power is paramount over all other powers in India, which are protected by its sovereign rule, the treaty rights and independence of native princes will be respected as before." The reforms prayed for include a permanent settlement of the land revenue throughout British India; the extension of the British guarantee to the Indian National Debt; the employment of natives in the higher grades of the services, military as well as civil; the introduction of representative members into the legislative councils of India.

But upon none of these radical changes is a greater stress

^{2 &#}x27;National Association.'

laid than upon the claims of the native chiefs, and their association in the councils of the Empire for the discussion of Imperial questions is strongly advocated:—

On this occasion of great rejoicing, your most gracious Majesty's subjects would submit at the foot of your Royal throne our humble prayers and expectations, with a view that this great event might be associated in all minds with the triumphs of peace and progress, and free government, greater than any the world's proudest conquerors have enjoyed. The kind expressions of opinion contained in some of the most influential organs of the English press lead us to hope that an effort will be made to associate the great native princes in the practical work of the administration of British India, and that the system of keeping political agents and military camps in native territories will give way to a more cordial association of them in the councils of the Empire, through some organisation of a recognised diet or assembly, where they could meet one another and the great officers and statesmen who rule India, and discuss all Imperial questions. The time has arrived for such a change. The paramount claims of the British power are unquestioned. An Imperial Government cannot be imagined without a constitution regulating its relations with dependent sovereigns. The germs of such an assembly already exist in many Durbar gatherings which take place from time to time. It is only necessary to legalise what is now done informally and as a matter of favour. Questions regarding the policy of small frontier wars with barbarous tribes, boundary dis putes between native States and similar differences between British and non-British territory, the measures to be adopted with respect to rulers who misgovern their territories, questions of adoption, extradition, coinage, and of imperial legislation might be referred to such a council.

Nor are the claims of dispossessed princes forgotten, and ample proof is given of the interest taken by the most enlightened of our own subjects in the fortunes of ancient native dynasties:—

By the assumption of the Imperial title your most gracious Majesty has formally assumed larger responsibilities than before in connection with the Government of India. Your subjects earnestly hope that on this memorable occasion your most gracious Majesty will feel disposed to show generous sympathy with some of the native chiefs, who have been the unfortunate victims of the policy which obtained before the mutiny. It is their humble prayer that the same magnanimous consideration and firm adherence to treaty obligations which were shown in the restoration of the states of Dhar and Mysore, will influence the councils of your Majesty in disposing finally of the yet pending questions connected with the memoral by the heir of the royal

family of Sattara, and of the question relating to the restoration of Berar. Such acts of royal condescension and sympathy with fallen greatness will not fail to reflect additional lustre on the Government, and will set at rest the anxieties of the Princes and people of this country on the score of the revival of the annexation policy. In conclusion it is urged that the present should be taken as a new point of departure and an opportunity for remodelling the Indian administration:—

Your subjects pray that just as the proclamation of 1858 corrected the evils of the annexation policy which preceded the mutiny, and gave a constitutional guarantee for the continuance of the existing native States in their integrity, so the assumption of the imperial title may be signalised by the grant of new constitutional rights to the people of the country, thereby inaugurating a new era in the gradual development of the institutions of this country, elevating its people to the political and social status of the British nation, and teaching them gradually by example and encouragement, and by actual exercise of responsible power, to be manly and self-sustained, prepared to welcome their connection with England as a providential arrangement intended for their welfare, and resolved to abide by it through all the troubles and trials of their mutual growth.

The Poona Sarvajanık Sabhá may be regarded as representing enlightened native opinion in a part of India where the enlightenment is greater than usual, and where a certain amount of public spirit exists. It may not be possible at present to concede all that is petitioned for in this address, but it is well to know the views on reform of so intelligent and independent a body of natives, and particularly their ideas as to our proper attitude towards the protected princes. The native States are no longer to be looked upon as creating mere temporary difficulties and inconveniences, and as being certain to disappear sooner or later from the map of India. They constitute now a permanent and integral portion of the Imperial system, and the relations between them and the paramount power have assumed a new significance. Many suggestions have been made for utilising the Indian princes as supporters of the Government, and for inspiring them with a genuine pride in their position as recognised feudatories of so mighty an Empire. In the Address above quoted the organisation of an Imperial Diet is proposed; and if such an assembly could be constituted, it is evident that many important questions would properly fall to be discussed and

settled therein. For instance, the abolition of the vexatious "salt line" between Rajputana and the British territory, and even the establishment of a Zollverein, or complete customs' union for the whole of India, including the native States, which are scattered in numberless detached portions over the surface of the country, and amount to more than 600,000 square miles of what, for fiscal purposes, is absolutely foreign territory.

A glance at the map of Central India will show that the advantages of a Zollverein could hardly fail to be as great there as they have proved to be in Germany—a country, the map of which, even after recent consolidations, strongly resembles that of Central India. To prevent smuggling of costly and portable articles, such as opium, is, with the existing frontiers, a simple impossibility, and so great are the inconveniences at present experienced, that negotiations have been set on foot for the general abolition of inland customs duties. Evidently the proper method of conducting such negotiations would be to assemble a general congress for the whole Empire, where the native chiefs could be represented by their Karbháris, or appointed deputies.

Another suggestion is fanciful, perhaps, but by no means impracticable, and might recommend itself to the imagination of the present Prime Minister. It is the creation of a Guardia Nobile or Garde Chevalier, recruited exclusively from the scions of princely native houses, to whom should be assigned the duty or privilege of guarding in person the Empress of Hindostan. The Maharaja Duleep Singh has taught us how readily a Hindoo prince can adopt our tastes and mode of life in this country, and it might become the highest ambition of the cadets of reigning families to serve in the new body-guard, whose number would of course be limited. The visible presence in the metropolis of fifty or one hundred vassal princes or great nobles would certainly tend to bring home to the British people the reality and greatness of their own Empire in the East.

Several Hindoo chiefs have been raised to the rank of general in the British Army, and of these the most distinguished is Sindia, who is at heart a soldier, and has organised and disciplined his own forces with remarkable success. Is there any good reason against our following the example of the Dutch in Netherlands India, and inviting the personal aid of "General H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior" in our next difficulty beyond the frontiers? There is reason to believe that he would respond readily to such an invitation, and he might at the same time be permitted to reoccupy the fortress of which he has been deprived without any apparent pretext. The protected princes have sufficiently proved that in time of peril they identify their interests with those of the British Government. By a policy of conciliation and confidence we might secure their ungrudging and hearty support against all enemies of the Empire.

But while the princes are remembered the peasants must not be forgotten, as is apt to be the case in all countries, and particularly in India. While Rajas were feasting at Delhi raiyats were famishing in the Deccan. It is unfortunate that upon this occasion the responsibility must rest upon English shoulders, and that the reckless emulation in extravagance, to which orientals are naturally so prone, was in a great measure forced upon the Rajas by superior order. When in the Nizam's dominions, shortly after the Delhi assemblage, and just as the famine in those regions was beginning to assume alarming proportions, I found that various useful and ornamental works undertaken by Sir Salar Jung had been recently discontinued. Upon inquiring the reason I was informed that it would not do to burn the candle at both ends, and that the expenses of the young Nizam's involuntary expedition to northern India had been enormous.

At a later date, when the famine in the Deccan was at its height, Baroda, the Gaekwar's capital, was the scene of prolonged festivities, for which the British authorities must be held responsible, as well as their nominee Sir T. Madava Rao, and which were calculated to set a pernicious example of ill-timed extravagance.

Native Opinion, a newspaper published in English and Maráthi, on the 11th of March, 1877, thus alludes to these proceedings, affording a good specimen of the intelligent and vigorous criticism to be found in the columns of the native press:—

It has passed into a proverb in India, "As is the king, so are

his subjects," The great moulders of fashion and elevators of ideas and notions about good and bad, proper and improper, are now the high dignitaries of the British Empire. But since there is little community of feeling as well as social intercourse between the rulers and the ruled, any lâches and failings of theirs do not exercise such a pernicious influence upon the Indian masses as do those of the leaders of Indian societies. Whatever their faults, our princes, chiefs, and nobles must for a long time to come continue to wield a very great influence either for good or for evil. They are at present relieved of all care for the existence of their rank and possessions. If they were, therefore, to apply themselves to raising up the Indian masses socially, morally, and materially, they would keep up their positions and prove the greatest benefactors of the country. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case. The security which our princes and nobles now enjoy seems to have done them harm rather than good. Few of them know ambition or enjoyment except what their animal nature dictates to them. Therefore, when a well-trained and brought-up prince succeeds his father, or when a gentleman of ability and education is appointed to a Dewanship, the event is hailed with joy by the people and particularly by the educated classes.

We have been led into these remarks by the festivities which have just now come to an end at Baroda. Notwithstanding the injustice done to Malharrao, we thought the new order of things at Baroda would do good not only to that State, but also to other native sovereignties in India; that the name of Rajah Sir T. Madhavrao was a guarantee that a manly and vigorous tone would be imparted to the administration. But what do we find instead? Worship of the powerful seems to be cultivated at Baroda with as much assiduity as elsewhere. A honeyed tongue and anxiety to please the great, is the bane of Indian populations.

It is remarkable to read in a native journal of the present day words almost identical in effect with those used by Sir John Malcolm, who was Governor of Bombay about half a century ago. He says of the Rajput chiefs in the peninsula of Kutch:—

Secure in our protection, and freed by it from all supervision or responsibility in the management of their estates, the Járejá chiefs have become indolent and indifferent to all matters that do not affect their personal interest. Lost in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, they neglect all improvement, and endeavour to supply funds for such a course of life by every means of oppression and outrage they can venture upon without the hazard of their property.

This is the dark side of the picture, and illustrates the evils which may result, and in many cases undoubtedly have resulted, from the British protectorate; but the case of Kutch is somewhat peculiar, both geographically and politically.

This province is rather an island than a peninsula during that large portion of the year when the Runn, a great salt lake, is flooded, and is at other seasons almost as completely insulated by the desert as by the sea. The British Government in 1819 undertook by treaty to maintain the peace in Kutch against foreign and domestic foes, and thereby released the inferior feudatory chiefs from the burden of military service due by them to the Rao, their suzerain. At the same time the entire cost of British intervention was thrown upon the Rao in the form of tribute, and the maintenance of a military contingent, while he was also obliged to defray, with the aid of a few insignificant pecuniary contributions from his numerous Bháyád or kindred chiefs, all the expenses of administering the country. Thus, to compare small things with great, the Rao of Kutch holds towards his Bhayad a position resembling that of the British Government towards the protected princes throughout the Empire, but he is only the intermediate superior, and he bears the military expenses without wielding any military power, so that his position is less favourable than that of native chiefs' in general

Very serious difficulties have resulted in Indian politics from the incautious use of words, and the impossibility of accurately translating into English such terms as: Bháyád, Khálsa, Girásiá, Zamindár, Tálukdár, Ráiyat, and Darbár, etc.

Frerage, kindred, feudatory, vassal, sub-vassal, subject, suzerain, seignorial, superior, paramount, and similar feudal or legal terms have been used as translations, conveying at least approximately correct ideas. Such terms are of course useful, if employed with care, but grave practical blunders have been the consequence of acting upon notions of European Feudalism, altogether foreign to the social conditions of India.

The natives of India hardly appreciate the new-fangled ments of British rule; they are genuine conservatives, and seem to prefer an ancient evil to a modern reform, liking to be misgoverned by their own people in the old-fashioned

style. Of a wilful desire to oppress they are ready to acquit the Sahebs themselves, but not the Saheb's "native subordinates," and they dislike intensely the expensive and cumbrous machinery for administering what we consider to be justice. Our "Civil Courts" are regarded as institutions for enabling the rich to grind the faces of the poor. and many are fain to seek a refuge from their jurisdiction within native territory. The very acts on which we rely for securing popular goodwill are frequently productive of bitter discontent, because we are out of sympathy with native feelings, customs, and modes of thought. At the same time our temperament and our motives of action are inscrutable to the natives, and the great gulf fixed between the two races remains unbridged. Then the costliness of our Government involves the necessity of perpetually trying to discover or invent new methods for raising money, and the inhabitants of the British provinces are kept in constant dread of some new turn of the fiscal screw. Looking back upon the good old times previous to annexation, they are apt to think of a former ruler as." a tyrant—but our masters then were still at least our countrymen." Even the capricious tyranny of a native chief is less galling to a native community, however severely it may strike individuals, than the even, unrelaxing pressure of our rule. At this time, moreover, the native States enjoy exemption from those reactionary and vexatious measures, in the conception of which the Government of the present Viceroy have been so prolific, and of which the enactment against the press furnishes the latest example. In a letter recently received from India a native gentleman of very high distinction gives expression to the prevalent dissatisfaction by saying: "I see no hope of improvement here so long as Government is bent on endless legislation; in the present state of the Council at Calcutta anything may pass." The most urgent reform in India, indeed, appears to be reform of the Legislative Councils.

DAVID WEDDERBURN

The INDO-BRITISH ASSOCIATION

Reprint of a speech delivered by

COMMISSIONER BOOTH TUCKER

AT THE

Cannon Street Hotel, October 30th, 1917.

COMMISSIONER BOOTH TUCKER: My Lord, ladies and rentlemen, I have the honour to be a child of India. I was orn in India 64 years ago, and I have been closely assoiated with India from that day till now. Our own General nd founder William Booth, used to say at our councils in Jueen Victoria Street, over yonder, that when India was nentioned Tucker came out of his kennel and barked. nust say that I rejoice over the formation of this Associaion, because it means light in darkness. There is a great leal of misunderstanding of India in this country, even in hose quarters where you would think it would be the best nderstood. A few years ago, before X-rays were discovered, loctors used to operate on persons in the hope of finding comething inside which perhaps did not exist, and I am ifraid India has been operated upon very often without any C-ray enquiry beforehand, and I think this Association will revent this in future. There was a gentleman who was aid by the doctors, before the discovery of the X-rays, to lave two hearts, and the same doctors who made the disovery said they would like to remove one of those hearts. t was a marvellous operation which had never been perormed before, and they requested permission to do it. Now, f that man had been a Britisher or a Member of Parliament, ne would have consented to the operation; but he had the good luck to be an American, and he said that he was getting on so well with his two hearts that he preferred not to alter he arrangement; but Yankee-like, he made a counter proposition, that they should wait until he was dead, and he would meanwhile auction his two hearts to the highest bidder, provided, of course, that they paid him cash in advance. Now, I think some of our friends who wish to operate upon India, imagine we have got two hearts. I venture to say it is no such thing; the Anglo-Indian—at least, I speak for myself, and I know I can speak for a good many here—has not Anglo-Indian upon his heart, but he has India, pure and simple, upon his heart. Those two hearts, the double-hearted, only exist in imagination. But there is an immense amount of misunderstanding about India, and I think this

likely to remove it.

case of some of our most enlightened rulers, who have paid a cold-weather visit to India like Mr. Paget, M.P., whose memorable description by Rudyard

Association is

Even in

Kipling you will remember—it is astonishing how India is misunderstood by them. India is not one country, but many countries; not one nation, but many nations, speaking some fourteen languages written in twelve or more different characters—with differences in customs, race antipathies, religious bigotries, as strong and clearly marked as those which have created the present terrible world-war. It is not generally understood again-what this Association will explain—that the real India has, under British rule, achieved what ali Europe bathed is compulsory accomplish. She has established arbitration of her international dispute, compulsory reduction of armaments within her borders, and a compulsory peace—the Pax Britannica—a kind of compulsory Millenium, in which no Rajah lifts up sword against Rajah, and the Hindu elephant and the Mohammedan tiger lie down amicably side by side in the same pastures. How different is this to the Pax Chaotica Russiana Chinensis Persiana which some of India's friends would like to substitute. It is not generally understood that the real India has a Penal Code and Criminal and Civil Procedure I believe, anything that this Codes, which surpass.

country itself possesses, and that not only are its laws good, but that their evenhanded and impartial administration is certainly superior to that of the most enlightened and advanced Republic in the world—now our Ally—the United States of America. I speak from experience, for I have had the honour of living there nine years. It is certainly

not at all understood that India is the most Home-Ruled country in the world, that 70,000,000 are Home-Ruled by their own Rajahs, that some 30,000,000 are Home-Ruled by their own City Councils, and that the other 220,000,000 who form the agricultural backbone of the real India are Home-Ruled by their own District Boards, Panchayats, and Headmen. It is not understood that the 750,000 villages

men. It is not understood that the 750,000 villages which constitute 90 per cent. of real India's population are Home Ruled by their own village officials, who manage their own affairs, cultivate their lands, settle most of their own disputes, teach their children their trades, and take care of their poor with little or no interference from the British Rulers. It is not understood that Taluks, Tahsils and Thanas into which those villages are grouped are exclusively and entirely under the sole

charge of Indians. There is not a Taluk, there is not a Tahsil or a Thana under a Britisher—not one. They are all exclusively under the charge of Indians, and on the District Boards and Municipal Councils, I think I am right in saying, the Britisher is often represented by a minority of one—surely the irreducible minimum if he is to be represented at all. That minority of one stands for honesty, probity, even-handed justice all the time, and holds the scales impartially

between the oft conflicting and sometimes highly hostile in-

terests which are represented on those Boards.

My Lord, I venture to say that if our British Legislators in the House of Commons had attempted half or one quarter of the Home Rule measures and methods that have been perfected by their Indian representatives, they would all have

been classified as rabid Radicals and Socialists of the most revolutionary type. Is there one in this room who desires to retard the natural growth of India along the pathway of wise self-government? Not one! But however good may be the laws, however excellent the methods pursued, it is vitally important for the poor, whom I represent, that the reins of government should be in the hands of wise, strong, and I may add, selfless administrators, who will hold the scales impar-

tially between the conflicting interests which require so often to be harmonised, reconciled, and controlled in real India. Words that are meaningless to some of our friends here in England have a very real and sometimes terrible significance to us in India. Which of us has not had reason to hold his breath when the Moharram draws near? You, my Lord, in Bombay have known what it is to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and to bring the leaders of the two parties together and induce them to make mutual concession. But who would have listened to the advocate of Home Rule? From which side would he have been taken, since he must have belonged to one or the other? And would not the other party to which he did not belong have suspected him of sinister motives? If by Home Rule is meant the system I have endeavoured to describe, I venture to say India is already Home-Ruled, but if something is intended of a still more radical character, I would say, Festina lente—let us make haste slowly. (Loud applause.)



Temporary address of the Indo-British, Association: 2 NORFOLK STREET, STRAND, W.C. 2



The story of the Pan-German plot to bring The Middle East 15 and India under the thraldom 15 of Germany, compiled largely from German official sources.

HUMPHREY MILFORD OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS BOMBAY AND MADRAS 1918

THE CALL TO INDIA.

'At this time, when the intention of the rulers of Germany, to establish a tyranny, not only over all Europe but over Asia as well, has become transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to re-double their efforts, Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British armies, assisted by their Allies, the attempt of the enemy in the West is being checked, but if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the East and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won, and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve."

The Prime Minister's telegram to the Viceroy, April 2nd, 1918.

"Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those sacrifices evince, India, anxious yet confident, realize to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict, and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the Princes and the peoples' leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruci and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands."

The Viceroy's answer to the Prime Minister's telegram, April 5th, 1918.

ARCTIC KOLA-OCEAN BEREZOF PÉTROGRAD BERLIN YOSCOW I TOBOLSK EKATERIVBURG ORENBURG KHANIKIN TEHERAN BAGHDAD PERSIA BASRA • PERSIAN GULF

GERMANY'S EASTERN DREAM.

Speaking at the Bombay Town Hall, at a War Loan Meeting last year, Sir Dorab Tata, the head of the great House which has done so much to advance the industrial and commercial prosperity of India, used very weighty words regarding the special interest of India in the World War He said, in effect, that because in India we hear but the distant echoes of the War in Europe, we must not think that we have no concern with the war; because one of its main objects is the conquest of India, the possession of which, with her rich resources, has for centuries been the goal which ambitious nations have tried to reach. One of the main objects with which Germany began this war was to find her way through the Euphrates Valley to the shores of the Persian Gulf: and for years she has been intriguing to get control over that route.

Those words attracted little attention at the time; we were all absorbed by the epic struggle in the West and the dramatic events which were occurring in Russia. If we had heeded them, we should not have been taken by surprise when the Premier in April called upon India still more energetically to arm, and His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking for the whole country, pledged its resources in men, money and munitions for the detence of the Motherland, but because we were taken, inexcusably, by surprise, many people are perplexed, apprehensive. They are asking "What is this menace? What is the danger we are

asked to arm against"? The conception and development of the Pan-German plot to secure the domination of Asia is therefore examined in the following pages.

Hatching the Plot.—Prior to the ejection of Bismarck from power in 1890, Germany's Eastern ambitions were very severely restrained by that iron-handed Chancellor. They existed, but they were latent. Thus the distinguished economist Roscher suggested, as far back as 1848, that Asia Minor would be the natural share of Germany in any partition of the Ottoman Empire. After 1870 the idea became more prevalent and more precisely defined. In 1880 a commercial society was founded in Berlin with a capital of £2,500,000, to promote the "penetration" of Asia Minor. About 1886 Dr. A. Sprenger, the Orientalist, and other savants, called attention to the favourable opening for German colonisation in these regions. But the keynote of Bismarck's policy was the maintenance of good relations with Russia. Even whilst concluding the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, he entered into his famous—or infamous—secret Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, which was a gross breach of faith with Austria. When, however, the impetuous young Kaiser "Dropped the Pilot" in 1890, and after driving Bismarck from office assumed control of Germany's foreign policy himself, the German eastward march began in earnest.

Railway Penetration.—Great Britain withdrew from the strong position which they had won at Constantinople through the protection of Turkey against Russian designs at the time of the Crimean War, and again, during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, on the fall of the Beaconsfield Government in 1880; Germany gradually

filled the vacancy and acquired supreme influence over the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Her instructors reorganised the Turkish Army; her commercial travellers overran the Turkish Empire, always with the German Embassy at their backs. But it was through the astute manipulation of railway policy that Germany gradually brought Turkey within her toils. In 1888 diplomacy secured for the Deutsche Bank, one of the strongest financial corporations in Germany, the right of working the short line from Haidar Pasha, opposite Constantinople, to Ismidt, with a concession for the working of extension of the line to Angora. These conwere accompanied by "guarantees" which secured the German agents against loss and ensured them a handsome profit. The line was completed in four years and the real aim of the German intrigues was disclosed.

In 1893 two further concessions were granted to the German Company: one was for the construction of a branch line from Eski Shehir to Konia, and another for the extension of the Angora line to Kaisariyeh, with the right eventually to prolong it through Sivas to Diarbekir and down the valley of the Tigris to Baghdad. This was the genesis of the Baghdad Railway. The Konia extension was constructed; the extension of the Angora line, which was originally destined to reach Tabriz and Teheran, was abandoned, for the suspicions of Russia, then a Power to be reckoned with, were aroused. The Baghdad railway subsequently emerged as a complete scheme. The German Emperor visited Constantinople in 1898, and by his astute flattery of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, made that potentate wax in his hands.

The Baghdad Railway.—In 1899 there was signed the Convention which gave the nominees of

the Deutsche Bank the right to extend the line from Konia to the Persian Gulf. This paved the way for the definite Convention of 1903, which empowered the Imperial Ottoman Baghdad Railway Company—a company whose German composition was thinly disguised—the right to build the line. The route selected was from Konia to Keraman, Eregli, Kardash-Beli, Adana, Hamidieh. Osmanieh, Bagtcheh, Kazandli, Killis, Habesh, Harran, Ras-ul-Ain, Nissibin, Avniat, Mosul, Tekrit, Sadijeh, Baghdad, Kerbela, Nedjef, Zubeir and Basra. The Convention also cmpowered the Company to construct certain branch lines, the most important of which was from Basra to the Persian Gulf, and from Sadijeh to Khannikin, on the easiest road from the sea coast to Central Persia. The reason why the southern route from Konia to the Persian Gulf was selected. in preference to the original northern route from Angora, will be found in the opposition of Russia; determined to protect her interests in Asia Minor, Russia concluded in 1900 a Convention with Turkey which is known at "The Black Sea Basin Agreement," and which reserved railway development in the northern zone to Russian enterprise.

A Strategic Line.—British opinion was slow to appreciate the real significance of the Baghdad Railway. It was considered almost exclusively as a through route for mails and goods. On the best showing, the time occupied for the transport of mails and passengers from India to London by rail would not save more than a single day over the sea route; the two routes could easily have been placed on a parity by the quickening of the sea route; besides, no one could imagine that passengers would prefer rail transport through an inhospitable land, with three short sea connections, to the comfortable sea route, especially as and the

climate of Asia Minor is unbearably hot during the season of the heaviest passenger traffic. Others examined the projected railway as providing a possible alternative route for the conveyance of goods. The briefest consideration shows the Taking Alexandretta toolishness of this idea. in the Eastern Mediterranean as the most convenient port for the beginning of the rail route, a ton of goods bound from England or Germany to Baghdad by the railway route would cost in normal times for sea freight fifteen shillings, and for railway charges £10-7-0 or £11-2-0 in all. The same ton of cotton shipped to Basra would cost. say, for freight, thirty shillings and for transport by steamer to Baghdad £3 or £4-10-0 in all; therefore on a modest computation the cost of carrying goods from England or Germany to Baghdad would be fuur times as much by rail as by sea. These conditions were fully realised by Germany. it was seen that the traffic in the country served by the Baghdad railway would naturally divide itself into three zones—a western zone with its terminus at Haider Pasha, opposite Constantinople, and under the influence of Germany; a central zone, with its outlet at Alexandretta in the Eastern Mediterranean, and embracing the richest land traversed by the railway; and an eastern zone, with its outlet at Basra. There were therefore great rejoicings in Germany when a concession was obtained by a German Company for the construction of port and harbour works at Alexandretta, which secured to German enterprise the control of most promising section of country which the line would traverse.

No; the whole purpose of the Baghdad Railway was strategic. The Sultan Abdul Hamid was lured into this costly enterprise by the promise that he would be able to move the Anatolian

soldiery, the cream of the old Turkish Armies, either into Turkey in Europe if threatened by Russia or the Balkan States, or into Mesopotamia, to consolidate his precarious hold over the Arabs, regardless of the pressure of any Sea-Power which might be arrayed against him. It was this consideration which led Turkey to accept financial obligations of the most onerous kind. The line was to be constructed on the vicious principle of guarantees per mile; that is to say, the Baghdad Railway Company, or rather its German shareholders, were to receive a fixed sum for every mile of line constructed, regardless of the actual cost, and a fixed sum every year for every mile worked, no matter how heavy the loss. Now it has been estimated that the total cost of the line would be $f_{2}6,000,000$ and that on the most favourable computation the traffic would not yield a profit of more than one half per cent. per annum, which would mean that practically the whole of the interest charges would fall on the overburdened Turkish exchequer. That was of no account to the German concessionaires; they were secure of their immediate profit; they regarded themselves as the heirs of the Turkish Empire, and saw in imagination German troops pouring down the Central European Railways to Constantinople, and thence through Asia Minor to the confines of India, to spread fire and sword through this land, whilst German sailors harassed its oversea trade from submarine bases established at Basra and in the Persian Gulf. The railway was pushed forward with considerable energy and the railhead and reached Ras-ul-Ain in the early years of the War. One important link remained open; the passage of the Taurus and Amanus mountains involves nearly a hundred miles of tunelling and blasting. Much of the line has been constructed with a

solidity which would not be justified by the traffic possibilities for a generation. This shows that the line was a strategic line from first to last. Indeed, responsible German writers have never attempted to disguise their aims.

German Ambitious Revealed.—Thus Herr von Gwinner, Managing Director of the Deutsche Bank, and President of the Anatolian and Baghdad Railway Companies, in an interview with a neutral journalist parodying Napoleon's famous dictum said:—

"As Antwerp has been called a loaded pistol pointed at the heart of England, so the double track of the Baghdad Railroad will some day be described as a double-barrelled modern automatic pointed at the heart of India."

A paper, dated 1901, shortly after the Baghdad Railroad concession was granted, said:—

"The roads to Persia and India must in future pass through the Turkish Empire instead of through Russia. The road to Persia will run from Constantinople (Haider Pasha) to Samsun on the Black Sea, and from there along its borders to Trebizond. From Trebizond inland again to Erzerum, Tabriz and Tehran."

Baron von Mumm, a well-known German publicist, wrote at a later date:—

"It must be the ultimate goal of the German-Austrian-Hungarian Alliance to bring its civilizing influence across the Black and Caspian Seas; across the Turkish Empire, through Persia, Afghanistan, over the Hindu Kush into Central Asia before the very walls of China, for the benefit and salvation of the Mahommedan pecples." We have seen that "civilising influence" at work in Belgium and in Northern France, in Siberia and in Poland."

The main instrument in this policy was the Baghdad Railway; but it was not the only instrument. The story of German intrigue in the Persian Gulf has been told in "The Times" History of the War and need only be summarised here.

The first German firm to appear in the Persian Gulf was that of Wonckhaus and Company of Hamburg, which in 1896 began to deal in shells and mother of pearl at Lingah. The next year the Germans established a Vice-Consulate at Bushire; there were then six German subjects in the Persian Gulf. In 1899, after the signing of the definitive Baghdad Treaty, this activity increased. The German cruiser "Arcona" visited various parts of the Gulf and a party of German "scientists" halted at Bunder Abbas. In 1900 Herr Stemrich, German Consul-General at Constantinople, travelled overland to the Gulf at the head of a mission, which included the German military attaché at Constantinople. He visited Sheikh Mubarak of Koweit and tried to buy a site at Ras Kathama, at the head of Koweit Bay, for the terminus of the Baghdad Railway. When this failed, for the Sheikh was loyal to the treaty with Great Britain which precluded him from leasing any part of his possessions to a foreign Power without our consent, the Germans stirred up the Turks to attack him, and subsequently egged on Ibn Rashid of Central Asia to try and seize the town of Koweit; further south commercial penetration was energetic. The firm of Wonckhaus expanded all over the Gulf in enterprises which could not have been commercially profitable, and various attempts were made to secure a pied à terre. One of these almost succeed-The Sheikh of Shargah granted a concession to three Arabs to work the red oxide deposits on the island of Abu Musa and the Arabs transferred

the concession to the Wonckhaus firm. The Sheikh protested and with the assistance of the British officials the intruders were removed. Another German agent sought to obtain an irrigation concession in the Karun; the Hamburg-America Shipping Company entered the Gulf with a great flourish of trumpets; and German agents were omni-present. The whole of this elaborate structure came crumbling to the ground on the outbreak of the war, when the British officials entered into possession of the German entrepots.

German policy in the Middle East has been almost entirely one of railway penetration. She has, with an astuteness on her own side which we cannot but admire, and a blindness on the other which is an amazing feature of the situation, made Turkey pay for her own undoing. All the profits on the railways in Asia Minor have gone to German concessionaries, all the losses, and they will amount to many millions sterling a year, fall on the over-taxed Turkish people. Railway penetration of most burdensome character has been accompanied by incessant intrigue in Persia and of Persian Gulf; in Persia these intrigues, fructifying in open rebellion, have brought disease, misery and suffering to that country.

Barring the Door.—All these ambitious plans were brought to nought by the exploits of our army in Mesopotamia. After many vicissitudes, that army, under the gallant General Maude, fought its way to Baghdad and firmly established itself there, securing its position by the seizure of Samarra in the north, the exits from the Jebel Hamran range in the east, and more recently the towns of Ramadie and Hit on the Euphrates. These successes have so completely consolidated our position in Mesopotamia, in

conjunction with the dashing advance of General Allenby's armies to Jerusalem, that the counteroffensive of which the German Generalissimo von Falkenhayn boasted at Aleppo died away and American sources reported immense and paralysing desertions from the Turkish armies. The occupation of Baghdad cut the line of communications of the Turkish Division which was harrassing Western Persia and compelled it to retreat precipitately along the Kifri Road, east of the Jebel Hamran mountains, until it joined hands with the Turkish troops based on Mosul. Turkish power in Mesopotamia has been so completely broken that it is almost impossible for our troops to catch a Turkish soldier; under the protection of our armies the wonderful productive power of this region is being developed; irrigation engineers are teaching the Arab to make the desert blossom and are raising such crops that the forces in Mesopotamia expect to help substantially in feeding themselves next year. The door to the Persian Gulf, and from Baghdad to Tehran, is banged, barred and bolted.

The Russian Collapse.—It is one of the disappointments of the war that just when the route into Persia, which the Turks had used to harry that unfortunate land until starvation, disease and death are rampant on the Khannikin Tehran road, and hunger, diseases like typhus are decimating the remnant of the famine-stricken population, a new route to Persia, and to the countries bordering on the north-west frontier of India, may possibly be opened by the military collapse of Russia. For that military collapse there is no parallel in history; when the Revolution occurred Russia was stronger in a military sense than at any period since 1812; her armies had been re-armed and re-equipped largely through

the assistance of the Allies, and under the gallant General Brusiloff were hovering over the tottering Austro-Hungarian Empire in such strength that the first hint of their movement in July 1917 sent a thrill of terror through Vienna, and produced the Peace Resolution in the Reichstag, which was so promptly repudiated the moment the breakdown occurred. Now Russia lies helpless before the disciplined onslaught of her enemies. The position was indicated without disguise by Mr. Lloyd George in a speech in the House of Commons on June 24th, 1918:—

"The situation in Russia was chaotic. Governments existed all over the place: almost every village had a separate government and the situation changed hourly. He agreed that it would be in our interests, also just and equitable, that we should stand by Russia, if she desired it. Russia had been treated brutally by Germany; she had been dismembered and treaties torn up the day after they were made. The Russian peoples were beginning to realise this and beginning to get different ideas as regards the Allies and appreciate what German militarism meant. Hatrod of Germany was becoming deeper and Russia was readier now than she had been for months to co-operate in any move to oust the Germans and the situation was full of hope. The difficulty was one of access. The only Power with access to Russia was Japan."

The New Situation.—Now let us calmly and confidently, with resolution but with frankness, examine the situation created by this collapse.

A Russian railway runs from Batum on the Black Sea to Baku, the great oil city on the Caspian. This is linked with the main railway system in Southern Russia at the junction of Rostoff-on-Don. It will be the first effort of the German Commanders and their satellites to secure control of this railway which would open one door into Western Persia, that through Tabriz. Further, they would be in a position to cross the Caspian Sea from Baku to Enzeli, the port of Resht, whence a good carriage road leads to Teheran. This route short-circuits the road now controlled by the British forces in Mesopotamia, namely, that from Baghdad through Khanikin, Kermanshah, Hamadan to Teheran. So much for Persia. Then from Baku a short voyage leads to Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, the terminus of the Russian Trans-Caspian railways. This Trans-Caspian system runs from Krasnovodsk through Merv Bokhara, and Tashkent to Uvernya, almost reaching the Chinese border. From Mery a short branch runs to Kushk, a couple of day's ride from Herat; from Bokhara a fairly easy road leads to Termes, on the northern confines of Afghanistan. On the way from Krasnovodsk to Merv is the station of Askabad, whence a rough road connects with Meshed. If Germany and her satellites secured command of these routes, then they would be in a position to menace Persia from the north along three lines, and conceivably to harrass His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan.

The position has here been set out with the utmost frankness, for in the present phase of the war, when India is asked to be true to her own destiny, nothing should be held back, nothing disguised. Equally, nothing should be exaggerated and the situation is infinitely stronger

than the mere study of a small scale map, and the communications illustrated thereon, might lead one to believe.

Immense Distances.—Let us put aside these small scale maps for a while and look at the enormous distances that have to be traversed before a single German soldier can be transferred to the borders of India. We talk of Germany or Turkey moving soldiers to Baghdad. Well from Constantinople to the approximate terminus of Baghdad Railway at Ras-el-Ain, the distance is 1084 miles. Ras-el-Ain is separated by 200 miles of rude, inhospitable country from Mosul. Mosul itself is 230 miles from Baghdad. Not all the help in men, money and munitions which Germany could give Turkey prevented Mesopotamia from passing under British control, nor could it save Jerusalem, in direct railway communications with Haidar Pasha, opposite Constantinople, from the march of General Allenby's victorious armies. From Batsum to Baku is 562 miles of wild country occupied by a people who have never easily yielded to any authority. The navigation of the Caspian Sea is difficult and dangerous during the winter months. Even when Caspian is crossed from Baku to Krasnovodsk it is only to enter on country peopled by war-like and turbulent races.* It is easy to talk about new roads open to the

^{*} The immensity of these distances will be better appreciated if they are set out in detail-

Haidar Pasha to Aleppo		•••		•••	•••	Miles.
Aleppo to Ras-el-Ain	•••	•••	•••	•••		199
Ras-el-Am to Mosul	***	•-•			•••	195
Mosul to Baghdad	•••	•••	•••	•••		230
Tabriz to Tehran	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	359
Batum to Baku	•••		•••	•••	•••	56 2
Resht to Tehran	***	***	•••	•••	•••	218
Krasnovodsk to Kushl	•••	***	•••	***	852	
Krasnovodsk to Termez		***			***	1,100

enemy and of railways which may fall under his control; it is quite another story if we follow the late Lord Salisbury's sage advice and study these routes on large scale maps, with an appreciation of difficult and unsettled country which they traverse. We then see how much water must run under the bridges before they can be of use to the enemy in pursuit of his Eastern dream. For a calm and dispassionate analysis of these great elements, we turn to the weighty speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Delhi War Conference on April 27th, when he said:—

"The terrible revolution which has hurled Russia into anarchy, has opened another door for Germany through southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route; and as yet pre-occupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction. But the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war as in no war before we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of, but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise, is the disruption of an enemy by his own

internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia; to this end she will sap and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the flame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has enveloped the lands of her enemies, regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared then she will look for her opportunity."

His Excellency here laid wise stress on the greatest element of strength in a very strong position-"famine, lawlessness and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us.' She is herself engaged in a life and death struggle with the Allies in the West, and has had to draw on the troops which were striving to complete the ruin of Russia in order to repair the awful losses in Flanders, in Picardy, and on the road to Compiegne. is rotten to the core, and the sufferings of her people have now been accentuated by the disastrous failure of the offensive against Italy. Turkey is exhausted, and in no respect more than in man-power, and is incapable of serious effort. The routes we have sketched are in no circumstances suited to the passage of more than small bodies of troops; at least a year must elapse before they can be used even for this purpose even if then Germany has a man to spare from the holocaust in the West.

Afghanistan.—There is another bright side to the picture. His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan will go down to history as one of the great figures in Asiatic history. When he succeeded his father, Abdulrahman Khan, in 1901, there were few who believed that any ruler, following

that vigorous potentate, could continue to maintain peace and order throughout Afghanistan. His Majesty has done more; his writ now runs unquestioned throughout his kingdom; his position is even stronger than that of his remarkable father. Of Afghanistan Lord Chelmsford aptly said, in his Delhi speech:—

"In the north there is a bulwark against German intrigue and German machinations. I refer to our staunch friend and Ally, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. As you are aware, at the outbreak of the war His Majesty gave his Royal word that, so long as the independence and integrity of his kingdom were not threatened, he would maintain neutrality. He has kept his Royal word unswervingly, in spite of every attempt of our enemies to seduce him from his purpose and to embarrass his position; and I do not believe that in the history of this courry the relations between any Amir of Afghanistan and any Viceroy have been more cordial and mutually confident than they are today. But in Afghanistan, as in India, there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people such as at a time of world-excitement, may be carried away by the wind of vain doctrine Such persons may at any time of worldexcitement be carried away by the wind of vain doctrine. Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and levelheaded statesmanship. One of our first thoughts, therefore, at this time must be how we can best assist the Amir of

Afghanistan, who has in the interests of his country which he loves, and in accordance with the pledges which he has given, kept his ship in a straight course of neutrality between the reefs that have so often surrounded him. We can, I believe, best do so by showing our enemies, first, that India stands solid as rock and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in this country,—nay rather. will be smothered and extinguished forthwith, should it approach, by the dead weight of our unity of purpose; second, that should ever our enemy have the hardihood to bring force in the direction of our borders, we are ready with munitions and men to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression and further to guard our own with the whole man-power and resources of India ready behind us."

The German Aim.—Whither then does a frank and reasoned survey of the situation in Asia lead us? We realise from it that for three decades at least the establishment of a sphere of economic influence, from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, has been the aim of German policy. We know this not from surmise, but from indisputable German sources. The great instrument in this policy was the Baghdad Railway, the embodiment of the policy known in Berlin as the B.B.B. —Berlin-Byzantium-Baghdad. But whilst the Baghdad Railway was the great instrument, it was not the only one; steady progress in the construction of the iron road which was to open, in German interests, the old land route to the

East, closed with the eruption of Chengiz Khan, was accompanied by incessant intrigues to obtain a footing in the Persian Gulf and to sap the authority of the Persian Government. And when German publicists spoke of a "sphere of economic interest," what did they mean? We find the answer in the treatment of the French of Alsace-Lorraine, the Danes of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Poles of Posen—we find a still more dreadful answer in Germany's treatment of her subjects in South-West and of East Africa. As a writer in "The Round Table" expressed it, the dominion which Germany hoped to establish in Asia was based on the serfdom of all non-Germans. To quote from this article:—

"Such an Empire is not a commonwealth or community of citizens. It is not even an autocracy of the familiar type. It is something different and more sinister; a military and economic unit, a barracks and a plantation, an area in which the normal concerns and functions of government and social life are subordinated to the demands and requirements of an economic and military General Staff. In peace its inhabitants are no more than a 'labour-force'; in war they are simply 'man-power'. If it survives the present war and is allowed to be consolidated in the future peace it will rivet tyranny for vet another generation upon the peoples of Central-Europe and Nearer Asia, and make ready, slowly perhaps but inevitably, as its resources develop and a new crop of soldiers grows to manhood, for yet another trial strength between militarism and the forces of liberty and justice"

That is the Asiatic menace which India has to face to-day. There is nothing which need cause us the slightest anxiety or even apprehension if we are true to ourselves. It cannot mature for at least a year, save in the possible form of sporadic disturbances in Persia. If it does mature, we have a strong bulwark in the resolute Ruler of Afghanistan pledged to a neutrality which he has loyally observed. Behind the bulwark of Afghanistan stands the tremendous natural frontier of north north-west India, with the resources in men, money and munitions of three hundred and fifteen millions of people to defend it. The call to all of us is here; united and organised we can meet it with resolute and assured confidence. Unity and Service—those must be our watchwords; if we answer to them, "come the whole world in arms and we shall shock them."

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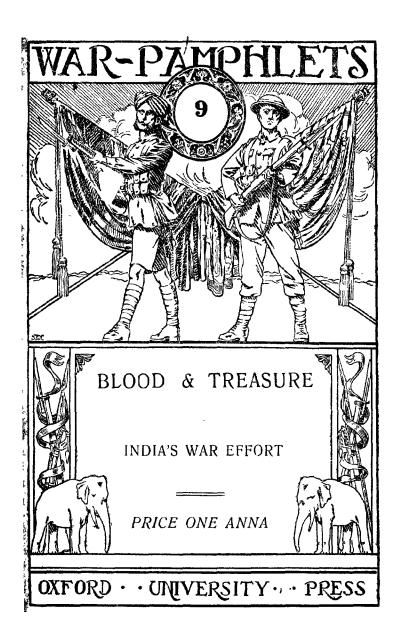
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INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

A brief resume of India's Contribution to the Successful Prosecution of the Great War in Men, Money and Munitions

I.-MAN POWER.

India's contribution in men, combatant and non-combatant to the cause of the Empire at war, has been a little less than the combined total given by Canada and Australia. She has sent about x in 400 of her total population into the Army since the outbreak of war,—Great Britain has given x in 7 of her's to the Army and Navy.

Will India's effort then be judged by history to have been a worthy one? If the facts and figures given below are studied the reply will, it is believed, be in the affirmative.

If a fair judgment is to be made, it will be remembered that a long process of history, economic, religious, and social causes, and long continued military custom have confined the profession of arms in India to a very small proportion of the population: add to that the pressing problems of India in her own borders or along them, her distance from the main seat of war, the difference of political systems in India and the Dominions, and it must be admitted that the contrast of the crude figures is not a just one. The figures, as we shall see, mean indeed that India could do more, but they mean also that India has already made a contribution of manpower which has been, in view of her conditions, surprisingly good and well maintained.

The most important service that India rendered in the early years of the war was that she was able, at the crisis of November 1914, to throw into the breach in Flanders a mass of highly trained and veteran troops. This constituted the only highly trained Reserve than available in the British Empire: its value cannot be estimated by its numbers

This service, performed by the first Indian Army Corps in Europe, will never be forgotten, but in quantity it is only a fraction of India's effort. The conquests of Mesopotamia, East Africa, and Palestine have been materially assisted by armies sent from India: other contingents fought in the Cameroons and at Tsingtau: fighting in distant countries, in deserts, in jungles, the Indian soldiers have covered themselves with honour, and heavy casualties have not diminished their spirit nor the rate of recruiting behind them. Besides these feats of arms, Indian troops have held the Frontiers at more than one difficult moment, safeguarded Aden, and taken a glorious part in the great adventure of Gallipoli.

The non-combatants enlisted have rendered equally great services: Labour Corps from every Indian Province and from Burma have helped to prepare the way for the advance of the armies in France and in Mesopotamia: skilled labourers and mechanics, marine ratings and railway men, have built and maintained docks, railways and lines of communication, bridged and kept open the great arteries of the Tigris and the Euphrates, made order out of chaos and civilization out of the wreck of war. The efforts made by India have greatly surpassed the utmost which the Imperial Government before the war expected she could achieve in an emergency.

The pre-war rate of recruiting was designed only to maintain an army for service on the land frontiers of India against aggression from without. Great Britain had no expectation of very large assistance from India in wars overseas; the most counted upon was two or three divisions. But in the first six months of the war more than 210,000 Indian troops were sent from India overseas. Nothing in the part taken by India in former campaigns overseas could have warranted the expectation that in four years a million men (combatants and non-combatants) would have been raised for an Imperial war and hundreds of thousands sent to every part of the world: the largest expeditionary force ever sent overseas before this war was only 18,000 men.

India has now supplied more than 40 times the old annual average of men enlisted, and for over a year now the monthly total of recruits has exceeded the year's total of 1913. Re-

cruiting in India could never, for historical reasons, be expected to grow so rapidly as in European countries, but it will be seen that it has grown of late very quickly. This has been partly due to measures taken to associate more closely in recruiting the whole civil population, official and non-official. A Central Recruiting Board was established in June 1917 to co-ordinate all kinds of recruitment for the Army and to form a link between the civil and military powers: it includes three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and three Indian Princes, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Bikanir, and at present the Maharaja of Kapurthala. In close touch with this Central body are Provincial Recruiting Boards, which are composed very largely of non-officials and keep recruiting in the districts in direct connection with the people as a whole.

The martial provinces of Northern India have made immense sacrifices since the outbreak of the war. On the 1st January 1918 the Punjab, with its States, and the North-West Frontier Province had about 1 in 52 and 1 in 36 respectively of their total male populations serving in the armed forces of the Crown—and these figures exclude all the casualties since the outbreak of war. Since the 1st January and up to the 31st July, the Punjab has given another 84,000, the Frontier Province another 7,000 combatants to the army. To these must be added many thousands of non-combatants, of whom the Punjab furnished nearly 22,000 in the one year ending with the 30th June 1918.

The Punjab indeed has become not only an armoury but a granary and a workshop of Empire: its assistance in the way of wheat supplies, of munitions, of transport, and other war services has involved the labour of thousands of its people, in addition to the fighting men in the ranks.

Other areas are pressing on fast in this rivalry of service, and the United Provinces, Madras, and Burma, whose military traditions had largely to be restored or created, are now supplying the Army with thousands of recruits.

The response of India has thus been a widespread and a constantly expanding one. It is not only the classes

always reckoned as martial who have been enlisted, such as the Gurkhas or the Sikhs, the Punjabi Mohammedans, the Pathans, the Rajputs and the Mahrattas; but from every district of India and of Burma, classes never before recruited or barely recruited at all have lately flocked to the colours. The mention of Gurkhas reminds us of the magnificent assistance which has been rendered by the Nepal Government in the matter of recruitments as well as in many other ways.

Since the outbreak of the war Nepal has given to the Colours more than one in six of the total male population belonging to the martial classes, between the ages of 18 and 35. This is a remarkable result and it can only have been achieved by sustained and well directed effort and by a determination to subordinate all other interests to the one important object of assisting the Empire.

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs have done all in their power to stimulate recruitment for the Indian Army in their States, and the response has been steady and gratifying. Many States, as is well known, maintain contingents of troops for Imperial Defence and almost all of these units have served the Empire in various theatres of the war. Some States are now engaged in raising new contingents which will form special units of the Indian Army for the period of the war, while others are largely increasing the strength of their Imperial Service Units.

India has thus done much in the way of man-power it is true that she could do more. But the great fact which all the recruiting figures show is that India is doing more every month: the effort of this great sub-continent has become almost a national one, and, however long the need for men may continue, India will, we can confidently say, maintain and increase her efforts to the end.

These points were emphasised by His Excellency the Viceroy in a speech at the Imperial Legislative Council in September when he said:—

"One immediate result of the (Delhi) Conference was to call upon India to add half a million men to her

Army in the ensuing year. Well might we have shrunk from such an undertaking had not the Central Recruiting Board been already in being. But the Board set itself at once to the task and over 97,000 combatant and nearly 55,000 non-combatant recruits were enlisted in May, June and July. As for the new units which with the approval of the military authorities at home we set ourselves to raise, the results have out-run our expectations. Of the total number, two-thirds and more have been raised already. I wish I could tell you how many men we have recruited and sent overseas since the beginning of the war; but military reasons compel reticence. This much, however, I can say: we are now recruiting twice as many men in a month as before the war we recruited in a year. This fine record is due to the labours of the Central Recruiting Board, backed by whole-hearted co-operation in the provinces. And now that the increases in the emoluments of our Indian troops and the grant of King's Commissions, long-awaited and powerfully advocated at the Conference, have been announced. I looked forward to a finer record still."

There is one final point which must specially be borne in mind in considering these figures. Before the outbreak of war, the Dominions' military forces were insignificant, and their military expenditure only a fraction of their budgets. But India had for generations maintained a large standing Army, and her military budget formed, in normal years, about one quarter of her total expenditure. The immediate margin available therefore both of men adapted to military service and of expenditure was much less in India after war broke out than in the Dominions or in the Mother Country: they could draw on the accumulated reserves of years in men and in money,—India could only expand an existing system gradually and with some difficulty.

II.-MONEY.

Nobody can fairly estimate India's financial contribution to the war until the following points are fully considered. India is a poor country, and her three hundred and fifteen millions of people have a very small average annual income. Of these people 70 per cent. are dependent on agriculture for their means of livelihood; and although great progress has been made in irrigation—in the Punjab one-third of the cultivated area is irrigated—the extent and distribution of the rains are of vital importance to the country and its revenues. Then India is administratively a debtor country; she has to remit to England every year approximately £20 millions sterling for interest on her productive debt (Railways and Irrigation works), leave pay, pensions, etc. Further, India is in normal years a borrowing country; she has to borrow large sums every year for the extension of the Railways and Irrigation works, and as, in common with all undeveloped countries, the home money-market is inadequate to these needs, she resorts to the best and cheapest market in the world, that of London. The monsoon is beyond the power of any Finance Member: it gives an uncertain and precarious character to the Land and the Railway revenues, the largest sources of the Indian Exchequer, and on its character the future of any Budget must depend; indeed, one Finance Minister described the Indian Budget as "a gamble in rain." The closing of almost the whole European market to India, the restrictions of imports from Great Britain, the difficulties of sea communications and the exorbitant cost of freight, all struck serious, although happily temporary, blows at Indian trade, and affected the customs, another main source of revenue, and besides this shook the whole fabric of exchange on which Indian commerce depends. India again has neither the powerful banking system nor the wide industrial strength which has enabled Canada to come through so triumphantly: the Government of India has in crises to assist the Banks,—not vice versa as in most countries,—while Indian industries are still in their infancy. Finally, there are severe limits to the taxable capacity of India, where the mass of the people are so poor. Out of a total population of 315,000,000, only about 240,000 are assessed to the incometax,-that is, have incomes of Rs. 1,000 or over; and only about 40,000 of these again have incomes of over Rs. 5,000 a year. The expansion of direct taxation on a large scale, which has been a primary factor on the war finance of Great Britain and her Dominions, has therefore been impossible in India. In view of these initial disadvantages, the financial assistance which India has rendered in the war has been very substantial: it may be discussed under the following heads.

- I. Military Services.—Under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1858, expenditure on expeditions sent outside India cannot normally be charged upon Indian revenues. The despatch of the Expeditionary Forces in 1914 to Europe, to Mesopotamia and to East Africa brought this point up for settlement, and by resolutions of the Imperial Houses of Parliament in September and November of that year it was decided,-in accordance with an offer made by the Government of India,-that India should continue to pay the normal pre-war charges of maintaining the troops and vessels formerly chargeable upon Indian revenues but now sent overseas: the Imperial Government were only to pay any extraordinary expenditure involved. The charges involved on any troops and vessels sent to replace the Indian Expeditionary Forces have been met by the Imperial Government. By this arrangement India performed a service to the Imperial Government of great value and convenience at the time, and one which will have cost more than \$20,000,000 net up to the end of the financial year 1918-19. The total of the net Indian expenditure on military services has, again, grown from just over £21,000,000 in 1912-13 to more than £28,000,000 in 1917-18; in 1918-19 it is estimated at £29,000,000.
- II. War Taxation.—The first year of the war, before conditions had time to adjust themselves, inflicted great damage on Indian revenues: a decree in the Customs and the Railway revenue and a run on the Savings Banks were perhaps the most serious blows: the deficit for the year 1914-15, estimated at £1,000,000, turned out actually to be £4,000,000. In the depressed condition of trade and with abnormally high prices reigning, it was decided not to impose any new taxation, but to meet part of the deficit by borrowing in England and in India.

At the end of the year 1915-16, in spite of rigid economy on the railways, irrigation and other essential public works, the actual deficit was still over £2,600,000 and additional taxation was decided upon. The general tariff rate for imports was raised from 5 per cent. to 7½ per cent.; the duty on sugar was raised to 10 per cent. and special tariffs set up for wines, spirits, and tobacco. Export duties were imposed on tea and jute: the salt tax was raised from Re. I to Re. I-4 a maund; the income-tax on incomes of Rs. 5,000 and over was raised from 5 to 6 pies in the rupee, on incomes from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 24,000 to 9 pies, on incomes of Rs. 25,000 and over and on company profits to I anna. From these new duties and taxes, it was hoped to raise £3,000,000: actually they yielded £4,800,000 in 1916-17.

By 1917 the first bad effects of the war on Indian finance had passed away: there were large increases in the Customs and Railway revenues and the new taxes had proved more productive than was expected. The Government, therefore, decided that the time had come when India could make a more substantial contribution to the cost of the war, and for this purpose agreed to contribute £100,000,000 to the immense burden borne by the Imperial Government, which is approximately £7,000,000 a day.

This meant an extra annual burden of £6,000,000 on the Indian revenues for interest and sinking fund charges, but the existing rates of taxation were expected to give only a surplus of about 2\frac{3}{2} millions in 1917-18, and it was necessary to impose new taxation to find the balance.

The new taxes levied in 1917 were four:--

- (1) A Super-tax of I anna in the rupee on incomes between Rs. 50,000 and I lakh, and increasing by ½ anna on every additional Rs. 50,000: incomes of 2½ lakhs would therefore pay three annas in the rupee on the last half lakh. This tax was to be levied in addition to income-tax.
- (2) The export duty on jute was doubled.

- (3) The import duty on cotton piece-goods was raised from 3½ to 7½ per cent., the excise duty being left at 3½ per cent.
- (4) A small surcharge was imposed on railway goods traffic.

These taxes were estimated to yield over £3,000,000. Over 9½ millions of new taxation have in fact been raised in India in the last two years, a very real contribution from such a poor country. The capital expenditure on State-owned railways, again, fell from £11½ millions in 1914-15 to £3½ millions in 1917-18 and any appreciably increased expenditure on education, sanitation and other social amenities has had to be postponed.

In September 1918 a further step was taken in direction of the participation of India in the cost of the war, the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council accepted by a very large majority a proposal that India should take a larger share than she does at present in respect of the cost of the military forces raised or to be raised in the country. The Finance Member in placing this before the Council pointed out that prior to the war the normal recruitment of combatants for the Indian Army was only about 15,000 men a year. In the year ending May 1917, this had been raised to 121,000 and in the following year, that ending on the 31st May 1918, to over 300,000. The Government however did not think that this figure was sufficient and during the recruiting year which commenced on the 1st of June 1918 fixed the quota of combatant recruitments at half a million men to be raised by voluntary endeavour.

The effect of this decision was very largely to raise the normal strength of the army in India. The ordinary peace strength of the Indian portion of this army may be taken roughly at 160,000 men and in respect of these the normal cost falls upon India even though the men may be employed with expeditionary forces outside India.

India therefore decided, in the terms of this resolution, to take over as from the 1st of April 1918 the normal cost of 200,000 additional men, raising what may be called the

normal cost army to 360,000 men; and from the 1st April 1919 to take over the normal cost of 100,000 men more.

These, with other war charges assumed by India, work out to a grand total of £45 million assuming that the war will continue until the 31st March 1920.

It is proposed that this additional expenditure shall be tinanced in the main from an excess profits tax, but the details will be decided by the Imperial Legislative Council in the ordinary Budget Session, namely March 1919.

III. War Loans.—In addition to loans for internal and conversion purposes in 1915 and 1916 the last of which realized Rs. 667 lakhs, the Government of India in 1917 determined to meet by the issue of a War Loan, part of the obligations to the Imperial Government, in respect of the War contribution of £100,000,000. By the War Loan of 1917 over £35,000,000 was raised, while India is to pay interest and sinking fund charges on part of the British War Loan to discharge the balance. A second War Loan was issued in May 1918 and realized £34,000,000.

The war contribution of £100,000,000 is equivalent to two whole years of India's "Imperial" revenue in the years of peace,—that is the resources of the Central Government as opposed to those of the Provincial Administrations,—and is thus a contribution worthy of the purpose.

IV.—Expenditure on behalf of the Imperial Government.—In order to assist the Imperial Government the Indian Government have undertaken to finance many war services and the export of enormous purchases of wheat, jute, hides and munitions. Repayment of these is ultimately made in London, but the present strain on India is a severe one and means serious restrictions on ordinary trade and investments. Up to the end of March 1918 India had spent on these war services for His Majesty's Government about £128,000,000. Not only has India provided the money on the spot, but she has invested in British war securities a very large part of the moneys repaid to her in London, and so has re-lent to the Imperial Government much of the debt due to her.

Up to the end of 1918, India will have put over £67,000,000 into such securities.

In this connection it should be mentioned that India,—which in ordinary times depends so largely on borrowings in London,—has incurred no new debts in Great Britain since 1916 and has paid off more than £7,500,000 of previous borrowings.

V.—Contributions by public bodies and individuals.—The contributions in money or in kind for war purposes from Indian rulers and every class of the Indian people are too numerous to specify. Up to March 1918 nearly £1,000,000 had been given to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund: hospital ships, motor cars, ambulances, machine guns, and aeroplanes have been poured in: the Nizam of Hyderabad has maintained two regiments at the front throughout the war and his total gifts exceed in value £700,000; before the end of 1916 the Ruling Princes had given gifts in cash or in kind valued at £1,000,000: Provincial War Funds and Funds for comforts for the troops have been fully maintained by the charity and benevolence of all classes of Indians.

The total sum of all these gifts and contributions it is impossible to estimate accurately: but they can hardly be of a value less than £5,000,000.

With the Delhi Conference of April 1918 a new stream of gifts and donations began from the Indian Princes and communities.

Under this head, though much of it is Government expenditure, we may mention the provision made for the wounded: even in September 1916 India was maintaining overseas 40 ambulances, 6 clearing hospitals, 35 stationary hospitals, 18 general hospitals, and all the staff and apparatus involved: in India itself the hospital trains, convalescent homes, depots for training disabled soldiers and similar institutions, are on a royal scale.

III.—MATERIALS.

Another valuable war service, in the interest of the United Kingdom and India alike, has been discharged by the Indian Government in taking over the control of staple articles of export like wheat, wool, and tanned hides. Speculation in wheat has been avoided, a reasonable figure maintained for the Indian consumer, the Indian surplus safe-guarded for Great Britain, and the price in the British market consequently reduced. The Tibetan wool supply has been kept for military purposes. The whole supply of East India tanned hides suitable for Army work has been bought and shipped: the export of raw hides has been restricted to the United Kingdom and Allied States.

These and similar measures, originally instituted by Government, have since February 1917 been directed by the Indian Munitions Board. It is not relevant here to speak of the work already achieved by that Board, and the promise of far more, towards the creation of Indian industries: this will flourish long after the war and be a permanent memorial of the success of India, when thrown upon herself, in meeting her own demands. The immediate objects for which the Board was created were to control and develop Indian resources, with special reference to the needs created by the war, and to apply the manufacturing resources of India to war purposes with the special object of reducing demands on shipping.

Except for foodstuffs, medical stores and some technical stores, the Board is now responsible for the supply of all articles needed by the armies in India or based upon Indiain addition to those required by Government departments and State railways. The fruit of its work has been to reduce demands on the over-pressed energies of Great Britain and on shipping to small proportions, to give an enormous impetus to the industrial energy of India, and to make India far more self-sufficient for material of war. The mere fact that in the fifteen months ending with the 30th June 1918 the Board's expenditure in India (exclusive of stores bought abroad) was some 23 crores of rupees is enough to show the magnitude of their undertakings. Clothing of all sorts, tents, cotton fabrics, and blankets for the Indian army are now almost entirely produced in India. Two million pairs of boots are made for Government in a year, as compared with less than 100,000 in 1013-14. The Board has recently taken over jute purchases, and it has nearly doubled the pre-war rate of

export of tanned hides. The Government harness factory at Cawnpore has multiplied its production from 33,000 lbs of leather in 1913-14 to nearly 200,000 lbs. in the first three months of 1918-19.

In January 1918 the Board took over control of the Ordnance factories, and the cash expenditure on these, which was about 50 lakhs in 1913-14, reached Rs. 1,16,25,000 in the first three months of the present financial year; a large scheme for extension is now being carried out at cost of about £500,000. Timber in all shapes is supplied to the forces in Egypt, Salonica, East Africa, and Mesopotamia to a value of Rs.24,000,000 a month. The Board controls, with the assent of the company, the entire output of pig-iron and steel from the Tata Company's works at Sakchi. Assistance is being given by way of specifications and supplies to the wooden ship-building industry, which is being considerably extended in Bombay, Malabar, Madras, Chittagong and Burma. A start has been made with the development of chemical research and industries in India, with special reference to the needs of the war. The Board scrutinizes all indents from Government departments and railways for supplies from outside India, and the bulk of those from private firms and individuals for supplies from the United Kingdom and America, and by means of this power is enabled to develop and co-ordinate Indian industry and to reduce the strain on Great Britain and the demands on shipping

All these functions and enterprises are of the very first importance to the prosecution of the war and constitute an important part of India's contribution to the cause of the Empire: at the same time their prospective importance for the strength of India itself is incalculable.

India has then done all, and more than all, which she has been asked to do—more than her best friends might have expected—far more than her enemies feared. In the revolutions which the last four years have brought about, the war has changed its character for India: in 1914 perhaps it was a matter mostly of duty and of honour—in 1918 it is a question of necessity, and the services which India undertook in the first instance for the defence of Europe must be prolonged for the safe-guarding of her own gates.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

Some of the effects of the war period on Indian trade and finance are shown by the figures below. the amounts are in pounds sterling except when otherwise stated.

- 					Total Revenue.	Customs Revenue.	Railway Revenue.	Income- Tax Receipts.	Total Expenditure.	Total Military Expenditure.	Total Surplus or Deficit.
1	1912-13		••	 	86,985,300	7,197,243	17,371,789		83,623,410	20,953,100	+3,361,900
1	1913-14			 	84,262,000	7,558,220	17,625,634		83,675,000	21,265,765	+587,000
]	1914-15	••		 ••	80,156,000	6,347,201	15,799,149	2,036,733	85,115,000	21,809,603	-4,939,000
,	1915-16				84,413,537	5,873,886	17,977,103	2,090,109	85,471,258	23,503,000	1,188,661
1	1916-17				96,834,900	8,659,182	20,981,600	3,772,967	91,017,000	26,566,757	+5,817,500
]	1917-18*	• ·		 	110,401,000	11,127,900	23,800,000	6,075,800	102,320,000	30,284,700	+8,081,000
:	1918-19†	••		 	108,347,000	10,714,400	22,900,000	6,333,200	106,151,000	30,532,700	+2,196,000

	Total Imports in lakbe of rupees.	Total Exports in lakhs of rupees.
1913-14	 183,25	244,20
1914-15	 137.93	177,48
1915-16	 131,99	192,53
1916-17	 149,62	233,15
	• Revised Estimates	r Budget Estimates

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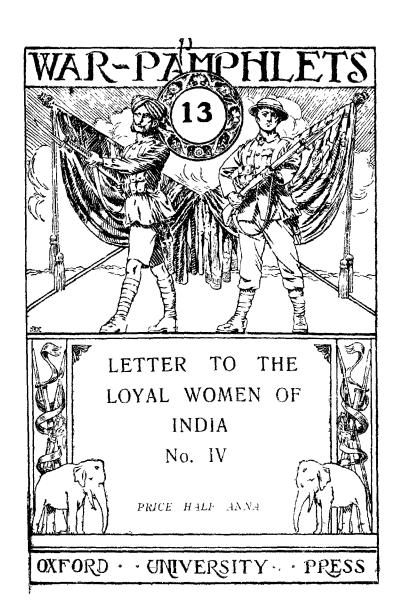
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OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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HUMPHREY MILFORD OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS ELPHINSTONE CIRCLE, BOMBAY ESPLANADE, MADRAS



WOMEN OF INDIA

No. IV

- I. Since we last wrote to you the news has been excellent. The Armies of the Allies have been uniformly successful and have had a great victory and have received the congratulations of the King. The enemy have been forced to ask for an armistice: the fighting has ceased, and the war is won. The hearts of all loyal women will rejoice. When they write to their husbands and sons who have helped to defeat the enemy we hope that they will praise them for what they have done and tell them not to worry about their homes. We know that all women are suffering from domestic difficulties; prices of food and clothing are high, and in the absence of the men it is hard to obtain supplies and to manage the land, but we trust that you will all do your best to be patient and brave and to help each other, and that you will not write unhappy letters to your men, for it will only discourage them. whereas if the women bear their anxieties and difficulties bravely it will strengthen the men and help them to endure any hardships which they may undergo until they come back to their homes once more.
- 2. Recruiting in India has been very good during the past few months and the King has telegraphed that he is very pleased In the

Punjab (including Delhi) 19,697 combatants and 3,997 non-combatants joined the army in August. During July the Gujranwala District sent more young men to the Army than any other Punjab District. In the United Provinces those districts which do best in recruiting between July 1918 and July 1919 will be honoured by the gift of a shield with an inscription telling what they have done. As a man values his medals so will those districts value their shields.

Now we want to tell you something about the good arrangements which have been made in Bombay, and are being made elsewhere in India. to help those Indian soldiers who have been wounded in the war and who wish to add to their pensions by learning a trade. Whatever money they earn by their trade will give them and their families additional comfort and izzat. In England, schools were provided to teach wounded British soldiers trades, and each man is enabled to choose work that he can do in spite of his wound. schools are so successful and have pleased the soldiers so much that they have now been started for wounded Indian soldiers in India. The first of these was established in Bombay by Lady Willingdon and is named after Queen Mary who takes a great interest in it. We want you to understand that there is no order that a wounded man should go to one of these schools, but if he wishes to go, permission will be granted, while at the school a soldier is given clothes, bedding and food, and he is given his railway ticket to and from his home and he receives from the Imperial

4. It is now 25 years since the King and Queen were married; and in England this is called a silver wedding. It is one of our customs to give silver presents to celebrate this anniversary, but Queen Mary said that, instead of accepting presents for herself, she would use all offering-

owing to this new arrangement.

tor the benefit of her people. By the wish of the Oueen whatever money is given by India will be used to provide scholarships for the education of children of Indian soldiers who have been killed in this war. This will be a great help to many mothers, for though Government will provide for the early education of the children of fallen soldiers these scholarships will enable the recipients to carry on their studies through the higher stages. It is hoped that some special provision will be made for the daughters of soldiers who have been killed. Times are changing, and now that the boys of India are being so much better educated than in former years they will wish that their wives and sisters should be better educated also. The soldiers who have fought for us in this war have perceived the value of education during their residence in foreign lands, and this opportunity for learning and advancement, which will be provided by Government and by the Silver Wedding Funds, fulfils their dearest wish for their children.

5. While your husbands are at the war and you mothers have to look after your children without help, we think that a few words of advice might comfort you. Many deaths among children could be prevented by a little knowledge of simple remedies. Cleanliness is of the first importance to health; a child's person, clothes, and food should always be clean. Flies should be kept away from its food and its eyes and neither flies nor mosquitoes should be allowed to settle upon a child at any time, whether sleeping or waking. When

a child is getting its first teeth it is fretful and dribbles and has swollen gums, and very often it gets constipation and diarrhœa: neither must be allowed. The best remedy in either case is a teaspoonful of castor oil, this is a cheap medicine and every mother should possess it. If an infant gets fever give it half a grain of quinine: the best time to give quinine is directly the baby begins to perspire and after it has taken the breast or been given milk. Keep a child with fever out of the sun and let it sip clean cold water frequently. Ouinine is cheap and can be bought at every post-office. Every child should be vaccinated to prevent small-pox, it is best to vaccinate one month after birth. The oldest people in your village will remember how very many Indians were pitted with small-pox some 50 years ago; to-day owing to vaccination it is very seldom seen. Always remember that to keep a house and everything in it clean is the best safeguard against illness. If there is a havildar on pension in the village who has seen barley water prepared in cantonments he can tell people how to make it, and it is a good drink for a child who has had fever. A Mahommedan child who has been ill and is weak can be strengthened by chicken soup which is easy to make; after the chicken has been cleaned it should be put in a pot with some water and the water should simmer for eight hours or more. A chicken costs money, but it is better to use the chicken for the child than that the child should remain ill. All women love children and we hope that yours will give you much comfort and happiness while your

husbands are away fighting. We hope that when we again write to you we shall have more victories to rejoice over together.

> Your sincere friends and well-wishers, EILEEN MANT, se of the Hon'ble Mr. R. 4. Mant.

(Wife of the Hon'ble Mr. R. A. Mant, Secretary, Government of India Revenue and Agriculture).

EVA MARY BELL,

(Wife of the late Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Bell, 27th Punjabis).

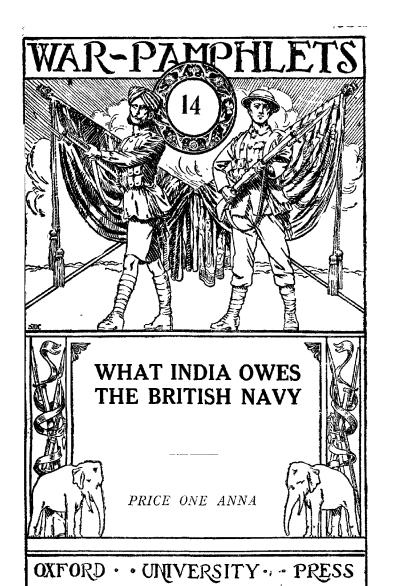
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HUMPHREY MILFORD OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ELPHINSTONE CIRCLE, BOMBAY 10, ESPLANADE, MADRAS.



What India Owes the British Navy

"At this grave moment in our national history is send to you, and through you to the officers and men of the Fleets of which you have assumed command, the assurance of my confidence that under your direction they will revive and renew the old glories of the Royal Navy, and prove once again the sure shield of Britain and of her Empire in the hour of trial."

HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR'S MESSAGE TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELLICOE ON AUGUST 4TH, 1914.

"It is upon the Nav that, under the good Providence of God, the wealth, prosperity and peace of these islands and of the Empire do mainly depend."

THE ARTICLES OF WAR.

4 WHAT INDIA OWES THE BRITISH NAVY

"The might of Great Britain and the unquestioned supremacy of the All-powerful Navy of our King-Emperor have kept the War away from our shores."

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER.

