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STRAY THOUGHTS

ON

SOME INCIDENTS IN MY LIFE

BY

SIR BEPIN KRISHNA BOSE

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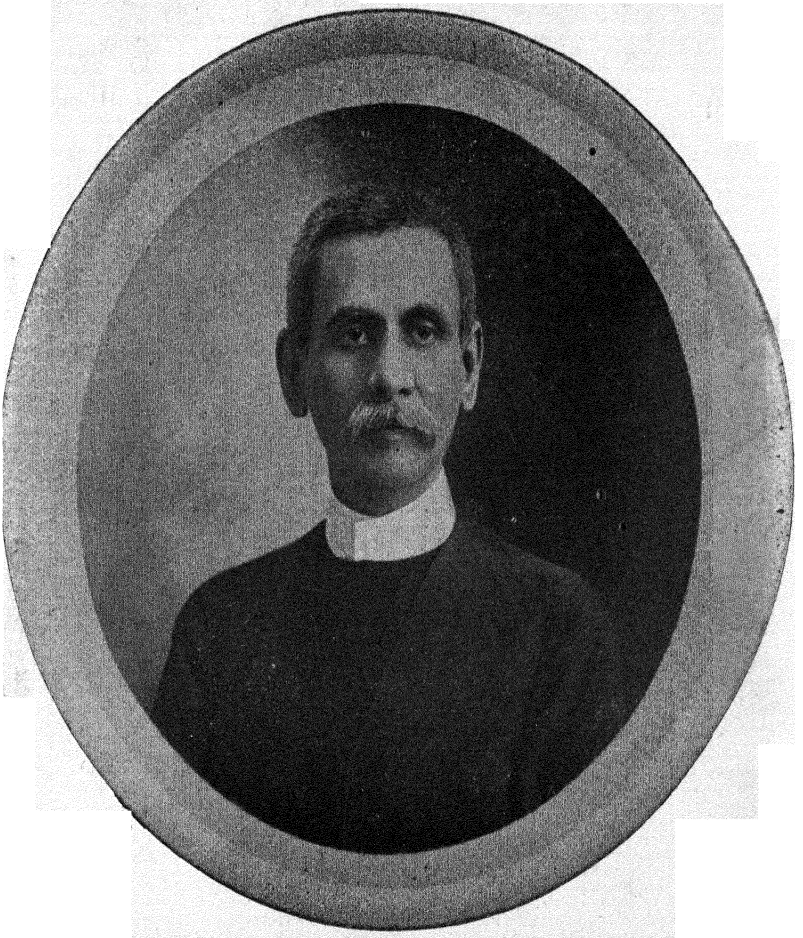
PREFACE

THIS memoir has been written from time to time during intervals of rest, generally in some health-resort. A portion of it (up to page 212) was published a few years ago for private circulation among friends. Some of them have suggested that it may be offered to the public. This I now do, after having completed it. I do not claim for my opinions that they are in every respect right. They present at least one side of the questions discussed and I only claim for them that they are the convictions of a mind anxious to find out the truth. I have done my best to be fair to those with whom I have been unable to agree. If perchance I have strayed from this ideal, I may be excused. This has not been intentional. I shall consider myself amply rewarded if the lessons of my experience help my countrymen, in however slight a degree, in the difficult task of guiding the nation through the right path to our common goal.

NAGPUR
14th August 1923.

B. K. BOSE.



SIR B. K. BOSE.

STRAY THOUGHTS ON SOME INCIDENTS IN MY LIFE

I

**Tithal, May 1906.*

BOYHOOD

I was born on the 20th of January, 1851,—8th Magh, Sakabda 1772, in Calcutta in the house of my maternal grand-father, now No. 50 Hari Ghose's Street. My mother was at the time the only child of her parents and as her father was a man of means and occupied a high position in the Hindu society of the time, she generally lived with him. We were a high class Kayastha family and came originally from East Bengal. My great-grand-father married the only sister of Raja Nobo Krishna Bahadur, the founder of the Sobha Bazar Raj Family. After the marriage, or, may be, owing to the marriage, our family came and settled in Calcutta.

I was, naturally enough, a pet of my maternal grand-father and was brought up by him in luxury. My education was, however, carefully looked after. For some time I learnt at home under a private tutor or *guru*. When I was about 8 years old, I was sent to a vernacular school in Sham Bazar. I was attentive to my studies and obedient to my tutors. I

* This is a small sea-side village in the Surat District of the Bombay Presidency. It is an ideal health-resort and a very quiet place.

believe I was liked by them all. I gained a silver medal while in the school. I well remember having lost it on my way home and my feeling of intense disappointment, when I discovered my loss. I was well grounded in my mother tongue and did not begin to learn English till I was about ten. When I was about 12. I was admitted into an English school, then recently founded by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the great social reformer of Bengal. It has since developed into the Metropolitan College. From this institution I passed my Matriculation Examination.

While in school, I, with my dear brother,* who has completed his journey through this life, leaving me to go through mine alone, and without the help

* I have been reading lately a book remarkable in many respects, the autobiography (Amár Jiban) of the renowned poet of the Hindu revival in Bengal, Babu Nobin Chandra Sen. He was not only a great poet but a great administrator. He was a Deputy Magistrate in Bengal, but, as the five volumes of his life show, not-with-standing his outstanding acknowledged ability, his independence of character and forceful personality came in the way of his promotion to District Magistrateship, to which some members of his class were raised. My brother was District Magistrate of Noakhali, when Nobin Babu was in charge of Feni, a sub-division of Noakhali. He then came to know my brother and his work. My brother after obtaining the degree of Master of Arts in Mathematics and winning that blue ribbon of the Calcutta University, the Premchand Roychand Studentship, was made a member of the Statutory Civil Service, then just instituted to enable Indians to be directly appointed to the Civil Service without having to pass the Competitive Examination in London Nobin Babu has some kindly and appreciative references in his book to my brother. Here is one for instance in the Fourth Volume, page 230, of which the following is an attempt at translation:—

"From the firmament of ill-fated Bengal has disappeared before its time this one of its brightest stars. Nanda Krishna is now in heaven. With eyes bathed in tears and in kindly remembrance of our friendship, I give below his last letter to me as a token of our friendship." (omitted)

of his love to smooth its progress, used daily to attend the recitations and expositions of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata by an eminent preacher of the time. This preacher was as learned as he was powerful and moving in his expositions. The examples of self-sacrifice, of devotion to duty, of piety, of truthfulness, of calm resignation under the trials of life, in fact of all those high virtues which draw man nearer to his Maker, as unfolded in the pages of India's immortal epics, when told by this gifted preacher, burned themselves into our young minds. What a pity that this admirable system of our ancestors to teach us our duty and to fill our minds with high and noble thoughts has gone out of vogue! We, unfortunately, in following western ways are gradually giving up what was good in our own methods. We complain, and perhaps rightly, that the education our children are receiving is a godless education. But here was a scheme instinct with the practical good sense and ripe wisdom of our ancestors and which taught generations of Indians their duty to God and man ready at hand and we have permitted it to die out altogether.

While yet a boy I paid a visit with my parents to a village in the Burdwan District. We stayed there for several months. To one who had been brought up amidst the dirt and dust of a large and crowded town like Calcutta, the change to village-life was most agreeable. Bengal villages were not then so many death-traps, as they have since become owing to Malaria. We greatly benefited by this

visit. This scourge which has made life in many of the villages of Bengal almost an impossibility without sacrifice of health and strength, has done the people infinite harm. It has deprived them of the advantages of their old village-life, with its health-giving surroundings and opportunities, its cheap and wholesome food and its simple ways and manners. The enforced migration to Calcutta has neither improved the physique of the people nor added to their comforts. Their ancestors in their unreformed village-homes were on the whole better off than they are now, inspite of all the appliances of civilization. Bengal's blood tribute to Malaria is a very heavy one indeed and it is still growing! Alas no serious attempt to arrest its fell progress seems to be in sight! What a pity!

AT COLLEGE

To prosecute my collegiate education, I joined the Presidency College at Calcutta. This was in January 1866. The transition from what was at the time a small private school to the first educational institution in the Province was an event in my life. I found myself under new influences and was stirred with new ideas, hopes and aspirations. Here I made the acquaintance of U. N. Das,* eldest son of Babu

* I had another friend while in College, Babu Jogesh Chandra Dey, who breathed his last on the 18th of February, 1920, at the age of 69. We both had joined Vidya Sagar Mahasaya's School at the same time and soon became great friends. The friendship thus contracted in early life was maintained all through our College career and after life, though we had to part after we finished our education, he joining the

Srinath Das, the distinguished Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. He (U. N. Das) was a most gifted young man, though owing to certain causes, which it would be painful to relate, his career was a most unfortunate one and his life had a sad ending. Young as I then was, my mind was just forming and was in a condition to imbibe new ideas. U. N. Das by his example greatly fostered in me a desire to store my mind with all that is best and noblest in the Literature and Science of England. He also during the course of frequent talks and discussions set before me

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Calcutta High Court and I coming to these Provinces. Later our relations became closer owing to two marriages between our families. He was the eldest son of Babu Shama Charan Dey, one of David Hare's distinguished students and the first Indian to be appointed Assistant Comptroller General. On referring to my diary which I used to keep for sometime while in College, I find that in January 1872, Shama Charan Babu was asked to go to England to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Financial affairs. This Committee was appointed at the instance of that great friend of India, Henry Fawcett. Mr. Fawcett specially asked the Government that Shama Charan Babu should be sent for from India to give evidence before the Committee, so great was the reputation he had established as an authority on Indian Finance. Unfortunately, partly owing to advanced age but principally because of the strong prejudice which then existed in Hindu society against sea voyage, he could not go. Neither could Babu Kristo Das Paul, the eminent editor of the "Hindu Patriot," nor Raja Degambar Mittra of the British Indian Association, then the foremost political organization in India. The "Patriot" strongly urged that the Committee might be converted into a Royal Commission which should come out to India to take evidence. This did not take place. But I am digressing. The house of Babu Shama Charan Dey was the meeting place of many distinguished men of the time. I used to be almost daily there with my friend Jogesh Chandra and used to see there Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidya Sagar, Pandit Tara Nath Tarka Vachaspati, the world-renowned Sanskrit grammarian, Babu Raj Narain Bose of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, our Professor, Babu Peary Charan

a high ideal of life, a life of strenuous self-sacrifice for the public good. There was a great deal of intellectual activity in our college life. We did not mix much in politics, though we took an intelligent interest in the events of the day. We gave a good deal of our attention to the discussion of religious, moral and social subjects. We also took much interest in the religious revival consequent on Babu Kesub Chandra Sen's appearance as leader of the progressive Brahmos. I used often to attend his lectures, as also those of the Rev. Lal Behari Dey, between whom and Babu Kesub Chandra Sen there went on for long a

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Sarkar, Babu Dina Bundhu Mitter, author of Nil Darpan and many others. Many a political and social questions which agitated the country in those days used to be discussed at these meetings, for every body respected Shama Charan Babu for his thoughtfulness and wide knowledge of affairs The traditions of the house in this respect were kept up by Jogesh Chandra. The graduates and under-graduates of our College found his place a convenient centre, the house being opposite the then College building, where to meet for common purposes. I may mention among those who used to be there, Sir Rash Behari Ghose and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. Jogesh Chandra inherited his father's suavity of manners and high character and to his hospitable roof every body was welcome. He practised in the High Court for forty-seven years and although as a lawyer he could not be said to have been in the first rank, it would have been impossible to find his superior any where in professional fairness and rectitude. He commanded the respect of the honourable judges, his colleagues at the Bar and the litigant public. At his death, the judges of the Court paid high tribute to his probity, and sense of duty, Sir Asutosh adding that he had lost in him a friend. In these days, when individualistic forces are disrupting joint families, his family has been an exception. His father and uncle were a joint family and after their death, the family consisting of brothers and cousins with their wives and children continued to live joint. It was Jogesh Chandra's personality which enabled this to be done; for he was an ideal *Karta* according to our old ideas, fair, generous and impartial in his conduct and attitude towards all.

sort of intellectual duel regarding the comparative merits of Christianity and Brahmoism. Similarly I was interested in the widow marriage agitation of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and the temperance movement of Babu Peary Charan Sircar. The last was one of our Professors and was greatly loved and respected by us. In everything he taught he set before us a high ideal of life and I can still call to mind his soul-stirring lectures and how eagerly I used to hang on his words. I may mention here an incident, which is interesting as showing the character of these two men. It was well-known at the time that Vidyasagar Mahashay had spent a fortune in advancing the cause of widow-marriage and had on that account run into debt. Babu Peary Charan was a great friend of his and with a view to help him, he quietly and without letting him know anything about it, opened a subscription list. We, his (Peary Babu's) students, eagerly took up the matter and raised a considerable sum among ourselves. When, however, the money was offered to Vidyasagar Mahashay he indignantly refused to accept it and severely taxed his friend for meddling in his private affairs. In vain was it explained that it was no private affair but a matter which deeply affected the cause he had at heart. He could not be induced to take the money and it was, I believe, utilized for some other public object. Peary Charan Babu associated us, his students, with another good work. In 1867, there was famine in Orissa.

The Government failed to give the suffering people relief and Calcutta was overrun with starvelings from the distressed tracts. Babu Peary Charan started several *Annya Chatras* to feed the famished people and we helped him both with money and our services in organising and managing these institutions. Many lives were thus saved.

We had our College Clubs, in which we discussed various matters. I always took part in these discussions. Conducted on sound principles, they help to form a habit of close thinking and accurate reasoning.

Our College had a fine library and we were allowed to take advantage of it. My plan of study was not to confine myself within the four corners of the text books but taking the subjects they treated as ground-work, to study the best authors dealing with the same or cognate subjects. I used to spend a considerable portion of my time in the College Library. I also used to utilise my scholarships, which I enjoyed throughout my College career, in buying works of noted authors. We had some excellent and sympathetic professors. Our relations with them were cordial. They loved us and we loved them. This was specially the case with our Principal, Mr. Sutcliffe. He was like a father to us and treated us as his children. It is said this happy state of things no longer exists. I do not know who is to blame, the students or the professors, perhaps both. Anyhow, if this is a fact, it is a most unfortunate fact. For here

in the College, if anywhere, our young men, who are hereafter to be our men of light and leading, should learn to love and respect the members of the ruling class. In after life many adverse influences unfortunately come into play, which tend to sour the relations between the rulers and the ruled. But in the calm and serene atmosphere of a College, where the one absorbing occupation of the teachers should be to impart and of the students to imbibe, England's best and most cherished gift to India, namely, her noble Literature and Science, race-antagonism and those baser feelings, which take their rise from race-pride or race-hatred, should find no breeding ground.

MARRIAGE WHILE AT COLLEGE

I was married while I was in the second year, reading for the First Arts. My marriage took place on the 15th day of Phalgun of the Sambat year 1271, March 1867. My wife was the eldest daughter of Babu Radhika Prasad Ghose and grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) of Babu Shib Chandra Deb of Konnagar. The former was one of the first batch of successful students of the Civil Engineering College and was at the time attached to the Public Works Department of the Central Provinces. My wife was born in the house of her maternal grand-father and was brought up by him. He was a noble character. He was one of the distinguished students of the old Hindu College and had at the time retired after long and meritorious service under the Govern-

ment. He spent his retirement in good works. He established in his native village, Konnagar, a Brahmo Samaj, a school for boys, a school for girls, a public library and a Homeopathic Dispensary. Though old in years, there were few young men who could equal him in energy, enthusiasm and devotion in promoting the public good. He was a devout Brahmo and exemplified in his daily life the highest ideals of all good religions. My wife was educated in her grandfather's Girls' School and was brought up in his faith. My parents were orthodox Hindus and her entrance into our family caused some embarassment, but not so far as I was personally concerned. I had already come under the influence of the great religious upheaval consequent on the appearance of Babu Kesub Chandra Sen as a religious reformer and my marriage gave an additional momentum to the influences which were working in me. My mind was at the time in a state of transition and I had not come to hold any fixed opinions on such a tremendously difficult subject as religion. I found in my young wife a companion, who sympathised with me and appreciated the ideals which were then gradually shaping themselves in me. The example of Babu Shib Chandra Deb's noble life was also of incalculable and inestimable benefit to me in the formation of my mind and character. I took great pains to continue my wife's education and used to give her lessons after we had retired for the night. For, according to our social customs, I could not meet her during the day and in

the presence of the elders of the family. We have now passed through life together for over 38 years. We have had many joys, these have been intensified by our enjoying them together. We have had also many sorrows, some severe and, as it seemed to us at the time, crushing. But even in the hour of our intensest sufferings, we have found consolation and peace of mind, by sharing them together. Above all her firm faith in God's Infinite Goodness has taught me to look upon the trials of life as so many lessons to purify the soul and to draw us nearer to Him.

My College life covered a period of six years. I worked hard and denied myself many of the ordinary pleasures of life in order to devote myself to my studies. I had inherited a rather weak constitution but I made the most of my time and power of work, and, by keeping regular hours, I was able to study a good deal. I paid great attention to my health, I used to take regular walks, morning and evening; and as my College was at some distance from my house and I also walked there and back, this gave me all the physical exercise I needed. We had not in those days the various games, which now enliven the life of our students and relieve the strain on their brain. I passed out of my College in February 1872 after obtaining the degrees of Master of Arts in Mathematics and of Bachelor of Law. Altogether my college life was a happy one. It fills me even now after a lapse of 33 years, in which many joys and sorrows have crowded together, with

pleasant and inspiring memories. My favourite subject in the College was Mathematics. I took great delight in the solution of mathematical problems. This gave me the habit of mental concentration, a habit which has been of great benefit to me in all the occupations I have engaged myself in since leaving College. Light science had also a great fascination for me. In those days there were not the facilities, which students now have, to study science. Father Lafont, the well-known Science Professor of the St. Xavier's College, used to give popular lectures in Physics once or twice a week at 8 p. m. to a select body of paying students in his College Laboratory. I used regularly to attend his lectures. I may mention here that Justice Dwarkanath Mitra was also one of those who attended these lectures.

I may state in connection with my College life that I narrowly missed an opportunity to finish my education in England. The success of our College associates, Messrs. R. C. Dutt and B. L. Gupta, at the Indian Civil Service had inspired me with a strong desire to go to England with a view to compete at that examination. Just at that time the Government had instituted a State Scholarship for students desiring to study in England. The scholarship was to be competed for and I was one of the candidates. There was only one other competitor with me and I had good hopes of success. The examination was to have taken place on a Monday in January 1870 but on the preceding Wednesday a

Notification appeared in the Calcutta Gazette abolishing the scholarship. I had studied hard both for the above examination as also in preparing myself for the Civil Service and my disappointment was at that time keen. Looking back I do not regret that I missed the chance of entering the Civil Service, though I must confess I have never been able to look upon the action of the Government otherwise than as not fair to us, the two candidates for the scholarship.

RADICAL LEAGUE

In 1871-72, U. N. Das had established an Association to which he gave the rather highsounding name of "Radical League." He had just been married to a widow and was editing a daily newspaper, called the "Indian Post." His ambition was to be a social as well as a political reformer. I was a member of the League and so also were many of my College associates. My object in referring to the League is to record a good act it was able to do. The Progressive Brahmos headed by Babu Kesub Chandra Sen were moving the Legislature at the time to pass a Brahmo Marriage Act, as they objected to be married according to Hindu rites and a marriage under the special form instituted by them was considered of doubtful legality.

CIVIL MARRIAGE ACT, 1872

The "Radical League" started a movement to have a "Civil Marriage Act," such as would afford relief to all who might object to be married according to the rites of the various recognised religious com-

munities, such as Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Parsees, Christians &c. I was deputed by the League to wait on the Legal Member, Sir Fitz James Stephen, to explain to him the position taken up by the League. The representation of the League prevailed and a purely Civil Marriage Act was passed. The services done by the League in this matter were referred to by the Law Member in his speech in Council in appreciative terms. In seeking their fortunes, the leading members of the League one by one left Calcutta and it soon ceased to exist.

ENROLLED AS A VAKIL

In April 1872, I got myself enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. I had then just completed my 21st year. As the Bar in those days was not over-crowded, I believe, I would have got on in course of time, if I had remained attached to the High Court. But I had already become the father of two children and was very anxious to earn my own livelihood and cease to be a burden on my kind father.

PRACTICE IN JABBULPORE

In July 1872, I accordingly went to Jabbulpore, which place I had come to know in the previous year, having gone and stayed there for about two months as Headmaster of the local aided high school (Hitkarini Sobha School). It had suited my health, which had been much shattered by the hard labours of a rather strenuous college life. I had to get myself admitted as a local pleader, as the Central Provinces

were not under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. The certificate permitting me to plead was issued on the 10th of July 1872. The Commissioner was the highest local judicial officer and I called on him to pay him my respects. He received me kindly and the first thing he told me was that he hoped I would not be like the local pleaders but would uphold the honour of the profession. I knew nothing of the local Bar and all I could say was that I would do my best to earn his approbation. I may say this advice given in a fatherly way made a great impression on me. This officer. Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Grant, became later on our Judicial Commissioner and then Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In one of the annual judicial reports he said, referring to me and another Bengalee friend of mine, who was a Vakil as well as a Central Provinces pleader like me, that we were "very highly qualified." I had great initial difficulties to contend with. I was not received very kindly by my colleagues at the Bar and my youthful appearance was a disqualification with clients. However, I plodded on and was able to secure some practice. In 1873 I went to Saugor in connection with a case. I thought it my duty to call on the Deputy Commissioner. I was made to stand in the verandah by the peon in attendance. My card was taken in and I could hear the gentleman shout to the peon that I could not be granted the honour of *Mulakat*. I did not wait for the peon to deliver the message but at once left the place. I was new to the

world. I had received nothing but kind treatment from my college professors and this was a novel experience to me. For years after this I never visited an European Officer, for I could not be sure of the treatment I might receive.