On the last Anniversary of Lord Nelson's great victory of Trafalgar, the victory which saved Great Britain from the ambitions of Napoleon, thirty million people in America passed a resolution paying a tribute to the stupendous work of the Navy. "Understanding the full significance of the part the British Navy has been privileged to play in liberating the world from autocracy and misrule and appreciating particularly its gallant and efficient work in transporting and conveying American men and supplies with so little loss as to constitute an achievement which must stand for ever among the most glorious annuls of the Great War, we, the people of America numbering over thirty millions, assembled in our churches, lodges and other meeting places, desire that this expression of our lasting gratitude and enduring esteem be conveyed to the officers and men of the British Navy and to the peoples of the British Empire."

What India Owes the British Navy

What has the Navy done for India? What does India owe to it? These are the questions which we shall try to answer.

In the first place, India owes to the British Navy her immunity from the horrors of war. No invading armies have camped upon her soil, slaughtered her peaceful populations, and ravaged her rich cities. She has not been crushed like Belgium beneath the iron heel of the German invader, she has not seen her peoples driven homeless and ruined into xile: she has not seen her temples and her mosques foully descrated by invading armies. Instead, she has been saved from the desolation of warfare, she has been able to carry on her peaceful activities, she has even been able to grow richer through the opportunities for economic expansion which the war has placed before her.

The Navy has saved India from the horrors of a German invasion. We all know what the Germans would have done had they been able to reach India. We have the examples of Belgium, of Serbia, of Roumania, of Russia before our eyes. And, in addition, the Germans have shamelessly told us themselves that they intended to come to India in 1915, that they were going to conquer the country, not merely to occupy it, that streams of Indian gold were to be made to now into the coffers of Germany. The Kaiser has openly mocked the British for the justice and economy of their rule, and has boasted that, if he came, he would conquer India, and would exploit the country in the way which would bring nost money to Germany.

From all this the Navy has saved India But India does not stand alone; she is a member of the British Empire, and she shales in common with other members of the British Empire the benefits of the great work of the Navy during this war.

What has the work of the Navy been? First, let us remember that right through the war the Navy has stood behind the armies of Great Britain and of her Allies. Without the Navy the forces of the Empire could never have been brought to bear upon the Central Powers: without the Navy France, would have been crushed and Germany would have won the victory for which she hoped a few weeks after the Declaration of War. But the Navy prevented all this. Thanks to the Navy, Germany has lost all save one of her colonies the colonies she hoped to use as bases for military and naval operations. Thanks to the work of the Navy, the forces of the Empire and of the Allies have been linked up, coordinated, and brought to bear upon the Germans. Thanks to the Navy, the British Empire has fought no fewer than seven campaigns in different parts of the world—in France in Italy, in Salonika, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in Russia, and in East Africa. The forces employed in these campaigns have stopped the Germans and their friends from carrying out their enterprises. We in India have especial reason for being grateful to the Navy. Without the Navy, not a man of those gallant British and Indian troops, whose exploits have interposed a barrier between our enemies and ourselves, could have been carried to the field where he was most Without the Navy, it would not have been possible to supply these men with the materials of war: in fact without the Navy, the British Empire would have been helpless against Germany. But as it is, the men of the Empire, Indians, Englishmen, Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, South Africans—men from every part of the earth where the British flag flies, have been carried safely to the place where they could best strike their blow for the freedom of the world and for the destruction of Germany's evil power.

The same thing happened when America came into the war. The foolish Germans looked at the map of the world, and saw that the United States was separated from the European battlefields by more than three thousand miles of sea. They imagined that with their submarines they would be able to prevent American troops from crossing the Atlantic in sufficient numbers to affect the issues of the war. But what has happened? The Atlantic has been bridged by the Navy, whose untring vigilance and supreme skill have baffled the submarines. American soldiers were brought to Europe at the rate of more than 200,000 a month. When the armistice was signed there were 2,000,000 Americans in France, and they were still coming. As Lord Curzon recently said:—

"This great procession of ships, crossing thousands of miles of ocean in regular formation, presenting a large and visible target for attack, hunted and harried as they enter the Danger Zone by an invisible and desperate foe, but guarded by an ever-moving screen for the most part of British Destroyers and British Men-of-War, and weekly landing its complement of men in the ports of England and France, is one of the most impressive spectacles of the war."

Without the Navy, not a single American could have crossed the ocean to fight side by side with the Allies in the cause of justice and freedom.

Again it is entirely due to the efforts of the Navy that Germany's policy of unrestricted submarinism has failed. If the submarines had succeeded, our armies in France, in Mesopotamia, in Palestine and elsewhere would have withered away. We could not have carried on the war. Great Britain, France and Italy would have been starved. Not a ship could have left the shores of India: her commerce and industry would have been ruined: her imports and exports alike would have entirely ceased: unendurable distress for all classes of her population would have resulted. Germany would have been victorious: she would have conquered the world, and compelled all men to bow their heads to her tyranny. But it has turned out differently. As Mr. Lloyd George recently said:—

"Our British ships are convoying, patrolling, mine laying, mine sweeping, escorting, chasing submarines over vast and trackless areas. They have destroyed at least 150 of these ocean pests, more than half in the course of last year."

Almost as important as the destruction of Germany's hopes for the submarine campaign has been the Navy's steady economic pressure upon the Central Powers. In 1913, the seaborne trade of Germany and Austria-Hungary amounted to £863,260,000 annually. For two years that trade has been partially arrested: for two years it has been completely stopped, owing to the blockade which the British Navy has maintained. Mr. Lloyd George has spoken of this blockade as follows:—

"From Shetland to Greenland, from Greenland to Iceland, from Iceland to the Coast of Norway, the most savage waters in the world, always angry, resenting the intrusion of man by every device known to Nature, for four years these seas have been incessantly patrolled by the British Navy, and they have set up an impenetrable barrier to Germany."

What has been the effect of this on the countries we are ughting?

Austria has been forced to surrender to the Allies; Germany has been compelled to beg for an armistice; Turkey has been obliged to go out of the war. Bulgaria, who was in worse case than any, was the first to yield to the force of pressure, and to surrender unconditionally to the Allies From the North Sea and Baltic down to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, starvation stared the enemy in the face Germany and her friends could not obtain many of the raw materials without which war cannot be carried on. She could not obtain rubber, cotton, copper, and many other things she needed. This not only made the manufacture of munitions

more exhausted, but made her transport, both mechanical and railway transport, far less efficient, because she lacked the material for repairing her motors and her railway waggons as they wore out. The very life was drained out of her by the blockade. Even now her fields are going out of cultivation owing to the absence of fertilisers and the continual withdrawal of labour. For many years to come, she must expect nothing but bad harvests. Even after the termination of the war, both she and her ally Austria have made piteous appeals to the Allies for food.

 Just as Germany has experienced all the terrible effects of the supremacy of the British Navy, so have the British Empire and the Allies experienced all the advantages of that Navy's work. From Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, and other parts of India, scores of ships travel safely to and fro every day, bringing to India the commodities she needs, taking her own products to the world's best markets, and pouring wealth into her coffers. But for the Navy, this state of things could not have continued for an hour. When one single German ship, the 'Emden,' evaded for a short while the vigilance of the Navy, the consternation spread through the Indian mercantile community was great. Commerce and trade were adversely affected, Indian bankers began to refuse advances to their customers, and the whole structure of credit seemed to be imperilled. Before long, however, as everyone knows, the 'Emden' was destroyed by the Navy, and trade activities went on in India as before. But supposing the Navy had tailed to catch the "Emden," or supposing that there had been too many 'Emdens' for the Navy to catch. indeed would India have formed some idea of the perils from which she is now protected by the ever-watchful Navy of the Empire.

But it is not merely to members of the Eritish Commonwealth of Nations that the Navy has performed services which are beyond all price. Here is what Lord Cuizon recently sud —

"Take the case of France alone. We cannot sufficiently express our admiration for the spirit and resolution with which the people of France have over and over again resisted and repelled the invasions of the enemy. We admire her veteran and indomitable Prime Minister, the skill of her commanders, the bravery of her troops, the patriotism and self sacrifice of her citizens. We are proud to fight by their side and in their cause. But, without our aid, this superb effort could never have been made or sustained. Last year we carried to France 45 per cent. of her entire imports, and the same proportion to Italy. We carry to her shores over 50 per cent. of the coal by which her furnaces and forges, her railways and arsenals, are fed. We carry over 60 per cent. of the cereals by which her armies and her civil population are kept alive. We have at this moment 7,000,000 tons of shipping in the service of France, and half a million tons in the service of Italy. We carry to France an enormous amount of the railway material which she uses, the steel and iron—no fewer than 2,000,000 tons of the latter in the last year and a half-of machine guns and trench mortars and every variety of munitions of war, including no fewer than 120,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunitions in the year 1917. This has nothing to do with the British Army in France. How have we been able to do all this? The whole of this economic service depends upon our command of the sea. It has been secured by the predominance of the British Navy. Had we lost command of the sea, we could not have helped our Allies to fight; we could not even have kept our own population alive. The Navy has kept the seas open for the Mercantile Marine, and the Mercantile Marine has been the life-preserver of our Allies."

Here are some figures which help to explain the work the Navy has been doing during the last four years. When the war broke out, the tonnage of the Navy was 2,500,000. Now, including the auxiliary fleet of patrol boats, armed liners, mine-sweepers, and so forth, it is 8,000,000—more than three

times as great. At the beginning of the war, the Navy was manned by 145,000 men, now it is manned by almost half a million. These figures refer to the fighting ships alone. In the Navy and the Mercantile Marine taken together, there are at least 1,500,000 men. Under the care of this force, more than 16,000,000 troops have been transported to various corners of the world and only 3,000 have been lost by enemy action. Some 40,000,000 tons of explosives to be used against our foes, some 3,000,000 horses and mules for transport work, some 60,000,000 tons of oil and fuel for the manufacture of munitions and the feeding of railways and motor cars have been carried where they were most wanted by the Navy and Mercantile Marine. The food and other material moved by British ships about the world since the beginning of the war amounts to more than 200,000,000 tons.

In what manner has the Navy done all this wonderful work? The question may be answered very simply. First, the German ships were driven from the oceans, and second, the oceans were patrolled ceaselessly by the British Navy.

At the beginning of the war, Germany had a powerful fleet, which was only second in importance to our own. But as soon as war was declared, the German fleet was driven to take refuge in its own harbours. Thrice that fleet has come out, and on each occasion it has been badly beaten, and has only escaped destruction by a miracle. On August 28th, 1914, a German squadron which was cruising in the Bight of Heligoland was caught by the First Light Cruiser Squadron of the Navy, and held in action until our Battle Cruiser Squadron came up. The Navy did not lose a single ship. while the Germans lost two new cruisers, one older cruiser, and several smaller craft. This was the first big naval engagement of the war. On the 24th of January 1915, the Germans made another sally out from their refuge. This time they had a stronger force, consisting of four powerful battle cruisers, several light cruisers, and a number of smaller craft. Again they were met and forced to fly back quickly.

12

One of their best battle cruisers was sunk, and many of their other ships were severely damaged. Since that time, the German fleet has only ventured out once again. This was on the last day of May 1916. The German High Seas Fleet put to sea in great strength, and sailed a hundred miles or so north of the Jutland Coast. It was engaged by the Light Cruiser Squadron under Sir David Beatty, which, despite heavy losses inflicted by the enemy, contrived to make a braye show until the British Battle Fleet under Admiral Sir John Jellicoe came up and engaged the enemy. The battle was a very severe one, but the Germans were decisively defeated and fled home, in the darkness of the night, having lost some of their finest ships, with most of the remainder out of action. We lost three battle cruisers, three armoured cruisers, and eight destroyers, while the Germans lost three of their best battle ships, one battle cruiser, five light cruisers. six destroyers and one submarine. But more important than the losses inflicted upon the Germans was the moral effect of their defeat. They had learnt once for all that the British Navy was too strong for them, and from that day to this, the German Fleet has remained hiding in the security of its harbours.

At the beginning of the war, it was not only the main German Fleet which the British Navy was called upon to fight. There were several isolated squadrons of German ships, scattered about in various seas, and until these were destroyed or captured, the oceans were not safe for Britain and her Allies. Owing to the speedy conquest by means of sea-power of most of the German colonies, these squadrons were compelled to rove over the scas like homeless wanderers, until they met their fate. One of the squadrons, under the German Admiral von Spee, succeeded in defeating a small British squadron at the battle of Coronel on the Pacific Coast of South America. Despite the fact that the British ships were smaller and older than the German ships, they engaged them without the slightest hesitation and the brave British Commander, Admiral Cradock, went down

in his flagship with the British flag still flying. This was on the 1st November 1914. But before six weeks had passed, this reverse was amply avenged by a strong British squadron, under Sir F. Doveton Sturdee, who completely destroyed Admiral von Spee and his ships, and restored the supremacy of the Navy in the South American waters.

There were also a number of isolated German ships to be rounded up and destroyed before the safety of the seas was secured. One of the most famous of these ships was the light cruiser 'Emden,' whose exploits in Indian waters we have already mentioned. Evading the British ships which were looking for her she fired some shells into Madras, and continued for some time to sail about the Indian Ocean. destroying merchant ships and doing much damage. What this one small ship was able to do gives some idea of how India would have suffered had the Navy not exercised its constant protection over her coasts. Before long, the British had news of the 'Emden's 'whereabouts, and on oth November 1914, she was finally brought to bay and destroyed at Cocos or Keeling Island, halfway between India and Australia. The ship which destroyed her was the 'Sydney,' la cruiser belonging to the Australian Navy. The engagement was short. After one hour and forty minutes of fighting, the 'Emden' ran ashore, a blazing wreck. All India, in common with the rest of the British Empire, rejoiced to hear of her destruction.

Having cleared the seas of German ships, the Navy has proceeded to patrol them, in order to keep them safe for the shipping of the Allies. Every ocean in the world is patrolled by the vessels of the Navy, and some lidea of the gigantic character of the work done is shown by the fact that in the month of June 1918 alone, the British ships of the Navy st. amed 8,000,000 miles.

Through the steady and ceaseless watch—for the Navy "never goes into winter quarters"—the oceans of the world have been made safe for the Allies. Men, munitions, raw

materials of all kinds, have thus been transported across every sea for the destruction of Germany and her evil power. In vain by her policy of submarine piracy did she attempt to loosen the grasp which was steadily throttling her. The courage and resourcefulness of the Navy proved, as we have already seen, too much for the submarines, and Germany's last desperate throw of the dice has failed completely.

The British Merchant Service played its full share in securing the defeat of submarinism. The Germans had counted on frightening our sailors, so that they would not venture to put to sea. But they counted in vain. The men of the Merchant Service faced the peril undaunted, and by their heroism and fortitude saved Britain and the Empire from starvation.

Of the courage and resourcefulness of the Navy, it is impossible to say enough. Wherever British seamen have met their foes, they have behaved with a disciplined bravery, a coolness, a fortitude, which are beyond praise. Take the two famous exploits of Zeebrugge and Ostend. These alone would have made the name of any Navy live for ever: but they are just a small link in the long chain of gallant deeds which the Navy has performed, and is performing every day, in the present war.

Zeebrugge and Ostend are two ports on the Belgian Coast, which the Germans until recently occupied and used as bases for their submarines. They were close to the coast of England, and therefore very useful for attacking the shipping which brought men and food and munitions to England and France. The Germans fully expected the Navy would attack these ports, so they fortified them as strongly as they could, and were always on the alert. Yet on the 24th April 1918, a small British squadron set out from Dover, partially destroyed the great mole which guarded Zeebrugge harbour from the waves and sank two ships full of cement in such a way as to block the entrance. The Germans, who, of course, out-numbered the British enormously, made a desperate resistance, but were so surprised at the boldness and daring of the

attack that they were helpless to prevent its success. Every man of the British force was a picked volunteer, and none had any reason to think that he would escape alive. well planned and so well executed was this gallant exploit that the losses suffered by the attackers were slight. May 11th, a similar exploit, all the more creditable since the enemy were now thoroughly on the alert, was carried out at Ostend, where the old battleship "Vindictive" which had played a splendid part on the Zeebrugge exploit, was now sunk across the mouth of the harbour. The result of these two enterprises was that, for a long time, the Germans could not make use of Zeebrugge and Ostend as naval ports. and the effect upon the success of the submarine campaign was very marked. Up to the very last days of the war, the Germans could not make use of these ports, for they had not succeeded in clearing them of the obstructions.

Many gallant deeds has the Navy done during the war: but its greatest services to the Empire and to India are those which have been described at the beginning of this pamphlet; the safeguarding of the oceans, the transporting of war material; the strangling of our enemies. This is what Mr. Lloyd George recently said, in describing the Navy's part in the war, and we may take it as a fitting summary of all that we have written previously:-

"Unless the Allies had been completely triumphant at the outset of the war at sea, no efforts on land would have saved them. The British Fleet is mainly responsible for that complete triumph."

What then does India owe the Navy? security, and her share with the Empire and the Allies in the victory of civilization over the forces of German barbarism.

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FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.

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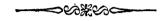


PREFACE

The following pages which were originally written for a magazine have been issued in this form in order to stimulate a further discussion of the important topic which is dealt with. The writer has steadily aimed at keeping out of all controversial as well as irrelevant issues. The article in fact pretends to nothing more than an attempt to show how the subject of a free press in India has always been regarded for the last hundred years as a momentous question of state policy, and how the entire Indian Press, whether Anglo—Indian or native is bound together in this matter by ties of common interests. It will be well for all parties concerned if the subject thorny as it is, can be considered irresective of racial differences.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.



PRELIMINARY.

No topic is at present more absorbing in India than the liberty of the native press and its threatened curtailment. The events which have caused this question to be prominently brought before the public are too fresh to need recapitulation. The panic caused by the atrocious murders of the Jubilee night suggest ed the theory of a conspiracy fomented and supported by writings in the Poona Press, and that theory, whether right or wrong, made it imperatively necessary in the opinion of Government to take the tone of the native press perious consideration. After much deliberation Government resolved to strike a blow at the growng licentiousness of the vernacular press, and with that view they instituted prosecutions for sedition against publishers and printers of four Marathi news-papers, four of whom were committed and senenced, while the printer and publisher of one of he papers were discharged on a nolle proseque being entered by the Advocate General. Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code was thus found efficacious, but not sufficiently clear; and so the Jovernment of India undertook further legislation presumably to prevent future mischief. low the question of the liberty of the Indian pre ame to be a burning topic of the day. A purel

incident has given rise to a controversy local in which a question of the highest importance is involved. It is not the purpose of this article to enter into that controversy or even to examine the arguments put forth on both sides. Our aim is to approach the question from an entirely different and if possible, non-controversial stand-point. The question what latitude should be allowed to news-paper press in India consistently with the safety of the empire and the well-being of the people is very intricate. It is one of the most difficult problems of Indian administration, demanding utmost patience and consideration, which however is not possible in the excited state of feeling like the public present. Any conclusion therefore formed at such a time is likely to be hasty and machievous and the best course for all to follow under the circumstances would be to let the matter drop for a time. As however that does not seem possible, the next best course is to divest the question of its local colouring and to consider it in its broadest aspect. It is proposed in this article to raview the past history of the question in order to see how it stands at present and in what light it. ought to be discussed. Many of the side issues that have been raised in the present controversy would thus appear to be totally irrelevent; and possibly the whole problem would assume a new aspect if the public is sufficiently informed as to how the question has been treated from time to time, and through what phases it has already passed and to what limits it is now irrevocably confined. It will be usefull to show that many of the issues involved in this controversy are, to employ a legal term, Ris judicata, and therefore beyond the pale of any further discussion; while others have acquired a

new significance. Before wrangling about the subject let us at least make ourselves sure as to uhat that freedom is about which so much is said and written.

Freedom of the press has become a hackneyed expression, but it will be found on examination to be rather conventional than based on any absolute right. Even in England a free press is not recog. nised as a right by the written law of the country, just as there is no right as such to hold a public meeting. The law supposes the press as much subject to the sovereign authority as any other institution; and the writers in news-papers are bound by the same rules of conduct as any other individual in society. They are free to write anything so long as they keep within the bounds of law. If they transgress those bounds they do so at their own risk. The law does not confer any special privilege upon the press but it takes away a portion of the natural right which every individual possesses to act, to speak and to write, as he pleases. So freedom is a comparative term, and a free press simply means a press hampared by as few restrictions as are compatible with public interest. Whenever, therefore, this natural right is sought to be further limited by Government, the only question that properly arises is whether the new restriction is imperatively demanded by public necessity. This is the theoretical aspect of the question, and it is always put forward by autocratic rulers whenever stringent regulations for the press are to be justified. Practically in many countries and especially in those Governed on democratic principles, such as England and the American Republic the press actually enjoys. a far larger amount of freedom than is allowed by law.

It will be hard to find a single issue of the great London dailies containing nothing that is either defamatory or seditious or otherwise illegal in the strict sense of the law, and yet nobody thinks of prosecuting them. Society often tolerates such things in order to guard against the greater evils of stifling free ventilation of opinions. Consequently freedom of the press implies in practice much greater latitude than is recognised by law; and it is this conventional liberty that is usually meant when we talk of a free press. This additional freedom is not however the less real because it is based on simple tolerance or unwritten convention. When continued for a sufficiently long time it is as binding on the state and the individuals as many other unwritten laws and customs of the country. The British Parliament for instance can pass a law putting all English papers under a censorship, and yet no English Minister would now think of bringing forward such a measure. As the right of individuals is limited by the inherent the prerogative of Government to impose any restrictions for the general good of the community, so this latter prerogative is also narrowed down in course of time by the recognition of certain democratic principles.

This is as true of India as of England, or in fact of any other civilised country. The very fact that India is under British dominions entitles her to demand that notwishstanding local differences she should be governed on the same general principles of British equality and justice, as prevail in the United Kingdom. An Englishman cannot be a democrat in his own country and a despot in India at the same time. He must assimilate his policy at home and abroad, or he is sure to degenerate him-

self and thus suffer in the long run. He must therefore shape his conduct in India by the same administrative principles that obtain in England. Hence the attitude of Government towards the press in India can never be far different from that which British Statesmen in England think it wise to maintain towards the English press. Another reason is that a portion of the Indian press is in the hands of Anglow-Indians who as Englishmen would never consent to forego their birth right of free criticism simply because temporarily they live in India. And if latitude is once allowed in their case it cannot be fairly denied to journals conducted by natives. A history of the Indian press during the last hundred years is only a history of the gradual recognition of these principles on the part of Indian rulers.

BIRTH OF NEWS-PAPER.

Very little is known about the origin of the news-papers press in India. It is an exotic product transplanted to this country along with British rule; but it does not seem to have made its appearance until the British rule was pretty well established. It sprang up in the time of Warren Hastings and must have gathered its force chiefly from the internecine quarrels of the then servants of the East India Company, as well as from the subsequent agitation in England over the trial of Hastings. The general character of the Anglow-Indian press before 1791 is graphically described by a well known writer:—

"Its restrictions were those only imposed by the bodily fears of the editor and the contributors, the objects of whose malignant commentaries were rather the leading members of the European community of Calcutta than the magnates of the local Covernment. The first Indian news-paper known as Hicky's Gazette teemed with scurrility of the worst kind. Lawless itself it was naturally exposed to the counteraction of such laws as individual men made for the occasion, and the wild justice of revenge was administered with so much vigour that Mr. Hicky had not only to complain of ordinary assault upon his person, but of serious attempts in return for his assassination of character to assasinate him in the flesh. (J. W. Key's life and correspondance of Charles Lord Metcalfe. Vol. II p. 134.)

Surely a state of things in which editors trafficked in scurilities and wrote with pistols in their left hands was not very edifying but fortu-nately it did, not last long and the tone of the news-paper press in India soon improved during the progressive regimes of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. The papers began to devote more attention to public affairs and less to private scandles, and were generally filled up with extracts from European news-papers and a few items of local news. This change was not however produced without a few salutary lessons. The first recorded instance in which Government took serious notice of a writing in a news-paper occurred in 1791. One William Daune was arrested by the Bengal Government and ordered home to Europe in consequence of an offensive paragraph reflecting upon De Canaple and other Frenchmen residing at Calcutta. Mr. Duane applied for a writ Habeas Corpus, and the question was elaborately argued before the Supreme Court whether the Governor-General

in Council had the right to arrest and deport a European. The right was affirmed, but Mr. Duane was subsequently released on the intercession of the French Agent. He was hauled up a second time in 1794 and sent to Europe for publishing an inclamatory address to the army. Two instances occurred in 1796 in one of which the Telegraph was asked explainations for commenting upon the conduct of an officer, while in the other the Calcutta Gazette had to tender pardon for publishing a paragraph relative to certain communications of peace between the Court of London and the French Republic. In 1798 the Telegraph fell twice under displeasure for publishing some anonymous letters but escaped by apologising, while the actual writers were found out and sent back to Europe The Telegraph had to applogise once more in the following year. As a general rule, however both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Teignmouth were unmolested and did not therefore pay much attention to the Press. Lord Wellesley's time a struggle had commenced between the English and the French in India for dominant influence, and as judicious publication of news or comment was fought with mischief the press came to be subjected to more stringent supervision. In 1799 the following five rules were framed to curb the so-called license of the press:-

(1) Every printer of a news-paper to print his name at the bottom of the paper; (2) Every elater and propritor f a paper to deliver his name and place of abile to the ecretary to Government; (3) No paper to be published on Sunday; (4) No paper to be published at all until it shall have on preciously inspected by the Secretary to Government or by erson authorised by him for that purpose; (5) The penalty for

effending against any of the above regulation embarkation to Europe.

THE DAWN OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

This was the beginning of the censorship which lasted with more or less rigour for 36 years until it was finally abolished by Lord Metcalfe Licenses were issued to all the then existing news-pa pers in Calcutta,* and rules were subsequentlyenforced on all the news-papers. In 1801 the Bengal Government prepared a plan for publishing official organ in order to counteract the influence of private news-paper, but the plan failed owing to want of funds. The reason given however affords us, if not an accurate picture, atleast the official opinion about the Anglo-Indian journalism of that time, says the report "Unless to literature and to the public, and dubiously profitable to the speculators they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European adventurers who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistance. The establishment of a press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those which now exist and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future after. Anglo-Iadian Journalists of the present day who are prone to taunt native editors with poverty, but it would appear that their own predecessors were no better. The officials of these days however were afraid of the growing power of the press and took prompt measures to check it. In 1801 The Culcutta Gazette and other news-papers were prohibitted from pub-

The reader may be interested in knowing the names of these, viz. Harkarrah, Morning Post, Calcutta Couriar, Telegraph, Oriental Star, Indian Gazette, and Asiatic Mirror.

any military news, army list or book or pamphlet relative to army organization without previous sanction of Government, and the prohibition was subsequently extended to shipping intelligence. During the administration of Lord Minto this dread of the free diffusion of knowledge became a chronic desease with the officials. It was the policy in those days to keep the natives of In the profoundest state of barbarism and darkness; and the press was regarded almost in the light of an internal machine. The business of expergation was entrusted to one of the Covernment Secretaries, and no matter could appear in the paper without his official imprimature. In 1812 even advertisements were placed under the ban, but on a representation made by the editor of Calcut'a Daily Advertiser, the order was so far modified as to exempt advertisements of sale, hire and other notices in general.

On 16th October 1813 the following additional rules were promulgated for the control of printing offices in Calcutta:—

- (1) That the proof sheets of all news-papers including Supplement and all extra publications be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision.
- (2) That all notices, hand alls and other ephemeral publication be in like manner previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision.
- (3) That the titles of all original works proposed to be published, be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information who will thereupon either sanction the publication or require the work uself for inspection as maj appear proper.
- (4) The rules established on the 13th May 1709 and the 6th August 1801 to be in full force and effect, except in so tar as the same may be modified by preceeding instructions.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

Here was a Roman censorship in full force. "The envious, Juno to apply the words of Milton, (Areopage

tica C.P. edition p. 12) in the form of the Chief Secretary sat cross-legged over the nativity of every Journalists intellectual off-spring. This cautelous enterprise of licensing which Milton aptly compares to "the exploit of that gallant man who thought to bound the crows by shutting his park-gate after " was vigorously and immediately put in force, to much so that the editor of Mirror was ju ished twice in the same year. A more liberal spirit however came to prevail with the advent of Lord Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General. A consorship like the above could not be tolerated long. Supressed grumblings were followed by open protests, and the matter was brought to a crisis in 1817 by a formed complaint by one Dr. Bryce. the editor of Asiatic Mirror against the Chief Secretary Adam for stepping out of his powers Mr. Adam had struck out of the proof sheet a critique on a histopolitical and metaphysical work by Lieut. Young which had been read and approved by Lieutenant Young himself. Mr. Adam thought the critique to be written in a tone of sarcasm and bantering likely to produce fritation, but would have allowed it if he had known of Mr. Young's approval and if Dr. Bryce had not threatened him. The Governor-General of course upheld Mr. Adam'. action and placed Dr. Bryce in his editorial capacity under the unfavourable sentiment of Government. But this and a subsequent tussle of Dr. Bryce with the consure led to a modification of the rules. On 19th August 1818 the censorship was formally abolished and the following new rules were substituted:___

[&]quot;The elitors of news-papers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the illowing heads, viz.:-

¹ Animalversions on the measures and proceedings of the Harring Court of Directors of other public authorities in

England, connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Member of the Council, of the Judges or of the Supreme Court or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

2 Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interferance

with their religious opinions or observances.

'8 The republications from English and other news-papers of passages coming under any of the above heads or otherwise calculated to effect the British power or reputation in India.

4 Private scandle and personal remarks on individuals tend-

ing to excite dissensions in society.

In 1818 the Calcutta Journal was established, and conducted with a freedom and spirit which started the old tories of Calcutta. But Lord Hastings could not be induced to curb what was called the licentiousness of the first public journal in Calcutta that was at all worthy of the name. The acts of officials were now canvassed with boldness and talent; and now was it that the vehimence of "Brutus" and "Cleophas" made many a galled jade wince in the high places of Chowringhee. Lord hastings watched the progress of this freedom of expression, and contented himself by occasionally giving a private hint to an editor to within the convenient bounds. Nay he even went further. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Madras held on 26th May 1819 for congratulating Lord Hastings on the successful issue of the Mahratta war, an address to his Lordship was adopted containing this passage:-

"While contemplating this important subject, it must have eccurred, that to the attainment truth of freedom of inquiry was essentially necessary; that public opinion as the strongest support of just Government; and that liberty of discussion served but to strengthen the hands of the executive. Such freedom of discussion was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind, an invaluable and unequivocal expression of those sentiments evinced by this whole

tenor of your Lordships administration.

In reply to this, the Governor—General was reported to have said:—

"My removal of restrictions from the press has been mentioned in lauditory language; I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration; from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however to have been guided in the step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion. Further it is salutary for Supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its expective to general comments; on the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force- That Government which has nothing to disguist wilds the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule."

The italics are ours. These were wise words. and especially the last few sentences put the whole case of a free press as it were in a nutshell. This declaration by Lord Hastings was understood by the country as a deliberate change of policy, and it was naturally believed that the few restrictions that remained would not be rigorously enforced. Lord Hastings attitude was however distasteful to his subordinates and especially to the powerful adam, and as a result we see the next four or five years occupied by a series of duels between the Bengal Government and Mr. Buckingham the redoubtable editor of the Calcutta Journal. The latter persisted in his merciless castigation of the officials while the Government on each occasion foamed threatened and ended by accepting an apology with a promise for good behaviour in future. Once in 1822 the quarrel went to a such length that Mr. Adam placed a formal resolution before the Council that Mr. Buckingham be deported to Europe, in which the other two members Mr. Fandell and Mr. Bayley concurred. The Governor-General however to whom Mr. Bucking ham had personally appealed, dissented and negatived the resolution under powers vested in him by 33 Geo. 3 c 52 s 47. On another occasion a series of articles having appeared in the Calcutta Journal tending to abstract the course of justice, the Advocate-General applied to the Supreme Court for criminal information against Mr. Buckingham; but the application was refused, one judge Sir F. Mc Naughten doubting the power of the Court to grant it and the other two Judges thinking the case more fit for an indictment.

NEWSPAPERS IN BOMBAY AND MADRAS.

The history of the press in the other presidencies differs but little from that in Bengal, and not be followed in detail. The same excesses of the press, the same attempts to check them, the same censorship and the same restrictions are to be met with in Madras and Bombay as in Calcutta, the only difference perhaps eing that while Madrashad been consistently anti-press, the Bombay authorities appear to have been comparitively more forbearing. Another difference was that while Bombay followed Bengal in stopping the censorship in 1819, Madras retained it all through until its final abolition. A few details as to the behaviour of some Bombay papers at · that time will however be found interesting. In June 1791 the editor of the Bombay Gazette promised to pay attention to every order of Government respecting publications in that paper. But in September some commets on Mr. Anderson Deputy of Police having appeared therein, the editor was ordered thence forward to send his proof sheets to the secretary for inspection. A month later we find Bombay Gazette requising Government that his paper might be

officially and exclusively authorised, promising in that case that no insertion should appear unauthorised by the Secretary. The request was complied with and the paper was denominated the Government, paper. Encouraged by this the propritors of the Bambay Gazette in 1792 represented that they have incurred heavy expenditure in order to make their paper subservient to Government, and solicited exclusive patronage which was granted by declaring that the insertion in the Dombay Gazette of the Boards orders and resolutions was to be deemed sufficient notice to the servants of the Company. Thus while, the news-papers in other presidencies were fighting with the officials the leading paper in Bombay, managed to live on by becoming a tool of Government. And it too committed indiscretions and had, its share of censure. The Bombay Courier was another paper which frequently came under the notice of the watchful Government, one of such notices being for the very grave sin of publishing an advertisement of a sale which was intended to take place on sunday! In December 1819 the Bengal regulations of the previous year were adopted and the press was partially freed from the incurbus of a censorship.

A RE-ACTION.
This brings us down to the year 1823, when the departure of Lord Hastings created an intaregnum and made the redoubtable Mr. Adam the Provisional Governor-General. Then indeed he had his revenge. Mr. Buckingham was prosecuted, and though acquitted by jury he was deported and ruined for life. The stringent regulations were revived. It was however discovered by this time that although the Goveror General might, send a British subject to England he had no power, over natives or half castes as the Eurasians were then called. Straight way to

D. Souza or a Derozio or some other east Indian became enthrowned as the nominal editor of an offending paper. Besides four news-papers in vernacular had been started in Calcutta since 1818, and the threat of deportation was nothing to them. remedy this defect the court of directors were requested to apply to British Parliament, for an extension of the Governor-General's power. But Mr. William's writing on 5th April 1823 on behalf of the ministers declined to accede to the request. The provisonal Governor-General however had in the meantimie on the 14th March passed regulations which took pith and manhood out of the journals of the day. Adam had thus triumphed for the time but the next two rulers Lord Amharst and Lord William Bentinck happening to be men of liberal tendencies, allowed the bonds round editorial necks though remainin ton paper to be considerably loosened in practice, ang he editors again enjoyed more peace and freedom: Lord Bentinck specially had ample excuse if he had wished to do No man had been so much censured in otherwise. the columns of the news-papers, because no man had been the agent of measures more vinjuriously affecting the then writing classes the Ci il and Military services of the Company. Lord Bentinck's-mission was to consolidate the Company's kingdom, and in carrying it out he necessarily touched many abuses and vested interests. He was roundly abused in the press of the time, but his attitude was uniformally that On one occasion only was of extreme indifference. he roused to take notice of the attacks in the ne ws-papers namely in 1830, whon his hulf-batta order was confirmed by the Court of Directors, and their letter of approval was about to be published in India for general information. Lord Bentinck although personally indifferent to the attacks in the press thought it his duty to prevent the Court being subje cted to them, and therefore resolved to put gag.

He was however saved from this act of arbitrary powers by a colleague whose name afterwards to be indissolubly connected with the freedom of the Indian press. Sir Charles Metcalfo was at this time a member of the Supreme Council. and as such wrote a minute strongly condemning the proposed interferance and containing the following declaration "I have for my own part always advocated the liberty of the press believing its benefits to outweigh its mischiefs, and I continue of the same opinion." Two years afterwards Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay, complained of a letter on the subject of patronage published in a Calcutta paper, and requested withdrawal of its license. Sir Charles Metcalte wrote to Lord Clare on behalf of the Government of India, very sensible letter intimating that the request could not be complied with." This Government, wrote Metcalfe, "has, for several years past, treated the press as if it were free. For my part, I can say that since the local administration has been in my hands, the press has not once been interfered with in the slightest degree; and so satisfied am I that this is now the most unobjectionable course, that I shall continue to follow it as long as I have any discretionary power on the subject." The day of enfranchisement came at last. With pronounced views like these it was not to be expected that Sir Charles Metcalfe would shrink from acting upto them when he had the power to do so. So early as 1825 he had written to a friend, "I am inclined to think that I would let it have its swing, if I were sovereign lord and master." That Early in 1835 Lord opportunity now came. Bentinsk retired and Metcalfe became the Provisional Governor-General. Almost his first measure was an Act to abolish the obnoxious press regulations enacted in 1823. In January 1835 the citizens of Calcutta had petitioned Lord Bentinck to repeal the

regulations, and received an official answer that "in no long time a system would be established which while it gave security to every person engaged in the fair discussion of public measures, would effectually secure the Government against, sedition and individuals against calumny." Bentinck however with all his liberal instincts durst not take a step which was sure to be distasteful to his master, the Court of Directors. Sir Charles. Metcalfe supported as he was by such a staunch advocate of liberty as Macaulay, did take it. In April the draft Act was drawn up and published declaring the repeal of press regulations of 1823 in Bengal and those of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. It required all printers and publishers of all books periodicals and news-papers and all owners of printing presses to make a declaration before magistrates, but beyond that all restrictions were removed. Metcalfe and Macaulay supported the measure with able minutes explaining their object, and laying down generally be observed which should by Government towards the press in India. To the fot-repeated objection that on certain emergencies free discussion in the press may prove dangerous to the existance of the state Macaulay gives this following reply "No Government in the world is better provided with the means of meeting extra-ordinary dangers by extra-ordinary precautions. Five persons who may be brought together in half an hour, whose deliberations are secret, who are not shackled by any of those forms which elsewhere delay leigslative measures, can in a single sitting make a law for stopping every press in India." And Metcalfe wrote, "Disaffection and sedition will operate I believe with more concealed weapons than an open and free press under the guidance of responsible persons amenable to the laws, from which I do not

apprehend that we have anything to fear unless we must necessarily fear the progress of knowledge; but do what we will we cannot prevent the progress of knowledge, and it is undoubtedly our duty to promote it whatever may be the consequences."

The measure gave the greatest satisfaction to the people. A public meeting was held at Calcutta at which leading citizens both European and Native attended to give utterance to their approbation of this wise and enlightened measure. An address was voted Sir Charles Metcalfe to which he gave an eloquent reply brimming with noble sentiments.* reply was printed in every in India and was received with universal applause. Metcalfe's Act came into operation on 15th September 1835 which has therefore been fitly called the birthday of the liberty of the Indian press. The people of Calcutta were eager to celebrate the occasion. A large fund was collected with which they erected a noble building on the banks of the Hughli to cont in a public library and to be used for other enlightening purposes, The building was called the Metcalfe Hall and enclosed an inscription and a bust of the Liberator of the Press.

A measure so popular in India met quite a reverse reception in England. The home authorities were at first for annulling it at once, but on second thought they agreed to wait until Lord Auckland assumed Governo. Generalship. Lord Auckland, however, after coming to India, was convinced of the utility of the measure, and wisely discouraged the

^{*} See the full text of this document in Kaye's Life and Correspondance of Charles Lord Metcalfe Vol. II Appendix p. 4.

backward movement on the part of the Home Government The Indian press was thus saved, but Metcalfe suffered. He lost promotion and had finally to retire from Conrany's service. Surely the act was worthy of such a sacrifice.

A TIME OF PEACE FOLLOWED BY FURTHER RESTRICTIONS.

From 1835 to 1857 there does not seem to have been any meddling with the press. Unrestrained by any check but the fear of a prosecution it grew and grew rapidly both in number and influence. It improved in tone and quality, and with the consciouspower it also of its acquired, more courage and independance. Native news-papers which were few and insignificant before began to nultiply as numbers of educated natives were turned out every year from schools and colleges to follow independent professions. With their newly-acquired ideas of social and political equality they applied their inquiring minds to the consideration of all kinds of evils. They tried to think for themselves and they expressed their thoughts unreservedly with the hope of persuading others. News-papers in different vernaculars were started and thereby created a taste for this kind of literature among the uneducated people. Thus the two decades of our unrestrained freedom proved a bracing tonic and the native press grew both in boldness and strength. Then came the terrible year of the Mutiny and there was a sudden re-action. Repression and punishment came in vogue, and the press of course fell the first victim. It was thought most undesirable to allow the measures of Government to be freely canvassed in public journals at a time when people's minds were excited and the very existence of the British rule was for a time threatened. A

Licensing Act (No 15 of 1857,) was passed on 13th June 1857 "to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. " The immediate cause was a number of inflanatory writings published in certain news-papers, three of which the Durbeen, the -Sultan-Al-Akhabar and the Sumachar-Soodabarsham were selected for special notice. These three papers were brought to trial on charges of publishing seditious libels, but the first two having pleaded guilty were discharged after entering into recognizances, while the third was acquitted by the jury. A prosecution was also contemplated against The Friend of India for a certain article headed the "Centenary of Plassy," but it was dropped after friendly intercession. The circulation of such matter served a good excuse for the authorities. The act revived in a modified form the restrictions prevailing before 1835. The nature of these restrictions will be gathered from the following Notification published under the Act .:-

FORT WILLIAM, HOME DEPARTMENT. 11TH JUNE 1857 NOTFICATION.

With reference to the provisions of Act No. XV of 1857, it is hereby notified that applications for licenses to keep or use any printing press or types or other materials or article for printing within the town of Calcutta, are to be made to the Commissioner of Police.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is authorised to grant licenses under the said Act, and to appoint any person or persons to receive applications for such licenses in any part of the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal except the town of Calcutta.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces is authorised to grant licenses or persons under the said Act to appoint

any person or persons to receive such applications in any part of the North-Western Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal.

The Governor of the Straits Settlements the Chief Commissioners of the Panjab and Oude, and the Commissioners of Mysore, Coorge, N. 24 tr. Pegu and the Tenassareme in the Martaban Provinces are authorised severally to appoint any person or persons to receive such applications within the provinces, districts and settlements under their control.

The conditions upon which 'licenses' to keep or use any printing press or types or other materials or articles for printing, will ordinarily be granted, are as follows. :--

I That no book, news-paper, pamphlet or work printed at such press or with such materials, shall contain observations or statements impugning the motives or design of the British Government either in England or India, or in any way tending to bring the said Government into hatred or contempt to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders or to weaken its lawful authority or the lawful authority, of its civilor military servants.

- 2 That no such book, pamphlet, news-paper or other work shall contain observations or statements having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interferance by Government with their religious opinions and observances.
- 3 That no such book, pamphlet, news-paper or other work shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of native Princes, Chiefs, or States in dependence upon or alliance with it.

The above conditions apply equally to original matter and

[•] It should be noticed pari pasis that even in the tumultueus year of the mutiny the word disaffection was confined to unlawful resistence to orders, and did not include harred, contempt, or any degree of ill-will.

to matter copied from other publications.

A copy of every book, pamphlet, news-paper or other work published in the town of Calcutta is to be immediately forwarded to the Commissioner of Police.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council,

(Sd.) Cecil Beaden Secretary to the Government of India.

It will be seen that the conditions imposed by this notification resembled the regulations of 1823 except in one essential respect. There is no Censorship direct or indirect; there is only a license to print, not a claim to decide before-hand what matter may be printed and what not. A man may publish any thing he likes but at the risk of losing his license for the future. Here was a substantial advance at any rate. The censorship was dead and gone for ever. The difficulty of appointing an officer conversant with the many vernaculars of the country in which the news-papers were published was obvious, and the task declared hopeless. The utmost that the Government of India could do was to hold out a threat that a breach of any of the conditions will be followed by a withdrawal of the license. was a punishment after the offence was actually committed, not a stifling of the act itself. Metcalfe's work was not completely undone There was a retrograde movement no doubt, but not so great as to efface all the progress of the previous 25 years. But practically the notification was a halter round the necks, of all editors whether European or Native. It put them completely in the power of the executive. If an officer thought any publication contrary to the condition, he might at once stop the paper without the editor having an apportunity to defend himself. A measure like this could not therefore meet with approval of those whose vocation often compelled them strongly criticise the action of executive officers. Against this Act therefore a strong memorial was sent to the Honourable the Court of Directors in London by Mr. John Connon, the proprietor of the Bombay Gazette daily news-paper. In the course of the memorial Mr. Connon quoted the following words of Sir James Mackintosh uttered in defence of Peltier: - 'To inform the public on the conduct of those who administer public affairs requires courage and conscious security. It is always an invidious and obnoxious office, but it is often the most necessary of all public duties. If it is not done boldly it can not be done effectually, and it is not from writers trembling under the uplifted scourge that we are to hope for it." The Court of course gave the reply that they had already approved of the Act, and so the matter ended there for the time. The Act fell into disuse after the passing of Act XXV of 1867 and was repealed by Act VIII of 1868.

LEGISLATIVE AMENDMENTS.

The seventh decade of the 19th century was the happiest period of British rule in India. India had passed to the Crown and thus came directly under the influence of those principles of liberty equality and fratenity, which underlie the British constitution. A succession of noble-minded Viceroys, Lord Canning, Lord Lawrance and Lord Mayo, inaugurated a policy of conciliation and internal devolopment. The Press became practically free, and the

prospect of a Parliamentary check on Indian administration gave a new zest to its criticism of official acts. The position of the Government of India was also changed. The supposed supervision of Parliament necessarily entailed a general adherance to the principles of popular Government. A revival of censorship or executive control on the press became almost impossible; and yet Indian officials yearned for some kind of control to check the growing licentiousness of the press. They were waiting for an opportunity, which came in 1870 when some threatened disturbances in the N. W. Provinces and Lower Bengal caused a panic. Legislation time took the form of an amendment of the substantive criminal law. By Act XXVII of 1870 the now famous Sec. 124 A was introduced into the Indian Penal Code making seditious writings speeches criminal. Before this time, the English law of seditious libel applied but only in the Presidency towns. Besides it was too cumbrous. and the English mode of Jury-trial often led to inconvenient acquittals. The history of this section is curious. Its carresponding section in the original draft, Clause 113, was some-how omitted in the final revision of the Penal Code, and the omission seems to have remained undiscovered quite unaccountably for ten years afterwards. This is the official story as told by Hon. Mr. Fitz-James Stephen when introducing the amending Act. The explanation has always been taken as unsatisfactory. The London Spectator broadly hinted at the time that the omission of Clause 113 was deliberate. A statement in the report of the proceedings of the General Committee of the Legislative Council

while considering the Indian Penal Code, would supposition. * Possibly such a also support Sir Barnes Peacock omitted the clause because there could be no unanimity of opinion as to the wording to be retained, or because some distinguished authorities rediculed even the idea of enacting a law of sedition in a country under foreign domination. More probably the omission if deliberate must have been due to the belief that the contions imposed by the Lecensing Act of 1857, which then existed, were thought to be quite sufficient for all practical purposes. Whatever may have been the case the enactment of Sec. 124A was another step forward in the enfranchisement of the Indian Press. It was practically the recognition of the principle that any check on the press must be exercised through the substantive law, and not by means of executive control. The press in India was thus placed in the same position that in England. Nobody could reasonably doubt that some such law was necessary for the safety of the state; but strong objections were taken the time to the vague language of \mathbf{the} The British Indian Association of Calcutta submitted a well-considered memorial, especially objecting to the use of such a vague word as "disaffection" Mr. Stephen answering the objections defined disaffection as a disposition to disobey the lawful authority of Government, and that was taken by all as an authoritative interpretation of the law till very lately. There was some doubt as to the exact scope of the loosely-attached explanation; and

See Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Indua for 1860
 Vol. VI col. 1018. The entry runs thus: "Sec. 4 (of Ch. VI)
 was negatived on the motion of the Chairman "Presumably Sec. of the Bill was the omitted clause 118 of the Draft Code.

consequently for many years afterwards the legal advisers of Government would not advise any prosecution under the section.

THE PRESS ACT OF 1871.

It was not however fated that things should this state for a long time. dastardly assault on Lord Mayo gave rise to new terrors, and the suspicions soon widened into a total distrust of the natives on the part of the rulers. Then came the trial and deposition of Malhar Rao Gaikwad, which gave a rude shock to the confiding trust of Native Princes. was followed by severe famine and agrarian riots in the Deccan, placed instrong relief by Lord Lytton's ill-timed Imperial tamasha at Delhi. There was a spirit of unrest in the country everywhere, and it told upon the equanimity of the rulers. attributed it to the writings in the Vernacular Press. An article appeared in the Amrit Bazar Patrika (which was then published in Bengalee)of 23rd January 1875 concluding with these words; ems sculate a nation that the Government may rule without trouble! Surely to poison an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime. "The article was construed as having a tendency to justify the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre at Baroda. Lord Salisbury, who was then Secretary of State for India thereupon called attention of the Government of India to the tone of a portion of the Native press and suggested a prosecution in order to test the efficacy of the law. Lord Northbrook however discouraged the proposal, adding that "the question of the tone of the native press, of the condition of the law, and of the propriety of altering it presented very grave difficulties." Lord Northbrook in fact

appears to have put a brake as it were upon this as well as other questions forming part of the reactionary policy of the then Tory Ministry. Lord Northbrook however resigned and Lord Lytton, asis well-known, was specially sent out to India tocarry out that policy. Lord Lytton after his arrival set himself vigorously to the task. The severe famine of 1876-7 raging over two years had exhasperated the people and the Vernacular Press, reflecting popularfeeling, naturally supplied many instances of bitter and harsh criticism. Upon this basis Lord Lytton prepared a case for some stringent press legislation in a confidential minute dated 22nd October 1876. His proposal was to enact a law similar Irish Press Act which empowered Government toconfiscate the press and property of any offending publisher. It was also proposed to make the Act applicable to the Vernacular press only. The minute circulated for opinion. The Madras Government, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and his two colleagues, opposed the proposal unanimously, and deprecated any interference with the freedom the Native press. The Governments of Bombay and the N. W. Provinces strongly backed the Governor-General of India; while the other local authorities gave a some-what half-hearted support. Upon this body of opinion the Government of India framed the famous measure, which ultimately became the Act IX of 1878. It was brought in as a matter of urgency; the sanction of the Secretary of State was asked for and obtained on 13th March 1878 by telegraph; the Bill was introduced into the Council on 14 th March; the rules of business being suspended, it was read thrice, debated, passed, and assented to, by the Viceroy before the evening of that day; and the public were surprised the next day by the announcement

of the full-fledged Press Act, placing all the vernacular news-papers in the country at the mercy of executive officers. The Act made three kinds of provisions: First, the magistrate with the previous sanction of the local Government was to take a bond from printers and publishers not to print or publish anything likely to excite feelings of dissatisfaction to Government, or antipathy between classes, or to use the paper for extortion. Secondly news-paper or book contained such matter a warning was to be given, while a repetition of the act afterwards was to be followed by seizure and forfeiture of the plant &c and the securities moneys. Thirdly a person could avoid the penalty by entering into an undertaking that for a year he would print or publish nothing that was not previously approved by an officer appointed for the purpose. appeal was provided to the Governor-General against decisions of the Magistrate, but all orders on appeal were to be final and conclusive. It is evident that the measure possessed all the faults of obnoxious legislation without a single redeeming virtue. placed printers and publishers of Vernacular newspapers in the clutches of a magistrate. It reduced them virtually to the position of Badmashas from whom security bonds are taken under the Criminal Procedure Code without giving them the right of appeal to a higher judicial tribunal. It placed the pecuniary penalty which is the most unsuitable in such cases. It facilitated fraud and corruption. It encouraged sycophancy and tended to kill all free expression of opinion. It created the most invidious and unjustifiable distinction between the English and t ie Vertricular news-papers. By its third provision it revived the Censorship in its most odious form; for while a general Censorship would at the most have been

regarded as a measure of prevention, a Censorship of this kind over a particular offending journal was nothing else but a sort of police surveillance. Lastly it was entirely powerless against the most virulent portion of the Native press, namely English newspapers conducted by natives. The best commentary on the Act was perhaps that furnished by the Amrit Bazar Patrika, which in its Vernacular garb three years ago had set the legislative wheel in motion, but which the moment the Act was passed appeared in English and defied Lord Lytton. The Act defeated its own purpose for it made the English press more violent in proportion as the Vernacular section was muzzled. It was an unblessed child. Even the Secretary of state who had given his hasty sanction by telegraph could not approve of it in toto after a persual of the full text. Although Lord Cranbrook wrote a despatch approving of the measure, ex post facto of course, there is an undertone throughout showing that he objected to it on principle and agreed to its retention only in deference to what he called local opinion about its necessity. And even then he directed that the third provision of the Act namely about the Censorship, although kept on the statute book should never be put in operation. In the tenth paragraph of the despatch he makes this most significant observation. "No criticism of Government or its measures should be discouraged if there is reason to think that it has been dictated by an honest desire for improvement. All the most experienced Indian administrators have felt that the great difficulty of Indian administration is the difficulty of ascertaining facts of social condition and the political sentiment and the Vernacular press has always been considered onevaluable means of getting at these facts. Might this notbe an indirect rebuke for the hasty

and ill-considered measure passed by the Government of India. The effect of the rebuke was distinctly enhanced by the fact that four of the most experienced members of the Secretary of State's Council were dissatisfied even with this mild censure. They were Sir Erskin Perry Sir William Muir Col. Yule and Mr. R. A. Dalvell, and their elaborate minutes of dissent place the case in the strongest possible light. A measure thus half-strangled at its birth could not survive long. The conservatives were defeated on the egregious frontier policy of Lord Lytton, and Mr. Gladstone came into office. The liberals sent out Lord Ripon to undo the errors of his predecessor, and supported. as he was by an equally liberal-minded Secretary of State Lord Hartington, one of their first joint act was. to repeal the press law which was so distasteful to the people.

It should however be noted that the Press Act. reactionary as it was, did not really militate against. the progress already made. It was clearly distinguishable from the Regulations of 1823 or the Licensing Act of 1857 in two points. It excluded the English news papers and therefore unmistakably affirmed the principle that that portion of the Indian press was no more to be touched at any cost. Secondly the bonds and the Censorship were imposed by way of penalty not as a means of preventive check or supervision. Under the previous law an officer can give or refuse license at his pleasure and without assigning reason; under the Press Act bonds were to be taken only when a news-paper makes himself liable by uncautious writtings. The Act. of 1878 was thus an essentially penal legislation, whatever its indirect effects might be. As a matter of fact those effects, as Lord Hartington says in his despatch, were nil.

repeal of the Press Act gave a statutary recognition to the principle that the freedom of the Indian Press was no longer to be controlled by the will of executive officers.

CONCLUSION

The period after 1882 is too near us to warrant safe judgment. The situation is materially altered since the beginning of the Congress movement, the whole aspect of political agitation and with it the character and position of the Indian Press have undergone a change. Racial antipathy is increasing between the rulers and the ruled, while a closer unanimity of thought and feeling is observable among the different native communities. Opinions in the country are slowly chrystalizin into party war-cries, while British public opinion is forcing itself more and more strongly upon the attention of The Native Press again be-Indian authorities. came the whipping boy of those who could not account for the change in any other way. The typical bureaucrat got alarmed at the new spirit prevailing in the country and gave vent to his ire against the Press. They were simply waiting for an opportunity. Many a time during the last 15 years the official organs have called upon the Government to check the so-called license of the Native Press, but the lesson of 1881 was not easy to be forgotton. The opportunity came on the murders of Mr. Rand and Lieut, Ayerst; and the cry of a seditious press was at once raised and taken up by the pavic striken members of the Turopean community. Apart from the question whether it was justified or not, it is a clear admission that the Native Press has grown vastly in influence and cannot be lightly treated

as some 30 years ago. It has become a power in the land whether for good or evil and requires to be closely watched. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the present situation, but it may be confidently asserted that whatever restraints may be proposed to be put upon the Indian Press in future they will never take the forms that are already discredited. Censorship is dead; the licenses are gone and. even the sorry experiment of distinguishing between the English and Vernacular Press of the country has failed. A Press Act such as that of 1878 is no longer possible, while it is now pretty well certain that represe. sive legislation must take the form of an amendment of the Criminal law. Thus the battle of the freedom of the Press is now three-fourths won. So far as the law is concerned we have now nearly reached the state of things as it exists in England; and we have 'no right to complain. Even the new modification of Secs. 124 A and 505 confirm this view. They evidently aim at bringing the law in India in harmony with that in England. The difference lies in the fact that the Press having acquired immense power in England nobody would now think of enforcing the law against it, while in India the chances of it being done are greater. But that is a different matter altogether; and the remedy for it seems to be that the Press in India should be made as influential and powerful as that in England. The really retrograde step seems to be the new power given to District Magistrates under the revised Criminal Procedure Code to take securities for good behaviour from editors; but it is retrograde only because the District Magistrate under the present system happens to be also an executive Officer of Government. Let us hope that a separation of the judicial and

executive functions in alnear future it will remove this anomaly.

Our object in this article has been to show that we have made substantial progress and should not love heart. Those who say that there was no free press formerly are right, because there was no press at all a century ago; but to deny our claim to a free press now is to distinctly ignore the lessons of history. We have obtained that freedom not by a grant from the the Crown nor by an act of legislature but by a long and hard struggle with the autocratic spirit in the Indian Administration. We value the right all the more because we have won it; and we ought therefore to guard it from external encroachments as well as from misuse by ourselves. If this is a lesson to be learnt from recent presspresecutions they will not have occurred in vain.

THE REVOLUTION IN FINLAND

UNDER PRINCE JOHN OBOLENSKY.

VSEVOLOD VLADIMIROV.

(From the Russian).

[Translator: Victor E. Marsden, M A., St. Petersburg.]

LONDON: WYMAN & SONS LTD.,

Price Fourpence.

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The Revolution in Finland under Prince John Obolensky.

THE unparalleled success of the October revolt in Finland owed less to the organising capacities of the Finlander revolutionaries or their admirable preparations for the "great deed" they had in mind, than to the inactivity and utter incapacity of the representatives of the Russian authority, and of these first and foremost to him of sorry memory who succeeded to the post of Governor-General of Finland vacated by the assassination of the neverto-be-forgotten N. Bobrikov, namely, to Prince John Obolensky.

The Finlander party of "active resistance" which played the leading part in this revolution, was formed as early as 1902 at the time when the measures of N. Bobrikov and V. Plehwe had broken the back of the so-called "passive resistance," whose manifestations principally appeared in the matter of opposition to the regulations of military service. It was then that certain of the leaders of sedition recognised the impossibility of continuing the struggle by these means alone and decided to take more decisive measures. Their first act was to get in touch with and then to enter into a close alliance with the Russian revolutionaries, and from that time forwards

representatives from Finland have taken part regularly in all the revolutionary congresses held abroad. In the general plan of action of the revolutionaries Finland was given a very substantial part, the part of that binding material which makes all the separate units a coherent whole, for Finland was acknowledged to be the best prepared for action, owing to its higher level of culture. The following passage contains the views of the Finlander revolutionaries themselves on the role of Finland in the general Russian revolutionary movement. It is quoted from their organ, the Stockholm *Fria Ord*. of November 11, 1902.

"We have no longer any grounds for refraining from throwing in our lot with the Russian opposition, with those Russians who are officially called revolutionaries. Poles, Little Russians, Baltic Provinces peoples, Jews, the people of the Caucasus—all these nationalities are in an equal degree with the liberal elements among the Great Russians convinced that only the abolition of the Autocracy can secure the culture and civilisation of Russia, and consequently also their rights. . . . Not one of these groups possesses the ability to rally around it all the rest. In view of this fact our co-operation may become, and without doubt will become, of very great value to the Russian opposition. . . . We shall know how to make ourselves the nucleus round which all the remaining opposition elements will assemble, we can facilitate the organisation of forces, the drafting of a practicable programme and the general plan of political work, . . . We are not minded to suffer patiently the

introduction of arbitrary Autocracy, and therefore we ourselves are taking our places in the ranks of the opposition which desires its destruction. The time has come for this for the peoples of Russia: the days of the Autocracy are numbered, though we do not yet know its term of life. But to assist in shortening that term, this we both can and ought to do that we may have the right to a voice when the time comes to divide up the heritage of the Czars."

. The active revolutionaries made their entrance on the scene with the assassination of the Governor-General of Finland, N. Bobrikov. That this was a political murder and that those concerned in Stockholm were perfectly aware of what was to be done and who was to do it, is proved by the publication on the very next day in the Stockholm paper, Aftonbladet, of the portrait of the assassin, Schaumann, and his full biography. These particulars could not by any possibility, on a calculation of time and space, have reached Stockholm from Helsingfors by any steamer whatsoever. In just the same way, five days before the bomb of Sazonov which cut short the life of Plehwe, there appeared in the Paris paper, L'Europeen, of July 10/23, an "open letter" by Konni Zilliacus* to the Minister State-Secretary for Finland, which ended with the following threat: "Mais vous ne pourrez probablement plus mentir longtemps. Qui séme le vent récolte la tempête. Vous avez largement semé, un avenir prochain verra la récolte. A vous alors la responsabilité,

^{*} The most energetic member of the "Finnish Party of Active Resistance" and one of the editors of the Fria Ord.

à vous les malédictions des peuples poussés au désespoir, sur votre tête retombera tout le sang qui sera versé." It is self-evident that the Finlander revolutionaries, if they did not actually take part in the assassination of July 15/28, already knew for certain of the contemplated crime.

In the interval that elapsed between the death of N. Bobrikov and the arrival in Finland of the new Governor-General Prince John Obolensky there came to the light of day the well-remembered case of ex-Senator Schaumann. A domiciliary perquisition at his house (after the assassination of Bobrikov committed by his son) resulted in the discovery of a pencilled note in the ex-Senator's own hand, which revealed a plan of organisation throughout the country of a secret system of instruction in rifle practice for the population against the day of "the overturn of the Autocracy."

At the same time, in connection with the detective work on the assassination of Adjutant-General Bobrikov, were arrested Hermann Gummerus, a university graduate, and Albert Kollan, a mechanic. The former turned out to be one of the organisers of the revolutionary network in the Province of Vasa and the latter confessed that he belonged to a criminal society which had set before it as its immediate object the assassination of the Governor-General. A thorough all round investigation by the Russian authorities into all these cases, connected with the assassination of Adjutant-General Bobrikov might, if it had been taken out of the hands of the Finnish authorities by Imperial order, have led, and probably would have led, to the full

revelation of the Finlander organisation and the seizure of its principal leaders. But this was not the view taken of the matter by the new Governor-General.

On the death-day of the murdered Governor-General the educated classes of Finland everywhere rejoiced: "The chambers were ablaze in splendour, The choirs their thunderous praises render," champagne flowed in rivers, all the members of the Schaumann family were honoured with an ovation, while the true servant of the Czar and of Russia, as he lay on his bed of an agonising death, was treated with every kind of contumely and mockery. . . . Then came the voice of the common people of Finland, who condemned the assassination as a shameful crime that had smirched the history of Finland with blood. . . . And the first outbursts of rejoicing among the revolutionaries turned to a shuddering fear of some terrible retribution. All Finland lay still as death in anticipation of that just penalty which it was prepared to accept with humility, as well-deserved, as inevitable. . . . Numbers of village communities sent in addresses to the Emperor expressing indignation at the assassination; and the same feelings found expression also in the Finnish Senate in its appeal to the people of June 9/22.

The feeling of the country at this moment may be characterised by the following quotation from a correspondent's letter to the Norwegian newspaper, Morgenbladet: "After the assassination of Bobrikov the torment of the situation has deepened terribly and it needs the resolution of a martyr not to yield utterly to despair."

But at this juncture there appeared the Imperial Rescript of June 17/30 to the newly appointed Governor-General. The contents of this Rescript, in which the abominable crime of June 3 was qualified as "the work of the hands of a madman and some few of his accomplices," while the Finnish people had no part in this crime, should have calmed the fears of the Finlanders, the more so that the Rescript expressed a firm belief in the possibility of maintaining "also for the future" the special structure of Finnish administration and legislation on internal affairs. But, on the other hand, the Rescript made mention of "the closest unity of Finland with the Empire," as forming the "unfaltering aim of the Sovereign Power," confirmed it as an aim that "must remain the same also henceforth"; in the Rescript the sovereign duly expressed appreciation of the murdered Governor-General as one who "had won a place of honour in the annals of the strengthening of Russian State-rights in the northern borderland," thereby, it seemed, recommending the new head of the country to follow in the same path. But there was more than this. To the "special care" of the new Governor-General was entrusted the task not only of inspiring the population of the country with the necessity of "restoring the peaceful course of life in the country for the securing of the further progress of Finland under the shadow of the Russian State, but also, and above all, to strengthen in the Finnish people the conviction that its historic destinies were bound up inseparably with the destinies of Russia."

This Rescript was received with a feeling of satisfaction, both by the Finlanders and by the Russians. The former recognised in it "a breath of healthy fresh air" and the "possibility of breathing freely" (v. the newspaper *Uusi Suometar*). The Russian press accepted the Rescript as a symptom of unchanging stability in the direction of Russian policy and saw a special guarantee thereof in the appointment, as successor of N. Bobrikov, of Prince Obolensky.

Time was to prove how mistaken were the estimates of both sides.

At this time over all Russia, notwithstanding the presence of a louring autumn, there suddenly burst into bloom a glorious spring, planted by Prince Svjatopolk-Mirsky. "Princes are not free as maidens are," and this no doubt explains why another Prince, Prince Obolensky, also made haste to imbibe the spirit of "trusting the people" which had been so very foreign to his thoughts up to this date. On his arrival in Finland the first thing he did was to receive the Russian officials, but without finding anything better to say to them than that there " were too many of them "; the Finlanders on the other hand he lost no time in charming by that poetic picture of the "two vessels." "The relations of Finland to Russia," said Prince John Obolensky, "may be likened to the relations of a small, if beautiful, river boat to a great ocean-going ship. Acting together with the ship, the river boat may do much that is great and useful, but if the river boat has the audacity to venture alone into the open sea it may very easily come to shipwreck," "Two separate vessels," a big one and a little one, it was plain to see, symbolised the "union": and what more could Finlanders desire?

But the advice to the little river boat to attain that "great and useful" together with the sea-going ship was understood and taken note of: the alliance of Finlander and Russian revolutionaries was drawn yet tighter as the events of January of this year (1905) showed. At the same time the lessons of the Russian Terrorists did not fall on stony ground, and the list of victims of their devotion to Russia swelled in Finland. Jonson, Mjasoedov, Kramarenko; Deitrich, Papkov, policemen, gendarmes—some wounded, some killed, some saved by an inexplicable stroke of good luck. But the anti-Government activity contined to spread and was considerably facilitated by the amnesty to political exiles. . . .

Prince Obolensky was duly and fully informed by the qualified officials in ample time and with complete definiteness of the very serious events that were being prepared for the immediate future in Finland. The last reports of this kind in point of time were presented last September by the administrator of the Province of Niwland, during the time Prince Obolensky was at Transund and Biörke on the occasion of the visit of His Majesty the Emperor to these places. The reports indicated the existence of a complete plan for suddenly attacking officials, disarming police and gendarmes, seizing the railways, telegraphs and telephone. This intelligence even caused special precautions to be

taken in Helsingfors and the province of Niwland, which were carried out, in the absence of the Governor-General without any instructions whatever on his part. The military and naval authorities, being forewarned, also made their preparations; the police force of the town was reinforced; the battleship "Slava" ("Glory") was sent to Helsingfors from Kronstadt immediately after the Imperial inspection of certain vessels of the Baltic Fleet, and the commander of the battleship received definite instructions in case the disorders in Helsingfors should already have begun.

Prince Obolenksy knew nothing of the despatch of the battleship.

Regarding all these alarming pieces of intelligence, according to his custom, as nothing more than newspaper sensations, Prince Obolensky notwithstanding the practical confirmation which these reports of the systematic import of arms into the country received by the discovery of a whole shipment* on board the "John Grafton," which went ashore at Jacobstadt, continued boldly to assure His Majesty of the loyalty to him not only of the Finnish peasantry but of all other classes of the population.

Prince Obolensky did his best to convince the Imperial pair of this loyalty by presenting to them deputations of simple-minded Viborg peasants with milk, eggs, and other

^{*} As many as 12,000 rifles of the system "Vetterley" (of Swiss make) with bayonets ground sharp and a quantity of cartridges, revolvers and dynamite.

farm produce, at the same time most carefully concealing the fact that in the rest of Finland a powerful agitation was unceasingly spreading, that arms were being brought in and distributed, that stormy meetings were being held, that there had even been cases of military drilling and rifle-practice.* It is curious that all these honeyed speeches about the "placid, calm Finnish waters," as the only suitable spot for repose from the labours of State, were uttered by that same Prince Obolensky, who no further back than the previous December had reported to his sovereign † that the Finlanders hated Russia, and that in the whole people there was not to be found any genuine loyalty to the Russian State and to the throne of the Autocrat.

The arrival of the squadron ‡ at Helsingfors was a complete surprise for the Finlanders. Whether it was for this reason, or in consequence of a change in their own plans is uncertain, but at any rate the revolutionaries calmed down this time and the expected outburst did not take place. This fact at once gave occasion to the local press§ to openly accuse the administrator of the Province of Finland of having, by his reports of an insurrection in

^{*} The Russian military organ, Russhy Invalid, in No. 138, for 1905, has shown the character and aims of these contemporary rifle clubs in Finland.

[†] In the Memorandum to the Emperor which the Prince himself took very great pains to spread about in the highest spheres of St. Petersburg.

[‡] The other ships came up and joined on the day after the arrival of the "Slava."

[§] For example, see the Ita Hami of October 11, etc.

preparation, caused false information to be given to His Majesty.

In point of fact, as is now clear, the Finlander revolutionaries had decided to await the general political strike in Petersburg.

Soon after this Prince Obolensky, visiting Petersburg, graciously put himself at the disposal of a correspondent of the Novoe Vremja, and to him, among other things, very freely and off-handedly attempted to prove to him something to the effect that a revolution in Finland with the object of splitting it off from Russia would never come about, and that if rifles really had been delivered, they would have to be distributed and even when distributed they would not fire of themselves,* that the squadron had visited Finland merely as a "military promenade," and that, in general, the Finlanders could not do anything fraught with any danger to Russia.

In full accord with the views of his chief, the Governor of Vasa, a local-born official of Russian extraction, named Knipovich, explained to representatives of the Nikolaistadt papers that he could categorically assure them that the arms captured on board the "John Grafton" were intended not at all for the Finlanders but for the Russian revolutionaries.

Prince Obolensky, not being in a position to deny the fact that the arms had been found, nevertheless remained

^{*} See No. 10618 of the Novoe Vremja. It is to be regretted that this respectable newspaper did not print those replies which were sent to it in refutation of Prince Obolensky.

true to himself and entrusted the investigation into the affair solely to the local officials, the consequence of which was a systematic series of escapes from custody of those who had been arrested in connection with this matter, under the very eyes of the gendarmes whose instructions bound them to refrain from exceeding the part they were ordered to play as mere spectators.

Events very quickly showed how much truth there was in the assurances of Prince Obolensky, whether about the "tranquil waters" of Transund and Biörke or in his remarks in the columns of the Novoe Vremja.

Taking advantage of the fact that in the Empire itself the outbreak of sedition was assuming a more and more serious aspect, engrossing the attentions of the highest ruling spheres, the Finlanders, in alliance with the Russian revolutionaries decided to put into execution a longmatured plan for an upheaval which should result in a nominal, if nothing more, independence of Russian authority.

At the general conference, held April 2-9, 1905, of the united revolutionary parties: the Social-Revolutionary Russian, Socialist Polish, Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Finnish Party of Active Resistance, Georgian Federalist-Revolutionary Socialist Party, Lettish Social-Democratic Union, and the White Russian Socialist Assembly, it was resolved to "close the last accounts with the expiring forces of Autocracy," taking advantage of the two merciless wars — abroad and at home—which were rending Russia's vitals, and then, after gaining

the one common end by their united action, to follow thereafter each its own private objects. In the proclamations issued by the conference, signed by all the above-mentioned revolutionary parties, was announced the unavoidable necessity of gaining, by means of a general armed insurrection, the overthrow of the dynasty and of seizing the power into the hands of constituent assemblies " of the nationalities who defined themselves," hitherto bound by the Autocracy, like convicts, on one chain. structure of each separate nation should be re-erected independently on democratic-republican foundations: Finland, Poland and the Caucasus take no part in the constituent assembly of representatives of the State of all the Russias, and, in relation to Finland all parties have unanimously resolved to demand: (1) The abrogation of all measures "insulting" to its constitutional rights; (2) the introduction of a democratic régime based on the universal right to vote; and (3) the prohibition of any manner of interference of the Russian Government in its national development.*

It is highly significant that Finland did not proceed to strike simultaneously with the events of the same character in the Empire, but only after the Finlanders became aware of the intention having been formed to issue an Imperial Manifesto giving to the inhabitants of all Russia liberty of conscience, speech, press, meetings and unions, and extending the powers of the State Duma to include

^{*} See Proclamation No. 6 of the "Finnish Party of Active Resistance."

the right of control over all officials and organs of the Government, and the principle that no law could be issued without its consent. The Finlanders had been diametrically opposed to the movement in Russia for the summoning of a State Duma from its inception, and had manifested a positive aversion to taking part in a general Russian representative assembly. They considered their Diet fully sufficient for themselves, even indeed for the legislative settlement of general State questions. When the Finlanders read in the Statutes of the State Duma an indication of the obligation to send representatives of Finland also in the settlement of general State questions concerning Finland, they immediately took alarm, and as soon as they learned that the Manifesto of October 17/30 contained no special clause safeguarding the relations of Finland they at once resolved to seize the opportunity and produce pressure on the Russian Government, calculating thereby to obtain the concessions they desired.

Thus the events which happened in Finland from October 17 to 25, although to some extent they resembled those that had occurred somewhat earlier in the home provinces of the Empire and also entered into the general plan of the revolution, yet were evoked by altogether different and local causes of excitement.

At six o'clock in the evening of October 16, by which time Petersburg already knew the contents of the Imperial Manifesto, officially published on the following day, the Petersburg station of the Finland Railway struck;* during the night the strike spread to Viborg and on the next day, the 17th, after workmen's meetings had been held everywhere, the whole network of railways in Finland struck work, with all the factories, works, places of trade, stores and shops, with the exception of those dealing in comestibles. On the following day, notwithstanding the publication in all newspapers t of the Imperial Manifesto of October 17/30 the strikes extended, not only to all the educational establishments, with the Imperial Helsingfors Alexander University at the head of them, but also to the majority of the Government institutions. not excepting also the Finnish Senate. From ten o'clock in the morning of this day the electric tramways ceased to run in the town, the telephone was closed, as also the electric lighting and gas lighting, and all carting business was stopped. The Helsingfors municipal representatives assembled in extraordinary session and resolved to express their sympathy with the strikers and to give them their support. The students and lyceum-boys went round all the schools in a body, stopping work in them all. This crowd even made its appearance in the Russian boys and girls schools, and here they put forward as the pretext for striking, the feeling of joy at the issue of the Imperial Manifesto! Nevertheless, though some newspapers in the country, on the

^{*} The employees of this station who the day before had declined to join the Russian strikers now did so on the demand of special emissaries sent from Helsingfors.

[†] Which appeared on this day for the last time before the strike of compositors began.

ground of the granting of liberty of the press in this Manifesto, made their appearance without the customary preliminary censure, there were no signs to be found anywhere else that the Finlanders recognised this act of State as having any obligatory force for Finland. And a strike of this kind took place over the whole country, everywhere at once.

At eleven o'clock in the morning of the 11th, the Commander of the 22nd Army Corps was summoned to the Governor-General, who had warned Lieutenant-General Baron Salz already of the general strike, but now expressed doubts of the possibility of there being any serious disorders. His Excellency then indicated the necessity of bringing up the customary guard for the Governor-General's official residence with as much secrecy as possible, in order to avoid exciting the people prematurely.

Being faced with such a situation, the possibility of which he had constantly denied, Prince Obolensky most ingeniously evolved a way out, which would enable him on the one hand to secure his own person from violence, and on the other to justify his acts before his sovereign and before Russia. Not finding in the Manifesto of October 17/30 any direct indication of its being extended also to Finland he seized upon this and began to declare openly to all that this "omission" appeared to be an "error" of those who had drafted the Manifesto, wherefore he, in order to avoid undesirable complications, intended immediately to discuss in concert with the Senate as to what measures ought to be taken in relation to Finland.

According to the interpretation of Prince Obolensky, it thus came out that a Manifesto addressed to all true subjects of His Majesty had no relation to the inhabitants of Finland, which formed an inseparable part of the Empire, and that for the Finlanders it was essential that a special act of State should be issued. So in order to decide in what this special act of State should consist—and not at all for the purpose of carrying out the law and promulgating in the order appointed in Finland, this Manifesto of October 17/30, Prince Obolensky invited to his own house* for 3 p.m. on the 18th the whole Finnish Senate in corpore. The Senators assembled in the official residence of the Governor-General because the Senate house was closed owing to the strike of the servants, and Prince Obolensky, besides, remembering the fatal date June 3, 1904,† was never particularly fond of visiting this building and used frequently to summon the Senators, quite illegally, to his private quarters to arrange private meetings.

When the Senators were assembled the Prince appeared before them in full gala uniform, read the Manifesto and then left them to discuss as to what should be done next.

Some time had elapsed after the opening of this sitting, when, at about half-past three o'clock, an enormous crowd

^{*} During the whole tenure of his office as Governor-General, Prince Obolensky was never in the Senate more than four or five times, whereas his predecessor, Governor-General Bobrikov, had attended regularly every week on Thursdays.

[†] The date of the assassination of N. Bobrikov in the Senate House.

of people all at once flooded the space before the Governor-General's residence, blocked up the esplanade and the streets debouching on it, and stopped all approach to the house. This crowd had just come from the meeting on the railway square,* and taking advantage of the almost total absence of police, who had been compelled all over the town to give up their arms, strip off their uniforms and go on strike†, succeeded in carrying out their intentions almost without hindrance.

At this moment, namely at 3.40 p.m., by order of the Governor of Finland, an official attached to the Governor-General despatched to the Commander of the 22nd Army Corps the following note: "A great crowd is assembling at the residence of the Governor-General, but so far is behaving in an orderly fashion. The attitude of the crowd does not promise anything good. Troops may be required at any moment. I report this in case to your Excellency."

^{*} Of which the Governor had been duly apprised.

[†] At about noon special groups were making the rounds of all the police, urging them to strike at and after 2 p.m. This proposition was made also to the police on point duty opposite the Governor-General's house, but these men refused. The Governor of Niwland Province, who was in the house, was immediately informed of this, but nevertheless took no precautionary measures whatever (see letter in the Novoe Vremja, No. 10657). As subsequently came to light, at the appointed time for the police strike, every policeman was surrounded by a group, removed from his post, disarmed, and reclothed. The majority were enrolled on the spot as members of the "municipal police" then being formed; some eighty men who remained true to their service (almost exclusively Russians and Esthonian) could not even make their way to the Governor as they were nowhere allowed to pass through by the new volunteer police who were all provided with photographs of these incorruptible policemen.

Soon after appeared at the residence of the Governor-General the Helsingfors Policemaster, a Swede named Av-Enegelm.* He was in very excited state, and reported. to the Governor of Finland that the crowd desired that the Governor-General would immediately receive a deputation of five men, and that the attitude of the crowd was such that in his opinion this demand must absolutely be satisfied, or else he, the policemaster, would not be responsible for anything that followed. The Governor then ordered the policemaster to go in person out to the crowd and warn them that the Governor-General was occupied at that moment and could not receive the deputation. The policemaster very unwillingly fulfilled this mission, but when the door was opened to let him out the crowd forced their way in and held it open, while the deputation, under the leadership of the university graduate, Gummerus,† insisted upon forcing its way into the anteroom of the Governor-General. Gummerus, with an air of extreme insolence, marched right up to the Governor and asked him: "Who are you?" and then, on receiving a reply, declared in the name of "the people" that he demanded to be immediately received by the Governor-General. To the proposal to wait a little in the reception

[•] Who had replaced the Russianised Finn Karlstedt when the latter was dismissed by Prince Obolensky.

[†] See above. Besides this graduate there were in the deputation the poet, Arwid Merne, M. Stenberg, the teacher Gabriel Biode (brother of the ex-officer, a Finn, who was concerned in the assassination of the Minister of the Interior Sipjagin), and the student Jutseniemi.

room until the termination of the sitting, until which time it was impossible to announce the deputation to the Governor-General, Gummerus repeatedly taking out his watch answered that "the people cannot be kept waiting," and went out at last to communicate what the Governor had said to the crowd, with the words: "we are going out now, but we shall return immediately." Speaking to the crowd from the porch of the Governor-General's residence Gummerus repeated to them the statement of the Governor, beginning with these words: "the unlawful Governor says."

The crowd insisted on their original demand being complied with "even if violence follow," and this was communicated to the Governor by the deputation who came back into the house. The Governor gave way, and went to announce the deputation to the Governor-General on the second floor of the house. The Prince, who was in the drawing-room next door to the hall of portraits in which the Senators were in session, received the deputation and it was admitted to the drawing-room. Gummerus, in the name of the people, laid before the Prince in a very insolent form and in a loud, rude voice the demand that he with his Senators should submit their resignations on the spot. But when the Governor-General expressed his readiness to do so, and added: "You are aware that this amounts to a declaration of war?" Gummerus replied: "Yes, it is war, but a war without weapons only." Then pointing to the door of the hall of portraits he asked: " Is that where the Senators are?" and without waiting for

any reply kicked the door open with his foot and the deputation after him burst in upon the session of the Senate. Here they repeated their demand that the Senators should resign. The latter lost their heads entirely, all but one, Senator Lang, a man of some energy, who rose and declared that having been appointed by the will of the Emperor, he could be replaced only by the same imperial will and therefore was unable to submit to the demand. The rest of the Senators held their peace and the youngest of them, Neovius ("Minister" of Finance*) in token of his entire contempt for the delegates of the "mob" turned his back upon them.

In the meantime there appeared below another deputation in the name of the united meeting of constitutionalists and workmen, which had just come on from the fire brigade depot where they had been assembled. This deputation, notwithstanding that it comprised no less a personage than a former adjutant of Governor-General Count Heyden, a Baron von Kohten,† behaved itself in the reception room, which was alongside the drawing-room

^{*} Neovius, besides, was one of only two Senators (the other was Chilman), who declined to take a pension.

[†] Its other members were: (1) Inspector of town school, A von Blomerius (dismissed under Bobrikov from the post of director of the Lyceum for his anti-Government agitation); (2) Assessor of the Hofgericht Swinhufvud (who defended Khokhenthal and had been a great agitator in the last Diet); (3) Dr. H. Revel; (4) lawyer Jonas Kastren, a member of the fighting organisation exiled under Bobrikov; (5) bank director Lavonius; (6) Magister Philosophiae E. (?) Schaumann (brother f the assassin of Bobrikov); and (7) the writer Tekla Khultin.

in which the whole family of Prince Obolensky was assembled, with such easy familiarity and made so much noise that Senator Neovius was compelled to remonstrate with them.

This second deputation the Governor-General received in the same drawing-room and invited them to take seats. They demanded the immediate abolition of the "dictatorship" and other "illegal" ordinances, named in the "grand petition," the dismissal of all Russian officials who were to be replaced by persons "invested with the confidence of the people," the immediate resignation of the Minister State Secretary, the Governor-General and the Senators: the handing over of Prokope, the assassin of the Colonel of Gendarmes Kramarenko, who had been condemped by a military court, to the local court: the recall of the exiles Westlin and Ericson, who had attempted to assassinate the policemaster of Nikolaistadt, and, finally, the immediate summoning of an extraordinary Diet for the settlement of two questions, namely: (a) universal and equal voting power with the reconstruction of the administration of the country on modern democratic principles with a Government responsible to the Diet, and (b) the regulation of the question of the Budget. If all these demands, declared the delegates, be not satisfied we wash our hands of all responsibility for further consequences, and the strike will continue and grow like an avalanche on the move. The Governor-General replied that the issue of the Manifesto of October 17/30 in the Empire of itself implied the necessity of granting privileges

of the same kind * also to Finland, and that an appeal to the Emperor to that effect would be made by the Senate,† and declared his readiness to petition for the summoning of the Diet; as regarded his own dismissal from office, he declared that he would leave his post himself with pleasure if His Imperial Majesty would give him leave to The deputation insisted upon his immediately leaving for Petersburg to petition the Emperor to grant all their demands, and one of them (Jonas Kastren) said: "You have the 'Eleken' under steam ‡; you can start at All the demands of the deputation were expressed in Swedish by Bonsdorf, very calmly, but in a firm tone that admitted of no reply, and in the most precise form, emphasising every time the fact that this was not a "petition" but a "demand;" he dictated every point in a voice of authority to the official attached to the person of the Governor-General (Count Eric Berg, grandson of a former Governor-General and enjoying the honour of a "Finlander" title), who humbly translated and carried out the frequent corrections impatiently made by Bonsdorf.

While all this was going on inside the house the great

^{*} In the result a Manifesto was issued, that of October 22nd, but it had nothing whatever in common with the Manifesto of October 17th, and did not contain even the slightest reference to it

[†] As we shall see later the Senate never had any idea of asking anything of the kind, but they did ask—something very different!

[‡] The yacht of the lighthouse department, on which, no one knows by whose orders, steam had actually been got up with great forethought.

crowd outside waited with considerable restraint, and only the declaration of the first deputation which issued with Gummerus at the head to the effect that "Prince Obolensky is going to resign," roused the crowd to loud shouts of joy.

During the time that the deputations were inside the house of the Governor-General the Russian national flag flying on all the Government buildings of the town, on the Senate, the railway station, the "Athenæum," etc., were replaced by the newly invented Finlander colours, red with a yellow Finlander lion.

An attempt was also made to tear down the flag flying over the Governor-General's house, but when the bold spirits had climbed the balcony and were already getting up on the roof, some one in the crowd shouted "the Cossacks." A panic followed; the mob rushed back from before the house, and a dozen or so persons suffered serious injuries in the rush while two were crushed to death.

The deputation of constitutionalists and the workmen who had joined with them, after being received by the Governor-General were admitted to the hall of portraits where the Senators were in session, and here, in the presence of the portraits of all the Russian sovereigns, they made their demand that the Senate should resign in a body. Individual members of the deputation then held a conference with individuals among the Senators. The result of all this was the unanimous decision of the Senate to resign, and minute drawn up and signed by the Senators

was handed to the deputation. It ran as follows: "The members of both departments of the Senate here present declare publicly that they have resolved to resign." But even this was not enough. To intensify the humiliation of the Senators, Kastren compelled three of them who were more obnoxious than the rest, namely, Streng, Solman and Vuorenkheimo, to go out on the balcony of the Governor-General's house and announce to the crowd the resignation of the whole Senate, which was unhesitatingly performed, the faces of the three Senators being lighted up by candelabra taken from the apartments of the Governor-General. This announcement was greeted by the mob with loud shouts of approval; the crowd sang right through "Wort Land" and to the strains of the Bjerneborg March gradually dispersed towards seven o'clock in the evening.

During the whole time of this four hours' "siege" of the Governor-General's house, troops were never summoned to put an end to it although communications with them never ceased,* as was proved by the sending, a second time, at about five o'clock in the evening, the following letter of the Governor of Niwland Province to the Chief of the Staff of the 22nd Army Corps, received by the latter at 5.50: "In consequence of the extremely tense attitude of the population which may require at any moment the

^{*} Generally speaking communication with the outer world during the "siege" of the Governor-General's house was maintained without interruption; a whole series of messengers despatched from the house to different destinations duly arrived, and many persons, among them even officers, succeeded in making their way into the house.

intervention of armed forces I request Your Excellency to arrange that orders be given to the troops of the garrison to be in perfect readiness, so that at the first call they may march out of barracks and reach, with the utmost possible speed, such places as may be indicated, of which information follows." The receipt of such a letter confined the action of the Commander of the Army Corps nolens volens to putting the troops in their barracks in full marching order, appointing a detachment to the Governor-General's house from the companies hard by in the Guards' barracks, and transferring to the same barracks all the rest of the Cossacks of the Orenburg sotnia (squadron), that they might be at hand in case of a call from the Governor to utilise them for dispersing the crowd by force. It was the movement of these Cossacks at the end of the Esplanade Street farthest removed, and a very long way off the Governor-General's house, that caused the panic in the crowd referred to above. This episode goes to prove, among other things, how easy it would have been at that time to disperse the crowd without even having recourse to arms, and that, at any rate, there was no very pressing necessity to submit so humbly to such insolent demands. It is a significant feature of the whole affair that after this a deputation from the inhabitants came to the ex-commander of the 3rd Finnish Rifle Battalion -who continued to occupy his old quarters in the Guards' barracks-to beg him, as a fellow countryman, to use his influence to have the Cossacks, as the cause of the accidents that had happened, immediately ordered off!

The evening of the 18th and the succeeding night passed in Helsingfors in outward tranquility; there were no gatherings of crowds, and the town, plunged in darkness, in the midst of which here and there flitted the electric pocket lamps of the newly appeared "volunteer watch," seemed dead and deserted.

This "watch," or "self-enrolled police," had been organised by orders of the town magistracy by an ex-Policemaster (dismissed under Bobrikov) before the appointment of Karlstedt, and entered upon its duties immediately after the overthrow of the Government police. The distinguishing mark of these "police" was a white arm-band. Among them were not a few students and afterwards also a good many Finns and Swedes of the former police force, amounting to a total of about a thousand: they took possession of the buildings of the central police office and the sectional stations, and disarmed the police reserve whom they compelled in the presence of the crowd to lay down their arms on the Senate Square. new "police" * immediately instituted the strictest observation over the Governor-General's house, and afterwards, of all Russian houses, as well as over the telegraph, noting all who entered or left these places, and even asked persons unknown to them, or stopping them and ascertaining their identity at the police office, whither they were taken in custody. This continued right up to October 21 (the day on which the Governor-General transferred himself to the battleship "Slava"), and at one time all access to

[•] Afterwards replaced by the "National Guard."

the telegraph* was absolutely prohibited. Among those taken in custody and brought to the police office for examination were many officials of the Chancellery of the Governor-General (except such as wore a military uniform, who were merely recognised by the light of the electric pocket lamps which had been given out to every "policeman"); the special messenger of His Imperial Majesty to the President of the French Republic, Kammerherr Stojanovsky, who was on his way back to Russia and got to Finland owing to the strike of the St. Petersburg-Warsaw Railway, was conducted from the Governor-General's house through a chain of the "National Guard" only thanks to the intervention of the director of the Pilot and Lighthouse Department, Major-General Sheman, of the Admiralty, who proffered his services to the unlucky Imperial messenger.

Following on the disarming and removal of the police, the members of the corps of gendarmes who were quartered in Helsingfors were, by orders of the Governor-General, and in order to save them from persecution, partly disguised in civil clothes and partly transferred to Sveaborg. Orders were also issued to those of the police who remained faithful and became part of the guard of the Governor-General and continued to carry on their detective duties to disguise themselves likewise in civil clothes. As to the Policemaster who was the whole day

^{*} As will be seen below, the telegraph as well as the telephone and the railways did not cease to operate; but they were utilised only by the seditious exclusively for revolutionary purposes.

of the 18th in the house of the Governor-General, he was missing on the next and following days, having concealed himself so successfully that no one even knew where to find him.

One of the first things done by the new Municipal police when they entered on their duties was to destroy everywhere the portraits of the Emperor (some of them were found in very unbefitting places),* portraits of the assassinated Governor-General Bobrikov and also the Holy Eikons. There were cases of the most outrageous blasphemy, and they occurred in all quarters. Some of the details of the conditions under which the activity of the lawful police was put an end to in Helsingfors found expression in a letter to the Novoe Vremja (No. 10657) from some of the members of the force who had gone through it. This letter brings out very clearly the dubious part played by the Policemaster and the "Russian" Governor, Lvovsky, who were both of them guilty, not merely of want of energy but of absolute negligence of duty.

By the morning of the 19th information had been received that all the railways, with the railway telegraphs and telephones, were in the hands of the revolutionaries, who were making use of them; communication by the

[•] In one case the tearing down of portraits of the Emperor and Empress was done solemnly before an immense concourse of people, who shouted with joy in applause of the deed.

[†] Who had just been appointed by Prince Obolensky and was to be, as the Prince himself put it, a "drawing-room police-master."

State telegraph was interrupted in places and the head telegraph office in Helsingfors itself was subjected to the closest observation by the "watch," who did not allow anyone in without examining into the contents and destination of their telegrams,* and later closed the office entirely to private telegrams from Russian residents and at one time even refused to pass Service telegram.

From all sides information was coming in of the enrolling of militia, the cadres of which were found in the former Finnish troops and their officers. The distribution of the orders for what they called their "mobilisation." was effected at first by sending messengers on horseback round the villages, but afterwards the telephone got to work and railway trains were also sent to bring up reinforcements to Helsingfors. This was arranged by a committee of five formed by the rebels for the administration of the railways, and special posters were pasted up all about the town, informing the people that the railways were in the hands of the "National Guard." This "National Guard" was formed principally out of workmen and common people, and by the third day of the disorders (October 20) had almost entirely displaced the Municipal police. At its head, in Helsingfors, was one of the leading Social Democrats, an ex-captain of the Finnish troops named Koch, who also for nearly a week played the part of the prefect of Helsingfors. The new "labour" police

^{*} From information in our possession it appears that a number of private telegrams accepted at Helsingfors for transmission and received at Helsingfors from other places, were never delivered to their destinations.

donned red armbands, and the vast body of organised workmen who formed a sort of reserve for the force began gradually to evince a more and more hostile feeling toward the Swedomans.

From the morning of the 19th there began to present themselves to the Governor-General a long list of new deputations from all kinds of political groups. Each of these groups endeavoured to produce a conviction that the deputations of the previous evening had been representatives merely of the "street," and that not one of the political parties had ever empowered them to demand the resignation of the Governor-General. Instead of this they demanded the summoning, with all possible speed, of an extraordinary Diet, and the satisfaction of all the demands contained in the Grand Petition; besides this they sought to secure the further development of a "State" organisation in Finland, without any kind of connection with the new principles on which the reconstruction of the Empire itself was maturing.

In addition to this the Old Finn and the Constitutional Parties formed separate groups of authoritative persons, in accordance with the invitation of Prince Obolensky himself, given the evening before to Baron Wrede* and

^{*} A professor, an ardent separatist, and bosom friend of Baron Born, of Mechelin and of Anteli; he had been exiled from Finland to Reval in June, 1904, after the assassination of N. Bobrikov, on the demand of the Adjunct Minister State Secretary, E. Erstrem, who was then acting Chancellor of the Imperial Alexander Helsingfors University, and in 1905, on his return from exile, was appointed, by the influence of the same Erstrem, Rector of the University.

Danielson (Vice-Chancellor of the University and head of the Old Finn Party) whom he summoned to him for the purpose. To these persons the Prince proposed to work jointly under the supreme guidance of Leo Mechelin on the drafting of legislative bills rendered necessary by the existing situation. These drafts the Prince wished to compare with that drawn up the night before by the Senators, their "swan's song," for presentation to the Emperor, and to lay all together before the sovereign for his consideration. The Old Finns, however, were not long before they slipped away from the ferule of Mechelin and the latter assumed thenceforward entire command. To the waving of his baton even the Governor-General himself, a Russian prince of the ancient house of Rurik, yielded implicit obedience. This is plain, if only from the fact that he, who had so often and at such length dilated on the necessity of having representatives of Finland in the State Duma and the share which Finland should take in the decision of general State questions, now, suddenly, as it were, ceased to notice that the objects aimed at by the Constitutionalists who were enjoying his support were not merely the overthrow of the "Bobrikov Régime" but also the equalising of the rights of local representative assembly with the rights of the general Imperial Duma, thereby effecting the double object of rendering it superfluous to send representatives to the State Duma, and guaranteeing themselves beforehand from any interference by the State Duma in the affairs of Finland. One of the Labour parties alone (to which later adhered also in part the Old Finns) sharply differentiated itself from these demands. This party desired that the universal right to vote should be introduced, not by means of the Diet, but that it should be directly granted by Imperial Order, after which the local legislative elected on these new principles should proceed to elaborate the necessary reforms for the country in the direction of perfecting its internal legislation. The representatives of this party, in contradistinction to all the rest, did not look askance at the State Duma and were willing for representatives of Finland to take part in it for the decision of general State questions; in the local Diet, on the other hand, which under the existing suffrage system was the representative solely of the "masters" (i.e., of one-tenth of the population) they had not a jot of confidence, and the very idea of the possibility of the suffrage question being entrusted to that body for settlement aroused tremendous excitement. The mutual dislike between the Constitutional and the Labour parties grew to such a height that the Swedish population of the town of Helsingfors began hurriedly to get away in the night, and many of the peaceful inhabitants made interested inquiries as to when at last the troops would exercise some proper pressure on the workmen, to make them go back to work and restore the normal course of life.

While all this was going on the "National Guard" had been got in readiness everywhere; on the squares and other open spaces of the town, company drills were regularly in progress, and the arrayed battalions of the

"Guard" not infrequently marched demonstratively past the windows of the barracks occupied by the Russian troops. At the same time every kind of slander was spread, and even appeared in the newspapers, about the supposed disaffection among the Russian troops; and at this time the revolutionaries were particularly active in flooding the barracks with "proclamations" addressed to the soldiers in which it was solemnly declared that the soldiers all over Russia had laid down their arms, that the Government had been overthrown in St. Petersburg. and that the people had taken the reins of power into their own hands. These "proclamations" in point of fact still further intensified the indignation of the Russian troops who had seen committed before their very eyes, openly and with impunity, the most insolent acts of contempt and violence upon Russians and the Russian power. Officers relate that the privates many a time begged persistently to be served with ball-cartridge and be led out against the rebels. All were eager to serve their "Little Father, the Czar" and their beloved fatherland with honour, and they did not spare the author of all the shames they had witnessed; he got in all its fulness the feelings of the Russian heart expressed through all the wide limits of the rich lexicon of Russian abuse! The sailors, too, were highly excited, especially aboard the battleship "Slava," where Prince Obolensky afterwards took up his residence. In Helsingfors there was a persistent rumour kept up to the effect that the officers, in order to quiet their men and to prevent any sudden outbursts, found it necessary to

assure them that the Czar himself would judge the doings of Prince Obolensky.

The night before October 20 passed tranquilly. Outwardly, the situation had undergone no change this day, though the increasing tension was betrayed by the more frequent assemblages, in a more regular organisation of the task of drilling the mob in military formations, in the arranging for rifle practice in the Kaisaniemi park and the opening all about the town of field-hospital points marked by red crosses on the lamps, the main hospital point being in the Hotel Kemp. Persistent reports were in circulation of the arrival of a large quantity of arms in the town, partly by steamer and party by the Abo-Kari Railway. The distribution of arms was carried on in secret: those who obtained them carried them home through the streets wrapped up in newspapers. A credible witness saw two maxims brought through the town by night on two-wheeled carriages. The head-quarters of the "fighting organisation" of the Constitutionalists was in the building of the students' society of the Province of Niwland. Towards evening was prepared at last the draft of the Imperial Manifesto, and Mechelin, who repeatedly consulted the Prince, was all the time trying to hasten its despatch to its destination, urging the extreme tension of all men's minds and the momentary possibility of an outbreak of bloodshed. Mechelin himself drew up the Manifesto and brought the result of his labours to receive the approval of Prince Obolensky. The latter, it is said, made only a few insignificant changes in forms of expression of no consequence and then Mechelin took the Manifesto away with him again to settle finally its contents together with his colleagues on the revolutionary committee. Thence he despatched a holograph MS. in his own handwriting entitled "the draft of an authoritative group of persons led by M. Mechelin," and this, by order of the Governor-General was copied out fair, with all the matter appended to it, in his own Chancellery under the personal direction of the Director of the Chancellery, Colonel Sein. For Mechelin's approval was presented also the covering despatch, so that, in point of fact, Mechelin inspected and passed the entire contents of the packet sent to St. Petersburg. At eight o'clock in the evening the petition of the Governor-General concerning the issue of the Manifesto with the drafts of the Senate and of Mechelin, but without any personal suggestions of any kind from Prince Olobensky himself, was despatched from Finland on the pilot service boat "Eleken," with the Director of the Pilot Service, Sheman. General Vatatsi ex-Governor of St. Michael's, who had just been appointed Governor of Kiev, and was hastening to Petersburg on the duties of his service, begged to be taken aboard, but Sheman found various pretexts for evading this request.

On the next day, the 21st, the accession day of the Emperor, the usual service was appointed in the Cathedral of the Assumption. The Governor-General left his residence in his carriage, without the Cossack escort, which he left behind him at home. The bazaar square was lined

with the "National Guard," which had roped off the footwalks as was usually done by the police, and the Governor-General passed from the house to the cathedral under the exclusive escort of this "Guard." It was said that on the preceding evening "Captain" Koch, who had assumed the rank of commander of the "National Guard" was sent for to the Governor-General's and received from the Governor of Niwland, Colonel Lvovsky, and Burgomaster Gartman the necessary instructions for the following day. The story is even told that Prince Obolensky at first requested the military authorities to march the troops who were to take part in the parade past the Governor-General's house in such order, that he might, by stepping in between their ranks, reach the cathedral under their protection. Such a use of troops was however considered as somewhat inconvenient by the commanding officer, and the Prince nolens volens had to entrust the protection of his person to the "National Guard."

At the conclusion of the parade which was taken by the Corps Commander an unwonted surprise awaited the Russian residents of Helsingfors. The Governor-General, with his family, after leaving the cathedral in their carriage, simply disappeared. At any rate he did not return home, and up to five o'clock in the afternoon no one in the town knew where he was. Even the servants left in the house knew nothing, and the Governor of Kiev, who was the guest of the Governor-General and had been invited to lunch with him on that day waited with his wife in vain

for his host and hostess until half-past three, and only then learned that they would not return.

The disappearance of the Governor-General gave rise to some alarming reports in the town, as well as others little redounding to the honour of the Russian authorities. Some said the Prince had been seized and was kept in custody by the rebels, who were holding him as a hostage, others that he had been put under arrest as a traitor by the Russian officers, others again that he had delivered himself up to the revolutionaries, that he had fled to the squadron and was making his way thence by Sveaborg to Reval, that in fine, he had died a violent death at the hands of the sailors of the "Slava" enraged at his conduct, etc., etc. Under the effect of these stories the foreign Consuls all took the excitement, the more so that some unknown persons had already announced to them the overthrow of the Russian power in Finland and the substitution for it of some sort of "temporary government," which had no use whatever for them. The alarmed Consular body rushed to make inquiries, of course, first of all to the Governor-General. And highly delighted and relieved they were to find the Russian flag still flying over the official residence! All must, of course, be well! But on making inquiry for the Governor-General of the porter their fears were aroused once more: the Governor-General was "not at home, and it was not known where he was," answered the lackey. So the poor foreigners went running about in all directions making inquiries, until some good soul took pity on them and told them that

both the Governor and the Governor-General and all their staff were on the island of Skatudden, under the administration of the port of Sveaborg, spending most of their time aboard the squadron which had arrived in the roads about three o'clock in the afternoon of that day. Thither the Consuls hied them on the very next day, the 22nd, to explain their situation to the Governor, and were tranquillised by having appointed to each one of them a guard of three armed soldiers, who were to serve as a token that the Russian authority still existed in the country. The German Consul alone must be excepted from this account, for he, without troubling to make any inquiries anywhere and even without going outside his house, wired off to his Government to send him a German ship of war.

About four o'clock in the afternoon Prince Obolensky transferred himself from the port to the battleship "Slava" on which he continued to live up to the end of October, but without ever hoisting the special flag appropriate to his rank as Governor-General of Finland. All this time the Prince almost every day, about noon, would visit the administration of the port, where he received deputations, reports and visitors, and returned to dinner to his family on board the battleship, where he mostly spent his hours of leisure at the green table so strictly prohibited aboard our ships of war.

It is related that Prince Obolensky used to explain his departure from his official residence and his transference to the squadron as caused by the necessity of escaping from a state of captivity and securing "freedom of action;" it is said that he even proposed to the troops of the garrison to abandon their barracks with all the stores and property therein and pass over to the island of Skatudden, so as not to risk being surrounded in their barracks by the rebels and be deprived of their watersupply. At the same time the Prince promised to arrange for the whole of the Russian population of the town to be taken off, partly to the fortress of Sveaborg and partly to Russia,* and that he actually issued the necessary orders for this move. This plan, however, it appears was not accepted, probably because the military authorities could not bring themselves to imagine that troops perfectly ready to take the field and more than filled with the spirit of military daring ought to think only of their own proper safety!

In view of the alarming intelligence that reached the Corps Commander on the evening of the 21st the succeeding night was passed by the troops under arms. The search-lights of the squadrons and the fortress lighted up the town as if it was day; the troops punctually performed patrol duty and kept up constant communications with one another; the Skatudden bridge throughout the night was entirely closed to all traffic, and the island itself was cleared by the patrols of the self-styled police and private persons. The night passed, however, quietly.

[•] In point of fact they were not taken off anywhere, but those whose hearts failed them made the best of their way themselves to the fortress or anywhere else as seemed them best.

On the morning of the 22nd posters were everywhere displayed, by order of the strikers, announcing that the command of the town had been handed over to Lieutenant-General Baron Salza. From this day forth the "Commander of the National Guard" Johann Koch began to present himself every day to the Corps Commander with a report in the Russian language * to the effect that all was well in the town. To the Corps Commander there came, besides, many representatives of the local population, who were obviously strongly impressed by the arrival of the squadron and the measures taken in the evening before and throughout the night by the troops of the garri-Baron Salza replied to all in the same form, that the troops would not take the initiative, but if, which Heaven forfend, any violence were offered to any of the Russian residents retribution would be swift and heavy. The result of this was that Koch issued a printed notice dated November 3, N.S., addressed to the Russian residents of the town of Helsingfors in which he assured, them that the "National Guard was under the obligation to preserve strict order and in particular to take all care that no one of the Russians should run any risks of danger or rude treatment," and requested that any complaints on this head might be addressed to the central police

^{*} This shows amongst other things that the Finnish Social Democrats' attitude to the Russian language is more respectful than that of the Constitutionalists, who, when they received full powers under Governor-General Gerardt, began first of all by banishing the Russian language altogether from the Senate, in defiance of the Manifesto of October 22nd.

office. Another identical lithographed appeal was circulated in the name of the "Studen Strike Committee." Considerably later, that is to say, on November 5 or 6, N.S. notifications were issued by the Governor of Finland without date, but they did not actually reach anybody except a few Russian servants and travellers living in the hotels. The majority of the Russian residents of the town, merchants, traders, workmen, time-expired soldiers and others, never had a chance of seeing these notifications at all. Yet it was principally among these classes of the Russian population that the greatest panic prevailed, increased by the absolute ignorance as to their fate and the prevalent rumours which were of the most threatening character.

To sum up the situation, from the moment when Prince Obolensky transferred himself to the battleship "Slava," the state of affairs stood as follows: The highest representatives of the Imperial authority in the country had taken up for himself a position which enabled him, according as things might turn out, at any moment to wash his hands quite easily of all responsibility for anything that might happen. The military authorities, on the other

Governor-Colonel A. Lvovsky

^{*} The following is the text (translation):

NOTIFICATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF NIWLAND.

"In view of the reports circulating in the town I consider it my duty to bring to the public knowledge of the Russian residents, with the object of tranquilising their minds, the fact that their fate is equally dear alike to the civil and to the military authorities, who will use every effort to prevent any injury or loss being inflicted upon any Russians. (No date.)

hand, remaining all the time at their posts were actually deprived of any sort of initiative, since they had not been definitely given the necessary freedom of action. Even in these circumstances of such extraordinary importance the Prince, in obedience to the evasive character of his nature, always inclined to avoid definite decisions, remained true to himself.

About five o'clock in the evening of the 22nd General Sheman returned from St. Petersburg on the "Eleken." His arrival was already awaited and a large crowd of people had assembled on the square near the landing stage. As soon as the general, in the character of the messenger of peace, had disembarked, the crowd demanded that he should communicate the contents of the Manifesto, and he had great difficulty in extricating himself. Manifesto was handed to the Governor, who carried it off with him aboard the "Slava." In the evening, at the summons of the Governor-General, certain of the former Senators were conveyed to the battleship, and also a number of the "authoritative persons" of the Mechelin group and members of other parties. But among them was neither "Captain" Koch nor Matti Kurikka, i.e. the representatives of the Labour Democratic Party, owing to a "misunderstanding" which caused them to arrive too late.* The Governor-General received the invited persons (many of whom turned up in lounge suits) in full gala

^{*} The invitations were sent out by General Sheman who did not, it may be supposed, find it particularly convenient to have the representatives of the above-mentioned democrats present.

uniform, and solemnly read aloud to them the Imperial Manifesto, which was translated into Swedish on the spot by Count Berg. When the question came up of the publication of the Manifesto one of those present proposed that the Senate be summoned in a private house, in view of the continuance of the strike. The Governor-General did not give his consent to this, but declared that the publication of the Manifesto must be made in the regular order; that is to say in the Senate house and on condition of the cessation of the strike and restoration of perfect order in the town. Nevertheless, copies of the Manifesto were given by him on the spot to be circulated generally among the public.

Burgomaster Gartman, who was among those present * could not answer for the restoration of order immediately, and only hoped that it might be attained a day later. In point of fact it turned out to be impossible to arrange the assembling of the Senators on the 23rd. The workmen who were not satisfied with the contents of the Manifesto, continued to murmur and were unwilling to go back to work.

A workmen's deputation † presented itself to Prince

[•] Whom the "red guard" had no idea of ever obeying as the previous "white guard" had done.

† Hufvudstadsbladet, Thursday, November 9th, No. 299.

[†] Hufvudstadsbladet, Thursday, November 9th, No. 299. This deputation consisted of the six persons elected by the workmen to form a "temporary government" which they wished to put in power in place of the Senate over the administration of the country, and proposed, as their own list of candidates for the post of Senators. It is curious that in the number of these twenty-four candidates were to be found representatives

Obolensky consisting of six persons, who pointed out that the workmen had been trying for some decades already to secure the general suffrage, and as they had so often been deceived by the Constitutionalists they did not intend to believe them any more and demanded, in place of the Diet, the summoning of a national assembly on the principles of universal suffrage, which should be, as a preliminary, granted from the height of the throne. Prince Obolensky referred to the Manifesto of October 22. which laid upon the Senate the duty of drafting new Statutes for the Diet precisely on the lines of universal and equal suffrage, they replied that they had indeed seen in the burgomaster's hands some piece of paper or other, but as it was unsigned they could not put any trust in its contents. They added that their strike would continue until the demands of the workmen were satisfied. reply to this Prince Obolensky said that "The Grand Duke of Finland, as a constitutional monarch, could not commit a violation of the fundamental law of the Diet by summoning a national assembly," and that the drafting of the new

of the most diverse parties and professions; here were the heads of the old Finns (Danielson), the Young Finns (Ero Erikko), the Swedomans (Leo Mechelin, third from the end of the list); at the head of the list stood a number of people known to nobody, unless the workmen knew them, perhaps rather too well, teachers, doctors, carpenters, road-makers, etc. In a word the workmen had prepared a regular "salad," adding by way of a mitigating oil even the superannuated old General Ramsay! But their proposals were not accepted, just as the project of Linder also was not accepted for a mixed Swedoman-Fennoman Senate; what the Finlanders had to take was a set of pure-blooded Constitutionalists of the most veritable "made in Stockholm" type.

law could only be done through the Diet, and if this Diet did not carry through the amendments in the fundamental law in the desired sense a new Diet would be immediately summoned for that purpose. Further, the Prince pointed out that the draft of the Manifesto had been based on a compilation made by him of the views of all parties,* and that he was therefore surprised to find that the workmen were dissatisfied with it and wished to continue the strike, a course of action that could only be understood as a protest against the Manifesto.

Thanks to the influence of the more moderate elements, urged thereto by the Governor-General, the workmen at length softened down and decided to stop the strike for the time being, but all the same to request the Governor-General once more to satisfy their demands. This decision was confirmed the same evening by a mixed deputation of workmen and Old Finns, among whose members were to be found several former Senators. While expressing to the Governor-General their acknowledgments for all that he had done for Finland, this deputation nevertheless requested him to bring to the notice of His Majesty the fact that there existed in the country a considerable group of local residents, "amounting to several tens of thousands of men," who "stood on one side and apart without taking any share in the general rejoicings." is curious that in the address to the Emperor from the

[•] We have seen above that this draft was drawn up almost solely by Mechelin who took into his counsels only his own party, the Constitutionalists.

Old Finn Party—the text of which was published by the Russian telegraphic agency—only the expressions of loyal feeling and the thanks to Prince Obolensky were included, but all mention of the group of the population standing apart was omitted. As to the party of Constitutionalists who alone, flinging themselves head foremost into the movement, had got out of it all they wanted, they were precisely the party which presented no loyal addresses to the sovereign nor uttered any expression of thanks to the Governor-General.

But later on they did not omit to thank him in their special organ, Hufvudstadsbladet, on the day of the final departure of the Prince from Finland, with the words: "The period of this Governor-General's administration has been distinguished by unintermittent vacillation, indecision, and postponements of the most important questions for settlement" and this period was for the history of the country "a featureless epoch," "a period of postponements and half-measures." The one service of the Prince, in the opinion of this paper, was that he "had understood the requirements of the age and had got away in time."*

On the 24th at eleven o'clock in the morning the Manifesto was read in full session of the Senate, held in the Senate House. A crowd of people assembled on the square before the Senate eagerly caught the printed copies of the Manifesto flung them from the balcony of the Senate. The shops gradually opened, the cabs, trams, etc., were

^{*} No 309, November 19th, N.S.

moving once more, the telephone, etc., again at work. The railways finally got going again only on the 25th. From this date onwards the first news also began to come in that could be relied on of what had taken place in the rest of the country. At night Helsingfors, for the first time since the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the poet Runeberg, was illuminated. Candles burned in all the windows. Everywhere could be seen the symbols of the "union" (crossed flags, the Russian with the "red-yellow" arrangement); the magistracy engaged a band to play on the Senate square. This band, by secret instructions it was said, performed once only the Russian Hymn* "God guard the Emperor," which was listened to indifferently, and then immediately passed on to the beloved patriotic repertoire with the notorious "Bjerneborg March" and "Wortland" to lead off with, and these were sung enthusiastically by a crowd of thousands, with shouts of "Eleken" in honour of the "fatherland."

On the next day at two o'clock on the same square assembled the strikers, and under the shadow of their red emblems solemnly resolved to suspend the strike until the Diet began its labours, the course of which would then indicate whether it would be necessary to resume it.

Prince Obolensky spent yet another week after this aboard the battleship "Slava." Rumours flew in the town, at first obscure but gradually taking a more and more

[•] Which in Russia is always played through thrice. (Trans.) † Finnish for "Long live."

definite form, that the Prince no longer came ashore, that he was going under convoy of the squadron to St. Petersburg to report to the Emperor, that the Prince had sent in his resignation and that it had been accepted, finally, that his resignation was not altogether voluntary. All doubts were finally dispersed when on the morning of Friday, November 4, newspapers' "specials" flew about the town of Helsingfors announcing that the office of Governor-General had been temporarily entrusted to the Commander of the 22nd Army Corps, Lieut.-General Salza. Some four days before this the Prince had unexpectedly left the battleship "Slava" and repaired to his official residence where he managed to receive several service reports; still earlier he had been visited by the Adjunct Minister, State Secretary Erstrem, who, it was said, had taken away with him to St. Petersburg all the necessary materials for drawing up a report to the sovereign on all that had occurred. Thus, it had been decided beforehand that the story of the course of the revolution in Finland should be composed not on the spot where the events happened but at St. Petersburg, and withal under the supervision of Erstrem of whose devotion to himself as well as his affection for the Finlanders the Prince could have no possible doubts. At the same time this method had the advantage of excluding from any hand in the report to the throne those who were eyewitnesses of the events, who alone, of course, were in a position to give trustworthy information and throw a true light on the whole story. There was also an intention.

it was said, to draw up an official Government communiqué on the events in Finland, on the pretext of refuting the false and garbled accounts given by the newspapers and the telegraph; this statement also was to be got up under the guidance of the same Erstrem, but it has not yet seen the light of day! It thus fell out that while innumerable Government communiqués have been appearing of late, not infrequently upon matters of insignificant importance, an event of such capital importance as the revolution in Finland has remained officially unrecorded in any form for the public eye. Possibly the reason for this may be found in the fact that any statement in the Press of the events which so agitated the Russian public if told on the basis of strictly accurate documents and the evidence of eye-witnesses, would have thrown such a full and clear light upon the conduct of Prince Obolensky and certain of the Governors that any further attempts to justify this conduct would only have done more harm than good.*

The last days of his tenure of office the Prince devoted, strictly speaking, to two matters: the disbandment and remuneration of the "National Guard" and the drawing up of telegrams to Peterhof describing the choral singing

^{*} A brilliant example of this unsuccessful attempt at justification is to be found in the letter of the Prince's brother, Prince A. Obolensky, to the Novoe Vremja, in which he sets out to prove, to the intense amusement of readers acquainted with the biography of the Prince, that the Naval School gives the highest grade of education and that the experience gained by a Marshal of Nobility in the provinces admirably fits him to hold the highest posts in the administration of the Empire.

of thousands of grateful Finns who performed the Russian hymn, the laying of wreaths and flowers at the foot of the Throne, statements of the thanks expressed by the foreign Consuls for their "protection" and a number of equally interesting idyls.

Receiving for the last time the commander of the "National Guard," Captain Koch, the Prince thanked him for the good order in the town and even embraced and kissed him. Koch, encouraged beyond all bounds, in disbanding his corps of five or six thousand men, made an inflammatory speech in which he referred to the "swiftness in attack" which his "guards" had shown in joining his standard. If they had even at the first attempt at a levy so admirably responded to the call, they had fully proved their readiness for the "great affair," and this was a promising guarantee for the future.*

As if this were not enough, the ex-Senate, on the advice of the Prince, set about an appeal to the Emperor to sanction the distribution of a largess to the "guards" for their labours to the amount of 160,000 marks, which called forth protests, even in the Press, of the strikers themselves. Side by side with this all the Russian policemen, when they applied to the authorities for succour, were told that they were traitors, and that it was intended that a thorough investigation be made into the case of

^{*} And his words were in fact well verified not long after in the organisation of the "national watch." See telegram in the Novoe Vremja, November 24th.

each of them, after which alone could any thought of considering their petitions be entertained.*

It was during this time, i.e., between October 25 and November 6, that information came gradually trickling in as to what had been occurring in other localities of Finland. This intelligence filled in the general background of a dark picture made up of the universal neglect of duty of those in authority and the helplessness of individuals who were true to their service but utterly unable to accomplish anything owing to the entire absence of any kind of support from without.

In all the places throughout Finland where there were no troops the gendarme officers and men, who everywhere remained true to their duty, were treacherously imprisoned and disarmed, while some had to endure cruel insults, mockery and violence; many had their uniforms or their outward marks of rank, shoulder-straps, buttons, etc., rudely torn off them; † men were stripped naked and thrust out of their houses; one sergeant of gendarmes was killed under the most revolting circumstances. The armed rebels, who had taken into custody the gendarmes from Kemi and Torneo, came in the night when the poor fellows were morally and physically worn out, and opened on them a fire from their revolvers but only succeeded in mortally wounding one unarmed man. In

^{*} See Novoe Vremja, No. 10657. The letter of the Russian police of the town of Helsingfors and the "démenti" of M. Diderichs.

[†] As, for example, with the gendarmes expelled from Torneo and Kemi.

general the details of the violence done to the gendarmerie are so cruelly revolting as to be impossible of description, and it is not to be wondered at that not a few of these hapless victims to their devotion to their duty afterwards went out of their minds from the nervous horrors they had undergone. We recommend amateur defenders of the high level of culture of Finland to make themselves a little better acquainted with some of these abominable deeds.* "Almost everywhere the police was displaced and volunteers obedient to the local officials substituted for them. At Tammerfors and Kotka where the policemasters had been appointed from Russia, and the former was even a native-born Russian, they were required to take their departure immediately, and they sought refuge with the nearest garrisons. The Russian Land-Secretary of the Province of Abo-Bjerneborg, M. Khozainov, succeeded only with the aid of a military escort

[•] At Ioensuu, a gendarme sergeant named Beljaev hid himself, half naked, but keeping his arms in the wood, where he remained for over nine hours and got his feet frozen. From Uleaborg a dozen gendarmes were taken in the hold of a steamer belonging to the pilot service, confined within a space of not more than a couple of cubic sazhenes, a great part of which was already filled up with cargo. The air was so vitiated that the men lost their senses. In this cage they were kept for more than fifty-two hours. At Ioensuu, after disarming a gendarme, the rebels put him to the torture, pressing his fingers to the back of the hand, one of them shouting meanwhile, "that's how the Finns deal with the Russians!" From Kaske and Kristinestad the gendarme sergeants were expelled by armed bands under the command of Finnish officers, and the last of them at the very moment when his wife was giving birth to a child! Little wonder that there were gendarmes who went out of their minds!

in getting safely to the barracks, and so escaping the enraged mob who were ready to tear him in pieces. The rebels wreaked their vengeance on his quarters, where they ruined and scattered the greater part of all his possessions. The Governor of Vasa, Knipovich, likewise found it safer to take refuge with the troops; so also did the Land-Secretary of St. Michael's, the Finn Vuorinen. As to the acting Governor of Uleaborg M. Botstrem, he simply disappeared. The Governor of Kuopio, the Finlander Berg, was ordered immediately to quit, but neither horses nor train were provided for the purpose, and he fled the town in a small boat.

At the head of the movement in the Province of Abo was Count Armfeld, the friend of Governor Borgenstrem, who had been with him the evening before. All the efforts of this Governor were confined exclusively to isolating the military authorities and keeping the troops in barracks that they might not interfere with the course of the revolution. The detachment for the protection of the prison * was sent by order of the Governor, by a round-about way some six or seven miles long; other detachments were sent off without rifles, in the presence of the Governor the mob went through the performance of bringing out from the Hofgericht (Court of Justice) the Town Hall, the Police-station, and the schools, all portraits

^{*} Where was confined Reinikka who had attempted to assassinate the Governor of Viborg, M. Mjasoedov; the mob had planned to set him at liberty.

of the Emperor,* which were slashed and flung in the river then and there! The same fate attended the portrait of the ex-President of the Hofgericht, Streng, who had presided at the trial of the affairs of Schaumann, while two members of the Court who had given their opinions for the death sentence on Hogenthal were dragged out into the street, and beaten, people spitting in their mouths! Rumours of all this reached the barracks, and the news of the insults done to the portraits of the Emperor caused among the soldiers, and particularly among the Cossacks, extreme indignation and excitement; it cost their officers a great deal of trouble to keep them from marching out on their own account.

The Governor of Viborg, Baron Medem, unhesitatingly performed all that the revolutionaries demanded of him, and even went so far as to start sending, after the Manifesto of September 22, documents to the Chancellery of the Governor-General of Finland written in Finnish. All the leaders of the insurrection in the Viborg Province whom the gendarmes had arrested, the Governor released on their arrival by train from Helsingfors,† and even returned to them the very important documents that had been

† This shows that the railways were working for the benefit of the rebels.

^{*} These portraits it had been made obligatory, under Bobrikov, to display in all public offices and schools precisely as is done in Russia. Before this date it had been customary to display only "patriots," benefactors or pictures of an allegorical and anti-government meaning, such as the "Anfall"—the "Attack," which represents the two-headed Russian eagle falling upon a poor maiden, Finland.

taken by the gendarmes and proved the preparation of the armed insurrection. It was only with the declaration of the fortress as "in a state of war" (unhappily too late, and then only for a single day) that the authority in the town was wrested from the hands of the revolutionaries, and the Commandant, General Vishnjakov, reinstated the lawful police in their places, reinforcing them with armed soldiers. The military authorities also replaced the Russian flags that had been torn down. This act was carried out at St. Michael's with special solemnity in the presence of all the officials of the Provincial administration and to the strains of the Russian hymn.

Of all the Provincial administrations the only one that continued to perform its duties normally was that of Tavasthus. The Landsman of Ekenas, Zhadvoin, and of Lovisa, Sunneberg, were compelled to go on foot to Helsingfors, abandoning their districts; the same thing occurred to certain gendarmes and to the secretary of the Borgo police, Uotila. In the Province of Viborg fourteen crown provosts and landsmen, the inspector of common schools, Levedev, the priest Zotikov, several Russian teachers of both sexes and merchants known to be devoted to the Russian cause, were expelled. At Serdobol the Russian school with 30 pupils was dispersed, the school treasury confiscated, and the president of the school directors, chief of the local military recruiting station, Lieut.-Colonel Iltonov, was driven out while all his men and his family; he was compelled to go on foot all the way (100 miles) to Viborg, attempts were made to poison him on

the way, and he suffered several armed attacks, during which his daughter was nearly killed and he lost his horse.*

On November 6, the mail train bore Adjutant-General Prince Obolensky, no longer Governor-General of Finland, away for ever from that country. He was accompanied to the railway station by two or three intimates, the officials of the Chancellery by order of their Director, and one single member of the ex-Senate. The military, as well as both Finnish and Russian society, were conspicuous by their absence. "Think kindly of me when I'm gone!" were the last words of the Prince as the train moved off.

These parting words sounded almost like an echo of what was passing in the conscience of this magnate of ancient lineage and, after all, of Russian birth. At any rate it seems to us that so it ought to have been in fact.

However, for a Russian born it would be something more than difficult to think kindly of Prince Obolensky as Governor-General of Finland. Having now completed the relation of the facts of the October revolution in Finland it seems advisable to enlighten the Russian reader somewhat as to the ground work of the unprecedented success it attained, to cast a passing glance at the general character of the administration of Finland during those fourteen months that Prince Obolensky held the office of Governor-General.

From the very day of his assuming this office the Russian residents in Finland, both the public servants and

[•] Iltonov's full official report on the matter was printed in the Novoe Vremja and reprinted in a number of newspapers.

others were made to feel that the Prince entertained for them, as it were, a sort of indifference, not to say contempt, highly offensive to the national feelings of a Russian. Everything Russian seemed as if it no longer existed: even the careless and indifferent attitude towards the Russian charitable institutions, which under Bobrikov as well as under his predecessors, Counts Adlerberg and Heyden, had enjoyed the special patronage of the higher authorities, could not but make a most unfavourable impression on all Russians. Charity and the Russian school affairs, also in the hands of the "Russian Charitable Society in Finland," have for this country a very important significance, not merely from the ethical but also from the political point of view. No less important also is the care taken of the Orthodox Church and a protecting attitude towards its needs. All these aspects of the activity of Governors-General of Finland had been cultivated largely by former occupants of the post, while N. Bobrikov and his wife. Elizaveta Ivanovna, may be said to have sacrificed their own ease and comfort to devote every spare minute that could be snatched from the labour of administration to the interests of Russian charities, the Russian Church, and the Russian school. And not in vain! For how many new churches arose in Finland in those six years, how many nurseries of Russian culture spread their influence abroad during that period; how much money was collected and utilised to the profit of Russian interests! Under Prince Obolensky all this was changed; how far may be asked of those poor wretches

of Russian birth who applied to him for help. As to the Prince's attitude towards the Russian Church, it will suffice to note that he hardly ever attended the official services of the church on great public holidays, and on the saint's day of the cathedral (August 15) he arrived at church after the service was over in the midst of the parting words of the priest. This attitude lowered the prestige of Russian authority very greatly especially in the eyes of the common people. As to the school question it had to be content with a vast expenditure of verbiage without making a single step in advance. In making his obligatory official tour of all Finland the Prince entirely ignored the Province of Viborg-the concentration point of the Russian orthodox populations of Finland, as it is the oldest Russian province in that region—and confined his attention, like a mere tourist, to the beauties of Imatra and observing the effect of the waterfall on a number of wooden dolls thrown into it. The Province of Viborg is the cradle of orthodoxy in Finland; there is to be found the seat of the Archbishop of Finland, there are the ancient monasteries and holy places. Valaam and Konevo, there are the towns of Kexholm (anciently Korela) and Serdobol. this was omitted, left on one side, in the Prince's official tour. Indeed, the Archbishop he never visited at all, and only on his first arrival to take up his post met him and received him in his house, but in general he held aloof from the orthodox clergy. Finally, the important question of the systematic attempts to make Finns of the Karelians who still lean towards Russia and the Russians, and the significance in this connection of the seminary at Serdobol, questions which had been most attentively studied under Bobrikov, Prince Obolensky entirely disregarded, so that not a hair's-breath of progress was made in this direction and not once did he show any kind of interest in it.

Side by side with this indifference to everything that is dear to the heart of the Russian, and, which is of more importance, has enormous significance from the point of view of State interests, Russians could not help noticing a degree of friendliness and exquisite urbanity, hitherto unparalleled and somewhat painful to the national feelings of the Russians, which the Prince showed to all Finlanders and particularly to the Swedes. This manifestation made its appearance from the first day of his arrival, when the Russian officials were received more than coolly and instead of hearing any expressions of welcome, so dear to them after the loss they had just sustained in the death of N. Bobrikov at the hands of an assassin, were treated to a cursory remark merely to the effect that there were too many of them, and an unfriendly statement that each of them "who proved equal to his post would be left in it." At the same time, while the new Governor-General was extremely careless about the visits to be paid and received of the Russians, he was very punctilious in his visits to the Swedes, always putting them first, and never omitting to return a visit to each one, not excepting even notorious sedition-mongers. Yet he could not find time, later, to visit on his sick bed even the once Governor of Viborg, Mjasoedov, who had been struck

down at the post of duty by an attempt on his life; and this notwithstanding that the Prince several times passed through Viborg at the time. On the official tour through Finland, the first and only one, which partook rather of the character of a prolonged picnic than an administrative tour, the Prince took with him, not the Russian officials whose immediate knowledge of affairs might have been of assistance to him, but only a few that were officially unconnected with current events, and, besides a private friend, also some Finnish Senators who enjoyed his confidence. He rarely resorted to the services of his Russian subordinates, but principally utilised as his intermediary Senator Bergbom, who had acquired, already under Bobrikov, the rank of noble by Imperial grant, and had changed his name to the Finnish Vuorenkheimo. This Senator constantly served as interpreter, and whether it was owing to his inadequate knowledge of Russian or for some other reason, the Governor-General's speeches in his translations never failed to depart very widely from the authentic words, whether of the speeches uttered by or made to the Prince.*

During the first months that the Prince was in Helsingfors the Governor-General's official residence was literally besieged by Swedes "of all kinds and dialects and classes." Probably the consigne had been given by

^{*} It was generally a matter of comment that the speeches of Prince Obolensky to the deputations were subjected to a good deal of amendment and abbreviation in the official *Finland Gazette*, so that the texts did not correspond to the versions of the local papers.

some good folks, but at any rate there they all came creeping out of the holes they had hidden in: dismissed Senators, Governors deprived of their office by Imperial order, civil servants expelled the public service for sedition. nay, even some well-known members of the revolutionary organisations, who had been destined to exile by the Prince's predecessor and whose fate hung by a hair. The adjutant's list of visitors during this period would reveal some very pretty facts: it was just as if all the archives had been resuscitated at once and all the names unfavourably mentioned therein suddenly called forth and scattered about the reception rooms of the Governor-General like peas on a plate. All these gentry frequented the Prince's doorstep both at St. Petersburg and at Helsingfors; every visitor, provided only it was not a Russian but one of the aborigines, was always received at once and honoured with a prolonged conversation, without any regard for the customary hours of reception or the calls of duty. Of course, this manner of life reflected seriously on the course of the public service, as the reader may easily imagine Under N. Bobrikov the whole day was devoted to the duties of the service, beginning from nine o'clock in the morning till late in the evening, the only exceptions being a walk before dinner and an hour's siesta after, work beginning regularly at eight o'clock once more. With Prince Obolensky the hour appointed for the public service to begin was eleven o'clock, usually it began in fact at half-past, and often at noon. Luncheon occupied from one o'clock till half-past two and sometimes till

three, after which it was difficult to seize a minute for the public service. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the officials who had to present reports and take the instructions, etc., of the Governor-General, found themselves in his waiting-room much in the situation of those who "waited for the moving of the waters," and this applied to all persons in the service with or without portfolios.

In November, 1904, on his return from St. Petersburg the Prince brought with him Baron Rausch von Traubenberg,* a son-in-law of a former Governor-General of Finland, Count Heyden, who had an extensive acquaintance among the Swedes of Helsingfors. After going the round of all these friends and receiving their return visits, the Baron arranged in the Prince's official residence for his friends a banquet to which, besides his host and hostess, were also invited some of the Senators of that day with their Vice-President, afterwards Minister State Secretary for Finland, K. Linder. The meeting between the Old Finn Senators and their sworn foes the Swedes, many of whom were ardent and energetic members of the "kagal,"† could hardly have been marked by much "cordiality,"

^{*} Taking advantage of the Prince's hospitality the Baron, among other things, took the opportunity of acquainting himself with the secret report to the Emperor of Governor-General Bobrikov for the years 1898–1902. Some time later this report was printed in Swedish at Stockholm, and extracts from it were published in the Helsingfors newspapers.

[†] The secret organisation among the Swedes of Finland which practically, up to and after the period of Bobrikov's tenure of the post of Governor-General of Finland, holds the entire country in its hands. (Trans.)

and must have rather caused on both sides a good deal of deep heart-séarching.

On December 6, the Namesday of His Majesty the Emperor, at the conclusion of the service in church Adjutant-General Bobrikov was in the habit of inviting all who had been present in the cathedral to a gala luncheon, at which the health of His Majesty was solemnly drunk. Prince Obolensky acted very differently: so far from inviting anybody, he himself accepted an invitation to lunch from the Director of the Pilot Department, N. Sheman, who in the presence of a large gathering of his friends, all Swedes, made a special speech in which he likened the Prince "to the rising sun which had lighted up the Finnish land, driving off the darkness and dispersing the clouds." In the evening of the same day. at the Diet banquet given in the Imperial Palace at Helsingfors in the name of the Emperor there were present among the persons invited by Prince Obolensky, Governors removed by His Majesty from their offices, dismissed Senators and other persons of known anti-government tendencies. On the other hand the number of Russian military and civil officials invited was curtailed, even the holders of independent military commands being omitted, and those that were present had the pleasure of sitting down to table alternately with the sedition-mongers.

All these facts, taken as samples, and by no means exhaustive, explain why the Russians in Finland held such a very poor opinion of the Prince. Their disappointment was the more poignant, inasmuch as the coming of

Prince Obolensky was heralded by a fanfare in the Press, which represented him as a thorough Russian and a man perfectly capable of dealing with Finlander sedition. As such he was welcomed by papers which have always stood firm for a strong policy in Finland, the Novoe Vremja, the Moscow Gazette and the Svet.*

It was thus natural that when the Prince, here following the example of N. Bobrikov, on Easter night arranged a general "breaking of the fast" at his residence, the Russians responded to his invitations with great reluctance and it cost no small pains to the intimates of the Prince to secure enough Russians to make his apartments appear decently filled. Even so the majority of those present stayed in the Governor-General's official residence only so long as strict etiquette demanded, and after all the greatest part of the liberally provided viands remained untouched.

By the labours of Bobrikov and the Russian Governors the local police force had been brought to such a state, as regards its composition, that the Russian power was in a position to count securely on it as a faithful weapon upon which to rely. It was very difficult for the Finlanders to root up this sound foundation, so they began by disorganising and demoralising the police, baiting them in the newspapers and starting in the law courts a series of charges against them of political "provocation."

[•] The Finlanders, on the other hand, met the announcement of Bobrikov's successor in the foreign press with an universal wail of indignation, accounting it a plain symptom of the intention to continue what they called the "policy of violence."

In general it must be said that Mechelin from the moment of his return from exile became not only an intimate of the Adjunct Minister State Secretary Erstrem but also a constant visitor of Prince Obolensky.* He used to sit for whole hours with the Prince especially when the latter was in St. Petersburg, where it was still more convenient to converse far from the indiscreet eyes of the " people of the Bobrikov régime." What they found to talk about all this time is a matter of conjecture only. Possibly they may have been concocting the clauses of a new "Portsmouth" Treaty to take the place of the Fredriksharm Treaty. We must wait for the disclosure of the secret for another half century when some future historian will have access to the records of the jealously guarded archives.

The foregoing sketch of the October events in Finland is convincing in one respect, namely, that in these disorders the great mass of the Finnish people took no part whatsoever, and that they were not even so much as acquainted with the intentions of the revolutionaries. The latter assured themselves merely of the co-operation of the intelligentia, and a part of the working classes of the towns. The village people almost everywhere remained quiet; the leaders of the mob were usually Swedes and among them many former officers of the Finnish troops. All the returned exiles played the part of revolutionary delegates each directing operations in his own district.*

Just before his appointment to the post of Premier of Finland,
 Mechelin was also frequently a visitor at Count Witte's.
 Many of the members of the new Senate belong to the ranks

of these revolutionary agitators.

As to the working classes, the movement among them was somewhat distinct from the general movement; they had for their object certain private ends of their own about which the authorities, if they had taken the trouble to ascertain them, would probably have found it not difficult to come to some arrangement. The organised workmen of Finland are as yet little infected with "anarchism," though they are almost to a man Social Democrats; the deep mistrust which they feel towards the ruling class of "masters," the Swedes, who are also the most hostile element in the country to the idea of unification with Russia, makes this class rather the allies of the Russian Government, inasmuch as the genuine Finns, the mass of the population, and consequently its strength, will always prefer a peaceable modus vivendi with the Russians to the restoration of the former tyranny of the Swedes.

In any case the surrender of all Russia's interests in Finland which Prince Obolensky made on the demand of representatives of isolated political parties can in no way be justified. The circumstances, given but a crumb of energy and self-sacrificing devotion on the part of the highest representative of the Russian power, were not such as to demand any concessions. The conduct of the Prince is logically inexplicable. If no further back than the preceding December he had reported to the Emperor that any concessions whatsoever to Finland at any time and particularly at a time of crisis such as Russia was then passing through, could only be productive of irreparable harm to the State and would be understood by the

Finlanders not as the desire of promoting their welfare or as a gracious act, but solely and simply as a proof of the weakness of Russian authority and a pretext for new and still more insolent demands, how could Prince Obolensky bring himself to petition the throne for the issue of the Manifesto of December 22 according to the version concocted by Mechelin? This Manifesto by its whole content and even its form of expression, not excepting its title "on the restoration of order in the country in accordance with law," and its concluding passage concerning the union of the Finnish people only with their Monarch (without any mention of Russia), amounted to an unprecedented concession and a definite break with the policy of the immediate past. Had the Prince been really that heaven born administrator which he loved to fancy himself, he would have long before been compelled to settle in principle the question of the necessity of yielding to the demands of the "Grand Petition" or the possibility of these concessions. In the event of his deciding on the former, it is impossible to understand how he arrived at the method approved by him of examining the Petition piecemeal and passing on isolated questions in it to the Tagantsev Commission, unless this method was a mere effort to gain time; in the event of the latter decision. it was impossible to amend it even under pressure of altogether extraordinary circumstances—and the October events by no means came under that category.

As K. Skalkovsky very justly pointed out (v. Novoe Vremja, No. 10668) "Finland is not merely the property

of the dynasty: it has been bought at the price of Russian blood poured forth like water over its rugged soil; by the Fredrikshamn Treaty of Peace it became 'the property and sovereign possession of the Russian *Empire*' and not merely of the Russian *Emperor*."

It remains only to hope that the State Duma in virtue of the rights of control conferred upon it will not fail to attend to this matter and will regulate Russo-Finnish relations on principles profitable to the whole State, not merely in the interests of Finlander separatism, as the Finlanders are endeavouring to do, by their efforts to secure all that is to be got out of the fact that the Finnish Diet existed before the State Duma.

The error in statecraft of which Prince Obolensky was guilty was stupendous. At the present moment the only possible hope of retrieving his blunders lies in the State Duma,* for his successor in the post of Governor-General, N. Gerhardt, a protégé of Count Witte's, is already well stricken in years, a man who has lost all his energy and confessedly, as he himself declared to a Finlander interviewer soon after he took up his post, utterly ignorant of all matters relating to Finland.

N. Skalkovsky, who knew Gerhardt well, expresses the general apprehensions on his appointment (*Novoe Vremja*, No. 10671) in the following words: "How could anyone have thought it possible to find in him the

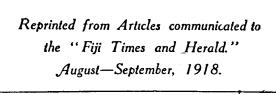
^{*} By the law of June 17/30, 1910, these hopes have been realised. Finland retains its local self-government to the full, but is subjected to the legislative Chambers of the State in all matters that concern the whole State, including Finland. (Trans.)

qualities needed to reconquer, if only by peaceful means, a border-land that had fallen away as Finland did by rebellion," and if he failed to hold more than a few months the very much less exacting post of Director of His Majesty's Privy Chancellery for the Institutions of the Empress Marie, from which he was dismissed, what hopes, says K. Skalkovsky, can be placed in him in his present extremely difficult and responsible post, so all-important from the point of view of the State? It looks very much as if the appointment had been made to please the "uncrowned king" Leo Mechelin, who will doubtless find no difficulty in ruling Finland through the new Governor-General.*

^{*} Gerhardt held the post of Governor-General but a short time and was succeeded by General Beckman, who gave place to the present holder of the post, General Sein, whose name has been mentioned in a subordinate capacity above. (Trans.)



FIJI.



" HINDU MORALS."

A Series of Articles contributed to the "Fiji Times and Herald," August—September, 1918.

There is no doubt in the world that Fin has got a "bad name" in certain quarters in consequence of Indian immigration.

In the earlier days of the agitation against indentured labour, the Indian in our midst was represented as poor, down-trodden, despised, englaved, and without hope in the world -a pitiable object, worthy of the compassion of all good men. The lie was very easily given to such untrue descriptions; and I think it is at last openly and generally admitted that the Indians' lot in Fiji is laid in pleasant places, and that compared with men of his own class in his native land, he is happy and affluent, and in an easy position to become more so.

But the agitator, silenced by hard facts on the subject of material conditions, shifts his ground, and is now directing all his thunderbolts against Fiji on account of alleged moral debasement in the Indian population. The Rev. C. F. Andrews is very bold

and attributes the low moral tone that undoubtedly prevails to the "indentured system," which he denounces as the root of all evil whether among indentured or unindentured Indians, the parent vice of the brood of other vices that the poor. Hindu is "led into" in our wicked figit! Let us look at some hard facts, but first let us clear our minds of cant.

We are denounced because there is a "shortage of women." Well, this is a state of things to be regretted, and remedied if possible. And it is righting itself among the Indians more quickly than one thinks. But what are the facts about the matter? The acts are that the proportion women to men in Fiji is higher amongst the Indians than amongst any other people who have immigrated to this Colony. The only really reliable figures are those of the official census. Look up the 'last census report, and you will find that the Indians have 54.54 females

every 100 males; Europeans have 54.37 females to every 100 males; Chinese have 20.05 females to every 100 males; Melanesians have 13.54 females to every 100 males. Other races have a greater grievance that the Indians in the shortage women, and that shortage, though it may be a contributing cause, cannot be the only cause of the undoubtedly prevalent sexual evil among our indian population.

Secondly, there is the matter of the "lines." Well, the lines are grad-

ually disappearing under a process of evolution. But again, what are the facts? The facts are, that the "lines" have been ordered by the Indian Government not only in Fiji, but wherever East Indians have been permitted to labour under Government regulation. If Mr. Andrews would tell us that the same moral evils that exist here do not exist in those other Colonies in which there has been indentured labour and where the "lines" system has existed, then palpably it cannot be the "lines" that are the cause of the evil. But if similar moral looseness does exist in those colonies, then why does Mr. Andrews run up and down denouncing Fiji as the one black sheep in the flock of Colonies that have had indentured labour? Mr. Andrews' knows that evil, worse than any in the "lines" (which we must not forget are subjected to strict Government inspection), is often organised and executed in private houses far away from any "lines," when men are Fed away by their lust and enticed.

And Mr. Andrews knows also that "lines"—aye, and not such good and healthy ones as those in Fiji—are to be found in many parts or India even to-day.