AT NAGPUR

I soon made up my mind to move to Nagpur, the seat of the local High Court. I came to Nagpur in August 1874. Unlike Jabbulpore, Nagpur had a powerful Bar and as I was a perfect stranger in a strange land and was only imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country, the initial difficulties were even greater than at Jabbulpore and I had to struggle very hard to get a footing at the Bar. By and by, I happened to be engaged in a few difficult cases as the colleague of some of the leading members of the Bar. I studied these cases most carefully and was soon allowed to take the lead. One of them, locally known as the Munshi's case, I conducted up to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner and won it. This success assured my position at the Bar. After that I had no trouble in getting on and I may well claim to have gained the confidence both of Judges and clients. I have in all practised before twelve Judicial Commissioners. It has always been a rule with me to study with the utmost care first the facts and then the law of every case I take in hand. I do not take up a case in which there is not in my judgment a fair hope of success. This has been my rule from the very outset of my career. But whatever

the nature of the case, though I try to do the best I can for my client, I have never considered it a part of my duty to swerve even by a hair's breadth from the path of rectitude and honesty. When I accept a brief, I do not bind myself to advocate the the cause of the client at the sacrifice of honesty in dealing with facts, of reasonableness in advancing arguments and of truthfulness in the general conduct of the case. A strict adherence to this rule during a professional career now extending over 33 years has not shaken the faith of clients in me. As for Judges, I believe it has made me popular with them. For it greatly facilitates their work if they are able to trust the advocates pleading before them. An advocate is no doubt bound to be a special pleader, but he need not necessarily be a dishonest or unreasonable special pleader. And when Judges find both sides represented by professional men animated by this principle, their work is very much lightened and there necessarily springs up a relation of mutual trust and respect. I have always kept up my study of law. I carefully note every case, Indian or English, which I read and I have found this practice most helpful. At the beginning I used to write down in full my arguments, so that I might not miss any point and might put my case in the most effective and logical way and without unduly lengthening my speech. This practice has been of great benefit to me and now I can conduct even intricate cases with a few stray notes. Altogether I may well claim to have attained a

considerable measure of success in my profession. Apart altogether from the question of the acquisition of pecuniary gain, I have found it a very interesting profession. It has brought me in contact with men of all classes and I have been able to learn a great deal of the manners and customs of the people, their ways of living, their methods of work, their economic condition and of the internal workings of their mind, their opinions of public men and measures. The experience thus gained has been very helpful to me in various ways.

MY FIRST JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER

I do not desire to record my opinion of any particular person I have met with in my professional career. I deem it, however, necessary to say a few words about my first Judicial Commissioner, Colonel Hector Mackenzie. He was Sir Richard Temple's Secretary and his right-hand man in settling and organising the newly constituted Administration. He afterwards became Judicial Commissioner and held that office from 1870 to 1877. He was not a trained lawer but he was otherwise an ideal Judge, permeated by an intense love of justice, sparing no pains to arrive at the truth and strong and unyielding in upholding the honour and prestige of his high office. In his time questions relating to the effect of an award of proprietary right at Settlement used often to arise. Of the two conflicting views, he held the opinion that the award did not create any new right as under a gift from the Crown but merely confirmed pre-exist-

ing rights, only adding to them some qualities they did not possess before. The Local Government was strongly opposed to this view as it was thought that it ran counter to the policy of Government in making the proprietary Settlement. Attempts were made to reason Col. Mackenzie into the view of the Local Government but as one who perhaps knew as much of that policy as any executive officer, he declined to subordinate his judgment to that of the executive. This led to some friction. Later on, when he declined to uphold convictions in some police cases considered by the Local Government to be of vital importance for the maintenance of peace and order, the friction became accentuated. The Chief Commissioner at last reported Col. Mackenzie to the Government of India as failing to co-operate loyally with him in upholding law and order. The result was that Col. Mackenzie was made to retire. The members of the Nagpur Bar organised a demonstration in his honour, not in a spirit of opposition to the Government but in recognition of his high qualities as a Judge. In fact we were not supposed to know the secret history of Col. Mackenzie's retirement and so far as the public were concerned, he retired in the ordinary course of service owing to failing eye-sight. It fell to me to prepare the address and present it to him. We also raised a fund among ourselves and established a scholarship in his name. It is still awarded to the best student of the Neill City High School. Col. Mackenzie would appear to be still alive, for I saw

his name among the subscribers to the Punjab Earthquake Relief Fund. It is seldom that one comes across such a high-souled Englishman. His love for the Indians was deep and sincere. He treated them as if he was one of them. Many Englishmen are good to Indians but even the best among them are seldom able to forget in their dealings with Indians that they belong to a conquering race. Col. Mackenzie met his Indian friends on terms of perfect equality and lost none of the prestige of his position by so doing. If anything, he thereby enhanced it and made himself loved and respected the more.* The popularity of British rule would be increased many-fold if more of such men were found in the ranks of the English administrators of India. It is indeed a thousand pities that this simple truth is so seldom perceived and so seldom acted up to. How much the difficult task of governing a people alien in race and religion, manners and customs, would be smoothed over if it were otherwise. For the Indians are a grateful race. Even a little kindness warms their heart. But even this kindness often times they fail to receive. More often than not, even the highest among them are made to feel that they belong to an inferior and conquered race. I venture to think this need never be. It should not be understood that personally I have

* Colonel Mackenzie left a legacy of three quarter of a lakh for the benefit of the people of the Central Provinces. This munificent gift has been distributed among various charitable and educational institutions.

any complaint to make. As a rule I only visit officers with whom I have official matters to transact or subjects affecting the public interest to talk over. And I have nothing to complain of in this respect so far as I am concerned and this, though I have had often to present and support views opposed to the official view. I have found that opinions honestly entertained and put forward with moderation, and reasonableness receive due consideration, and whether accepted or not, such a course of conduct has not in my case marred the cordiality of my relations with officials. But I am talking of the general trend of opinion among my countrymen. From what I have heard and seen, I feel bound to say that this opinion is not by any means altogether ill-founded.

REFORM OF JUDICIAL SERVICE

When I first came to the Province in 1872, the practice was to appoint Judges and Magistrates from the ranks of the higher ministerial officials. Most of these men were brought up in the corrupt training ground of the *amla* class. The result was what was to be expected. Promoted to the Bench, many of these men could not rise superior to their past training and tradition, and corruption crept in. Their knowledge of law and procedure also left much to be desired. Perhaps this latter would not have mattered much if it had been possible to keep the Province out of the sphere of operation of the progress which the whole Empire was making towards an uniform, elaborate, and highly technical system of law and pro-

cedure. Perhaps the people would have been all the better for a simpler system suiting their simple wants and requirements. But as this could not be, and as the Province soon ceased to be "Non-Regulation" and became assimilated to the rest of the Empire in the matter of law and procedure, it became essential to have a duly qualified body of judges to administer the laws. This the judiciary of the time was not. The old system of recruitment was in full force when the Public Service Commission sat and it was defended by some of the officers in their evidence before it. The much-needed reform came with the assumption of the Government of the Province by Sir Antony Macdonnel. By that time graduates in Arts and Law had begun to come out of the newly-established local Colleges and he utilized them in making his appointments in the judicial department. The reform thus initiated has gone on. The Civil judiciary has been completely separated from the criminal judiciary. Nobody is now appointed a Judge who is not a graduate in law. A similar rule is also generally observed in making appointments in the Executive Service. The result has been that we now very seldom hear of corruption. The Judges now are also better-trained and better able to administer the law. If this system is rigidly maintained, as I earnestly hope it will be, I have no doubt the judiciary of the Central Provinces will at no distant date attain the high standard prevailing in Bengal and Bombay. There has been a corresponding improvement in the Bar.

AS JUDGE OF THE SMALL CAUSE COURT

On 24th January 1885, I received the following urgent telegram from the Chief Secretary to the Administration:—"Would you like to act for four months as Small Cause Court Judge, Nagpur. Pay One Thousand. Telegraph reply." This took me by surprise and also placed me in a somewhat embarrassing position. The post had till then been reserved for members of the Covenanted Service, and was not open to Indians. At the same time, I would, by accepting the appointment, lose pecuniarily and my practice would be dislocated. But considering that my acceptance might hereafter mean the throwing open of the post to my countrymen, I accepted it. Though appointed for four months, I was kept on nearly for two years. The work presented no difficulties. I not only knew all about the various phases of the litigation in the Small Cause Court but was also fairly well up in the details of the ministerial work. I made it a point to do all my work myself and rely as little as possible on my subordinates. I gave a general order to bring all applicants before me with their petitions as soon as they were presented, and I disposed of them at once, as far as that was possible. This some-what increased my work, but, by keeping regular hours and by prompt and steady disposal, I was able to grapple with it. I had the satisfaction of smoothing the path of justice to the litigants, especially the poor among them. On reverting to the Bar, I found my old practice waiting for me.

AS GOVERNMENT ADVOCATE

In January 1888, I was appointed Government Advocate. My duties were principally those of a legal adviser to the Administration and I was besides to represent the local Government in Civil Cases in Nagpur and in important criminal cases, in which my services might be specially requisitioned. The office was a newly created one, and, though the remuneration offered was not in keeping with the duties to be discharged, yet, in view of the importance of the post, I accepted it. I found the work of considerable responsibility and at times exacting. But I never failed to do it with the utmost care and punctuality. At the same time, I always gave my opinion in strict accordance with law and equity as I understood them and without regard for the susceptibilities of any particular person whose acts and measures I had to consider. I had occasionally to deal with cases of violation of law resulting from excess of executive zeal. My opinions, whatever the subject, carried weight. The following extracts from a speech by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, at the time our Chief Commissioner, at a public meeting held at the Hislop College, Nagpur, on the 30th of August 1890 would show that my work was valued:—"Let us by all means have a good Native Bar." "An institution which can boast such names as Telang in Bombay, or Romesh Chunder Mitter in Calcutta and let me add, as Bipin Krishna Bose in Nagpur, stands in no need of apologist or defender," (*Nagpur and Berar Times*,

6th September, 1890, page 3). Mr. now Sir Foster, Stevens, at one time our judicial Commissioner and afterwards one of the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, thus wrote of me in one of his official letters, a copy of which was forwarded to me:—"Mr. Stevens thinks it very desirable that the Government should retain on any reasonable terms the services of so well-qualified and high-minded a practitioner as Mr. Bose for its most important legal business." (Letter No. 168, dated 15th January, 1896 from Registrar to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.) I continued to hold the office till December 1899, when I had to resign it on my being appointed a non-official member for the Central Provinces of the Governor-General's Council for making Laws.

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY IN NAGPUR

At Jabbulpore I used to help in the management of the local school, of which, as already stated, I was for a short time Headmaster. There was a small community of Brahmos, mostly Bengalees, in the place. Without enrolling myself as a member of the Samaj, I used to join in the devotions. I must confess, however, there was not much intellectual activity at Jabbulpore. It was quite different at Nagpur. I found the community, which was leavened with a considerable number of educated men from Bombay and Poona, occupying a much higher intellectual plane. There was at the time I came an influentially supported Debating Club with a public Library attached. I joined it and took an active part

in all its proceeding. I remember my first set speech was on Mill's "Subjection of Women." I studied the subject with care and spoke with some notes to help me for an hour or so. On another occasion I read a paper on the growth and progress of moral ideas. In the discussion which followed Mr., now Sir Andrew,* Fraser took a leading part. He advocated the theory of intuition as opposed to the utilitarian theory which I supported. In this way there was much of intellectual life in Nagpur and I was glad to have come to a place where I found many opportunities of making myself useful. There was an excellent High School managed by a Committee of Indian gentlemen and I soon joined the management. I used every Saturday morning to attend the school and teach the boys Mathematics and Physics, subjects, which had great attractions for me. I also made myself useful in helping to draw up representations to Government on public questions. Some im-

* Sir Andrew Fraser has recently died. The news of his death was received in this country while our local Legislative Council was in Session. I thus referred to the subject in a speech I made at its sitting on the 17th of March 1919. "The "sad intelligence you have just communicated to us, has come "to me as a shock. I knew Sir Andrew almost from the day of "his arrival in these Provinces and I remained on terms of "closest intimacy with him till he left India for good for his "home beyond the seas. His warm sympathy for the people of "these Provinces, his earnest solicitude for their good, and the "whole hearted devotion he displayed in advancing their best "interests, very early endeared him to them, and his after "career only deepened the feeling of love and respect they felt "for him.....To us of Nagpur his memory is specially dear, "as he passed the best part of his official career here among us, "He was Sir John Morris's Secretary when in 1883, the constitu- "tion of the Municipal Committee was altered in accordance

portant memorials were in this way prepared by me. I may mention one or two.

THE NEW C. P. TENANCY LAW

In 1880-81, a new Tenancy Law, superseding Act X of 1859, which at the time constituted the Law relating to the relations between landlords and tenants, was proposed for the Province. It was a most tangled measure and threatened to introduce some revolutionary changes, entirely breaking with the past. The leading citizens of Nagpur, headed by Rao Sahib Madho Rao Chitnavis, father of my valued and intimate friend, Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, and Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee, entrusted me with the task of drawing up a memorial on the

" with the principles of Local Self-Government. He was his " Chief's right-hand man in carrying out this beneficent policy. " The Province will ever remember with the deepest gratitude " his great and most successful fight against the devastating " famine of 1899-1900. It was the year of the most grievous " failure of crops throughout India within living memory and " our Province was the hardest hit of all Provinces. And the " measures of relief he introduced were as generous as they " were far-reaching in their effect in combating the terrible " havoc caused. And this policy, the key-note of which was to " subordinate every other consideration to the supreme consi- " deration of the saving of human life, he carried out in the " teeth of opposition in high quarters where the opinion prevail- " ed that utmost economy should be the governing principle of " all famine relief, the chief among the high officers who held " this opinion being Sir Antony (now Lord) Macdonnell. The " result was an achievement of which any government might " well be proud. It is a melancholy satisfaction to me that I, " who knew him so well and was associated with him so closely " in many of his good works, am able to-day to add my humble " voice to the tribute that you, Sir, have paid to the memory of " a great and good ruler of these Provinces."

Sir Andrew, in an article he published in the well-known American Weekly, "*The Outlook*,' in August 1909 and a copy of which he sent to me, thus referred to our relations.

subject, and I did so. Mr. A. Howell, who was then Commissioner of Hoshangabad, thus wrote to me, "I am much obliged for the pamphlet, which seems a very clear, able and temperate statement of the case from the landlord's point of view." The soundness of some of my criticisms was admitted and the Bill modified. As the memorial was a some-what one-sided document, written principally from the landlord's point of view, I drew up a note, putting the other side before the Government. Among other points, I advocated conferral on every tenant of a permanent, heritable, but not transferable, right of occupancy, subject to payment of fair rent. Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Crosthwaite, who was at the time our Judicial Commissioner, acknowledged my note in the following terms:—

"Different in some respects has been my friendship with "Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, the Government Advacate of the "Central Provinces. Sir Bipin and I became known to one "another over thirty years ago, when we were both young men "in Nagpur. We became fast friends, as two Europeans might "have done. He was a practising lawyer, and I a Government "officer. We had little work in common, but we had common "tastes. We were first drawn together over the consideration "of Mill's "Utilitarianism" in a literary society. After that "we did a good deal of study and of social work together; and "gradually we became close friends. I cannot describe my "feelings for him, or what I believe to have been his feelings "for me, or our relations to one another, in any other language "than that used in describing friendships in the West. I am "unaware of any difference in kind between my friendship with "Sir Bipin Krishna Bose and my friendship with one of my own "countrymen. We have known each other's private concerns "and secret thoughts; and we have trusted each other fully. "We are still friends, though we are now far separated and "can no longer enjoy the perfectly confidential talks we "used to have about matters public or private which con-"cerned us."

"My dear Mr. Bose, I am much obliged to you for your additional notes on the Tenancy Bill. I quite agree with all you say as to the five years' rule. It will be a ruinous measure. The problem is to secure the tenants from capricious ejectment and from oppressive rents. I have thought about it a great deal and I am convinced that any rule which fixes a *period*, must work to the tenant's detriment." This was exactly the view I had put forward. I may mention here that the other day I was agreeably surprised to receive the following kind letter from Sir Charles, who is now in the India Council:—

"It is many years since we used to work together in the Central Provinces. I have watched your career with great pleasure and interest. I was certain that you ought to rise high not only on account of your ability but because of your scrupulous honour and integrity.....You will I trust keep your health and live to do much more work for your country."

I submitted several other notes during the progress of the measures through its various stages. I also wrote the memorial of the Malguzars of Nagpur on the Bill to codify the Law relating to Land Revenue and the memorial of the people of Nagpur on the question of dismemberment of the Province. In various other ways I helped in the formation of a healthy public opinion, which while recognising the good the country was deriving from the present Government, attempted to criticise its measures in a spirit of fairness and moderation. In this I largely succeeded. Later on,

I found in my esteemed friends, Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, Mr. Bapu Rao Dada and others, powerful and active co-adjutors. The result has been satisfactory, at least to my mind. The spirit of acrimonious opposition, which elsewhere to our infinite misfortune prevents the maintenance of healthy relations between the rulers and the ruled, does not exist in Nagpur. How essential such a relation is for our ultimate good is seldom rightly realized. Our people are apt to forget that British rule in India is essentially a despotic rule, though our rulers, partly from motives of benevolence and partly for reasons of far-seeing statesmanship, which aims at making that rule rest securely on the good will and willing submission of the people themselves, have given us some of the rights and privileges of a Constitutional Government. Such being the real position, it is in my judgment, a mistaken and short-sighted policy to be always discussing government acts and measures, as if the Government is insidiously trying to take away with one hand what it has ostensibly given with the other. Even if it were true, which I believe it is not, that our Government is an organised hypocrisy, I question the expediency of proclaiming the fact in season and out of season. We loosen thereby the foundation upon which our rights rest. For once it is established that British rule is an unmitigated despotism, untempered by any consideration for the good of the people and resting solely on selfishness and greed of power and racial domination, all our security

for fair dealing and just treatment at once melts into thin air. I therefore say that a heavy responsibility rests on those who profess to lead the nation,—on our news-papers and pulilic-men. We must bear in mind that we have no power behind us beyond the power of representation by memorials and public agitation. If this our only weapon is weakened by any false move, we lose the whole position. It is far otherwise in a free and self-governing country. We have thus to be more circumspect, a higher degree of self-restraint and self-abnegation is essential to our success. Further, though my field of action has lain in an obscure corner of India, yet some useful lessons may perhaps be drawn from my experience, however humble and limited. From the very commencement of my public life, I have striven to make as my guiding principle a policy of reasonable compromise of disputed and debatable questions, of moderation and sobriety in language and conduct when criticising and opposing government acts and measures and above all, of harmonious co-operation, where practicable, with officers of Government in all that concerns the public weal. The result has been that we in Nagpur have been able to attain in the various spheres of public activity in which we have been engaged during the past quarter of a century, a measure of success, which has by no means been inconsiderable. I believe the present unsatisfactory state of things will not last. Such friction as now exists was perhaps to some extent unavoidable. The gift of the priceless treasures of

English thought embalmed in the Literature of England has been her best and noblest gift to India. But it was inevitable that such a measure should awaken a new life and create new aspirations. For it was impossible that Indian youths should be fed on the noblest truths of modern thought and modern Science and not be influenced by them. This was fully foreseen by those great English statesmen who gave English education to India. But such a sudden transition from a condition of stagnation to one of violent agitation is bound to produce as its temporary result an abnormal condition of affairs. And our rulers of the present day should not therefore lose faith in the noble and beneficent policy of their great predecessors and despair of its final success. Our people will soon come to realize that a policy of ceaseless opposition for the sake of opposition does not pay, that what has cost even Englishmen in England years of previous preparation and training to gain, cannot be had in a day by Indians in India, that Indian interests must to some extent be, as a matter of practical politics, subordinated to English interests and that perfect and absolute equality in everything, though an ideal to be striven for, is difficult of attainment under present conditions. When this knowledge comes, there will come along with it a condition of equilibrium and the present strained relations will then of themselves disappear. In the meantime, it behoves every true lover of his country to help to bring about a better understanding between the two communities.

To retard even by a single word or deed the advert of the happy day when they will understand one another better and see the good that is in both is not merely a blunder but a crime. *

NEILL CITY HIGH SCHOOL

I have already said I soon joined the Managing Committee of the local High School, now known as the "Neill City High School," after a popular officer of the Province. In 1876 I was appointed its Secretary and have held the office over since. The School has grown and improved very largely within these 30 years, so that it is now acknowledged on all hands to be one of the best managed institutions in the Province. It was established in April 1869. In 1862, the department of education was first organized in the Central Provinces. Before that education in these parts had only a nominal existence, indigenous village Schools, where education of the most elementary type was given, were scattered here and there but even their number was limited. With the establishment of a special department, various measures were taken to create a desire for education and to call forth private enterprise as an auxiliary to the efforts of the State. It was at this juncture that at the initiation

* India of to-day (1920) is not the India of 1906 when this was written. The angle of vision, as has been aptly said, has now completely changed. We have to-day a self-conscious awakened nation pulsing with a new life. The struggles of the past have borne fruit and we are on the eve of great events, great in their actualities and greater still in their potentialities. Whatever the present ferment, I live in the firm hope that out of the molten furnace will emerge a new and better India that will take her legitimate place in the British Empire.

of the then Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, Col. Fenton, some Indian gentlemen belonging to the Bombay Presidency, and who were then serving the Central Provinces Administration in various capacities, combined together to establish a school at Nagpur to impart education in English. They acted in co-operation with the gentry of Nagpur and from the very outset the school promised well. It was opened on the 1st of April 1869. It began with about 200 boys on its roll and with an income of Rs. 190 per month, a portion of which was contributed by Government.