, Very much has been made of the fact that conditions among the Indian population of Fiji have only improved by slow degrees since indenture was introduced into the Colony. and then only after much agitation, and in face of strong opposition. Much cheap applause has been obtained, especially in Australia, by the use of this "argument." But progress everywhere is slow and gradual, if it is to be sure. This is so not only in newly-opened lands like Fiji, but ir every country under God's heaven. Are the Indians in Fiji the only people who have to complain of the alowness of progress in Fiji? Some improvements in the labourers' lot have had to be struggled for. Improvement, advance, progress are as a rule brought about after much tribulation. And if so, is that a reason for painting Fiji, and all its works and all its people black? I

Now, my chief object in writing this article is to state boldly, perhaps too boldly, the real cause of the moral looseness among the Indians here. Is everything we have read on the subject of morals in India false? Are the Indian Government reports not to be relied on? Mr. Andrews in his reports and in his speeches paints a picture of the Hindu, which may be a true portrait of the devoutly religious, but does not faithfully describe

trow not.

the "average" man; and still less is it true of those millions, hundreds of millions, of Indians from which class our labourers have been chiefly gathered. I state this on the strength of conversations I have had with men and women who know India as well as, or better than, Mr. Andrews, and who to a large extent sympathise with him. They have one and all told me when I have read to them Mr. Andrews' reports, that he idealises the Indian character, and this is borne out by nearly every book written on the subject by outside observers.

Let us quote from a standard book ---probably the standard book-a Look entitled "Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies," by the Abbe Dubois, who, in the words of a prominent Hindu, the Hon. D. B. S. Ragnava lyengar, "devoted thirty years of his life to the subject of his book. To effect his purpose he adopted the garb, the manners, and, as he says, the prejudices of the people among whom his lot was cast; won their respect and confidence; and was held by them in quite as much reverence as one of their yogis or gurus." His work has recently been republished by the Oxford University Press, with notes and corrections by a distinguished professor of the Madras University. He lived some years ago, but the editor says, "The general accuracy of the Abbe's observations has nowhere been impugned." " The Hindu," a leading Indian native paper, in reviewing it, says, "The book is as valuable to-day as it ever

was . . . the bulk of the people in India have remained substantially unaltered since the time of the French missionary." And a host of Hindu leaders have spoken in the same strain.

Speaking of Hindu children he tells us: "The knowledge of evil always comes before the first dawnings of leason. At the time of their lives when, according to the laws of nature, the passions should remain unawakened, it is not at all unusual to find children of both sexes familiar with words and actions which are revolting to modesty . . . the licentious conversation that they are always hearing around them, the lewd songs and obscene verses that their parents delight in teaching them as soon as they begin to talk, the disgusting expressions which they learn and use to the delight of those who hear them and who applaud such expressions as witticisms; these are the foundations on which the young children's education is laid, and such are the earliest impressions they receive."

He goes on later to say: "Of course, it is unnecessary to say that, as they get older, incontinence and all its attendant vices increase at the same time. It really seems as if most of the religious and civil institutions of India were only invented for the purpose of awakening and exciting passions towards which they have already such a strong natural tendency. The shameless stories about their deities, the allegorical meaning of so many of their every-

try.

"day customs and usages, the public independent of the surface of

ples themselves the scene of their abominable debauchery; all these things seem to be calculated to excite the lewd imagination of the in-

habitants of this tropical country and give them a strong impetus towards thertinism."

The order to prevent the coasequages of their precocious sensuality parents hasten to marry their children as early as possible. Yet marriage under these circumstances does not always prove a very powerful restraint."

And he goes on to speak of the prevalence of concubinage, of the profilgacy of the widows who are not allowed to re-marry (there are nearly twenty-six and a-half millions of them in India), of unnatural vices in "a country where courtesans abound," of the "outward propriety" which, in inite of all secret vice, they are most particular about. He tells us truly that the Hindu women are "naturally chaste," which is the more to be wondered at, and admired, considering how early "the licentious habits of Hindu men are formed."

(In the first instalment of this ar-

cause immigrants have brought with them something of their own character and habits. To defame Fiji rather than to fight the evil is the act of an "agitator," and not of a "prophet." And if it is retorted that we should take the best in a community in judging the character of the community, I would ask: Have we no desert Indians in Fiji? Of course, there are; I know many of them, pure, respect-

able, honest, industrious and brainy,

who would be a credit to any coun-

of Mr. Andrews to defame Fifi be-

Now, every hones' man and woman in Fiji is just as anxious as is Mr. Andrews, and perhaps more so, that Fiji shall be a healthy place, morally, to live in. But an uplifting of moral life is a matter of character, and can only be effected slowly in individuals and in society by the influence of education, of civilisation, and of religion. And especially, of religion. Which brings me to my last point.

labour in Fiji, uttered some pregnant words. At the conclusion, and as the conclusion of a long argument, he said of the Indians in our midst: "The abandonment of religion has led to an abandonment of morals. Whatever may help to bring back religion

Mr. Andrews, in his first report on

will help to bring back morals also.

. . With the improvement in morals other changes will follow." The emphasis is mine. Now it is a sad, but striking fact, that in the Australian reprint of that report, he has omitted the words I have quoted. I wonder why? Is it that on his first visit he was indeed the "prophet" rather than the "agitator?"

"Whatever may help to bring back religion will help to bring back morals also." I should like to know from him, What religion? Does he pretend the Hindu "religion"? Then it is the Hindus of India who must cend the missionaries to "bring it back"-for to teach religion is no duty of any Government, even of the Fiji Government! And Mr. Andrews knows well enough that the Hindu religion is not a missionary religion, and, moreover, is so bound up with customs and social life peculiar to India, that it can never be brought tack to the men in Fiji.

In my opinion, it is a misnomer to speak of "Indian custom" here in Fiji. Look at the celebration of the Tazia every year, a distinctively Mahometan ceremony, performed here by Hindus "in accordance with Indian custom." Why, no Hindu in India could take part in it except at the cost of social ostracism. Or, let us take another and a more important instance. As recently as May last, the then Governor assented to a new Marriage Ordinance. 1t is an excellent Act, uniform in its requirements for all classes in our mixed community. It is intensely

fair: it prevents any kind of clandestine marriage, it imposes a heavy penalty on anyone presuming to pretend to marry a couple without legal authority. It recognises any marriage performed by Christian, Mahometan, Hindu, Confucian, or what not-provided the "minister" first registers himself or is registered as an accredited person authorised to perform the marriage ceremony according to the rites of his particular religion. I said above it was uniform in its working, and in its penaltiesbut I was wrong: it is uniform for all races and religions except the Indian. But in section 60 of that Ordinance there is a provision "that nothing contained in this section or in other sections (imposing penalties for breach of the Ordinance) shall apply to the marriage of Indians according to Indian custom." And the Attorney General told the Legislative Council that this proviso was inserted by order of the Indian Government. What is a marriage "according to Indian Custom"? In a Court of Justice in India, there is one test ceremony by which it is decided whether the marriage was completely performed or not. This ceremony is that of the saptapadi, or the seven steps taken by the bridal couple three times around the family fire. Now this ceremony, essential in India, is not recognised or practised in Fiji at all Fenerally, if at all. Are the marriages performed without this essential ceremony "marriages according to Indian custoom"? It would be delicious to hear, say, Dr. Brough and

Mr. Bartenay arguing the point before our learned C.P.M. There would have been no hardship whatever to the Hindu to have come into line with all other religions in this matter. But we have a new law, and an excellent law which all races but one have to obey, and that the Indian. and by order of the Indian Government! In the opinion of many wise people here, these irregular Indian marriages are the chief cause of Indian crime. Is it not time we either got an "expert" from India on Indian "custom," or ceased bringing this undefined and, as applied to the customs of Indians in Fig., ridiculous phrase, into the Ordinances of our Colony" Indian custom has changed in Fig. A new environment has meant the acquisition of new customs, new habits, new ideas-some worse, some let us hope better, than the old. And the sooner it is recognised, the better for the Indian and for Fiji. Their old "custom" has gone or is going.

The Indian here has chances that the vast majority of them could not get in their own land—chances of betterment materially, morally, and intellectually. He has the same liberty that every other race poss-

esses. Nay, I go so far as to say he is in many respects favoured above men of other races. He is at perfect liber; to return to India -many, very many, choose freely to remain here. He is well off, and happy. Provision of elementary education is being airanged for him, which the Government does not arcange for the children of the European He has separate chances of "getting on to the land," which the European hasn't. And as their co-religionists, like the Priest the Levite ın Testament story, leave the wounded man (in Fiji) and pass by on the other side-or make him merels a text for agitation-let "religion be brought back to them" by other Good Samaritan religions that are missionary religions indeed. This is being attempted. If it meets with success in any way, and it deserves men's sympathy and help, "morals will come pack also," and in the words of Mr Andrews, already quoted, "with the improvement in metals other changes will follow"-physical, mental, and material changes, which, I am positively certain every respectable citizen in Fiji would rejoice to see.



"INDIAN HEALTH."

A REPLY TO C. F. ANDREWS,

Reprinted from "The Fiji Times and Herald" August—September, 1918.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews has issued still another "Report"—this time on the "Health Conditions" obtaining amongst Indian labour in Fig.

Many in Fiji would be relieved in their minds if Mr. Andrews would graciously favour us with a plain answer to a plain question-"To whom does he 'report'?" It is not. we know, to the Government or people of Fiji, for he has no accredited position here. The Government of India sent its own Commission (Messrs, McNeill and Chimman Lal), who reported, of course, to the Government which sent them. Andrews came in 1915 (as he tells us in his first "Report") without any credentials or letters of introduction," and was "treated with a courtesy that was practically unbroken." What body, official or otherwise, does Mr. Andrews now represent? what body or society should an official refutation of his mis-statements

be addressed? I know that some anxiety is also felt in Australia as to his real position.

Mr. Andrews lays claim to his "knowledge" of Ingian conditions on account of "constant residence among the people at close quarters." This is ridiculously untrue. He arrived in Fiji for the first time on November 5th, 1915, and during that visit he spent 5 days (including the days of going and coming back) at Nausori and 4 days at Navua. All the rest of his visit he was in Suvaand he left on December 10th of the same year. He could not truthfully. be said to have had "constant residence" among the Indians for a single day, for both at the Rewa and Navua and in Suva he lived with Europeans. On page 56 of his first "Report" he speaks of a "European gentleman at whose house we were staying," and of "a daily stream of (Indian) visitors from morning to

as was said of King David in the cave of Aduliam, "Everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them?" He had no constant residence among them.

The thus describes his second visit to the same a goose, and a gauder, which he should recall and apply. It is simply not true that Mr Andrews has got his "knowledge" by "constant residence among the Indian people in Fiji at close quarters." He has been graciously allowed by the Government, although he came without any credentials, free access

He thus describes his second visit, or rather a portion of it. "During the past year I have been intimately in touch with those Indians who are living away from the Europeans out. on the free settlements." During the past year! He did not arrive in Fiji till June 14th, and he left in October He was about ten weeks altogether on the north of the island. He visited Nadi, Sigatoka, Lautoka, Ba, and Tayua. At all these places he stayed with Europeans or Government officials. A fortnight altogether he was staying with Indians. Ra he did not visit, except by passing along on the "Adi Keva"-he landed on Ellington Wharf, but did not visit even the Ellington 'lines' Labasa and Taveum he has never seen, and during the visit he spent the greater part of his time, the guest of Europeans, in Suva

One of Kipling's well-known poems tells us of a certain "Paget, MP," who, after a month's tour of India, goes back to England and the House of Commons with a thorough "krowledge" of India and its peoples, and is ready, in fact poses as an authority, to solve all its problems. Mt. Andrews, I am sure, appreciated the satire—but there is a proverb about

has got his "knowledge" by "constant residence among the Indian people in Fiji at close quarters." He has been graciously allowed by the Government, although he came without any credentials, free access to all registers, and he has been given papers, reports, and documents. In the seclusion of Bolpur he has picked out from them anything that might convey to the ignorant a bad impression and help to damn Fijl. Meanwhile we beg readers of his "Report" to bear constantly in mind the modest and truthful admission he makes on page 1, "The present report must necessarily exhibit the

weakness of a single individual

opinion,"

Again, his "Report" abounds in such phrases as "I have been told," "I have heard ropeatedly," "I hear," "Someone told me," "It was stated by many," "I was told of a certain Lieutenant Governor," etc, followed by some ghastly detail or some palpably untrue statement. With that charming confidence of his and allprevailing assumption of infallibility, which the person who is not hit by it may appreciate and consider unanswerable, he wishes those to whom he reports to accept his statements on his authority, who "has heard it" A lawyer in any court would waive aside three-quarters of his "Report" as founded on "no evidence." myself am coming to the conclusion, after perusing this latest "Repart,"

that, like King Charles' head to poor Mr. Dick in David Copperfield, the iniquity of Fiji is an obsession to Mr. Andrews, and warps every judgment he makes. For most of the silly, petty gossip which he retails is quite false—but it is impossible to answer it. Mr. Andrews seems to proceed on the lines—throw plenty of mud, some will stick.

Once again, one constantly feels it is not Mr. Andrews' "facts" which are likely to hurt, as the insinuations he makes, which are likely to mis-Let me take two instances out of very many. He writes "The of the Indian children picked up in the coolle lines are vitiated at the outset of life." insinuation is that in India it is otherwise. My readers who remember the account given in a recent article in this paper on Hindu Morals will know this to be false. And anyone who has been at Nukulau after the arrival of an immigrant ship, and has seen the doings and heard the talk and the songs of the Indian children who have come straight from India and have never seen the "lines," will have bad first-hand evidence of the falsity of Mr. Andrews' insinuation. Again, writes, "The Indian woman, who has become utterly depraved, and taken to a life of prostitution . . . in the 'lines.'" I would appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. In Mr. Andrews' first "Report" (p. 31) he says, "From them (i.e., the Indian women) we did undoubtedly gain an impression that the number of prostitutes recruited must have been large, perhaps in excess of Natal or elsewhere. It also appeared to us that this number was increasing rather than diminishing." Where then did these women "become deprayed" and "take to" a life of prostitution? Where but in India? The insinuation is that they all came spotlessly pure, and that the awful condition of the "lines" has been responsible for their deprayity.

In concluding these remarks introductory to the consideration of his new "Report," it will be seen from a perusal of the "Report," thal Mr. Andrews makes no direct state ment either that from a health point of view Fiji is an undesirable place for Indians or that the Medical Department of the Colony is either negligent or incapable. On the contrary, he asserts quite definitely if is a good place for Indians to live in, and that he was "impressed by the ability not only of the head of the Department (Medical), but also of the staff which he had under him." But while 11/2 columns are given it the "Report" to the good points of Fiji, he occupies 131/2 columns it details which "tell in the opposite And the prevailing im direction." pression a reader outside colony would carry away from a per usal of this "Report" would certainly be-Mr. Andrews tells us Fiji frou a climatic point of view is a fine place, but the plagues and disease there are so serious as to over-ridand destroy all the good conditions Which, in the opinion not only of the

people who live here, but also in that of the highest scientific authorities in the colony, is absolutely a wrong idea. And who is Mr. Andrews to decide the matter?

II.

"FACTS WHICH SHOULD BE GIVEN THEIR FULL WEIGHT."

Mr. Andrews at the beginning of

his "Report" reminds us that the ultimate issue will often have to be faced, as, to whether any further immigration under new conditions of labour should be contemplated, or whether, on the contrary, all future emigration from India to Fin should be discouraged. I take it, then, the his "Report" on health conditions is to assist in coming to a conclusion whether Fin, as compared with india, is or is not a healthy place for Indian labour. A comparison should be made with India and with India only.

To-day I will confine rayself to the pros. of the argument—Shruld Indian labour be encouraged to const to Fig?

Alisten to Mr Andrews "More and more it has been borne in upon me by what I have seen that Fiji, as far as the conditions provided by nature are concerned, is a good place for Indians to live in."

"It is surprising to see the change which has come over the physical growth of the people in a place like Nadi—the breadth of shoulder in the growing lads and their increased

stature." But why surprising, Mr. Andrews?

He tells us what of course everyone here knows that there is no malaria in Fiji, and adds, "those who have been previously malaria-ridden in India soon shake off (in Fiji) every lingering taint of the disease." He draws attention to the 'finely proportioned physique of the attle Indian children.' "The swollen stomach caused by enlarged spicen and the spindle-shaped lower limbs are noticeable only by their absence." Which means, if it means anything, enlarged spleens and spirdle-shaped iower limbs are quite common things m India "Both girls and boys seem to be taller than children of their own age in India." Speaking of a visit he paid to Buniasi, where nearly a thousand Tamils have settled, he tells us, "Anyone coming from India would be struck with the health and prosperity on every side"

Cows, he tells the prespective labourer, can be kept "with ease and security" by Indians in Fiji. Why, "almost every Indian family has its own milk supply" Cows are cleap. "It was no uncommon thing to find even indentured Indians having cattle of their own."

And all this is true. But how in the world Mr. Andrews can say the above is consistent with the descriptions he has so often given to the world of the Indian labourer as miserable, poor, downtrodden, despised, and enslaved, Heaven only knows! Larour in Fiji is "slavery," he has said-

Well, if "slavery"—such "slavery"—
means such increased nealth,
strength, and physique, with the
possession of 'three acres and a
cow"—there's more to be said for
such "slavery" than has been freamed
of in Mr. Andrews' philosophy.

Mr. Andrews tells those to whom t he "reports" that there is no malaria in Fiji. But why does he stop at malaria? We haven't had here any of those many kinds of fevers which are the commonest cause of death in India. Cholera is 1ampant in India: there has never been a case in Fijt. Small-pox has never entered here: it is responsible for millions of deaths in India. And that awful scourge, which since its, introduction in India up to the end of 1916 had carried off over 9.258,000 Indian people—the plague, Fiji has never known a case of it. About 25,000 are known to be killed in India every year by snakes, and there is not a venomous snake in Fiji. I might go on for columns with such comparison. "A good place for Indians to live in," says Mr. Andrews. Yes, from a health point of view compared with India, Fiji is a paradise. No wonder that in the past thirty years considerably less than one in four of those Indians who came out here for labour and were entitled to free passages returned to India.

I was astounded to find that Mr. Andrews makes no comparison of the death-rates of India and Fiji. In the consideration of the health of a place enquiry as to its death-rate comes

first. What are the facts, the What is the death-rate in Indians Fiji? Here is a conclusive test-fact the only really conclusive test to the comparative healthiness of t two countries for Indians.

Now the Indian Government adm that the reporting of vital occu rences in India is still defecti though measures are being taken secure more complete and accura vital statistics. The death-rate India as published is, therefore, or approximate-but it will be borne mind the rate given may be below, cannot be above, the true ma The lowest point was reached in 19 when the recorded death-rate 28.72 per thousand. In 1908 it w as high as 38.21! In 1915 (the la year of which I have the record) was 29.94 per thousand.

Turn to the figures for Indiana Fiji. I will give in tabular form the last eight years the death-re of Indians in this colony:—

	per	thousa
1910		25.91
1911		18.24
1912		16.53
1913		14.10
1914		13.43
1915		10.62
1916	• •	8.69
1917	• •	9.61

The death-rate in India is th times that of the death-rate of Indians in Fiji. Could there be more convincing proof of superiority of Fiji to India from of the general healthiness of Indian labour in Fiji (for the rate is for all Indians, including those who are under indenture), or of the care and success of our Medical Department?

health point of view for Indians, or

No wonder Mr. Andrews could not refrain from remarking in his first "Report"—"It was a pleasure to see the chubby little Indian children in the free Indian settlements, so different from those we knew in malaria-stricken Bongal and in the ap-country districts of India."

III.

"FACTS WHICH TELL IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION."

"Now Naaman was a great man with his master, and honourable: he was also a mighty man of valour—but he was a leper."

We now come to the consideration of those 13½ columns of matter in Mr. Andrews' "report," which, to use Mr. Andrews' phrase, "tell in the opposite direction," i.e., 'hose facts which in the opinion of Mr. Andrews make it advisable to discourage further emigration of Indians to Fiji.

What are the facts pulling the other way? Indian labour is to be discouraged from coming to Fiji because hookworm, dysentery, leprosy, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases are found in this colony. There is no attempt to show that these diseases are more prevalent here than in India. He does not even state that he "has heard" so. But here

they are, these five unfortunate diseases, and the fact that they are here "tells in the opposite direction." Could anything show the world how hopeless it is to try and satisfy Mr. Andrews?

Let me recall the hard fact that the lowest death-rate ever known in India is more than three times the death-rate of all Indians in Fiji for

the last year. That doesn't suit Mr. Andrews, so he omits all mention of death-rates—the very first thing a man "reporting" on health conditions

would look at. Had we in Fiii a million diseases which they haven't

in India, Fiji would still be healthier than India for the Indian so long as

the Fig death-rate continued to be as it is at present less than one-

third that of Mr. Andrews' adopted land.

But another hard fact—ard let 't

be borne in mind—all these diseases exist in India, and they are more prevalent in India than in Fiji. Yet Mr. Andrews wishes the Fiji people

to think him a fair man!

We will examine his "report" on
these five diseases, one by one--

1. HOOKWORM (ankylostomiasis). This disease was, and is, imported from India. The Indian Government Commissioners (Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal) stated in their official report that "all plantations combined recorded only 651 cases of ankylostomiasis among an indentured population of over 15,000, and it is unlikely that the majority of these cases were infected in Figl." The child

mortality in Fig. never approaches

that in India, where it is appalling. Mr. Andrews admits in his report that "the medical authorities are making strenuous efforts to combat this disease, and they have lately had the assistance of an international commission from the Rocke-Ieller Institute in America."

Comparing India with Fiji from the point of view of health, why is the presence of hookworm a "fact" that "tells" against Fiji? It would be hard for Mr. Andrews or anyone else to say.

II. DYSENTERY. Mr Andrews "reports" as follows.—"This disease was already prevalent in Fiji when the Indians came, and it has followed them into the coohe 'lines' 'Is this fair, or even honest? Dysentery, as everyone in the world knows, is one of the chiefest causes of death in India. To burke this fact and insinuate that the 'lines' are the cause of the Indians having dysentery is just contemptible.

But after quoting the official tables he concludes: "Such figures... show clearly what may be accomplished... where a disease such as dysentery is taken thoroughly in hand and scientific methods of prevention are employed."

Why, in heaven's name, should all this "tell" against Fiji?

TII. LEPROSY. I say without fear of contradiction that leprosy is as prevalent in India as in Fiji, but more has been done in Fiji than in India to stamp it out. On this question I sought the opinion of our Chief Medical Officer, who told me that it

is an undoubted fact that there are Iar fewer lepers found in the Colony than before the establishment of the -Wakogai Asylum. Every sensible man should prefer his opinion to that of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, who says "leprosy shows no signs at all of dying out." Lepers often live for many years after contracting the disease, and naturally (as even Mr. Andrews might understand), until the disease is stamped out from the mainland, the number of inmates at Makogai will increase, although the disease may be all the time diminish-Out of 249 lepers at Makogai at the end of 1915, 92 were Indians, "a considerable proportion of the total" according to Mr. Andrews

No lepers-as Mr. Andrews knows perfectly well, although he pretends to be ignorant of 1t-remain in any hospital outside Makogai. whom he saw, "whose lot is most pitiable," in "three or four different hospitals" and in the Suva Hospital were there simply awaiting transport to the Leper Island; and they are included in the numbers at Makogai in the report of the year. Let me remind Mr Andrews that he wrote in February, 1916. "We heard from inc Indians themselves about the truly noble work that was being done among the lepers on the Leper Island."

This "Report" endeavours to make people imagine there is no leprosy in India. Many new-comers have developed the disease immediately after their arrival, and very possibly had it hiready in the stage of incubation

when examined at the island of Nukulau. And if, as the gentleman states, there is "something about Fiji which favours the spread of this disease," that unknown factor must be far more in evidence in India, where loprosy is as prevalent as in this colony.

What, I ask again, is there in all these facts that, in a comparison of India with Fiji from a health point of view, should be judged to "tell" against Fij:?

IV. TUBERCULOSIS. this subject Mr. Andrews is delicious! fle treats us to a disquisition on the Fijian race, trots out the good old measles epidemic of years ago, compares the virility of the Indian and the Fijian, concludes that the Indian . will survive because the "Indian stock is hardier than the Fijian," but "that the whole Fijian race would disappear from the map of the world." (Races on maps, Mr. Andrews?) And this catastrophe all due to the migrations of labour' "If, through any culpable negligence of Governments or large (sic) employers, introducing artificial conditions of Indian labour. such a disaster should happen it would mean a direct loss to humanity which could never be made good." Notice, all hangs on an "if"-and there is much virtue in an "ii." He produces no evidence of any cuipable negligence at all. Let him produce the evidence Honestly, reading this portion of his report makes one think he is "reporting" to the I W.W.

But let us get to hard facts He quotes the figures taken from the

medical reports of tuberculosis cases: Let me give them.

1912, 63 cases out of 13,625 indentured, i.e., .46 per cent., or 1 case in 216,
1913, 61 cases out of 18,278, i.e.;

.33 per cent., or 1 case in 299.
1914, 75 cases out of 15,386, i.e., .48
per cent., or 1 case in 205.

1915, 52 cases out of 15,143, i.e., .34 per cent., or 1 case in 291.

He finds the figures too low for his case, so he writes "this table bears out the presumption that a very large number of Indian sufferers are never treated in the hospital at all." Possibly so, but why does the table bear out this presumption? So he proceeds, and as usual with him in announcing some flagrant inaccuracy. he opens with "the fact is." "The fact is that, in Fiji, the plantation hospitals are practically closed to free Indians." To this statement. prefaced by "the fact is," I would speak as M. Clemenceau replied to the Austrian Emperor-Mr. Andrews has lied Hundreds of free Indians are treated in plantation hospitals. Moreover, poverty is no obstacle, for statutory provision has been made for atment there, and for pay-H fees by the Government in cases of destitution. And Mr. Andrews knows this. He has been told it again and again.

So also when he draws his pathetic picture of the poor Indian "who is not living in the coolie lines" (lucky man in the "lines"), "lingering on," "untended and uncared for"—one more unfortunale—he is uttering a delibe-

rate untruth. Before the war broke out (and certainly the war has dislocated medical arrangements as well as most other arrangements in Fiji) an increasing number of district medical 'officers and well-trained native medical practitioners were scattered in every province and district of Figi. To these DM.O. and NM.P. any and every free Indian had, and

medical records show that the free Indian is not slow to take advantage of their services. And Mr Andrews has been told this over and over, and over again, by officials, by planters, and by private individuals. Everyone here will resent, as com-

has, absolutely free access, and the

ing from a man who comes "without of Bolpur, the insinuation contained in his concluding words on this subject, "the danger of an increase of the disease among both races is not to be put out of court or treated fightly on account of somewhat encopraging statistics." Who minimises the "courge of consumption" It is a dirty insinuation, unbacked by a single tittle of evidence, and worthy of a man who depicts our planters as a body of slave-drivers

In an enervating, moist climate like ours it will continue to be a matter of concern and of care to Fiji. But since Mr. Andrews admits "it is generally agreed that the Indian immigrants brought the infection of tuberculosis with them"-that is, they introduced it here from India where it rages-then I ask again, why

IS а world-wide

Tuberculosis

in a comparison of India with Fig. from the point of view of health should this damn Fiji and be a cattle for discouraging the emigration of labour?

I must leave to a further chapter the question of venereal diseases.

CONCLUSION.

I now come to the question Venereal Discase among Indians in Fiji, to which subject Mr. Andrews devotes half his "Report." I have no wish whatever to minimise the importance of the subject. It should be borne in mind that the prevalence of, and danger from, venereal diseases any credentials," living in the security . has come to be recognised in all parts of the world Great Britain has had its Royal Commission, Australia has had Select Committees to investigate secret diseases, a vigorous campaigh against syphilis has been going on 101 a long time in France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, America, and possibly India. And it has to be face

> There is no doubt that in Fiji it is almost entirely confined to the Indian population. I have no means at hand of comparing its prevalence in Fig. with its prevalence in India: This is a matter for Mr. Andrews 😿 take up He has made no comparison in his "Report."

> Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lai, whose authority we can accept, they being accredited Commissioners from

the Government of India, tell us that "no doubt the morality of an estate (in Fiji) compares very unfavourably with that of an Indian village," and that the trouble originates in the class of women who emigrate." Speaking of our immigrant Indian women, they put down a third as married women. accompanying their husbands. have tested this conjecture of theirs from the figures of the last five There have been 1082 married women out of 3166 arrivalsalmost exactly one-third/) They tell us further that of the remainder a "small percentage" are ordinary prostitutes, and the rest are mostly widows and women who have run away from their husbands or have been put away by them" (p. 313). This third class is described later in their report as "women who are or who would become prostitutes India." (p. 319.) Admittedly, then, the character of the women sent to us would be a low one from the point of view of sexual morality.

And on all the estates are a number of young unmarried men, "with much more money than is needed for their personal wants," as the Commissioners put it.

I submit the disproportion in the numbers of the sexes cannot be the sole cause of the evil. If there had been a higher proportion of women, and these women all prostitutes, surely, though it might have diminished the extent of venereal disease, it would not have avoided the moral evil. Morcover, as has been shown before, figures of the

census show that the proportion of women to men is higher amongst Indians in Fiji than amongst the Europeans or any other immigrant people. The Melanesians were introduced without a compulsory proportion of women—in fact without any single women—and the results have not been with them as with the Indians.

There can be no doubt that the average Indian man in Fiji is licentious and unbridged. His home upbringing makes for incontinence. He comes predisposed to lust. (A little fact in illustration occurs to mewhen the Estate holidays were being embodied in an Ordinance enquir showed that the most popular festival amongst them was the Holi Festival, the festival of the god of lust · -a festival observed in India by the parading of dancing girls and the singing of the lewdest songs). Much of his literature is pornographic. Moral statistics show incontrovertibly that progress in civilisation and morals does not depend upon punishand prophylactic measures against excesses of passion, but only upon the subjective improvement and strengthening \mathbf{of} the individual. Hindu tendencies have all "told in the opposite direction." And the man finds a fruitful field owing to the class of woman sent out from India.

It is undeniable that there is immorality, and also, alas! a good deal of venereal disease. It would be strange if there were not. We will look at some of the statements in the

report to test whether or not the extent is abnormal .

First, Mr. Andrews tells us, "the babies porn of syphilitic parents carry the marks of the disease upon their faces, and the death-rates tell their own tale." But he does not give the death-rates here, i.e., the infant mortality rate. I will give them for the last five years.

1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 132.07 145.4 117.6 82.3 59 1 giving an average per year of 107.3 per thousand. It is high, but it rnows improvement. It is hardly necessary to say that every infant who dies in Fiji does not die of congenital syphilis-the figures are those of infant mortality. And when we and that the infant mortality in the United Kingdom was 104 per thousand in 1916, the figures speak well--and not badiy-for Fiji.

In 1916 there were 2150 Indian babies born, and only 518 Indians (of all ages) died. 3122 Fijian babies were born—2267 Fijians (of all ages) died. I may put that years' figures of births and deaths thus—

With the birth in Fiji of every 100 European babies there were in the same year (proportionately) 4683 Europeans died;

With the birth in Fiji of every 100 Fijian babies there were in the same year 72.93 Fijians who died,

With the birth in Fiji of every 100 Indian babies there were in the same year only 24.15 Indians who died

Considering that Indian immigration has been going on for over 30 years, and we have now what may call an average-aged Indian community, the fact is, as Mr. Andrews would say, significant. The proportion of births to deaths is higher amongst the Indians than amongst any other

Mr. Andrews gives the number of

intants who in 1914 and 1915 were certified to have died from congenital syphilis; but he couples with them those who died from "debility" and from "premature birth," Why does he do so? Is it an insinuation that infants dying from "debility" or in "premature buth" must necessarily have been born of parents suffering from venereal disease, It is well known that the contrary is the fact. I cannot follow Mr. Andrews line by line through his 'Report," but I say emphatically, in reply to many insinuations in his writings, that there is no reason in Fiji why any Indian couple should not continue to live happily together as man and wife, if both so desire: that there are no regulations which prevent man and wife being faithful to each other, if they so desire that there 13 no encouragement given to vice in Fig. and that there is no compulsory prostitution The statement that it simply is "not possible for an Indian woman to keep her chastity in the coolie 'lines,'" if she desire to do so, is untrue. Such a statement being a universal proposition is disproved by a single exception. I can disprove it myself to Mr. Andrews or to the "educated indians" whom he

quotes.

Coming to the birth-rate, Mr. Andrews says, "The birth-rate is being adversely affected," and he insinuates that it is because of venereal disease alone. He should know that decreasing birth-rate is a world-phenomenon, and by no means confined to Fig. Our figures stand at 38.25 per thousand, and is higher among the Indentured than among the "free" Indian population. Mr. Andrews admits that this rate is "by no means a low one." In India it is only 393. Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal suggest in their report (p. 319) that "probably the best guarantee against infidelity to regular or irregular unions is the birth of children." Considering that in India the males cutnumber the females in the proportion of 100 to 95.4, while in Fiji amongst Indians the proportion is enly 100 to 545, the fact that our birth-rate is almost equal to that of India is a most hopeful feature in itself. And, moreover, as Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal point out (p 320), the "proportion of females steadily rises in the resident population."

Lastly, in spite of "what has been stated by many Europeans," and in spite of "one of the highest authorities with whom Mr. Andrews discussed the question," all that Mr Andrews has written on p. 8 of his "Report" on the danger of symbilia spreading from the Indians to the Fijians, is pure bunkum. The highest authority in this colony has assured me—and I have talked over the matter also with very many of the medi-

cal staff, and their opinions coincide with those of their chief-that it is an established fact that Fijians do not suffer from syphilis; and, moreover, that our medical officers are convinced that in consequence of all Fijians having had "yaws" Fijians are immune to syphilis. The "certified" cases of Figians suftering from syphilis. which Mr. Andrews has picked up from some annual report or other, were not Figures at all They were "cases" of Indians suffering from the disease who were being treated in Fajian hospitals, and therefore came in the returns of those hospitals. So M: Andrews' lugubrious prognostications in this direction are ungrounded. and he may rest in peace.

I do not belittle the extent of syphilis in Fiji amongst the Indians. But when a great Frenchman can say of Europe. "In co-operation with intoxication and alcoholic tuberculosis, syphilis plays in our day the part which in the Middle Ages was played by bubonic plague"; when such plays as M. Brieux's "Les Avaries" (Damaged Goods) are written and acted all over the world; when one remembers syphilis rages in all civilised countries; when Dr. Douglas White said at the International Congress of Medicine, "I have already stated my belief and given my reasons for it, that there are in Great Britain not less than half a million fresh venereal infections annually, of which approximately a quarter are syphilitic"; when, in fact, it is a world evil, I ask why is its mere existence here a reason for discouraging Indian labourers from coming to Fiji? Especially when, as Mr. Andrews himself admits in this very "Report?—"a considerable reduction in the actual number of cases (ie, in Fiji) has been effected in recent years owing to drastic medical treatment." One last question: What purpose his Mr Andrews in distributing the "Report" on Indian Health Conditions?

Molicre puts into the mouth of one of his characters: "Qui vent noyer son chien, l'accuse de la rage"—You wish to drown your dog, so you call it mad



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MEMORANDUM'

ON

SOME INDIAN QUESTIONS,

PREPARED FOR

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

Viceroy and Governor-General of India,

. BY

JOHN MURDOCH, LL.D.

DUTY OF GOVERNMENT.

"The English in India are now called upon, either to stand by and witness the pittless overcrowding of masses of hungry human beings, or to aid the people in increasing the food-supply to meet their wants."

Sir W. W. Hunter.

DUTY OF THE PEOPLE.

The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves, !

Sir W. W. Hunter.

"There may be circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers."

->-

W. Carey.

Magras:

SOLD BY MR. A. T. SCOTT.

1900.

NOTE.

This MEMORANDUM, originally prepared for Lord Curzon, is intended also for general circulation. It therefore contains much that would otherwise be unnecessary. The welfare of India depends much more upon the people than Government.

J. M.

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Memorandum, on some Indian Questions, prepared for the Right Honorable Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

INTRODUCTION.—This Memorandum originated in the following Letter:

Government House, GUINDY, 22nd Nov., 1900.

MY DEAR DR. MURDOCH,

His Excellency wishes me to tell you that the Viceroy would like to see you while he is in Madras, and that His Excellency will therefore try to arrange for you to meet with the Viceroy on Wednesday, the 13th December, about 11-30 A.M.

Yours sincerely, H. A. Sim.

The Letter shows that Lord Curzon's tours are not merely for the display of viceregal pomp, but also to gather information from every corner of the Empire. It likewise explains the origin of the following Memorandum. During a brief interview, it is impossible to discuss thoroughly important problems.

In the remarks offered, there is no claim to novelty. The proposals have been made again and again. The apology for mentioning them is that they have not yet been carried out. In politics, as in education, the maxim is, Keep Repeating! Twenty years ago the Famine Commission recommended the appointment of a Director-General of Agriculture. Measures to secure its adoption were not taken until the present Viceroyalty. So with other suggestions.

THE "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" IN INDIA.

Some remarks may be made, showing the enormous difficulties to be overcome.

To begin with, India contains one-fifth of the human race In population it is second only to China. Lord Randolph Churchill thus described English rule in India and the work it has to accomplish:

"Your rule in India is, as it were, a sheet of oil spread over the surface, and keeping calm and quiet and unruffled by storms as immense and profound ocean of humanity. Underneath your rule are surging up the memories of good dynasties; all the fanaticism of rival creeds, all the baffled aspirations of many nationalities, and it is your most difficult task to give peace; individual security, and general prosperity to 250 millions of people who are affected by these powerful forces, to bind them and weld them by the influence of your knowledge, your laws, your higher civilization, and in the process of time into one great united people."

The population may be divided into two main classes. The great bulk are thus eloquently described by Mr. Crooke:

"There is, perhaps, no more pathetic situation in the whole range of human history than to watch these dull, patient masses stumbling in their traditional way along a path which can lead only to suffering, most of them careless of the future, marrying and giving in marriage, fresh generations ever encroaching on the narrow margin which separates them from destitution. Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be."*

This great majority desire nothing better than to be left alone.

On the other hand, Sir H. S. Maine says, there is in India, "a minority educated at the feet of English politicians and in books saturated with English ideas which has learned to repeat their language." † He notices the harm done by

"Rapidly framing and confidently uttering general propositions on political subjects." "This habit of mind threatens little short of ruin to the awakening intellect of India, where political abstractions, founded exclusively upon English facts, are applied by the educated minority and by their newspapers, to a society which through nine-tenths of its structure belongs to the thirteenth century of the West.";

The Pioneer, after quoting the above, says:-

"Undoubtedly the tendency of our Native politicians, whose aims and wishes are sensible enough in themselves, is to be in too great a hurry, to swallow formulas undigested, to exaggerate the defects and shortcomings of the existing political system, and entirely to underestimate, through their inexperience, the immense difficulty and risk of any rapid and radical changes."

North-Western Provinces of India. pp. 173, 174.
 Popular Government, p. 134.
 Ibid, p. 132.

GENERAL* FEELING AMONG EDUCATED HINDUS WITH REGARD TO BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

"The past," Tennyson says,

"shall always wear A glory from its being tar."

The ignorant and half-educated in all ages and in all countries have looked upon the past as the Golden, and the present as the Iron, Age.

Indians now entertain exactly the same feelings with regard to the declension of their country as Englishmen who talk of the "good old times." Macaulay, in his History of England, notices the

" Delusion which leads men to overrate the happiness of preceding generations."

"Since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but decay." "The evils now complained of are," he says, "with scarcely an exception old. That which is new, is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them."

The words of Burke, applied to England last century, exactly represent the state of Native feeling in this country at present:—

"These birds of evil presage at all times have grated our ears with their melancholy song; and by some strange fatality or other, it has generally happened that they have poured forth their loudest and deepest lamentations at the periods of our most abundant prosperity."

Hindus are specially liable to entertain false notions of the past. The Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit says, "The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. From the very earliest ages down to the present times, the Hindu mind seems never to have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence."

Not only have the Hindus no history; but, as Sir H. S. Maine says, Indian thought and literature† is "elaborately inaccurate; it is supremely and deliberately careless of all precision in magnitude, number, and time." Sir Monier Williams says, "Time is measured by millions of years; space by millions of miles; if a battle has to be described, nothing is thought of it unless millions of soldiers, horses, and elephants are brought into the field."

Indian ideas of the past are drawn from poetry and the imagination.

A "Territorial Maharaja," writing in the Asiatic Quarterly of January, 1896, referred to the "halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty," as if during it wars were unknown. The period may

^{*} The restriction 'general' should be noted; it does not apply to an enghtened minority.

[†] This is its general character: there are exceptions, as its Nyaya system.

best be represented by the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata; but both contain accounts of destructive wars, the latter terminating in nearly the complete annihilation of the contending parties.

India is supposed to have had a fabulous amount of wealth till it was "drained" from the country by the English. In proof of this, see the account of Ayodhya, in the time of Rama. In that city, 84 miles long and 70 broad, "there was no householder who was not rich in horses, and kine, and food. All wore

earrings and garlands."

Famines at present are the result of British rapacity and incapacity. Were they unknown during the "halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty"? That venerable and authentic record, the Mahábhárata, does not support such an idea. The Sánti Parva describes one of twelve years duration! Such was the scarcity of food, that the renowned Rishi, Vasishtha, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmá, to prevent death from starvation, had to steal at night dog's flesh from the hut of a chandála, which he ate, after piously offering a portion to the gods and pitris.

Manu's Code relates the following of Vamadeva, a Rishi

nearly equal in sanctity to Vasishtha:

106. Vámadeva, who well knew right and wrong, did not sully himself when, tormented (by hunger) he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life. X.

Bad as British rule may be, no Hindu high priest has been reduced under it to such dire distress as to steal the leg of a dog to prevent death from starvation, as is said to have happened during the "halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty."

Educated Hindus, besides being misled by poetry and imagination, have been largely influenced by some English

writers who, as Messrs. Strachey say:

"Endeayour honestly and persistently to show that, in consequence of the wickedness or stupidity of our Government, India is in a state bordering on bankruptcy, that its people are becoming poorer and poorer, more and more miserable, more and more exposed to ruin and death by famine; that crushing taxation goes on constantly increasing; that an enormous and ruinous tribute is exacted from India to be spent in England." †

These views were set forth in pamphlets entitled The Spoliation of India, and India bleeding to Death. As might be supposed, they found ready echoes in the Indian press. If even Englishmen admitted such things, they must be true.

[•] Dowson's Dictionary of Hindu Mythology gives the following additional details. Vánadava was a Vedic Rishi, author of many hymns. In one of them he says, "In extreme destitution I have cooked the entrails of a dog."

[?] Fenances and Public Works of India, p. 11.

Similar opinions were recently expressed by a crazy writer, (an old Bengal civilian!) in *The Positivist Review*. The English are exhorted to leave, bag and baggage, a country which they have reduced to the lowest depth of wretchedness. The paper is worthy of the journal in which it appears.

Mr. Allan Arthur, Chairman of the Calcutta Chamber of

Commerce, said that the people.

"Are being educated by some of the native papers to see nothing good in the present administration of the country, and everything that is bad in the members of the ruling race."

False patriotism and race feeling partly account for this. They are by no means confined to India. Smiles says, "A great deal of what passes by the name of patriotism in these days consists of the merest bigotry and narrow-mindedness, exhibiting itself in national prejudice, national conceit, and national hatred."† The Subodh Patrika thus describes the form it often assumes in India:—

"It consists in an indiscriminate admiration of Hindu manners, customs, and institutions, and a glorification of their ancestors, of whose real history, however, we know next to nothing. It is taken to mean a blind praise of all that is ours, and a strong denunciation of all that is foreign. It matters not whether a custom is good or bad; it is ours, and we must praise it. A non-Hindu tells us what we should do; it matters not if he is right; he is not a Hindu, and he has no right to tell us what we should do. This is associated with an uncontrollable desire to find fault with the institutions and manners of Europeans, and especially of our English rulers."

It is justly added:-

"A people ruled by such ideas can never improve, and they are sure to work their own ruin by their own hands."

A Calcutta journal might be named whose main object during the last quarter of a century has been to malign the English character and the English administration. It has had its reward, being considered the most patriotic of Indian journals. There is an enlightened minority, like the Subodh Patrika, but its voice is scarcely heard amid the shouts of the crowd.

Sir Henry Fowler said in Parliament :-

"It was my duty during the time I was Secretary for India to read the Native newspapers. I can assure the House that I never knew until I read some of these newspapers, what a bad man I was, what a bad Government I represented, and what a bad House this was; and when I say 'bad,' I am using a much milder adjective than was actually employed."

^{*} Indian Messenger, December 5th, 1897.

The following are some of the utterances of the Indian Press. References might be given; but they are better omitted:

"There are many good and virtuous English men and women. But we can most truthfully say that the English are the most avarici-

ous and selfish people in the world."

"English merchants during a sway of nearly a century rifled the land of all its wealth. A century of Plunder! And now what has succeeded it? The 'Spoliation of India,' has it ceased? Certainly not. It is going on as vigorously as ever."

"English merchants have come here to turn a penny by fair means

or foul. They are perfect masters of envy, intrigue, and malice."

"The enormous growth of foreign trade does not in the least indicate growing prosperity in the condition of its people. It simply indicates the indebtedness of India, and her growing material exhaustion."

"The increase in the import of gold and silver as a sign of the

growing prosperity of the people is fallacious."

"It is by no means certain that the extension of railways has been an unmixed blessing to India; that it has not carried in its train effects that have been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people."

"Our 'beneficent' Government takes to itself no less than 47 per

cent of the produce (and) levies innumerable other contributions."

"India sends away 30 millions of money as her tribute to England, and this tribute, for which not a penny is received in return, as it has been said over and over again by competent writers, is one of the chief causes of India's poverty.'

Where benefits must be acknowledged, it is attempted to show that they are worthless. The British Government has given protection to property, but it has robbed the people of all they had, so that there is nothing left to protect.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said in his speech as Chairman of the

meeting at Bloomsbury:

"It was said that British rule had given India law and order and security for life and property, but what was the use of this if there were to be no life and property to be secured?"

Instead of: there being "no life to be secured," the difficulty is its abundance. There were 287 millions at the last census. and there are two million more mouths to feed every year.

Imitating Irish patriots, they "grind at the hurdy-gurdy of long-dead grievances and long-remedied wrongs."* The protective duty imposed in England on Indian fabrics about a century ago, is brought up again and again.

It may be asked, have the Anglo-Indian journals and Government made no attempts to correct such notions? They are easily

^{*} Smiles on Character, p. 28.

disposed of. The journals in question are conducted by editors with "crude notions on economic subjects," and, withal, incorrigibly stupid. They are thus given up in despair:—

"There are empiric financiers who would have us believe that India is growing richer because her export trade is fast growing. With such it is useless to argue, because they fail to understand the true significance of the increased exports.

The attempts of Government or Indian Civilians to explain matters are equally fruitless. They only show

"By what distortion of facts and fallacious logic the boasts of the Indian bureaucracy have to be made to look plausible."

The Bloomsbury Meeting.—According to Indian Journalists, the press in this country, is now "gagged."

Unlike India, England is a land where

"A man may speak the thing he will."

The real feelings of educated Indians can therefore best be learned by what they say in that country. Viewed in this light, the Bloomsbury meeting held in London in December, 1897, is of great importance.

The following is part of the Resolution moved by the

Chairman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, ex M. P.:

"That this Conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom is of opinion that of all the evils and 'terrible misery' that India has been suffering for a century and-a-half, and of which the latest developments are the most deplorable famine and plague, arising from everincreasing poverty, the stupid and suicidal frontier war and its savagery, of the wholesale destruction of villages, unworthy of any people, but far more so of English civilisation; the unwise and suicidal prosecutions for sedition; the absurd and ignorant cry of the disloyalty of the educated Indians, and for the curtailment of the liberty of the Indian Press; the disposition —like that of the imprisonment of the Natus, and the general insufficiency and inefficiency of the administration-of all these and many other minor evils the main cause is the unrighteous and un-British system of Government which produces an unceasing and ever-increasing bleeding of the country and which is maintained by a political hypocrisy and continuous subterfuges unworthy of the British honour and name, and entirely in opposition to the British people and utterly in violation of acts and resolutions of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and Sovereign....

That, as a necessary immediate instalment of justice, a large proportion, if not the whole, of the famine and plague expenditure, and the whole cost of the present unwise frontier war, must be met from the British Exchequer, remembering that England drains from India some £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 every year. Lastly, that the frontier war and forward policy must cease, and the whole frontier question be carefully reconsidered so as to render all Afghanistan a powerful and impregnable barrier to an independence-loving and warlike people against any foreign invasion of India.

"Mr. Naoroji supported this long resolution by a long speech,

which was vociferously cheered.

"The Resolution was carried unanimously, amid considerable enthusiasm."*

The Westminster Review, referring to Mr. Naoroji, remarks there are "declamations 'about thirty or forty millions"—as if ten millions of pounds sterling was a kind of negligible quantity."

But The Indian Messenger claims that Mr. Naoroji's "forty millions" is "ten millions" below the real amount. In a recent article headed, "The Political Cause of the Famines", the following statement is made:

"The regular drainage of wealth out of India has been variously estimated at from 30 to 70 million pounds sterling a year. Sir Charles Dilke said: 'Our kingdom and people together draw from India some sixty or seventy millions sterling a year in direct income. Madame Juliette Adam writes, 'In 27 years India has been drained to the extent of 500 millions'. We will be considerably within the mark if we reckon it at the rate of 50 millions a year. Now India has been drained to this extent for the last hundred years, and the process is going on with increased volume every year. What wonder then if India is pauperised to-day? Lord Curzon calculated last year that the failure of the monsoon throughout India with the exception of our two provinces, caused a terrible loss to the country. That was a great calamity indeed; it represented the loss of the earnings of the majority of the Indian population. But according to the calculation of Lord Curzon himself it was only about 25 millions. Compare with this exceptional and abnormal item, the regular annual drainage of fifty millions; and will any one still wonder at the cause of the famine? As we have saidthe world over, whether in the past or the present, there is not a parallel to it."

It is added:

"It is not possible to enumerate the thousand and one defects of the Indian Administration which lead directly or indirectly to the impoverishment of the country." Nov. 18, 1900.

It should be mentioned that *The Indian Messenger* is a Brahmo paper, and its general tone is among the best in India. The article is a striking proof of the blindness of India's political guides, and a sample of the "product" of our present educational system.

[•] Quoted from The Hindu, January 17, 1898.

Importance of the Meeting.—Had the sentiments been expressed by merely one or two young men, they might be treated with contempt; but the meeting was a "Conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom," held under the auspices of the "London Indian Society," and "the audience was largely composed of young gentlemen, evidently students at home." The Indian Magazine, some time ago, gave the number of Indian students in England as about 300. They are chiefly candidates for the civil service, medical and law students, the supposed élite of the Indian Universities, the future leaders of public opinion in India.

There is a still graver aspect of the case. The meeting represented, more or less, every great province of India. It cannot be supposed that landing in England produced an immediate and entire change in the minds of young men with regard to their opinions of English rule in India. They must have held, to some extent at least, the same views in their own country, although

prudence forbade their expression.

Further, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Chairman of the Meeting, and no doubt the drafter of the Resolution, is the trusted guide of the Indian National Congress. At the Amraoti meeting in December, 1897, the following Resolution was passed "enthusiastically"

"The Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu proposed a vote of confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and was seconded by Babu Moti Lall Ghosh. It was carried enthusiastically."

The Times says:-

"The resemblance between the speeches and the motions at Amraoti and the speeches and the motions at Bloomsbury is in some respect so close as to suggest that they are the outcome of common deliberations." Dec. 30, 1897.

The Bloomsbury Meeting may therefore be presumed to indicate largely the opinions of the Congress, which could be expressed only with "bated breath" at Amraoti during the "Reign of Terror."

Sensible Indians would gladly see the Bloomsbury proceedings buried in oblivion, but this would

" but skin and film the ulcerous place."

A physician, instead of shutting his eyes to dangerous symptoms, is only the more careful in his diagnosis.

THE DIFFICULTY OF GOVERNING INDIA GREATLY INCREASED BY THE HUMANE FAMINE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

Sir W. Hunter thus describes the past condition of things in famines

"Famine is now recognized as one of the most difficult problems with which the Indian administration has to deal. A hundred years

ago it was regarded, not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man. When the rains on which the crops depended fell short, no crops were reared, and the people perished. The earth had yielded no food, and so the people, in the ordinary and legitimate course of things, died."*

In defence it may be said that, under the circumstances, relief was impossible. Before British rule, the country was without roads. Goods were conveyed by pack oxen or rude carts. Carriage by pack oxen is exceedingly expensive; even by cart it is high. When famine prevails over a wide range, pack oxen and carts become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder, which cannot be supplied in famine districts. During the famine of 1877-78, Mysore lost one-fourth of its population. "Grain was poured into Bangalore by the Madras Railway; but the means for bringing the food to the hungry mouths were inadequate." A system of Railways was required.

This policy had two great advantages:

1. The pressure on the soil was relieved.—At every severe famine millions of landless labourers were carried off, lessening the strain. The survivors benefited.

2. The danger of pauperising the people was prevented.— The sufferers had to exert their utmost to find a living for

themselves instead of resorting at once to relief works.

During the late famine the British Government, at very great expense, preserved the lives of five or six millions of landless labourers, but instead of relieving the pressure by that number, it has added to it that of them and their descendants to be maintained during the next famine.

Lord Curzon has pointed out the danger of pauperising the people through the British Famine policy. Unless very carefully guarded, the landless labourers will flock by millions to relief works, to the prejudice of local demands, as well as increasing

the outlay.

Increasing Pressure of Population.—It is the common belief of the Hindus that a man who has no son to make offerings for him after death falls into the hell called put. According to Manu (ix. 138), the Self-existent called a son putra, because he delivers from put. The masses therefore marry as a religious duty, irrespective of the means of subsistence. Muhammadans marry on the strength of the proverb, "He who sends mouths will send meat."

The following remarks on this subject are abridged from Sir H. S. Maine:—

"India seems likely to experience, more than any society of men, hat peculiar trial which follows good government.....In no country,

[•] England's Work in India, p. 21,

will there be probably a severer pressure of population on food. India is the only part of the world in which every single male of the population is married as soon as it is possible for him to be married. The superstitions of the vast majority will not allow animals to be bred or killed

for food. Nor will the population emigrate.

"Such causes of increase in the population and limitation in the supply of food have existed from time immemorial in India. But, till the present century, there were competing causes which impeded their operation. Far the most powerful of these were war, pestilence, and famine. These ancient checks on the growth of the population are losing their maleficent power, and with their disappearance population will fast increase its volume, forcing on the attention of the rulers of India a number of grave problems which have been very imperfectly faced of late years by the economists and statesmen of the West."

Mr. John Morley is said to have expressed a similar opinion.

Every year at present there are two millions more mouths to feed. Unless vigorous measures are adopted, the cost of famine relief will become an intelerable burden.

relief will become an intolerable burden.

Indian Journalists deny the over-population of India, and assert that the increase is not greater than in France (!) and Germany. Let them be compared. Unfortunately the periods do not synchronise, but the *ratio* of increase can be calculated.

India 1881 ... 253,982,595 284,276,488

Percentage of increase during 10 years, 12 per cent.; annual 1.2 per cent.

Germany 1871 ... 41,060,000 1885 ... 46,856,000

Percentage of increase during 14 years, 11.2 per cent; annual 8 per cent.

France 1872 ... 37,013,000 ... 38,219,000

Increase in 14 years 3 per cent.; annual rate 21 per cent.

Germany is not subject to droughts like India, and it is a great manufacturing country, as "made in Germany" testifies; but the increment in India is 50 per cent. higher than in Germany, and is nearly sixfold that of France. The last is a country of small cultivators, and to check the subdivision of land, the people have limited the population.

Sir W. W. Hunter says:

"The permanent cure for over-population rests with the people themselves, and consists in their restraints upon marriage, to which all

^{*} Exclusive of Upper Burma. The figures are from the Indian Statistical Tables and from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, 1892 Ed.

nations of small husbandmen have sooper or later to submit. But we cannot wait till that compulsory lesson is learned; for meanwhile millions will perish. Over-population in India is the direct product of British rule. We have taken on curselves the responsibility of removing primary checks upon the increase of the people—checks which, however cruel, are the natural and inevitable ones in Asia, and which take the place of the prudential restraints practised by the peasant-farming races of Europe. We must now discharge that responsibility, and as our own civilised rule has created the difficulty, we must meet it by the resources of civilisation. These resources may lighten the pressure of the population on the soil in three ways,—first, by withdrawing large numbers to non-agricultural industries; second, by distributing the pressure over new or under-populated tracts; third, by increasing the produce of the existing area of cultivation."

The aim of this Memorandum is to urge the employment of these three remedial measures.

CAUSES OF THE ALLEGED GROWING POVERTY OF INDIA.

The Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu, Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, undoubtedly voiced "Indian public opinion" when at the Budget debate of 1898 he spoke of the "frightful and growing poverty of India." On another point the people are equally unanimous. Under Native rule the people traced their sufferings to Fate or to their sins in a former birth and were resigned. Educated Hindus lay them at the door of the British Government. Mr. Sabhapati Mudeliar said at Bellary, "We all attribute the poverty of India to the mismanagement of our rulers."

One or two alleged causes may be noticed. The quotations from Indian papers show that one editor stands in "learned doubt" whether railways have not been "the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people." The statement of this is sufficient.

The theory of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji:

1. The Employment of a Foreign Agency.

The Indian Spectator quotes the following as the opinion expressed by him in England:—

"The speaker then proceeded to point out what he regarded as the cause of the poverty of India. He cited several authorities upon the subject, and showed it was simply that the employment of a foreign agency caused a large drain to the country, disabling it from saving any capital at all, and rendering it weaker and weaker every day, forcing it to resort to loans for its wants and becoming worse and worse in its economic condition." Jan. 23, 1887.

[#] England's Work in India, p. 81.

So far from India not having saved "any capital at all," during the last fifty years she has absorbed gold and silver to the value of 500 crores of rupees, and the amount might have been much larger had it been profitably employed. In addition, she has been enriched by irrigation works, public buildings, &c. Calcutta and Bombay, once mud hamlets, are evidences of British rule.

This opinion has been adopted by the young gentlemen composing the Indian Society. A Resolution passed by them last year asserts that "Famines in India are preventable," their cause being the costly Indian system of Government.

It is alleged that the country is drained of its wealth by the

employment of a foreign agency.

Lord Elgin, at the request of Lord Northbrook, obtained from the Finance Department an approximate estimate of the cost of the Civil Service. "The total annual cost of the Covenanted Civil Service, including Leave, Pension, and Exchange Compensation Allowance, is about Rx. 2,305,000."

Suppose that every European in the Civil Service was dismissed and replaced by an Indian on half the salary, the relief in

taxation per head would be less than one pie per month!

India requires first class men, and such are not to be obtained on low salaries. The Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council recently resigned. As a merchant in London, he could better his position. The condition of the poor is to be ameliorated, not by "petty economies," not by cheap and less efficient officers of Government, but by making the toil of the labourer more remunerative.

2. The "Heaviness of the Land Assessment."—This is the

theory of Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.

In his late address as President of the Indian National Congress, he said:

"Real Cause of Famines and the Remedy.

"Gentlemen, the real cause of the poverty of our agricultural population is simple and even obvious, if we have the courage and the honesty to seek for it and to grasp it... The real cause of the Indian cultivators' wretchedness and indebtedness is that, except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvest in bad years."

His fallacy with regard to Bengal may first be noticed. The better condition of cultivators in Bengal is not due to the lighter land tax, but to the almost never-failing supply of rain preventing a "famine of work."

It is not the RYOTS, as a rule, who perish during famines. With or without the aid of money-lenders, they can tide over one or two bad years. It is the LANDLESS LABOURERS who are the sufferers. Sir W. W. Hunter has the following remarks:

"Such writers tell you that the people of India are very poor, therefore they conclude the Government is to blame. I also tell you that the people of India are very poor, because the population has increased at such a rate as to outstrip, in some parts, the food-producing powers of the land; because every square mile of Bengal has now to support three times as many families as it had to support a hundred years ago; because every square mile of British India, deducting the outlying provinces of Burmah and Assam, has to feed nearly three times as many mouths as another square mile of the Native States." p. 127.

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil. Now that the sword is no longer permitted to do its old work, they must submit to prudential restraints on marriage or they must suffer hunger. Such restraints have been imperative upon races of small cultivators since the days when Plato wrote his

Republic." *

From the increased population, the cultivated area no longer suffices to allow a plot of ground for every peasant, and great numbers now earn a poor and precarious subsistence as hired labourers. In ordinary seasons they can get employment and manage to live; but if the rains fail, the ryots cannot give them work, and, unless it is provided for them, they must starve.

The early statistics of India are not so complete as the later ones. The figures given are as follows:

1871 "Labourers," 8,174,000
1881 "Labourers and others (branch of labourers undefined)." 12,472,697
1891 "Earthwork and general Labour"

Of the 25,468,017, Urban are given as 2,666,241; Rural, 22,801,777. It is these 23 millions, now considerably increased, who form the "White Man's Burden" in India. Want of rain produces a FAMINE OF WORK.

According to the Indian standard of comfort, the majority of the ryots are fairly well off. As already mentioned, the difficulty

is with the landless labourers.

Ricardo says:

"In those countries where the labouring classes have the fewest wants, and are contented with the cheapest food, the people are exposed to the greatest vicissitudes and miseries. They have no place of refuge from calamity; they cannot seek safety in a lower station;

^{*} England's Work in India. pp. 135, 136.

they are already so low that they can fall no lower. On any deficiency of the chief article of their subsistence, there are few substitutes of which they can avail themselves, and dearth to them is attended with almost the evils of famine."

Sir H. S. Cunningham, after quoting the above, remarks:--

"The state of things thus described exists in India to the fullest possible extent; vast multitudes live at almost the lowest level compatible with continued existence; their wants and hopes are limited to the barest necessities of human life. Prudential considerations fail to operate where prudence could effect no sensible amelioration, and where life is so miserable that the prospect of a still lower stage possesses but few terrors. Increasing numbers add to the fierceness of the struggle for existence, and to its hopelessness."

Nature, it has been said, is "a rude chirurgeon." Had she been left to do her work during the late famine, she would probably have lessened the pressure on the land by the removal of 5 millions of the above class. They have been preserved, and, as they are the most reckless in multiplying, they will add so many millions more to be supported during the next famine.

Suppose the land assessment were reduced 25 per cent., involving a sacrifice of revenue to the amount of six crores a year, would this Provide Work when the rains failed? And not only so. By the loss of so much revenue, a stop would be put to improvements, and the condition of the people would be worse than ever.

APPOINTMENT OF A FAMINE COMMISSION.

This, I believe, has been determined upon by Lord Curzon's Government. The following remarks are intended to suggest subjects for its investigation.

The last Famine Commission dealt only with Famine Relief. The writer wrote to the Secretary expressing a hope that the inquiry would be useful in *preventing famines*; but he was informed that this was beyond the scope of the Commission.

A Commission is wanted on the lines of that appointed after the famine of 1877-78, whose object may be thus expressed:

A COMMISSION TO ENQUIRE INTO THE CAUSÉS OF FAMINES IN INDIA, AND TO SUGGEST REMEDIES.

The following are some points which might be considered:

1. THE INCIDENCE OF THE LAND ASSESSMENT: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE.

The following subdivisions may be mentioned:

(a) Supposed heavy Amount and continual Increase of Assessment: how far is this correct?

The quotation from an Indian journal, already given, is supposed to represent the amount of the Land-Tax:—

"Our 'beneficent' Government takes to itself no less than 47 per cent. of the produce (and) levies innumerable other contributions."

The idea is that Government takes 47 per cent. of the gross produce. There is some excuse for this misconception. The rate under Hindu and Muhammedan Governments was calculated from the entire produce. In fixing the tax the English Government went upon another principle. The following directions were given:—

The produce of the land must at least be sufficient to feed and clothe the labourer and his family, and to replace the cattle and agricultural implements as they become worn out; and besides this, a surplus must remain for the payment of the assessment imposed by the State."

The British Government may take 47 per cent. of the remainder, after making the above deductions, but this is very different from 47 per cent. of the gross produce. Its amount will hereafter be shown.

Another idea is that the assessments are made increasingly heavy.

Mr. R. C. Dutt makes the following assertion with reference to cotton and jute cultivation:—

"The profit remains in the country, with the cultivators when the State demand from the soil has been permanently limited; but over the larger portion of India the recurring settlements, securing a steady increase in the State demand, sweep away the increased profits to the imperial exchequer, and leave the tillers of the soil no better off than before."

This represents the popular opinion on the subject, although one would have expected that an old Indian Civilian would have been better informed.

So far as shown by the best statistics at present available, the facts are as follows:—

Sir H. S. Cunningham, one of the members of the Famine Commission published a volume, entitled British India and its Rulers, giving the principal facts elicited by the inquiry. It is mentioned that Todar Mull's assessment of 33 per cent. was considered reasonable. It is shown that the English assessment is less than one-fourth of that fixed by Todar Mull.

^{*} England and India, p. 136.

"The real amount of the land revenue is shown in the following table, framed on the best available estimate of the out-turn:—

		1	Land Revenu Rr.		Percentage on estimated gross value of crops.		
Punjab	•••		1,910,000	•••	" 5·6		
NW. Provinces as	nd Oudh	•••	5,565,000	•••	78		
Bengal			4,050,000	•••	3.9		
Central Provinces			600,000		8.8		
Berar		a* 4a	625,000		46		
Bombay	•••		2,970,000		7·6		
Madras			3,160,000		6.3		

"An idea has prevailed that the land revenue is a heavier burthen at present than it was forty years ago. A more careful examination, however, has shown that the increase from £12,480,000 in 1840 to £22,830,000 in 1879 is owing partly to the addition of 36 millions of people or 25 per cent. and 242,000 miles of territory, with a land revenue of more than 6 millions, partly to an increase of 50 to 100 per cent. in the area of cultivation, partly to the increase to the price of agricultural produce, and in no instance to the enlargement of the share claimed by Government in the profits of the soil. In Madras, for instance, the area assessed has increased from 93 millions of acres in 1850 to 20 millions in 1875-6, and though the land revenue is a million sterling higher, its incidence per acre is reduced by 3 as. on dry land and Rs. 2\frac{1}{2} on irrigated land, as the following Table shows:—

Assessed Area. Land Revenue. Average Rate of Assessment per Acre. On Dry Land. On Irrigated Land.

Acres. Rx. Rs. A. P. Rs. A.

1010-0 20,021,000	5,426,000	1 0 1	1	4 0 1	LA
"Similarly in Bon	hay, the ass	sessed area	has increa	ased fr	om 12 1
ions of acres in 188					
ulliana in the land n					

millions of acres in 1856 to 204 millions in 1875-6, and an increase of millions in the land-revenue has resulted notwithstanding an average reduction of 3 as. per acre in the assessment."

Throughout the greater part of India there has been no general † increase in the assessment, while ryots have been getting more and more for their grain. The taxation was never lighter than at present.

At the last Budget debate, Sir James Westland gave the figures from Burma, which came incidentally before him:—

"According to these calculations the average price for the last two years of rice in Lower Burma has been such that the present land revenue is only equal to 8 per cent. of it. The meaning of that is that for every Rs. 8 of land revenue increase which have come into the pockets of Government there have been Rs. 92 of increase which have

British India and its Rulers, pp. 140, 141.

[†] There may be increases in some parts, but they are balanced by reductions in others.

gone into the pockets of the cultivators. I think that any statement that the land revenue burdens have been increased during these 20 years is entirely put out of Court by the figures which I have quoted."

During the twenty years, 1870-71 and 1890-91, the Land Revenue increased only 14 per cent. *—less than one per cent. a year. This is another proof of the slight increase in the incidence of the tax, even if there was no increase in the area cultivated.

(b) Mode of Calculating Incidence.—The rule quoted of deducting the working expenses should be given up as uncertain and liable to misconception. The percentage of the total value

of the crop should be the standard.

(c) Collection of Reliable Statistics.—If, according to the data collected by the Famine Commission and supported by Sir James Westland, the Government demand, on the wholet does not exceed 8 per cent., our astonishment must be at its extreme moderation. The question is, Are the figures reliable?

The writer endeavoured to obtain information on what may be called the Agricultural "constants;" e.g., the average produce per acre of "dry" and "wet" lands, the percentage of the Govern-

ment tax; but found that the best authorities differed.

The late Sir W. W. Hunter, formerly Director-General of Statistics, said in 1881:—

"It has been my duty to find out precisely what amount of information exists with regard to the agriculture of India; and to compare that information with the facts which the Governments of Europe and America supply on the same points. I have come to the conclusion that no central Government stands more in need of agricultural knowledge than the Government of India, and that no Government has a smaller stock of such knowledge within its central body."

Things have improved since 1881, but correct data seem to

be still wanting.

Instead of having competent men able to give their undivided attention to the work, attempts are made to get information through Divisional Officers and Tahsildars, overburdened with their own duties. The Madras Administration Report for 1896-97 says:—

"The results of the experiments conducted during the year by the Divisional Officers and Tahsildars were as far as ever from furnishing trustworthy data from which an average yield per acre could be calculated, or the correctness of the settlement estimates of out-turn could be guaged." p. 61.

One of the principal duties of the Famine Commission should be to settle this point satisfactorily. So long as the data are

† Individual eases may differ.

^{*} Baden-Powell's Land Systems of British India, Vol. III, p. 378.

questionable, so long will all kinds of calumnies be circulated against Government.

Time will not permit data to be prepared under the eye of the Commission. A vigorous effort should be made beforehand, on a well digested scheme, to prepare them that the Congress

may judge of their reliableness.

In this inquiry the co-operation of intelligent Indians, like the Maharaja of Darbhangah, some of the members of the Bengal Agricultural Society, and others, should be invited, they being clearly given to understand the exact information that is wanted, and the conditions to be fulfilled in supplying it.

An able officer should be set apart on special duty to collect a full and reliable body of evidence with regard to the chief

vegetable products under different circumstances.

- (d) Comparison of British Rates with those of Native States, Zemindaries, China, and Japan.—The only point requiring notice refers to China and Japan. It would be interesting and valuable to have reliable information regarding the incidence and collection of the land tax in these countries under a purely oriental rule.
- (c) Periods of Settlement.—A Permanent Land Settlement is the popular panacea for all the ills of India. Mr. R. C. Dutt says:
- "A permanent limitation of the State demand from the soil would be the saving of India."*

At the Amraoti Congress, a Resolution in favour of a Permainent Land Settlement was passed, supported by the opinions of Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore, Sir Thomas Munro, and Lord Canning.

Still more recently the Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu, the Madras Member in the Viceroy's Council, said during the Budget Debate

1898.

"This need can be satisfied only by adopting a permanent settlement of land revenue instead of the temporary system now obtaining, which enables the Government to increase its demands from time to time and thus absorb what margin the ryot might have created for himself. This is a reform, which, Mr. Ananda Charlu pointed out, soon after her Majesty's assumption of the Government of this country, 'statesmen of both parties in England agreed to be the only one calculated to bring competence and contentment before long, and lead in its wake to prosperity all round.' No question is more important to the material prosperity of the Indian people than this question of permanent settlement, which is the only remedy for the frightful and growing poverty of the people, while other remedies contemplated by the Government are mere palliatives or not even such."

^{· •} England and India, p. 134.

A distinguished European Political Economist described the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis as

"One of the most unfortunate, but best intentioned, schemes that ever ruined a country."

Mr.'A. O. Hume, a competent and unexceptionable authority, characterises it as a "STUPENDOUS ERROR."*

The ryots in Bengal pay several crores a year to Zemindars which in other provinces would have gone to Government. Sir H. S. Cunningham thus points out the injustice of this:—

"The richest province of India has been, to a large extent, defended, administered, educated, supplied with roads, barracks, hospitals, railways and canals, and relieved in famine, at the expense of the rest of the community. Byots have been toiling in Madras and starving in the Deccan, in order that gentlemen, like the Rajahs of Darbhangali and Burdwah may enjoy incomes of several hundred thousand pounds a year free from the rude contact of the tax collector's hand."

A righteous Government should deal equitably with all its subjects. Under a Permanent Settlement, the percentage of taxation borne by ryots would be constantly diminishing, while that paid by non-ryots would be constantly increasing. Non-ryots would pay the ryots twice as much for their rice as they used to do, while their income tax would, at the same time, be becoming heavier.

A "Permanent Settlement," at the present rates, would be to

the ryots themselves permanent ignorance and poverty.

The aim, as far as practicable, should be to assimilate the condition of the ryots to that of English farmers. In the first place, they should be provided with schools. Who should pay for them? The ryots? or should they be provided at the expense of non-ryots? The sanitary condition of villages should be improved. There should be a well-equipped Agricultural Department to show the ryots how gradually to double the produce of their fields. These and many other improvements are necessary. To such purposes a portion of the "unearned increment" might well be allotted.

Baden-Powell's Land Systems of British India contains a history of the question. Though regarded as "dead and buried" by Indian authorities, it might be noticed by the Famine

Commission.

There is a question, however, still within the range of "practical politics"—whether the assessment term should be for ten, twenty, or thirty years? It may be the terms should vary according to circumstances. The course recommended should be stated.

[·] Agricultural Rejorm,

- (f) Mode of Re-assessing the Land Revenue.—Baden-Powell quotes the following from a Despatch of the Secretary of State (No. 4 Revenue of 8th January, 1885) as the final orders on the subject:
- "I may now sum up both the discussions which I have been describing and the general subject of the latest rules for the simplification of the procedure in the re-settlements, by giving the actual principles sanctioned;—
 - (1) The Permanent Settlement idea is formally abandoned,
- (2) The State shall still retain its claim to share in the unearned increment of the value of land to which there is a tendency in a progressive country;
- (3) That a general and permanent rise in the prices of produce is one of the principal indications and measures of this increment;
- (4) That it is nevertheless desirable to modify the existing system of revision of the temporary settlements of land-revenue with a view of rendering it less arbitrary, uncertain, and troublesome to the people;
- (5) That the modification shall be effected at least on the following particulars:—
- (a) Repetition of field operations (survey, valuation, minute inquiry into assets and the like) which are considered to be inquisitorial and harassing to the people, should be, as far as possible, dispensed with;
- (b) Enhancement should be based mainly on considerations of general increase in the value of land;
- (c) The assessment will not be revised merely with a view to equalizing its incidence with that of the assessment of other estates;
- (d) Improvements made by the land-holders themselves should not be taken into account in revising assessments; but improvements made at the cost of the state should be taken into account, and also to some extent, increase of cultivation." Vol. III, pp. 364, 365.
- It is alleged that these principles have not always been followed in Re-assessments. The rules should either be confirmed or modified by the Commission.

(g) Punjab Land Bill.—Mr. A. O. Hume says:

- "Previous to our rule no private person had, broadly speaking, any property in the soil. All proprietary right, in the sense in which we at home understand the word, vested directly in the State or vicariously in some powerful chief or official. All that the people as a body enjoyed were a high class of occupancy rights, heritable but not transferable.
- "A man might be ever so much in debt, but you could not interfere with the land he held, for that was not his, but his ruler's; and such rights as he possessed therein were personal to himself and family, or, in some cases, clan; and if any outsider had obtained possession, the State would have stepped in and resumed the property. No doubt, if sufficiently bribed, the local officials would, and often did,

wink at transfers, but these were opposed alike to custom aid tradition which then constituted the law, such as it was, on this subject."

With the best intentions we have made, the Indian ryot
"Lord of himself, that heritage of woe,"

with the result that, in not a few cases, land is falling into the hands of money-lenders.

In the Viceroy's Council there was a difference of opinion about the Bill. It might well form one of the points of inquiry.

(h) No Sudden Enhancement.—The first assessment in the Central Provinces was exceptionally low. The rates in three heavily assessed and three lightly assessed districts in the Central Provinces and Madras Presidency tompare as follows:—

II. III. I. 111. BS. A. P. O 11 1 RS. A. P. 0 9 10 0 11 2 0 4 0 0 3 11 C. Provinces 3 12 1 2 18 7 Madres 2 13 7 0 14 8 0 11 8 0 11 2

Justice demanded that the rates should be more equalised, but the enhancement was so great as to press heavily upon the ryots. Lord George Hamilton in Parliament advocated the above principle.

(i) Lenity in Collection and even Remission of Revenue where necessary. Sir H. S. Cunningham, thus contrasts the British and

Native systems of collecting land revenues:

"The system introduced by the British has been to fix a moderate assessment, and to postpone the demand or remit it altogether only under the stress of exceptional calamities, such as famine or mundation. The native system was to fix the revenue as high as a favourable season would render it possible for the cultivator to pay, and, necessarily, to lower or abandon it in the unfavourable years,"

Sir H. S. Cunningham adds:

"The Famine Commission has suggested, as a guide for future action, that in any case of general orop-loss, so severe as to sweep away the whole margin beyond what is necessary for the cultivators' subsistence, and to leave no fund out of which revenue can be paid, a relaxation in the demand, either in the form of suspension or in severer cases complete remission should be allowed; and that this rule should be accepted as indicating the proper course of action in less serious and wide-spread calamities.";

The British Government wishes the revenue to be collected with due regard to the circumstances of the case. Where there

Agricultural Reform. p. 38.
 Baden-Powell's Land Systems of British India. Vol. III, p. 72.
 British India and its Rulers, pp. 169, 171.

is harshness, the fault lies with individual officers, and should be

severely rebuked.

- (j) Inquiry into the number of Ryots ejected for nonpayment of Revenue.—There will always be some cases. Indebtedness prevails, more or less, everywhere. Mr. Nicholson says in his Report:
- "As a matter of fact, the agricultural classes all over the world are in a state of extreme indebtedness, due very largely to causes outside of the demands of agriculture, such as poverty, ignorance, carelessness, the laws of inheritance, foreign competition, seasonal disasters, and epidemia diseases, and the demands of usury." Vol. I, p. 3.
- Mr. Hyndman, who considered India "bleeding to death," describes France and parts of Germany as in the same condition:—
- "Recent official reports in France prove beyond the possibility of question that the landholding peasantry are suffering terribly, and that they actually fare worse than our agricultural labourers. Similar truths in respect to small properties have been made manifest by the reports of the Imperial Commissions on the impoverished condition of the small cultivation in Baden-Baden and Alsace-Lorraine."
- (k) Does experience, since the last Famine Commission, suggest any alteration in the Code? The danger of paupersing the people has been noticed.

(1) Percentage of Assessment:—The Laws of Manu, the oldest and highest Hindu authority, sanction the following:

"130. A fiftieth part of (the increment or) cattle and gold may be taken by the king, and the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops.

131. He may also take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, fruit;

132. Of leaves pot-herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins,

of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone." VII.

It will be seen that Manu's Code, in addition to a tax on land, sanctions taxation of one-sixth on every article in common use. This led to about a hundred taxes which were in force before the British became rulers of the country. In South India they were known as Moturpha. The following is a list of some of them: †

Tax on potters, ghee, tobacco, chunam, dancing-girls, lotus leaves, water lifts, looms, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, dyers, shoemakers, barbers, washermen, boatmen, carts, basketmakers, masons, &c.

These were swept away under British rule.

^{*} Nineteenth Century, Nov. 1885.

[†] Sewell's Indea before the English, p. 19,

As already mentioned Todar Mull, India's greatest financier, fixed the percentage of revenue at 33 per cent. which was often increased by other imposts to 50 or 60 per cent.

Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his Presidential address at Lucknow

in 1899, said:

"The old Hindu law, based on the actual experience of thousands of years, sanctioned one-sixth the gross produce of the land as its proper rent."

According to the estimate of Sir James Westland, already quoted, the incidence of the British Land Assessment is only one half that of the time-honoured Hindu rate, leaving 92 per cent. to the cultivator.

GOVERNMENT THE RYOT'S BANKER versus AGRI-CULTURAL BANKS.

"Money-lenders are obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."—Sir John Strachey.

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural clauses is an indigenous one . . . The money-lender has taken the place of Government."—

Svr E. C. Buck:

No more important question affecting the material condition of the ryots than this can engage the attention of the Famine Commission. The British Government has made two "STUPENDOUS ERRORS:"

The first was the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The object was to raise up a wealthy and benevolent class of landed proprietors, like English gentlemen, improving their estates. The result has been absentees, with a tenantry rack-rented by middlemen, to protect whom drastic legislation was required in Bengal, while great injustice was done to other provinces.

The second STUPENDOUS ERROR affected a much wider area. It was committed when the Government abnegated its function, from time immemorial, of being the ryot's Banker, and consigned him, as a rule, to the tender mercies of the money-lender. The result has been an untold amount of poverty and wretchedness.

The discontinuance of advances was not universal. The ryots might groan under the exaction of usurers, but the revenue must not suffer. To maintain opium cultivation, advances to ryots were continued, and are still given.

The first mistake is, unfortunately, irremediable: the second can be still grappled with by a vigorous Government. The question comes up under the proposed AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

It should be stated that the writer's opinions under this head are mainly derived from an able paper in the Calcutta Review,

Vol. 76, No. 151, by Mr. Arthur Harington, of the Indian Civil Service, and from Agricultural Reform, by Mr. A. O. Hume, "late Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce."

Debt the Normal Condition of India.—About 80 years ago,

Carey wrote:-

"There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers, and to entail misery where there is every preparation for the enjoyment of

happiness.

"Among the numerous causes which contribute to exclude happiness from the people of India is the universal tendency to borrow which pervades the country. This disposition to borrow is not confined to one province, to one town, or to one class of individuals. It pervades the whole country with all the inveteracy of a second nature. The country is separated into two classes, the borrower and the usurer."

"An independent husbandman, free from debt, and looking forward with delight to the whole of his little crop as his own, is almost a phenomenon in the country. Most of them, through the wretched system which now prevails among them, are in debt perhaps for the seed they sow, are supplied with food by their creditors during all the labours of the field, and look forward to the end of the harvest for the payment of a debt, to which at least forty for cent. is added, and which through the way in which it is exacted, is often increased to fifty per cent."

Getting into debt has been common in India from the earliest times. The Rig Veda contains the following prayer:—

"9. Discharge, Varuna, the debts (contracted) by my progenitors, and those now (contracted) by me; and may I not, royal Varuna, be dependent (on the debt contracted) by another."

In the Atharva Veda, Agni is asked to assist the suppliant to get rid of debt "contracted without intention of repayment!" (vi. 119).

One great cause of debt smong non-agriculturists is the extravagant expenditure at marriages and funerals. From the want of foresight, as a rule, no provision is made beforehand; money is borrowed from the money-lender, and the debtor often becomes a bond-slave for life.

Agriculturists have an excuse in the uncertainty of the rains. It sometimes happens that the seed sown withers, and that no crop is reaped for two or three seasons.

"The rural class may be expected to give up borrowing when

the Ethiopian changes his skin.

Two Necessities of the Ryot wanting at present.—

These are

1. Cheap working Capital.

2. Liberty to dispose of his produce to the best advantage.

As already mentioned, debt is universal. Mr. A. O. Hume says:

- "Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burthened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces, the evil is all-absorbing, a whole generation of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the webs of the usurers."*
 - Ryots must borrow. Mr. Nicholson says:—
- "All farmers, especially small proprietors, must of necessity and will borrow at one time or other; the mass borrow habitually."

With regard to the rates of interest charged, speaking of India generally, Sir W. W. Hunter says:—

"It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of 37½ per cent. per annum still prevails."

The money-lenders vary. Marwaris are notorious for their hard-heartedness and rapacity. The evil is not so great when the money-lender belongs to the place, and especially if he is himself a ryot.

Well-to-do ryots can obtain loans on good security at comparatively reasonable rates: it is the very poor who suffer most.

Mr. Nicholson says:--

"For grain loans the universal rule, when the loan is between ryot and ryot, is an addition of 25 per cent. to the amount borrowed. But when the advance is made by a merchant, broker, or other middleman, the rate may be anything, especially when repayment is made or calculated in rupees."

Such rates, it has been remarked, "would be fafal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country."

On the other hand, Mr. Nicholson says:

. "If interest can be reduced, say to 6 per cent., the burden of indebtedness would be halved, improvements would be profitable, and debt no longer mean pauperization.";

Liberty of Sale is another important item. At present the ryot is so much under the power of the money-lender, that he has to hand over his crop to him at the money-lender's valuation.

Proposals to supply these two necessities will next be considered.

^{*} Agricultural Reform, p. 62.

[†] Report on Agricultural Banks, Preface, Vol. I. p. 12. † Report, Vol. I. p. 18.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

The Madras Government "by General Order, 15th March, 1892, placed Mr. Frederick Augustus Nicholson on special duty for the purpose of enquiring into the possibility of introducing into this Presidency a system of Agricultural or other Land Banks."

The first volume of Mr. Nicholson's Report was published in 1895 and the second in 1897. The difficulties connected with the

inquiry are stated in the Preface to the first volume :--

"Until 1894, there was, practically, no English work even on the one subject of popular banks, while the sources of detailed information are, even now, only in foreign languages; and it is believed that there is no existing work in English on the Land and Savings Banks Systems, or upon the credit systems and indebtedness of the landed proprietor, of the European continent." p. v.

Mr. Nicholson's able Report contains a mass of information on the subject; but perhaps the chief impression left upon the mind is the difficulty of carrying out his proposals.

Mr. Nicholson gives a Draft Bill occupying 46 folio pages (Vol. I. pp. 325-371). Any person who reads its provisions will agree with what its author says in the volume containing it:—

"It is beyond the power of any brain however fertile, of any man however fully informed, to conceive in advance a method, confectus ad unguem, of banking for the people, least of all in a country where the conditions are so novel, the banking idea so absolutely unknown, as in this country. Success can only arise from the long-continued, practical efforts of zealous men, who while informed in the details of every method yet tried, can yet live among the people, vivify them with their own spirit and intelligence, energize them with some of their own enthusiasm, and with them, work out in actual fact, even though on the humblest lines, the system or systems of the future." p. 32.

The same remark is virtually repeated in the Preface to the second volume:—

"Still, it is not pretended that Village Banks or Co-operative Societies could at once be a success; on the contrary, one great feature in Volume I. is the suggestion of difficulty in initiation as shown by European history; it is only long-continued, energetic, public and private effort, that can bring about success." (p. vi.)

Agricultural Banks, on the requisite scale, are impracticable

at present for the following reasons:

1. The circumstances of the people.—The difficulties were great even in Europe among a comparatively well educated intelligent people. They would be vastly increased among ignorant ryots.

2. "Raiffeisen" cannot be found in sufficient numbers.—Raiffeisen was a German Burgomaster, a benevolent man of "unbounded energy." Schulze Delitzch was another noble worker. The Pioneer concludes an article headed, "Find Raiffeisen," with the following words:

"To quote Mr. Nicholson again, 'Success may not come in a year or in a decade, but if there are in this Presidency men of the character and energy of those pioneers of popular banking, whose names have been so prominently mentioned in this Report, it cannot be long delayed.' There is admittedly much virtue in an it,' and one fears a vast quantity in this one. Meanwhile Madras (and India too) 'awaits its Schulze Delitzch, its Raiffeisen, its Luzzati, and its Wollenborg.'"

How many Indian Raiffeisens are there, benevolent men of "unbounded energy" who would be willing to devote themselves to the Sisyphean labour of organising and working Agricultural Banks?

3. Capital would be insufficient and the rate of interest paid for it would be high.—Government can borrow at 3 per cent. Agricultural Banks would certainly pay double that amount. It may be said that they would be financed by Government. A reply to this has already been given by Government.

During a session of the Bombay Legislative Council, in 1895, the Hon'ble Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatavadekar asked:

Will the Government be pleased to state if they are prepared to take into consideration the scheme for a model agricultural bank on the lines which had secured the approval of the Local Government as well as the Government of India twelve years ago?"

The Honourable Mr. H. E. M. James said:

"The scheme in question was ultimately dropped after full discussion and consideration of the objections raised to it by her Majesty's Secretary of State. Under these circumstances Government is not prepared at the present time to take that scheme into consideration."

The decision of Government is given in the Parliamentary Paper, No. 340, issued by the India Office, September 9th, 1897.

Mr. Nicholson's own admissions settle the question. "The banking idea is absolutely unknown in this country;" "One great feature in Vol. I., is the suggestion of "difficulty in initiation as shown by European history"; "success can only arise for the long-continued practical efforts of zealous men, who while informed in the details of every method yet tried, can yet live among the people, vivify them with their own spirit and intelligence, energize them with some of their own enthusiasm, and with them,

^{*} Quoted in Madras Mail. April 29, 1898.

[†] Quoted in The Hindu, Aug. 24, 1898.

work out in actual fact, even though on the humblest lines, the system or systems of the future." p. 32.

Instead of attempting to introduce an exotic, whose growth is not very old or vigorous in its own habitat, would it not be better to revive the cultivation of a plant which flourished tor thousands of years all over India, and which still prospers in certain parts of the country?

GOVERNMENT THE RYOT'S BANKER.

As already quoted, Sir E. C. Buck, formerly at the head of the Revenue and Agricultural Department, says:

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one...The money-lender has taken the place of Government."

Mr. Arthur Harington, late of the Indian Civil Service, suggests a return to the system in force under Hindu and Muhammadan Governments for untold generations:

"The system, then, of Government advances to the Indian ryot to facilitate production, is of considerable antiquity, is familiar both to the people and to the State, and is resorted to, to this day, whenever exceptional calamity attacks the agricultural classes. I urge that the chronic depression of these classes imperatively demands that this help should be given, not as the exception, but as the rule." p. 175.

"I do not mean by this that private enterprise should be discouraged, but that the Government should not give up a plain duty, belonging naturally and historically to itself, in the hope that this duty will be discharged by private enterprise." Calcutta Review,

Vol. 76, p. 175.

Mr. Harington discusses the following questions:

(1) Can the State furnish the required capital, estimated at nineteen millions?

(2) If it can, ought it to do so, or should it leave the enterprise to private capitalists?

(3) By what agency, and in what mode, should the advances, if

made by the State, be distributed and recovered?

The article of Mr. Harington occupies 28 pages. Only some quotations can be given.

"(1) Can the State furnish the required nineteen millions? The total sum believed to be required (Rs. 22,79,33,310) is not much in excess of the land revenue (Rs. 20,28,21,270) of the seven provinces. The period within which it would be lent and recovered would be very short, probably four months or less for advances on the Kharif (autumn) crops and six months or less for advances on the Rabi (spring) crops. If, therefore, it were found possible to use the Rabi collections of Land Revenue as a fund from which to make the Kharif advances,

and to use the Kharif collections for the Rabi advances, the collections so applied would be regularly replaced within four or six months, or less, respectively. The investment of capital in these advances is not an investment of the ordinary kind, in which the capital is permanently sunk, and only the interest on which is recovered. Nor, probably, would more than half of a year's total advances be outstanding at any given date. If, therefore, ways and means could be so manipulated as to admit of the application of the receipts from land revenue to such charges as would not fall due, or could, without inconvenience, stand over till October-November and April-May of each year, the required amount of capital could be regularly provided by the State without any borrowing, and in the most natural and convenient way possible. That such an adjustment of ways and means is practicable, I have very little doubt. My belief is based on a consideration of the large amount of the cash balances; of the fact that the nine and a half millions of revenue to be twice a year temporarily diverted in their passage from the district treasuries to their ultimate recipients, are less than a sixth part of the total State income; and, of the considerable extent to which many disbursements—e.q. among others, those for interest, pensions, furlough allowances, and purchase of stores are made, not monthly, but quarterly and half yearly.

"(2) If the State can furnish the capital, ought it to do so, or should it leave the enterprise to private capitalists?

"It is everywhere admitted that the scarcity of local capital injuriously retards the development of the material resources of India, and that the rate at which, at this day, private capital is advanced to the cultivator, 'would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country,' and is one of the most powerful factors in producing the present depression. There are no signs that private enterprise is about to come to the cultivator's relief on any large scale, or on any scale at all, when the cultivator has no substantial security to offer. Nor could private enterprise, even if ready to come forward, offer its accommodation nearly so cheaply as the Government can. For the Government can borrow more cheaply than any one else, if capital has to be raised by borrowing, and it alone would seek to make no profit out of the transaction, but merely to pay working expenses and secure itself against loss.

"The Government of India, as chief landlord, is distinctly bound to relieve, in all practicable ways, the wretchedness of its tenants, to improve their material condition, and make it possible for them to do

justice to the land they till so toilfully.

"Power, and opportunity, and relation, constitute more than any thing else, the neasure of duty. If, as I believe, the State in India can, without serious difficulty, give immeasurable relief to millions of its suffering people by itself supplying the capital they want, then, for the 'Md-Bap' of the Indian ryot to withhold that help is, to compare a political with a human relation, almost as unnatural as for the mother to forget her sucking child.

(3) By what agency, and in what mode, should the advances if made by the State, be distributed and recovered P

"In the belief that useful help towards a sound decision of this and of the last question is to be gained by looking back, I allot a considerable part of this chapter." to review historically past State action in India in

this matter of assisting the supply of agricultural capital.

"State advances to cultivators were a feature of the revenue system introduced in 1582 a.d., by Akbar's great minister of finance, Raja Todar Mal. The revenue officer of those days, when the true business of a collector seems to have been understood a good deal better than it is now, was instructed to consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman...he must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money; and receive payment at distant and convenient periods...Let him learn the character of every husbandman, and be the immediate protector of that class of subjects." Gladwin's Ain Akbari, quoted in Calcutta Review, Vol. 44, p. 378.

"Todar Mal's system was 'only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah,' who 'was intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India—a knowledge without which no ruler of that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects,' (Cowell's Elphinstone, p. 541 and Erskine's India under Babar and Humaiun, II. p. 442). Shir Shah's system, again, was based upon 'the old rent-roll of that unacknowledged orginator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlol' (Lodi) (Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 437). It is therefore probable that from a much earlier period than that of Todar Mal's reforms, state advances had formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system. This probability is greatly increased by the fact that one of the highest and earliest expounders of the Muhammadan law, Abu-Yusuf (born A.D. 731) prescribes such advances."

Some additional quotations are made to the same effect. Such advances were called TAKAVI (corruptly Tuckavy). Wilson says that it comes from a word meaning "giving strength to, or assisting" The system was at first continued by the British Government. Mr. Harington says:

"In 1767, two years after Clive had obtained from the Company the Diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, we find the first British Government of Bengal already recognizing the necessity of carrying on the native system of advances."

Wilson, in his Glossary, gives the following references: "Ben. Reg. ii. xiv. 1793; Mad. Reg. xxvii. 1802 i. 1803."

Mr. Harington says:-

"I have been unable to find any satisfactory record of the reasons which led to the discontinuance of the Takavi system. Probably the chief causes were the growth of the Company's indebtedness, and the increasing difficulty of providing the annual remittance to England; the disorganization produced by the exactions of the early revenue assessments; the want of effective supervision; and after the Charter of 1813

^{*} Here very greatly abridged,

had relaxed the Company's commercial monopoly, the competition of advances by private capitalists."

Effects of the Stoppage of Advances.—The Cawnpore Settlement Report says:—

"The Government was to the community what the heart is to the body. The sudden stoppage of what must have been to the agricultural body corporate its life-blood, while the system of periodical bleeding was continued, had the same effect which similar treatment would have upon the human frame. The members of the community, whether of the first or second degree, have been driven to procure sustenance from another and external source, and the money-lender has taken the place of Government."

. Mr. Harington remarks:-

"It is deplorable to trace, in these extracts, the suppression of a valuable indigenous institution, because abuses in its working were allowed to grow up. Delirant reges; plectuntur Achivi. The ryot pays for the fatuity of his rulers." p. 173.

Opium Advances.—Government advances for opium cultivation are still made in parts of North India. Mr. Harington gives the following example:—

"Very few people have any idea of the amount of work, of the very kind under consideration, that is done by the Opium officers, or at how low a cost it is done and done well. Take the district (Rae Bareli) which I have already chosen as a typical one. It is one of the largest opium producing districts in Upper India. During the last season (Spring of 1882), its outturn was 5164 maunds of opium. This excellent result was obtained by the distribution in August, September, February and March, of advances amounting in all to Rs. 1,83,330 to 42,635 cultivators, headed by 1557 representatives (lambardars) and residing in 1405 different villages. The agency by which these advances were distributed, and all the heavy work accomplished of persuading landlords and tenants to extend their opium cultivation, of measuring the areas sown, of repressing illicit cultivation, of weighing, testing, classifying, packing and despatching the opium produced; of disbursing to the 42,635 cultivators its price, amounting to Rs. 8,45,085 in addition to the amount of the advances,—consisted of one European officer on Rs. 250 (the very efficient Assistant sub-deputy opium agent, Mr. J. E. Hand); two gomashtas on Rs. 80 and Rs. 50; two muhirrirs Rs. 16.; three on Rs. 12; two on Rs. 10; 5 zillahdars on Rs. 7, seven on Rs. 6; 22 on Rs. 5; 8 Barkaudazes and one Orderly on Rs. 5.

"The salaries amounted to Rs. 8,280 in the year. Travelling allowances (Rs. 1,430), stationery for gomashtas (Rs. 72), measurement charges (Rs. 309) and miscellaneous expenses (Rs. 659), making a total of Rs. 10,840," (six per cent on the advances).

^{*} Calcutta Review. Vol. 76, p. 172.

- Mr. Harington quotes the testimony of Mr. T. W. Holderness, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated 4th March, 1882:—
- "The magnitude of the transactions of the Opium Department is shown by the fact, that the sum advanced annually aggregates two hundred lakks, or two millions sterling....In ordinary years advances for opium growing are recovered with hardly any loss, and the system may be regarded as the most successful and effective one by which, in India, the State comes to the aid of the agriculturist." pp. 178, 179.

Indigo planters in North India act on the same system. Mr. Hume quotes the following:—

"A gentleman, many years a planter in a district of which the writer had charge for a decade, remarked, to him speaking of cultivators:—"Deal with them wisely and fairly and there is no difficulty. I give out large advances every year. I have never had a suit in any court with any ryot, and I have never lost any money worth speaking of." p. 180.

Amount of Advances.—Mr. Harington says :—

"The maximum annual advance to a tenant is assumed not to exceed the value of half of his ordinary crop. Roughly, half the advance will be for his spring and half for his autumn crop. Therefore the maximum amount to be recovered from him on any single harvest will be somewhere about one-fourth of the aggregate value of both his harvests. The chance of a successive failure of both harvests is so remote as scarcely to need notice. If such failure should occur on any large scale, it would be a calamity so grievous as to call for every kind of State relief, and the remission of advances would have to form a part of such relief." p. 180.

Rate of Interest Charged .- Mr. A. O. Hume says:

"The agriculturist can well afford to pay nine per cent. for any money he wants. It is to him what money at three per cent, would be to a farmer at home." **

Government, borrowing at 3 per cent., probably need charge only 61 per cent., one anna in the rupee a year, which would meet working expenses.

Details of Management.—Mr. Harington says:—

"I do not think that there would be much use, at the present stage of affairs, in elaborating further details as to the precise mode in which the agents employed, whether landowners and their establishments, or Government officers should work. The requirements of the different provinces, and districts vary so widely as to make it impossible to devise machinery of general applicability. My object is rather to

^{*} Agricultural Reform

establish principles and to indicate the means by which they may be carried into action, than to fill in minute details which only local experts can supply. There is a time for everything, and the time for elaborating details does not come till the fight over principles has been fought and won." p. 179.

LAND IMPROVEMENT LOANS ACT AND AGRICULTURISTS' LOANS.

The former, Act 19 of 1883, and the latter, Act 12 of 1884, are steps in this direction. The advances in the Madras Presidency, as given in the Administration Report for 1896-97, show that their operations have been very limited. The sum of Rs. 1,74,118 was advanced under the Land Improvement Loans Act, and Rs. 9,160 under the Agriculturists' Loans Act, p. 18.

There are two main reasons for this limitation. Mr. Nicholson combats "the amiable delusion" that the "ryots thirst for cheap

capital in order to pour it upon the soil." He says:-

"The Indian ryot is not more heedful or eager for agricultural development than his European confrére, and direct land and agricultural improvement is the last thing for which credit is sought in Europe." Vol. I, p. 16.

Loans, "very generally, are for maintenance and cultivation expenses." "In many villages the bulk of the small ryots anticipate their crops, borrowing grain for seed and maintenance in the cultivation season, and repaying the advance out of the crop at harvest."*

The loans therefore cannot be widely useful so long as the objects for which they are "very generally" wanted are excluded.

But there are other reasons for the few applications, which are thus summarized by Sir H. S. Cunningham:—

"The cause of the failure of the system has been considered by the Famine Commissioners, and according to them, is to be explained by various defects in the existing organization, by the obstacles created by inefficient native officials, to whom such grants give extra trouble; by the delays, expense and troublesome formalities accompanying the grant, by the charge of interest, the small number of years over which the repayments are spread, the early date at which they commence, and the rigid rules as to punctual repayment."

Sir H, S. Cunningham adds:-

"The remedy for which this state of things appears to call is the creation of a department whose special business it should be to supervise and assist the agricultural and industrial development of the country." p. 240.

Mr. Nicholson's Report, Vol. I, p. 18.

[†] British India and its Rulers, p. 239.

The Madras Mail, (April 2, 1898) reviewing Mr. Nicholson's speech, makes the same recommendation:—

"As we have often urged on more than one occasion, if State-aided agricultural loans and agricultural credit are to be developed satisfactorily, they must be placed under a special department or organization, preferably, a branch of the Settlement, Agriculture and Land Records Department. The present ill-defined system, or, rather want of system, is as unsound in its working as it is unpopular with the ryots."

AGRICULTURAL BANKS COMMITTEE.

Government has wisely determined to have the Agricultural Banks question thoroughly threshed out by a Committee formed of experts from the different Presidencies.

As already mentioned, Mr. Nicholson's own Report seems to the writer to settle the question of the practicability of his scheme. It is a mine of useful information and should be carefully studied.

Another important document is the decision of the Home Government with reference to Sir William Wedderburn's scheme of Agricultural Banks. The reply of the Hon. H. E. M. James is quoted at page 28. The writer wrote to Mr. James and asked where the objections raised by the Secretary of State were to be found. He gave the reference to the Parliamentary Paper No. 360, issued by the India Office, September 9th, 1897. The writer applied for a copy at the India Office, but was informed, that it was out of print.

The writer believes that the plan of Sir W. Wedderburn was mainly wrecked because he expected Government to finance the

banks. The Hindu says:

"One other point to which we earnestly draw the attention of His Excellency Lord Curzon is the necessity for the Government guaranteeing the credit of the proposed banks. Unless this is done, we fear, the proposed scheme will prove once more a melancholy failure." Dec. 6, 1900.

The accuracy of this forecast is undoubted, but it is equally certain that Government will refuse to guarantee the credit of the Banks. It could not do so unless it controlled the management, involving an untold amount of labour and responsibility.

Instead of an untried scheme, confessedly attended with grave difficulties, the earnest attention of the Committee is invited to the proposal of Mr. Harington, which is suited to the genius of the people, which has been tested many centuries, and for which the machinery is already available.

Mr. Harington states the case in a nutshell:-

"Government can borrow money more cheaply than any one else, if capital has to be raised by borrowing, and it alone would seek to make no profit out of the transaction, but merely to pay working expenses and secure itself against loss."

As already mentioned, his scheme is found in the 76th Volume of the Calcutta Review, but an abstract is given in the preceding pages.

Mr. Nicholson's Report is invaluable as a chart showing the rocks and shoals ahead, enabling the vessel of the State to be

safely steered through an intricate passage.

A careful enquiry should first be made into the working of the Land Improvement Loans Act and Agriculturists' Loans Act to see what causes have interfered with their usefulness. The system of advances for opium cultivation should also be considered. What is wanted is a Consolidated Act, including former provisions, but adding advances for cultivation expenses. There should be a scheme for the restoration of the old system, guarding against its abuses, and giving all needful details.

Ryots in Debt.—One great difficulty is that many ryots are already deeply in debt to money-lenders, who will use every effort to prevent them from availing themselves of the Government terms. Still, the Government offer will tend to moderate the demands of money-lenders. Where the liabilities are not great,

they might be taken over by Government.

The measure at first might be tried only in a few selected districts, and gradually extended, with modifications, if necessary.

LORD MAYO ON TAKAVI ADVANCES.

This section may conclude with the words of Lord Mayo, as given in his Life by Sir W. W. Hunter:

"The Government has always, at least by its legislation, recognised this duty. The system of giving advances of public money, called takave, has prevailed more or less since 1793 up to the present time. The security is complete; the land is responsible for the repayment. This system is identical with that which has been carried out in England and Ireland by means of the Land Improvement Acts. We are satisfied that the principle may receive a wider development than has hitherto been given to it."

ORGANIZATION OF A SEPARATE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

The Indian Government is a compound of enlightened liberality, worthy of a great empire, and of a "penny wise and

ORGANIZA 14 OF A SEPARATE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT. 37

pound foolis deconomy. The Trigonometrical and Geological Surveys, the Irrigation Works, the greatest in the world, illustrate the former; its treatment of Agriculture, the latter.

The Land Revenue of the British Government the largest in the World.—The Government of India is the proprietor of a magnificent estate of 964,993 square miles or 617,595,520 acres. Complety returns do not exist for the whole, but the Statistical Atlas for India ves 220 million a cultivated or cultivable, 47 millions as covered with forests, and illions as uncultivable. By the Permanent Settlement, Government 'n in perpetual lease on most unfavourable terms, many millions of richest lands; but, with few exceptions, the remainder is held reases not exceeding a term of thirty years. In 1895-96 before was seriously affected by famine, the Land Revenue was Rx. *à*0.955.

Government Expenditure on Julture Proper.—This amount was shown by the Hon. F. A. Nicholson in the Viceroy's Council Chamber during the Budget Debate of 1898. He found 97 lakhs devoted to Land Revenue and 5 lakhs or Rx. 50,000, to Agriculture proper. His principal remarks are quoted below:

The Departments on their purely agricultural side have been starved; it is only throwing money away to spend a few thousands here and there and now and then; liberal continuous supplies of funds are necessary if the Departments are to be more than a mere nominis umbra;

"It is difficult to disentangle from the accounts the sums spent on, or available for, Agriculture proper as defined above. In the yellow book for 1896-07 about 102 lakes are shown against Land Records and Agriculture, but this large sum was evidently spent almost entirely on Land Records, since 97 lakes are shown as District charges, as we know that this means merely the cost of the village Accountants and Inspecting Staff who have nothing to do with Agriculture proper but only with accounts and statistics: much of the remainder went in salaries and miscellaneous charges of the Land Record officers. If we add together the cost of two or three Agricultural Colleges shown under Education, a certain moderate proportion of the salary of Land Record officers, such small portion of the expenditure on the Civil Veterinary Department as affects fattle as distinct from horses, which have practically nothing to do with Agriculture, and the sum of about 1½ lakes shown in the accounts under 'Experimental cultivation' we shall probably account for the whole amount spent in India on Agriculture proper.

"I think that the Council will agree with me that the provision in the Budget for Agriculture is wholly insufficient, and that the needs in this respect of a vast agricultural Empire demand far larger funds.

Well might Mr. Nicholson use the epithet "starved" to express the trustmer of Agriculture by the Government with the largest Land 'ever, in the world.

Recommendation of the Famine Commission.—Lection 185 of the Report says:

"A Director of Agriculture should be appointed for each Province as executive head of the Department, chosen for his knowledge of the condition of the people, and particularly of the agricultural classes. He would directly control the special statistical officers and would by the adviser of the Local Government in all matters relating to agriculture and statistics. In ordinary ties hould discharge these duties and superintend all measurement in all matters relating to agriculture of the country, and in time the properties of the country, and in time the properties of the agricultural outlook and for preparing such a forecast as a would guide it in issuing instructions and setting on foot measures of the end of the country of the forecast as a would guide it in issuing instructions and setting on foot measures of the end of the forecast as a corresponding officer should perform analogous duties under the Government of India, assisting it in its dealings with the Localye imprements in the Agricultural Department and in the supervision of the Local Directors of Agriculture. All these officials and a certain proportion of the special officers in each district should have been prepared for their duties by a technical training in scientific and practical agriculture."

Hon. F. A. Nicholson on the need of an efficient Agricultural Department.—In his Budget speech he said:—

" Now I venture to call to the recollection of the Council the opinion of His Excellency the late Lord Mayo when announcing in 1870 his intention of forming an Imperial Department of Agriculture. I am not able to give his very words, but he declared that Indian agriculture was in a primitive and backward condition; that it could not be doubted that when Western science was brought to bear upon it, the results would be as great as in Europe, and that the work performed by the Agricultural Societies in Europe must be done in India by the Government or not at all. The Famine Commission of 1880 followed suit, and since that time we have had numerous Conferences, Committees, Reports, and Resolutions all adopting similar views. I venture to follow this strong body of opinion, and to assert that an efficient Department of Agriculture in each province well and continuously supplied with funds to work out a continuous policy of research experiment, instruction and assistance, and that not for a year or two but for generations to come, is an absolute necessity for Agricultural improvement, and, further, that agricultural improvement is, in India, the only sound basis of financial and economic stability. As a Tamil proverb has it, 'The ryot's goad is the ruler's sceptre.'

A Director-General of Agriculture Sanctioned.—After a delay of twenty years, this recommendation is to be carried out. Inquiry is now being made for a competent officer.

Separation of Agriculture from Revenue desirable.— Attached to the Government of India, the same officer is Secretary of the Revenue and Agricultural Departmint. Tacker's Indian Directory thus summarises its duties: "Branches of Public Bubiness.—Land Revenue, including Settlements and Takavi Advances—Surveys, excepting Marine—Agriculture, and Horticulture, including Fibres and Silk—Horse-breeding and Agricultural Stock and Fisheries—Minerals—Meteorology—Famine—Emigration,—Museums and Exhibitions—Archæology—Satistics—Forests—Patents—Cinchona—Weights and Measures."

There are the following sub-agencies:

Director of Land Records and Agriculture, with three Assistants and Clerks.

Inspector-General of Forests, and Forest Branch.

Agricultural Chemist and Assistant.

Reporter on Economic Products.

It is utterly impossible to expect under such circumstance that agriculture should receive adequate attention.

Hon. F. A. Nicholson's meaning of an "Agricultural Department." In his Budget speech he said:

"I mean by a Department of Agriculture a Department dealing completely with the second of the three classes of duties mentioned by the Government of India in 1881, viz., 'the general improvement of India Agriculture, with the view of increasing the food supply and gener sesources of the people.' I do not mean the Departments in their ord and statistical branch, or in their work in organising famine lief, but I mean their duties in examining the local conditions and lin thions of agricultural practice, in research and experiment in the fields, and in experimental farms, in examining and dealing with disease in crops and cattle, in fostering better farm practice; in encouraging popular agricultural education, in assisting the spread of associated rural credit."

A COMPLETE AGRICULTURAL SURVEY THE FIRST DUTY OF THE DEPARTMENT.

Lord Mayo cautions us against telling the ryot to do things which he has been doing for centuries, or telling him to do things which he has no means of doing. A leading feature of the Famine Commission Report is the stress laid upon obtaining full and reliable information. The absence of this has been the cause of most failures.

Perhaps the first desideratum is a full and correct account of the indigenous agriculture. It is necessary to know this accurately, to retain in it whatever is valuable, and to decide what improvements can best be introduced. It should be obtained for each important nationality, and as complete as the Geological Survey.

The following remarks by Mr. Hume with regard to superstitious practices of ryots apply to every part of India. After giving the ryo credit, in many respects, he adds:—

wholly e pirical, and is in many parts of the country, if not everywhere,

greatly limited in its application by tradition and superstition. Innumerable quaint couplets, to which a certain reverence is attached, deal with agricultural matters. These, in Upper India at any rate, are true 'household words' amongst all tillers of the soil. These govern their actions to a great extent, and often lead them wrong against their better judgment. They take omens of all kinds to guide their choice of crops and other operations of husbandry, and though some few of the more intelligent only act upon the results of these divinations when they coincide with their own views, the masses are blindly guided by them.

"So, then, it is not only external disadvantages against which the Indian cultivator has to contend, it is not only that his knowledge is still in the primary experience stage, but that even this knowledge is often rendered of no avail by the traditions of an immemorial religion of

agriculture.

"It is necessary to realise this (of which few Europeans ever even hear), as it is one great practical difficulty against which agricultural reform in India will have to contend." p. 6.

In the Appendix to his Pamphlet, Mr. Hume gives examples of the "quaint couplets" by which ryots in North India are mainly guided. One is reminded of the similar maxims in hyme of our forefathers. The Madras Department has published Tamil Sayings and Proverbs of Agriculture. They should be concerted and compared over the whole country.

The officers of the Agricultural Department should eek to gain a thorough acquaintance with the circumstances of the ryot; the difficulties he has to contend with, and how they may best be overcome. By kind sympathetic action in this direction, the

happiness of the people might be greatly promoted.

Comparison of Indian Agriculture with that of China and Japan.

After the Director-General has gained a fair knowledge of Indian Agriculture, it should be his duty to make a careful survey of agriculture in the above two great countries, which are, like India, largely agricultural.

During visits to China the writer was told that the Chinese have treatises on agriculture. It is desirable that they should be

examined.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

If improved agriculture is the *right* hand with which to fight famine, developed manufactures are the *left*.

Need of Developed Manufactures.—The Famine Commissioners begin this section of their Report by saying 5 114

"We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the resolution of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are

exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate of cumstanted class agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the many of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete. Principles not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, bough which, the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuit and lod to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such suppose

The Commissioners conclude by thus reiterating then opinion:—

'"To whatever extent it is possible, however, the Government should give assistance to the development of industry in a legitimate manner, and without interfering with the free action of the general trading community, it being recognised that every new opening thus created attracts labour which would otherwise be employed to comparatively little purpose on the land, and thus set up a new barrier against the total prostration of the labour market which in the present condition of the population follows on every severe drought." p. 176.

Difficulties connected with Technical Education and the Development of Manufactures:—

It cannot be disguised, however, that it will require great knowledge and wisdom to avoid failure. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, when Director of Public Instruction, remarked in reference to the Madras School of Arts, "It is no easy matter to determine what manufactures may be most usefully taught in an establishment of this description." The selection must differ to some extent in different provinces, according to the facilities or demand for each industry. Certain manufactures will succeed only under certain conditions. The richest iron ore may be abundant in a locality, but if materials for smelting it are not available, within easy reach, it is practically valueless.

Five'n in England there are important unsettled problems with regard to Technical Education. Government appointed a Royal Commission, composed of some of the most competent men, who gave three years' inquiry to the subject. While their voluminous Report contains much valuable information,

"They have thought it wise in many cases to abstain from drawing any definite conclusions, feeling that experience alone can show the system of education which is best adapted to the various grades of persons engaged in industry in this country."

Sir Philip Magnus, after stating the above result, says:-

"In the teaching of industrial art we may be said to be still groping our way, and to have arrived at no definite conclusions.

"Ne cannot point to any country in Europe in which the problem we are trying to solve at home has found a thoroughly satisfactory solution."

[•] In. ternational Conference on Education. Section B, p. 12. Lord Renv was Chairman of the Committee of Organization.

It is not enough to say to the educated youth of India, "Turn to manufactures." They cannot be expected to initiate industries. They may reasonably ask in each district, "How can we be best

employed? Where can we get the necessary training?"

Proposed Industrial Survey—To enable the above questions to be answered satisfactorily, an Industrial Survey is absolutely necessary. This was suggested in 1872 by Dr. Forbes Watson of the India Museum. He explained it in a pamphlet entitled, "Industrial Survey of India," The following are a few extracts.

Dr. Watson thus points out the information needed:

"It is intended in the following pages to direct attention, in the first place to the want of a really exhaustive and systematic knowledge of the various products of India in their raw and in their manufactured condition. There are certainly abundant materials for a general superficial knowledge of Indian products, but in order to render such knowledge really useful and applicable to trade and industry, much more precise and comprehensive information is required. Each kind of produce must be accurately described, the different varieties and species distinguished, the places and the methods of production ascertained, the comprerial and industrial value investigated, and the question of supply and utilization discussed. And when all this is accomplished, provision must be made for rendering the knowledge easily accessible and available for immediate reference, not only by Government authorities, but by agriculturalists, manufacturers and men of business generally h

Dr. Watson next shows that this accurate knowledge would promote the influx of European capital:

"For the last half century it has been on all sides constantly urged, that no radical reform in the agricultural or industrial condition of India can take place without an influx of European capital and European enterprise, and it has often been made a matter of surprise that neither of them has been supplied by England in the i mount which could have been utilized by a country of such vast natural resources as India. It has been considered remarkable, that a country under British rule, with full guarantees for the protection of hife and property, has not attracted more of the superabundant capital and enterprise of England, although the means of communication have recently been so much extended. The reason is, that however important all the conditions just enumerated may be, there is a, still more indispensable requirement which must be satisfied before private capital and skill will come forward without a Government guarantee. This requirement is such a precise knowledge of the industrial resources and of the conditions of production of the country as will allow of a reasonable forecast of the success of the enterprise.

Why the Government of India should not leave the work to private enterprise is thus shown:—

"Such a knowledge of the country, as is here demanded for India, is in Europe the accumulated result of the efforts of many successive

generations, the work of legions of pioneers of enterprise, who pushing on from experiment to experiment, and from failure to failure, have revealed to the country by their final success the secret of its resources.

"The whole of the advanced portion of Europe is, in consequence of the development of commerce, covered by a network of private agency, the express purpose of which it is to indicate to the consumer the best sources of supply, and to offer to the producer the best means of realizing his products. A similar organization exists, of course, in India also, but only in a rudimentary state and restricted to some principal towns, and to a few of the principal staples, although no doubt it would grow in time by its own efforts."

"To shorten, however, in India, the period of preliminary trials, and unavoidable failures, and to hasten the advancement of the country appears to be in the power of the Government, which, although unable to take the place of individual enterprise, may promote inquiries which will facilitate its task. Public, as distinguished from private, action, assumes, therefore, in India much larger proportions than it does here, and it will be acknowledged that this has always been the admitted policy of the Government of India. Much has already been effected with respect to opening up the country by means of information. The trigonometrical, topographical, revenue, and geological surveys, have been undertaken on a scale of perhaps unprecedented magnitude. It remains to complete them by an industrial survey which shall take stock of all the various productions of the country—agricultural, forestal, pastoral, and mineral—of manufactures, of the localities of production, of the varieties, qualities, and values of produce, its supply, mode of distribution and consumption.

Dr. Watson further points out the benefits of the Survey in promoting internal commerce, and its political advantages as tending to raise up a middle class.

This admirable scheme was never carried out, owing to the opposition of the India Council. Sir Louis Mallet was the Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office. The following quotation from him is given in the Famine Commission Report, App. I, page 135:—

"If there is any one thing which is wanting in an investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. There is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts. I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us. Now I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well-digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles. The only occasion upon which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement opposition of some members of Council, for whose opinions and experience I have the most unfeigned respect, was in my advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposal for an Industrial Survey."

STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

The following measures seem necessary:

1. The appointment of a Director-General of Commerce.

According to Thacker's *Indian Directory*, the Secretary to the Government of India in the "Department of Finance and Commerce" has charge of the following:—

Branches of Public Business.—The Public Accounts, including Estimates, Banks, Money Orders and Alienations of Revenue—The Public Expenditure—The Public Ways and Means, including Loans—The Public Funds—The Mints—The Paper Currency—Leave—Pay, Allowances, Pensions and Gratuities of Public Offices—Assessed Taxes—Excise—Opium, Salt—Customs, Stamps—Post Office—Commerce—Merchant Shipping—Stores from Europe—Ports and Port Ducs, Lighting and Pilot Services of Customs.

There are, of course, subordinate officers; but it is utterly impossible for one man adequately to supervise so many branches. Every well organized state in Europe has its Minister of Commerce. The Times, weekly edition, June 24th, 1898, says that "an Imperial decree has been issued in China sanctioning the creation of the Office of Minister of Trade." Perhaps, the Government of India may be led to follow her example. A little consideration will show the need of permanent officers to superintend technical education and the development of manufactures. Specialists are required to conduct the inquiry, and the same men must watch over the carrying out of the proposals.

Besides a Director-General, a Member of the Viceroy's

Council, it is very desirable to have Provincial Directors.

The Government of India has already two officers who render most essential service under the head of Commerce. Mr. J. E. O'Conor, c.i.e., Director-General of Statistics, and Dr. George Watt, c.i.e., Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India, author of a Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, &c.

2. An Industrial Survey.

3. A complete scheme of Commercial and Technical Education.

The second has already been noticed; the third is taken up

under "Educational Reform."

At Glasgow Lord Rosebery, lately expressed the opinion that the Twentieth Century would be "a period of keen and almost fierce international competition." "The nation must become more business-like and thorough as warriors, merchants, and statesmen." This is an additional call to effort on behalf of India.

IRRIGATION WORKS.

As already mentioned, the Irrigation works constructed by the British Government are the greatest in the world, and noble monuments of its rule. While they should be pushed forward to the utmost, there are limits to their extension. There must be a supply of water before it can be used for irrigation. The great bulk of Government expenditure on such works has been remunerative, but in some cases it has been useless.

Lord Curzon, not long ago, stated the case fully. It is agreed to have an Exhaustive Survey as to the capabilities of their

extension. Further remarks are therefore unnecessary.

RELIEF OF CONGESTED DISTRICTS BY EMIGRATION

Government has already Emigration Agents to protect labourers in tea districts and emigrants to colonies. Though useful in their place, the relief thus afforded is totally inadequate. Emigration is required on a far larger scale.

Sir W. W. Hunter says :-

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India."

France is a fertile country, but the population is only about 180 to the square mile. There are districts in India with 800 to the square mile. As Sir William Hunter remarks:—

"If we allow four persons to each peasant family, we find 24 millions of human beings struggling to live off the produce of 15 millions acres, just over half an acre apiece. The Indian soil cannot support that struggle."*

The remedy is plain. Sir William Hunter says:-

"Natives must equalize the pressure on the soil by distributing themselves more equally over the country. There is plenty of fertile land in India still awaiting the plough. The Indian husbandman must learn to mobilize himself, and to migrate from the overcrowded provinces to the underpeopled ones." †

Assam, with 50,000 square miles, has only 5½ millions of inhabitants; Bengal has 71 millions of inhabitants, while Burma, as large, has less than 8 millions. There are also scattered uncultivated, but cultivable, tracts in other provinces.

^{*} England's Works in India, p. 62.

From ignorant fear and want of energy, the great bulk of the people are unwilling to leave their own province. The dislike to it would be largely obviated if a number of families could be induced to go together. Difficulties about marriage would thus be settled.

An officer of experience and ability should be placed on special duty to collect details about congested districts and waste land available for settlements. A separate Department is even necessary. Some measure of this kind is urgently required.

Full detailed information of the land available should be published both in English and the Vernacular, and widely circulated. Noblemen, like the Maharaja of Darbhangah and other Zemindars, might get colonies led out from congested portions of their lands.

Very favourable terms ought at first to be allowed to the

emigrants.

The Maharaja of Durbhangah lately, I believe, visited Assam with the above object in view.

SUGGESTED MEMBERS OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION,

The composition of the Famine Commission is of very great importance. It should command the confidence of the people. The Welby Commission may, in one respect, be taken as a guide. Included among its members were Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

The writer's knowledge of the members of the Indian Civil Service, is very imperfect; but a few names may be mentioned for consideration. Hon. F. A. Nicholson, C.I.E., Mr. A. H. F. Fraser, c.s.i., Mr. J. E. O'Conor, c.i.e., Dr. George Watt, c.i.e.

Sir Edward C. Buck, if available, would be a very useful

member.

A home agriculturist, of the standing of the late Sir James Caird, should be secured, if possible. A commercial member,

like Sir James Lyle Mackay, would be very valuable.

Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., has long taken a warm interest in If he could come out, he would represent the Indian Parliamentary Committee, and his mercantile knowledge would be useful.

The Hon. M. G. Ranade, c.i.e., Bombay High Court Judge, and Mr. R. C. Dutt, c.i.k., might be among the Indian members.

A good deal would depend upon the selection of the President and Secretary. General Strachey and Sir C. A. Elliott, contributed greatly to the success of the first Commission.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM.[₹]

"India in Transition."—Education is one of the most important and difficult questions that can engage the attention of Government. Lord Lytton spoke of the change now going on in India as." the greatest and most momentous revolution—at once social, moral, religious and political—which perhaps the world has ever witnessed."

In this revolution, one of the principal factors is education. Lord Northbrook remarked, in a Convocation Address: "It would be bold in me to venture to give any authoritative opinion upon the effects of the spread of education in India." A well-directed system of education would prove one of the greatest safeguards to "India in Transition:" it might be made a powerful agency for elevating the people materially, socially, morally, and religiously. On the other hand, if ill-judged, it will lose half its value, or even, in some respects, become positively injurious. It is possible to raise up an intellectual proletariat, miserable themselves, and a source of danger to the State.

Educational Progress in India.—The remarks of Macaulay, with regard to Europe in the Middle Ages, apply with still greater force to ancient India: "We see the multitudes sunk in brutal ignorance, while the studious few are engaged in acquiring what did not deserve the name of knowledge." The "nine gems" at the court of Vikramaditya were only like a few stars in the dark night.

With regard to the Muhammadan period, Sir W. Hunter says:—

"No Mughal emperor ever conceived the idea of giving public instruction as a State duty to all his subjects. He might raise a marble mosque in honour of God and himself, lavish millions on a favourite lady's tomb, or grant lands to learned men of his own religion; but the task of educating the whole Indian people, rich and poor, of whatever race, or caste, or creed, was never attempted."

When the first Protestant Missionaries landed at Tranquebar in 1706, the establishment of schools was one of their earliest efforts, and ever since education has occupied a prominent place in their operations. In ancient India, in very rare cases, a pandit might teach his wife or daughter, like Ramabai in modern times; but Missionaries may be called the pioneers of female education.

[•] The writer has discussed this question at some length in a letter addressed to the Viceroy 8vo. 56 pp. Sold by Mr. A. T. Scott, Madras, 3 As. Post-free, 4 As. It is freely quoted in the following remarks.

The British Government has gradually taken an increasing share in education.

Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassa, or Muhammadan College, in 1781, which was followed in 1792 by the Sanskrit College, Benares. The Poons College was founded in 1821. On the renewal of the East India Company's Charten in 1813, a clause was inserted requiring not less than a lake of rupees to be spent every year in the diffusion of knowledge. It was not, however, till 1823 that a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in Bengal. In 1826 Sir Thomas Munro established a similar Board for the Madras Presidency: Schools were gradually opened. In 1830 Dr. Duff, commenced an Institution in Calcutta in which English was taught. Till that time Sanskrit and Arabic had received chief attention in Government Colleges. Macaulay, then in Calcutta, adopted the views of Dr. Duff with regard to the importance of English, and Lord William Bentinck issued an order recommending English education. At the same time, it was allowed that elementary education should be in the vernacular languages.

The Despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 marks an important epoch in Indian education. Complete Educational Departments were to be organised, and a national system to be commenced. In 1857, amid the tumult of the Mutiny, the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were founded, to which the Punjab University was added in 1882, and the

Allahabad University in 1887.

At present there are about 20,000 College students, while Secondary and Primary Schools are attended by upwards of 4 millions of pupils.

There has been improvement in quality as well as in the

numbers under instruction.

For about half a century literature and mathematics constituted nearly the sum total of the teaching in Government Colleges in India. This was but natural. The stream cannot be expected to rise higher than its source. Most of the Professors were Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and sought to impart to the youth of India such an education as they had themselves received. Some modifications were necessary. English literature was substituted for that of Greece and Rome.

After a long struggle, Natural Science gained an entrance into the curricula of the Indian Universities. At present, in some cases, it is, perhaps, overdone. The Madras University requires for the Matriculation Standard a knowledge of "(a) Elements of Physics (b) Elements of Chemistry"—two difficult subjects which

might well be postponed.

THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF INDIA.

While it is cheerfully admitted that many educational improvements have gradually been introduced, it is equally certain that very much remains to be done. Guizot says: "The idea of progress, of development, appears to me the fundamental idea contained in the word civilization." This general principle will be admitted. The question is, In which directions is reform specially needed? The measures recommended have often been stated before and some progress has been made; but sufficient remains to require their being brought forward again and again.

It is very desirable that education should be viewed from different standpoints. In India the intense competition caused by the University Examinations, tends, both on the part of teachers and students, to make "passing" the grand aim in education. Government will rather consider how far the course of instruction is fitted to promote the well-being of the people.

The following points will be considered:

I. Want of sufficient adaptation to India.

II. Undue craving at present for Government Office and the Bar.

III. The Development of Agricultural, Commercial, and Technical Education.

IV. Instruction in Political Economy and Morals. Each of these will be noticed in turn.

I. WANT OF SUFFICIENT ADAPTATION TO INDIA.

That "Readers" should be adapted to India, is an idea which seems never to have dawned upon the minds of some educationists in this country. In English schools they use the same "Readers" as if they were still within sight of the Grampians or with in sound of Bow Bells.

An Indian student may pass through the entire course in some schools, and never read a word about female education, the crying need of India. Self-help, the dignity of labour, the encouragement of thrift instead of the inveterate tendency to run into debt, are other subjects requiring special attention in India. Political economy is taught by means of English text-books, not dealing with Indian problems. Its aimless general character robs education of half its value.

When Lord Northbrook and Sir George Campbell, intelligent, thoughtful men, visited certain schools in India, few things struck them more forcibly than the want of adaptation in the text-books to the country

This was brought forward by Lord Northbrook in a Resolution, dated March 20th, 1873, which called forth the following remarks in *The Hindu Patriot*:

"The books which are now in fashion have been designed especially for English youths, with rosy cheeks, fireside associations, and Christmas memories, and for more reasons than one, they are utterly unsuited to Bengali lads who have not perhaps commenced their teens." May 19th, 1873.

The Report of the Education Commission has the following remarks on the use of such books in this country:—

"Adapted or unadapted, the books that are most suitable, because conveying the most familiar ideas, to English children, are most unsuitable to natives of India. Though often compelled to read about such things, the Indian learner knows nothing of hedge-rows, and birdsnesting, hay-making, being naughty, and standing in a corner." p. 346.

Sir John Strachey thus pointed out the crying defect of many Indian Schools and Colleges:

"These institutions give, in the English language, a more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their own country, or about the Government under which they live, and, least of all, are they taught to be good and loyal citizens."

The Times says in an editorial:

"There has been more zeal than wisdom, more eagerness to imitate English models than to give the education really needed by the Natives." (August 31st, 1897).

The same want of adaptation is seen in female education in another form. Years ago Pundit Sivanath Sastri made the following complaint regarding female education in Bengal:—

"There is another evil from which these schools suffer. Nobody seems to have spent a particle of thought on the system of education to be followed in these schools. In the absence of thoughtful guidance, the system pursued in boys' schools is blindly followed; and much that is useless to the girls is taught at the neglect of subjects that would be more profitable to these feminine learners."

The evil is not confined to Bengal and still exists. The ordinary Reading Books for Boys' Schools have been generally used in Girls' Schools. Those in charge of them do not seem to feel the need of any others: they are not used when offered.

Notwithstanding the repeated condemnation of the use of Home Readers, they are still found in some of the largest schools. All this arises from what Bishop Tucker describes as

"That deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicise everything with which it comes in contact."

11. UNDUE CRAVING AT PRESENT FOR GOVERNMENT, ETC. 51'

Intellectual unfitness is not the worst charge against Home Readers. It has been said, "Whatever you would put into the life of a nation, put into its Schools." By a well-devised course of instruction, it is practicable, in some measure, to mould the character of a nation. The process, it is true, will be slow, but it will tell in the end. To the foregoing may be added, "Whatever you would put into schools, put into the school books."

Instead of desultory lessons, having little or no bearing upon conduct, they might be skilfully adapted to promote the material, social, moral, and religious elevation of the people of India. All

this is sacrificed by the use of Home Readers.

Attempts have been made, with more or less success, to prepare "Readers" adapted to India. This is the only satisfactory course. The task, however, is difficult, and progress can only be gradual.

II. Undue Craving at present for Government Office and the Bar.

A "stool in a Government Office" or a lawyer's gown, are at present the great objects of ambition among Indian students.

It was at first a necessity for Government to establish Colleges to provide educated officers. As the students were comparatively few, most of them, on the completion of their course, obtained good appointments. Now, however, the case is different.

Some time ago, at the distribution of prizes at the Presidency College, Madras, the late Mr. Justice Muthusami Aiyer, who presided, said:

"When I left the college 32 years ago, there were about 75 highly educated men, whose attainments may be said to be co-extensive with those of our graduates. At present there are upwards of 1,500 B. A's, besides 17,000 undergraduates and matriculates."

Petty shopkeepers, mechanics, peons, and domestic servants, are now making great efforts to get an English education for some of their children in the hope that they will obtain Government appointments. The supply already far exceeds the demand. The country is being filled with imperfectly educated young men, who yet think it beneath their dignity to engage in industrial employments. Unless a change take place, men of this class will become an intolerable burden upon their relatives, while they lead miscrable lives themselves. Years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton, of Madras, said:

"This reliance upon Government, and seeking after its employ, to the exclusion of all other legitimate and honourable means of obtaining a livelihood, has to the present moment been the principal bane and curse of Native society." The English Schools and Colleges furnish an army of candidates more than six hundred thousand strong, and daily receiving accessions to its ranks.

The craving extends, more or less, even to vernacular schools. Mr. Nesfield, Inspector of Schools, Oudh, says that he was once present at a "large gathering of pupils from primary schools. The Deputy Commissioner asked them why they came to school at all. Fifty voices answered at once, to get employment. He then asked, What employment? and the answer immediately was, Government. The desire to obtain employment, and thus escape from the paternal plough or workshop, is almost universal among our vernacular students," &c.

Lord Curzon, addressing Trevandrum students, said:

"Don't follow each other like a flock of sheep, which always go through the same opening in a hedge. The hedge of public duty is capable of being pierced in a great many places, and the man who wants to get to the other side will waste a lot of precious time if he waits for his turn in the crowd that is trying to scramble through a single aperture."

"Take therefore a line to yourselves; get out of the rut. Your

whole life is not summed up in office or in law courts."

Similar advice was given by the late Maharaja of Travancore. Referring to ten thousand boys in the schools of that State, he said:

"Almost without exception, all these, I suspect, look to Govern-

ment employment.

"If our Government must provide for all the youths that receive education, our public offices will have to be extended miles, and public salaries to be increased by thousands of rupecs, and after all to entertain a host of discontented, disobedient, and sometimes troublesome young men. The sooner the idea that Government employment is the Ultima Thule of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths, the better."

Even in the Punjab, where English education is comparatively new, a warning is given:

"The large increase in the ranks of the educated unemployed—is a problem which has caused and is still causing great anxiety to all sincerely interested in the good of the country."

Spain is one of the least prosperous countries of Europe. One of the reasons is the following:

"The same complaint is raised as in India that educated menovercrowd the professions and Government service rather than devote themselves to industries and commerce, whereby the best possible use might be made of the country's great natural resources." The same remark applies to Grecce:

"This general instruction is out of all relation to the real needs of the country, and excites in young men an ambition impossible to gratify. The majority of young men conceive it a disgrace to follow their fathers' professions—generally manual, and therefore regarded as degrading."

In 1877, Sir Richard Temple, in his last Report as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said:

"It is melancholy to see men who once appeared to receive their honours in the University Convocation, now applying for some lowly-paid appointment, almost begging from office to office, from department to department, or struggling for the practice of a petty practitioner, and after all this returning, baffled and disheartened, to a poverty-stricken home, and then to reflect how far happier their lot might have been had they while at school or college been able to move in a healthier atmosphere of thought and freer walk of life. Nevertheless, with these examples before their eyes, hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, persist in embarking on the same course which can only lead to the same ending. And one reason, among several reasons, is this, that they still dread and dislike the thought of manual labour, even though it be accompanied with mental training. This unhappy prejudice though not perhaps avowed nor even admitted, is palpably existent and banefully influential."

Sir George Birdwood, while allowing that among vernacular cditors "there are men who would distinguish themselves anywhere," makes the following remarks regarding others:

"We have educated the country beyond its needs, and its capacity for providing for educated men, and yearly the ranks of the educated are swollen by thousands, but there is as yet no livelihood for them. There is nothing left for the educated native so perfectly congenial to him as an educated man as the native press, and he becomes the editor and probably the proprietor of a vernacular newspaper. He is a discontented soured man to begin with, and we have educated him in the manner best calculated to perfect and point the expression of discontent."

Educated men in India, who should be "Captains of Industry," are candidates for Government office or swelling the ranks of briefless lawyers. Among such there must be "ever-increasing poverty."

The Chief Remedy.—This was pointed out by Lord George Hamlton in his Budget Speech of 1897:

"Is it impossible to so alter the current and tendency of the education we give as to associate it with objects of a practical and

^{*} Journal of the Society of Arts, March 23, 1877.

technical character, by which India's latent resources might be developed, her industries multiplied, and her productive power extended?"

On the occasion of Sir William Wedderburn's motion in Parliament this year, a pledge was given by the Secretary of State that Technical and Industrial Education would be extended. Even in England the same want is being felt. The Duke of Devonshire, at the opening of a Science School, remarked:

"We have been prominent in advocating what is called the cause of technical education, have been seeking not only to extend the area of education, but in many respects to alter its direction, and to give to it a more practical character, and one which may, we think, be of more advantage to the people of this country."

Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Committee of Council of Education, said lately at Bristol:

"He believed no one could render at this moment a higher service to the country than by securing the advancement of Technical Education."

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

While the employment of some persons in public offices is useful to the whole community, their number ought not to be in excess of what is wanted. An English merchant, addressing some Madras students, said:

"Does it never occur to you that to depend for your livelihood on a salary drawn out of the taxes paid by your countrymen cannot add to the wealth or prosperity of your country?"

Men in public offices and lawyers are consumers, not producers, and their undue multiplication can only increase the poverty of the country.

Agricultural Education.

With eighty per cent. of the population dependent upon the soil, their education is of great importance. Mr. Robertson, formerly connected with the Madras Agricultural Department, expressed the opinion that developing the intelligence of the ryot lies at the root of all improvement.

In 1881 the Government of India pointed out "that no general advance in the agricultural system could be expected until the rural population had been so educated as to enable them to take a practical interest in agricultural progress and reform."*

^{*} Proceedings of Agricultural Conferences, p. 25.

The Agricultural Conferences of 1893 and 1895-96 remark:

"As it would only be through, and by, the native community, that agricultural improvements could, on any important scale, be carried into the country, measures must be taken to secure their co-operation by a proper system of intelligent instruction in the schools."

The value of the education given to ryots will depend upon its character. The remark was made years ago, "Our present, system of education tends to give the native youth a taste for a town, rather than a country life,"..." the very thing which ought not to be done,"

The subject of Agricultural Education has been receiving attention in England. The following remarks appeared in the

Athenaum a few months ago:

"It may be noted that the recent deputation of the Agricultural Education Committee to the Duke of Devonshire was favourably received. Again, the Council of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture devoted the whole time available for discussion at their last meeting to rural education, and ended by passing a resolution in favour of adapting the instruction in rural elementary schools to the requirements of country life.

At the discussion, Mr. Williams, a practical farmer, alluded to the object lessons given in the majority of village schools. They do not deal with matters agricultural. The cooper's shop, and shoemaker's shop, and a number of others are introduced to the pupils, but never

the work of the farm.

"An excellent syllabus of simple lessons in rural economy has been submitted to the Education Department by the Agricultural Education Committee:"

A series of elementary text-books should be prepared, suitable for Primary Schools in rural districts.

Natural phenomena, as wind, rain, lightning; the formation of soil; the growth and structure of plants, would be excellent

subjects for lessons.

While Indian ryots are thrifty, industrious, and show considerable skill, as Mr. A. O. Hume remarks, "their knowledge is wholly empirical, and is in many parts of the country, if not everywhere, greatly limited in its application by tradition and superstition." Favourable seasons for sowing, &c., are sometimes lost from the position of the planets being supposed to be adverse.

It seems practicable in Agricultural Schools to point out prevailing defects, and, in course of time, to bring about a change.

Besides ordinary education, Agricultural Schools and Colleges are required.

The great importance of the subject demands that it should receive special attention. One of the primary duties of the Director-General of Education would be a careful study of

Agricultural Education throughout the civilized world, to see what course had best be adopted in India.

Agricultural Knowledge among Revenue Officers.—Sir Richard Temple says in a Minute on Agricultural Education in the Bombay Presidency:—

"One effective method of diffusing a knowledge of agriculture among the landholding classes is to ensure that our native Revenue officers and officials shall graduate in this science Or else it might be ordered that all officers and officials in the land revenue department must go through an agricultural course, the higher grades through the College course, the other grades through the school course. Further, as the system takes root, it will not be difficult to arrange that all headmen and village accountants shall pass some elementary examination in agriculture."

He adds :-

"The Natives themselves are awakening to a sense of the importance of improving agriculture, the staple industry of the country, and would willingly follow the guidance of the Government in this direction." pp. 153, 154.

Commercial Education.

There have been in England, for many years, what are called "Commercial Academies," for teaching writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping; but "Commercial Education" now includes a much wider range. In the East the "wide-awake" Japanese seem to have taken the lead in this department of education. In 1871, commercial schools were organised at all the great centres of the Empire. In the Tokio Higher Commercial School, "the students are all taught the every-day methods and forms of western business by actually practising them in a large room, in a make-believe way, as if genuine transactions were really being carried out. In one corner one finds a banking establishment. A side room is a custom house, and huge volumes of imports and exports enter and emerge from it, with clerks busy preparing bills of lading, others drawing bills of exchange, getting them accepted, and selling them to brokers, and so on, just as in actual commercial life.*"

The students are also taught "that uprightness and just dealing are absolutely necessary to the building up of a permanently successful business."

Only very small beginnings in commercial education have yet been made to India. The Director-General of Public Instruction should frame a complete scheme up to the times.

Technical Education.

The importance of this and the difficulties connected with it, have already been mentioned.

Scheme for organising Agriculture, Commercial, and Technical Education on an efficient Scale.

The Appointment of a Director-General of Education.—

During 1896-7, the total expenditure on Education amounted to Rx. 3,547,502. Such a large sum certainly deserves a few thousands more to see that it is judiciously spent. This is especially necessary with regard to education. In other departments money may simply be wasted by mismanagement; in the case of education it may raise up men a source of danger to the State.

The Provincial Directors are so much occupied with details, that it is impossible for them to watch the progress of Education throughout the civilised world, and see what improvements might be introduced. This would be one of the chief duties of the Director-General. Every year he should visit each province consulting with the Provincial Directors about plans and discussing proposed improvements.

It may be objected that there would be a clashing of authority. But the Director-General should only be able to advise. Wise suggestions, as a rule, would be adopted. However, if any Provincial Director framed rules contrary to the recognised principles of the

Department, the case might be reported to Government.

The Director-General should be appointed as early as a suitable man can be obtained. It should be his duty to collect information and personally visit the countries in Europe and America having the best organised systems of Agricultural, Commercial, and Technical Education.

Invitation to Sir Philip Magnus to make an Educational Tour of India, in company with the Director-General.—Sir Philip is Educational Adviser to the London Polytechnic Council; he was a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Education; he is a member of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council. If circumstances permitted, he would probably accept an invitation from the Government of India to come out to advise Government after personal inspection. If he cannot come, the Duke of Devonshire might be asked to recommend some other eminent authority on the subject.

Sir Philip Magnus and the Director-General should be accompanied in their tour through each Province by the Provincial Director of Education. They would also consult any persons

fitted to give them useful information. The scheme drafted would first be submitted to the Provincial Authorities. After suggestions from them and perhaps public criticism, it might be considered by the Supreme Government, and finally sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

UNIVERSITY TEXT BOOK ON POLITICAL ECONOMY ADAPTED TO INDIA.

Indian journalists, some of them graduates, as has been shown, stand in doubt whether railways "have not been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people," or "regard the increase of foreign trade as only indicating the growing material exhaustion" of India.

Mr. Dutt contrasts the diminution of the National Debt of Great Britain with the increase of the National Debt of India.

He says:

"If the people of India had any voice in the management of their finances they would have opposed such increase in the National Debt; they would have tried to reduce it, as it has been reduced in England."

The Public Debt of England was contracted on account of wars. England spends no money on irrigation works or railways; the debt is therefore wisely reduced.

Mr. Dutt contrasts British Revenue minus Railway Receipts

with Indian Revenue plus Railway Receipts.