When I took over charge as Secretary to the Managing Committee, the income was Rs. 4,920 per annum, of which the Government gave Rs. 2,280 as a grant-in-aid. The number on the roll was 261. At the present moment its annual income is a little less than Rs 13,000, the Government grant having remained at its old figure of Rs. 2,280. The number on the roll is nearly 600 including the branches. On several occasions I tried to raise the status of the school so as to have two F. A. Classes. But unfortunately I could not secure the sympathy of our Inspector General of Education, Mr. Browning, who apparently was disinclined to have a rival to his then newly established High School at Jabbulpore, which used to be largely fed by students from the Marathi speaking districts.

A COLLEGE AT NAGPUR

In 1883, Sir John Morris, for nearly 15 years Chief Commissioner of the Province and who as

Settlement Commissioner under Sir Richard Temple had helped to give to the people what proved on the whole a beneficent Settlement, retired from service. There was a general feeling among the Indian community, especially at Nagpur, that something should be done to commemorate his long connection with the Province. The general trend of opinion was to found some scholarships in his name. The School Committee, however, saw in this an opportunity to bring into fruition their long-cherished desire to give Nagpur a College. The time was ripe for it. In fact it was scarcely to the credit either of the Government or of the people that the first city in the Province should be without a college of its own and that its students should have to travel to distant provinces in order to secure collegiate education. It was primarily the duty of the State to supply the want but the Education Department of the time thought that it had discharged its duty in this respect by raising the status of the Government school at Jabbulpore, to that of a collegiate school teaching up to the F. A. Standard. The members of the School Committee accordingly spoke to some of their friends urging them to utilize the opportunity of Sir John Morris's retirement to have a College at Nagpur. He had always taken an interest in the school and so it was pointed out that an educational institution after his name would be a fitting memorial of his administration. Those consulted agreed, and the lead was taken by Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee. He

undertook to bring forward the proposal before the public meeting which it had been arranged to hold at the Public Rooms on the 4th of December 1882 to decide about the form of the memorial. The proposition was duly moved and as a practical proof of his earnestness, Rao Bahadur Bootee promised a subscription of Rs. 5,000. He was followed by Rao Sahib Madho Rao Chitnavis with a promise of Rs. 3,000. Mr. Rambhaji Rao* Mahadik, then an Extra Assistant Commissioner and an ardent friend of education, subscribed Rs. 1,000. A pleader present undertook to raise Rs. 3,000 among the members of the Nagpur Bar. The contagion spread and a large sum was subscribed on the spot. The officers present, when they saw the earnestness displayed, accepted the proposal and promised it their hearty support. All the four divisions in the Province were appealed to for aid, but Jabbulpore and Hoshangabad, while agreeing to raise money for a College, decided to give their collections to the Government High School at Jabbulpore so as to raise it to the status of a College. The Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions combined to have a fully equipped College at Nagpur. About one lac and three quarters were raised and invested in Government Securities. Liberal grants-in-aid were promised by the Government and the various local bodies in the two divisions and the establishment of the College

* Mr. Mahadik has left a legacy of Rs. nine thousand for the Neill City School. A scholarship after his name has been founded with it.

with an efficient staff was sanctioned. To manage it, a Society of the subscribers was formed and registered under Act XXI of 1860. A governing body as required by the Act was constituted. I became its Secretary. The College was opened in June 1885.

After the establishment of the College, the question arose where to locate it. It was temporarily housed in a building kindly lent by the Bhosla Raja of Nagpur. But it was ill-suited for a College and was accepted only as a make-shift. The Neill High School was located in a part of a building, which formerly had been the residence of Maharanee Baka Bai of the Bhosla Raj family. It was on the whole in a dilapidated condition and part of it was occupied by the boarders of the Government Normal School. The School Committee and the College Council applied to Sir Antony Macdonnel, then Chief Commissioner, to hand over the entire building to them for the purposes of the school and the college. He complied. They then set about raising money to reconstruct it so as to suit the wants of both the institutions. They got together about 16,000 rupees and with this, supplemented by a grant of Rs. 4,000 from the College funds, they reconstructed the whole building. I looked after the works myself, buying the materials direct from the people who made them and keeping accounts under my personal supervision I had the satisfaction of seeing a fine house, substantially and economically built, ready in the course of a year and a half. This was in 1892-94. With the progress of

time, however, the requirements have once more outgrown the accommodation available and it has become necessary to have an independent building for the College. The matter is under consideration. A College Hostel was also built. The money was raised under auspices of Sir Andrew Fraser, then Commissioner of this Division. The Government also gave a grant of Rs. 5,000. In 1887 a law department was added to the college. I acted as Honorary Law lecturer during the first year. After that two paid lecturers were appointed.

The College after this had a rather chequered career. After basking in the sun-shine of official favour for about two years, it came to be looked upon by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, then our Chief Commissioner, as "a Manufactory for superfluous B. As." He proposed in a note dated 14th May 1887 to close it and utilise its trust-fund on an engineering school for training overseers and an agricultural school for training Patwaris and Revenue Inspectors. He gave to his scheme the rather high-sounding title of a scheme to promote Technical Education. Those, however, who had laboured and subscribed for the College, could not see their way to accept Sir Alexander's proposal and the result was that all Government and local fund grants, except that by the Nagpur Municipal Committee, were, under his orders, withdrawn and the College left to shift for itself. I wrote at the time an article in the local newspaper, "Nyaya Sudha," pointing out the

objections to the Chief Commissioner's proposal and had a reprint of it widely circulated. It had, I believe, considerable effect in shaping public opinion. In spite of these adverse conditions, the College has continued to do useful work and many of its alumni are now in the public services of the Province. Fortunately for its future progress, the good work it had so long done with such inadequate resources and under so many difficulties, has attracted the attention of Government and it is about to receive substantial government aid to make it a first class institution. This is a great satisfaction to me. I had reviewed the history of the College in my speech at the sitting of the Supreme Legislative Council on 30th March, 1904 with a view to draw attention to the neglect of its duty by Government in the matter of collegiate education in the Central Provinces. I had said nothing about my personal share in the work, as being wholly uncalled for. But Sir Andrew Fraser, who knew the facts and who occupied a seat in the Council as Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in supporting my advocacy most generously spoke of me and my work in the following terms:—

"It was a great pleasure to me to listen to the story which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Bose had to tell us of the history of the Morris College in Nagpur. In respect of that College he tells us that some men "laboured hard and long." I need hardly say this is Mr. Bose's own modest way of hiding the fact that he, Mr. Bose, laboured hard and long for this College.

The work which he did, the energy he put into it, the patience and the devotion with which year after year he laboured for this College, have now been crowned with success as I believe." In letter No. 1140 dated 8th February, 1904 from the Second Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Government of India recommending substantial aid to the College, the following passage occurs,

".....It is surprising that with such small funds at its disposal the College should have been able to maintain its existence. That it has done so is mainly due to the energy and enterprise of the Honourable Rai Bahadur Bepin Krishna Bose, C.I.E., who is Secretary to the College Council."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN NAGPUR

On the promulgation of the Local Self-Government Resolution of Lord Ripon on 18th May, 1882, our then Chief Commissioner, Sir John Morris, began to devise means to give it full effect. He had, I believe, always been in favour of the policy which underlay the resolution. At Nagpur in the month of February, 1883, he invited some of the leading citizens to meet him at the Public Rooms. I was one of those invited. He explained to the assembled gentlemen that his object in calling them together was to enquire of them if they were ready to co-operate with his government in giving practical shape to Lord Ripons's resolution. For his own part, he said, he was prepared to withdraw the official element from the local Municipal Committee and hand over its

management to a non-official body, subject to official control from without. This was a surprise, though an agreeable surprise, to most of us. The matter was one of grave importance and demanded thoughtful consideration. For Nagpur is the premier town in the Province, the historic capital of the old Gond and Bhosla Kings, the first in population, in wealth, in industrial enterprise; in fact in everything that marks a progressive town; and the administration of its municipal affairs is alike a great trust and a great responsibility. We had a hasty consultation and gave a reply to the effect that we would do our duty to the best of our ability. Sir John Morris then asked me whether I would accept the chairmanship of the new Committee. I replied that I would prefer some better-qualified person to be chairman. He then enquired whether I would like to be Vice-Chairman or Secretary. I agreed to be Secretary. These preliminaries being settled, we dispersed and a Government resolution changing the constitution of the Committee soon appeared. I helped the then Municipal Secretary, Mr. Obbard, who afterwards was for a short time our Judicial Commissioner, to frame the new election rules. A few friends and myself formed ourselves into an informal Committee to choose qualified candidates for election and to help to get them elected. We had to adopt this course as there was then very little local public opinion in municipal matters such as has since come into existence, and the people could not be left to make wise selections, without some

extraneous help. We were favoured with a large measure of success and the first Committee under the new rules was a really representative body, composed of practical men, respected by their neighbours and enjoying their confidence. As Secretary, it devolved on me to bring the new organization into working order and I threw myself into the task with a whole-hearted devotion. It was just the kind of work I wanted to make myself useful to those among whom my lot was cast, and, having got it, I did not spare myself. I was of course greatly helped by my friends, by men like Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee, Mr. Gopal Hari Bhiday and Mr. Rambhaji Rao Mahadik. The last was the only official on the Committee and we specially asked for services to be lent to us. He was one of us in every public matter. Though the work was new to us, we found that there was nothing in it which could not be soon learnt and we set to work with a firm determination to deserve, if we could not actually achieve, success. It was admitted in the official report that the work did not suffer at our hands. I think it was something more. I think our management was, taken all in all, better than the management under the old *regime*. In view of their other multifarious duties, the Deputy Commissioner and the Assistant Commissioner in special charge were seldom in a position to give that close and constant attention to municipal work which was essential for its suceess. I do not deny that now and then an officer came, who took special interest in it;

but, speaking generally, the real work was left in the hands of the paid permanent officials. A committee of earnest men, possessed of thorough local knowledge and acting under a full sense of responsibility and determined to justify the trust reposed in them, was bound to do better. I give below an extract from the official report about our first year's work :—"The duties of the Secretary have been performed and very ably performed, by Mr. Bepin Krishna Bose, one of the nominated members. An excellent report, which is forwarded herewith, has been submitted by this gentleman. The Chief Commissioner will be able to see for himself by a perusal of the report how well the functions of the Secretary have been discharged by Mr. Bose." (Review of Municipal Reports for 1883-84 by the Chief Commissioner). I held the office of Secretary for nearly two years, but though towards the close of my second year of office, a paid Secretary was appointed, I practically remained in charge except as to out-door works for a year more, during which time the new Secretary served his apprenticeship. Even after that for several years I did much of the important work of the Secretary. Since the appointment of Mr. G. M. Chitnavis as President and Mr. Bapu Rao Dada as Vice-President, however, my work has been very much lightened. For they are devoted to their duties and have now thoroughly mastered all the details of the administration. I, of course, still give them such help as it is in my power to give. I am convinced that so long as Mr. Chit-

navis and Mr. Bapu Rao remain at the head of the Municipality, the work will not only be well done but will show yearly progress in every direction. I have recently prepared a twenty years' review of our administration of municipal affairs since its re-constitution in April 1883 and I give its concluding para below :—

"This then is the record of the work of the past twenty years. Whether it has been well done or ill-done, the decision must rest with those competent to judge. It is only claimed on behalf of the Committee that it has been done honestly and earnestly done and done with a sole eye to the public weal. But though much may have been done, much more yet remains to be done. For in this progressive age, there is no such thing as resting on one's oars. As time rolls on, new circumstances come into existence, which create new wants, demanding new remedial measures and these must be provided for, if we are not to be left behind. In fact, given the money and the opportunity, it is hardly possible to set any limit to the possibilities of improvement. But if any success is to be attained, strenuous labour must characterise and a spirit of devotion to the service of the public must animate the proceedings of all future Committees. But hard as they may strive, impatience of official control and rejection of official help and co-operation under a mistaken sense of independence, can never lead to success. Equally dangerous is a spirit of faction, an incapacity to

throw one's mind into the "common stock" and a failure to realize that compromise is the *sine qua non* of success in all "business of joint counsel." The evolution of the present state of things has involved struggles with many difficulties, sacrifice of much hard-earned leisure and expenditure of much thought and it will be a thousand pities if what has been gained at so much cost be lost by want of wisdom or decadence of public spirit on the part of the Committees of the future. It is to be earnestly hoped that this may never be and that the next twenty years would show a better record of work done and responsibilities recognised."

IN THE NAGPUR DISTRICT COUNCIL

As part of the scheme of Local Self-Government, District Councils to manage local funds were constituted at the same time that the Municipalities were popularised. I was nominated a member of the Nagpur District Council and am still on it. I cannot claim to have taken any special part in its work, though I have always attended its meetings with a fair degree of regularity. Much of the executive work of the Council is done by Government officials and its chief duty is to allocate funds for various works and to manage village schools.

On the 1st of June, 1888, the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred on me. The Administration's recommendation was, as stated in the official letter, based on my work as Government Advocate and in connection with the Municipality. I can honestly

say that not only had I never made the slightest attempt to secure the honour but my thoughts had never turned in that direction. There were only two Rai Bahadurs in the Province at the time and they were both men of great wealth and social status. It never entered my mind that the title would be given to a person like myself and its conferral was one of the greatest surprises of my life. I did not at once become aware of it as I had not looked at the Honours list. The news after it had appeared in the papers for some time, was brought to me one evening by my wife, who had heard of it at some friend's. I will not deny that the honour, coming as it did wholly unasked, gave me satisfaction. This was enhanced when I found that it gave pleasure to my old parents.

DUFFERIN FUND

A branch of the Dufferin Fund was established at Nagpur in December 1886 and I was appointed a member of the Provincial Committee of the Fund. I am still a member. It is a matter of complaint elsewhere among my country-men that most of the money belonging to the Fund is spent on European Lady Doctors. In my Province, the funds are mostly spent in giving medical relief and in training midwives and female doctors of the status of hospital assistants.

THE DISPENSARY COMMITTEE

I have been a member of the Dispensary Committee as a representative of the Municipality since its formation in 1892. It is a pleasure to me to work

in harmonious co-operation with officers of Government in promoting works of public charity and public beneficence like our Mayo Hospital and Dufferin Hospital and I have always taken a keen interest in them.

BAR ASSOCIATION AND LIBRARY

In 1893, I helped to form a Bar Association of the members of the Nagpur Bar. I am Secretary to the Association. I am trying to have a good Bar Library and have as a nucleus got together a number of useful books, some purchased and some presented to the Library. Many of the new members of the profession cannot afford to buy costly law books and a Bar Library will be helpful to them, besides being helpful to all in the ordinary course of business in Courts.

SEVENTH INDIAN CONGRESS

The seventh sitting of the Indian National Congress was held in Nagpur in December 1891. I was not one of those who had invited it. When, however, the final decision was arrived at, I joined my friends who were responsible for it and helped them as much as I could to give the distinguished visitors from various parts of India a fitting reception. I took charge of the sanitation and conservancy of the whole camp and of arrangements connected with the Bengal camp. I also supervised the camp where those who lived in European style, were housed. I did not speak at the Congress but prepared all the three speeches that were delivered by the Central

Provinces delegates. They were read exactly as they were written by me, except that one of the speakers introduced in his speech a few sentences to give it a literary finish. All the three speakers are now dead. I may say that I was at the time Government Advocate, but the Government of Sir Antony Macdonnel made no objection to my taking part in the proceedings. Regarding my attitude towards the Congress movement, I heartily approve of its root idea, namely, to organise the various separate aggregations of Indian races and nationalities into a homogeneous compact whole, permeated by a common sentiment of patriotism and enabled by their united strength and wisdom to discuss and deliberate on matters affecting their common country with an authority such as can never belong to their individual and disjointed opinions. I also agree with many of the resolutions as appearing in the authorised reports. With some I am unable to agree. It will suffice to give a recent instance of this. At the last Session at Lahore, the Congress severely condemned the policy underlying the Punjab Land Alienation Legislation. I, on the contrary, consider that policy, apart from its details, to be on the whole a sound policy. I have witnessed these thirty odd years the sad results of clothing a a backward race of landholders with absolute power of alienation over their estates. The doctrine of freedom of contract assumes an equality of intelligence, of status and of circumstances between the contracting parties, which, as a matter of fact, does

not exist in the case of the Indian agricultural debtor and his creditor. Moreover, outside Bengal proper, this uncontrolled power of transfer is opposed to the genius and traditions of the people. Their own law (Mitakshara) has surrounded the enjoyment of family estates with a number of safeguards, all directed to keep them intact so as to permit of their devolution in the family generation after generation. And although, within recent years, there have been many inroads on this law by our Judges, its main provisions still retain their original vitality. So that if I had my way, I would have strengthened and not weakened the hands of Government in this matter.

COTTON SWADESHI MILL

In January 1892, a Cotton Mill, wholly financed by local capital and organised by local enterprise, was opened in Nagpur. Nagpur is one of the principal cotton centres. As far back as 1876, a cotton mill had been established here by that great Captain of Industry in India, the late Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata. It achieved a phenomenal success under its most able Manager, Mr. Bezonjee Dadabhoy. It took the people of Nagpur many years to learn the lesson of this success and it was not until 1890, that some of its leading citizens, such as the late Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee and Mr. Gopal Harry Bhiday, and Messrs. G. M. Chitnavis, Ganpal Rao Ghatatay, Bapu Rao Dada and Rajarampant Dixit, were able to establish a limited Company to work a cotton mill. The fact of the matter is, the available capital of the

country is not enough for the requirements of its full industrial development. I do not deny that there is a considerable amount of money invested in trade. But it earns a good return and there is no incentive to employ it in new enterprises involving risks. Similarly, a certain amount of money is locked up in money-lending business. It also earns a good interest. Beyond these, there is not much surplus seeking profitable investment. I am of course speaking of my province. Such being the case, it is not an easy matter to raise sufficient capital to start and work a business like a large cotton manufacturing factory. * However, after a great deal of effort, my friends succeeded in opening the "Swadeshi Mill" about the same time that the Congress was in session in Nagpur. Besides acquisition of pecuniary gain, my friends had a higher object in view,—promotion of local industries.

INDUSTRIES AND THE CONGRESS

There was a significance in opening this mill just when the Congress was being held in Nagpur. It was to emphasise the truth, which is now realized by the Congress leaders, that industrial development must go hand in hand with political advancement. For years the whole energy of the Congress leaders has been directed to political agitation and political agitation alone. It is a wise resolution to conserve at least a portion of this energy for, as I think, a very

* Matters have considerably changed for the better since this was written in 1906.

useful, though less showy object,—namely, the development of our industries. I think we can do a great deal for ourselves by directing our energies to this object as also in expanding our trade and commerce. The field of emloyment in the public services is, I am afraid, not likely to expand very substantially in the future, do what we like, and it will be a wise policy for us to take to helping ourselves and to rely less on Government. For example, how much the wealth of the country could be increased, if we supplied all our wants in the matter of cloth with our home products. In this we must not expect to be much helped by Government, for its policy in this matter must be dictated from England, and in the English Parliament the cotton spinners and weavers exercise a potent influence. Government is thus never likely to kill the English trade in cotton fabrics in order to develop Indian manufactures. So that to succeed we must depend entirely on our own efforts and this is a direction in which our energies are more likely to be productive of substantial good than in holding crowded meetings and passing strong resolutions supported by eloquent speeches, which are more or less negligible factors in the industrial progress of the country.

INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES IN NAGPUR

When I first came to Nagpur, I found an organization for encouraging the use of home-made articles. It received its inspiration from Poona, where Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi had just then vigor-

ously started the movement. There is in Nagpur a class of blacksmiths who at one time used to make fine cutlery. These men were taken in hand and induced to turn out knives and scissors, which were purchased with the help of a fund specially raised for the purpose and then sent out for sale in different parts of the country. Attempts were also made to improve the rude implements used by our weavers with a view to cheapen the production of their looms. I regret to say both these movements did not attain the measure of success they deserved. But one good resulted, the attention of the people was drawn to the necessity of encouraging our home industries by using their products as much as possible. I entirely sympathised with this policy. I have during the past 25 years and more done what I could to carry it out in my daily life.* I have succeeded to a considerable extent in the matter of cloth. I am glad to find my countrymen rapidly coming to realise how much they can help to develop our industries by using as much as possible indigenous articles. I have not much faith in the practical wisdom of the rigid doctrine of Political Economy that we should buy in the cheapest market. I look round and find that no nation in the world has ever consistently regulated its fiscal policy

* This was written in 1906 and it is a great satisfaction to me to read the following in Sir Stanley Reed's letter to Mr. Gandhi, which has been recently published in a Bombay paper. "Personally I never buy any thing which is made outside India if it can be purchased in India. I wear a good deal more Swadeshi clothing than many of my Indian friends." What a sad commentary this on our loudly preached Swadeshism.

in strict accordance with this doctrine. Even England, which is now a free trade country, did not hesitate to kill the rival manufactures of India by a wall of protective tariffs, when she was unable to compete with them in her own market on terms of equality. Our salvation lies in relieving the increasing pressure of population on agriculture by supporting and improving our ancient handicrafts and by introducing new industries, which will afford a subsistence independent of agriculture. As regards the most important of our existing indigenous industries, namely, the hand-weaving of cloth, it is quite possible to revive some portion at least of its former prosperity if we all combine to use its products. Manufactures produced by modern processes are no doubt a formidable rival; but our weavers are able to thrive on small profits and are better circumstanced to cater for precise wants and tastes of their country-men.

HAND-MADE CLOTH INDUSTRY

With these advantages to help them, they may yet be able to compete successfully with imported machine-made articles, if systematic efforts be made to bring them and their customers face to face, as it were, by opening out stores and shops to sell their products all over the country. Attempts are being made to introduce an improved class of fly-shuttle. If this proves successful, it ought largely to neutralise the advantages which machine-made articles now possess over hand-made articles. The hand-weavers with their dependents still number nearly six crores

and a half it is a matter of grave concern not only for ourselves but also for the Government whether these men should be driven to agriculture after a prolonged period of grinding poverty, or whether action should not be taken, while there is yet time, to better their position in their own craft by improving their methods and machinery and by creating suitable markets for their goods.