If the Bloomsbury Meeting presented a faithful picture of the English administration of India, it is one of the vilest on earth. It is conducted by men guilty of "hypocrisy" and "continuous subterfuges," "in violation of acts and resolutions of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and Sovereign;" fattening upon the "ever-increasing poverty of the people;" the authors of all the "terrible misery," from which India has suffered during the century and a half of their rule; yet so pitiless that, in the year of grace 1897, threats of revolution and an appeal to the humanity and justice of the British people were necessary to put a stop, if possible, to the iniquity of their rule!

The Resolution, well characterised by The Saturday Review as "blatant nonsense", embodying such an opinion of the British Government of India, was passed "unanimously and with considerable enthusiasm" by men supposed to be the highest "product," of forty years' University education. It well affords food for

serious reflection.

False patriotism and racial feeling are partly responsible for the above; but it is largely due to ignorance of the real facts of the case, arising from our defective system of education.

It is true that the Indian Universities include Political Economy as an optional or compulsory subject in the higher examinations, but this is not enough. It is not taken by the great majority of students, and the course is not sufficiently, adapted to India. It should be Indian Political Economy, not merely dealing with theoretical questions, for which, at the Atheneum says in reviewing Nicholson's Political Economy, sensible men "would not give two pence."

The Educational Review referring to the above remark, says:

"The words undoubtedly point to a defect in the subject of Political Economy as taught in India. The fault lies not so much with the lecturers as with the fact that there exists no text-book on the subject of Political Economy as applied to India. As it is, our students study books, such as Fawcett's Manual of Political Economy which base all their illustrations on conditions as they exist in England—conditions which do not exist in India, and which therefore, are unintelligible to the student. Even when the illustration has been carefully explained, there still remains the fact that the conditions on which the illustration is based do not appeal to the experience of the Indian student. What is wanted is a book which deals with the three agents of production, land, labour, and capital, as applied to India, and with such questions as the currency and the land tenures of India." June, 1898, pp. 248, 249.

Besides an elementary book, like The Citizen of India, for High Schools, a University Manual is required, dealing with such questions as Land Settlements, "Unearned Increment," the supposed "Balance of Trade," India's dealings with England, Railways, &c., with special reference to India.

To obtain such a work Government might offer a reward of Rs. 1000 for the best treatise, if the copyright remains with the author. If it is to become Government property, which is preterable, perhaps Rs. 5,000 should be offered.

The Universities would, no doubt, adopt it as a text-book.

MORAL INSTRUCTION.

Need of Moral Instruction Acknowledged.—Without moral principle, the best intellectual training may prove only an evil. I'lato says, "Did you never observe the narrow intellect flashing from the keen eye of a clever rogue, how clearly his paltry soul sees the way to his end; he is the reverse of blind, but his keen sight is taken into the service of evil, and he is dangerous in proportion to his intelligence!"

This was early felt. Kerr, in his Review of Public Instruc-

tion in the Bengal Presidency, says:—

"The Court of Directors from an early period considered that the improvement of the moral character of the natives was one of the first

objects to be aimed at, and directed that a Professor should be appointed to lecture on Jurisprudence and Morals, without having any other duty to perform." p. 62.

The same great duty is recognised in the Despatch of 1854. It is stated that one object of Government Education in India is to "raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages."

Moral instruction was recommended by the Education Commission. The Report contains the following recommendations:

"8. That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based on fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

"9. That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and Aided College deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen." p. 291.

The Report says further:

"Some of the witnesses in every province and some of every class, Native and European equally, have asserted that there is urgent need that the principles of morality should be definitely expounded. A review of the evidence seems to show that moral instruction may be introduced into the course of Government colleges without objection anywhere, and in some Provinces with strong popular approval." p. 295.

Present Neglect of Direct Moral Instruction.—The Education Commission Report says:

"In Government Colleges there has been no attempt at direct moral teaching. In them entire reliance has, as a rule, been placed on such opportunities for indirect moral lessons as are afforded by the study of the ordinary text-books and by the occurrences of ordinary academic life." Report, p. 294.

Dr. Martin, late Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, says in his last Report:

"The more one thinks of the present situation, the more one feels impressed with the truth of the conclusion that the policy of religious neutrality has been carried too far; that the present system of Godless training has been more destructive than constructive in its effect. It is sad that while the bare materialism and freethinking of the West have dispelled a mass of ignorance and superstition, they have at the same time created a feeling of scepticism and a spirit of utter irreverence' which is sapping the very foundation of the moral side of a student's character. It is for this reason that some sort of religious instruction has been advocated, not, of course, of a sectarian character, but on the line of universal truths, with a cardinal idea of a Supreme Being controlling and regulating all our thoughts and actions."

Currie justly remarks of moral instruction:

"So far from being left to take its chance in school, as it commonly is, being enforced in a fragmentary way and at irregular intervals, just as some accident may throw it in the way in the course of the reading lesson, it should be systematically provided for."

The Value of School Books in Education.—The importance of the teacher is recognised in the aphorism, "As is the Master, so is the School." Some, however, disparage everything else. In a Bombay Convocation Address, it was said, "The way to secure true ethical instruction for students is to put them under good instructors, securing men of fine capacity and noble nature for the purpose." This is, unquestionably, the most effectual means, but such men are rare, and moral instruction must be indefinitely postponed if we are to wait for them.

Government rightly places the provision of efficient training schools and colleges for teachers in the forefront of the measures recommended. Still, this must be the work of time. Generations must probably pass away before India can be supplied with them.

While the training of teachers should be vigorously prosecuted, efforts should be made to utilize to the utmost those who are employed at present. Though few among them are men of "fine capacity and noble nature," on the other hand, it is hoped that there are few leading such lives as would make their teaching a moral class book mere mockery. Generally speaking, Government teachers rank with the fairly respectable class of society to which they belong. Though perhaps not animated, as a rule, by a high sense of duty, they may be regarded as desirous of giving satisfaction to their superiors, and willing to teach whatever is calculated to secure this object. Many are interested in the welfare of their pupils.

The Government of India, in a Letter on "Improvement in the System and Method of School and Collegiate Education," in December 1887, justly says:

"12. Although attention should be, in the first place, given to the provision of really competent teachers, example being better than precept in forming the tone of a boy's mind, still precept should not be overlooked."

Dr. Duff says in his Missionary Addresses: "Give me,' says one, 'the songs of a country and I will let any one else make the laws of it." 'Give me,' says another, 'the school books of a country, and I will let any one else make both its laws and its songs."

The question what books should be used in schools deserves special attention in India. An intelligent teacher, if compelled to use interior class-books, will make up largely for their deficiencies

by oral instruction. In India, however, except in a tew cases, as Mr. Hodgson Pratt observes: "The book is everything, for the masters cannot supply what it fails to give." But even with regard to the best teachers, it is desirable that oral instruction should be supplemented by the printed page.

Teachers themselves may be benefited by good text-books: they might insensibly be influenced by the spirit of a work like Smiles on Duty. Good school books would suggest to them texts on which they might enlarge, and without which the moral

instruction would not be given.

The true view of the case is thus expressed by the Government of India, which some Educational Officers would do well to note:

"It believes that the careful selection and training of teachers provide the most effectual method of establishing a good moral tone in a school: but it also considers that the influence of the teacher may be greatly strengthened, and the interests of morality promoted by the use in schools of text-books having a direct bearing on conduct either by means of precept or example."

The "Orders" of Government conclude as follows:-

"All that remains now to be done, in Bengal at all events, is to supplement this action of the University by providing for the lower grades of schools, and for each class in those grades, suitable text-books compiled on similar lines. Similar action in other provinces is equally called for, and accordingly the Governor-General in Council desires that each local Government and Administration should take this matter at once in hand, either by the appointment of a Committee, or by employing selected individuals, who need not necessarily be officials, or by the offer of suitable prizes, effect a revision of the existing Readers in the direction indicated above, or, where necessary, procure for use in schools an entirely new set of books compiled on these principles. His Excellency in Council will be glad to learn from time to time the progress made in each province in this undertaking." pp. 362, 363.

MORAL INSTRUCTION THROUGH POETRY AND MUSIC.

While moral lessons in prose are advocated, the object of this section is to urge the value of music and verse as a means of imparting moral instruction in the most attractive form.

The Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education remark, "The songs of any people may be regarded as important means of forming an industrious, brave, loyal, and religious working class." Currie says:

"Every good song which is made familiar to a school is a pleasant and powerful source of influence over a large number, in behalf of the virtue or sentiment which it embodies."

Second Quinquennial Review, p. 362.

Outside the home circle, there is probably no power which affects the morality of children so much as songs and verse set to pleasing tunes.

Music is now recognized in the Educational Code of every enlightened nation in Europe and America, and it will gradually

take a similar position in India.

To facilitate the teaching of vocal music in India, two small collections of "Songs for Government Schools in India" have been published.* Some of the songs most popular with English children have been selected, and, through the kind help of American friends, several which are favourites in the United States have been included.

As far as materials are available and the principle of religious neutrality permits, an effort has been made to insert the songs which seem best suited to promote the moral elevation of India.

A few of the songs are simply amusing; some are lively marching songs; but most of them have a moral or religious purpose.

Many are intended to inspire family affection, truthfulness, honesty, perseverance, promptitude, kindness to animals, moral

courage, loyalty, and other virtues.

The design in others is to bring before the young, in a

pleasing form, the great truths of natural religion.

One great obstacle to the introduction of vocal music in Government Schools is that many of the teachers are unable to sing. In most large towns, however, there are means by which some of the principal tunes may be acquired. The difficulty will gradually be overcome. Singing should be taught in Normal Schools.

Even if not sung, committing the words to memory and reciting them simultaneously, with due expression, will be very useful. Children like this exercise, and need only encouragement.

One of the greatest educational wants of India is a collection, in each language, of simple poetry, of an improving tendency, set to popular tunes. Indian classical poetry, unintelligible without a commentary, is not what is wanted.

The influence of Government will be required to secure the introduction of music. It is commended to the attention of

Directors of Public Instruction.

MORAL TEXT-BOOKS.

Previous remarks refer mainly to lessons on morals in the ordinary "Readers." For the higher classes special manuals are desirable.

^{*} Sold by Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras, Junior Division, § Anna Senior Division, 1 Anna

Several years ago Chambers's Moral Class-Book was used to some extent in India. The Preface states:

"The various virtues are described chiefly by narratives, in which individuals are shown as exemplifying them. To these have been added all those fables of Æsop and others which are most remarkable for their happy bearing on the important points of human conduct."

On these lines a useful Moral Class-Book for the highest class in elementary schools might be prepared.

Man and his Duties, a Moral Reader, by J. Sime, LL. D., C. I. B., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, has reached a fifth edition.

The Preface says:

"It is fully understood that the home, the playground and the living influence of the teacher are the chief means of early moral discipline; but it is also believed that precept, especially if illustrated by example, can do some good in this direction.'

"In this Moral Reader, a few simple moral principles are laid down, with lessons on the chief duties both to God and Man. In exhibiting the duties, examples of most of the higher human virtues are given,

with copious extracts from great writers.

This work seems partly prepared on the plan recommended by Lord Cross—extracts from "great writers." Though well-selected and dovetailed, the book, on the whole, is nearly as well suited to England as India. The subject of female education does not seem once mentioned. Parts of the volume are too abstract and difficult for schools; but, on the whole, it is admirable and calculated to have a beneficial influence. It has been widely circulated in the Punjab with good effect. How far it is used in other provinces seems doubtful.

A good influence might be exerted through University English Texts. The Calcutta Board of Studies laid down the following Rules with regard to the preparation of Entrance Text-Books:—

 Consist of both prose and poetry;
 That the prose be taken from authors of the present century.
 That at least one-half of the prose portions consist of extracts having a direct bearing on conduct, either by way of precept or example; and

(4) That a similar principle be, as far as possible, kept in view in the poetical selections.

Already extracts have been made from Blackie's admirable Self-Culture. Todd's Student's Manual, Character, Duty, and other works by Smiles would afford excellent materials. Poetical selections of the above character are of special value. But books written specially adapted to the circumstances of the students would have far more weight.

Appeal to the Indian Universities.—After a course in which special instruction in ethics is either altogether or almost entirely ignored, young men are sent out to the "battle of life," with old restraints removed, and no new safeguards to take their places, exposed to fierce temptations of every kind. The fruits are best seen where home influences no longer operate. There are many noble exceptions, but Dr. Mullick, House Physician in a London Hospital, thus describes the effect upon some Indians of a stay in England:

"Endowed with a smattering of general knowledge, proverbially pliable, possessed of a morbid measure of his social status, inflated with a superlative sense of self-satisfaction, born of misdirected education, he returns to India an incubus to his family and a danger to the country... The stay-at-home people he despises and treats with unveiled contempt, even 'the old fool of a father.'"

Appeal to Lord Curzon.—There is no point in this lengthy Memorandum which the writer would emphasize more strongly than attention to Moral Instruction in Schools. According to the principle of religious neutrality, the distinctive doctrines of Christianity cannot be taught in Government Schools; but, apart from them, religious instruction of great value might be given. A Godless education is best fitted to create a Frankenstein, which would be the bitterest enemy of the English Government, employing its powers against the author of its existence.

"You taught me language: and my profit on't Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid you, For learning me your language!"

PROMOTION OF FRIENDLY FEELING BETWEEN INDIANS AND EUROPEANS.

A few years ago Sir Monier-Williams travelled over India, conversing freely with educated Hindus. The leading impression left upon his mind is thus stated:

"In my opinion the great problem that before all others presses for solution in relation to our Eastern Empire is, How can the rulers and the ruled be drawn closer? How can more sympathy and cordial feeling be promoted between them?"

The difficulties in the way of this are undoubtedly great. Lord Canning said in his parting address:

"England has before her one of the most difficult problems that State policy can be called to solve; the drawing together, with harmony and without injustice to either side, two great races radically different in every thing that forms the character of man, but which, by the course of events, are being gradually brought face to face."

The racial feeling, strong everywhere, is in India intensified by caste. From the absence of the historical faculty, there is a general belief in the "halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty"; from ignorance of political economy, proofs of the increasing prosperity of India are looked upon only as showing its "frightful and growing poverty."

The people of India have long been assured by their financial guide, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that England has annually "drained their wealth to the amount of thirty or forty millions a year." The latest "Revised Estimate" of The Indian Messenger shows

that he has been below the truth:

"We will be considerably within the mark if we reckon it at the rate of 50 millions a year. Now India has been drained to this extent for the last hundred years, and the process is going on with increased volume every year."

A hundred years at 50 millions a year, amounts to 5,000 millions sterling! To this it is added:

"It is not possible even to enumerate the thousand and one defects in the Indian administration which lead directly or indirectly to the impoverishment of the country." Nov. 18, 1900.

One great cause of such statements is our defective system of Education. The words of Sir John Strachey may again be quoted:

"These institutions give, in the English language, a more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their own country, or about the Government under which they live, and, least of all, are they taught to be good and loyal citizens."

The chief remedy is to show to the people the actual state of things by a most searching inquiry There are, however, other grounds of disunion.

Obstacles on the part of Europeans hinder good feeling between the two races. Lord Canning, at the opening of the

East Indian Railway to Rajmahal, said:—

Gentlemen, it is of no use to deny or conceal it, for it is known to all the world, we Englishmen, with all our great national characteristics, are not, as a people, conciliatory or attractive. God forbid that any of us should feel ashamed of his national character, or wish it to be other than it is. But none among us will deny that the very virtues of that character are not seldom exaggerated into faults."

It must also be admitted that there are great difficulties on the side of the Hindus. The majority shrink from the very touch of Europeans as polluting. Even the most friendly say to Europeans, like Shylock to Bassanio: "I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you." Such feelings are a great bar to union. Hindus, accustomed from infancy to caste separation, attach little importance to this state of things. Englishmen, however, are apt to regard it as grossly insulting.

But Indians have heavier grounds of complaint against us than our insular pride. Now and then outrages have been committed or accidents happened, involving loss of life. Worse than that, there is a wide-spread feeling that in such cases no justice

can be obtained: Europeans shield their countrymen.

Some months ago two engineers in the Punjab pulled an Indian from his horse and so maltreated him that he died, the cause being that he did not dismount and salaam to them. The original sentence was so light, that it was enhanced by the High Court.

No proceedings of Government for many years have tended more to remove the above impression of unfairness and disregard of Indian life, than Lord Curzon's action with regard to the Rangoon outrage and the rules to prevent accidents when soldiers are shooting. The substitution of steam or other power for pulling punkahs will obviate one of the most frequent causes of manslaughter by European soldiers.

A few suggestions may be made in the same direction.

The following two quotations should be impressed upon all Europeans coming out to India. The late Mr. Samuel Laing, while Finance Minister, said in a Calcutta address:

"In the very front of all, in the post of honor and danger, stands the little band of Englishmen in India, upon whose almost individual conduct it depends whether the connection between England and India is to be the proudest page or the deepest blot of our natural annals. If by rudeness and want of sympathy, by sloth and apathy, by selfishness and degrading habits, we make the Natives of India hate and despise, when they should have loved and esteemed us, we are traitors to the cause of England and to the cause of civilization. But if by maintaining a high standard ourselves and using our position and opportunities rightly we conciliate respect and good-will and maintain the prestige of the English name, there is no European in India, however humble, who may not have his reward in feeling that he too has not lived in vain, and he too has had a share in the work of building up of an empire."

The late Duke of Argyll, while Secretary of State for India, said at the conclusion of his address at the opening of Cooper's Hill Engineering College:

"Having a regard to the career for which you are destined, I hope you will cultivate kindly feelings towards the Natives of India...No

amount of genius, no amount of intellectual or physical superiority will ever teach the people of India to love us. Such qualities may make the Natives fear or even respect us, but they will never regard us with affection unless our public servants treat them with that kindness, generosity, and respect which I think were the distinguishing characteristics of the old servants of the East India Company. The students of this college should remember that one of the first of their duties as gentlemen, as Christians, and as faithful servants of the Indian Government, will be to cherish feelings of respect and affection towards the Natives of that great country."

Every indenture with a European proceeding to India, should contain a charge in the spirit of the foregoing quotations, and a warning that its disregard would lead to dismissal.

In the case of "Tommy," a suggestion, made nearly thirty

years ago, may be again mentioned.

Every soldier on embarkation should receive a booklet, entitled, Off to India! The trooping arrangements might be explained, and a brief account given of the chief sights during the voyage. There should be a map of India, with the principal military stations marked, and a brief account of each, with how to reach them. Hints may be given about the climate and the care of health. There should be warning against the temptations of the bazar. Hints might be given about amusements, the agreeables and disagreeables of Indian service, and "How to make the best of it."

Explanations might be given fitted to awaken a kindly interest in the people. It may be mentioned that the ancestors of the Aryan Hindus and the English, thousands of years ago, spoke the same language and worshipped the same God under the name of our "Father in heaven." Except the Sikhs and some others in the North, Indians have not the strength of Europeans, but they are an ingenious people, producing by means of their delicate fingers, with a few pieces of bamboo, muslin so thin that it was called 'woven wind,' and shawls fit to adorn an empress.

Indian soldiers have often fought shoulder to shoulder with Europeans. The spirited lines of *Punch* on some who died at

their post on the frontier might be quoted:

Wherever there floats the Empire flag
Let the story be told and told
Of the courage of men, who made no brag,
But died in their frontier-hold!
Died for a Queen they had never seen,
For an Empress who reigned afar,
Died for the glory of what had been,
And the honour of India's Star;
Put down their lives for the common weal
That makes all our Empire One,
And gives us the silent pride we feel
When we speak of the unset sun.

Wherever there floats the Empire Flag,
On continent, island, or sea,
Let the story be told of the frontier-hold
That was kept, and ever will be,
By the men—what matter if brown or black?—
Who could die for the rag called the Union Jack!

Soldiers have a rude code of honour. If a full grown man strike a youth, his companions will sometimes shake their fists in his face and say, "You coward! hit a man of your own weight!" The impression should be given that it is unmanly to strike an Indian as not a fair match. The coward would not try that game on a Sikh.

It should also be explained that many Indians have diseased spleens, which a slight blow on the side would rupture, and cause immediate death.

The occasions which led to great care about shooting passes might be explained.

The expense would be trifling and the benefit great, both to

the soldiers themselves and to the people of India.

It is pleasing to see what golden opinions Lord and Lady Northcote are winning in Western India. Still greater pleasure has been afforded to me by the "Congress Manifesto," signed by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. A very much better tone was given to the Madras Congress by its President, the Hon. A. M. Bose. The motto he recommended to the Congress was, "Love and Service." The London Correspondent of the Bombay Gazette describes the Manifesto "as making a new departure." It is to be hoped that India, the home organ of the Congress, will also change its spirit, instead of continually girding at Lord George Hamilton. The Hon. Mr. Budruddin Tyabji, Chairman of the Third Congress, gave two wise counsels which it would be well to follow:

" Moderation is better than Exaggeration."

"Persuasion is better than Declamation or Abuse."

Europeans and Indians have their respective good and bad qualities. If each would try to acquire the virtues and avoid the vices of the other, a much finer character would be produced than either possesses at present. Both are now united like man and wife, and there is no prospect of an immediate divorce. Mr. John may not be a lovable husband; but Mrs. John, instead of continually nagging at him, would fare better if she acted like Sita, that model Indian wife, the fairest creation of Indian poetry.

There have been faults on both sides. Each must make the

confession.

"For I have sinn'd; oh, grievously and often; Exaggerated ill, and good denied."

The poet adds,

"Be wiser, kindlier, better than thou art."

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS OF THE VICEROY AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The term "Cabinet" may be applied to the Viceregal Council. It is composed of the Commander-in-Chief as an Extraordinary Member, a Military Member, a Legal Member, a Finance Member, and two other members—seven exclusive of the Viceroy. Contrast with this the Prime Minister's Cabinet of twenty members.

The Government of India is a kind of earthly Providence to three hundred millions. It has to undertake much of what is effected in England by the energy of the people themselves. The traditions of the old East India Company, when shareholders looked mainly to their dividends, still linger. To save a few thousands a year, one officer in some cases, is required to do the work of two.

The "fierce" mercantile competition and the growing Indian landless proletariat, will tax to the utmost the resources of Government to ward off starvation from millions. Every important department should be supervised by an officer of superior ability, who would also act as adviser to the Viceroy. On some subjects the opinion of the Viceroy can only be that of an amateur. His Resolutions, affecting the whole of India, should be carefully considered beforehand by men of experience and ability to whom the subjects have been a life-study.

It is suggested that the Directors-General of Agriculture, Commerce, and Education, corresponding to the President of the Boards of Agriculture and Trade, and Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, should be added to the Viceroy's Council. Among other advantages, the military element would not then be so proportionately large, and other departments would be better represented.

In an interview, the Marquis of Dufferin complained to the writer of the heavy desk work of the Viceroy, which, indeed, obliged his Lordship to resign his office in four years. Some progress has already been made in relieving the Viceroy from routine work, but still more is necessary. He should be set more free to consult the general interests of the Empire. Partly from neglect of this, at times the vessel of the state has been simply allowed to drift.

Provincial Councils.—The Governor of Madras has just the same number of Councillors as Mr. Streynsham Master, two centuries ago, on a salary of £300 a year. The two can checkmate the Governor. Better results would be obtained by enlarging the Council.

INDIA TO BE BENEFITED BY WISE EXPENDITURE RATHER THAN BY INJUDICIOUS REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

The great object of would-be Indian statesmen is to show how petty savings might be effected. The favourite plan is to replace Europeans by Indian agency, a very "comfortable doctrine" to the numerous candidates for "stools in a Government Office."

But such ideas are not confined to Indians. The British Government of India, like all things human, is a compound of wisdom and folly, the former, however, happily predominating. Some of its undertakings as already mentioned are conducted on a scale worthy of a great Empire. But under the idea of benefiting India by keeping down expenditure, there have been almost incredible acts of folly.

Sir Richard Temple says: "Eleven bushels of grain per acre

are produced in India as compared with thirty in England."*

Although aware of this, the British Government has "starved" agriculture by expending on it only Rx. 50,000 a year.† Well might Mr. A. O. Hume remark:

"It is one of these incomprehensible instances of determined national blindness of which history records too many similar examples, but it is a fact that landlords of an estate, let on comparatively short leases; with a gross rental of seventeen millions,; with the full knowledge that the great mass of our land is yielding less than two-thirds of what it should and would if properly cultivated, we absolutely in practice refuse to take one single material step towards remedying this lamentable waste of our property."

But perhaps the acme of economy was reached by the Government of India about three years ago. Dr. Leather, Agricultural Chemist, came out to India on a five years' engagement. When it terminated, to save about £ 1,000 a year, his appointment was abolished, after he had acquired the experience which rendered him doubly useful. Happily he was not lost to India, for Sir A. Macdonnell secured him for the North-West Provinces, and he has since been appointed to his original post. One proposed reduction of taxation is very popular, and has found strong advocates among benevolent men at home.

The Salt Tax.—The writer claims to have an equally deep interest in the welfare of the poor of India; but he thinks that it

^{*} Nineteenth Century, Nov. 1885.

[†] See page 37.
‡ I exclude about 4½ millions, the revenue derived from permanently settled and quit-rent estates.

[§] Agricultural Reform.

will be better consulted by its retention than by its reduction to

one-half its present amount.

Principles of Indian Taxation.—If a nation will pay willingly a heavy tax and object strongly to a lighter one, only a learned fool would advocate the latter because, on abstract principles, it is

to be preferred.

After the Mutiny. Mr. James Wilson proposed a Tobacco Tax. In England tobacco, a luxury, is heavily taxed, while salt, a necessary, is free. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, nobly sacrificed his official position to save the country from Mr. Wilson's financial changes. He thus explains the feelings of the people with regard to taxation:

"All people are, of course, averse to taxes; but the native feeling in reference to the imposition of new taxes is different in kind from this, and is not so destitute of reason as may at first sight appear. The Natives of this country have always lived under despotic governments, and in the absence of any better means of placing a limit upon the exactions of their rulers, they have been accustomed to take their stand upon long-established practice, which they regard as we do our hereditary privileges. Hence it has always been observed that while they are extremely patient under established grievances, they are always disposed to meet new impositions by active or passive resistance."

The two principal sources of revenue to which the people have been accustomed are the *land tax* and duty on *salt*. The former has already been considered; some remarks will now be offered on the latter.

Salt Tax.—Salt was considered, even from ancient time, so important that it was employed proverbially. A soldier was expected to be faithful to his "salt." Salt is the most productive tax next to land revenue, amounting to nearly nine crores a year. Its incidence was estimated by the Famine Commission at 5 annas per head, a year, or 5 pies ($=\frac{5}{18}d$.) a month. This is the only imperative tax upon a landless labourer. As Sir H. S. Cunningham remarks, "He is no doubt a very poor man, but his poverty can scarcely be said to be grievously enhanced by the exactions of the State."

In the interests of the poor, it has been suggested that the Salt Tax should be largely reduced. The objection to this is that in attempting to relieve the poor, the income would be lost from the much larger proportion that can afford to pay. How would the sacrifice of four or five crores of revenue be made good? The outcry does not come from the people themselves, but from western theorists.

In 1896, an able-bodied agricultural labourer in the Madras Presidency earned, on an average, Rs. 5-15 per month. If the tax were reduced one-half, the saving would be only $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies per

month—about a farthing, while $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores would be lost to the country to be employed for the good of the people. The amelioration of the labourer's lot must come from increasing his earnings. A rupee a month more would be greatly preferable to a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies.

Government must have money. It cannot be supported by taxes on luxuries—for the people, as a rule, do not use them. Necessaries must therefore be taxed. An indirect tax, like that on salt, an article purchased in small quantities, and a tax to which the people have been accustomed from time immemorial, ought not to be given up. The probable continued decline in the optum revenue is an additional argument for not tampering with the salt tax.

Suppose a very large ill-managed estate fell into our hands which yielded only one-third of the income which could be drawn from it by skilful management. Would it be wise to allow it to remain in its present condition rather than incur some outlay on its improvement? A still worse course would be to reduce the expenditure by employing less efficient agents on lower salaries.

The Government of India has been "gridironing" the country with railways, while it has "starved" agriculture on R 50,000 a year. It is hoped that there will soon be a speedy change in this policy. While many millions are underfed, the average produce per acre should not be allowed to remain at 13 bushels without adequate efforts for its increase.

EXTENSION OF LORD CURZON'S TERM OF OFFICE.

The Problem.—"To save life," may be regarded as the motto of the present Famine policy. The supply of food has been mereased by irrigation works, and railways afford facilities for its distribution. While the mortality has been comparatively small, the system pursued may be mainly described as

A gigantic and successful effort to FEED Paupers.

Here a tribute would cordially be paid to the noble and self-sacrificing efforts, both of Government officers and missionaries to reheve the famine-stricken sufferers.

Although required by humanity, the present policy increases the burden upon future administrations, threatening at last to become intolerable.

The far more difficult task before Lord Curzon may be described as

A gigantic effort to PREVENT Pauperism.

It will take years to perfect the machinery , but a commencement may be made on right lines.

The census during the coming year will throw much light on important problems; but till the results are ascertained, it will be valueless.

It is very desirable that Lord Curzon's time of office should be extended to seven years to enable him to watch over the reforms to be inaugurated. A precedent is found in the case of Lord Dalhousie, who, at great self-sacrifice, held office for upwards of seven years.

DUTY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

Ser W. W. Hunter

"There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers."

W. Carey.

Demagogues win an easy popularity by laying all the blame of the supposed poverty of India upon Government. Mr. S. M. Hosain thus points out one great use of Governments both in India and Ireland:—

"To bear on its shoulders the blame for all sorts of grievances that arise in the community by accident, by natural or unnatural causes, or

even by the fault of its members."

"It seems natural that it gives some sort of comfort and relief to lazy people who will not do anything for themselves to put the blame of their idleness and of the distress that originates from this source on some other person or cause."

Sir William Hunter says:

"English writers who tell our India fellow-subjects to look to the government for every improvement in their lot are doing a very great dis-service to the Indian races."

"I only wish the gentlemen were right who think that all our Indian difficulties are due to the short-comings of the government. For if they were right, then I feel sure that England, in the discharge of her high duty, would swiftly sweep away her culpable representatives in India. But, alas! our difficulties there are not susceptible of so easy a cure!"*

Smiles says: "In all times men have been prone to believe that their happiness and well-being were to be secured by means of institutions rather than by their own conduct." It is a delusion like that of a past Golden Age.

^{*} England's Work in India, pp. 281, 129

"How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find."

as the result of wide preparatory changes in individual character, as well expressed in these words of Herbert Spencer:—

"Just as the perpetual-motion schemer hopes, by a cunning arrangement of parts, to get from one end of his machine more energy than he puts in at the other, so the ordinary political schemer is convinced that out of a legislative apparatus, properly devised and worked with due dexterity, may be had beneficial state-action, without any detrimental re-action. He expects to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct."

Mr. A. O. Hume says in a letter to Mr. B. M. Malabari:

- "Nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all those other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status."
- "Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds pair passu, (with an equal pace) with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove vain."

India suffers far more from her own injurious customs than from supposed *British misgovernment*. Sir Madhava Row was successively Prime Minister of Travancore, Indore, and Baroda: what does he say?

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!!"

Sir William Hunter as quoted above, says .—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

Gravity of the Situation.—Some intelligent thoughtful men regard the future of India with serious forebodings. Sir W. W. Hunter says:

"British rule in India finds itself face to face with problems which, on a much smaller scale in Ireland, are the despair of our wisest statesmen."

"In thinking of her work in India, Great Britain may proudly look back, but she must also look anxiously forward."*

The opinion of Mr. Crooke regarding the Indian ryots has already been quoted. It concludes thus:

"Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be."

Sir H. S. Maine may again be quoted:

"In no country will there be probably a severer pressure of population on food."

The British Government was compelled to give up its plague legislation because it could not save the lives of the people against their will. It is to be feared that the improvement of their material condition is beset with the same difficulties. Sir W. W. Hunter says. "The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws." (See page 14.)

He adds:

"We are compelled to stand by and watch the pitiless operations of economic laws, whose force no man can stay. Those laws decree that a population of small husbandmen which marries and multiplies irrespective of the means of subsistence, shall suffer a constantly increasing struggle for existence."

They must either reform, or suffer the consequences.

SELF-INFLICTED AND REMEDIABLE CAUSES OF INDIAN POVERTY.

Earnest attention is invited to the following points:

1. Marriage as a religious duty irrespective of the means of support.—The spiritual guides of the Hindus teach that the Self-Existent condemns to the hell called *Put*, every man who dies without a son to perform his funeral ceremonies. The result is early marriage, with all its injurious consequences, physical, industrial, intellectual, and moral.

Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar says:

"Early marriage, in my humble opinion, is the greatest evil of our country." It has stood, so to say, at the very springs of the life of the nation, and prevented the normal expansion of which it is capable."

Dr. Nobin Krishna Bose says:

"I have always regarded this custom of early marriage to be among the principal causes of the physical deterioration of our race, and also as a powerful impediment in the way of intellectual advancement and social reform."

^{*} England's Work in India, p. 5. † England's Work in India, p. 74.

Hindu girls are bright scholars, and often get on well. But just at the time when they could profit most from instruction, marriage intervenes, and school must be abandoned. This not only prevents them from continuing their studies, but frequently causes them to forget, in course of time, what they have learned. With women uneducated, Sir W. W. Hunter says, "a nation loses half its brain power."

Morally the effects are still worse. Our feelings of justice are outraged when such a doctrine about Put is attributed to the Supreme Being. The idea is fostered that a man may live any sort of life provided he has a son to perform his funeral ceremonies, especially at Gaya.

Among enlightened nations people do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. In India the masses marry and multiply without any more thought of the future than rabbits. In spite of every effort on the part of Government, things will get worse and worse, unless there is prudence on the part of the people themselves with regard to marriage.*

2. The insane Expenditure on Marriages.—The Indian intellect has been so dwarfed from various causes, that the people are as fond of show as children, and, like them, regardless of the future.

The Bombay Dnyanodaya has the following illustration:

"A poor man who is struggling for an existence told us to-day that his lather owned six acres of land, but that when his three boys became of a marriageable age, he said, 'Come what will, even if I lose my land, my boys must be properly married,, so he mortgaged the land, spent several hundreds of rupees, was happy for two days, and then lost every thing he owned."

Sir M. E. Grant Duff justly said in a Convocation Address:

"He who could persuade his countrymen to give up their, to us, astounding expenditure on marriages, would do more for South India than any government could do in a decade."

This idiotic conduct is not confined to the ignorant. The Indian Mirror says. "It is well-known that common sense and prudence leave the Native, whether educated or uneducated, when he has any social ceremonies to perform. On such occasions he is sure to go beyond his means and involve himself."

3. The inveterate Tendency to run into Debt.—

Foresight, looking forward to the future and preparing for it, is one great distinction between a savage and a civilised man. The savage thinks only of the present. To-day he may be gorged

[•] See Pice Paper On Early Marriage, 1 An. Sold by Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Pepet, Madius

with food; to-morrow he may be suffering from the pangs of hunger. There are people in this country similarly thriftless. When a marriage is to take place or when they expect a confinement in their family, they make no preparation beforehand, when it would be much easier to provide the necessary funds. When their expenses will be increased, they borrow, requiring, in addition, to pay interest. Not a few spend their month's pay at once, and there is not a rupee left to meet any exceptional expenses.

The amount paid annually in interest is enormous. A man on a debt of Rs. 50 paid Rs. 3-2-0 a month for three years, and at the end of that period, having paid over Rs. 100 as interest, the debt of Rs. 50 remained undiminished.

One great remedy is to exercise foresight, to look ahead and have a fund on which one can draw without any charge for interest. This is secured by keeping a Post Office Account into which savings are, under ordinary circumstances, put regularly.

- 4. The craving for Government Service and the Bar.—This has already been noticed at considerable length.
- Locking up money in Jewels instead of employing it profitably.—The Indian method of saving is to invest surplus earnings in jewels. A man's wife is his walking savings bank. Though thrift is thus promoted, it has serious disadvantages. At a recent census there were 401,582 goldsmiths in India. Estimating the average earnings of each at Rs. 8 a month, an annual outlay of 385 lakhs is spent in rendering useless, for commercial purposes, the capital which the country so much needs. What a great gain it would be if this army, 400,000 strong, were employed in manufacturing improved agricultural implements, or as masons, carpenters, or teachers! Consider also the great loss of interest by the jewel system. All the railways and public works in India could have been built twice over by means of the capital invested in jewels, and ten crores a year in interest sent to England might have been retained in the country. When people wish to get loans, they have to pledge their jewels, paying perhaps 12 per cent. interest, while if their value was in the Bank, they would have no interest to pay. The tear and wear of jewels has also to be considered. The present system fosters the oriental love of ornament, and leads wives to pester their husbands for jewels, and spend money on them which might have been profitably employed. Nor is this all: the custom produces a harvest of dacoities, of murders of women and children.

There is this, however, to be said, that formerly the people had no other means of investing their savings. Banks are aiding to supply this want, and the progress made is encouraging. The

statistics below refer only to Government Banks. Private Banks have also Indian depositors.

Number of Native Institutions	Depositors,	including	Local	1884-5.	1895-6.
				1,90,687 Rs.	6,29,625 Rs.
Interest earned				11,67,565	26,64,924
Balance at end of yea	r	•••	•••	351,93,828	871,82,861

It will be seen that the number of depositors was more than trebled during the twelve years. In round numbers, the interest earned increased from 11 lakhs to 26 lakhs, and the deposits from 352 lakhs to 872 lakhs.

6. Misdirected Charity—India has been called the Land of Charity, but it may be called, with equal truth, the "Land of Beggars" The last census gave the "army of mendicants" as numbering 52 lakhs.

Taking advantage of the charitable disposition of the Hindus, there are lakhs of men who have chosen to subsist by begging from door to door. This is done as a hereditary profession, and not as a necessity forced upon them by misfortune. While these men think it no disgrace to beg, they consider it a dishonour and a great hardship to do honest work.

Travancore and Mysore are now the chief seats of this demoralising system. Brahmans flock to them from the neighbouring districts. At Mysore city a row of houses was pointed out built for Brahmans, by the Maharani, to each of whom a cow was given.

7 The use of Opium, Ganja, and intoxicating Drinks.— Drunkenness has always prevailed in India among certain classes; but, as a nation, the people have been temperate for many centuries

It is deeply to be regretted that, of late years, drinking habits have been acquired by some educated Hindus, whose forefathers never touched intoxicating highers. This is largely attributable to European example.

When English began to be studied in India, some young men thought that they must imitate English habits as well as learn the language. Among other things, it was considered a mark of manliness and a proof of advance in civilization to use intoxicating drinks. And the liquor generally selected was brandy, the strongest spirit. The effects have been most disastrous. As the Hindu Patriot says—"Wealth, rank, honour and character, health and talents, have all perished in the blighting presence of this huge monster."

The Government revenue from spirits, toddy, opium, bhang, &c, 18 about 53 crores a year, probably representing an expenditure

of double that amount including the gains of the vendors. All

this might be saved, and turned to useful account.

Happily there is a strong movement in England in favour of temperance reform. Numerous Societies have been established, the members of which pledge themselves not to use intoxicating liquors. Associations of this kind for the young are called "Bands of Hope." In the United Kingdom they now number upwards of two millions of members.

Indians are earnestly advised to adhere to the temperate habits of their forefathers. The Greeks had a saying, "Water is best." They should also try to induce others to follow their example. Temperance reform should be promoted in India as well as in England. Mr. W. S. Caine, a zealous friend of the cause, has visited this country more than once on its behalf, and a number of Societies have been formed which should be heartly supported. Municipal Commissioners and others should seek to reduce, as far as possible, the number of arrack and opium shops

8. Unwillingness to Emigrate.—

If a number of rabbits were shut up in a field surrounded by a high wall, they would multiply till they starved. If the high wall were removed, would they remain within the limits of the field? They would have more sense: they would scatter.

field? They would have more sense: they would scatter.

The above represents the condition of India, only many of the people do not act like the sensible rabbits. There is no high wall confining them; but as Sir W. W. Hunter remarks. "millions cling with a despairing grip to their half acre of earth a piece, under a burden of rack-rent or usury."

The means proposed to remedy this state of things are given

in pp. 45, 46. Sir W. W. Hunter says:

"Migrations to new provinces, now opposed by all the traditions of the past, will be forced by the pressure of circumstances upon no distant generation of the Indian people."*

9. The Restrictions of Caste.—It is granted that caste has some advantages. It promotes a stationary semi-civilisation. It binds together men of the same class; it promotes cleanliness, and it is a check, in certain directions, on moral conduct But these are far more than counterbalanced by its pernicious effects. The opinions of competent witnesses will be given on this point

Mr. R. C. Dutt says, "The caste system threw an indelible stain on the criminal law of India." It is based on injustice and

fraud.

Sir H. S. Maine, one of the ablest Europeans that ever came to India, in his Ancient Law describes caste as "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions."

^{*} England's Work in India, pp. 136, 137. † Ancient India, Vol. II. p 47.

SELF-INFLICTED CAUSES OF INDIAN POVER

The following are the heads of a lecture by Pandit Syanath Sastri on Caste:—

(1) It has produced disunion and discord.

(2) It has made honest manual labour contemptible in this country.

(3) It has checked internal and external commerce.

(4) It has brought on physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles.

(5) It has been a source of conservatism in everything.

(6) It has suppressed the development of individuality and independence of character.

(7) It has helped in developing other injurious customs, such as

early marriage, the charging of heavy matrimonial fees, &c.

(8) It has successfully restrained the growth and development of national worth; whilst allowing opportunity of mental and spiritual culture only to a limited number of privileged people, it has denied these opportunities to the majority of the lower classes, consequently it has made the country negatively a loser.

(9) It has made the country fit for foreign slavery by previously

enslaving the people by the most abject spiritual tyranny.

Dr. Bhandarkar says: "The caste system is at the root of the political slavery of India."

Principal Caird says of caste:

- "Instead of breaking down artificial barriers, waging war with false separations, softening divisions and undermining class hatreds and antipathies, religion becomes itself the very consecration of them."
- 10. Unrighteousness of every kind.—The true cure for the poverty of India is a righteous life. Every thing would follow in its train. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." The burning words of Kingsley should be stamped upon the memory:—
- "Foremost among them stands a law which I must insist on, boldly and perpetually, a law which man has been trying in all ages, as now, to deny, or at least to ignore; though he might have seen it if he had willed, working steadily in all times and nations. And that is—that as the fruit of righteousness is wealth and peace, atrength and honour; the fruit of unrighteousness is poverty and anarchy, weakness and shame. It is an ancient doctrine and yet one ever young. The Hebrew prophets preached it long ago, in words which are fulfilling themselves around us every day, and which no new discoveries of science will abrogate, because they express the great root-law, which disobeyed, science itself cannot get a hearing."*

Limits of Exact Science applied to History.

APPEAL TO THE PRINCES, NOBLES, AND ZEMINDARS OF INDIA.

Indian expectations from their sovereigns are expressed in the following well-known couplet:

"The fruit of austerities, a kingdom, The fruit of a kingdom, hell."

Their conduct was expected to be of such a character that one of the twenty-one hells of Hindu mythology was the only fitting retribution.

There were some noble exceptions. Rama is the Hindu ideal sovereign. The Ramayana, which the "four-faced Brahma" certifies "not to contain an untruth," thus describes his reign:

"Ten thousand years Ayodha blest With Rama's rule had peace and rest, Unknown were want, distress, and crime, So calm so happy was the time."

But Rámá's case was exceptional. Princes were brought up among women and eunuchs. They regarded the revenues of their kingdoms as their private property, to be spent on their pleasures or hoarded. They were above all law, and in a fit of passion, without trial, could order any of their subjects to be trampled to death by elephants.

There have been a few drinking and horse-racing failures during the British period; but, on the whole, there has been a very marked improvement. There are Indian princes who take a warm and enlightened interest in the welfare of their subjects. Some made noble efforts for their subjects during the Famine The influence of the late Mr. Macnaghten, Principal of the Kathiawar Rajkumar College, has been most beneficial.

The surest way to promote one's own happiness is to seek the happiness of others. During the first year of the twentieth century, let the Princes, Nobles, and Zemindars of India follow the course recommended to the British Government.

1. Let a careful survey be made of the condition of their ryots. The average total amount and value of all the principal crops should be correctly ascertained, with the percentage on the gross produce of the land assessment.

2. The mode in which advances are made to the ryots should be carefully investigated. Their source, amount, and rate of interest should be tabulated.

Each important State should print a Report on the condition of its ryots, giving full details, valuable suggestions might thus be obtained.

Griffith's Ramayana, v. 314.

There are other important enquiries; but a commencement might be made with the foregoing. If taken up in earnest by the Princes, life would assume a new aspect. It would involve some self-denial, but it would be recompensed by a calm enjoy-

ment never before experienced.

Invitation from Lord Curzon.—The Viceroy has freely set forth the duties of the Princes of India. Many of them would cheerfully follow advice for the benefit of their subjects. They might be encouraged to institute Famine Commissions on Government lines. Nobles, like the Maharaja of Darbhangah, might also co-operate.

APPEAL TO INDIVIDUAL EFFORT.

Although Princes, Nobles and Zemindars may do most, every Indian, however humble, may take part in the great work of seeking to benefit his country. As observed by a former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University: "Men abstain from doing good or attacking evil when the opportunity is plain before them, for lack of faith in their individual power; but it is no new lesson which science teaches when it says that no energy, however feeble, is ever lost, and that no exertion is without some avail."

The following remarks, originally addressed by J. S. Mill to University students in Scotland, are equally applicable to India:

"One of the commonest types of character among us is that of a man all whose ambition is self-regarding; who has no higher purpose in life than to enrich or raise in the world himself and his family; who never dreams of making the good of his fellow-creatures or of his

country an habitual object."

"It is worth training them to feel, not only actual wrong or actual meanness, but the absence of noble aims and endeavours, as not merely blamable, but also degrading;—the poorness and insignificance of human life if it is to be all spent in making things comfortable for ourselves and our kin, and raising ourselves and them a step or two on the social ladder."

"Fix your eyes upon the ultimate end from which those studies take their chief value—that of making you more effective combatants in the great fight which never ceases to rage between Good and Evil, and more equal to coping with the ever new problems which the changing course of human nature and human society present to be resolved."

of human nature and human society present to be resolved."

"There is not one of us who may not so qualify himself so to improve the average amount of opportunities, as to leave his fellow-creatures some little the better for the use he has known how to make

of his intellect."

"You are to be a part of the public who are to welcome, encourage and help forward the future intellectual benefactors of humanity; and you are, if possible, to furnish your contingent to the number of those benefactors. Nor let any one be discouraged by what may seem, in moments of despondency, the lack of time and opportunity. Those who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them, and what we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess, than on the use we make of our time. You and your like are the hope and resource of your country in the coming generation."*

Higher Help needed.—How often has the sad confession of the old Roman poet to be repeated!

> "I see the right, and I approve it too, Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

We need divine strength to enable us to resist the many seductions that beset us, and to devote ourselves, heart and soul, to the good of our country. To whom should we look for it? Let the eloquent words of Max Müller furnish an answer;

"If we were asked what I consider the most important discovery which has been made during the nineteenth century with respect to the ancient history of mankind, I should answer by the following short line:

Sanskrit DYAUSH-PITAR = Greek ZETZHATHP (ZEUS PATER) = Latin JUPITER = Old Norse TYR.

"That our own ancestors, and the ancestors of Homer and Cicero spoke, the same language as the people of India—this is a discovery which however incredible it sounded at first, has long ceased to cause any surprise but it implies and proves that they all had once the same faith, and worshipped for a time the same supreme Deity under exactly the same name—a name which meant Heaven-Father.

"There is a monotheism which precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocation of their innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the mist of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."

"Thousands of years have passed away since the Aryan nations separated to travel to the North and South, the West and East: they have each formed their languages, they have each founded empires and philosophies, they have each built temples and razed them to the ground; they have all grown older, and it may be wiser and better; but when they search for a name for that which is most exalted and yet most dear to every one of us, when they wish to express both awe and leve, the infinite and the finite, they can but do what their old fathers did when gazing up the eternal sky, and feeling the presence of a Being as far as far and as near as near can be; they can but combine the self-same words and utter once more the primeval Aryan prayer, Heaven-Father, in that form which will endure for ever, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'"

To our common Father in Heaven, then, let our prayers be addressed for strength to seek the welfare of our brethren of mankind.

[.] St. Andrew's Address.

And let there be no delay. Join at once the noble band already in the field:

Rise! for the day is passing,
And you lie dreaming on;
The others have buckled their armour,
And forth to the fight are gone:
A place in the ranks awaits you,
Each man has some part to play;
The Past and the Future are nothing
In the face of the stern To-day;

Rise from your dreams of the Future—
Of gaining some hard-fought field;
Of storming some airy fortress,
Or bidding some giant yield;
Your future has deeds of glory,
Of honour (God grant it may!)
But your arm will never be stronger,
Or the need so great as To-day.

A. A. Procter.

NEEDS REQUIRE A COMBINED EFFORT ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made freely to point out what is required to meet the necessities of the case. In some respects British rule in India presents a noble record, probably unparalleled in history. On the other hand, in certain directions there have been lamentable shortcomings. Chief among these is its treatment of agriculture, although it has the largest land revenue in the world.

Next to efforts for the welfare of the ryots, is the development of Commercial and Technical Education, preceded by a careful Industry Survey.

On the other hand, the duties of the people themselves have been as plainly indicated. While Government may do much, as Sir W. W. Hunter says:

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

A mischievous error diffused by blind political guides, the "product" of our defective education, may be noticed—that Europeans are draining the country of its wealth.

It is admitted, as Huxley says, that "getting on" is the Englishman's idea of paradise. Still, through the wise arrangement of Providence, men seeking their own wealth benefit others.

Englishmen initiate industries; but they are afterwards taken up by the people themselves. This is strikingly the case with the Mill industry of Bombay. In 1896, the value of cotton manufactures exported amounted to 1,022 lakhs. It is the Mill industry which has enabled Mr. Tata to make such a magnificent

gift for the endowment of research.

The progress of the Jute industry is still more remarkable. At the beginning of the present century it was unknown in Europe, and had no exchangeable value in India. At first only raw jute was exported. In 1857 jute mills were commenced in India, and there are now 29 of them. The number of persons employed increased from 51,902 in 1885 to 78,889, in 1896. The value of the jute exported, raw and manufactured, rose from 620 lakhs to 1,474 lakhs. The export of jute now ranks next to cotton.

Through Europeans, products, which formerly rotted in the jungles, are turned to account. The value of Myrobalams exported in 1896 amounted to 40 lakhs; Lac to 183 lakhs.

Look at the Presidency Cities. Sir William Hunter says:-

"Shortly after Bombay was ceded by the Portuguese to the British crown in 1661 as part of the dower of the wife of Charles II., the king was glad to hand over his unprofitable acquisition, which was then considered the grave of Europeans, to a Company of London merchants, for an annual payment of £10 in gold." p. 33.

Instead of a few fishermen, Bombay has now a population of 822,000, is the greatest commercial city in Asia, and is studded with magnificent buildings.

Sir William Hunter says:—

"The history of Calcutta is still more striking. Less than two centuries ago, when our countrymen first settled in Calcutta, they were a poor band of fugitive merchants, seeking shelter from the extortions of the native ruler of Bengal; and the future City of Palaces consisted of three clusters of mud huts on the river bank." p. 33.

Contrast Dalhousie Square with what it was thirty years ago! Look at its present noble ranges of buildings! The "Palaces," in which Europeans reside in Calcutta, are not owned by them; but rented from Indians at rates so high as to have become a very heavy burden. The same remark largely applies to the whole country.

Madras, the Cinderella of the Presidencies, can point to her new splendid Law Courts, the Moore Market, the Post Office, Senate House, Law College, Connemara Library, &c. A still more striking proof of the growing wealth of the country is afforded by the palatial structures which some tradesmen have erected for

their places of business.

Sir William Hunter says:—

"There is more accumulated wealth held by natives in two cities of British India, Calcutta and Bombay, cities which a couple of centuries ago were mud-hamlets,—than all the treasures of the Imperial and local courts under the Mughal Empire."

The interests of Europeans and Indians are identical. richer India is, the more she can buy of British manufactures. Let both bury the war hatchet and smoke together the calumet of peace. May the dawn of the Twentieth Century be the commencement a new era, when Government and people, Indian and European, will harmoniously unite to seek the material and moral elevation of one-fifth of the human race!

INDIA'S NEEDS, as set forth in the preceding pages, are briefly the following:

The increasing weight of the "White Man's Burden" in

India.

The PROBLEM, not to FEED paupers, but to PREVENT pauperism.

The Settlement of the Land Assessment: What it is and

what it ought to be.

The supply of working capital to the ryot at 61 per cent. instead of 37½ per cent.

This is proposed to be secured by a return to the system of Todar Mall.

The gradual increase of the produce from thirteen bushels per acre to thirty.

The means, a well-organised Agricultural Department.

An Irrigation Survey to ascertain the capabilities of its extension.

Relief of congested Districts by Emigration.

An Industrial Survey to show in what directions Manu-

factures may best be extended.

The Development of Agricultural, Commercial, and Technical Education to prevent Government Office and the Bar being the exclusive aims of Student.

Instruction in Indian Political Economy.

This is necessary to dispel the mischievous belief that England is draining India of her wealth to the extent of from thirty to fifty millions a year.

Careful instruction in Moral Duties.

The Extension of Lord Curzon's Term of Office to seven years. This is necessary if the above changes are to be grappled with.

Lastly and Chiefly,

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

This is the opinion of the late Sir William Hunter, than whom no one had a greater knowledge of India, or more statesmanlike views of its needs.

PUBLICATIONS FOR INDIAN READERS.

Descriptions of Countries and Peoples.

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THE

CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME

Being a collection of Papers on the Various Aspects and Problems connected with the Scheme

BY

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR, B.A., B.L.

Author of The Indian Constitution, etc.

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

ANNIE BESANT

THE COMMONWEAL OFFICE
ADVAR, MADRAS, INDIA
1917

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FOREWORD

The name of Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar is already well known to students by his valuable work, The Indian Constitution. Readers of that book will be aware of his grasp of his subject, of his knowledge of facts, and of his power of lucid exposition. He is one of the group of "coming men," men who have already made their mark under the limitations which oppress all intellectual members of a subject Nation, one of the intelligentzia of India, from whom India, in the near future, will choose her Governments.

Meanwhile it is the duty of these men to utilise their knowledge for the education and uplift of those upon whose enlightened co-operation the success of their future work must depend. They have to train the army which hereafter they will lead.

This book, which it gives me pleasure to introduce to the public, is intended to help in the educative work, and I recommend it with confidence. It will, I trust, not only give information, but also stimulate thought. For thought should be the seed of thought, and each reader should add of his own to what he reads. Thus is the Motherland served, and the day of her redemption draws nigh more swiftly.

Annie Besant

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The Congress-League Scheme

THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATURE

DEADLOCKS AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHECKS

THE demand for an effective and substantial control over the executive by the legislature is sought to be achieved under the Congress League Reform Schemes by three proposals: (1) that one half of the Executive Councils-Imperial and Provincial -shall be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council, (2) that the resolutions passed by the Legislative Council shall be given effect to, unless vetoed by the Governor, and in any case, if they are re-affirmed, one year after such veto; and (3) that the budget, including therein all the revenues raised and expenditure incurred for the administration of the country, shall be duly passed every year by the Legislative Council as an enactment thereof. These provisions have been objected to on the ground that they will become unworkable and might easily produce a deadlock in the administration on the following grounds: (1) That the Governor as head of the executive, being deprived of the power of choosing his colleagues to carry on the administration of the country and compelled to go on with colleagues chosen for him by others whom he cannot get rid of if he differs from them, is thus invested with a responsibility which is impossible for him to discharge and in which the administration might easily be brought to a standstill by a conflict between the Governor and his Council or between the several sections of the same; (2) that in imposing upon the Governor the obligation of carrying out the resolutions of the legislature through an executive which may possess the confidence of the legislature and possibly not that of the electorate and which under the present arrangements could not be replaced by another possessing the confidence of both, the door is opened for a perpetual conflict between the legislature seeking to control the executive and an executive which does not owe its existence to it, resisting such control; (3) that in imposing upon a non-parliamentary executive, which is not fully representative of the legislature, the duty of obtaining supplies for the conduct of the Government from the legislature, its existence is made to depend upon its ability to obtain the confidence of a changing legislature, with the certain probability of endangering the normal conduct of orderly government in the country by the frequent chances of a refusal of supplies on the part of such a legislature whenever its views or decisions on any matter, financial or administrative, are not accepted or acted upon by the executive government; (4) that generally speaking in all these ways and by reason of the coexistence of Imperial and Indian interests which the head of the executive will have to look after, coupled with the absence of a steadying second chamber which could supply the sober second thoughts needed by all Self-Governing constitutions, we are placing in the hands of a popularly elected Legislative Council, as yet on its trial and unused to the exercise of power with responsibility, an amount of authority and functions which they cannot in the present circumstances satisfactorily discharge and against the abuse of which, and the creation of deadlocks in consequence, no adequate protection is provided in the Congress-League Scheme.

TRUE BASIS OF SUCH CRITICISMS

It is proposed to examine in this note how far these objections possess any force, to what extent they are met by the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms, and whether any further provisions need be made in conformity with the scheme to meet these criticisms. Before answering critics and criticisms in this behalf, one essential matter has to be made clear. Either these criticisms are criticisms of means and methods, or they are criticisms of substance, denying the validity or applicability of fundamental principles. If criticisms pointing out the likelihood of deadlocks under the present scheme are intended to be mere paraphrases of the general statement of the unfitness of the people of this country in the present circumstances to exercise functions of Self-Government, partially or totally, or

what is practically the same thing, if they only amount to a plea for the postponing of the grant of substantial reforms towards Self-Government to the representatives of the people until they become fit therefor in due courseafter a number of generations in which, we are told, the whole community will become thoroughly educated and alive to their civic rights and duties—then, in such a case, no arguments showing the practicability of the means or methods can avail. If the Indian people are to be unfit for Home Rule till Doomsday-till the whole community attains perfection by a process of purgatory in which the Brahmins will forever be banished from their position of bad eminence—no argument adduced to prove that deadlocks can be avoided or tided over, as much by the machinery of constitutional Government, as by the good sense, capacity and desire of the people to secure good Government for themselves, will convince such enemies who despise all reform. I know of no nation in the world in which deadlocks, resulting from want of competence or from perversity on the part of a democracy ridden by party cliques, are provided against by a logically complete constitution, or any ingeniously perfected Governmental organism. On the other hand, the greatest of the Democracies-that of the United Kinglom-owes its success to the very existence of institutions likely to produce deadlocks at every turn, the necessity for overcoming which is considered the best means of securing the exercise of power with a due sense of responsibility to the popular chamber in the discharge of Government duties by the executive authority, under the constant watchful control of public opinion. No conceivable system can provide against all possible conflicts between those who are the agents of a sovereign authority and those who are the representatives of such sovereign power, brought into existence to watch, guide and control them, so long as they are lodged in two different entities, viz., the executive and the legislature. The temptation to defiance, on the part of the executive, and to abuse of the authority to supervise, on the part of the legislature, is inherent. But where the source of both the authorities is the same, viz., the will of the people—the conflict and the deadlock are sooner or later overcome. I take it, therefore, that it is not this fundamental conflict which is found in all constitutions of a representative character that is referred to by any of our honest critics.

BASIS OF AUTHORITY IN INDIA

I shall also similarly assume that I have not to answer arguments founded on the extravagant claims even now made by some people on behalf of British Governmental authority in India which seek to place the executive authorities in a position of exceptional prestige, having a power of ruling this country not by strictly defined powers contained in legislative enactments, but by executive discretion and in virtue of oriental traditions and methods inherited from the days of the Company from previous rulers in India. Such a denial of the status and rights of the Indian citizens of His Majesty were long ago answered by Sir FitzJames Stephen in one of his famous Minutes, and it need hardly be referred to at the present day except for the fact that such notions still underlie the arguments of those who would place the executive in India in a position of independence from the legislature and immunity from its control. The claim that the Government of India possesses the supposed absolute power of the old Native States, subject only to such limitations as it has chosen to impose upon itself by express law, that every new law is thus a new limitation on the general powers of Government and tends to diminish them, and that there ought to be as few laws as possible in order that the vigour of the executive power may be maintained at a maximum, is one that is not now-a-days made openly, but is at the bottom of many arguments against the control of the executive by the laws of an elected legislature. "Nothing struck me more in my intercourse with Indian civilians," wrote Sir FitzJames Stephen in 1872 -and it is remarkable how the idea persists in some quarters still—"than the manner in which the senior members of the service seem to look instinctively upon lawyers of all kinds as their natural enemies and upon law as a mysterious power, the special function of which was to prevent, or, at all events, to embarrass and retard anything like vigorous executive action."

THE RULE OF LAW

Those who talk of deadlocks, conflicts and embarrassments of the executive, or of the ordinary course of administration are, as we find it on analysis, obsessed by ideas identical

with this, and not even the deluge of the great War that is now upon us has sufficed to alter their outlook. They must be presumed then to affirm the negation of the fundamental principle of all British institutions, viz., the Rule of Law, the principle "that government by law is the only real security for life or property, and is therefore the indispensable condition for the growth of wealth and the progress of the material and moral welfare of all peoples". They have again to be told, as they were told in the days of Sir FitzJames Stephen, "that the people of England as a whole will take no sort of interest whatever in supporting a mere despotism different from those of the native rulers only in the fact that it was administered by Englishmen To suppose that law and despotic power can subsist side by side, is to show complete ignorance of the very nature of law. The essence of the system, by which person and property are secured, lies in the general principle that no man is to suffer harm either in person or in property, except according to law. Despotic power or personal Government, which is the same thing, is nothing but a power to compel people in general to obey the orders of the ruler, whatever those orders may be; but this compulsion can be effected only by inflicting, or threatening to inflict, harm either on their persons or their property, in case of disobedience, which cannot be if they are not to be so harmed except by law. Thus the notion of a compromise between law and despotism is like a compromise between straight and crooked. The two ideas exclude each other."

Unity of Government

We may, therefore, accept for India as we do for all constitutional countries, the principle which Professor Sidgwick would call the "unity of Government," viz., "that however the functions of Government may be divided among different persons and bodies there is no ultimate conflict among those organs, so that, though there may be differences of view among them needing debate and mutual criticism, still their final decisions demanding the obedience of the rest of the community are as harmonious and consistent as if they emanated from one rational will". We have only to take note of the ordinary and occasional possibilities of conflict among them and consider

expedients for avoiding or terminating them, in the belief that unless the Government possesses unity of action its powers may be destroyed. If this is not conceded and if it is assumed that the Government established in this country has conflicting aims or interests to promote as between the people governed and the class governing, or has any other object in view but that of the good government of the people of the country itself, then we are not only landed in the position of denying the bona fides of the whole business of reform, but we find ourselves in direct conflict with the definite statement made on the authority of His Majesty's Government, that the aim and intention of British Rule in India is to confer responsible Government on the people of India.

No modern State can pretend to continued existence without a legislative organ first, "to secure the best possible definition even of the individualistic minimum of legal duty "-let alone the growing paternal functions of the State definable by lawnor without such legislative organ being invested with the powers of what has been called the money-granting organ. In every modern country, the legislature is identical in the main, if not altogether, with this money-granting organ, and measures for raising revenue are uniformly treated as a species of legislation to be determined by the same organs that determine other kinds of legislation. The reasons for this identification are obvious. Since most important kinds of Governmental functions require both legislation and expenditure of public money, the division of responsibility, if legislation and money-granting were allotted to separate bodies, is fatal to their effectual performance, as in any case the money-granting organ would come to possess the eventual control in the legislation involved. Nor can it be disputed in modern States that it is desirable for the fullest possible security to the citizens generally, not only that the formidable discretionary power in the hands of the executive should be kept strictly within the limits of the law, but also that its exercise within these limits should be subjected to the watchful criticism of the legislature. This is "partly because the sound performance of the function of critical supervision is likely to throw light on defects in the law capable of being removed by legislation, partly in order that the desire for avoiding inconvenient legislative restraints may itself operate as a moral restraint on the executive". To those,

therefore, who would object on general grounds to any power of normal critical supervision on the part of the legislature over the executive in this country, the position has to be made clear that such a claim is unsustainable for two reasons. In the first place, the executive cannot be above the law in any Britishgoverned country, much less can it claim to override the law and to govern by arbitrary, individual discretion. In the second place, if the executive, equally with all citizens, is bound by laws enacted or enactable by a legislature substantially consisting of representatives of the people, "the desire of avoiding inconvenient legislative restraints," as Professor Sidgwick would put it, "may itself operate as a moral restraint on the executive". The security of the citizens, therefore, demands that the power which the law-making authority, in effect and in the last resort, possesses over the executive to impose duties by enactments, should be more normally transformed into a general power of supervision and control. Such a power, far from creating deadlocks, would smooth the way for the avoidance of the more serious deadlocks. When the executive starts defying or disobeying enactments of the legislature, it would require more drastic measures from the people to compel submission. Indeed, the very term used, namely, the "executive," to describe the authority of this organ of Government, obviously connotes its subsidiary or subordinate character.

CHECKS ON THE LEGISLATURE

Though there are weighty reasons, no doubt, for treating the executive as an organ of Government separate from the legislature but ultimately controllable by it, yet it is necessary that in all well-ordered constitutions the difficult problem of the exact relations of the executive to the legislature in the normal course of administration is defined in some way or other. In a simple system of parliamentary executive, where the latter is merely treated as absolutely under the control of an entirely popular single chamber, no difficulty is presented, from the mere logical point of view, in defining the relations of the legislature and the executive. But many believe with John Stuart Mill that the evil effect of an omnipotent popular single chamber exercising power, released from all external check, ought to be provided against in all countries. The exercise of executive power, it is urged, could not conveniently,

nor without loss of efficiency, be lodged in a numerous assembly of untrained politicians-more especially where affairs of complicated moment, such as foreign relations, etc., are involvedand in any case it is undesirable to make the executive the simple agent of the legislature. The necessity of devising checks and counterchecks has thus to be considered. In the British constitutional system, a number of such checks have existed both by convention and in virtue of the Common and Statute Law. Some of these have ceased to be operative, while others are considered to be in full force. We are usually told by constitutional historians that the dangers of a simple parliamentary executive, which would make the popular chamber for the time being despotic, inefficient and perhaps oppressive, are diminished by the power which the executive possesses of dissolving Parliament. The Parliament, in seeking to exercise control over the executive, is able to compel the Cabinet to resign office if the latter loses the support or the confidence of the assembly. If it refuses to resign after a vote of want of confidence, it may be coerced to do so by a refusal to furnish supplies or by what is peculiarly an English expedient, by a refusal to pass the annual Mutiny Bill. At the same time, the executive on its part may always by a dissolution appeal to the electorate from any particular assembly of the House with which it may disagree on any vital question of policy. Such a power alters its position of absolute subordination to an elected chamber into one of being in a position to go before the nation for a decision as to whether the executive, rather than the legislature which has come into conflict with it, represents the public opinion or the voice of the people, which has, of course to prevail.

There is, however, under the English Constitution another power lodged in the Crown as distinct from the executive. It was in a sense interpreted to be the means by which popular opinion might be brought to bear on both the executive and the legislature should they both combine to carry out a policy which the people would disapprove or would not endorse. That is the ancient prerogative of the Monarch to dissolve Parliament and to force a general election. The effective use of such a power was frequent in the 18th century, the most notable being that by which King George III. in 1784 called Pitt to power as Prime Minister in the teeth of a majority against him in the House of Commons and dissolved Parliament as a result of

which the electors supported the action of the King by an overwhelming majority.

COLONIAL PRACTICE

It seems, however, that the power to appeal from Parliament to the Electorate possessed by the King has ceased to be exercised in England since 1834 and it is a question how far the Monarch can be deemed to have lost it by its disuse. Its practical importance in England, however, is at present very little, but apparently it would still seem to possess importance in connection with the constitutional arrangements of the dominions and dependencies of the British Empire, where the Crown and its Governors have often proceeded to act as interpreters of the will of the nation as against the will of the assemblies of their executives and also as guardians of Imperial as distinct from dominion or dependent interest in respect of legislative or administrative policy. As the question of the powers which may be reserved with the Governors and the Governor-General in India, in view of the more gradual development of Self-Government and of the avoidance of conflicts or deadlocks, is of importance in connection with the present scheme of constitutional reforms, it may be useful to refer to a recent controversy which has taken place in the columns of the London Times between Professor Keith and Mr. J. G. Swift Macneill, two of the greatest authorities on constitutional law in reference to this subject. The material parts of the correspondence are republished below:

To the Editor of the "Times"

It is now the established practice in the United Kingdom that the Sovereign in political matters in the ultimate issue accepts the advice of the Ministry in office, a rule which secures to democracy the fullest advantage of monarchical government and of political liberty. The system of responsible government in the Dominions, however, developed at a time before this doctrine was finally and completely recognized in the United Kingdom, and in circumstances of political inexperience among the colonists, which imposed on Governors the duty of acting as the guardians of the Constitution and protectors of the people against possible misuse of political power. It is accordingly still the theory of Dominion Constitutions that a Governor may, and indeed perhaps should, decline to accept the advice of Ministers whom he considers not to represent the

popular will, relying on his ability to replace them with other advisors should they resign as the result of his refusal. The position throws upon the Governor a personal responsibility which is more and more out of harmony with modern conditions of political thought in Australia, as may readily be appreciated by a study of the very varying comments on the relations between Sir G. Strickland and his Ministers which have appeared in the Australian Press. The true solution of the difficulty is the establishment of the rule of action on Ministerial advice in every case, and the principle has been acted upon in one striking instance, that of the grant of a double dissolution of the Commonwealth Parliament in 1914 by Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, despite the precedents of refusal of dissolutions established by Lord Northcote and Lord Dudley.

Where Imperial interests are concerned, different considerations, of course, arise, affecting the relations of the Dominions and the United Kingdom, but the retention of the old practice in internal matters is now an anachronism, and undesirable as tending to create the impression of the interference of the Imperial Government in the domestic concerns of the Dominions, public opinion in which can hardly be expected to draw the delicate distinction between the Governor as head of the local Government and as a representative of Imperial interests.

To the Editor of the "Times"

I think, subject to one qualification, which your learned and distinguished correspondent will probably recognise in the case not only of the Sovereign but of a Dominion Governor, the Sovereign or the Dominion Governor, while accepting all but invariably in "the ultimate issue the advice of the Ministry in office," has a power exercisable primarily on his own responsibility whose possession is advantageous in the highest degree to democracy. That power has been well described in 1878 by Mr. Gladstone and a generation later by Sir William Anson:

There is (writes Mr. Gladstone) one great and critical act the responsibility for which falls momentarily or provisionally on the Sovereign (Dominion Governor). It is the dismissal of an existing Ministry and the appointment of a new one. This act is usually performed with the aid drawn from authentic manifestations of public opinion, mostly such as are obtained through the votes or conduct of the House of Commons. . . . The Sovereign (Dominion

Governor) can defy the Parliament if he can count upon the people. ("Gleanings of Past Years," pp. 230-231.)

Sir William Anson states more explicitly Professor Keith's position, with what is, I think, its necessary corollary: The direct action of the Crown in causing or refusing a Dissolution may be said to have ceased. When the King has thought that his Ministers and his Parliament were alike out of harmony with the country he has dismissed his Ministers, as George III. did in 1783, or promoted or suggested a change of Government, as William IV. did in 1834. The cases serve to remind us that the prelogative might conceivably be a resource when a Ministry and House of Commons were alike out of harmony with the country and were unwilling to admit the fact. ("Law and Custom of the Constitution, I, Parliament," pp. 308-309.)

September 19.

J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL.

THE POWERS OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS

It is of interest to note that both H. E. Lord Chelmsford, our present Viceroy, and Lord Carmichael, the late Governor of Bengal, have had to consider the present constitutional position of a Governor in the Self-Governing Colonies and refused to believe that they were mere dummies acting for the ministers of those Colonies, notwithstanding they may possess the advantages of full responsible Governments. It is certain, therefore, that His Excellency the Viceroy, at any rate, will be able to afford valuable guidance in settling the question of how best to entrust the Indian people and their representatives with substantial and effective control over the executive in India without necessarily impairing the efficiency or integrity of the constitution. He will be ready quite easily to answer the oft-repeated, but futile arguments as to impasses or deadlocks ensuing when an executive responsible to the legislature is established with a Governor or Governor-General at its head who has to get on with them. His Excellency, at any rate, did not find any difficulty in so getting on, nor did he find the deadlocks he had to face with so democratic and socialistic a people as those of Queensland, insoluble. In the deadlock between the Upper and the Lower House which occurred in 1907, Lord Chelmsford who was Governor, was asked by Mr. Kidston, the Premier, when more than one important bill proposed by his Government was rejected by the Upper House, to allow him to appeal to the country.

He refused to accede to this, whereupon the Ministry resigned. Lord Chelmsford called upon the leader of the opposition to form a new Ministry, which he did. The House of Assembly wherein the late Premier possessed a majority, refused supplies and thereupon Lord Chelmsford dissolved the Parliament. The country returned the progressives to power and the final result was an important revision of the Constitution by which even the temporary inconvenience of future dissolutions was avoided by means of an appeal to the country through a referendum on the contested issue. The devising of expedients to overcome deadlocks was a question often discussed in those days and it may not pass the wit of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to get over any such similar deadlocks, conceivable and inconceivable, which are now propounded as objections, not against particular schemes of reform but in reality to any reforms at all, in the direction of entrusting power to the representatives of the people.

PERIODICAL EXECUTIVE

The Congress-League Scheme has not provided for an appeal to the constituencies by a dissolution, either on the advice of a popular executive, i.e., the elected half of the executive council, or by the Governor or Governor-General as the repository of the prerogative acting on behalf of the public weal. Nor has it provided for that modification of the form of Parliamentary Government which is involved in the somewhat untenable assumption that representative institutions of recent introduction should proceed upon the principle of "maintaining the independence of the executive head in his choice of ministers and generally in the direction of current executive business and administration within the limits of law". The absence of such a provision, coupled with the proposal of an elected executive, has led some to consider that its framers are in favour of an extreme form of simple Parliamentary Government. The executive is said to be made directly subordinate to the legislature, and while retaining its place for a term independent of any votes of the House, it is yet made bound to carry out the decisions of the House. The framers of the scheme itself might claim, on the other side, that their proposals create what has been called by text writers on politics a Periodical executive, which is different alike from a Parliamentary

executive as in England or a Presidential executive as in America. The latter is, in a sense, too monarchically organised as it places the source of all executive power in one single person, namely, the President. It would be quite possible, as Professor Sidgwick long ago pointed out, "to have a supreme executive organised like the English Cabinet of which the members were practically more or less on an equality, elected for a fixed period by the legislature, as the Swiss Federal council is, but possessed of more independence". The fixed period should be, in his view, sufficiently long to "gain the advantages of stability and yet not long enough to weaken the sense of responsibility to the electorate materially". In the case of the Congress-League Scheme, the period is made conterminous with that fixed for the term of the Legislative Council, but the system of elected executive councils, is only sought to be applied to a limited extent in the scheme. The provision to leave onehalf of the executive non-elected, to have this half appointed by the Governor might well operate, I presume, to overcome some of the serious disadvantages of the instability which might accompany a system of simple, complete Parliamentary executive in India at this stage. The question whether the stability of a periodical executive should be further protected by providing for a semi-elected executive which is nevertheless subjected to the normal annual Budget control of the legislature, or whether it should be provided for by making the whole of the executive periodically elected, and giving it stability by freeing it from the necessity of going to the popular assembly for its permanent ordinary Budget, is one of detail which need not detain us. But the feeling is general in India that we need not make too great a break with the existing system of Government and that we may eventually try to assimilate the Indian system to that of a Parliamentary type in due course—a type whose forms and traditions at least have in various details even in the present bureaucratic system, coloured the procedure, ideas and aims of both officials and non-officials in the existing legislative assemblies. The Congress-League Scheme of semi-elected and subordinate executive is the result of this combination of ideas. For my part, I am not afraid of modelling the executive of this country, on the more intelligible and, as I think, more easily workable, basis of a Parliamentary executive. I have here thought it necessary to refer to the system of a Periodical elected executive only to answer the arguments of deadlock-hunters by pointing out that it is one of the recognised and accepted forms of stable, sound constitutional machinery and that those who affect superior knowledge by a merely superficial acquaintance with the forms, but not the underlying principles, of British Parliamentary procedure, have but too arrogantly assumed the role of carping, and perhaps not unselfish, critics.

GERMAN EXECUTIVE

It is surmised that in official and bureaucratic circles, i.e., in the case of those who are at all willing to have any constitutional reforms carried out in the Government of this country at this time—reforms will be proposed which are in the direction of creating a form of Government which will be more akin to what is known as the German system of simple constitutional monarchy. The power of the constitutional monarch in India is, as it were, vested in an executive consisting of the Governor or Governor-General appointed by the Crown, presiding over a group of high officials drawn from the bureaucratic and Indian elements in varying proportions. The nature of the separation and correlation of functions—and this is, after all, the essential thing under the scheme—might be aptly described in words which have been used to describe the types of constitution based on these Prussian models by Professor Sidgwick long ago:

In a country like Germany in which representative institutions are of recent introduction and hereditary monarchy retains much of its old prestige, this conclusion leads influential publicists to support the independence of the hereditary monarch in his choice of ministers and in the direction of current administration within the limits of law. According to this view; the hereditary monarch, though it ought to be his aim to work in harmony with a representative assembly, ought not to be compelled to choose his ministers from the leaders of the parliamentary majority at any given time. The proper functions of parliament it is said, are legislation and criticism, not nomination, and though legislation includes the determination of the taxes to be paid by the citizens, it can never be the constitutional duty of the legislative assembly to make their criticism take effect in a general refusal of supplies; -which is commonly considered in England to be the obvious constitutional resource for compelling a refractory monarch to take the ministers that Parliament approves. It is admitted that if the King's ministers do not possess the confidence of Parliament, the latter will legitimately manifest its distrust by refusing to support any

dubious costly enterprises, foreign or domestic in which the monarch and his ministers may wish to indulge, or only supporting them in a niggardly manner; and it appears to be admitted that the obstacles thus continually placed in the way of the monarch's designs are likely to lead, in the long run, to the retirement of a minister who cannot persuade Parliament to open its purse-strings, but it is held that though in this way strong inducements are applied to the monarch to avoid a conflict with the assembly, these inducements ought never to amount to a moral coercion to take the leaders of the parliamentary majority as his ministers, or to let them dictate his policy. This system in short, aims at making the real Power of the monarch correspond to that formally given to him in the English constitution, and others framed on its model.

Very little is needed to show that such a proposal will fail to meet the requirements of the country or the long cherished aspirations of the people. As a matter of practical politics, also, it is obvious that such a system should inevitably lead to conflicts from the very outset and the history of constitutional monarchy in England might well be availed of to avoid in this country all the travail and trouble which it had to undergo before it developed the power of the Parliament to compel the subordination of the King's Ministers. Nor is it necessary to point out that, while in England this unstable form of constitutional monarchy rapidly changed into a form of full Parliamentary Government, it has in Germany rapidly degenerated, as is well-known, to a peculiar type of absolute and autocratic Imperial sway whose disciplined perversion of political and moral ideals have landed the world at the present day in the throes of the most devastating war known in history.

GERMAN EXPERIENCE

The degeneration, in fact of the so-called constitutional but non-Parliamentary executive was, indeed, perceived, analysed and exposed even before the war by that high authority on Continental Constitutions, Professor Lowell, in his new abridged but up-to-date treatise on Governments and Parties in Europe. The conclusion to which he has come represents then, the difference between the theoretical anticipations which Professor Sidgwick entertained when he wrote at the time the experiment was begun and the practical results which Professor Lowell records after four decades of Imperial sway in Germany.

I cite below Professor Lowell's description of the actual powers and functions of the Legislature, viz., the Reichstag:

The powers of the Reichstag appear very great on paper. All laws require its consent, and so do the budget, all loans and all treaties which involve matters falling within the domain of legislation. It has a right to initiate legislation, to ask the government for reports, and to express its opinion on the management of affairs. In reality, however, its powers are not so great as they seem. The constitution provides, for example, that the budget shall be annual, but the principal revenue laws are permanent, and cannot be changed without the consent of the Bundesrath, while the most important appropriation, that for the army, is virtually determined by the law fixing the number of the troops, and this has hitherto been voted for a number of years at a time. The chief function of the Reichstag is in fact, the consideration of bills prepared by the Chancellor and the Bundesrath. These it criticises and amends pretty freely; but its activity is rather negative than positive, and although important measures have occasionally been passed at its instigation, it cannot be said to direct the policy of the State either in legislation or administration.

The influence of the Reichstag is also diminished by the fact that it can be dissolved at any time by the Bundesrath with the consent of the Emperor. In most constitutional Governments at the present day the power of dissolution is the complement of the responsibility of the ministers, and is used, at least in theory, to ascertain whether the Cabinet possesses the confidence of the nation. But in Germany it exists without any such responsibility, and hence is simply a means of breaking down resistance in the Reichstag.

The rules of the Reichstag provide for interpellations, but the question to whom these shall be addressed involves one of the paradoxes, or contradictions between theory and practice, which are common in the government of the Empire. There is no Imperial Cabinet, and the Chancellor, who is the only minister, has no right, as such, to sit in the Reichstag. In theory he comes there only as one of the delegates to the Bundesrath.

In form, therefore, interpellations are addressed to the Bundesrath, but in fact they are communicated to the Chancellor, who usually answers them himself, or allows one of his subordinates to do so. A debate may ensue if demanded by fifty members, but it is not followed by an order of the day expressing the opinion of the House, and, indeed, interpellations have no such importance as in France and Italy, because the Parliamentary system does not

exist; that is, the Chancellor does not resign on an adverse vote of the Reichstag, nor does he feel obliged to conform to its wishes.

In every respect, then, this system of Imperial executive has failed to secure any legitimate voice to the people and their representatives in legislation and finance. On the other hand, the virtual independence of the executive in civil administration and the command of financial resources for a hateful military system has produced that abnormal state of society which is comprised in the German doctrine of Kultur.

On every ground of political principle, political expediency and British Imperial ideals, the suggestions in the direction of a limited legislative authority and circumscribed popular control, have to be rejected in toto.

THE NEED FOR A SECOND CHAMBER

There are one or two important circumstances which have introduced an element of apparent difficulty for those who are making suggestions on behalf of the people in India for placing the executive under the control of the legislature, both in the Provincial and the Imperial Governments. The Provincial Legislative Councils in India, unlike the legislatures in the Dominions, have not been designed on a federal basis. Nor has the Imperial legislative authority been lodged in a two Chamber authority, one of which in federal countries usually represents the principle of unity, and the other the principle of separation of interests inevitable in all federally organised constitutions. There is no Upper Chamber in India to which representatives of the several Provinces, as so many Provincial units, are elected. Nor is the Imperial Legislative Council entirely constituted as a lower chamber, elected only on the principle of population without reference to provincial representation. But -say the critics—apart from the advantages of possessing a revising chamber supplying the sober second thoughts of a more deliberate or conservative class of people, or of safeguarding the interests and the integrity of provinces as against the democratic domination of the more powerful provincials units, the advantages of more powerful checks on the action of a fully democratic single Chamber have been entirely lost sight of and ignored by the Congress constitution makers. It is difficult to meet an argument based upon so many and

somewhat conflicting considerations, but it has to be pointed out that the question of a second chamber for the whole of India remains for solution and is expressly left over until the process of solidification of popular political power and the relations between the various provinces and with those great and important factors in the future political evolution of India, the Indian States, become ripe for settlement. To defer the question of the representatives of the people obtaining control over the executive till this happens, is to put off indefinitely the insistent claims and needs of the people and to perpetuate the present system by which the executive may remain impervious to the force of public opinion up to the breaking It is obvious that in the present state of the country, such a policy of delay or doubt will be disastrous. Recent controversies and developments connected with the settlement of the next steps of constitutional reform in India may have indicated to some of those who deliberately avoided the decision of the question of a second chamber in the framing of the Congress-League Scheme, that the establishment of such a chamber may be the means of meeting many of the difficulties and some of the so-called deadlocks which are now so persistently urged to block the immediate grant of reforms. Mr. Lloyd George's Government, Mr. Montagu and the Government of India concur in considering suggestions for a second chamber as of immediate moment, there is nothing whatever in the Congress-League Scheme to exclude its consideration-provided, of course, both the national assemblies have the fullest opportunity of discussing them in detail.

REPRESENTATION OF NATIVE STATES

On the question of the institution of a second chamber, there are a variety of principles and considerations that will have to be dealt with. In the first place there is the general federal principle on which the claim of provincial autonomy—itself conceded in the famous Paragraph 3 of Lord Hardinge's Delhi Despatch—is to be worked out. If the provinces are to be self-governing units or Part-States in a federally united India, the first and second chambers may be modelled to represent the unitary and federal principles respectively, as in the United States or in the Dominions of Canada and Australia. And herein will come the important questions connected with

the claim now growing in volume, which is advanced on behalf of Indian States and their rulers for a voice in the joint Councils of India. It is obvious, however, that no claim can be entertained on behalf of these States which while insisting on the rights of complete immunity from influence in any functions of internal government or sovereignty for themselves—no Part-State in any Federal Commonwealth can do this in regard to the reserved or unreserved power of the united government-yet demands a voice in the control of whatever functions of government and legislation affecting only British provinces or territories and not affecting the Indian States, are reserved to the Central Federal Councils. The Indian States through their rulers or representatives are, of course, entitled to have a voice in the decision of all matters of common concern to British as well as to States territories, such as questions of National and Imperial Defence, military and naval expenditure, inter-political relations between the Part-States, when they are placed in the hands of popular executives. But in the functions which will fall to the Federal Legislatures by the "separation of powers," they can participate only if their own States are also to be subjected to the laws of the joint common and representative Legislature. This will involve, to use Lord Morley's words, "a large departure" from the existing policy and practice relating to the Indian States with their full powers of internal sovereignty. But unless this position is accepted, their co-operation in the business of Indian Government can at best be only of an advisory character, except in regard to the sharing in due proportions of the expenditure on Imperial and Indian naval and military defence and questions connected with common Imperial fiscal and political reconstruction. Whether the Indian States or their rulers would be sufficiently interested or organised for fulfilling this merely advisory function in Indian administration, was a question which was thoroughly examined when the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme was settled. It is difficult to add to the statement of the case which is contained in the final despatch of the Government of India to Lord Morley where the reasons for abandoning the proposal of an Imperial Advisory Conneil were fully set out and acted upon. Neither in its capacity as representing the Feudal principle, nor in its ability to fulfil the functions of a revising chamber with a suspensory veto on British Indian Legislature and Budgetary enactments can a

second chamber be expected to command interest or support or to derive much benefit from representatives or rulers of Indian States in it. If and when proposals for a more comprehensive reconstruction of the Imperial and Indian Commonwealth are contemplated, the claims of Indian States will necessarily become as great and just as those of any other Indian provinces.

REPRESENTATION OF CLASS INTERESTS

In a subsequent part of this Memorandum I have explained how any proposals for retracing the course of provincial absolutism and autonomy could not be entertained with the experience and conditions we have to face in India and therefore a second chamber to give effect to the principles of a federated Commonwealth of India, to which both Mr. Montagu and Lord Islington look forward, might receive consideration now, if that stage of Indian political evolution is going to be dealt with. There also other factors in the Indian situation which the establishment of a second chamber might perhaps seek to deal with. There are, in this country, as in other countries, certain elements of an essentially conservative character which on fundamental principles of popular Government, may be deemed to have had their day and must cease to block the way. The ancient aristocracy of a land, the territorial magnates, the landed interests, the classes with a stake in the country on the one hand, and the cultured and leisured classes, the men with age, experience and knowledge of public affairs, on the other, are all, it is urged, categories of men in a modern State who, apart from any claims they may assert on the ground of their wealth or stake, make for stability, sobriety and soundness in the social and political life of the community and ought to be brought together separately in a revising chamber. Such a chamber will be at once a more natural and less invidious check on the vagaries or the hasty action of a single popular chamber than the head of an executive, armed with a special veto. Moreover, in this country, there are still questions respecting communal needs and interests which are deemed to require deliberation and delicacy in handling on the part of the governing authorities, and which the usually less heated atmosphere of a second chamber might better deal with, leaving matters of primary civic and political concern, to people of all communities, to the decision in the main of a

first chamber constituted on a simple, direct popular choice. Though the National Congress and the Moslem League have come to a compromise on the question of representation as between the two great communities of India, the Hindu and the Mohamedan, its effect has, in one respect been to start and encourage other communal claims, Provincial and Imperial. So far as protection for specifically communal interest is concerned, this can be better furnished by a veto lodged in an upper chamber where communal interests can be fully represented and a veto provided in their hands may be effective than the somewhat complicated provisos more to clause IV, sections 1 and 3, of the Congress-League Reform Scheme. The modelling of an Upper House on the basis of a representation of communities, classes and interests, and of a Lower House on the basis of a uniform territorial suffrage is certainly worth discussing as a possible solution of the claims of separate class and communal interests whose conflicts are so much exaggerated before the eyes of the public by interested critics. Also the necessity for vesting with the head of the executive a powerful veto over the laws and resolutions of the Council and a responsibility for avoiding or remedying deadlocks, may possibly diminish if a second chamber, full of the sober second thoughts of the community supplied by men with a stake, and armed with co-ordinate powers in all matters of permanent legislation and a suspensory power of delay in financial or urgent administration matters, could be devised on a workable and efficient basis.

The Congress-League Scheme wisely left these and other far reaching questions for fuller and later deliberation and very properly confined itself to the immediate steps or stages in the path of self-government and constitutional reform. They have not been unmindful of the fact, I take it, that the pronounced attitude of the British Democracy to the House of Lords and the existence at all of a Second Chamber in England, must in due course react on the political institutions in India, when the steps towards full responsible self-government have to be considered. For the present, however, I am inclined to believe that the arrangements by which Indian legislatures, provincial and Imperial, are possessed of what are called plenary powers subject to specific restrictions—without any arrangement for the so-called

residuary powers—have worked well, though, hereafter, it may be necessary to provide some speedy process of getting rid of the conflict of legislation between superior and subordinate legislatures with co-ordinate powers which might occasionally arise. At present, in the existing state of things, this is avoided by the executive control which the Secretary of State and the Indian Government exercise over the Provincial Legislative Councils and through standing instructions in the Legislative Department of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

STAGES IN REFORM

The same prepossessions drawn from a mere contemplation of the future Indian Constitution as a pattern based on colonial torms of Self-Government, such as the Australian Commonwealth, which Lord Islington specifically mentioned, or as the Dominion of Canada, have had different results elsewhere. Ingenious but superficial students of the Indian political system are proposing half-way houses in the progress of a responsible federal type of government for India, which though amusing and absurd as a feat of constitution-making, are, none the less, mischievous. I do not desire to say that Mr. Curtis in his famous plan of self-government by compartments has been actuated by any insidious desire to thwart genuine Self-Government. But I must say that he has easily fallen a victim to all the ideas of those bureauciatic friends of his who for their part would speedily reduce any well-intentioned reform proposed in general terms to a nullity in the actual working out of it. That is what we have known and experienced with regard to the Local Self-Government reforms of 1882 and the Legislative Council reforms of 1892 and 1909. And as the next step now proposed is to specifically invest the councils with statutory powers not only in law-making, but in finance and administration, the plea of doing this by stages is easily availed to neutralise the value of any specific measure that will now inevitably be taken. Mr. Curtis would have us believe that in the classification of functions of Government between Imperial and Provincial authorities, such as he has indicated in his famous letter to Mr. Basu, which by the way is reported to have a history of its own, he simply has striven to follow colonial models by allotting specific powers to specific

authorities, federal or provincial as the case may be, only the process is to be more graduated so far as India is concerned.

WEAKNESS OF THE CURTIS SCHEME

The fundamental mistake and misconception of the whole thing is that Government, legislation and administration, are all made by Mr. Curtis to mean one and the same thing. Students of political science, at any rate in pre-war days, have understood that the legislative power, as Judge Storey put it so long ago, "is the great and over-ruling power in every free Government". It is the great over-riding power in all modern States, and while the Judicial authority interprets the laws, the executive authority executes it, supplying its discretion where the law has left the same to it. In treating, therefore of constitutions, the essential question respecting its entity and integrity has always pertained primarily to this legislative sovereignty or authority, as to what organ or organs it resides in and how it is exercised, regulated or distributed. The essence of a federal, as distinct from a unitary, constitution, as we have been taught to believe, consists in the distribution of this legislative sovereignty as between two organs in the State by a definite division effected through a fundamental constitutional document. This division of sovereign authority is made so as to vest in the Part-States the powers which they consider essential to be retained in their hands and to entrust with the federal common State, powers which it is deemed essential to concentrate in its hands with a view to maintain the integrity and unity of the joint State. In any particular division of functions as between the two, it is the legislative power involved in the discharge of governmental functions as such which has mattered and this is the only thing that is dealt with or could be dealt with by the constitution. The question whether the residuary power of making laws should vest in the central or in the provincial authorities has thus been always one which is dependent on the question of how far the sentiment of unity is stronger than the sentiment of separate entity among the several States or vice versa. To conceive of a federal constitution in which there is a distribution of departments of administration or a partition of major and minor administrative details as between the federal and the Part-States, unplies a forgetfulness of primary constitutional principles.

GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS

If modern States do not accept the old Austinian doctrine of the sovereignty of every independent political society vesting in one determinate person or group of persons therein, they are at any rate, only prepared to conceive of it as being lodged, so far as federal constitutions go, jointly in the legislatures of the federal and Part-States taken together. It is the conception of both of these organs as concerned with the carrying on of Governmental functions through the making of laws and not as being severally in charge of the department of archaeology on the one hand and of the department of the army and navy on the other, that has governed the separation or distribution of functions as between the federal and the provincial State A separation of mere administrative functions authorities. does, of course, exist in all States, federal or unitary, as between the central executive authority and the local authorities. Local Boards and Municipalities are not, what Dicey would call, law-making bodies, but are statutory corporations vested with definite administrative duties—empowered, of course, to make bye-laws to carry out the executive duties alloted to them by the legislative authority. That is a function which is very different from law-making. It would be a misconception of the most egregious character to conceive of the Indian Provincial Legislative Councils or any other Provincial Assemblies as local corporations invested with statutory administrative duties in particular departments; and it is a meddlesome suggestion of the most mischievous character to propose that at this time of the day Legislative functions of these Provincial Councils should be re-absorbed by the central Imperial Legislative Council. On the other hand, the cry of both the administration and the public is for a further splitting up of the large Provinces of India, each with a separate provincial legislature.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARALLEL

It is perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Curtis's experiences have been so exclusively in South Africa. A somewhat irregular course of constitutional Government has taken place among the colonies which now comprise the Union of South Africa and this has not conduced to a correct grasp of the essential

difference between legislative and administrative functions. Nor has Mr. Curtis a clear perception of the essential political principle that in all constitutions, federal or unitary, it is the constitution of the legislature and its law-making powers, affecting the normal relation of the executive thereto, that must determine the course of reforms in the direction of Self-Government and not the conduct of particular departments of administration with or without the guidance of elected Councils modelled on Municipal corporations. The distinction is unfortunately apparently obliterated in his mind by what has been provided in the Union of South Africa Act as to the final form which that Dominion Constitution is to take. According to that Act, what will happen to the South African Union after the first ten years of its existence will be that it will cease to be a federal constitution and will become a Unitary Constitution; that is, that the several self-governing colonies which have now united to form the union, possessing separate legislatures with executives subordinate to them, will cease to be so and that all these colonies will be, as it were, converted into districts under the central administration of the Union executive, and governed by a single legislature with two chambers. This course has been apparently dictated to South African statesmen as much by the inconvenience of such small areas as Natal and the Orange River Colony being treated as separate States with separate Parliaments, as by the desire to obliterate the ancient rivalries and racial jealousies with a view to strengthen a common South African national spirit. need not be said that conditions in India are of the converse character. The district or, as it is technically called, the provincial, administration in South Africa is to be carried on by a provincial executive, guided or controlled in respect of specific functions of administration, by what is virtually an administrative council. But the essential fact to be borne in mind is that all legislative authority, as such, will be absorbed by the Union Parliament and that these administrative councils are only empowered to make regulations which are more or less in the nature of bye-laws.

EXPERIENCE IN INDIA

He will be a bold man who would advocate for a continent like India with a fifth of the population of the

world within it, that a Unitary Constitution could be thought of as a permanent working political basis of her constitution. All that I can say is that more than 85 years ago, even so early as 1833 when British Indian territories were perhaps but 3/5 of the existing territories, such an experiment was started and tried and it miserably failed. The failure was acknowledged by Parliament in 1861, and the old idea of separate provincial legislatures was adopted and amplified. In 1833, Parliament abolished the legislative powers of the Governors-in-Council of Madras and Bombay and centred all the legislative powers in the hands of the Governor-General-in-Council who, strengthened by the addition of a distinguished law member from England, was expected to enact rapidly codes of laws of general application throughout the country so as to dispense with the necessity of separate legislation in different provinces. The troubles and difficulties, not to say conflicts, between the Provincial and Imperial authorities during this period, as well as the failure for the time of the scheme of legislative codes compiled upon the advice of the law member, sufficed to induce all parties unanimously to consent to a restoration of the legislative powers of the provincial authorities. Subsequent progress has steadily gone in the direction of providing more provinces and more provincial legislatures. Indeed, one curious statutory reminder of this is, that no Lieutenant-Governorship can be created without at the same time creating a legislative council to make laws for the province so constituted. We are now asked to go back to the unitary type! This is virtually what Mr. Curtis proposes by his scheme of the new provincial popular Governments with a more than ever centralised Imperial Government and its deputies, side by side, getting on with the main business of Government. This is decidedly to misread the lessons of history, of political theory and of all political experience.

An Absurdity

One obvious absurdity to which reference may be made here is that, with the insignificant departments of administration put into the pompous hands of a popular executive council controlled by a popular assembly, we have by no means got rid of the legislative supremacy of either the all along existing Provincial Legislative Council or of the Imperial Legislative

The Governor-General-in-Council has power in the Legislative Council, under the present statute, "to make laws for all persons, for all courts and for all places and things within British India and for all subjects of His Majesty," etc., subject to certain provisos. Similarly, the Local Legislative Councils of every Province in India may, subject to certain provisos, make laws "for the peace and good Government of the territories, for the time being constituting the Provinces," and may even with the sanction of the Governor-General, repeal or amend Imperial laws, subject to certain definite provisos. This power of making laws, "for the peace and good Government of the territories concerned," is to many thinking persons the first essential of any constitutional organ. And if the peace and good Government of Provinces are placed under the legislative authority, not of the new novel constitution of Mr. Curtis, but of the old Councils of the country, if they are not to be matters with which the representatives of the people could have anything to do, how can it be said that Self-Government is seriously proposed, presently or ultimately, to be substituted for good Government? It is obvious that no stray departments placed under administrative supervision can do duty for the powers of Self-government which are to ensure the good government now exclusively dependent on councils dominated by bureaucratic organisations. In truth no half-way houses constructed on the basis of departmental "hivings off" can be an adequate substitute for the grant of any substantial power of control to the legislature over the executive. And if such proposals are to be seriously treated, ignoring first principles, by any Indian, he will be verily selling his birthright for a mess of pottage.

LORD ISLINGTON'S SUGGESTIONS

It is difficult to make out from the text of the address delivered by Lord Islington in Oxford some months ago, how far his idea of giving power to standing committees of legislative councils in regard to spheres of public business follows Mr. Curtis's plan. But it is very evident that he has not tallen into the confusion of legislative and administrative functions which so seriously detracts from Mr. Curtis's proposals. Lord Islington says that we must aim at transferring definite spheres of business from bureaucratic to more representative control, and suggests that

this might be best effected by the constitution, on the French plan, of standing committees of the legislative councils, containing a large number of un-official members responsible for assisting the executive in its proposals, on certain specified groups of questions. He has not indicated what is to happen to the unspecified group of legislative or administrative questions, nor, more particularly, what is to happen to that vital part of all popular power inherent in a representative council namely, the power of the purse. At the same time, he describes these standing committees as "responsible for assisting the executive in framing its proposals," and observes "that if in the Legislative Councils, the Government modified their policy the council will have to shoulder the responsibility for themselves, as this is the essence of responsible Government as we understand it". To my mind, the committee system, whether in regard to administrative or financial matters, can work only when, behind the committees, there exists the authority of the body that constituted them. If the council itself does not possess the power of controlling the executive, as the French and Italian Chambers of Deputies possess it in all its completeness, the futility of the committee seeking to exercise control, trying to assume anything more than a mere power of criticism or advice, will soon be evident. Whatever merits the committee system might possess in France or anywhere else on the Continent, they all owe their origin to the coercive authority behind the committees which vests in the Assemblies, and are ultimately dependent on the legislative supremacy of the assembly, coupled with its power of the purse.

CONTINENTAL EXPERIENCE

Such a profound and impartial student of the continental constitutions as l'rofessor Lowell, is by no means impressed with either their efficiency or their utility as a moderating factor in executive control. He says:

The main point to notice is that the System is entirely inconsistent with the parliamentary form of Government. The Cabinet cannot exert the same influence over an election conducted in this way that it could over one made by the Chamber in open Session. In the latter case it might insist on the choice of a majority of the committee from among its own friends, and make of the matter a Cabinet question; but it cannot treat the failure of several irresponsible sections of the Chamber to act in accordance "with its wishes

as an expression of want of confidence by the Chamber as a whole". The result is that the committees are not nominated by the Cabinet, or necessarily in sympathy with it, and yet all measures, including those proposed by the Government, are referred to them to revise as they think best. Now if the ministers are to be responsible for directing the work of the Chamber, they ought to have a policy of their own and stand or fall on that. They ought to be at liberty to determine their own course of action, and to present their measures to Parliament in a form that they entirely approve. But if a committee has power to amend Government bills, the ministers must either assume the burden of trying to persuade the Chamber to reverse the amendments, with all the influence of the committee against them; or they must take the risk of opposing the bill as reported, although they still approve of many of its features; or finally they must accept the bill as it stands and become responsible for a measure with which they are not themselves fully satisfied. The committees in fact use their power without shrinking, and the annual budget, for example, has been compared to a tennis-ball sent backward and forward between the minister and the committee until a compromise can be reached.

M. Dupriez, in his excellent work on the ministers in the principal countries of Europe and America, paints in very strong colours the evils of the French committee system. He points out how little influence the ministers have with the committees, who often regard them almost as the representatives of a hostile power in the State. He shows that while the ministers have no right to be present at committee meetings, and are invited to attend only when they wish to express their views the committees claim a right to examine the administrative offices, insist on seeing books and papers, and volunteer advice. So little respect, indeed, do the committees pay to the opinions of the Cabinet, and so freely do they amend its bills, that, as M. Dupriez sarcastically remarks, Government and the committee are never in perfect accord except when the former submits to the latter. He says, moreover, that when a bill comes up for debate the reporter of the committee is a rival who has great influence with the Chamber, while the deputies are inclined to regard the ministers with jealousy and defiance. Nor do the woes of the Cabinet end here, for its authority is reduced to so low a point that its bills are quite freely amended during the debate on the motion of individual deputies.

Of all the committees, the most domineering and vexations is that on the budget. This committee seems to take pride in criticising the estimates and making them over, both as regards income and expenditure, while each member exerts himself to add appropriations for the benefit of his own constituents, so that when the report is finally made the Government can hardly recognise its own work.

The committee system in Italy is more systematically organised than in France, but it illustrates more forcibly the evils which will ensue in this country if Lord Islington's suggestion is adopted without modification. The committees in Italy are not elected ad hoc as in France and the Cabinet has a good deal of influence over their composition to the extent of getting them elected on party lines. The real position is, as Professor Lowell has pointed out, that Continental experience "illustrates forcibly the entire inconsistency with the parliamentary form of government of any committees that are not under the control of the Cabinet". But a properly constituted Budget committee can always be valuable for a ministry, though interference with the Budget is the most serious infraction of the rights of any party in power.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The truth is that this responsible Government, such as we are accustomed to under British traditions, implies a general power of scrutiny and control; general authority to lay down. direct and modify executive policies; a general right to bring forward grievances and expose defects, and a general power to review the administration. Such a control in the English Constitution is exercised by the House of Commons mostly in an indirect way, by means of interpellations, motions for adjournments, resolutions on urgent matters of public importance, amendments to votes on the estimates, together with the more formal motions of want of confidence or censure on the minister or ministers responsible. The more formidable steps of refasal of supplies, short mutiny bills, as well as the ancient weapon of impeachment, are rarely brought into requisition in these days. The Indian Legislatures have copied and kept in operation many of the minor forms of British Parliamentary procedure. But they have not been able to achieve anything on account of the impossibility of mere forms to prevail against the continued non-popular and pro-official composition of their members. give one or two examples, it is an accepted rule of Indian constitutional procedure, and one which the courts have upheld, that apart from the ancient right or prerogative of the Crown

under which the Land Revenue is claimed and collected in India, the Executive Government cannot levy any new tax otherwise than under the authority of a legislative enactment of the Imperial or Provincial Councils. It follows from this that alterations or modifications pertaining to the taxation of the country equally require legislative sanction. In any other non-bureaucratically governed country it might have been expected that with this power to impose fresh taxation vested in the councils, with an executive which based its estimates more upon economy and less upon efficiency and less at realising large surpluses than they have aimed at till now, the Council could have compelled the Government yearly to obtain its virtual sanction to the Budgets in order that the necessary addition or alteration may be effected by passing the Bill which the executive would badly need. When Budget discussions were first permitted in the Indian Legislative Councils in the years 1870 to 1875, the executive found it necessary, in order to afford the Legislative Councils the opportunity of discussion thus given, to bring in some piece of legislation so as to take the occasion to explain the "financial statement" for the coming year. In the Madras Legislative Council, an attempt was made to treat the privilege then afforded as a right to discuss and pass appropriations by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot. But this was promptly nipped in the bud. The Councils obtained the formal right to discuss the Budget only under the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Still if the practice of discussing the budget and passing any necessary legislation in relation thereto had been fairly treated since those days to mature into a Budget Right, lodged not in an official majority but in the elected representatives of the people, the necessity for the more formal declaration of a Budget Right which has now become urgent may not have arisen at all. But the express stipulations made in Lord Morley's Reform proposals, that the right of sanctioning the Budget vests in the Executive Government and that the Councils have no right of voting or vetoing a budget, has made an express grant of all the functions comprised under what is called a "Budget Right," absolutely necessary.

BUDGET RIGHT

It is this demand of the Budget Right which has exercised the bureaucracy so much and rendered its apprehensions so vocal against the Congress-League Scheme. The question is constantly asked at every turn by officials and their supporters: supposing the Councils refuse supplies, how can the administration go on or the service get on? The elementary principle is conveniently forgotten that in all democratic countries the refusal of supplies is an inherent right of all legislative authorities however constituted. The easy assumption is as conveniently made that while a thoroughly democratic assembly in England will not refuse supplies so as to bring the administration to a deadlock, a less democratically designed assembly in India, with diverse classes and interests represented on it and with limited authority and powers for the present, would more frequently or more perversely indulge in this right of refusal of supplies. But leaving the question of the improbability, nay the virtual impossibility, of any such deadlock arising in the Indian Legislative Councils, let us consider whether any, and if so, what protection is needed against such deadlocks. In doing so, the essential distinction has to be borne in mind that the budget right is as essential to prevent over-taxation and enforce retrenchments as to exercise control over executive policy or administration. It is a commonplace of budget procedure that no popular assembly has ever attempted even through special committees to offer expert criticism on the estimates or on the methods and plans of finance ministers to meet budget requirements. And it is equally well-known that, despite pious expressions of opinion on retrenchments, popular assemblies rarely attempt to exercise technical control over expenditure in the way of scrutiny or audit, but usually overwhelm the Executive Government with innumerable proposals for additional expenditure. All popular assemblies at the same time object to additional taxation. The only value to the finance minister of the debate on the budget lies in the criticism by individual members of the assemblies whose authority, knowledge or ability in criticising his plans and their details, afford him valuable help.

The main interest of the budget right, then, to a popular assembly lies in the use, which it is able to be put to, its power of the purse. The history of constitutional struggles in all countries—and of course, the outstanding example is England—is the manner in which the power of the purse is sought and obtained and is in due course developed into a power of more

or less full control over the executive. The converting of the executive of a constitutional monarchy into a parliamentary executive is mainly dependent on the power possessed by the assemblies, and more particularly by the lower house representing the people, over the budget. In America, the process was arrested by the separation of the executive from the legislature and by the substitution in their constitution, for a hereditary monarch, a periodical president of the executive equally chosen with the legislature by an unfettered popular choice. While both the legislature and the executive are thus equally dependent on and are the creatures of the votes of the people, they are not correlated to each other in the manner of superiority and subordination which is involved in a parliamentary system of executive. The result, however, so far as the people are concerned is entirely immaterial inasmuch as both alike are of their choice and replaceable from time to time. Those who talk of deadlocks by refusal of supplies in India are under the initial confusion of regarding the executive as something which is permanent and the legislature as something with perpetual and conflicting interests to promote. There is absolutely no warrant in theory for this assumption. At this moment, all the legislatures in India have the power to compel the executive by enactments to carry out any particular policy they may embody in such laws. That they are unable to do so is due to the fact that their constitutional position is not popular nor even substantially elective. It is understood that the official class in India will no longer obstruct the process of at least the provincial councils becoming substantially elective in their composition. If it is conceivable that such a council could become organised enough to pass such laws as might embarass the executive or effectively obstruct any urgent legislation which the executive may bring forward, to the point of creating a deadlock, it is difficult to see why the much more inconceivable deadlock which could be produced by the senseless and suicidal act of withholding salaries or supplies should be deemed more fearful or more frequent.

THE REAL OBJECTION

I need not add in this connection the oft-repeated arguments that the legislative councils even in their enlarged constitutions are far from likely under normal conditions, to

combine and think of such things or to depart from the sobriety and sense of political wisdom—which by all official accounts they have been found to possess in the history of the Indian Legislative Councils for over a quarter of a century. The root of all the specious objections against the grant of the budget right and administrative control really lies in the primary reluctance of these critics to deprive the executive in India of their present powers. They have been content so far to accept and very often to applaud the great and essential principle of the British constitution, viz., the legislative supremacy of the State and of the rule of law by which the Indian citizens obtain a measure of protection unknown in foreign countries. They have acquiesced in it so long as that principle was given effect to by laws enacted by the executive themselves with or without additional members who cannot seriously disturb their legislative authority. The executive in India have for long been a law unto themselves. They have brought forward in the Councils and passed such laws as they required and they executed them as they deemed best. Under such circumstances, the legal subordination of the executive to the laws of the legislature has neither been of consequence nor of serious difficulty. Even when Indian lawyers had successfully sought the protection of Courts for a correct interpretation of the officially enacted laws whenever they are set at naught or infringed by the executive, the remedy lay easily in the hands of the executive. They have only to convene a meeting of the legislature and pass by the strength of their official and nominated votes such laws as, may be needed for legalising the illegalities committed in the past and for excluding the jurisdiction of all civil courts in such cases for the future. As a matter of theory, as well as of fact, the Legislative Councils in India were originally only the executive councils sitting in a legislative capacity. Later on, the Law Member was added. Then, additional members were summoned only to meetings of the Governor or Governor-General-in-Council when they sat for the making of Laws and Regulations and they were there, to use the words of the statute, "for the better exercise of the power of making laws vested in the Governor-in-Council. This additional annexe had so largely grown that it was found anomalous to call the legislature, "the Governor-in-Council sitting with additional members for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations," and at last in the Consolidation Act of 1915 the words "Legislative Councils" have been formally put on the statute book to describe the legislatures of India.

A CONFUSION OF IDEAS

One further element of confusion introduced by those who talk of deadlocks has to be adverted to here. The question of deadlocks between the executive and the legislature elsewhere is essentially a matter as between one branch of a democratic constitution and another. Expedients elaborate or simple are devised for them as the case may be-according as the constitutions concerned take advantage more of constitutional conventions and organised party Government and less of the letter or of the grouping together of diverse elements in the State. The real deadlock that is contemplated in the scheme of Indian reforms is very different. It is that which is fundamentally involved in the existence of an outside ruling class with an exceptional position and prestige, unused to and often resentful of popular control. It has no relation even to possible conflicts between the interests of the Empire and the interests of the Indian People. The custody of Imperial interests vests in the representatives of His Majesty in India and not upon the members of the civil service. These are but rarely concerned with any questions of imperial magnitude when they are not, at the same time, Service questions. Until this state of things is altered by a frank recognition of Self-Government as the overdue reform for India a deadlock between a ruling class and a legislature which has no direct control over it must be a natural phenomenon from time to time.

To my mind, the announcement of the 20th August last in Parliament that "Responsible Government" is the aim and intention of British policy, if it has any meaning at all, is inconsistent with the underlying idea above referred to for the sake of which the deadlock bogey is trotted out by so many critics. It is obvious that responsible government cannot exist if the Civil Service is to be immune from responsibility to a responsible legislature of the people. And if the principle is accepted that they should be made responsible in some form or other to a popular legislature, there can, in reality, arise no question of deadlocks which will be insoluble. I am certain—so long as Mr. Montagu means and is able to give effect to the

policy of His Majesty's Government—he will not be seriously troubled about the fear of deadlocks for we know he has full faith in the faculty of Self-Government possessed by the Indian people.

THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS'

THE scheme of reforms drawn up by the Indian National Congress and the All India Moslem League has asked for Provincial autonomy and the most important aspect of such autonomy is that which relates to finance. The aim of the scheme is to give a more or less independent existence to Provincial Governments, doing away with their present condition of being mere delegates of the Imperial Government in regard to so many matters regulated by rules. Provincial autonomy in finance, as in other matters, should, in order that it may be in keeping with the previous history of the relations between the two sets of Governments—be of the nature of devolution. In other words, Provincial Governments should exercise only powers delegated to them by the Government of India or provided for it in specific legislative enactments. All other residuary powers would vest in the Government of India. At present, this delegation of financial powers by the Government of India is effected only by way of rules framed by the Governor-General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State. These rules have not the force of law and may be changed at the discretion of the authorities making them. In any scheme of financial autonomy now to be established in the Provinces, it is essential that the functions of administration to be discharged by them and the range of their powers of taxation should be defined by legislation. More than one analogy can be quoted for this claim in the constitutional arrangements of British Colonial Governments. Within the limits of expenditure and revenues prescribed by such legislation, the Provinces should be allowed the widest possible self-rule.

¹ Reprinted from the Memoranda attached to the address given by the Horae Rule League to H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on November 26th, 1917.

If the Provincial Governments are to approximate to the ideal of autonomous constitutions, it is essential that in their financial arrangements they should as far as possible be free of outside control and that there should be substituted in its place the control of the representatives of the people of the Province. There should, first of all, be a separation of Provincial from Imperial accounts. There is really no necessity for Provincial figures being clubbed with those of the Government of India. Under the new scheme suggested, the Provincial Legislatures will get control over the Provincial executives in regard to all matters of administration, including their own finance. All the general and specific restrictions placed by the Secretary of State and the Government of India on Provinciofinancial administration at the present moment, by means of codes, despatches, resolutions, rules and instructions, should therefore be taken away. Provincial Governments should next have powers of taxation and of borrowing. As they will largely be concerned with functions relating to the internal development of the country, they might be invested by statute with the power to borrow for remunerative or developmental undertakings. The treasuries in the country may for the present, i.e., until banking facilities are available on a large scale throughout the country, continue to be controlled by the Government of India through its Accountants General, Provincial Governments only banking with such treasuries subject to such rules as the Government of India may in consultation with them frame.

Taking, for illustration, those areas which Provincial Governments of their own, the services which such Governments might be called on to administer may be grouped under the following heads:

- (1) General Administration (2) Police

- (3) Courts
 (4) Jails
 (5) Education
- (6) Sanitation
- (7) Medical relief
- (8) Agriculture and Industries
- (9) Irrigation
- (10) Local Self-Government
- (11) Scientific and Miscellaneous departments

These services nearly exhaust all the functions of Government which relate to the maintenance of peace and order in the country and the promotion of the material and moral well-being of the people including the development of their agriculture and industries. For meeting the expenditure on these services, the following heads of taxation and other revenue should be transferred wholly to Provincial Governments:

- Land revenue,¹
 Income-Tax
 Excise

- (4) Forest
- (5) Registration
- (6) Departmental receipts
- (7) and other forms, if any, of direct taxation.

The Imperial Government will have charge of the remaining services of administration of the remaining sources of revenue and expenditure now in existence. In other words, the Imperial Government will have charge of the following services:

- (1) Naval and Military Defence
- (2) Customs and fiscal administration
- (3) Foreign affairs, and political relations with Native States
- (4) Railways
- (5) Posts and Telegraphs.
- (6) General Imperial Supervision

It will realise the revenue derivable from the administration of these services and, in addition, will have its exclusive use of the revenue derived from certain other sources such as Salt, Opium, Stamps, etc. As against the heads of taxation of the Provincial Governments the heads of taxation of the Imperial Government will be as under:

- (1) Salt
- (2) Opium

¹ The inclusion of Land Revenue under Provincial and of Salt Revenue under Imperial Sources I consider most essential. The vexed controversy as to the former being a rent or tax in India will cease to be of serious moment, if this responsibility for increasing or diminishing the revenue from land, by periodical revisions or re-adjustments according to financial needs, is placed in each Provincial Government concerned, the decrease or increase of taxation in each case being determined by the representatives of the people who have to provide for the needs of the administration.

- (3) Stamps
- (4) Customs
- (5) Interest
- (6) Posts and Telegraphs
- (7) Mint
- (8) Railways (9) Military Receipts
- (10) Civil works and Miscellaneous

The heads of expenditure of the Provincial and Imperial Governments will be correspondingly separated. I have worked out roughly the approximate figures of revenue and expenditure thus separated, in the Tables contained in the Appendix. It will be seen therefrom that I have sought to give effect to the principle of providing separate sources of revenue and expenditure for the Imperial and Provincial Governments and of abolishing divided heads of revenue and expenditure which is what the Congress-League scheme has demanded. deficiency or surplus of revenues as well as a demand for additional expenditure occurring either in Provincial or Imperial finance will hereafter have to be adjusted by the concurrent powers of raising or lowering taxation on sources of revenue, which each of them will possess under the scheme, while the principle of strengthening the position of the Government of India on account of its dependence on the proposed fixed Provincial grants, is given effect to by retaining, as observed above, the residuary powers of taxation with the Government of India.

According to the present scale of expenditure on the services mentioned above and according to the rates at which the taxes referred to above are levied, this arrangement will result in a substantial surplus in favour of most Provincial Governments, and consequently in a big deficit in the accounts of the Government of India.1 It is, therefore, necessary that

¹ It has been suggested to me that it would improve the chances of the favourable consideration of the Congress Scheme of finance by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, if the net deficit for which they have to look for recoupment from the Provincial Governments, is reduced to the lowest possible figure. If proposals in this behalf were needed, I would place Registration —as being a revenue derived by the administration of a uniform Imperial Act under Imperial and would also appropriate that portion of the income-tax which is due to the principle of graduation—sur-tax or super-tax for Imperial use, on the ground that the enhanced payment is made by those who most probably obtain more advantage from and are better able to contribute to, the Imperial Government.

the Provincial Governments should make a contribution to the Government of India for meeting its needs. Such a contribution may take one of the following forms: (1) It may be calculated at so much per head of the population in each Province. (2) It may be fixed as a percentage of the total revenue of each Province. (3) It may be fixed as a percentage of the revenue derived from one or two specific Provincial head of receipts. (4) It may be a fixed amount revisable every 5 or 10 years. (5) It may be an amount fixed permanently by statute. To adopt either the first or the second suggestion would be to ignore the great disparity that now exists between the taxable capacity of one Province and that of another. To adopt suggestion 3 would be to take away from each Provincial Government all incentive for developing the sources of revenue concerned. Suggestion 4 will only bring back in another form, the old, objectionably-worked quinquennial Provincial settlements which were in vogue until a few years ago. Suggestion 5 seems, therefore, the most worthy of adoption in the circum-Such contributions should, in the case of each Province, be fixed by statute. In Table IV of the Appendix, I have suggested a tentative distribution, as among the several Provinces, of the total amount of the Provincial contributions which would be needed by the Imperial Government under the proposed schemes, calculated on the basis of the figures of 1915-16. The Congress-League Scheme has, however, permitted the revision of the fixed contribution when extraordinary or unforeseen contingencies render it necessary. But this precaution seems really to be unnecessary. If the sources of revenue from which the Imperial Government on the one side and the various Provincial Governments on the other are to finance their respective expenditures do not overlap one another it stands to reason that each grade of Government should look to its own range of taxable material resources or objects for meeting all increases of expenditure. As things stand at present, the services which will more and more demand increased expenditure will be those allotted to Provincial Governments, as they relate to functions of internal development. No doubt. the Government of India will be charged with the financing of military and naval expenditure both in times of peace and in times of war. But as the proposal is still to retain all residuary powers of taxation with the Government of India, its consenting to only a statutorily fixed contribution from the Provinces will not starve it for want of adequate powers of raising whatever monies it may require even in un-extraordinary or unforeseen contingencies.

The Scheme of Financial autonomy developed on the lines above indicated, will thus make the way clear for conceding an effective Budget right-in other words, the power of the purse—to the representatives of the people in the Provincial legislatures. The Budget for each Province can, under these conditions, be framed by the Member of the Provincial Government in charge of finance and placed before the Provincial Legislative Council for criticism and adoption. All outside control on the raising of revenue or the incurring of expenditure being non-existent, there will be no obstacle in the way of the popularly elected assembly dictating what should be done by the Provincial Government in either of those directions. anomaly that now exists of a Budget prepared by the Executive Government of a Province being only discussed—and even that, in regard to only a few items -by the Provincial Legislature and being finally sanctioned by the Executive of the Government of India, an outside body, will be removed and in its place will be substituted the normal constitutional arrangements which exist in all well-ordered constitutions. The executive of the Province will prepare the Budget and the legislature of the same Province will discuss it and pass it into law.

It is perhaps feared in some quarters that the vesting of such complete control in the members of the Provincial Legislative body might lead to a rude disturbance of the established order of things in the various departments of administration. The fear seems to be particularly pronounced with regard to the status and prospects of the Indian Civil Service as it is recruited and paid at the present moment. It will, however, be objectionable and anomalous, in order merely to conciliate the people who entertain this fear, to exclude the pay and prospects of the Indian Civil Service from the control of the Provincial Legislative Councils. The members of this Service dominate every important department of internal administration and if they and their salaries and prospects are made independent of popular control, the autonomy that will be secured in the Provinces will be entirely illusory. If, at all,

it be deemed advisable that, under the existing conditions, the administration should not be rudely shaken by over-zealous legislators—especially where it may relate to the pay of people already in service or to the prospects which they are legitimately entitled to under the present conditions of recruitment-safeguards in this behalf may easily be provided by statute. For instance, it may be enacted that all acts or resolutions passed by the Indian legislatures which relate to the pay and prospects of the existing members of the Indian Civil Service, shall not have effect if they prejudicially affect the existing members of the Service, without the approval of the Secretary of State —unless due compensation is paid to them for the prejudice so caused. Such a provision exists in some of the colonial constitutions; and a restriction of this kind, while it will not curtail the essential rights of the popular body in regard to the future shaping of the internal administration of the Province, will afford adequate protection to individuals who have already entered the service of the Province with definite prospects in view.

Just as the scheme contemplates the freeing of Provincial Governments from outside control, so does it also contemplate the freeing of the Government of India from the control of the Secretary of State in financial as in other matters. At present, there are serious restrictions placed on the powers of the Government of India in this respect: for example, the sanction of the Secretary of State is required for every proposal for reducing or increasing taxation, for every important new departure in financial policy, in matters relating to currency operations or debts, and practically in regard to every matter which raises any important administrative question or involves expenditure of unusual or considerable amount. Besides these general restrictions, there are various minor specific restrictions placed on the spending powers of the Government of India. It would be absurd to remove these restrictions in the case of Provincial Governments and retain them in the case of the Government of India. That is why the Congress-League Scheme has asked on the one hand for the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council and the placing of his salary on the British Estimates and on the other, for vesting in the Imperial Legislative Council the power to vote or veto the Budget of the Government of India,

I attach an Appendix in which are worked out, roughly, the accounts of the Government of India and the nine important Provincial administrations as they would be on the basis of the scheme. The figures relate to the year 1915-1916, the latest for which completed accounts are available. The details for the Government of India and the Provinces have been worked out with reference to the tables given in the Financial Secretary's Memorandum attached to the Finance Member's Budget statement for the year.

TABLE I.

TOTAL BUDGET DISTRIBUTION UNDER THE SCHEME.

REVENUE.

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION.

Imperial Provincial			£ 55,339,713 31,073,824		Imperial Provincial	•••			£ 42,665,917 41,747,611
	•••	Total			200		Total		84,413,528 15
		Rs	126,62,03,055				Rs.	•••	126,62,02,290
Presei	NT DI	STR1BUT	ION.	EXPENDITURE		SED D	ISTRI	ឧប។	PION.
		STR1BUT	£	EXPENDITURE	PROPOS		istri	rua	£
Imperial	NT DI: 	STRIBUT 	£ 54,528,374	EXPENDITURE	PROPOS Imperial	SED D	ISTRI	rua	£ 50,193,758
			£ 54,528,374 31,073,824	EXPENDITURE	PROPOS		istri	BUI	£
Imperial		41	£ 54,528,374	EXPENDITURE	PROPOS Imperial		ISTRI:		£ 50,193,758

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION.

TA
DETAILS OF REVENUE

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION

				Imperial.	Provincial
1.	Land Revenue			£ 10,763,350	Ł
2.	Opium	•••		1,913,514	11,267,81
3.	Salt	•••		3,647,587	11,201,41
4.	Gt	•	***	2,767,9111	•••
<u>.</u>	Excise	•••	•••	2,400,483	2,665,721
j. 3.	Provincial Rates	•••	•••	255	6,231,720
	Customs	•••	•••	- 5,873,886	41,590
:	Income-tax	••		1,136,689	41,000
	77	•••	•••	76,419	953,420
		•••		6,099	1,999,006
•	Registration	•••	•••	0,078	
•	Tributes from Native	•••	*	609,128	512,780
	States	•••	•••		204 040
2.	Interest	•••	***	731,569	364,848
	Posts and Telegraphs	•••	••	8,787,478	••
•	Mint	•••	1	101,918	0-0.001
	Law and Justice Court	s	••}	34,454	379,091
	(agrin	•••		36,158	263,067
	Police			5,505	137,694
	Ports and Pilotage	•••		20	125,394
	Education			7,452	287,584
	Medical	•••		1,252	75,996
	Sanitation			2,332	13,725
	Agriculture .	•		10,670	67,795
	Scientific and Miscella-		- 1	i	
	neous Departments	••		8,467	123,268
	Superannuation, etc.	•••		139,376	74,551
	Stationery and Printing			87,674	51,460
i.	Exchange			74,254	•
5.	Miscellaneous	***		116,647	185,526
7.	Railways			17,973,640	3,463
ï	Tweignstion	••		2,207,584	2,571,495
ĵ.	Ciril Works	•••		57,160	246,875
ó.	Militore	•••	•••	1,241,740	_ , ,
٠.	ministry	••	•••	2,02-,1-0	
	Total		!	53,839,71	31,073,824
	1000	••	"	15	15
	Rs.			5,695,0008	46 61 07 306

BLE·II
AS PER SCHEME

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION

· Imp	erial		Provincial				
		£			£		
Salt		3,647,587	Land		22,031,161		
Opium		1,913,514	Excise		8,632,209		
Stamps		5,433,632	Income-tax		2,090,109		
Customs		5,873,856	Forest .		2,074,425		
Tributes .		609,128	Registration		518,879		
Interest		1,096,417	Depl. Receipts		1,579,904		
Posts and Telegraphs	з.	3,787,478	Provincial rates		41.845		
Mint		101,918	Irrigation		4,779,079		
Miscellaneous		679,488					
Railways		17,977,103	Total £		41,747,611		
Civil Works		300,034			15		
Military Receipts	•••	1,241,740					
			Rs.		62,62,14,165		
Total £		42,665,917			, -		
		15					
Ra.		63,99,88,755					

TA
[DETAILS OF EXPENDITURE
PRESENT DISTRIBUTION

					Imperial	Provincia
İ					£	<u>e</u>
	ls and draw			•••	235,885	108,561
Assign	ment & com	pensations	3		563,73 6	717,184
Land	evenue		•		296,008	3,607,706
Opium				••	1,144,831	1
Salt	••	•••			876,722	1 .
Stamp	8.		•••		76,580	70.270
Excise					146,044	824,606
Custor	ne e				262,264	
Incom	-tax			••	17,335	17,091
Forest		•••	•••	•	83,499	1,159,368
Regist			•••	•••	1.887	257,958
Intere			•		950,022	240,342
	nd telegrap		••	•••	8,149,680	1
Mint	na teregrap	na	••	•••	89,378	
	l administra		•••	••	1.071.298	897.440
Genera) Court		••	•••	81,018	8,272,920
Law		•••	•••	•••	146,749	
0-1:	Jail Jail	•••	•••	•••		895,771
Police	3 . 3 . 4	•••	• •••	•••	277,820	5,075,795
	nd pilotage	•••	•••	•••	110.00	210,609
Educat		•••	••	•••	110,027	3,001,100
	asticul	••	•••	***	131,046	021.050
Medica		***	•••		72,692	801,058
Sanitat			•••	•••	64,977	560,309
Politic	ւ	•••	•••	•••	1,005,104	162,923
Agricu					63,084	534,417
Scienti	fic & miscell	aneous de	pte.		289,388	142,670
Territo	rial & politic	al pension	8		219,075	
Civil, f	urlo'& absei	atee allows	nces		235,834	
Supera	nuation allow	wances. &c		•••	2,162,284	1,307,999
Station	ery and prin	ting	•••		218,942	512,102
Miscell	aneous			•••	212,068	260,371
Famine	relief, etc.	•••	•••	•••	824,764	175,236
Railwa				•••	13,900,172	1,493
Irrigat			•••	•••	1,672,947	2,048,149
	ublic works		•••	•••	872,326	4,579,401
	v services	•••		•••	23,503,093	
			Provl. Govts		-,,	1
spent			nditure defr			
	rovi. balanc		nni, ma neri	ayeu		130,940
пош т	IOVI. DAIMIC	UB	Total	•••	£54,528,374	31,073,824
			10001		15	15
			Rs.		81,79,25,610	46,61,07,360

BLE III
AS PER SCHEME.]

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION

Imperial		Provincial	
Salt Opnum Stamps Customs Interest Posts and Telegraphs Mint General administration Law and Justice Ecclesiastical Medical Sanitation Political Perritorial and political expenses Superannuation allow- ances and pensions etc Stationery and printing discellaneous Railways Allitary service Assignment and compensation Total Rs.	# 376,722 1,144,331 147,150 270,700 1,140,364 3,149,680 89,373 1,071,298 81,018 277,820 110,027 131,C46 72,692 64,977 1,005,104 68,084 290,075 2,022,908 218,942 212,068 13,901,665 23,503,093 235,885 563,736 50,193,758 15 75,29,06,370	Refunds and drawbacks. Assignment and compensations etc Land Revenue Excise	£ 108,561 717,134 3,903,714 470,740 34,426 1,242,867 259,840 897,440 3,272,920 1,042,520 5,075,795 210,609 3,001,100 801,058 560,309 162,923 534,417 432,058 1,307,999 512,101 260,371 1 100,000 5,451,727 3,72,109 £34,981,726 15 52,47,285,00

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TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRIBUTION FROM PROVINCIAL TO IMPERIAL

[ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSED SCHEME]

					In crores of rupe				
				P	rplus on roposed tribution	Proposed fixed contri- bution			
Madras	•••			***	4.10	8.75			
Bombay	•••	•••		•••	1.63	1.25			
United Pro		•••		•••	8.51	8.25			
Central Pro		•••			1.02	0.76			
Punjab	•••	•••		•••	2.04	1.75			
Behar	•••	•••			-18	•••			
Assam		•••	••		.06	••			
Burma		•••			1.63	1.20			
Bengal	***		•••	***	.18	•••			

TABLE V

RECEIPTS

PROPOSED BUDGETS AS PER PROVINCES

MADRAS

EXPENDITURE

	•••			6,97,93,862	Land Revenue	•••			1,23,55,014
е		•••	***	3,51,18,758	Excise		•••	•••	18,52,467
	•••	•••		40,74,656	Income-tax		•••	•••	60,561
	•••			41,06,838	Forest				2 9,27,318
tration				23,37,549	Registration		•••		12,56,016
					Refunds and di	rawbacks	3 .e.	•••	4,44,531
Courts	•••		12.00.387)	Assignments as	nd compe	nsations		16,19 472
Jails		•••		i	General admin	istration		•••	15,50,732
Police		•••			Law and Justic	ce			84,47,568
Education	n	•••			Jails				15,27,750
Medicine	Э	•••			Police				10,09,898
					Ports and Pilot	age			47,020
Political				3.4,04 0,624	Education	•			76,96,650
				,	Ecclesiastical				3,50,150
				ľ	Medical			•••	16,76,622
					Sanitation				33,51,417
					Political	***			85,757
				1					11,21,167
(1411001141		•••	-,,	,					10,27,401
tion				5 50 874			pensions		3,09,757
	•••		•••	-,00,014			•		33,08,215
		Receipts 7	otal	12 06 26 161					14,84,731
		200001P00 -		12,00,20,101		P			4,72,977
		Expenditu	re	7 84 97 104					7,00,006
		Ponditi		1,02,01,194					22,36,368
		Relence		4 21 88 967					38,17,049
		Datalle	_						87,00,566
					OIVII WOLLS	••	•••	••	
								Ra.	7,84,37,194
	Jails Police Education Medicing Sanitate Political Agricult Scientific Superan Statione	re-tax totation Courts Jails Police Education Medicine Sanitation Political Agriculture Scientific etc. D Superannuation Stationery Miscellaneous	re e	Courts 12,00,387 Jails 5,10,531 Police 5,06,454 Education 10,834 Political 17,0924 Scientific etc. Departments 11,13,461 Superannuation 1,21,255 Stationery 1,24,084 Miscellaneous 3,59,256 Accepts Total Expenditure 1,20,384 Expenditure 1,24,084 Miscellaneous 1,24,084 Expenditure 1,24,084	Courts	Courts	Second	Second S	Receipts Total Rece

BOMBAY

	Heads		Receipts	Heads		Expenditure
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			Rs.	1 .		Rs.
		•	5,49,84,813	Land Revenue		86,58,713
Excise				Excise		11,47,633
Income-tax				Income-tax		1,71,853
Forest			47,01,263	Forest		26,42,038
Registration			7,95,528	Registration		3,71,933
Refunds and Drawbac	ks			Refunds and Drawbacks		9,22,310
Assignment and Comp	pensation			Assignment and Compensation	,	1,08,82,502
·	•••		12,43,788	Interest		12,01,200
Jeneral Administration		••	1	General Administration		20,49,821
Counts of Lam			9 66 650	Courts of Law	,	57,75,879
Jails	•••		8,11,796	Taile		12,85,300
Police			3,02,072	Police	• •••	1,05,79,762
Posts and Telegraphs			1,31,976	Posts and Telegraphs		1,86,008
Education		••	70499	Education		75 29,863
(Tadical	•••		3,29,612	M-4:1		18,12,721
Comitation			19 097	Cit-tion		6,73,767
Political			, ,	Political		5,02,820
Acmionitumo	•••	••	1 52 120	Acmionlémas		12,06,261
Scientific and Miscell	aneone Dent		96 465	Scientific and Miscellaneous Dep		1,52,064
	-		4.59 041	0		88,59,390
Stationery and Printi			1 99 29#	Carationary and Deletion		12,43,301
Miscellaneons	-		1 99 500	Miscellaneous	•	7,84,861
Major Wor	 L-		16,11,897	Mason Works	••	7,03,001
Irrigation	KB		10,11,007	Irrigation	•••	94,59,008
Minor Wor			8,36,511	Minon Works	••	(03,00,000
Civil Works	жв	••	4.00.240	Cinil Washe	• ••	85,70,316
DIVIT WOLKS	•••	••	4,00.240	CIVII WORKS	•	30,,0,010
		Total	9,78,44,376		Total	8,15,60,014

BENGAL

	Heads			Receipts	H eads	•	Expenditure
				Rs.			 Rs.
Land Revenue Excise Pronotes Income-tax Forest Registration Refunds & Drawbac Assignment & Completerest General Administra Courts of Law Jails Police	pensation 			2,82,05,800 1,51,40,074 2,33,853 72,26,811 11,45,610 20,30,061 4,63,551 8,43,999 9,09,148 1,90,866	Land Revenue Excise Pronotes Income-tax Forest Registration Refunds & Drawbacks Assignment & Compensation Interest General Administration Courts of Law Jails Police		 35,76,687 7,74,858 1,52,964 5,93,635 11,27,328 2,94,526 60,060 6,44,218 23,88,87 1,03,11,110 25,06,617 1,09,03,783
Post & Pilotage Education Medical Sanitation	•••	•••	•••	13,49,562 8,86,574 3,59,574 660	Post & Pilotage Education Medical Sanitation	•••	 13,73,063 84,83,414 22,83,740 4,15,035
Political Agriculture Scientific & Mis. De Superannuation Stationery & Printi Miscellaneous Major Works of Na Minor	ng	 Direct		1,01,156 6,04,849 54,583 1,33,395 6,65,208 2,78,079 6,80,544	Political Agriculture Scientific & Mis. Depts. Superannuation Stationery & Printing Miscellaneous Major Works of Navigation I Minor	· ···· ··· ·· Direct	 23,187 11,39,162 4,47,690 31,41,809 13,01,451 6,38,467 1,96,022 22,96,484
Civil Works		Total	•••	6,18,546 6,21,22,510	Civil Works	 Total	 89,34,903 6,39,09,110

BEHAR AND ORISSA

Heads			Receipts	Heads			Expenditure	
			Rs.	Rs.				
Land Revenue	•••	•••	15,092,834 10,971,527	Land Revenue		•••	23,12,937 5,85,276	
I-como to-	•••	•••	14,28,417	Income to a		٠.	45,996	
M	•••	•••	5,17,727	Forest	••	•••	8,61,550	
O - mintura ti	•••	•••	69,60,148	Pomintuntion.	•	••	3,78,240	
Refunds and Drawbacks	•••	•••	1 ' '	Refunds and Drawbacks	••	•••		
	•••	•••			***	• •	93,726	
Assignment and Compensation	•	•••	1,87,067	Assignment and Compensation	1		1,01,041	
Interest	•••	***	1,07,007	Interest		•••	2,03,219	
General Administration	•••		9 50 850	General Administration	•••	•••	13,50,018	
Courts of Law	•••	***	8,50,679	Courts of Law	•	•••	38,22,402	
Jails	•••	•••	6,82,564	Jails .	•••	•••	14,21,469	
Police		•••	36,068	Police		••	47,55,942	
Posts and Telegraphs		•••	1 :	Posts and Telegraphs	•••	••	5,116	
Education		•••	8,10,930	Education .		• • • •	35,73 507	
Medical	•••	•••	28,872	Medical	•••	•••	6,37,591	
Sanitation			2,967	Sanitation			8,27,032	
Political		***		Political	•••		89,687	
Agriculture		•••	25,674	Agriculture	•••		4,73,647	
Scientific and Mis. Department	ts		2,874	Scientific and Mis. Departmen	ts	•••	21,634	
Superannuation		•••	81,716	Superannuation			10, 2,672	
Stationery and Printing			21,895	Stationery and Printing			6,58,811	
Misecllaneous		•••	8,12,385	Miscellaneous	•••	•••	1,32,347	
Major Works		•••	27,20,454	Major Works	•••	•••	(
Irrigation	•••	•••		Irrigation	•••	•••	38,91,883	
Minor Works			67,068	Minor Works		•••	1	
Civil Works	•••	***	8,99,875	Civil Works	•••	•••	88,43,005	
		Total .	83,947,171	•	Total	•••	85,235,846	

UNITED PROVINCES

PUNJAB

	Heads			Receipts	Heads			Expenditure
				Rs				Rs.
Land Revenue		•••		387,69,925	Land Revenue			49,46,687
Excise		•••	••	70,59,656	Excise			2,25,691
Income-tax		•••	•••	18,55,709	Income-tax	•••		12,423
Forest		***		17,27,253	Forest			9,23,879
Registration				8,55,564	Registration			1,26,149
Refunds					Refunds and Drawbacks			1.70,118
Assignment & Comp	ensation				Assignment & Compensation		•••	65.902
Interest		•••		2,45,866	Interest			3,47,308
General Administra		•••		, ,	General Administration		••	12,41,339
Courts of Law				5,67,763	Courts of Law			47,44,398
Iails		***	•••	4,44,191	Taille	•••	•••	17,93,754
D 11				1,98,940	Police	•••	•••	64,25,524
rouce , Posts and Telegraph		••	••	, , ,	Desta & Wilsonson by	•••	•••	09,20,022
rosos and relegrap: Education	•	•••	•••	4,91,073	Education	•••	••	44,10,192
N. 21 3	•••	***	••		Medical	••		1.241,347
	•••	•••	••	89,960		•••	•••	
Sanitation	••	•••	***	37,853	Sanitation	•••	•••	7,24,833
Political	••	•••	•••		Political	•••	•••	
Agriculture	•••	***	***	2,27,457	Agriculture			1,182,849
Scientific & Mis. De	partments			27,245	Scientific & Mis. Departments	•••		1,39,277
Superannuation	•••	•••	٠.	1,01,870	Superannuation			2,315,418
Stationery and Prin	ting	•••	٠.	81,578	Stationery and Printing	•••	•••	7,64,981
Miscellaneous				4,29,630	Miscellaneous			3,66,504
Major	•••	***	••	238,00,579	Major Works			(
Irrigation				8,88,685	Irrigation		٠,	187,02,142
Minor	·	•••		67,070	Minor Works		•••	(
Civil Works	•••	•••	••	8,60,841	Civil Works	•••		· .
		Total	••	777,79,733		Total		508,70,715

Heads			Receipts	Heads	•		Expenditure
			Rs.				Rs.
Land Revenue	•••		466,63,827	Land Revenue .			70,94,318
Excise	•	•	81,11,370	Excise	•••		12,52,270
Income-tax .	•	•••	24,75,430	Income-tax	•••		47.732
Forest		•••	96,99,217	Forest	••		48,86 842
Registration		•••	2,49,935	Registration	•••		1,08,725
Refunds and Drawbacks	•••			Refunds & Drawbacks			2,72,554
Assignment & Compensation	••			Assignment & Compensation			400
Interest	•••		1,71,053	Interest			2,10,028
General Administration				General Administration			15,87,066
Courts of Law			6,33,412	Courts of Law .			50,76,796
Jails			4,36,389	Jails			15,31,723
Police	•••		. ,	Police	••		1,137,05,639
Post & Telegraphs .			5,79,894	Posts & Telegraphs .			14,86,303
Education	•••	••	3,99,267	Education			30,44,813
Medical			3,65,991	Medical		•••	17,51,522
Sanitation			1,01,547	Sanitation	•••		9,37,463
Political		- 1	20,411	Political .	•••		11,89,489
Agriculture			16.026	Agriculture	•••	•	6.03,947
Scientific & Mis. Depts.	•		3,993	Scientific & Mis. Depts.		•••	73,712
Superannuation			23,692	Superannuation .			10.97.040
Stationery & Printing		••	48,153	Stationery & Printing			6,89,804
Miscellaneous	••	•••	1.70.546	Miscellaneous	••		50,527
Moion	•••	••	13,90,045	Majon		•	30,021
Tuniontion	•	•••	10,00,030	Irrigation			26,49,925
Minor	•		14,23,781	Minor	•	•••	20,20,020
Civil Works		••	3,52,829	Civil Warks	•••		88,97,194
CIVII WORKS .			0,02,829	- CIVIL WORKS	•	•••	
	Total		873,33,740		Total		570,43,710

0

Heads ,			Receipts	Heads			Expenditure
			Rs.	1			Rs.
Land Revenue	•••		197,48,498	Land Revenue			41,26,317
Crcise		•••	1,00,65,862	Excise	•••		4,80,171
ncome-tax		•••	9,47,825	Income-tax	•••		16,253
Forest	•••	•••	32,78,262	Forest	•••		17,34,336
Registration			37,44,251	Registration	•••		1,24,536
Refunds & Drawbacks			1	Refunds & Drawbacks			1,22,115
Assignment & Compensation	••		[Assignment & Compensation			86,011
nterest			2,70,937	Interest	••		2,82,281
Seneral Administration	•••	•••	, , , ,	General Administration			9,25,185
ourts of Law	•••	•••	2,43,774	Courts of Law	•••		28,83,014
ails			2,17,291	Jails	•••		6,56,887
Police	•••	•	26,452	Police		•••	35,88,952
Posts & Telegraphs	•••	•••		Posts & Telegaphs		•••	, , , , , , ,
ducation			2,60,617	Education		•••	27,85,989
fedical	•••	•••	14,234	Medical			6,94,816
lanitation			20,579	Mitation	•••	•••	5,36,972
Political		•••	-0,0,0	Political		•••	30,422
crienttana		***	1,10,75 1	1	•••		7,81,288
Scientific & Mis. Depts.	•••	•	26,6 8	Scientific & Mis. Depts.	•••	•	7,99,172
Superannuation	•••	••	2,27,244		•••	••	6,61,856
Stationery and Printing	•••	•••	62,554	Stationery & Printing	••	•	13,70,289
Miscellanuana	•••	•••	2,18,586	Minnellaneann	•	•••	1,55,930
Major Works	•••	•••			•••	•	1,00,000
rrigation	•••	•••	97,982	Major Work	•••	••	14,55,301
Minor Works	•••	•••	47,616	Irrigation	•••	•••	12,00,001
Livil Works	•••	•••		Minor Work Civil Works	•••	•••	68,95,387
NAIL MOLES	•••	•••	3,14,089	CIVII WOPES	•	••	00,00,007
		Total	3,99,40,020	-	Total	١	2,97,23,481

Heads		- }	Receipts	Heads	•		Expenditure
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		j	Rs.				Rs.
and Revenue	•••		78,16,453	Land Revenue			16,37,550
Excise		[54,63,211	Excise	-	••	1,22,242
ncome-tax		- 1	o 4,60,160	Income-tax		•••	4,522
Porest			10,55,052	Forest .			7,55,214
Registration			1,13,115	Registration			65,051
Refunds & Drawbacks		. 1		Refunds & drawbacks			49,315
Assignment & Compensation				Assignment and Compensation	n		35,039
nterest			43,885	Interest			10,126
eneral Administration				General Administration			6,12,443
Courts of Law			1,25,971	Courts of Law			10,35,202
ails			81,047	Jails	•••		3,29,022
Police			1,22,825	Police .			23,66,730
Posts and Telegraphs			38	Posts and Telegraphs			61,620
Education		•••	1.86,780	Education			14,13,758
Medical		•••	8,272	Medical			5,61,057
Sanitation			18,983	Sanitation			1,06,657
Political			-5,555	Political			5,68,221
Agriculture .			14.582	Agriculture			2,33,082
Scientific & Mis. Depts.			11,409	Scientific & Mis. Depts.	••		87.599
Superannuation	•••	•	6,232	Superannuation		•••	3,35,677
Stationery & Printing	•		5,511	Stationery & Printing		•••	1,78,528
Miscellaneous	•••	•••	43,674	Miscellaneous	•••		5,22,429
Mr. Jan. 337 - Jan			20,013	Major Works	•	•••	7 5,22,220
major works Irrigation		•••	1	Irrigation	•••		95,846
Min on III cales	••	•	{	Minor Works		••	7 30,030
Civil Works	•••	•••	1,69,556	Civil Works	•••	•••	39,69,319
	••	•)		,	•	
	Total		1,57,83,736	1	Total		1,51,55,294

GENERAL DISCUSSION'

I

THERE are now already before the Secretary of State for India quite a number of schemes relating to the reform proposals which he has to consider and settle at the conclusion of the enquiries he will institute in this country during his forthcoming visit, and which will no doubt form the basis of discussion and decision in due course. To take them in their chronological order, there is first the despatch of the Government of India to which, as is now well-known, there has been appended the valuable minute of Sir Sankaran Nair and there are perhaps other minutes by other members of the Viceroy's Council. There is next the famous Memorandum of the 19, followed, as it has been, by the authoritative scheme of reform, promulgated and put forward by the great national assemblies of the country—the National Congress and the Moslem League. Next in importance to these, we have the scheme indicated in general terms by Lord Islington in his private and unofficial capacity in the course of the address he delivered to the Oxford undergraduates last month on the problems of Indian Govern-There has been published next in order of time, a memorandum of the late Mr. Gokhale, hurriedly and tentatively prepared more than three years ago, that is, as Mr. Lloyd George would put it, "before the deluge," suggesting certain specific reforms in Indian Government. There have, of course, been a number of subsidiary schemes and suggestions which group themselves under one or other of these documents.