C. P. GREAT FAMINE

In 1896, the rains failed in the Central Provinces as in other parts of India and by October it became abundantly clear that the country was in for a disastrous famine. It became most acute in some parts of the Central Provinces owing to a succession of bad harvests going as far back as 1892-93. In Nagpur itself, the failure of crops was not severe, though owing to the great rise in the level of prices, there was much distress among the respectable poor and the lower wage-earning classes. But in the neighbouring districts of Balaghat and Bhandara, their staple crop, rice, had been almost completely wrecked and as no relief-works had been opened by Government, the starving people began to wander about the country in search of food. A great many of them came to Nagpur and swarmed all over the place.

POOR HOUSE IN NAGPUR

To relieve them, public subscriptions were invited and over Rs. 13,000 were raised. In November 1896, a Committee was appointed to administer this money and I was made Treasurer. It was decided to open

a Poor House and as the working member of the Committee, it fell to me to make all necessary arrangements. A site was selected just outside the town and sheds put up. I had also to work the institution, when opened. The Government lent us a Tahsildar and a Hospital Assistant to act as Superintendent and Medical Officer respectively, so that we were able to utilise the whole of our money in feeding and clothing the miserable starvelings. I gave a goodly portion of my time to perfect the various arrangements and had the satisfaction of making the institution a model Poor House, which relieved but did not repel those for whom it was meant. It was favourably commented upon by newspaper correspondents, who travelled all over the affected tracts and sent reports to their employers. I give below an extract regarding it from Mr. Merewether's book on Famine. He was sent to India by a Syndicate of English newspapers and made a tour all through the famine-stricken tracts:—

"The institution is certainly the best of its kind that I have visited, either before or after, and may serve as an excellent example to similar places in the provinces of Central India.....The whole is run entirely by natives. The total cost per month did not exeed Rs. 1,600, and as there were over 1000 recipients of relief, it can be seen how far, with good administration, a small sum judiciously expended, will go towards alleviating the sufferings of a starving Hindu population. I produce opposite the balance sheet of the Institution for the month of December 1896, which

will corroborate my statement." "(Through the Famine Districts in India," page 102.) Here follows my abstract cash account. I may add I had never met the gentleman and was not in the Poor House when he was there.

INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF FUND

By December 1896, distress had deepened and Government relief had begun to be given, but the Nagpur Poor House remained in our charge till 31st March, 1897. In January 1897, an "Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund" was opened both in India and in England under the auspices of Government. To administer it, a Central Committee was formed at Calcutta with branches in all the affected Provinces. The Central Provinces branch was constituted at a public meeting held on the 13th of February, 1897. I was asked to be the Secretary to the Provincial Committee. Our Province was one of the most grievously, if not the most grievously, affected in the whole empire and to be the Secretary to the Fund in such a Province was to undertake a heavy responsibility. I hesitated a good deal but the terms in which the offer was made were an encouragement to me and I finally decided to devote myself to the work and do my best. I helped in organizing Committees in every one of our 17 affected districts, framed and issued rules on the basis of instructions received from the Central Committee, supplementing them to suit our local peculiarities, and in consultation with the District Committees laid down our plan of action.

Though not formally appointed Secretary I also took it upon myself to do much of the work of Nagpur Local Committee. The work proved more heavy than I had thought it would but it roused my highest enthusiasm and became with me a labour of love. I practically laid aside all other business and gave myself up, heart and soul, to this noble and sacred work of charity. I had seldom been so happy in my life. I felt a glow of self-satisfaction such as no other work had given me before, and the more I worked the more satisfied I felt. I personally distributed cloth in and about Nagpur and to witness the smile, tinged with a touch of melancholy, which used to overspread the pale and sickly faces of the poor sufferers as they changed their miserable rags for the clean and decent clothes I was able to give them, more than repaid the trouble the work might have entailed. One great object I steadily kept in view was to reduce the incidental charges to a minimum, so as to set free as large a portion of the Fund as possible for actual relief. I myself did my office work with the help of one clerk on Rs 25 a month and my colleagues in the District Committees were equally economical and co-operated with me with a whole-hearted devotion. The result was that in no other province, I believe, was the work better done or more largely done by non-official agency. I give below the concluding paragraph of one of my reports:—

"I have thus endeavoured to give some idea how

Committees of zealous private workers, distributed all over the stricken districts, are, with the active aid and advice of officers of Government, engaged in this beneficent work of helping those who are struggling to hold on till this great famine subsides, and who, but for such help, will pay heavy tribute to death, before this bitter page in the history of the Province is closed. It will be the privilege, as it will be the bounden duty, of these Committees to be the channels through which the fertilizing stream of this unprecedented charity will spread over the whole Province, carrying with it relief to thousands of widows and orphans left destitude by the death or disappearance of their bread-winners, and to that large and important class of the community, peasant cultivators, who have been forced to eat their seed-grain and part with their plough-cattle to save life, and who unless helped, will not be able to recover from the blow they have received."

Regarding my share of the work I give below the following extract from the Government Report of the Famine in the Central Provinces:—

"An account of the administration of Famine Relief in the Central Provinces during 1897 would be incomplete which did not acknowledge the enormous assistance rendered by the operations of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund. These operations were described in detail in the report written by the able and devoted Honourary Secretary to the Provincial Committee, Rai Bahadur B. K. Bose, C. I. E.

and it is unnecessary here to do more than summarise them."

CONFERRAL OF THE TITLE OF C. I. E.

On the first of January 1898, the title of C. I. E. was conferred on me in recognition of my services in connection with the Charity Fund. This time I knew what was coming. I do not, like some of my countrymen, look upon appreciation of one's services by Government as something not worth having. I can honestly say that I have never at any period of my life worked in order to secure such approbation or such honour. The aim of my life has been, I flatter myself, something higher and nobler. Looking back, I should despise myself now, when age and the sorrows of this life have dulled any ambition that might once have lurked in me, if I had to confess that the main-spring of my actions had been, not an altruistic desire to be useful to my countrymen, but a selfish ambiton to clothe myself with wordly honours, whether it be at the hands of Government or of my countrymen. For in my estimation, the two stand exactly on the same moral level. I received a large number of congratulatory letters both from officials and non-officials. My fellow citizens at a public meeting showed their satisfaction at the honour done to me by voting me an address. I must say these demonstrations do not fit in with my ideas of public duty. I had on some previous occasions successfully combated similar attempts on the part of kind and indulgent friends to bring me before the public. This

time, however, the presure was so strong that I could not decline without being positively rude, especially as the meeting was also intended to do honour to two other citizens, who had been given titles. I give below a few extracts from the address, "We, the residents of Nagpur, in public meeting assembled, feel it our duty to express our high appreciation of the valuable services you have rendered to the Province..... From the time you have come to live amongst us, now over 26 years ago, you have always taken a lively interest and active part in every movement, which had for its object the promotion of the good of the people.....Such in brief are your labours for the public good, and when to your high character for integrity and probity and your talents and energy, we add such urbanity of manners and width of sympathy as impels you to place your valuable advice within the reach of every towns-man who might need it, we feel we shall be wanting in our duty if we fail to acknowledge your services."

INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION, 1898

In December 1897, the Government decided upon the appointment of a Famine Commission to formulate for future guidance the lessons which the famine experience of 1897 had to teach. I was asked by my Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Lyall, to be a member of the proposed Commission. I hesitated for some time on account of my health. I had been a victim, since my College days, to dyspepsia of a rather distressing character. It had greatly weakened my

constitution and I was only able to keep myself in a workable condition by very careful attention to diet and regular habits. I was in doubt whether I should be physically equal to the strain which the acceptance of the offer would entail. My dear brother was with me at the time. The seeds of the fell disease which carried him off two years afterwards, had, unknown to us all, already been sown in him, and he had come to Nagpur to recoup his health, which had been much shattered by his arduous famine work as the head of the district of Rajshahi in Bengal. He strongly advised me to accept the office and I did so. I was the only Indian member on the Commission and I deeply felt the responsibilities of my position. I was then engaged in bringing to a close the accounts of the Charity Fund and in writing its final report. I worked day and night and by the first week of January I was able to bring my work as Secretary to the Charity Fund to a close. I joined the Commission at Calcutta on the 8th January 1898. It may not be out of place to relate here one incident of my Journey from Nagpur to Calcutta. The plague had broken out then and according to the policy of the day, there was strict medical examination of passengers at certain railway stations. I had provided myself with certificates that I was coming from Nagpur, which was a non-affected locality at the time and that I was going on official duty, *viz.*, to join the Famine Commission. I was in a First Class Compartment. At midnight, I was unceremoniously made

to get up and come out of the carriage and subject myself to medical examination. The examining doctor was an European and despite my papers, he gave me the most insulting treatment. I knew the futility of remonstrance and had to submit to his insolence and rudeness. I mention this incident to show that even assuming the policy was right, the manner in which the men entrusted with the duty of giving effect to it carried it out, was ill-calculated to reconcile the people to it. After experience demonstrated the utter futility of the procedure and this adds to the impolicy of entrusting the work to unsympathetic men, incapable of entering into our feelings and of realizing the difficulties and inconveniences of our position under the peculiar circumstances of the case. I saw the treatment meted out to third class passengers. It was sickening and enough to chill one's heart. The President of the Commission was Sir James Lyall, late Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. A large number of blue books relating to famines and other cognate subjects were placed at my disposal on my arrival at Calcutta and to qualify myself for the duties of my office, I at once began careful study of them. The Commission took evidence at Calcutta up to the 25th of January, the witnesses being mostly on the subject of export and import of food-grains during times of famine and of food-stocks in the country which could be drawn upon during years of short crops and failure of crops. From Calcutta we went to Bankipur, Behar being

one of the affected tracts. I put up with the late Babu Guru Prasad Sen and I shall always remember his kind hospitality. We were at Bankipur for about ten days and much of my spare time was spent in discussing with him various public matters including those relating to famine relief. I profited much by coming in close contact with a mind so thoughtful and so full of valuable information. The famine relief operations in Behar were mostly run through the members of the planter community and they were the principal non-official witnesses. It struck me rather forcibly that owing no doubt to the existence of this powerful body, less reliance was placed on Indian agency here than elsewhere. It did not seem to me that the relief operations were better or more economically conducted than where Indian agency was more largely availed of. I rather think the planters were more highly remunerated than need have been and there was no compensating advantage to justify the utilisation of this agency to the neglect of the other. In some instances, roads which specially benefitted them and their estates were made by them with famine labour. From Bankipur we went to Madras, which I reached on the 11th of February. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ananda Charlu, then a member of the Viceroy's Council, kindly gave me permission to put up in his house and his son was most attentive to my comforts. The hard work of the Commision and the wear and tear of the journey made it impossible for me to make the acquaintance

of any of the leading men at Madras. The Commission generally broke up in the evening and after a drive to the beach, I had to return home and engage myself with the next day's work. The mornings were also wholly taken up in studying blue-books and advance copies of the evidence of the witnesses. I could with difficulty manage to take a hurried meal and be present at the sitting at 11 A. M. The Council Chamber where we met, was nearly an hour's drive from where I stayed. From Madras we went to Bellary, which was one of the worst centres. The great feature of relief in Madras was the higher wage given to carriers as compared with the wage given in the N. W. Provinces by Sir A. P. Macdonnel. The Madras officers, especially the medical men there, were strongly opposed to the adoption of the M. W. P. wage for carriers as enough to maintain the workers in health and strength and they did not adopt it. Another of their special features was the relief given to the weavers in their own trade instead of making them work in the uncongenial and unprofitable task of stone breaking and digging and carrying earth. I was familiar with this kind of relief in Nagpur and was strongly impressed with its utility and propriety. I followed the evidence of the Madras witnesses on this matter with the closest attention. My host at Bellary was Rao Bahadur P. C. Ananda Charlu, Government Pleader and a most obliging host he was. From Bellary we entered the Bombay Presidency. Our first sitting was held at Bijapur on the 25th of

February. This was the centre of a badly affected tract. It has some fine historic buildings, constructed by the old Mahomedan rulers of the place. These had mostly been turned into private residences of officers or were used as public offices. It is due to Lord Curzon that this misuse of the relics of a historic past has to some extent been amended. I was the guest of Mr. G. D. Panse, a statutory Civilian and Magistrate-Collector of the District. I need not say he was all kindness to me. Our next sitting was at Sholapur. The plague was raging there then. Thence we went to Bombay, where we stayed up to the 5th of March. Arrangements had been made by common friends that I should be put up by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. To be privileged to come in contact with that great and good man, the saintly philosopher and the greatest economist of modern India, was indeed a piece of good fortune, for which I cannot be too thankful to those who had arranged to bring it about. I had, from what I had heard of him, learnt to revere him and personal contact only deepened my veneration for him. As at Madras, I had hardly time to go and see my countrymen, but at my host's I was able to meet some of the best men of Bombay. I need hardly say I profited much by these meetings. The good lady of the house, Mrs. Ranade, was all kindness to me and I shall never forget her hospitality. We had the usual run of witnesses, but the special feature of charitable relief in Bombay was the institution of cheap grain-shops. These were started

by some Indian merchants and food grains were sold through their agency to the poor and needy at cheap rates, such as prevailed at ordinary times. I arranged with the help of friends whom I met at my host's, to have evidence on this system of relief placed before the Commission. From Bombay the Commission came to my Province. The first sitting was at Nagpur, the next at Raipur and the last at Jabbulpore. I had a somewhat difficult task here. There can be no question that the gravity of the situation was not realized, or if realized, was not grappled with at the right time and to the necessary extent. The official mind could not bring itself to believe that the Central Provinces which had not known a general failure of crops for years past and which had prospered much under the impulse of the Settlement of Sir Richard Temple, could be in the throes of a real devastating famine. In fact Mr. (now Sir Bampfylde) Fuller, for long Settlement Commissioner of the Province and then Commissioner of Jabbulpore, the worst affected division, put forward the view very strongly that the "Revenue assessments were so extraordinarily light that large savings must have accrued, that the people were well able to meet the failure of crops and that State relief was not needed to any large extent." This view, owing to the supposed extensive local knowledge of its author, was probably accepted. Any way matters were allowed to drift. The result was an appalling mortality in some of the worst districts which startled both the

officials and the public. The opinion I formed on reading through the papers was that the Government of India was to some extent, at least, responsible for this sad state of things and that the entire responsibility could not be thrown on the Local Government. The member in charge of famine was at the time Sir Antony Macdonnel. He was, before he joined the Viceroy's Council, our Chief Commissioner and was generally as well informed about the condition of the people as his two successors, Sir John Woodburn and Sir Charles Lyall, and he probably shaped the policy of the Government of India according to what he thought were the requirements of the Province. Perhaps Mr. Fuller's views exercised considerable influence. The severity of the distress was minimised and the staying power of the people exaggerated and relief was kept within narrow limits. I have already alluded to the flooding of Nagpur by the famished people from Bhandara and Balaghat and to the opening of a Poor House for them by private charity. The same was the case at Jabbulpore. These Poor Houses should have been Government institutions from the very beginning. Moreover, relief works should have been opened locally to prevent the distressed people from leaving their homes in search of relief. Of course this much must be conceded that it was the duty of those on the spot to recommend and press for the necessary relief and the Supreme Government could hardly have been expected to sanction more liberal measures than the Local Administration

wanted. It was very painful to me to join in the condemnation of the Government of my own Province, but the facts disclosed made any other course impossible. From the Central Provinces the Commission went to the North Western Provinces where we visited in succession Jhansi, Agra and Lucknow. Taken as a whole, the administration of famine relief here was no doubt a success; but I thought that the adoption of the diet prescribed for those, who owing to their debilitated condition, were to be maintained in idleness in Poor Houses as the wage to be allowed to those who had to earn it by carrying earth, was not in accordance with the principal that the wage was to be such as would suffice to maintain the workers in health and strength after doing a task adapted to their powers. For the time being, the effect of this wage did not manifest itself in the mortatality returns, for it was just enough to keep body and soul together. But the census of 1901 disclosed that the loss of population in such badly affected districts as Jhansi, Allahabad &c., had been very heavy, as heavy as in the worst parts of the Central Provinces. Some missionary witnesses examined at Agra also spoke of heavy mortality within their knowledge. Further the death-rate became abnormally high immediately after the close of Government relief and continued so till the end of the year. On the whole I was convinced that to place economy before preservation of life was not the right famine relief policy and this had apparently

been done in the North Western Provinces. The extraordinary power of organization of the head of the Government and his ceaseless vigilence aided by the very substantial help from the Charity fund neutralised to a great extent the consequences of such a policy. But as it is not in the nature of things for every famine to have a Sir Antony to combat its disastrous effects, the principle adopted by him to give the general body of workers what I may call the starvation wage is, in the long run, not the right policy, if the object of famine relief be to maintain the people in good condition and to send them back to their homes and usual occupations after the close of State relief with their health and strength unimpaired. I urged these considerations on the Commission when we met to deliberate at Simla later on and I flatter myself with some effect. From Lucknow we went to Lahore. The distress was by no means severe in the Punjab and our labours were not protracted. By the first week of April we assembled at Simla to deliberate on the voluminous evidence and the official papers placed before us, to formulate our conclusions and write our report. I think it was right that the report should have been written at a hill station like Simla. In no other place would it have been possible at that time of the year to go through the labour which its preparation involved. Simla, with its bracing climate, was best fitted for the work we had in hand. I brought my family to Simla. This gave me home comforts and I devoted

myself to the task before me with an earnest desire to be helpful to the Commission to the best of my powers. We did not lose time in taking our work in hand. The heads of the subjects to be dealt with in the report were settled and the work of writing notes on them was divided among the President and the members. The notes thus prepared were circulated and commented upon by all and then put in print at once. We met twice a week to consider these notes and comments and the results of our deliberation and decisions were embodied in fresh notes prepared by the members concerned. These were again placed before the Commission and finally passed with or without modifications. By the first week of July, the report was completed and I left Simla on the 11th of July 1898. In Sir James Lyall, we had a President, who had the keenest sympathy with the unfortunate sufferers from famine and the key-note of the report was that not only should life be saved but that the measures of relief should be so regulated as to enable the people to go back to their homes and ordinary occupations with their health and strength unimpaired. A campaign against famine which on grounds of economy failed to give adequate relief as measured by the above standard, could not, in the opinion of the Commission, be regarded as a success. I may mention here in passing that the spirit which animated the report was translated into action in the famine of 1900 in the Central Provinces. And if the salvation of the people be the great object of famine

relief, then I can say with the utmost confidence that the success attained in combating this grievous famine, more grievous than that of 1896-97, was such as had never before been attained in any famine, not excluding that in the North Western Provinces in 1896-97. A special note prepared by me dealing with the question of relief to that most important class of the community, the agriculturists, as distinguished from ordinary village labourers, was appended to the report. Though I had gathered some experience regarding famine relief in my capacity as Secretary to the Charity Fund, yet the matters which the Commission had to consider were so foreign to the ordinary run of my studies and occupations that I felt very diffident at the beginning. I, however, applied myself to the work with a whole-hearted determination to grapple with all its difficulties and I may fairly claim to have been of some help to the Commission. The following letter was very kindly addressed to me by my President at the close of our labours:—

"I write a line to acknowledge receipt of your "note of the 12th. The obligation is all on my "side. You undertook more of the work than most "of us and treated your subjects most carefully and "judicially. I often found your support very valuable "and we generally accepted such modifications as "you suggested."

SECOND GREAT FAMINE IN THE C. P.

Scarcely had the Province recovered from the effects of the famine of 1896-97, when the complete

failure of the monsoon of 1899, overwhelmed it in another and a more grievous famine. As in 1897, His Excellency the Viceroy determined to appeal to the public for aid. I was then in Calcutta as an Additional Member of Council and was asked to be a speaker at the public meeting to inaugurate the Charitable Relief Fund. The meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 16th of February 1900. I carefully prepared a speech compressing within the small compass of time allowed to each speaker as much matter as I could with a view to give an adequate idea of the terrible state of things then prevailing in the Central Provinces and to show the incalculable good the Charity Fund had done in the previous famine. Its miseries I had seen and every word I spoke came from my heart and was instinct with the intense feeling which old memories revived. A few days after this, I received a wire from the Chief Secretary asking me to be once more Secretary to our Provincial branch of the organization. I agreed as a matter of course and immediately set about preparing statements of our requirements for submission to the Central Committee. As I was appointed a member of this Committee, I was able personally to press the urgent claims of my province. The work, though by no means less arduous than in 1897, nearly thirty lakhs of rupees passing through my hands as against thirtythree lakhs in 1897, did not present the same difficulties, as the experience of the past enabled me to grapple with details with ease. I quote a passage

from one of my reports to give an idea of the good the Fund did :—

"It was a divine mission which the Fund undertook to carry out,—to heal the bruised and help the broken hearted. Its kindly hand lifted from the depths of deepest destitution thousands, sons and daughters of misery, over whose future famine had cast its deepest shadow. Every rupee subscribed had carried its blessings with it to some poor and helpless sufferer. A mere enumeration of the numbers relieved will give but an inadequate idea of the incalculable good that has been done. For the hope that has been infused into the hearts of the people, for the opportunity they now have to build up once more the fabric of their prosperity, they are no less indebted to the noble Charity Fund than the help they received from the State Fund."

VICTORIA MEMORIAL IN NAGPUR

When that good Sovereign, the Empress Victoria, the author of the noble Proclamation which constitutes for us our *Magna Charta* died in January 1901, a wave of deep loyalty passed over the length and breadth of the Empire. A desire sprang up all over the country to raise memorials to her. We in Nagpur thought that the memorial should be personal and should also take such a shape as would associate her glorious reign with some work of acknowledged public utility. We accordingly decided, (1st) to have a marble statue and (2ndly) to have an institution for the promotion of industries and agriculture. I was

appointed Secretary to the Provincial Memorial Committee. We raised about two lakhs and I was able to add to this about Rs. 16,000 as interest by judicious investment. We invested one lakh as a permanent Trust Fund, paid Rs. 75,000 for a building for the proposed "Technical Institute" and set apart Rs. 16,000 for a statue.

VICTORIA TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

The balance left will be added to the Trust Fund. Arrangements will be made in the "Institute" to teach science up to the highest University standard to the students of our two local colleges, the Morris and the Hislop. To administer the affairs of the "Institute," a Society has been formed and registered under Act XXI of 1860. I helped to frame its rules and am on its governing body as a member.

IN THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

On the 22nd of November 1899, I received the following letter from Mr. (afterwards Sir Denzil), Ibbetson, our Chief Commissioner. "The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis's term of office as member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council expires early in December and His Excellency desires me to ask you whether you are willing to take up his place.....I have felt not the slightest hesitation (and I may tell you Mr. Fraser entirely agreees with me) in selecting you as by far the fittest man for the office. It is true you are not a native of the Province. But in the course of many years residence in Nagpur, you have won the respect, esteem and confidence of all classes of society

and I am sure your appointment will be unanimously approved."

In 1895, the Government had asked the local bodies in the Central Provinces to recommend four persons, one for each division, to enable it to make a nomination out of the persons so recommended to a seat on the Legislative Council as Additional member. I had then been advised by some friends to stand as a candidate for election. But I was of opinion that my friend Mr. G. M. Chitnavis was better fitted to fill the office and at the meeting of the delegates from the local bodies in the Nagpur Division, I was able by my casting vote as Chairman of the meeting to get Mr. Chitnavis elected as the nominee of the Nagpur Division. The nomination was accepted by Government and the ability and wisdom with which Mr. Chitnavis discharged his duties fully justified our choice. That I should be called upon to succeed him was a complete surprise to me. I accepted the offer so kindly made. This involved my resignation of the office of Government Advocate, as I could not be a non-official member while retaining an office under Government. My appointment was notified on 19th December 1899 and I took my seat on 22nd idem. My first speech was in support of an amendment in connection with a Bill to amend the Whipping Act, 1864. It was a small measure, but some of its provisions seemed to us, the non-official members, to be rather too severe and so we tried to have them modified. We failed.

C. P. LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT

The subject to which I gave my attention during this my first session was the new Settlement in my Province. A cycle of lean years had synchronised with its introduction and enforcement and the people were on the brink of bankruptcy. But beyond some temporary relief in the shape of suspension and remission of revenue and that too given in a somewhat niggardly spirit, nothing, as far as the public could know, was being done to meet the grave crisis. I studied all the available reports relating to the economic situation for thirty years since the old Settlement, and with the facts and figures thus obtained, supplemented by my own experience, I prepared with care a speech or rather a statement dealing with the whole subject. The remedies I suggested were, (1) a revision with a view to abatement of the new assessments in all tracts where the deterioration had been severe, (2) introduction of irrigation, especially tank irrigation in rice districts, for which facilities existed in many places and (3) introduction of agricultural banks to help the agriculturists with money on fair terms, the Government giving special facilities to such banks in return for their undertaking to lend money on terms approved by Government. This was my contribution to the discussion on the Budget, the only occasion when the non-official members are permitted to deal with general matters. We, the non-official members, had a previous consultation on the subject of Land Revenue Settlement and it was agreed

that we should all deal with it each in his own way as affecting his Province. I received special support from two of my Indian colleagues. The Maharaja of Darbhanga of Bengal said, "In the first place I would ask permission, my Lord, to say a few words with regard to the question of Land Settlement, and I would direct my remarks more particularly to the Central Provinces and Assam. It has been a pleasure to me to listen to the interesting speech of my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Bose, and if I may say so, he has dealt with his subject in a masterly and exhaustive fashion.....I do not dwell upon this or upon other points which occur to me, for they have all been most ably elaborated by my Hon'ble friend who represents the Central Provinces."

Sir Harnam Singh of the Punjab said, "My Lord, what has been observed by the Hon'ble Mr. Bose, in regard to the Revenue Settlement in his Province deserves careful consideration by the Government of India."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by an official additional member, Mr. Rees of Madras, now Sir John Rees M. P. Unfortunately, he had prepared his speech without knowing what I was going to say and probably on a vague notion that I would attack the whole settlement policy. I had studiously avoided doing anything of the kind as raising an unnecessary and difficult issue. It was enough for the end I had in view to show that assuming that the new assessments, when made, were fair, they had entirely

ceased to be so in the altered circumstances of the country. This showed the disadvantages of a discussion, where previously prepared speeches are read out just as they are written without any attempt to make them accord with the realities of the situation. To Sir Denzil Ibbetson, I had sent a copy in advance and he gave a sympathetic reply. I believe, this discussion had its effect in shaping the policy of Government in the introduction of remedial measures including abatement proceedings. I was a member during this session of the Select Committee on the Mines Bill. I had to append a note of dissent to the Committee's Report on one important point, namely,—the employment of women and children, provisions relating to which were, I thought, needlessly stringent and prohibitive.

THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION BILL

An important measure,—a Bill to amend and consolidate the law relating to the coolies in the Assam tea plantations, was introduced during my second session. I made a speech in support of it and in opposition to an amendment brought forward by the member representing the tea interest. I showed that except when pinched by famine or duped by false or illusive promise, the terms of service were not such as to tempt an agricultural labourer in the Central Provinces to migrate to Assam. Moreover, we had not in the Central Provinces reached a stage when we could spare any of our agricultural labourers for employment in the tea estates. Recruitment in the Pro-

vince should therefore be hedged round by stringent conditions. This part of the debate did not, however, generate any heat, although the Assam member and Sir Henry Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, who most generously championed the cause of the coolies, attacked one another with some severity in their speeches. It soon became evident, however, that the Government had come to an understanding with the planting interest on the important question of wages. Sir Henry had evidently not been consulted and knew nothing of what had taken place. When the member representing the planters brought forward his amendment, the Home member at once intervened and announced that he accepted it on behalf of the Government. After what had taken place during the first part of the discussion, this appeared like a *volte face*. It placed us, the Indian members, in a position of considerable embarassment. We were not prepared to follow the lead of the Hon'ble member. At the same time, none of us had sufficiently mastered the subject to be able to give an effective reply on the spur of the moment. Curiosity was roused as to what Sir Henry Cotton would do. Would he go counter to his official superiors? Well, not only did he decline to accept the compromise arrived at, as he did not care to conceal, behind his back, though the measure was one deeply affecting his Province, but he did something more. He delivered a most scathing attack on the attitude of Government, his voice trembling with righteous indignation as he scornfully referred to the

"astounding" decision to surrender the interests of the voiceless cooly to those of his powerful master, the tea planter. We three Indian members alone voted with Sir Henry, the rest of the Council including the Indian member for the Punjab, voting in support of the amendment. My Budget speech during this session dealt mainly with the question of Famine Relief, my reason being that the third Famine Commission was then having its sittings and I wanted to put my views before it and the Government. I also referred to the inadequacy of the remissions of revenue in the Central Provinces as provided for in the Budget. At the close of my first term, I was asked to continue for another term. I agreed. During my third session, I was in a rather distracted state of mind owing to a heavy domestic calamity.

THE LAND REVENUE POLICY

All I could do in addition to a little speech on the Budget discussion day, was to put on the table to be appended to the proceedings a minute dealing at some length with the Government Resolution of 16th January 1902 on the "Indian Revenue Policy," so far as it affected the Central Provinces. It was prepared with great care and though I had to controvert many of the statements and arguments in the resolution, I did so with moderation. My minute has been published in book form, along with criticisms on the Resolution by Indian authorities from other provinces, by Messrs. Natesan & Co. of Madras. During my fourth session I had to work on the Select Committee on the Bill to

amend and consolidate the law relating to the procedure of Civil Courts. It was a portentious measure. Our labours began a month in advance and lasted for three months, during which period we had daily sittings.

THE CIVIL PROCEDURE CODE BILL

The work though it involved great labour, was congenial to me and I took great pains to study each and every clause. After the Select Committee would be over, I used often to sit with the Deputy Secretary, who had drafted the Bill and was in special charge of it, discussing amendments and settling the terms in which they should be drafted. In this way many important amendments, which I thought were improvements, were introduced in the original draft. I must confess however, the drafting of the Bill as a whole was not satisfactory, it was too elaborate and complicated and many new and controversial matters taken from English procedure were embodied in it. The discussions in the Select Committee were very searching and at times animated. On many important points there was considerable difference of opinion and the final report was accompanied by a number of dissents. Although I did not approve of several provisions, I did not think that any useful purpose would be served by discussing technical points of law in the form of a note of dissent. As it was decided to republish the Bill and have it reconsidered by the Select Committee of a future session, I knew I would have an opportunity to press my views, if I

remained on the Council at the time; otherwise I might if I chose, send my criticism to the Select Committee, when it would begin its sittings. My Budget speech during the session covered a large ground and among other matters I dwelt on the injustice and hardship of the Exise duty on cotton goods, which greatly handicapped our mills in their competition with manufacturers in China and other foreign markets. On the expiry of my second term I was asked in the following letter from my Chief Commissioner, Mr. Hewett, to allow myself to be nominated for another term of two years:—

"Your term as Additional member expires on December 18th next. I hope that you will find it possible to accept re-appointment. We may expect to have the Courts Bill and the Zamindari Estates Bill before the Council before long and I should like to feel that your help was available when these matters have to be discussed. There are also likely to be subjects of more general interest in the discussion of which you would be able to represent the Central Provinces with great efficiency. It seems to me to be clearly to the public interest that you should be re-appointed."

During the session the Coronation Durbar was held at Delhi. I was invited to attend it, but in spite of considerable pressure, I had to decline on the ground that the Delhi climate would not suit my health.

THE OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL

My fifth session was a very animated one. Two very controversial Bills were brought forward,—the

Official Secrets Bill and the University Bill. As originally introduced, the former contained some very objectionable provisions, but as soon as this was brought to notice, an assurance was given by the Viceroy that they would be put right. Three Indian members including myself were put on the Select Committee. No modification was introduced in the Select Committee in the provision rendering disclosure of official secrets by news-papers, even when obtained by fair means, penal. We three Indian members dissented on this point. Mr. Gokhale was one of them. In other respects the Bill was improved to our satisfaction. Two of my colleagues were at first for objecting to the whole Bill. I was, however, of opinion that the Government was entitled to a reasonable measure of protection against unauthorised and premature disclosure of official matters, as otherwise considerable administrative inconvenience would result. Recognising the importance of united action on our part, we made mutual concessions and were at last able to agree to a joint minute of dissent. The Bill was passed in the shape given to it by the Select Committee, our amendments giving effect to our note of dissent being rejected. On the whole I think much ado was made of a comparatively small matter. The Act provides for so many safeguards that it would be next to impossible to secure a conviction, except in glaring cases where conviction would be indisputably right. But as it affected newspapers, a great deal of opposition was evoked by it. I do not believe it has

practically made any substantial change in their position.

THE UNIVERSITY BILL

The University Bill was introduced under circumstances which made any calm and dispassionate discussion of its provisions, such as their importance demanded, next to impossible. Rightly or wrongly, a large and influential section of the educated Indian community had come to hold the opinion that Lord Curzon's Government was determined to put back the progress of English education in India and considerable suspicion had been created in their minds owing to his having convened at Simla a confidential conference of educational authorities, from which the Indian element was rigidly excluded. The circumstance that an Indian member was added to the University Commission at the eleventh hour served to accentuate this suspicion. The Bill saw light in this atmosphere of doubt and distrust and the Indian public at once read in its provisions a realization of their worst fears. Expression was given to this feeling by Mr. Gokhale in a speech of singular power and ability. But from one point of view, I venture to question its wisdom. For its effect undoubtedly was to add to the heat. In my judgment, the duty of responsible leaders at this critical juncture was to calm the excitement and to bring about such a state of public feeling, that proposals for the settlement of the points of difference could have been considered with mutual trust in one another's good faith, and with an earnest desire on

both sides to arrive at a reasonable compromise. Whether what I here suggest would have resulted in attaining the end in view, I do not know. But I am convinced that the method actually adopted was ill-calculated to secure success. The tone thus given to the discussion marked the passage of the Bill up to its final stage. I regret to say there was no consultation among the Indian members as to the line of action to be adopted in proposing amendments, as there was on other comparatively unimportant occasions both in this as also in past sessions. In framing his amendments, each member acted independently. Altogether they covered several pages and the debate lasted three days, beginning at 10 A.M., and ending at 6 P.M. I feel bound to say that the discussion, though conducted with decorum on both sides, tried the patience of many of us. To see substantially the same matter raised over and over again, though in a different garb, and supported by a repetition of the same argument, though couched in different language, was neither illuminating nor exhilarating, except perhaps to those actually engaged in the fray.

I think it would have added weight to the opposition, if it had concentrated its efforts on the important constitutional points and not frittered away its energy and diluted its force by taking up every little matter of detail to which any possible objection could be made. I took no part in the discussion on the amendments, believing that there was enough of talk without my adding to its volume. I however,

voted with my friends on all the principal amendments. One or two, on matters of detail, I could not support as I thought they were not sound. When all the amendments were disposed of, I had to decide for myself whether I should oppose the passing of the Bill. After such consideration as I could give to the matter and after consulting my friend, Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhya, who sat next to me, I came to the conclusion that I should not adopt this extreme course and thereby identify myself with the party of uncompromising hostility to the measure. That there was much in the then existing system which called for reform and that the Bill in some of its aspect was a move in the right direction, was admitted even by its stoutest opponents. Such being the case, I, in a little speech I prepared at the moment, explained the position I intended to take up. I said that, while adhering to the opinion that the Government should have accepted some of the principal amendments directed to strengthen the popular element in the University, I recognised that there were provisions in the Bill which merited support and that I should, therefore, vote for the general motion that it become law. I was aware that by adopting this course I would lay myself open to attack by some of my countrymen in the Press, and as a matter of fact, my motive was vilely questioned by one newspaper. But, highly as I value approbation of my conduct by my countrymen, I could not permit my decision as to what would best conserve the public interest to be influenced by

any desire to win popular applause. To show how one-sided was the stand-point from which the Bill was viewed, I might point out here that if all that was insinuated against Government was well-founded, it could, by exercise of its power under the old law, have so manipulated the constitution of the Senate as to make it entirely subservient to its alleged sinister policy of killing high education. For under that law it had absolute power to create and dissolve the Senate in any manner and at any time it pleased. To attempt under the circumstances to force through the Council a new law was a wholly gratuitous piece of indiscretion and ineptitude. As a matter of fact, the new law imposed important restrictions on its powers in this respect. They may be thus summarised here, (a) a certain per-centage of the Senate was to be elected by the graduates, (b) another portion was to be elected by the nominated fellows by co-option, (c) nomination by Government was to be subject to the important condition that two-fifths of the nominees should be educationists, (d) except on the ground of non-attendance at meetings, the office of a member would not be liable to be cancelled, (e) faculties were given statutory sanction and they were empowered to add to their number, persons possessing special knowledge of the subjects of study represented by them to the extent of one-half of their number and (f) no action regarding affiliation or disaffiliation was to be taken by Government except on the recommendation of the Senate made after due enquiry. In

the clouded atmosphere of a heated controversy all this was not perceived, or if perceived, was not appreciated at its true worth. Although these restrictive provisions on the powers of the Government did not, in our opinion, go far enough, yet recognition of the right of popular election by statute was an important concession and if we judiciously exercise the right already given, we shall soon establish such a claim for its expansion as could not be long ignored by a Government like the British Government.*

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES BILL

Another Bill, which, though it created no stir and was hardly even so much as noticed by the organs of Indian public opinion, had in it large potentialities of good for the country, was passed during this session. I refer to the Co-operative Credit Societies Act. My colleague Mr. Sriram and I pointed out to the Select Committee,—we were both on it,—that the Bill would not benefit that large class of agriculturists, who were already deep in debt and had little or no credit on which to borrow on fair terms. For them what was needed was a system of agricultural banks enjoying special privileges and in return working under terms imposed by Government. Though the scope of the Bill was not expressly extended in this direction, yet it was made elastic

* It may not be out of place to mention here that the great work of Sir Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhya in connection w th the expansion of the activities of the Calcutta University has all been done under the ægis of this very Act. The set-back feared has not taken place at least in the case of this University.

enough to permit of this being done by means of rules made by Government.

C. P. COURT'S BILL

A Central Provinces Courts Bill was also passed during this session. I was in constant communication with my Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Ismay, who had drafted it, about its provisions during its passage through the Council and with his approval helped to make it more effective. Two other local bills, one relating to village sanitation and the other to Municipalities, were also passed during my term of office. They were, however, taken up at Simla and though asked to do so, I could not, owing to considerations of health, go there and work on the Select Committee. I sent my suggestions and most of them were accepted. In my Budget speech during this session, I confined myself mainly to subjects relating to my Province except in one particular. Dr. Asutosh, who spoke just before me, strongly advocated the abolition of the income tax as one of the ways of utilizing the surplus. I have an equally strong conviction on the other side. I consider income tax with a suitable minimum as a perfectly just tax. It is the only tax which touches the rich, the well-to do official, professional and commercial classes. To take off such a tax is to relieve the rich at the expense of the poor. I could not, therefore, permit it to be said that Indian opinion was in favour of Dr. Asutosh's suggestions. I accordingly opposed them and my colleagues Messrs. Gokhale and Sriram supported me. My sixth and

last year of office (1904-05) began very quietly and promised to be an uneventful session. Unfortunately, however, some notifications of doubtful legality, issued by the various Chancellors under the newly passed Universities Act for the formation of senates and syndicates, served partially to re-open the controversy, which it was thought, had been laid to rest in the previous year. The proceedings in Bombay were evidently wanting in fairness to the Indian community and in view of the official protestations during the passage of the Bill in the previous year, were specially unfortunate. In Calcutta too questionable devices had been resorted to to keep out some of the best Indians. The legality of the proceedings culminating in these results was questioned by means of a suit in the Bombay High Court. But before the suit could be decided the government introduced a Bill to validate all that had hitherto been done under the colour of the Act. There was this much to be said in favour of the Government action that much valuable time would have been lost before the matter could have been finally settled by a decision of the Privy Council. And in the meantime beyond perhaps the current office work, all other work including the holding of examinations and the conferring of degrees would have been at a standstill. The opposing argument, that the decision of the High Court would have been arrived at in a fortnight's time and so no harm would have been done, was unsound, for neither party would have been conclusively

bound by the High Court decision. Considering the importance of the question, whichever side lost, would in all likelihood have carried the litigation to the Privy Council. The other argument that a fresh notification could and should have been issued was equally unsound, for it overlooked the important fact that this could not be done until the highest Court had pronounced the notifications already issued illegal. At the same time, I was of opinion that a wrong had been done to the Indian community and to mark my sense of it, I voted against the Bill, though I did not speak on the subject. I may add I had no sympathy with the extreme view put forward with a great deal of energy that the passing of the Bill marked the disappearance of the "reign of law" and heralded the ushering in of an era of "executive discretion" uncontrolled by law. My Budget speech dealt with a few general questions, the most important of them being a suggestion to utilise any future surplus in reduction of the percentage of assets now taken as Land Revenue in the various provinces, specially in my Province where it was generally not in accordance with the half-assets rule. I served on Select Committees on several other small Bills, but they are not worth special mention. As a result of my six years' experience of Council work I may state that I do not agree in the view generally put forward by my countrymen in the press that the Indian members are mere ornamental figure-heads and are not given any opportunity to make themselves

useful. It is not perhaps generally known though it is a fact, that the real work of the Council is done in the Select Committees and no Select Committee is ever constituted without at least one Indian member being put on it. Very often, especially in the case of important measures, there are two or three of them. It is no doubt true that the officials are always in a majority, but unlike what takes place in the Council Chamber, where pre-arranged decisions of Government are generally given effect to, there is *real* discussion and threshing out of difficult and disputed points in a spirit of fairness in the Select Committees. Every shade of opinion, which may have been submitted for consideration by officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, is carefully considered and no decision is arrived at until every member has had his full say. Indian members are always treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration and though what they urge may not always find acceptance, they are given the fullest opportunity to press their views and arguments. I have often and often seen provisions of Bills modified, with a view to meet objections and suggestions of Indian members. I do not deny that where the matter involves a question of State policy with respect to which a final decision has already been arrived at, no concession is made. But even in such cases, every attempt is made to arrive at some compromise, which may satisfy Indian opinion at least to some extent. So that I am deliberately of opinion that it is possible for an Indian member, if possessed

of the necessary knowledge, experience and ability and if he is actuated by an honest desire to work in a spirit of fairness and moderation with the official members, to make his influence felt in the work of the Council. Even speeches in Council, though for the time being they may seem to bear no fruit, receive, as I have reason to belive, careful consideration in the shaping of the future policy of Government. This was indubitably the case with several of Mr. Gokhale's masterly Budget speeches.

This practically brings to a close my connection with the Legislative Council, for my term expired in next December (1905), before the session re-opened in Calcutta. My work in Council has been of benefit to me personally in as much as it has broadened my views, expanded my sympathies and given me an opportunity, which I could not have got at Nagpur amidst the distracting calls of various duties, to watch and study public questions in a systematic manner and with close and undivided attention.