It is very generally believed that the original Despatch of the Government of India was deemed even by Mr. Austen Chamberlain to be defective and not up to the mark, in that it failed to widen the powers and functions of the Legislative Councils while widening their constitution so as to provide substantial

¹ Reprinted from New India,

elected majorities in the Provincial Councils and a bare official majority in the Imperial Council. The necessity for increasing the powers and responsibilities of the legislative and representative authorities in India may therefore be now taken as admitted. Controversy and discussion will therefore necessarily contre round the actual extent to which the powers of the legislative bodies over the executive may be enhanced, the composition and character of the executive authorities in the Provincial and Imperial Councils and the relation of the executive to the legislature in all the Provinces and in the Imperial Government.

On the part of those speaking for the people of this country, it is feared that the devolution of power and control to their representatives in the legislature, which the Government of India might now recommend, would take the insidious form which is believed to be advocated by the famous Curtis plan now being hatched in this country by a process of secret correspondence. Some countenance to this f was given by the published telegraphic summary of Lord I. gton's speech above referred to in which he spoke of the devolution of control of particular departments entirely to the Provincial Governments and constituting committees of the Legislative Council to co-operate with the Executive in the administration of those departments. The full text of Lord Islington's speech has now been received by the last English mail in this country and it is somewhat of a relief to find that Lord Islington's suggestions do not proceed exactly on the lines of the Curtis plan. He has propounded a system of committees for giving "responsible advice to the executive" from out of the legislature, in particular departments of administration which, from all indications that appear, are those which the Indian Government's despatches are likely to have favoured and put forward.

At the same time, it is apprehended that the posthumous publication of Mr. Gokhale's scheme, despite its inadequacy and incompleteness, may, from the authority which his name will command, and the anxiety with which opponents of any large measures of Indian reform will clutch at it,—we have already had an indication of all this from the London Times—be treated as giving the limits of the most liberal demand for reform from Indian Government. It is necessary, therefore, for the publicists who have collaborated and worked out the

Congress-League Scheme, after much anxious and earnest consideration, to examine these two schemes critically and to elucidate the merits of the Congress-League Scheme as such, in comparison with them both, and to show how it constitutes the minimum demand and how the attempt to work out either of the two alternative schemes will necessarily prove abortive, unless the principles of the Congress-League Scheme are fully accepted and acted upon.

Let us take Lord Islington's scheme first. The present position and nature of the governing authority in India is put by him as follows:

I would like now to summarise the position that has been reached. Broadly speaking, we have in India a vast bureaucracy, the lower ranks being Indian, the higher ranks being mainly European. On the other hand we have important Legislative Councils largely composed of Indians with a free power of criticism of the acts of the Executive by means of questions, and with control over legislation, containing large numbers of Indian representatives who, in spite of the powers to criticise and obstruct, have no real responsibility for the policy of the Government Suppose then that the policy of the Government fails to meet with the approval of the Indian representatives. On these occasions Indian members record their votes against the Government, and we have the unfortunate result of a division practically based on the race principle. On the other hand, supposing the Government were to concede what the Indian representatives ask, and embark upon a policy which they did not approve, the Indian representatives would not be held accountable to India or the Empire in the event of a calamity. This is a very grave defect in the present system, and one which must be reckoned with in modelling any new scheme of political reform.

This is, of course, correct as far as it goes; but when Lord Islington proceeds to supplement it by the following statement he is showing only one side of the shield:

The free right of criticism which the unofficial representatives on the Legislative Council enjoy is reflected in and supplemented by a similar attitude in a large part of the Indian Press. The representatives of the Government are thus between two fires, the press on the one hand, and the non-official councillors on the other. The Europeans in India are of course a very small proportion of the total population, and as is always the case with established governments, they have not the same opportunities for defence as their critics have for attack. In constitutional countries, there is always the safeguard that the critics may be called upon to take the reins of office

from a Government that has lost the confidence of the public, and this limits the extent of the criticism and compels those who are anxious to criticise to formulate an alternative constructive policy of their own which they are prepared to put into effect if entrusted with office. In India this safeguard is altogether lacking. Hence it comes about that criticism in India is often not only not constructive but also purely hostile. This tendency to exaggeration is the result of the peculiar situation of India to-day, in which critics of the Government have full power to criticise but have no responsibility for the effects of their criticism.

It is difficult for Indians to gather how the position or attitude of the European class in India bears on the question of Governmental responsibility to the people. Perhaps Lord Islington's fundamental postulate laid down in the report of the Public Services Commission that the "British" character of the administration should be perpetuated is at the back of his mind, though it is curiously combined with an assertion of the most advanced responsible Self-Government for India in the following views:

I would say at once that if the ideals of the British Empire stand for anything, India's future must be in accord with those ideals, and the ultimate ambition which she must one day realise after successfully surmounting the difficulties before her is the attainment of responsible Government within the Empire.

The position of the executive and legislative authorities in the country from the point of view of the people concerned is very different. And though, apparently, Lord Islington has not bestowed as much attention on it as he might have done, we are sure Mr. Montagu will do so. The most concise and authoritative statement thereof will be found in the very memorandum on which Lord Islington bases much of his criticism. That position is as follows:

The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner counsels of the Indian Empire.

So far as the Legislative Councils are concerned, the numbers of non-official members were merely enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such

majority included nominated members and European representatives. In measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected, the European members would naturally support the Government and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side Past experience has shown that this The non-official has actually happened on various occasions majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial. The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian element in the Executive Councils, where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members.

The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill (April 1, 1909), that "it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy". This object, it is admitted, has not been attained.

What is wanted is not merely good Government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This is what, India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision.

Though Lord Islington's view-point is thus fundamentally different from that taken by the non-official members of the Legislative Council on behalf of the people of India, his scheme, so far as we are able to trace it in outline from his speech, does not keep clear the distinction between the changes needed in the constitution and those needed in the functions of the Legislative and Executive bodies in India. "It is easy to dwell on detects," said Lord Islington, "but it is harder to devise means to overcome." If this is what he feels in regard to what we may call the official point of view, the difficulty of presenting a constructive scheme from the point of view of the people by the non-officials representing them could easily be seen to be very much harder. In criticising the Memorandum of the Nineteen, Lord Islington makes it his chief objection to their scheme that it

would place the Executive Government, on account of the substantial non-official majority which the Councils would possess and the binding character of the resolutions and laws which they would pass, in a "constant risk of seeing measures and resolutions carried to which it objected". "And the responsibility for the execution and consequences of these measures could never, as in this and other constitutional countries, be placed upon those responsible for their intro-He is of opinion that the frequent exercise of the veto would become invidious and the weapon would be dulled by constant use and that the effect of the changes, taken as a whole, would be to accentuate the evil which he initially described. The position taken up by Lord Islangton is briefly that "as there can be no sound Government which cannot combine the two functions of criticism and responsibility" and as "the intellectual and political condition of India" has not advanced to a stage when both the functions can be safely transferred to the Indian people he is unwilling either to provide a non-official majority or to endow that non-official majority with any effective power and control. As I have so often pointed out, this is the only position which can logically be assumed by those who are unwilling to accept the fact that the time has arrived in this country when the people through their representatives should exercise effective powers in the government of their own country Every intermediate stage in the consummation of this result will necessarily be logically or theoretically imperfect and the successful and smooth working of changes in the direction of reform must, to a large extent, depend upon understandings and conventions of which the British constitution and the Anglo-Saxon race are the most famous exponents in constitutional history.

\mathbf{II}

To come now to Lord Islington's specific criticisms. The proposal of an elected executive, which is put forward in the 19 members' memorandum and the Congress-League Scheme, has been urged on the ground that in choosing the Indian part of the members of the Executive Councils by election, there should be no more risk of what we may call a virtual power of co-option on the part of the existing executive administration, as it tends to the perpetuation of bureaucratic and unrepresentative

traditions in the Government of the country. "The idea of an elected executive," says Lord Islington, "is quite unknown to British practice." This is quite true. But it is not equally true to say, as he does, "that it would not tend to the establishment of a stable executive". If he casts his eyes a little further across the Continent, he will find that in Switzerland, there is not only an elected executive, but also a stable and successful executive carrying on both the Federal and the Provincial Governments of the small States. It might also be pointed out that this elected executive in Switzerland, in spite of the fact that it may or may not owe its origin to the confidence of any existing majority in the legislature, undertakes the responsibility for the execution and for the consequences of whatever measures are decided on by the legislature, whether they are those initiated by themselves or imposed upon them by the will of the electorates. The ministry in Switzerland, in fact, is the servant and not the guide of the representative legislature. This is exactly the principle we want recognised and acted upon in India, where the reverse state of things has so long held sway, to the detriment of responsibility to the people governed. It is, moreover, not fair to quote British parallels for vetoing reforms against us and at the same time to deny, on the "fur coat" argument, the application of British standards and principles to existing methods of administration.

The object with which the people's scheme has put forward the demand for an executive, one half of which at least shall be chosen by the people's representatives is that the Executive Government should, to an appreciable degree, be composed of those who can be made responsible to the people and responsive to their needs and aspirations. This principle is, curiously enough, conceded by Lord Islington himself in the very next paragraph to that in which he criticises the proposal. "While no doubt the Governor-General or Governor," he observes, "would frequently look to the elected Legislative Councils for his Indian Executive Councillors, he must be free to recommend for the supremely important posts in question, those men whom he considers best to discharge the duty." In fact, he clinches the whole position by observing somewhat further in the course of his speech as follows:

If the Indian members of the Governor-General's Executive Council were properly chosen, it cannot be doubted that the

Government's policy would be formulated with due regard for the views of the Indian elected members of the Legislative Council.

It is because the Indian elected members of the Legislative Council do not feel certain that the Governor-General would have his Indian members properly chosen, so as to represent themselves, that they now claim the right to choose them themselves, rather than to leave it to the Governor or Governor-General acting on the advice of a bureaucratic group of permanent officials. Only then can he truly understand and "have due regard for their views". I ask, who are the people best fitted to discharge the duty of advising the Governor on the choice of the Indian Executive Councillors—the bureaucracy or the elected representatives of the people?

Then, again, Lord Islington is mixing up two different ideas as to the position and functions of the Indian Executive Councillors. If the reforms now inaugurated are honestly intended to go in the direction of full ultimate Self-Government, what ought the Indian Executive Councillors to be? Are they to be the best trained bureaucrats among Indians, the best qualified experts of Indian origin or are they to be what Lord Morley, in 1909, expressly intended them to be-people who give the executive lead in India, what he correctly termed "the Indian point of view," the "Indian angle of vision"? So far as the trained administrator or expert is concerned, the scheme has made a compromise in that, for the present, the Executive Council in India need not be modelled in its entirety on the basis of a ministry in other countries; but that its members might, for the present, consist of an equal number of experts and trained administrators and of politicians, commanding, by a formal election, the confidence of the Legislature consisting predominantly of the peoples' representatives. The only difference between this suggestion and what actually exists in the British and Colonial Constitutions is that the confidence of the legislature is secured by means other than that of a formal election. Neither the Crown in England, nor the Governor-General in the Colonies can force admission on a legislature which is unwilling to give its confidence. Lord Islington has, as I have pointed out above, conceded these principles in effect, but is evidently unwilling that they should be openly accepted as a binding constitutional rule.

It is not clear from Lord Islington's speech whether in regard to the constitution of the Legislative Councils, he accepts the proposal for having an elected non-official majority in all the legislatures in India. It may, however, be assumed that as there are non-official majorities already in the Provincial Councils, the idea of making them real by expanding the Provincial Councils and electorates, so as to have a substantial elective majority in them is acceptable to him, especially as there is some reason to believe that the Government of India and the majority of the Provincial Governments who have been consulted are not averse to conceding this demand. However, we are by no means sure that our own Madras Government has acted with justice and generosity in regard to this question. In any case, the principle of maintaining an official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council was unfortunately accepted by Mr. Gokhale in his posthumous scheme and it is more likely than not to have been insisted on by the Government of India in its despatch. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the raison d'être of the demand for constituting all the Indian Legislative Councils-Imperial and Provincial-with substantial elected majorities. This is the first step in the realisation of the goal of Self-Government which was promulgated by Mr. Montagu in his pronouncement last month.

The fundamental ground, upon which the expansion of the constitution and functions of the Legislative Councils was made in 1909, was what Lord Pentland and his Government rightly described as enabling the people "to have a voice in the everyday administration of the country". It is obvious both from the very nature of their constitution and from the actual experience during the last 8 years of the reconstituted Legislative Councils, that owing to the absence of a really effective elective majority of representatives of the people, this voice in the everyday administration of the country has never been made felt to any appreciable degree. The nominated non-official members in all the Councils having non-official majorities, together with the special electorates, have always provided the Provincial Governments with a permanent majority on their side on all important administrative questions that have arisen in the Councils. The effect of this state of things is to leave the officials in the Councils masters of the situation and to make them by no means anxious to answer criticisms in

full or to persuade the elected representatives as to the justice or the propriety of particular actions of the Government which are sought to be questioned. The elected members naturally feel the helplessness of their position, however much their demand may be found to be just in the eyes of all impartial and right-thinking men. This has had already a deplorable effect upon the people as well as their representatives in the Councils, as all who have followed public events can testify. If the obtaining of a voice in the everyday administration of the country has thus been rendered impossible, the training of the people's representatives in the work of responsible Government is hardly likely to have ever crossed the thoughts of the bureaucratic rulers.

It must therefore be the first condition of giving effect to the policy of His Majesty's Government as announced by Mr. Montagu that the retorms, which start, in however small a degree, the process of full Self-Government, should forthwith do away with this sense of security and irresponsibility which the absence of an elected majority in the Councils gives to the bureaucratic administration in every Province.

III

The question of maintaining an official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council is defended on more plausible constitutional grounds than those urged in regard to Provincial Legislatures. They were laid down by Lord Morley in his famous reform despatch in the following words:

While I desire to liberalise, as far as possible, the Provincial Councils, I recognise it as an essential condition of this policy that the Imperial supremacy shall be in no degree compromised. I must, therefore, regard it as essential that Your Excellency's Council, in its legislative as well as its executive character, should continue to be so constituted as to ensure its constant and uninterrupted power to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes and must always owe to His Majesty's Government and to the Imperial Parliament.

The assumption, on which Lord Morley postulated an official majority in the Imperial legislature, is, thus, the constitutional obligation which the Government of India owes and must always owe to His Majesty's Government and Parliament. But it is notorious that neither His Majesty's Government

nor the Imperial Parliament have realised their responsibility for the good Government of India to the extent to which the people themselves would have done if they had their representatives in the Imperial Parliament or in His Majesty's Government. In the first place, Parliament, as a general rule, has been notoriously indifferent, now for a century and a half. In the next place, the precipitation of events in the present war has made it clear that the Imperial Parliament, as such, cannot continue to look after the government of a continent like India, on the principles which Lord Morley was prepared to sanction before what Mr. Lloyd George has termed "the deluge". Lustly. Lord Morley's dictum that for as long a time as his imagination could foresee, the government of this country must continue to be absolute or autocratic, has ceased to be true after the definite and direct announcement made by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons on the 20th August last.

Equally with the London Times, I desire to emphasise the first two sentences of this announcement as being most significant from a constitutional point of view. They are as follows:

The Government of India have for some time been urging that a statement should be made in regard to Indian policy, and I am glad to have the opportunity, afforded by my Hon. friend's question, of meeting their wishes. The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchauge of opinion between those in authority at home and in India.

Three things emerge from this statement. One is, as I have above indicated, that it is no longer to be permissible, even for a political philosopher like Lord Morley, to speak in doubtful terms of the definite and deliberate evolution to the state of responsible self-government which Indian political institutions must undergo in the immediate future. It is no longer even the question of the imagination or the lifetime of any individual statesman or politician, nor even that of a gradual and groping

process, often praised as a British virtue, of "freedom broadening down from precedent to precedent"—and, we suppose, from generation to generation and century to century. But it is that of freedom and responsible Self-Government brought about by conscious and deliberate stages with a view to the early realisation of the greatest attribute of British rule and Anglo-Saxon civilization in the world, of which Mr. Lionel Curtis has given so glowing an account in his "Commonwealth of Nations". Mr. Montagu as the mouthpiece of His Majesty's Government, in the most national and non-party ministry that England has seen, has answered the question, so long left unanswered or answered in vague and varying terms by Britishers, whenever questions relating to the political future of India were specifically raised. As the London Times itself has pointed out:

The real significance of it is that it is the clearest and most definite declaration of British aims in India which has been officially made since November, 1858. Such a declaration was overdue. Britons and Indians alike have too long been allowed to ask what is our purpose in India, and what is the goal towards which we move. There has been no real doubt about these questions in the minds of statesmen, but there has been too much hesitation in giving an authoritative answer, and the result has been to give opportunity for misrepresentation.

The opportunity of misrepresentation, however, has not ceased even with so clear a pronouncement as the present. For, we find Sir Francis Younghusband claiming that this Indian Self-Government should mean a Self-Government in which Englishmen and Indians should equally participate in this country and that in order to enable Englishmen to do so, no less than three centuries should be allowed to elapse, so that the errors of the three previous centuries may be corrected and that, instead of being a bird of passage, prevented by physical conditions not to settle in India and tempted by free facilities to go back to his own native land with as much as he could make during his stay here for his competence, the Britisher in the course of another three centuries might learn to overcome these difficulties, with the aid of the developments of modern science and by the improvement of facilities in the usual course of human progress, and to make permanent settlements in this country in such large numbers and with such permanent

interests as will induce him to cast in his lot with his Indian fellow-citizens and combine with them in the demand for and the realisation of responsible Self-Government. It is hardly possible to believe that this is intended seriously as a solution of the problem or as an explanation of the announcement of Mr. Montagu. But it shows very clearly the unwillingness of the British settlers and sojourners in India to face the fact that there is an escape from the inevitable consequences of British policy in the past and of British policy in the future, that it is no longer possible to keep in subjection or subordination a great and civilised people like the Indians and to prevent them any longer—let alone centuries or generations from being masters in their own house and governing themselves in accordance with their own ideas, by the establishment, under the aegis of British Sovereignty and Empire, of institutions through which they will have the responsibility and the duty of looking after their own welfare.

It is necessary to emphasise this aspect because the question as to the so-called British character of the Government in India has been put in issue openly by the recent reorganisation of reactionary forces among the nonofficial European Community in India. Sir William Vincent, in the course of the debates that took place in the Viceregal Council on the report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services, rightly deemed it his duty to explain that the British character of the administration, emphasised in the report, meant not any racial criteria or qualifications, but what may be termed specific moral or political qualifications, usually associated with the term British. Unless this is so, it seems to me impossible to understand the significance of the words used in Mr. Montagu's announcement that the policy of His Majesty's Government is that of "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of Self-Governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government". In making all the wild speeches and the most unheard of pretentions on behalf of the European community in India, the party of revolt that is being organised should therefore be considered to have definitely declared themselves against the fundamental principle embodied in the announcement of His Majesty's Government made by them at the instance of Lord Chelmsford's Government in Iudia, with which the London Times is not only in the fullest accord, but in respect of which, it also says that it represents the united feeling of the great statesmen of all parties in England, and that it should have been embodied therefore as such in a Royal Proclamation similar to that of 1858. Our national organisations here have thus to fight the forces of reaction and rebellion against such declared policies on this basis and the issue should therefore be made clear to our people so that when Mr. Montagu arrives here he will know exactly where we stand.

Assuming, however, as we are sure will happen, that the announcement will be adhered to, both in letter and in spirit, in the coming scheme of reforms, we have to see next how it affects the constitution of the Government of India, more particularly in regard to the maintenance of a permanent official majority in the supreme legislature of the country. If the object of the coming reforms is, first of all, the progressive realisation of responsible government by the development of self-governing institutions, it must be obvious to the most casual observer that the maintenance of this official majority offends in every respect against the first principle of the announcement. In the first place, such a majority implies a not responsible but a subordinate government in India, under the control of a minister of the Crown whom the Imperial Parliament will hardly be able to call to account for the good government of the country. Secondly, an official majority also implies what may be described as the constitution, not of responsible but of irresponsible government in India itself; for the backing of the official majority must, necessarily weaken the sense of responsibility which that Government will feel towards the representatives of the people elected to the legislature. The effect of the present state of things in this respect has been already mentioned and unless a remedy is found to the existing state of things, the first condition laid down in the announcement, that of "developing responsible government," cannot possibly be given effect to in any first instalment of reforms Mr. Montagu may propose. Whether the executive government in India should be rendered fully and completely responsible to the Indian legislature or whether the Indian representative assembly should, even at the outset, he permitted to assume full responsibility for the affairs of India in all branches of administration and policy, are questions with which

we will deal later. It is sufficient, however, to say that none of the schemes put forward have gone so far as to ask for what may be called plenary powers for the Indian legislatures for controlling the Indian Executive on all matters, Imperial and domestic, civil and military, and so forth. There have been provided in the Congress-League Scheme, many important and vital limitations, for the present, on the authority of the Imperial Indian Legislature. But whatever be the limitations needed in regard to functions, they are obviously different from the changes which must be made in the composition of the Imperial legislature, so that it may no longer be merel y a tool of the Executive Governments in India through a permanent official majority of members in that body but a legislature which will, as in all constitutional countries, be a representative assembly of the people.

I would repeat once again, that if the composition of the Council is so arranged as to make the Executive Government in India the master of the situation at any time, its effect will continue to be to place the council in a position of perpetual subservience and to render it powerless at any time or under any circumstances to call the Executive to account. It seems to me, therefore, that whatever risks, dangers or difficulties are apprehended by those who are unwilling to entrust the popularly constituted Imperial Legislature with full powers over the Executive Government of India—and they are conceded in the schemes now before Mr. Montagu—the method of meeting them is only by laying down limitations on their powers and not by the maintenance of the worst feature of the existing constitution of the Councils, namely, that of a standing official majority.

IV

I have pointed out so far how the recognition of the principle of any standing official majority even in the Imperial Legislative Council in India offends against the fundamental conception involved in Mr. Montagu's declaration as to responsible Self-Government being the goal of the coming reforms. In this view, therefore, that part of Mr. Gokhale's "political testament" which concedes the official majority in the Imperial Council, should necessarily be deemed obsolete and inapplicable to the conditions now created in the British

Empire as a consequence of the war. Indeed Mr. Gokhale acceded to an official majority on grounds which can hardly be deemed consistent. He says:

The principle of an official majority (for which, perhaps, it will suffice to substitute a nominated majority) should for the present be maintained, until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for the Provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserve power in connection with Provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus, if a Provincial Legislative Council persistently declines to pass legislation which the Government regard to be essential in the vital interests of the Province, it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the Province. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authorities and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of Provincial Autonomy with great readiness. Subject to this principle of an official or nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion.

This view of the need of a reserve power in an officialridden Imperial Legislative Council is inconsistent with the idea which Mr. Gokhale has earlier put forward, to the effect that when Provincial Councils with non-official majorities and with very large autonomous powers in the most important departments of administration are constituted, the functions of the central Indian Government would be reduced to very small compass. "The Provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous," he observes, "the constitution of the executive council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. As all internal administration will now be made over to the representatives of the people and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control, to be exercised on very rare occasions, it may be done by one member to be called member for internal affairs." If the control of the Government of India is to be nominal, there need be no particularity as to such control being vested in a non-official or official majority of the legislature. Of course, it is conceivable that while the executive control of the Government of India over Provincial Governments might be nominal the legislative control of the Imperial Legislative Council with its official majority, over the Provincial legislatures might be more real and effective. We cannot believe that Mr. Gokhale intended to do this, for it would involve a reversal of the existing state of things and of the whole policy by which devolution of full plenary legislative authority within limits fixed by statute has been made over to the Provincial legislatures in India, the only qualification being the power of concurrent legislation vested in the central legislature, which during the whole course of the history of the Indian Legislative Councils has not been exercised for abrogating enactments of provincial legislatures. There is, in fact, no getting away from the principle of a more or less representative non-official majority, if responsible Self-Government in India is what is really aimed at by the reforms.

The next most important question which needs to be dealt with in connection with the Congress-League Scheme and its rivals, is the control which the legislature and, through it, the representatives of the people are to exercise over the executive and administrative departments. It is on this aspect of the scheme that a good deal of criticism may be naturally expected and a number of alternative proposals are likely to be made. Leaving for later consideration the question of financial and budget control, I will deal with the question of the extent to which the executive should normally be subject to the control of the legislature in the everyday administration of the country. It cannot be denied that the object of the Minto-Morley reforms themselves was to give, in the words of the Government of India's despatch, a voice to the Councils in the actual, everyday administration of the country. That voice, whatever it was intended to be, has been not only ineffectual where it is heard, but has hardly been given any reasonable chance of being heard. In the reforms, therefore, now proposed there can be no doubt whatever that substantial advances will have to be made in the direction of giving the Councils an effective voice—a controlling voice, if one may say so—in the administrative policy of the executive.

In his address to the Oxford Students, Lord Islington criticised the proposals of the nineteen members and necessarily also of the Congress-League Scheme, for demanding control of the Councils over the administration, on the ground that the effect would be "to place the Government in a constant risk of seeing measures and resolutions carried to which it objected, and

the responsibility for the execution and consequences of these measures could never, as in this and other constitutional countries, be placed upon those responsible for their introduction". The veto of the Governor-General, provided for in both the schemes, he considers to be unavailing as a normal method of carrying on the administration. But Lord Islington, equally strongly, as we hope, believes in the ideal of responsible Government for India, by which of course is meant that the executive Government should be made thoroughly responsible for its policy and administration to the representative legislature. He has in consequence to suggest some means of changing the present system of an irresponsible executive into that of one controllable by and accountable to the people. he has made certain tentative suggestions, which it were much to be wished he had more clearly explained than he has chosen to do. His idea, apparently, is that while the responsibility of the provincial Governments might be increased by handing over to them entirely such matters as Police, Education, Agriculture, Forestry and Public Works, these spheres of public business "should also simultaneously be transferred from bureaucratic to more representative control, a control to be exercised through the medium of elected representatives acting in co-operation with the Government". This, he says, might "perhaps best be effected somewhat on the French plan of Standing Committees of the Legislative Councils, containing a large proportion of unofficial members responsible for assisting the executive in framing its proposals on certain specified groups of questions". At first sight, this looks perilously like the Curtis plan of giving over unimportant departments to some kind of supervision and control by a section of the corporate legislature, with no coherent purpose of developing constitutional control based on British ideals of Self-Government, but merely with a desire to placate clamour by providing some kind of touch for them with the departments of Government and the routine of public business. But Lord Islington, apparently, has somewhat wider conceptions and he explains later on in his address the idea which he has conveyed in the proposal of standing committees on the French plan. "These committees, it will be observed," he says, "are to be responsible for assisting the executive." If this responsibility is to be discharged in this way, "the Government would, as I suggest, act in certain departments with the assistance of the Legislative Council or a

committee thereof to whom they would refer their policy before its executive". It would then be open to the Legislative Council to criticise and suggest improvements which the Government would adopt unless they could convince the Legislative Council that there were sufficient reasons "for acting otherwise". And he sets forth the advantages of this plan as follows:

If the Indian Members of the Governor's Council were properly chosen it cannot be doubted that the Government's policy would be formulated with due regard for the views of the Indian elected members of the Legislative Council. In so far as criticism of their proposals was made in the Council, it may be assumed that it would, as in our Parliament, be due to the fact that there was reasonable ground for the existence of more than one opinion. The debates in the Council would be invested with a reality which does not exist at present; for Indian speakers would not, as now, always be found on the opposition side and it is to be remembered that if in deference to the Legislative Council the Government modified their policy, the Council would have to shoulder the responsibility for the results.

In so far as this indicates the procedure of the committee system outlined by him, there is no doubt that it approximates to the French plan. But the fundamental difficulty of this suggestion is that it is devoid of the main spring on which the French Committee system works and makes itself felt as a means of controlling the executive. The French Chamber appoints its committees whose changes and alterations of the proposals of the executive are implicitly carried out in practice on the primary principle embodied in the third fundamental organic law of the French Constitution which is as follows: Article 6: "The ministers are thereby collectively responsible to the Chambers for the' general policy of the Government and individually for their The President of the Republic shall be personal acts. responsible only in case of high treason." It is because the power of the committees and of the Deputies is derived from the ultimate power of calling the executive collectively and individually to account, that the Committee system of France has secured so much power in the hands of the people's representatives, and not because there has been any inherent virtue in the process of committee control now in vogue in France. On the other hand, it is believed by all people accustomed to Anglo-Saxon methods of Self-Government that the Committee system, as opposed to the party system, has been one of the main weaknesses of democratic Government in France. In truth, however, the Committee and Cabinet systems of France present such novel features and furnish such clear answers to critics who speak of deadlocks, permanent conflicts between the official executive and the non-official legislature that it demands separate treatment.

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NATIONAL ECONOMY SERIES.-L

THE NEED FOR SAVING IN PEACE TIME

HARTLEY WITNERS



LONDON:
NATIONAL WAR SAVINGS COMMITTEE
SALISBURY SQUARE, E.C. 4

Preface

This pamphlet consists of extracts only altered to meet the needs of abbreviation from a book called "Poverty and Waste," published in April, 1914. It was written to show how the individual citizen could at once, and without waiting for the achievement of any scheme of social reform which he or she might desire, do something definite and practical to reduce poverty.

Its argument has been, I think, emphatically confirmed by the economic lessons of the war, which has brought home to us the fact that our output of goods and services is limited, and that in order to provide those needed for war we had to reduce our enjoyment of many comforts and luxuries to which we had been accustomed. In war time unpatriotic spending makes it more difficult to provide the needs of the army and navy; in peace time unpatriotic spending, by demanding the production of luxuries and frivolities, curtails the supply of necessaries and so increases the poverty of the poor.

The consumer's responsibility is as great in peace as in war. If recognised and used rightly it helps to bring victory in war over our country's external enemies and in peace over its internal foes—destitution, ignorance, and disease.

HARTLEY WITHERS.

I.—The

Wealth Heap

VERY year mankind produces a certain amount of goods and services. Some of the goods that we make or win, such as bread or milk, are produced to be immediately and literally consumed—eaten or drunk and seen no more. Some, such as clothes, are consumed in an economic sense as soon as the buyer has taken them off the market, but are not consumed, in the sense of being worn out, for a length of time that varies with the stoutness of the stuff and the taste and wealth of the buyer. Some, such as houses, railways, or canals, may last for centuries if kept in repair. A very few, such as diamonds, will last as long as our world exists.

The services that we render are nearly all momentary. as far as their economic effect is concerned. If a doctor restores his patient to health, the effect on the patient's body may last as long as he does, but the doctor's service is closed economically, as soon as the patient has paid the bill. The doctor does not get rent for it as he would from a house that he had built, and the patient has not bought anything that he can take off and sell as he could a suit of clothes. Perhaps the most important, economically, of all the services is that rendered by the transport agencies, the ships and railways and carriers' carts and motor lorries and caravans, that take goods from the places where they are grown or made and put them down in the places where they are wanted by buyers. This service is clearly consumed as fast as the goods that have been moved are bought and used.

These goods and services that mankind is continually producing, added to the existing stock of those goods

which still have an exchangeable value—that is, can still be sold for money—make up the world's wealth. The faster they are turned out, and the better is their quality, the greater is the wealth of mankind. And one of the reasons why so many people have been disappointed by man's economic progress in the last century is because, in spite of the marvellous quickening in the output of goods and services, we do not seem to be any nearer to the Psalmist's ideal of "no complaining in our streets." On the contrary, from the underpaid workman who cannot buy a good meal and the harassed millionaire who cannot digest one, the chorus of complaint rises in inharmonious unison. There must be something wrong with the management of the matter.

Management in the matter does not exist, and, as things are at present arranged in human society, cannot exist. The whole business is left to hazard. Goods and services are turned out for the market according to the producers' forecasts of the profits that they hope to be able to make by selling them. Probably the influences which turn producers into one line of production or another are, in most cases, purely accidental. A boy goes into a trade or business because there happens to be an opening, and he wants to make a living somehow. There is very little choice for most of us, and the choice is generally made long before the individual has any reasoned opinions on the subject. But in so far as any judicious choice of an industry or business is possible, the greatest number and keenest activity of those who provide for the needs, real and imaginary, of mankind, will tend to devote themselves chiefly to turning out those goods and services on which the profit is expected to be biggest. There is no benevolent despot who can say, "Thousands of my people cannot get enough bread and beef. See to it that ten more regiments of my productive army are set to work to grow corn and raise cattle." The productive army, being at work for the profit of its officers and rank and file, works along the line of most profit, being sensible business men, with no sentimental illusions.

It was the belief of old-fashioned economists that if only everybody was left free to pursue his own interests, the best possible state of economic welfare would somehow or other emerge. Partly because the complete freedom demanded by them could not be given in any human and humane society, this cheerful theory has not yet proved itself true in practice. The net result of our haphazard economic system is, that a large part of mankind is underfed, ill-clad, and ill-housed, and is shut off from many of the comforts and decencies of life, while a large part of the rest spends much of its time in wearying itself by consuming things that it does not really want and vying with itself in vulgar ostentation and waste.

This being so, does it follow that no remedy is possible, except by substituting for this system the benevolent despotism of an individual or of a Socialistically organized State? This would be a dire conclusion, for many years of argument and perhaps of bloodshed lie between us and the possibility of either kind of despotism, even if we wanted it. But it is not so.

A remedy would be found at once if those who have money to spend would grasp and act on the very simple fact that, since the producing power of mankind is limited, every superfluous and useless article that they buy, every extravagance that they commit, prevents the production of the necessaries of life for those who are at present in need of them. The man who cannot be comfortable without half a dozen motor-cars and pursues his own comfort by buying them, thereby takes bread out of the mouths of the hungry. Probably he is an entirely good-natured person who would not dream of harming anybody and very likely imagines that he is doing something that is good for trade, and helping to give employ-

ment by buying six motor-cars when one would have been quite enough for him.

This grey-whiskered fallacy, which is cherished as a fact by a majority, probably, of the people who have much money to spend, is the cause of much of the tangle into which the business affairs of mankind have been twisted. The fallacy is all the more dangerous because it is only half a fallacy and contains just enough truth to be deceptive.

Since the output of goods and services at any moment is limited by the amount of labour, capital, and raw material that is to be had, and since we have seen that most goods and nearly all services are more or less quickly consumed, it follows that the divisible wealth of the world is like a great heap, the size of which cannot be enlarged at will though the articles of which it is composed may vary. When we encourage the organizers of production to turn out motor-cars part of the wealth heap will consist of motor-cars. If there had not been this demand for motor-cars or some other kind of luxury, the heap would have consisted less of luxuries and more of necessaries, which would therefore have been more plentiful and cheaper for those who need them.

In other words, every purchase of an article of luxury stiffens the price of articles of necessity, and makes the struggle of the poor still harder.

Let us test this contention by carrying the argument to its logical conclusion, and suppose that the whole of humanity were suddenly converted to the belief that luxury is an unpardonable sin, and treated this belief not merely as an article of faith, but as a practical rule of life. Let us suppose that everybody determined to eat plain and wholesome meals, just hearty enough to keep them in health and good spirits, to wear neat, well-cut clothes, stout enough to keep out wind and weather and to wear them as long as they are decent and tidy, to live in com-

fortable houses, one to each family, instead of overfurnished and over-upholstered barracks, and to be simple and tasteful rather than ostentatious and vulgar, in hospitality and the amusements of life. What would be the economic effect of this moral and æsthetic reformation?

Its effect would be that all the cunning and untiring effort that is now thrown away on turning out tasteless vulgarities and extravagant superfluities and then forcing them on mankind by an elaborate and enormously costly system of advertising and circularizing and touting in all its forms, would be compelled to turn its attention to growing and making and forwarding and selling things that are really wanted and really useful. The great heap of the world's wealth would be as big as ever—even bigger as I hope presently to show—but a large part of it that now consists of tinsel toys and absurdities and worse, would have been replaced by good food, good clothes, good houses, and healthy amusements.

"And what good will have been done," comes the obvious retort, "if you have not in the meantime increased the buying power of the poor? There would be a glut of goods with no buyers." So there would. But in the first place, even if the actual money wages of the workers had not been raised, their buying power would have been increased by the cheapening of the necessaries of their lives, and they would have more to spend on things that are now beyond their reach, but are looked on as necessaries by those who have been trained in a more comfortable school. Even in the present state of the wealthheap, a glut of unsaleable goods is sometimes to be seen, not because the goods are not wanted, but because those who want them cannot pay for them the price that the producer has to get if he is to make a profit. producer's price depends largely on that of his raw material. Raw materials are dear in these days, because production is so busy with luxuries that the supply of raw

material for real wants has not kept pace with demand. This is one of the evils that our supposed reformation would help to cure.

Moreover, this same reformation would have wrought a great change that we have not yet considered. We have not yet decided what the well-to-do classes would do with all the money that they saved by treating luxury as an unpardonable sin and forswearing extravagance and ostentation. They could only do three things with it. They might hoard it and bury it, but there is no reason to suppose that they would do anything so stupid. They might give it away to their poorer neighbours. If they did so, they would be increasing the buying power of the poor, and our problem is solved. If they did it well and carefully and in the right spirit, no harm would be done. but it would be very dangerous, for bad giving is a cause of much evil, and in any case it would not be a good arrangement to have a large part of the population living on the charity of others. Not charity, but work at good wages is what is wanted, and would probably be forthcoming. For though the pleasure of giving away would be indulged in more freely, it is likely that most of the huge sum that would be saved, if we drove the sin of luxury out, would be invested.

I can see fastidious readers shudder when they find themselves faced by this sordid bathos. "After all this preamble," I hear them exclaim, "about the sin of luxury and a moral and æsthetic reformation, you bring us down with a bump on Thrift, that meanest and ugliest of all the so-called virtues, the first and last refuge of the craven and the dullard."

Now I fully admit that thrift, as an end in itself, is a very unattractive quality in the eyes of most people, and that it is, in fact, often found in partnership with other qualities that are still more justly despised. From thrift to meanness and from meanness to hypocrisy are short

steps. It is safe to assume that Mr. Joseph Surface always kept his expenditure well within his income, while his spendthrift brother Charles was a model of generosity (with other people's money), and of all the other manly virtues. To save money, merely for the sake of saving. after one has made due provision for one's old age and for any dependants for whom one may be responsible, is a pastime that is open to question on many grounds. But I submit that I have not put forward thrift as an end in itself, but only observed that it would be a by-product of the supposed reformation that has turned all mankind against luxury. A large sum of money that is now spent on the production and distribution of useless and often vulgar luxuries would thereby be saved and invested, either by those who saved it, or by their bankers, if they left it at their banks.

In other words, capital would be accumulated very much faster. Capital, and its rights and rewards, are too large and difficult a question to be discussed in the limits of this pamphlet.* At present you must allow me to assert that capital can only be got by being saved, and that the lack of capital, in relation to the world-wide demand for it in these days of rapid development all over the globe, is one of the most serious problems with which the business world has lately had to struggle.

Profitable and useful enterprises in every country have to wait for lack of capital to put them in hand. To mention merely one or two examples at home, there was lately a Royal Commission on the Canals and Waterways of Great Britain, which, after an exhaustive inquiry, recommended a scheme by which inland communication would have been greatly improved and cheapened, and some at least of the capital and skill sunk by our forefathers in canals would have been made reproductive again after being throttled and buried by the short-

^{*} In the original book it was dealt with in a separate chapter.

sighted jealousy of the railway companies. The Commission's report has been left to rot like the old canals largely because it would have cost too much to raise the capital, owing to its recent scarcity and dearness.

Again, consider all the schemes that have been put forward, with or without an official blessing, for improving communication in London, relieving its congested traffic, and actually saving the lives of hundreds of its citizens who are killed, merely because they try to cross the road at the wrong moment. Capital has been too scarce and dear for the problem to be tackled on a large scale. All over the country there are big things waiting to be done to equip this old land and help it to grow more stuff for us, and to bring the good stuff from the grower to the user. With capital plentiful and cheap and the energy of the people put into the work, it might multiply its output manifold.

From all this it follows that if expenditure on luxuries were turned into accumulation of capital, and capital became plentiful and cheap, there are plenty of profitable uses to which it might, and would, be put. Whence it follows that another by-product of the mental reformation I have supposed would be a quickened demand for labour to carry out all this work that is crying out to be done. And so after a roundabout journey we have arrived at an answer to the very pertinent objection, that it would be no use to increase the supply of the necessaries of life if the buying power of the poor were not raised at the same The buying power of the poor would be raised. and so they would be able to take advantage of the greater supply of necessaries, because the better and cheaper supply of capital would enable many fruitful enterprises to be taken in hand, and so would increase the demand .for labour, diminish unemployment, and raise wages.

It may fairly be urged that profits would be lessened, because the profits made by supplying luxuries to the rich

are probably greater than those to be got by providing This may be so, though the necessaries for the poor. huge profits made by Coats in supplying sewing cotton and by the cheap catering companies are an example to the contrary, showing that a big and regular turnover of a cheap article may, with good management, leave little to be desired in the matter of earnings. But even if it were so, it is safe to contend that profits would gain in stability what they lost in dimensions. Industry would be less hazardous. Profits might be smaller, but losses would be fewer, and the whole business would be on a more solid basis if the real wants of mankind, which are continuous and can always be counted on, were being supplied, than it is now, when much of the energy of manufacturers and traders goes in trying to forecast the whims and caprices of fashion, or into creating a demand, by advertising and other devices, for so-called goods that they have produced and are now determined to force down the public throat.

"But even if all this be true," I may be told, "what will have happened to all the thousands of people who will certainly have been thrown out of work by your supposed reformation? What will be the fate of all those who had hitherto been busy making, handling, and selling luxuries, and would probably find it difficult to adapt themselves to other kinds of work? Why should they have to suffer because their public suddenly discovered that luxury was an evil?"

This would certainly be a valid objection, if it were possible that the change which I have supposed took place by some miracle all in a moment. But these miracles do not happen, and nobody wants them. In business matters violent change of any kind always brings damage and loss behind it. It is because business men know this that they are usually so cautious and conservative and slow to move. The most beneficent economic reforms

have to be carried out by very short steps. If, for example, we could abolish the middleman to-morrow and get all our goods straight from the makers and growers, not only would all the middlemen—honest human beings, after all, who earn a living in the manner that their fate has decreed—be thrown on the rates, but all those who had ministered to their wants would be mourning the loss of good customers, and it might take years to live down the consequent dislocation of trade.

In this matter of lessening the expenditure on luxuries, we need have no fear that anything will happen so hurriedly as to throw many people out of work. The notion is now so ingrained in the minds of the rich that it is their duty to spend their money freely, and the middle class is so sturdily convinced that an extravagant scale of living is a sign of prosperity and respectability and distinction, that we need cherish no such apprehension.

Before we need expect to see those who turn out luxuries coming on the parish, two things must happen. One is a radical change in taste, involving the death of the absurd belief that because a thing is dear, and our next-door neighbour has got it, it is therefore desirable. The other is the comprehension, by those who have superfluous money to spend, of the fact that by buying luxuries they are stiffening the price of necessaries and so making the poor poorer. Need we fear that these two things will happen with any alarming celerity?

If they could happen at all, the process would be so gradual, the leavening of the lump would be so slow, that no cataclysm could occur in the foctunes of those who provide dear and unnecessary fripperies. For even if a large number of people were convinced that the purchase of luxuries made necessaries dearer, many of them would probably comfort themselves with the belief that it would be useless for them to make any change in

their mode of spending, because the volume of trade is so huge that the action of one individual would be lost like a drop in the ocean. The movement could only grow by here one and there another deciding that he or she, at least, would not be responsible for warping the true course of industry, which ought to be directed to supplying the bare needs of all before it turns out frills and furbelows for anybody.

And what of Malthus and his doctrine that mankind will always breed itself on to the verge of starvation? Is not this law going to upset all the effects of any such reform even if it could be set to work? There is no need to be afraid of Malthus, for as he himself saw, the working of his law can be modified or even stopped by opposing influences. It is not true that mankind necessarily breeds up to the margin of subsistence. The richer and more civilized a nation becomes, the slower is its rate of breeding, especially among the comfortable classes. This is so generally true that if the poorer classes were made more comfortable, so that their prudence and self-respect had more chance of exerting their influence, it is much more likely that we should have to encourage them to multiply, than that we should find them bringing into the world more mouths than could be fed.

Yet another objection may be foreseen and, I think, answered. It may be contended that if mankind were to give up luxury and extravagance, and buy only what it needed for a pleasant and wholesome and happy life, the incentive to amass wealth would be lessened, and that therefore the wheels of industry would go round more slowly, because there would be fewer eager spirits to keep them spinning for the sake of the profits that they hope to gain. I think this objection is based on a complete misunderstanding of the real reasons which make men work.

People do not work for wealth in order that they may spend it on palatial mansions in which they are very

uncomfortable, profuse and vulgar entertainments which probably disgust the successful worker and make him despise those who accept his hospitality, acres of sporting rights which they only visit for two or three days in the year, and other forms of luxury, the absurdity and futility and wastefulness of which are rather clearer to a man of business than to anyone else. I am not sure that many of us work for wealth at all, but on that point more anon. Those who do, if any, would not think of throwing their wealth about in the stupid manner now prevalent, if they were not encouraged to do so by the belief that only thus can they win their way to distinction and a place in what is called Society. If the cultured classes-or the classes which ought to be cultured-took to heart the fact that expenditure on luxuries makes the poor poorer, and set a different standard before themselves and those who want to win a way into their ranks, the desire to work, and to grow rich, would remain as strong as ever.

For most men work because they want to work. "Every man," says Addison's Spectator, "has such an active principle in him that he will find out something to employ himself upon in whatever place or state of life he is posted." * A really idle wastrel can always live on somebody. But a healthy-minded man wants to get something done, to express himself somehow, and to be able to feel when he is laid on the shelf that he has done his share of work in the world. Even when he has done so he often cannot bear to be idle. It is pathetic to see men who have come home pensioned off in early middle age, after spending the best years of their lives in dealing out order and justice in India or some other exhausting tropical climate, instead of settling down peacefully and growing roses and reading books and taking their well-earned leisure, moving heaven and earth to get a post as secretary to a golf club, or as director of a company.

^{*}No. 15. "Sir Roger de Coverley Harchunting." The essay was written by Budgell,

THL NELD FOR SAVING

Many men hope to go on working in the next world; witness the well-known story of the dying engine-cleaner, who, after listening to a description of the joys of Paradise from the clergyman who was cheering his last moments, murmured the hope that Almighty God would let him have an engine and a bit of oily rag.

This desire for work, as an end in itself, is especially strong in the great organizers of industry, on whose energy and enterprise the speed and success of production depends. They are usually men of most simple tastes, who spend on themselves a minute fraction of their wealth.

That men do not work for wealth is also shown by the action of those very few who have any choice in the matter of the work that they do. They seldom choose a profession or occupation because its rewards are fat. The intellectual flower of the Universities—the men whose degree and record put the world at their feet—show what they think of wealth as an incentive to work by almost always going into some line of life in which the monetary prizes are few and hard to reach. They become schoolmasters, civil servants, journalists, barristers, dons, doctors, parsons, politicians. They know quite well that thereby they are not likely to earn as much as the men who go into business, but this fact does not weigh with them for a moment. They deliberately leave the more profitable fields to those whom they have beaten in the intellectual The ranks of the commercial world are recruited chiefly by men who have either not been to a University at all, or have not achieved distinction in the Schools.

At the same time it is true that when men work they want to get as much reward as possible for the work that they do. A man may choose to earn a pittance as a writer rather than draw thousands a year from the family business like his less gifted brother. But being a writer he likes to sell his stuff well, and be sought after by editors and publishers, because thereby he is able to lay the flattering

unction to his soul of thinking that he has succeeded and has done good work.

A few lofty souls can rely on the approval of their own judgment and can follow their art or craft for its own sake, but the ordinary man wants to know that he is turning out what other people want and like and admire, and the payment that he gets is the rough-and-ready, but very practical, test of his achievement.

It is only in this sense that most men work for wealth. They work for success and distinction, and wealth is the badge and sign manual thereof. This is especially true of success in industry and business. A writer or a teacher or a preacher may win distinction and success by a limited appeal to a small circle, without ever earning the applause that is expressed in a bank balance. The business man is judged by sheer weight of metal—if he works for his own hand by the fortune that he makes, if he is the servant of a company, by the dividends that he earns for his share-holders.

Since these things are so—since most men work because they want to, and work for success, not in order to be able to indulge in absurd extravagances which most men of business despise—we need have no fear that a change in sentiment about spending would blunt the edge of the spur to work, and so check the speed of industrial progress.

If the classes which set the fashion in these things would recognize that the extravagance which they thought was good for trade was really making it harder for the poor to get the necessaries of life, men who had grown rich in industry would still find plenty of ways for gaining the distinction that is their very natural ambition by spending their money in some astonishing fashion that would arrest the gaze of their fellows. The only change would be that the objects of their expenditure would, from the sheer force of circumstances, be something useful and sensible, or, at least, something that was meant to be useful and

sensible. Plenty of mistakes would still be made, but the object aimed at would be something better than the "freak banquets," and the other economic atrocities and outrages against good taste, by which too many rich men at present think it necessary to call attention to their success.

2.—The Consumer's

Responsibility

We are all of us consumers or money-spenders, and all of us, including the very poorest, could spend our money to better advantage if we tried, and make the world a much pleasanter place for ourselves and others.

"Why should I try?" asks someone very plentifully endowed with common sense. "What has it to do with me? I earn £1,000 a year, and I work for it. I shouldn't be paid this income if I wasn't worth it to somebody, and why on earth shouldn't I spend it exactly as I like? I am not responsible for our economic system. It hasn't treated me badly. I pay a lot of people to look after the government of the country and it's their business to put things right if they're wrong. I entertain freely; I give plenty away to objects that I think deserving. It's my own money, and why shouldn't I do what I like with it?"

First of all, let us try to frighten him a little. If there is any likelihood that a real economic improvement can be brought about by more sensible spending, it is surely better to try this method instead of letting things drift towards terrible experiments like General Strikes, and the possibility of bloodshed and perhaps revolution. Surely it is plain that never before in the world's history has there

been such worldwide unrest among the workers. Those who are in sympathy with the workers and think that they ought to, and must, get a bigger share of the world's goods. are glad to see this unrest. But to the man who is quite content with the manner in which wealth is at present distributed, and only wants to enjoy his own income, it must be a most disquieting and uncomfortable system. For he feels that he is really much more vulnerable than the workers. He must have his three good meals a day. perhaps four. They are quite used to going hungry—one of the most pathetic facts in language is the existence of a regular word for it in the north country, to "clem." If the workers could only solve the question of unity among themselves, so that a strike meant a really unanimous cessation of work by them, a General Strike would become a terrible weapon against people who do not like to miss their accustomed creature comforts for a day. It is easy to talk about the strong hand and martial law, but the strong hand is a game that two sides can play at, and martial law may be met by martial lawlessness.

But if our common sense friend is a hearty, robustious person, who is not going to be frightened by phantom pictures of what might happen, we must try to persuade him that he is wrong in his confidence about his economic value and his right and title to all the good things that he enjoys. We must put it to him that of course he must do just what he likes with his money, but that possibly if he thought the matter out he might like to use it in a manner that is a little different from his present method of spending. Because if he has done us the honour of reading the preceding pages he has been brought face to face with the fact that by spending money on luxuries he causes the production of luxuries and so diverts capital, energy, and labour from the production of necessaries, and so makes necessaries scarce and dear for the poor. He is not asked to give his money away, for he would probably do more

harm than good thereby, unless he did it very carefully and skilfully; but only to invest part of what he now spends on luxuries so that more capital may be available for the owtput of necessaries. So that by the simultaneous process of increasing the supply of capital and diminishing the demand for luxuries the wages of the poor may be increased and the supply of their needs may be cheapened; and he himself may feel more comfortable in the enjoyment of his income:

Then we proceed to appeal to that excellent common sense of his, and ask him whether he is quite sure that because he receives £1,000 a year he is really worth to the community ten times as much as the artizan who is paid two pounds a week. How much of his £1,000 a year does he really owe to himself and his own exertions and abilities, and how much of it ought to be credited to his education and nurture and the long start with which he began life? If we all started from scratch, he might fairly make some claim to having earned his success himself, though even so he would have to allow a very wide margin for luck; for his will be a rare experience if he cannot call to mind schoolfellows of his own, just as well endowed as he is in character and ability, to whom fate has only opened her purse to the extent of a few hundreds a year. Moreover, if he will remember the store of intelligence that lies dormant among the workers because they have no real education to awaken it, he will see that if the career were actually open to talent, and all talent had a genuine chance of being developed, it is possible that his abilities and attainments might be of quite commonplace standard. As it is, owing to this lamentable waste of the intelligent material that lies ready to our hands, the business world is always crying out about the scarcity of available brains.

Moreover, still appealing to his common sense, we ask him to wonder how much use his own abilities would be

to him if it were not for the rest of the community that gives him ease and security and supplies him with all the comforts and luxuries that he enjoys. The argument so commonly used about landlords-that it is their neighbours who make their property valuable, by wanting to live on it—is true in a certain degree about all of us. Whatever our gifts of mind and body may be, they would avail us little towards achieving comfort, to say nothing of luxury. if we found ourselves planted by ourselves on a barren mountain top. Man, as a solitary unit, cannot acquire the well-being that is now enjoyed by the comfortable classes: he can only do so as a member of an economic brotherhood. We are accustomed to think of our economic civilization as based on competition, but in fact co-operation is much more important to it, for it is impossible to compete unless one first co-operates. This being so, since all of us who are comfortable and well fed and easy are so by the exertions of our fellows, is it in accordance with common sense, which is closely allied with common sympathy, to stand by and see millions of those who help to provide our comfort go short of the necessaries of life if we can do anything to better their lot? Is it "good business "-for all this question is a matter of businessto spend money on things that one does not really need. if by so doing we impoverish the workers and sap the strength of the nation?

"But," we shall be told, "there always must be rich and poor. It's a law of Nature that some shall be strong and some shall be weak, and that the weak shall go to the wall."

Of course there must always be rich and poor. Even if all our incomes were made equal to-morrow, there would still be a great difference in the degree of our welfare, for some men can live cheerfully on a hundred a year, and to others a thousand is penury. But because there must always be differences, that is surely no reason

for sitting still and leaving things alone if by a slight change in the habits of the spending classes some of the more glaring differences can be lessened.

As to the law of nature and the necessary division of mankind into strong and weak, is it safe to appeal to it before we have made quite sure that those now at the top are really the strong and those at the bottom are the weak? If the law of nature really had free play we might see a very startling redistribution of the good things of the earth. "Were there," says a great scientist and thinker, "none of those artificial arrangements by which fools and knaves are kept at the top of society instead of sinking to their natural place at the bottom, the struggle for the means of enjoyment would ensure a constant circulation of the human units of the social compound, from the bottom to the top and from the top to the bottom."*

- Civilization, in fact, consists chiefly of a series of triumphs over the laws of nature. In a natural state, if we had a decayed tooth it would go on decaying till it gave us such pain that we should pray some kindly brother savage to batter it out with a boulder, and it is likely that he would knock out two or three more with it. Civilization provides a dentist who stops it for us and preserves it as a useful member of our anatomy. In a natural state, when dimmed eyesight and dwindling muscular power made it impossible for us to get food by hunting or fishing we should either die of hunger or be mercifully eaten by a wild beast. Civilization keeps us alive and useful long after the laws of nature would have forbidden us to cumber the earth, and finally lets us die comfortably in our beds. If the laws of nature were given free play, any question at issue between a set of Northumbrian pitmen and the shareholders for whom they work would very shortly be settled, and the shareholders, or

their remnants, would be found shouting for the police. As it is, the artificial arrangements of which Huxley complains, work for the benefit, not only of fools and knaves, but of all who lead comfortable and sheltered lives, and have got nice well-paid posts, largely through the accident of being born in a certain class, and having been taught certain things at school, chiefly by their schoolfellows. We had better be very careful about talking of the survival of the fittest, for the more closely common sense looks at the matter the less certain its possessor will be that in a really natural struggle he would be among the survivors. The reason why man, naturally a very weak animal, has triumphed over all his natural enemies is because he had the good sense, by co-operation and care for the weak, to overcome much of the terrible waste that is implied by the unrestricted working of the law of the survival of the fittest. He has acted by the weaker members of his tribe, who, by natural laws, ought to have perished, as the dentist acts by our weak teeth, and kept them as useful members of society. In fact, we have carried our conquest of natural laws so far that a man's grasp of the good things of life depends much less on his strength and courage and ability than on the position and circumstances in which he happens to be born. "Virtue is of little regard in these costermonger times," and we are faced by a state of things under which large numbers of us, and those by no means always the weakest, do not get a fair chance of life. Common sense surely compels us to do anything that can be done to put this right, and in the meantime advises us not to talk too loud about the laws of nature, if our position in the world depends on artificial laws which defeat them.

But common sense has still another cartridge in its belt. We shall be told that, even if we could persuade the spending classes, by more sensible spending, to increase the supply of capital, raise the wages of the workers, and

cheapen the necessaries of life, we should not have touched the most serious side of the problem of poverty, which is the existence of a host of people who, from mental and bodily weakness, are not fit to work, and so could not benefit by an increase in the wages of the workers. This is quite true, but I never suggested that the reform put forward in these pages could, if adopted, cure all the economic evils in the world. It is very safe to say that any remedy which is expected to cure everything is almost certain to cure nothing. But at least it may be claimed. if wages were raised and the prices of necessaries were lowered, that the creation of these unfortunate folk, whom heredity and environment have combined to deprive of man's birthright, would be sensibly checked, and, if the process were carried far enough, would be stopped altogether. Then all that would have to be done would be for the State either to see to it that they did not reproduce themselves or to take such measures for the care of their offspring that environment might have a fair chance of undoing the hereditary weakness.

For how has this army of the unfit, whose existence is the most ghastly condemnation of our economic system. come into being? They are the creation of low wages, assisted by the miserable conditions under which the worst paid of the workers have lived for generations, and to this source of their production has been added irresponsible spending, extravagance, and consequently weakened moral fibre among the richer classes, which have turned out spendthrift ne'er-do-wells, who, in spite of all the artificial arrangements complained of by Huxley, have gradually sunk to the dregs. Both these sources of the output of unemployables might be stopped up, if the reform suggested in these pages were set to work and given time to bring forth its results. Probably it would take many generations before it would be possible altogether to weed out the unfortunate wights who are, in the expressive

popular phrase, "born thed," and simply cannot face the daily effort of regular work. But much might be done to stiffen their backbones and lessen their number if, instead of encouraging their production by underpaying our workers and making their lot difficult, and setting a stupid example of irresponsible and wasteful spending among the richer classes, we tried to bring home to all the simple fact that by wrong spending we aggravate the economic evils of our present system, and that by wise spending we help to correct some of them.

As things are at present, the manner in which we spend our money is a matter in which we are swayed less by intelligence than by habit and convention and sheep-like mimicry of one another, tempered by weak-minded submission to the bullying of the advertiser.

"Although," says Dt. Hadley, "laws prescribing what a man may buy or sell have fallen into disuse, it must not be supposed that every man exercises his intelligence and pleasure to buy what will give him the most happiness. People are bound by custom where they have ceased to submit to law. A large part of the expense of most people is regulated, not by their own desites and demands, but by the demands of the public sentiment of the community. about them. The standard of life of every family is fixed in large measure by social conventions. Few are intelligent enough to break away from those conventions, even where they are manifestly foolish. Although we have made much progress in the direction of economic freedom, it is a mistake to assume that the authority of custom in these matters is a thing of the past. With most men custom regulates their economic action more potently than any calculation of utility which they are able to make. Nor can we assume, as some writers are prone to do, that such custom represents the average judgment of the community as to the things needed for the comfort and happiness of its members. It represents an average absence of judgment

-a survival of habits which doubtless proved useful in times past, but which in many instances have entirely outlived their usefulness. The success of advertising shows how little intelligence is habitually exercised in these matters. A man does not generally use his nominal freedo to buy what he wants until someone comes and tells him in stentorian tones what he wants to buy. The authority of custom and tradition can only be overcome by the authority of drums and trumpets. It is a mistake to draw too fine-spun deductions as to the motives which guide buyers in their choice, when three-quarters of the buyers exercise no choice at all. It is not merely that people want things which hurt them, or which fail to do them the maximum good . . . but that they buy things, without knowing whether they want them or not, through sheer vis inertiæ." *

This uncomfortable string of home-truths, dealt out to us all by a distinguished economist, would not hit us very hard if we were the only sufferers by the absurdities that he puts before us so clearly. If we choose to waste our own money at the bidding of convention and the advertiser, and if we could do so without hurting anybody else, we need only say with Puck:—

"Lord, what fools these mortals be!"
and leave ourselves to the consequences of our folly. But
the folly becomes tragedy when we have once grasped
the fact that bad spending makes the poor poorer, and it
becomes necessary to look more closely into this question
of the consumer's responsibility and to see whether something cannot be done to deliver him from the yoke of
convention and from the paw of the advertising lion.

A sense of responsibility in the enjoyment of wealth is no new-fangled notion. In the Middle Ages the owner of land, then the form in which wealth was most commonly held, owned it only on condition that he put so many men,

in proportion to his wealth, into the field when called on by his sovereign, and put himself at their head when they went into battle. This responsibility is long obsolete, and in the eye of the law and of custom a man who cuts off coupons or draws dividends and rents, or earns a big salary, may do as he pleases with his money. If he makes handsome contributions to charity, it is counted to him for righteousness, and rightly, since he is giving away what he believes, and his neighbours believe, to be his own. But, in fact, it is his own only in a very limited sense. If he has inherited it, he owes the peaceful possession of it to the protection given him by the rest of the community. If he earns it by his abilities, he owes it to exceptional training that his abilities have had, and to the neglect of the abilities of the greater part of the population, through lack of this training. The ease and comfort that he enjoys only exist because he is a member of a great whole, that works for him and works with him. If he spends his money in a manner that is harmful to the whole, he is not making a fair return to it for the benefits that it pours on him, and any expenditure that makes the lot of the poor harder is unquestionably harmful to the nation as a whole. Apart from any considerations of humanity and equity, it is economically unsound that a large proportion of the population should be short of the necessaries of life.

It is a commonplace that needs no proof that extravagance on the part both of nations and of individuals has increased very fast in the last few generations. The consequences, scarce capital and high prices, are before our eyes, "plain as way to parish church." High taxes prevent our saving and so does a so-called high standard of comfort, which generally means a high standard of ostentation, and of expenditure according to convention, instead of according to our wants.

"For at least half his expenditure," says Mr. Dibblee, "an ordinary individual does not know what he wants,

and out of the other half for at least a half he does not get what he wants. . . . Half the furniture of any house is mere mimicry of other establishments, whose use is in display without beauty or comfort. Half the clothing of either children or adults is dictated by fashion and discarded before consumption. Half the wages of most of those who pay any for domestic service are for the performance of ceremony, useless, boring, and timewasteful. Few of us are perhaps willing to admit this specifically in our own cases. . . . But it is easier to see the truth of such a generalization in the habits of others. particularly of the very rich, whose estates and stables. yachts, gardens and pictures are bought for them, kept going for them and regulated for them down to the last boot-button by a whole army of officials and experts, with only an occasional reference to any personal enjoyment which their owner may expect from them." *

Let us leave the question of national extravagance to statesmen. Individual extravagance is a matter that each one of us can deal with himself, as far as he is guilty of it. As long as he believes that he only is a sufferer by it, and that if he outruns the constable he alone takes the consequences, he can go on merrily wasting the good things of the earth. But when once he has grasped the fact of the consumer's responsibility, he sees that it is one which he cannot evade. We are all consumers, and by our demand for goods and services we decide what goods and services shall be brought forth into the world's mart. If we abstain from, or reduce, our luxuries and frivolous consumption, we check the production of luxuries, and set free capital and energy for the production of necessaries. At the same time, by checking our consumption of goods that we do not want we save more capital and so quicken the demand for labour, and so the workers are enabled to take advantage of the increased supply of

necessaries. When the workers are all supplied with necessaries and poverty in its grimmest aspect has been driven off the face of the civilized earth, then it is likely enough that increased production may give us a surplus that we can use as we like. At present we consume luxuries at the expense of the ill-fed workers.

As we are all consumers so we all have this consumer's responsibility, and nearly all of us ignore it. Extravagance is rife in all classes. Thanks to the drums and trumpets of the advertiser, and the blatant publicity with which the luxurious exploits of the wealthy are nowadays chronicled. the habit of aping the expenditure of those better off than ourselves is pathetically general. The thriftlessness of the poor, and the terribly bad use that they make of the pittance that civilized society hands out to them, are lamented by all who have worked among them. The marvels that the really destitute achieve in keeping body and soul together on next to nothing, are almost paralleled by the recklessness with which those who are rather better off take, no thought for the morrow, and waste on betting or drink or cheap finery money that is needed for their food and clothing. In their case it is natural enough. How many of us, who have been brought up differently, would act differently if we had to live their lives and face the problems that they deal with daily, and look forward to the future that is before them? But it is one of the lessons that the leaders of the workers have to teach, that they also have responsibility as consumers and that labour can never win a complete victory until it has conquered its own lack of thrift.

"When we remember." says Walker, "that the expenditure of the people of Great Britain, annually, for alcoholic beverages reaches the enormous sum of £180,000,000... four-fifths, at least, of which is spent in a way that is not only without any beneficial effect, but is positively injurious, a large part of it going to the destruction of moral,

intellectual, and physical power, we get a rude measure of the force which a wiser consumption of wealth might introduce into the economic life of that country."*

In this matter of the consumer's responsibility an enormous influence can be exercised by women. In the constituency of consumers they have already got a vote and a majority, and can use it to-day with overwhelming Most of the world's spending is done by them. especially in the middle class, whose numbers and wealth make its action all-important. In many middle class households the man, the ostensible head of the family, is more or less in the position of the doctor described by Mr. Arnold Bennett in "Buried Alive," whose "wife and two fully developed daughters spent too much on their frocks. For years, losing sight of the fact that he was an immortal soul, they had been treating him as a breakfast-in-the-slot machine: they put a breakfast in the slot, pushed a button of his waistcoat, and drew out banknotes." Household expenditure, that bulks so large in most of our Budgets, is usually regulated almost entirely by the women of the family, who are the spending departments of the domestic Civil Service. If women could be brought to see, and act on, their responsibility as consumers, we should have made a long step forward towards a big reform. How far some of them are from this perception is shown by the example of a lady who lately achieved the honour of public mention in the newspapers by owning over a hundred nightgowns.

Summing our conclusions up, we may say that two evils now stand in the way of a better share for the workers in the good things of the earth. These are the dearness and scarcity of capital and the dearness and scarcity of food and raw materials. Both these evils every one of us can help to correct by spending less on luxuries, and living more sensible lives, in accordance with a more genuine

^{*&}quot;Political Economy," Part V., chap. 111. The Second Edition, from which I quote, was published in 1887. Our National drink bill for 1913 was 1663 millions

standard of comfort, based on our real wants instead of mimicry of the extravagance of our neighbours.

If we did so we should at the same time be working to do away with two important causes of discontent with the results of civilization. The discontent is due partly to our comparing our present comforts, not with those enjoyed by our forbears, but with those indulged in by our neighbours, and partly to an uncomfortable feeling that the existence of poverty in the midst of wealth is a disgrace to our civilization. Now we find that we can do something towards expelling both these causes of discontent by a single effort of mind, by seeing that members of the well-fed classes are better off than they have ever been before, if only they would recognize the fact and not always be asking for more. The keenness of the struggle among them is only due to a false ideal, which makes comfort consist in spending more than one's neighbour. If they would straighten out this twist in their minds, they would kill one cause of discontent at a blow, and by the more rational expenditure that would follow they would do something to kill the other; by checking the demand for luxuries, laying by more capital for industry, and helping the production of necessaries. So we might do something towards making a world in which the poverty of those who do the hardest work should no longer be a reproach to all who enjoy its comforts. And we could do it ourselves, every one of us who have more than a living wage.

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