SOME OF MY WRITINGS

I have written now and then on public questions and also on literary subjects. My first appearance in print was in 1871, when I contributed some articles on "Reform of our University curriculum" to my friend U.N. Das's paper, "The Indian Tribune." I advocated the introduction of science in the F. A. and the B. A. tests. The course was mostly literary in those days. I have personally derived great benefit from a study of light science in the works of

such authors as Huxley, Tyndall, Herschel, Ball, Proctor and others and was fully persuaded that nothing but good could come of a study of modern science. Of course the articles made no impression on the University authorities, very likely they did not even know of them, but they were much discussed by my college friends. While at Jubbulpore, I used to send letters dealing with local subjects to Calcutta papers. But my next serious attempt was a series of articles on the "poverty of the people in the Deccan" published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, with whose well-known editor, Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh, I had close and intimate relations. The Deccan had been convulsed by a series of agrarian riots and a Commission had sat to report on their causes and to suggest remedies. I tried to show that a Land Revenue enhanced from time to time beyond the capacities of the people to pay and fixed in cash and rigidly collected regardless of the condition of the harvests was the main cause of the poverty of the Deccan ryots. They were driven under the exigencies of the situation to seek temporary relief by borrowing from money-lenders to meet the assessment on their lands and when in course of time, they became hopelessly involved, they rose in despair against the sowkars as the immediate cause of their misery and sufferings. This was also to a great extent the conclusion arrived at by the Commission. I furnished an article on the new tenancy law for the Central Provinces to the Poona Sarvajanik

Sabha Journal. My next systematic attempt to write on public questions was when the popular mind in the Central Provinces began to be violently agitated by the methods and measures of the Settlement of Land Revenue. I wrote a number of articles in the newspapers, notably in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Statesman*, *The Times of India* and our local paper, dealing with the subject from various points of view. In view of the sitting of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1891, I prepared a pamphlet of about 100 pages on the economic situation in the Central Provinces with special reference to the new Settlement. A little previous to this Sir Antony Macdonnel, our Chief Commissioner, had visited the Bilaspur District, where the first resettlement had taken place resulting in an enhancement of various Government dues by nearly 111 per cent in many villages. Many landholders had from time to time come to Nagpur to present memorials against the new Settlement. I had helped them in the matter. A demonstration of the people against the Settlement on the occasion of the Chief Commissioner's visit was suggested to them as the most effective means of bringing their grievances to notice. So great and wide-spread was the discontent evoked by the new assessments that over 20,000 people assembled in the town of Bilaspur to present petitions against them to the Chief Commissioner. These were all drafted by me. It was suggested by those responsible for the new Settlement that this unique and unprecedented demonstration was not

spontaneous but manufactured from without. I knew all about the matter and showed in my pamphlet that the official view was a mistaken view, that it was not possible to gather 20,000 agriculturists in the height of the rains away from their homes and their fields by mere wire-pulling from outside, that the character of the people who demonstrated and the circumstances under which they demonstrated were enough evidence of the reality and solidity of their grievances. I continued to issue small pamphets on Settlement questions as the operations went on. In October 1900, the Government of India published a resolution on the re-settlement of the Nagpur District, in which an attempt was made to justify the action of the Settlement Department all over the Province. I wrote a long letter to the leading newspapers, English and Indian, in which I tried to show by appeal to official facts and figures that the position taken up in the resolution was in some respects untenable.

THE REPORT OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION, 1900

About this time Sir Antony Macdonnel's Famine Commission was having its sittings and taking evidence. One of the questions, the Commission was asked to report on was the pressure of the Land Revenue on gross produce. In view of this, I prepared for the Malguzar Sabha of Nagpur, a series of notes dealing with the new Settlement in each of the districts of the Province where it had been given effect to and also dealing with some of the general

principles underlying it. They were first published in some of the leading papers over *a nom de plume* and afterwards revised and reprinted and submitted to the Commission on behalf of the Sabha. I also submitted over my own signature notes (1) on the economic effect of the new Settlement, (2) the condition of the agricultural population in the Central Provinces and (3) Agricultural Banks. In view of the appointment of the Irrigation Commission, I prepared a note on "Irrigation in the Central Provinces." I urged in it the utility and desirability in rice-producing tracts of irrigation tanks, for which the country afforded special facilities. I am glad the suggestion has found favour and many such tanks are now under construction and more are under contemplation. My note was embodied in the official blue-book submitted to the Commission. While the Famine Commission of 1906 was sitting, I wrote a series of articles in one of the Indian newspapers on the evidence as it was given before it from time to time, criticising it and drawing conclusions from it as to to the right policy to be adopted. After the publication of the report of the Famine Commission of 1900, I wrote an article in Mr. Malabari's "East and West" on "the administration of famine relief in the Central Provinces in 1900." My object was to defend it against the strictures passed on it by Sir Antony Macdonnel's Commission. I tried to show that the management of famine relief in the Central Provinces was an administrative feat of which any Government

might well be proud, that it was a greater success by far than Sir Antony's own management of famine in the North Western Provinces in 1897, when, as it was clearly demonstrated by the Census of 1901, thousands of people died, either directly or indirectly, through starvation or by diseases brought on by starvation, that the saving of life and not economy in expenditure should be the key-note of a compagin against famine, that even extravagance in expenditure is to be preferred to disastrous loss of life from want of adequate relief, that the money raised from the people could not be more beneficially spent than in saving their lives and so on. I have written in connection with the Morris College Debating Society the following essays, (1) "Stray thoughts on religion," (2) "the Sun," (3) "Theory of Morals and (4) "The Phenomena of life." These were afterwards revised and published in some Indian magazines. I have also recently written for one of these magazines a paper on the economic condition in the Central Provinces in 1901. Soon after the labours of the Select Committee on the Civil Procedure Code Bill, I wrote a note on some of the debated and disputed questions. It was published in the Calcutta Weekly Notes over my signature. I have just written a booklet on the Settlement question in the Central Provinces on behalf of the Jabbulpore Land-holders' Association, of which that public-spirited citizen, Rai Bahadur Seth Bullubh Das, is President. Besides recording opinions on Bills before the Legislative Council in my capacity as Government

Advocate, I have in the same capacity submitted my views on various public questions which from time to time came up for decision before the Government.

II

Tithal, May 1907

During the last four years I have been spending the summer with my family in this charming little sea-side station. It is a village of not more than fifty houses, away from the noise and bustle of towns,—an ideal place to enjoy rest and recoup one's health. The house we occupy overlooks the Arbian Sea and the cool health-giving sea-breeze blows on us all day long. All arrangements for our comfort are made by my son, Lalit, who is the Executive Engineer of the district. We are a most happy family here. Lalit's wife is an English lady. Though English, she is an ideal Hindu daughter-in-law to us, such as one seldom comes across in these days even among our own people. It was here that I beguiled my time last summer in writing my autobiography. Soon after my return to Nagpur in June 1905, I was asked by my Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Ismay, to accept the Government Advocateship, an altogether new post, carrying higher duties, which had just then been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Owing to failing health and strength, I felt some hesitation in accepting the post but ultimately I accepted it. On 25th July, 1905, I received the following letter on the subject from the Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Miller:—"The Government of India has, as I

informed you recently, agreed to the raising of the salary of the Government advocate in these Provinces to.....The Chief Secretary will inform you of the conditions.....but my object in writing is to offer you the first appointment to the post..... .....and to express a hope that you will see your way to accepting it. It gives me much pleasure to make the offer to you, as I am well aware both from what I knew of your reputation before I came to these Provinces and from what I have heard since that the Administration will be fortunate if it can secure your services."

NAGPUR MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

During this year (1905-06), much of my time was taken up with Municipal affairs. Since the out-break of that terrible scourge, plague, in Nagpur in 1902, the Municipal Committee and the Government authorities have been engaged in considering and concerting measures to improve the sanitary condition of the town. It is a very old city, most irregularly built and needing improvement in various directions. Before reforms could be introduced, the necessary funds had to be provided. Accordingly a Sub-Committee of the General Committeee was appointed to consider and formulate ways and means. I was on it and we were able by suggesting certain modifications in the taxes in force, especially in Octroi, which is the main source of our income, to make an appreciable addition to the revenue, without harassment to the people. When the success of the innovations intro-

duced was assured by a permanent rise in the income, the Committee set about elaborating measures of improvement. In this they were greatly helped by the Commissioner of the Division, Mr. Craddock. He sketched out various schemes, which after they had been fully considered were adopted with some modifications suggested by the discussions which took place. I prepared a note on the financial position to carry out the proposed improvements, which included a complete system of drainage, strengthening the water-supply by the construction of a new tank, opening out congested localities, widening existing roads, constructing new roads establishing new *Bastis* on sanitary principles for housing people displaced from their homes by the other improvements, and so on. My note was intended as a supplement to the twenty years' review written by me in 1904. It was thus noticed by the Local Government in its Chief Secretary's letter No. 2908 dated the 14th March 1906. "The Chief Commissioner has read the papers with much interest and desires to express his appreciation of the admirable manner in which Mr. Bose has dealt with the history and finances of Nagpur."

The Committee are now engaged in carrying out with the help of Government the various schemes of improvement and when they are completed, Nagpur will unquestionably be better equipped to combat plague and other epidemics, which whatever their origin, are certainly greatly helped in their propagation by insanitary conditions and surroundings.

THE BENGAL PARTITION

Since September last, Bengal has been convulsed by an agitation, the like of which has not been witnessed since the introduction of British rule in India It was characterised by Lord Curzon as a wholly artificial agitation, fomented and engineered by Calcutta wire-pullers. But such a high authority as Mr. John Morley, has since admitted in Parliament that it is a genuine national demonstration, so far as the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, are concerned. In fact everybody now sees that Lord Curzon's estimate of it as a got-up affair, not resting on a real upheaval of the national mind, was as unfortunate as it was superficial. The cause of this most deplorable state of things is the partition of Bengal. Whatever the administrative necessity for the measure, its result has no doubt been to cut in two a hitherto homogeneous nation, deeply attached, as after events have shown, to their unity and nationality. At first I was of opinion that the measures was dictated by high motives of administrative convenience and utility and that it was the duty of the Bengalees to adapt themselves to the new state of things and give it a fair trial. But the publication of the official papers has shown that I was wrong in my estimate of the Government policy. It has been said by the author of the measure himself that one of its main objects was to weaken the political influence of the Bengalee nation, especially of the Calcutta Bengalees. There

is an equally frank admission by the Secretary of State (Lord George Hamilton) that he sanctioned Lord Curzon's proposal not because he was convinced that it was imperatively called for in the public interests, or that it was the best which could be devised to meet an administrative necessity, but because some concession to his Lordship was needed after he had been thrown over in his dispute with Lord Kitchener regarding Army Administration reforms. In fact the papers make it clear that purely administrative difficulties resulting from the growth of Bengal could have been met by some scheme other than the one sanctioned, which severed the majority of the Bengalee people from the old Province and attached them to the new in such a manner as to place them in the minority in both. The manner in which the scheme was elaborated and carried through was also ill-calculated to reconcile the people to it. Though so vitally affecting them, the procedure adopted was such as to make it impossible for them to consider it and to state their views about it. It was conceived in secret, all demands for information both in the Local and in the Imperial Council being steadily refused. And when at last a somewhat reluctant Secretary of State was in a manner driven to give to it his sanction out of deference to Lord Curzon's susceptibilities, it was rushed through in India with a haste, which leads to the legitimate inference that its author was determined to leave to his successor a fully accomplished fact, which it would be difficult, if not impos-

sible, for him to override, even if after events demonstrated the impolicy of the measure. The British Government is no doubt in its essence, a despotic government. But its guiding principle has always been to rule India in the interests of the people and with due regard to their genuinely expressed views and opinions after giving them a fair opportunity to submit their objections to any contemplated governmental measure. Nobody had given expression to this truth in more felicitious language than Lord Curzon himself. In replying to the Bombay Corporation address, welcoming him to India, he had said, "I "see no reason why, in India as elsewhere the official "hierarchy should not benefit by public opinion. "Official wisdom is not so transcendant as to be "superior to this form of stimulus and guidance. Of "course, it is easy to disparage native public opinion "and to say that it only represents the view of the "infinitesimal fraction who are educated. But there "are a multitude of ways in which Government may "endeavour, and in my opinion should endeavour, "to enlist public opinion upon its side. It can "harken to both sides of a case, it can take the "public into its confidence by explaining what to "the official mind seems simple enough but to the "outside public may appear quite obscure; in framing "legislation it can profit by external advice instead "relying solely upon the arcana of official wisdom." (December 1900). But as ill-luck would have it, the Bengal partition was conceived and carried out

in violation of every one of the admirable principles inculcated above. The Bengalees therefore, were not without justification when they proclaimed that the main-spring of Lord Curzon's policy in this matter was not a clearly demonstrated administrative exigency but by political expediency of doubtful morality; in plain language, its object was so to concentrate the Mahomedan element as to make it a powerful political unit, to act as a counterpoise to the Hindus and to weaken, if not to destroy, the influence of a class of people, who, rightly or wrongly, had severely attacked his Lordship's later administration as reactionary and as especially directed against the educated class. What ever the rights and wrongs of the question, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in this matter Lord Curzon displayed considerable want of far-thought, calm deliberation and sound judgment,—in fact all those qualities which go to make up true statesmanship. And I am afraid people are not wrong when they say that much of the trouble, which has flowed from the illstarred measure has to be laid at his door. It is a far cry from Bengal to the Central Provinces and the above remarks may be thought out of place here, when it is borne in mind that I have for all practical purposes ceased to belong to Bengal, my life and my life's work being wholly bound up with the Central Provinces and their people. But the fierce agitation set on foot in Bengal has overstepped its bounds and has spread all over India and Nagpur has not escaped its influence. It is said to have given birth

to a "new spirit." I think this new spirit, though not perhaps exactly in the form it has assumed, would have developed itself in any cause. Successive generations of Indians could not be impregnated through the English language and through English literature with a new conception of political society and initiated through western processes of education in a new world of thought, without giving rise to a spirit of revolt against what was considered exclusion from a legitimate share in the administration of their own country, from an adequate participation in its material benefits. The highest statesmanship would have extended the hand of sympathy and fellowship to this new spirit and harnessed it for the orderly progress of the nation. It still may not be too late. But while young India was thus being slowly but surely educated in new ideas of government and economic development, the official world knew little or nothing of what was going on below the surface. On the contrary, Lord Curzon's government, which had begun with high promises clothed in glowing language, assumed towards its end an attitude, which was looked upon as one of neglect of the aspirations of a growing people, if not of positive hostility towards them. The climax came with the Bengal partition. When all attempts to arrest the hand of Lord Curzon and get a hearing failed and the partition was consummated with despotic and almost contemptuous disregard of their feelings, the Bengalees came to think that what has been called the policy of "mendicancy" should cease and

they ushered in the boycott of English manufactures, in a spirit of sullen resentment against a government which had turned a deaf ear to all their prayers. I verily believe that with a Viceroy of the type of Lord Minto to deal with the situation, the transition from the old to the new order of things would not have been accompanied by the outburst of distrust and hostility, which, most unfortunately for the orderly development of the country, has manifested itself in Bengal and in sympathy with Bengal, in a more or less degree, almost everywhere in India. Men, permeated by a spirit of hatred against the Government, have not been slow to take advantage of this abnormal and inflamed state of the public mind. And a party has been formed, whose watch-word is to create a feeling of universal discontent against the Government, presumably with a view to prepare the way for a revolution at some future period. People with faith in British justice and in orderly progress on constitutional lines towards our political regeneration find themselves in a difficulty in combating the tactics of these new leaders, tactics not always characterised by fairness. When an almost entire nation is convinced that they have been grievously wronged, and rightly or wrongly such is undoubtedly the case with the Bengalees, appeals to reason and good sense cease to have effect, and when attempts are made to condemn the new party and its methods, they are instantly met even out of Bengal with the retort that no good can came out of agitation on old constitu-

tional lines, when Bengal's thousand and odd public meetings of protest only brought forth the reply from a liberal statesman like Mr. Morley that a "settled fact" could not be unsettled. And strange as it may appear, this expression of the Secretary of State is known, even among men who ordinarily take no interest in politics. I have said before with satisfaction that my friend Mr. Chitnavis and others had succeeded in creating a healthy public opinion in Nagpur, which recognised that in friendly co-operation with Government in all matters affecting the public interests and in recognition of the general beneficence of British rule lay the best hope of our regeneration. Matters have, however, undergone a change since then. The wave of the new spirit from Bengal with its momentum considerably added to by propaganda from Poona and Amraoti has touched Nagpur and signs are not wanting that a sustained effort will have to be put forth, if the state of things existing in Bengal and Poona is not to be repeated in Nagpur. The leader of the party does not belong to our Province. As regards the Nagpur leaders, most of them are not known to have ever done anything solid and substantial for the good of their fellow-townsmen. None the less they claim to have discovered the true secret of the nation's salvation and by pursuing a a policy of fomenting bad blood between the English and the Indian, they hope to bring about our regeneration. I hope I am not unfair in this trying to crystalise their policy.

III

Poona, 1908

My son Lalit having been transferred from Surat to Poona, I have come here to pass the summer. The nights are delightfully cool and even during the afternoon, it is not inconveniently hot. The Bungalow we occupy is in the Cantonment of Wanowrie and is very well situated and the surroundings are kept scrupulously neat and clean. I am quite comfortable here, where I am writing this portion of my notes. In the midst of my distracting duties of various kinds at Nagpur, I could not make time to do so. I passed my last summer vacation at Dumas, another sea-side place in the Surat District, about ten miles from the town of Surat. I was in very bad health at Dumas and my overtaxed brain would not permit me to do any work. I now take up the narrative at the point at which I left off at Tithal in May 1906.

MORRIS COLLEGE

Writing of the Morris College, I have made mention of the help which the Government had been induced to promise to give it to raise it to the status of a first class institution. Since the passing of the new University Act and the transfer of the Central Provinces to the jurisdiction of the Allahabad University, the question of improving and strengthening the staff had become a question of life and death for the College. For under the new regulations, it could not remain affiliated unless the teaching arrangements fulfilled the minimum requirements of the prescribed standard.

I have already explained the financial position. The trust fund yielded an income of a little above Rs. 500 a month. The fees could not be relied upon to give more than Rs. 350 a month. These added to the small Municipal grant of Rs. 125 a month were wholly insufficient to meet the cost of the necessary reforms. With my past experience in collecting subscriptions as my guide, I could not expect to raise a fund of at least six lakhs to meet the necessary expenditure by appeal to the public. The alternative before us was thus to seek the aid of Government or to close the institution. I do not share in the views of the new party, who would reject Government aid and Government co-operation in educational as in all other matters affecting the national interests. On the other hand, I have all my life been guided by the principle that circumstanced as we are, our interests are best advanced when we act in healthy and friendly co-operation with the Government. The College itself was the outcome of the combined efforts of the people and Government officials. We thus felt no hesitation in seeking and accepting Government help at this crisis in the history of the College. The Government gave us two European Professors, Rs. 2,000 a year to increase the pay of the Indian staff, an increase to which they had become justly entitled by their good work but which could not hitherto be given them for want of funds and Rs. 13,000 to improve the building, the library and the laboratory. Over and above these, the Government made efficient arrangements to teach

science to the B. Sc. students in connection with the Victoria Technical Institute. The laboratory here, which has cost over Rs. 60,000, is in charge of an English Professor with an Indian assistant, both of whom are paid by Government. The College remains as before in charge of its governing Council, the only concession which has been made in return for these very substantial aids is so to alter its constitution as to equalise the number of official and non-official members in substitution of the old rule under which the latter had a majority of one over the former. Added to these improvements in the internal economy, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, our present Chief Commissioner, who has always taken the keenest interest in the welfare of the College and its students, has promised to give the old Residency * with its extensive buildings and compound to the governing Council for housing the College. This is a splendid gift and most satisfactorily solves the building difficulty. I had during the past twelve months improved the joint building of the College and the School at a cost of about Rs. 6,000, but despite the additions made, the existing arrangements left much to be desired. Further, the Allahabad University is now insisting on separate buildings for a College and the school which feeds it. I think this is a sound principle, and we were all made to feel the urgent need of having the College in a wholly independent building during a

* This is a historic building. It was built by the Bhousla Kings of Nagpur for the Resident at their Court.

late disturbance among the students of the Neill High School. The grant of the Residency is thus as opportune as it is conductive to the best interests of the College. We are now engaged in raising funds to build a hostel for the students in the compound of the Residency. The transfer of the College to the Residency will also solve the difficulty of continuing the classes during the outbreak of plague, which now interrupts the session much to the loss of the students. It will also bring the college in close proximity to the Technical Institute, where science is taught to the higher classes. In connection with the question of house accommodation, I may mention here that I have just completed a nice little new building for the Budhwari School. It is a school under the City School Committee's management and is intended for the poor boys of the weaver population of Nagpur. The building has cost about Rs. 4,000, of which the Government has given about Rs. 1,200.

I have been of late subjected to much abusive attack in the press of the new party in Nagpur and Poona for my action in connection with the College. I have also received some letters from anonymous writers threatening personal violence. I have never been eager to bring myself before the public. But my connection with various public institutions necessarily has this effect to some extent and my actions have, now and then, been subjected to adverse criticism. But it was never so venomous as at the present time. I have been accused of having betrayed the interests

of my country for the sake of self-aggrandisement. I have been compared with Judas Iscariot of infamous memory. I wish to say once for all that this sort of criticism is only waste of energy. For it has not the slightest effect on me and my actions. In the first place, I do not read these papers and in the second place, when they are brought to my notice, I merely pass by their idle vapourings as the outcome of diseased minds. What adds to the ridiculousness of the position is that these men, who are so ready to cry down people who labour for their countrymen according to the light which is within them, have never been known to contribute a pie or devote a single hour of their lives in the cause of the institutions whose interests they profess to defend by the cheap method of vilification in public prints. Be that as it may, I and the institutions I am connected with have survived many such attacks and I have no reason to think that the future will in any wise be unlike the past. To quote Mr. Gokhale, "public duties undertaken at the bidding of no man" and ideals of public conduct formed during more than a quarter of a century of strenuous public life are not to be shaped and regulated to suit the views of men with whom, looking to their past lives and knowing what I know of them, it is impossible for me to agree. Instead of frittering away their time and energy in these impotent attacks, they would be much better employed, if they are really sincere, in founding educational institutions according to their own ideals.

CONGRESS AT NAGPUR IN 1907

The twenty-second session of the Indian National Congress, that veteran Congress leader, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, presiding, was held at Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1906. It was during this session that the existence, among those who had hitherto taken part in the movement, of two parties, holding apparently divergent views regarding the aims and objects of the Congress and the ways and means to attain them, was for the first time tangibly disclosed. For some time past a body of men within the Congress circle had been trying to mould the Congress in accordance with the views identified with the name of Mr. B. G. Tilak of Poona. This gentleman had been prosecuted in the High Court of Bombay. Whether the prosecution was well or ill-advised and the conviction right or wrong, it is foreign to my present purpose to discuss. But there can be no question, the case served to give Mr. Tilak and his views a prominence, which they would not probably have otherwise attained. He at once stepped into the position of leader of the new party, holding views, not in consonance with the principles, which had hitherto governed the proceedings of the Congress. Attempts had been made at one or two preceding sessions to get him nominated President. Apart from all other considerations, the old leaders, who had created and nursed the movement, could not agree to recognise as their official head, a person with his views. Such a course would have meant severance of all

constitutional relations with Government and would thus have cut the Congress adrift from its old moorings. The great majority of those who took part in the Congress proceedings sided with their old leaders and the attempts of Mr. Tilak's friends did not meet with success. The unfortunate Bengal partition, however, brought into existence new forces, which greatly strengthened the position of Mr. Tilak and his followers. He found many new recruits in Bengal and not only in Bengal but out of Bengal as well, among people, who sympathised with Bengal. Nagpur, especially since its amalgamation with Berar, had been brought into close touch with Mr. Tilak and a party was formed here, which acknowledged him as its leader and pledged itself to get him nominated President of the Congress if it were held at Nagpur. The delegates chosen from the Central Provinces for the session of 1906 included a considerable number of men of this new party. In view of the fact that no session of the Congress had been held in the Central Provinces since 1891, the local leading men had been informally requested to invite it to Nagpur during 1907. I was against the proposal. From what I knew of the leaders of the new party, I thought that joint action with them was not possible, that unless they were allowed to manage things according to their own ideas, that above all unless the nomination of the President was left to their choice, they would prevent the smooth and harmonious working of the organization. I did

not hesitate to impress these views on those of my friends who were to go to Calcutta as delegates. I also wrote to the same effect to Mr. Chitnavis, who was then in Calcutta, attending the session of the Legislative Council. When, however, the Central Provinces delegates actually met at Calcutta to discuss the question, delegates belonging to the new party gave an undertaking that they would work shoulder to shoulder with the old Nagpur leaders with Mr. Chitnavis as their head and would loyally submit to the decision of the majority. Owing to indifferent health, I myself did not go to Calcutta, but I came to know of what had taken place there from my friends. Relying on these promises, which, as subsequent events showed, were forgotten as if never made, the necessary invitation was given by Mr. Chitnavis. After the return of the delegates from Calcutta, active steps were taken to form local committees in accordance with the constitution settled at Calcutta and it soon became clear that the compact, on the faith of which alone, Mr. Chitnavis and his friends had given the invitation, was not to be respected. The new party tried to concentrate all power in their own hands, reducing the "Moderates" as the opposite party has been called, to nonentity. The meetings of the organization committee were characterised by heated disputations and no work was done. Side by side with these unhappy proceedings, the new party began a carefully planned compaign of the vilest abuse both in the press and on public platforms

against the moderate leaders. The latter, however, silently worked on to raise the necessary fund and to secure a majority of members in the Committee that was to nominate the President. Their efforts met with remarkable success. They raised nearly Rs. 29,000 and secured an overwhelming majority. This clearly showed that the new party had failed to make any impression on the people, especially among the thinking and respectable classes. To the Nagpur Extremists belongs the "honour" of inaugurating a new method of conducting public affairs. On the 22nd of September, 1907, a day which will long be remembered as having given birth to the new cult, a meeting of the Committee was held at the local Town Hall. It was attended by over 500 members from all parts of the Province, an overwhelming majority of whom belonged to the moderate party. This was well-known to the new party and as after-events proved, their leaders came to the meeting with a carefully thought-out plan to wreck it, unless the Moderates surrendered to them unconditionally. They had picked out from among themselves half a dozen stalwarts ready for every emergency. These men prevented by the use of brute force the Chairman from taking the chair. They shouted down every speaker on the moderate side and themselves kept up a continuous din of irrelevant talk. The moderate leaders were not prepared to meet rowdyism with rowdyism and though they could have crushed the obstructionists by the very weight of numbers, they

abstained from disgracing the cause by indulging in a free fight. They accordingly dispersed without doing any business. The new party, by appealing to the worst passions of the ignorant masses in some of the disreputable quarters of the town, had collected a large body of rowdies outside the Town Hall and many of the moderate leaders were assaulted as soon as they came out of the Hall. The leaders of the new party, on the contrary, were garlanded and carried in triumph. Unfortunately the police failed to preserve peace and prevent these assaults taking place in public streets. This inaction had a bad moral effect. It created an impression that the new party in their attacks on their opponents could count on the benevolent neutrality of the local officers. This led to many disgraceful scenes. Respectable moderate leaders were openly insulted and attacked in public places by persons presumably belonging to or sympathising with the new party. This, however, by the way. The breaking up of the meeting was immediately followed by threats in the recognised organ of the new party that there would be no hesitation to re-enact the scenes of the 22nd September and to adopt, if necessary, even more drastic measures, if the moderates should renew the attempt to carry out their programme. It was even said that the Congress itself would be wrecked if the moderates decided upon foisting on the Presidential chair, a person not enjoying the confidence of the new party and professing its faith. After careful consideration the moderates came to

the conclusion that the Congress could not be held at Nagpur, unless they were prepared to repel force by force or to seek the protection of the police to keep order. Neither course they thought would be consistent with the position they held in the country. So they applied to the All-India Congress Committee to arrange to hold the session elsewhere. It was accordingly held, or rather attempted to be held, at Surat. What took place there is well-known and as I had no connection with the proceedings, I shall say nothing on the subject. It suffices to say that the heroes of the meeting of the 22nd September surpassed themselves at Surat. I was not a member of the local Committee, I could not be, being Government Advocate. But I gave such help as I could to my friends, the leaders of the moderate party, at every stage of these deplorable proceedings. I drafted for them the letter to the All-India Committee and took part in the various negotiations that were carried on to bring about a compromise. At first the new party seemed to have faith in me and I was appealed to by its leaders to mediate. I thought I had almost succeeded but their refusal at the last moment to carry out their promise to accept the nomination of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh as President put an end to all further negotiations. Their leader's conduct, while these scenes were being enacted at Nagpur for securing the Presidentship, might throw some light on the proceedings at the sitting of the Congress at Surat. A word from him would have at once arrested the

destroying hands of his followers at Nagpur. But not only was that word not spoken, but his paper practically endorsed their action. An esteemed friend of his, to whom he was under obligation in connection with the conduct of his defence in the sedition case, implored him to intervene and thus save the situation; but he kept his own counsel. While these things were happening, the leaders of the new party were, as far as could be made out, engaged in indoctrinating the student community of Nagpur with the principles and ideals of their political faith. The reason is not far to seek. They knew they had slender chance with the sober members of society. But nothing was easier than to influence and inflame the immature minds of school and college boys, and by telling them that the salvation of their "motherland" lay in their hands to turn their youthful heads and to make converts of them. They were unfitted by their lack of knowledge and experience to bring to bear upon the consideration of the most difficult problems that kept the nation throbbing with excitement, a well-informed and thoughtful mind. Politics is as much a science as any other subject affecting the moral and intellectual progress of the human race. It was impossible in the nature of things that boys, most of whom were yet in their teens, should be able to grasp all the pros and cons and come to an independent and sound decision. And what was to be expected under the circumstances happened. The boys were carried away by the appeals to their so-called "patriotism" and were betray-

ed into extravagances of conduct, regretted by all, who had their true interests at heart. Just about the time of the meeting of 22nd September, an agitation for the special benefit of the students was set a foot, prejudicing their young minds against the moderate leaders and the school and college authorities. It was said that some of the boys took an active part in breaking up the above meeting and in the subsequent assaults on and insults to, the moderate leaders. I cannot say how far this was founded on truth. But this much is certain that an unhealthy spirit was generated among them. They were withdrawn from their legitimate duties, they were taught to break loose from all restraints of discipline and to defy and disregard those in authority over them, and were converted into active agents and instruments of the new party. The natural consequences followed. The boys of the Neill City School began to show distinct signs of impatience at all rules of discipline. For some time past, I had been engaged in improving the staff. I had succeeded after long-continued negotiations and representations in securing from Government an additional monthly grant of Rs. 400 and with this help, had got appointed a distinguished M. A. of the Poona Deccan College as Head Master. We were determined to make an earnest effort to wean the boys from the bad influences, which were causing serious injury to their moral nature and imperilling their chance of acquiring sound knowledge. The new head master was looked upon as our agent

for enforcing this policy and he was on this account regarded with disfavour. The immunity which the rowdyism of the new party had enjoyed on the 22nd of September also acted as a stimulus to the already rising rebellious spirit of the boys. They began to greet the head master with cries of "Bande Mataram" in season and out of season. They were admonished by him as to the impropriety of their conduct but to no effect. On the matter being brought to my notice, I told him that the boys were just then in an excited frame of mind and that it would be better to take no notice of these "cries." If treated with indifference, they would soon tire of them and cease to give trouble. They, however, soon brought matters to a crisis. A month after these incidents, the Government Inspector of Schools, a Mahomedan gentleman, paid his annual visit of inspection and was greeted with loud shouts of "Bande Mataram," at almost every class to which he went, in determined disobedience of orders issued by the head master. The Inspector could not overlook this defiantly insulting conduct, and he made an official report about it to me as Secretary, asking the Committee to punish the boys. I had by this time come to the conclusion that the matter had passed the stage when it could be left to right itself. The local organ of the new party would not give the poor boys a chance to come to their senses. Week after week they were told that school authorities were crushing "nationalism" out of them and that they should show themselves true sons

of their "motherland." Accompanied by three members of the Committee, who attended in response to my notice, I went to each class and spoke to the boys. I began with the lowest class. I had no difficulty in putting matters right so far as the small boys were concerned. I spoke to them kindly, pointed out to them the impropriety of their conduct and they readily expressed their regret, explaining that they had merely followed the advice of the elder boys. It was impossible to deal severely with children under 12 years and I excused them, telling them to behave properly and obey their masters in future. The matter, however, assumed a different aspect when we came to the matriculation class. Here we were greeted with defiant shouts of "Bande Mataram." I thought I would try and reason with these boys. I began by expressing my pleasure at being received with such high honour and asked them to complete my satisfaction by repeating the whole song. I called up each boy by turn. I had taken with me the "Ananda Math." They cut a most ridiculous figure. Not a single boy knew anything beyond the two words "Bande" and "Mataram." I then told them that it was a sacred song, instinct with noble thoughts and palpitating with high ideals of patriotism and was meant by its immortal author to serve a better purpose than to be turned into an instrument of insult to school authorities and of defiance of school discipline. If they sincerely wished to learn it so as to be able to use it as its author intended it to be

used, a source of inspiration for the awakening of a real spirit of nationalism, I would gladly set apart an hour for so worthy an object. They were at last shamed into the admission that they wanted not to insult but to show their respect to the Inspector by accosting him with their national song. I took them at their word and asked them to put down in writing what they had just said. We then left the class giving them half an hour within which to complete the writing. When we came back to the class, instead of the document being handed over to us, we were received with insulting shouts of "Bande Mataram." Once more I explained to them the serious consequences of their deliberate disregard of all rules of discipline but they had taken leave of their senses and remained defiantly silent. I then told them that it was impossible to allow them to remain in the school and that their names would be struck off the roll. I then left. All this took place in the morning. It seems the boys instead of going home, loitered about the place and gathered in large numbers in and about the open grounds attached to the school. The Morris College, as I have had occasion to say before, is located in the same building. The College was closed about the same time, and as its European Professor of English, who had joined the College a short while ago, was getting into his carriage, he was mobbed by the boys and hustled. The Police headquarters are close by and the City Superintendent coming to hear of the row, came to

the spot and arrested about 21 boys including one or two College students. The latter were, I may say, perfectly innocent, but in the confusion, the police failed to discriminate, and, finding them among the crowd of boys, arrested them. I came to know all this in the afternoon. By that time the boys had been released on bail. Lying and libellous telegrams were sent all over India by one of the leaders of the new party charging me with having expelled a whole class of 100 boys, because they had greeted me with my own national song, believing in their innocence that it would gratify me and with having handed over a large number of them to the Police for the same offence. It so happened that one of the papers, *Indu Prakash* of Bombay of the 28th October 1907, realising probably the seriousness of the charge against me, published the name of the recorded sender of the telegram. Just for the fun of the thing, one of my friends gave currency to the report that criminal proceedings would be taken against the supposed author of the libel. He at once wired to the papers denying that he was the author. The matter ended here. Fed with the false promise of the opening of a "National School" by the new party, the students of the school and the College entered into a combination to boycott both the institutions and when they opened at the usual hour on the Monday following, the incident having taken place on a Saturday, not a single student attended. I had done everything in my power to bring the

boys to their senses and end the incident satisfactorily and without humiliating them, for I knew they were more sinned against than sinning. But there was a limit beyond which it would have been disastrous in the interests of the misguided boys themselves to go, and that limit had been reached. The College boarders aggravated the situation by refusing to obey their Principal when he went to them in the Hostel, which is close by, and personally asked them to come to the lectures. They refused giving as an excuse that they were afraid of arrest by the police. Just about this time, a so-called national school, opened at Amraoti to give shelter to some Berar boys, who had been expelled from a Government School for insubordination, collapsed for want of funds. The promised National School at Nagpur also showed no signs of materialising. All this opened the eyes of the deluded boys of our school and College and they in due course made their submission and were taken back. Good has come out of evil, for since then they have been very well-behaved. It is much to be desired that no further attempts will be made to seduce them from the only path wherein lies their true welfare. Their time to take an active part in politics is not yet. Now is the time for them to attend to their studies without distraction and by acquisition of knowledge, to perfect their mental equipment, so that when the right time comes, they may take their proper place in the struggle for national existence and progress that is going on all around us. No sensible man for a mo-

ment wishes to smother the sense of nationality that is growing in their minds. No right-minded man can wish them to forget that they owe a duty to their motherland. The more they cherish such sentiments, the better for the country. Loud talkers we have many, but real workers few. Eloquent speeches on public platforms and soul-stirring articles in newspapers will not build a nation. What is needed is work, real solid silent work and a spirit of self-abnegation and self-effacement. It will be a happy day for us, when our students learn to distinguish real work from vapid talk, the self-sacrificing patriot, who works but seldom talks, from the noisy agitator, bankrupt in deeds though rich in words, whose chief aim is self-advertisement and self-aggrandisement. I have perhaps been long over this unhappy school incident, but it is typical of what is going on, in a more or less aggravated form, all over India and so deserves more than a passing notice.

I have already had occasion to point out that for the past 30 years or so, I have in my daily life tried to use as much as possible articles made in the country in preference to foreign manufactures. I could not but therefore hail with pleasure the rise of the spirit, which underlies what is known as the " Swadeshi " movement. For some years past " Swadeshism " had been in the air. The attention of the people had begun to be drawn to the development of local industries to supply local wants. The holding of an Industrial Exhibition side by side

with the holding of the Congress at Calcutta in the year 1901 was the first official recognition, if I may so call it, by the Congress leaders, that politics should no longer monopolise the energy of the nation, but that industrial development should find a prominent place in the programme of the Congress. The example set in Calcutta was followed in subsequent sessions. But it was the partition of Bengal, which gave the new movement a tremendous impetus. When all attempts to have it reversed by holding meetings and petitioning Government failed, the idea of "Swadeshism" was seized upon and a new creed, that of a boycott of all goods of British origin, was grafted on it, with the avowed object of causing such loss to British trade as would compel attention to and sympathetic treatment of, Bengal's grievances. Later on the propaganda was persisted in and vigorously carried on with a view to create discontent in the land and widen the breach between the people and the Government. I have no right to judge of my countrymen in Bengal. They know their business better than I can claim to do. All the same, I cannot help remarking that their policy was foredoomed to failure. The British Government is never likely to yield to menaces. And as the supplanting of the present rulers by a purely Indian national government is under existing circumstances beyond the range of practical politics, it is not, in my humble judgment, a sound policy to create and foster a feeling of irreconcilable race hatred and race-antagonism against

a nation under whose rule we have to live. And the result has been that we have divided ourselves into two parties, who are never so happy as when abusing one another in their respective organs in the press. And while we are thus wasting our energy in destroying one another's work, the *real* work, that of advancing our industrial interests, is not receiving the attention it deserves. I do not think we shall lose much if the word "Boycott" were eliminated from our political vocabulary, and our undivided attention is directed to the spread of a true spirit of nationality, of self-help and self-reliance and to the introduction of practical measures to develop and encourage our industries, operating hand in hand with a frank recognition of the many and various benefits, which, despite its defects, the present Government has conferred on the country. I firmly believe that the cause we have all of us so much at heart is not likely to be advanced by our drifting into a condition of acute antagonism to the Government. On the contrary, I am convinced there are a great many among the British administrators of India who are honestly devoted to our interests and will help us in our efforts to better ourselves. Even the most prejudiced among us must admit that the Government has been doing something of late to develop our industries, and the best policy, as it appears to me, is to take full advantage of Government measures, while in no way relaxing our own efforts or giving up our own independent action. The Nagpur leaders have talked

themselves almost hoarse in denouncing the Government and in creating an internecine war between themselves and their followers on the one side and those whom they in their charity call "the betrayers of their country" on the other. If they would now abate a little of their great energy in these directions and quietly set down to work and do something tangible to give effect to their professions, they would be earning the blessings of all. It has been said by their own organs that they have collected about 40,000 rupees and their speakers have publicly said they will find no difficulty in raising much more. If so, why not translate words into action without further delay? I for my part may say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart, that my utmost goodwill will follow them in their efforts to found a National Industrial School on the lines adopted in Calcutta under the guidance of Sir Guru Das and others, and, if acceptable, my humble services, whatever they may be worth, will be at their disposal. Let me begin again with the Congress. When it was invited to hold its sitting in Nagpur in 1907, it was resolved, following past precedents, to have an industrial exhibition along with it. But at the very outset, the new party created difficulties by insisting on the adoption of the principle that it should be entirely dissociated from Government, official co-operation in any shape or form being absolutely tabooed. The "Moderates" could not agree to this and as a forestate of what was to come later on, the exhibition was

abandoned at an early stage. Presumably to demonstrate their ability to walk without any outside help, the new party started a movement to open a shop where all Swadeshi articles, to be had in the country and needed for our daily use, were to be gathered together and offered to the people at reasonable rates. The shop was opened by their leader after a somewhat imposing opening ceremony, in which eloquent speeches found, of course, a prominent place. But there the matter seems to have ended. The shop no doubt was formally started, but very little has been heard of it since. It is still lives, it is dragging on a somewhat inglorious and unknown existence. In any case, it has failed of its avowed object of successfully helping the people to boycott foreign goods.

INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION AT NAGPUR

After the regrettable collapse of the attempt to hold an industrial exhibition in 1907, the leaders of the moderate party opened negotiations with the Government with a view to the holding of such an exhibition in the cold season of 1908. There had been no exhibition in the Central Provinces since the Nagpur Exhibition of December 1866 followed by its replica at Jubbulpore in the following year under the regime of Sir Richard Temple, the first Chief Commissioner. Nagpur was than a land-locked town, 70 miles from the nearest railway on the Bombay side and completely isolated from Calcutta, Mirzapur, nearly 400 miles away, being the nearest point

reached by railway from Bengal. The province has made great strides since then. The population has increased from 9 to 13 millions, the exports and imports from 2½ crores of rupees to nearly 30 crores, the area under crop from 12½ million acres to 17 millions, the number of schools from 1441 with 46,000 scholars to about 3100 with 2,25,000 scholars. We have now a considerable number of cotton mills and gins and presses. Manganese, coal and other minerals have been discovered and several mines are working and the opening of more is in contemplation. Several railways now intersect and traverse the province and connect its principal towns with the ports on both sides of India. A display of the manufactured and raw products of the Province under these favourable circumstances was, it was thought, likely to help its industrial activity and bring it in touch with similar efforts in other parts of India. The response of the Government was most hearty and no time was lost in forming a strong Central Exhibition Committee at Nagpur with branches in every district, in which officials and non-officials combined in friendly co-operation. Of the three Secretaries to the Nagpur Central Committee two are non-officials, my friends Mr. Krishna Rao Phatak, the life and soul of that purely indigenous and successful mill, the Pulgaon Mill and Mr. V. R. Pandit. The official Secretary is Mr. Low, an officer well-known for his broad sympathy for the people and who is now engaged in making a complete survey of the arts and

manufactures of the Province. Owing to diminishing strength, I have not been able to be one of the working members, though I am on the Central Committee and two of the sub-Committees. The organization of the details of the work is being actively carried on and we all earnestly hope the Exhibition will be a success, not as a mere show, but in its permanent and abiding effect on the agricultural and industrial progress of Province. It will have repaid the expenditure of all the money and the energy that its successful working will entail, if it helps to direct the newly awakened Swadeshi spirit to flow in the right channel. For we have a vast lee way to make up. As was once said by that great Indian Economist, the late Mr. Ranade, "the political domination of one country by another attracts more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt, domination which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence, which paralyses the springs of the various activities which together make up the life of a nation." We are in this condition and it is only by the adoption of economically sound methods that we can ever hope to make any head-way against the tremendous difficulties that bar our way. Self-denying ordinances preached on the platform and through the press, may serve a valuable purpose by facilating consumption of such articles as are now produced in the country and also by acting as a stimulus to their production by main-

taining a demand for them. But our best energies should be directed to production. It is here that the real difficulty lies. For production means a combination of capital, enterprise and skill and we are sadly lacking in every one of these. Take, for instance, the principle article of our daily use, cloth. We import at present nearly 22 millions sterling worth every year and it will take long before we can hope to produce this enormous quantity ourselves. This is the opinion of Mr. Bezonjee, one of the greatest authorities on mill industry. And so long as we are not able to do this, foreign goods will flow into the country in spite of all our boycott vows and resolutions. There is one other point, which is often lost sight of. Appeals are made to our mill managers to reduce their rates so as to beat down foreign competition. But the very life of the industry depends on its profitable working and this means selling at the highest rates with the state of the market may permit. To conduct the concern on patriotic as opposed to business principles is only to court disaster. The new spirit is unquestionably an event of the highest importance to us and it behoves us all to stimulate it in the best way we can. Above all it must be engineered by practical business men on sound economic principles and should not be fostered and utilised as an instrument of political rancour and resentment. Such a course must before long bring about a collapse of the movement.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

The prescribed term of office of the Municipal members of Nagpur is three years. A new election took place in March last (1908). For some months previous to this, it was given out that the leaders of the new party would make a determined effort to enter the Municipality in order to purge it of members, who had hitherto taken a prominent part in it and had managed it in recognition of the principle that government co-operation was essential to its successful administration. This was entirely opposed to the creed of the new party, the most important plank in it being a severance of relations with Government. But even in the freest countries in the world, the functions of city or municipal governments are those which are delegated by the State out of its general coercive and administrative powers and in our case, the Committees are creatures of an Act of the Legislature, which, while it gives them authority to act as corporations within certain defined limits, keeps the ultimate control in the hands of Government. It is thus not possible to run a Municipality independently of Government, much less in defiance of its orders and instructions. Properly speaking, persons professing the faith of the new party have therefore, no place in such an institution. None the less our friends began an active canvass with a view to contest the elections. I considered this a danger. For a quarter of a century, we had devoted our best energies to the work of the Municipality and with the

sympathetic help of the officers of Government, had succeeded in introducing many much-needed and highly appreciated improvements. We are engaged in co-operation with Government in elaborating further far-reaching reforms. The introduction at such a juncture of a disturbing element meant not only a possible indefinite postponement of these reforms but the loosening of the foundation of the position already gained and the imperilling of the privilege of local self-government already secured. After the bitter experience of the tactics of the new party in the matter of the Congress, some of my co-adjutors in the Committee were for retiring from the disagreeable contest, leaving it to the Government to take such steps as it might deem fit to protect the public interests involved in the proper administration of municipal affairs. I could not agree to take up this somewhat craven and despondent attitude. The Government had given us a valuable privilege and it was our duty to show ourselves worthy of it. To run away at the first sign of danger was to proclaim our own incompetence. I had thus no hesitation in making up my mind to adopt every legitimate means to frustrate the attempt of our friends to repeat their feat of wrecking what other people had laboriously built up by converting the Municipal Committee into a battle ground for the ventilation of political questions and thereby making it impotent for the purpose for which it existed. All I wanted was a fair fight and no re-enactment of the disgraceful scenes of 22nd

September 1907. With this end, I with the help of my friends organised a sort of election committee, selected our own candidates, appointed canvassers in each ward to explain the position to the electors and to impress on them the importance of giving their votes to such persons as would continue the work of the past 25 years. I also wrote and placed in the hands of each elector and the general public a sort of election address, in which I explained the principles underlying the constitution of the Committee, the good work of 25 years and the unfitness of people, permeated by a feeling of bitter animosity against Government, to be members of an institution, which could not be successfully worked except in friendly collaboration with Government and with pecuniary help from Government to finance all its large undertakings. We met with a measure of success beyond our expectations. This was one more proof that the new party had no hold over the respectable classes having a stake in the country. The new Committee has received an accession of some good men and its composition is such as to be representative of all classes. I may mention in passing that out of 25 elected members, 8 are Mahomedans, most of whom have been elected with the help of Hindu votes. This shows that prejudices of race and religion have no place in the conduct of our Municipal affairs. In fact we are very happy in this part of the country in this respect. The Hindus and Mahomedans here live as brothers, taking part in one another's social

amenities, forgetting that they are followers of two different religions. This result had given me great satisfaction. In a Municipal Board you want cool-headed practical men of action, able to bring to bear on its affairs a keen business instinct and experience gained in the conduct of their private affairs. I believe we have got a goodly number of such men in the new Committee. I have just got passed by it a new set of business rules and have also got appointed a number of working Sub-Committees in charge of the various administrative departments. The new members have entered on their duties with zeal and earnestness. I am devoting some of my leisure here in revising the rules and byelaws. With the advance of the people in the knowledge of law and their rights and privileges thereunder it has become very necessary to regulate Municipal proceeding in strict accordance with all the requirements of law.

RELIEF MEASURES IN 1907.

The monsoon of 1907 was not a propitious one. It failed in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, thereby causing there an actual famine. We in the Central Provinces have not been so badly off. The rains with us have no doubt been neither copious nor properly distributed and the crops have been of an indifferent character. But as the past few years have been good years, the agriculturists have been able to tide over the partial failure of their harvests with the help of Takavi granted by Government and it has not been found necessary to open relief works on any

extensive scale. But a peculiar feature of the year has been the very heavy rise in the prices of food grains. These now stand even at higher figures than in the famine of 1899-1900. This abnormal condition of the grain market has caused great suffering among the classes with a small fixed income and they constitute by no means an inconsiderable section of the population, especially in towns. Owing to a corresponding rise in the wages of labour, the labouring classes have not been much affected. It is however a difficult problem how best to help the respectable middle classes. They will not accept charitable relief, nor will they go to any relief work. The experience gained in the past two famines has suggested only one mode of assisting them, namely, the opening of shops, where food grains are sold at rates cheaper than the prevailing market rates, the resulting loss being recouped by private charity. But even this mode of relief can only reach a certain proportion of the sufferers. The really self-respecting will not even go to a cheap grain shop, whatever their privations. Such is the high sense of delicacy among our people. However, the cheap grain shops are very helpful to the lower middle classes. On the first appearance of distress induced by the high prices, we combined with the district officers and with subscriptions raised by our joint efforts, we opened a cheap grain shop at Nagpur. It eased the situation to a considerable extent. The distress in other parts of India becoming acute, an Indian Charitable Relief Fund on

the lines of what had been done in the past two famines was opened at Calcutta under the auspices of the Viceroy and we of the Central Provinces were asked to join and co-operate. A public meeting of the residents of Nagpur was held at the Macdonnel Town Hall in April last, the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Drake-Brockman, in the absence of the Chief Commissioner, who was at the time touring in the distressed parts, presiding. It seems no movement can now be inaugurated without our friends of the new party making their existence felt. Up till the date of the meeting, these gentlemen had done nothing to relieve the distress among their countrymen. They could, if so inclined, have started an organization of their own or have joined our cheap grain shop committee. But though invited, they had neither subscribed to our fund nor co-operated with us. The meeting convened by us was intended to be an auxiliary to the Calcutta meeting and yet the leaders of the new party attended it in force and moved an amendment to the effect that we should constitute ourselves into an independent Committee, in which the officials should have no place and which should maintain no relations with them. I had no desire to take part in the discussion, but had to do so to explain what had been done in the past two famines. I showed by quoting from the records in my possession that the principle that the organization for the distribution of charitable relief should in the main be non-official was fully recognised on the last two occasions, the secretaries and the members of

the working committees being mostly non-official. At the same time, to prevent overlapping of State and charitable relief and to obviate the need of a separate establishment for distribution of the latter, especially in the case of agriculturists, it was found necessary to act in co-operation with Government officials engaged in giving State relief. This system had yielded the best results and should not be departed from on the present occasion, those disagreeing with it being at liberty to have their own independent organization. The amendment was lost and a Provincial Committee with two officials, the Judicial Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner, was constituted. Subsequently an Executive Committee was formed. I became a member though I could not on the score of failing health accept the Secretaryship. However, I hope to be able to give every help to my friend, Mr. G. L. Subhedar, who has been appointed Secretary. The distress not being by any means severe and the fund likely to be at our disposal not large, the work will be comparatively light.

NAGPUR INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.

The foundation stone of the building in which the Nagpur Industrial Exhibition is to be held was laid on the 22nd of May. I am sorry I could not be present. I helped from here (Poona) to prepare the address that was read on the occasion. Its key-note is that our future lies in economic progress and that this is a field, which offers the best and widest scope for the co-operation of the officials and the non-officials. As I

have already said, and I repeat it once more, the Swadeshi movement is one in the right direction. Nothing will advance our best interests more effectively than if the rising generation seek to equip themselves not merely for official employment, or even for the liberal professions, which are already overstocked, but for the higher forms of trade and industry. And they should be taught to profit more by the lessons which the industrial West has to teach us than to cultivate an unreasoning anti-foreign bias. In the creation of a trained middle class competent to develop our agricultural, commercial and industrial resources in the spirit of modern enterprise and science, lies our real salvation. We all hope that the Exhibition will be a step in this direction and in this hope, we wish to do all we can to make it a success.

Here I proceed to record a most unexpected incident in my life. On the 28th of June last (1907), I had gone to bed after my breakfast, not feeling well. When I got up, I found a number of telegrams on my table. The first I took up was addressed to me with the prefix of "Sir." My clients are in the habit of addresssing me in various queer ways. I thought some one of them had repeated the usual mode of beginning a letter with a "Sir" in the telegram. On opening it, I found it was from the Maharaja of Darbhanga congratulating me on my creation as a Knight of the United Kingdom. The next one I opened, was from my Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock. It

was to the following effect: "Heartiest congratulation to you and Lady Bose on your well deserved Knight-hood." The rest were in a similar strain. Telegrams and letters of congratulations came pouring in during the next fortnight from various gentlemen, European and Indian, officials and non-officials. I always considerd that my services, humble as they were, had been sufficiently recognised by the conferral of the Companionship of the Indian Empire. I hope I will be believed when I say that I expected no further honour. I have nearly reached the end of my labours and it never entered my thought that my services required or deserved further recognition at the hands of Government. I need hardly say I was deeply moved at this unique honour being conferred on me, an honour usually reserved for men in much higher spheres of life. In fact for some days after this I felt considerable embarrassment, when meeting friends or attending Court. For wherever I went, I was overwhelmed with most kindly words of congratulation. My Judicial Commissioner congratulated me in open Court. The Bar Association gave a party, which was attended by officials and non-officials alike. The Municipal Committee and the District Council, of which bodies I am a member, recorded their sense of satisfaction and sent me congratulatory resolutions. Highly as I prized the honour, it gave me additional pleasure when I found that it has given satisfaction to all who know me. I believe I received over 200 congratulatory

wires and letters. I earnestly hope and pray that I may always continue to be worthy of this high honour and that my friends and others who have expressed their pleasure at its conferral may never have occasion to recall the words they have written and spoken in connection with it. May a whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of the Province of my adoption and affection, where I have now passed 36 years of my life, always characterise my public acts during the days that remain to me in this world. May my interest in the institutions with which I am connected never slacken and so long as health and strength last, may I never cease to do what lies in me to help in the maintenance of a high standard of efficiency and probity in our public life.

IV

Calcutta, May, 1910.

I have come to Calcutta to be present at and take part in the marriage ceremonies of my youngest sister's sons and having nothing particular to do here I pick up once more the threads of this narrative. The Nagpur Exhibition, to which I have already made reference, was opened by the Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, on the 12th of November, 1908, before an assembly of four to five thousand people, drawn from all parts of the two Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar. An attempt was made by those opposed to the principle of co-operation with Government even in matters industrial to boycott it, but it met with no success.

C. P. INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION

The opening address from the Exhibition Committee was written by me and it embodied my views on the subject of industrial development. The show was on the whole a success. Thanks to the energy of Mr. Low and his fellow-workers, on the opening day everything was found in its proper place. Thousands thronged daily to the beautifully laid out grounds and derived both profit and pleasure from their visit. The agricultural section attracted special attention and the officials of the Agricultural Department were on the spot at specified hours to explain to the people the various improved methods by practical demonstrations of their working. Mr. Low fell seriously ill just at the time when the opening ceremony was performed and greatly to our regret, he had to withdraw himself completely from the work all through the time the Exhibition remained open, which it did till the end of January, 1909. We had to divide his duties among ourselves. I attended daily in the afternoon for about three to four hours to discharge my share of them. I took special charge of the collections. I examined the accounts daily and satisfied myself that all realizations went into the Treasury. I have the satisfaction of knowing that the auditor had no fault to find with this part of the accounts.

DESECRATION OF THE VICTORIA STATUE

On the night of the opening day, when the people were engaged in seeing the fire-works, which had been arranged to provide some innocent amusement for the

public generally, an event, alike shameful and cowardly, took place. I have in a previous part of this narrative referred to the marble statue of the Queen-Empress which had been set up to commemorate the virtues of her character and the benignity of her influence. This statue was desecrated by the dastardly hands of a wretched misguided youth, a boarder in the Agricultural College Hostel, which is located in the same grounds where the statue stands. Several others were suspected to have been in the conspiracy but he alone was ultimately found guilty by the High Court of the Province, the rest being let off for lack of evidence. Owing to the precautions taken, nothing untoward happened on the Exhibition grounds, but evidently this peculiarly odious method of displaying dissent from the principles which underlay its organization was adopted as it was thought that owing to the loneliness of the place, the crime would go undetected and unpunished. We all felt deeply disgraced that the sanctity attaching to the memorial of a great and good life should have been thus violated.

ASSASSINATION OF BABU ASUTOSH BISWAS

This event synchronized with the appearance of that new spirit of anarchism which had convulsed India since some time past. That there existed a secret murderous conspiracy which used as its tool impulsive immature youths of disordered intellect to carry out its mandates by assassination, there can be no reasonable doubt. On the evening of the 10th of February, 1909, a private wire was received by a

member of the Bar at Nagpur that the Public Prosecutor of Alipore had been shot dead while in Court by an anarchist youth. He was my sister's husband, Babu Asutosh Biswas. He was at the time engaged in prosecuting a number of persons charged with conspiring to wage war against the Government and to carry out a systematic policy of murder of Government officials, principally Indians, and pro-government people, by bombs and other means. Only two days previous I had received a cheery letter from him announcing the brilliant success of his two boys at the M. A. Examinations. Both of them had stood first in their respective subjects and we were then discussing whether they should be sent to England to complete their education. At first I thought there might be some mistake. I did not venture to wire home and had to pass the night in a state of indescribable agony. The next day's papers put an end to all doubts on the subject. He was more than a brother to me. I myself had brought about his marriage with my sister who was very dear to me having been brought up, owing to my mother's serious illness at the time, by my wife as her own child. I had occasion to talk with him about these cases. Those who had incited the youth who shot him did not know that his influence with the Government in this matter was a restraining influence and that but for his judicious advice many more prosecutions would perhaps have been launched. I had often advised him, owing to the severe strain on his health, not by

any means robust, which the discharge of his duties as a Public Prosecutor involved, to resign the appointment, but he replied that his resignation at that particular juncture would have been like running away in the hour of danger. I may also mention in passing that he had declined police protection though it had been offered him. Nothing can show more vividly the senseless character of these horrid crimes than the following extract from a speech delivered at a public meeting of condolence at the Town Hall, Calcutta; "The eminent lawyer had never been unfair "to the accused. He had never been over-active "nor had he put himself forward in the fore-ground. "The prominence that he seemed at times to assume 'was due to his overmastering personality, his mas- "tery of details, a prodigious memory, coupled with a 'profound knowledge of law."

In May following, I came down to Calcutta to meet my sorrowing sister and my old mother and my meeting with them was indeed a trial. This time (May 1910) I am here to celebrate the marriage of the two boys. The memory of the last year's tragedy has cast a shadow over the ceremonies, which should have been a source of unalloyed joy to us all. The Government has behaved handsomely with the family. To the widow and the eldest son, son of a predeceased wife, has been given a Jaigir yieding an annual income of Rs. 5,000. My sister's elder boy has been appointed an officer of the enrolled list of the Finance Department. The second boy was also offered an

appointment, but acting on our advice he has not accepted it. He possesses good abilities. He has stood first at all the University examinations. He has been enrolled a Vakil of the High Court and while reading for the degree of Master of Law, he intends to follow his father's profession.

Soon after the deportation of nine prominent popular leaders in the two Bengals in the cold season of 1908, the Government of the Central Provinces had under its consideration the expediency of some such measure here. The question was one of considerable difficulty. On the one hand, it was thought that in the interest of good government and orderly progress of the people, it was necessary to adopt measures to arrest the growth of the new gospel of discontent and disaffection. But it was no easy matter to deal successfully under the ordinary criminal law with people who kept themselves beyond its reach by carrying on their work through tools and dupes. On the other hand, it was doubtful whether proceedings under an exceptional law was the best means of meeting the crisis. The New Reform Scheme had just then been published. Leaving one matter, special representation of a particular community, it had been received with a chorus of general approval, and it was thought that at this juncture a measure, which was bound to wear the appearance of arbitrary exercise of autocratic power was likely to mar the beneficial effect of this great measure. Further, it so happened that on being called upon to

make statements as to their views and policy during the course of the enquiry into the statue case, the leaders of the new party at Nagpur had displayed a desire to retire from the arena of political agitation. Thus the object in view, namely, the destruction of their power of influencing public opinion in an undesirable direction, was likely to be better attained by their willing submission accompanied by a pledge of future good conduct than by their forcible removal from the scene of their operations. Such a measure, though successful so far as they personally were concerned, was bound to evoke public sympathy for them and their cause and by making martyrs of them clothe them with a prestige, which their own merits might not perhaps qualify them for. Again, as a guarantee of their good faith, their special organization was dissolved, their minute books were surrendered and the publication of their two organs in the press was stopped. By these proceedings, they had themselves destroyed the media through which their propaganda had hitherto been carried on. Here the matter ended. I had some hand in these proceedings and in bringing about this satisfactory result.

BASANTA KRISHNA

Here I proceed to relate an incident in the official career of my youngest brother, Basanta Krishna Bose. It is not exactly an incident in my own life but as what follows will show he acted throughout under my advice. Another reason why I give it a place here is that it painfully illustrates the difficulties

under which the Indian officers of Government labour while trying to do their duty according to the convictions of their conscience. My brother was at the time a Deputy Magistrate of 23 years' standing and was an officer of acknowledged ability and unblemished character with a brilliant record behind him. He was then stationed at Howrah. In a criminal case before him, a Mahomedan Sub-Inspector of Police was a witness. He had been duly served with a summons but was found absent when called. My brother examined the other witnesses in the case and then again had the Sub-Inspector called out. The man was still absent. He was telephoned for, his station being only a mile off. Still he did not come and when at last he put in his belated appearance, he merely explained that he had lost sight of the matter As this could not have been true, my brother decided to take criminal proceedings against him and ordered him into the dock. He had not been there for a few minutes, when the Court Inspector intervened and said to my brother that such a thing would not happen again. Thereupon my brother let go the man and the matter ended so far as he was concerned. A few days afterwards he was astounded to receive the following letter from the Secretary to the Government. "It appears that the Sub-Inspector had a "reasonable excuse for his late appearance but the "Deputy Magistrate afforded him no proper opportu-"nity of explaining the circumstances and immediately "proceeded to treat him as an accused in a criminal

"case. His Honor considers it deplorable that an "officer of Babu Basanta Krishna Bose's experience "and reputation should have so far given way to "temper as to treat another servant of Government in "so opprobrious a manner and he directs that Babu "Basanta Krishna Bose shall make a full apology to "the Sub-Inspector in the presence of the District "Magistrate. An early opportunity will be taken of "transferring Babu Basanta Krishna Bose from "Howrah." This was immediately followed by a Gazette notification transferring him to a penal station, reeking with malaria. The genesis of the above order seems to be that after having got out of the scrape he had put himself in by his deliberate disregard of the summons, the Sub-Inspector had been to the District Magistrate either directly or through the District Superintendent of Police and had poured into his ears a garbled account of what had transpired in which he had evidently represented himself as an injured innocent. On the strength of this *exparte* statement made behind my brother's back and without giving him any opportunity of defending himself, the District Magistrate had confidentially reported against him to the Commissioner, who in an equally confidential manner had handed him up to the Government, and the Chief Secretary, without any attempt to do justice to an officer of my brother's standing and reputation, had fulminated his order in the name of His Honour the Lieut. Governor. Whether the papers were ever placed before him is doubtful. But

my brother was not disposed to take the matter lying down. Acting under my advice and with my help he drew up a statement of the facts and requested the District Magistrate to submit it to the Government and in the meantime to suspend the execution of its order. He positively refused to do any thing of the kind and called upon my brother to comply with the Government order without delay. My brother then appealed demi officially to the Commissioner for justice but the reply was an equally emphatic refusal though couched in terms of ostentatious sympathy for my brother in his "unfortunate position." Thereupon, again acting on my advice, my brother sent in his resignation, giving as his reason that he was unable to submit himself to the humiliation of apologising to a Sub-Inspector of Police for having dealt with him in his judicial capacity in strict accordance with law. This was evidently wholly unexpected. It never seems to have entered the mind of the officers that an Indian would so far place honour before submission to undeserved humiliation as to throw away his 23 years' service. Pressure was brought to bear on my brother to withdraw his resignation. The Chief Secretary sent for him and lectured him on the enormity of his offence in sending his letter of resignation direct and not through his District Magistrate. In vain my brother explained that he was helpless as that officer had declined to forward the statement previously submitted by him and moreover he had then already made over charge

and was on his way to his new station. The real object of the Chief Secretary was to compel my brother to withdraw his resignation and go back to Howrah and there apologise. He returned the letter of resignation and asked my brother to carefully reconsider his position, emphasing that his 23 years' service was "a valuable asset" which should not be lightly wasted. Once more acting on my advice, he resubmitted his resignation. After pointing out that it was absolutely false that he had put the Sub Inspector in the dock in a fit of temper, the covering letter proceeded, "On the contrary, in a perfectly judicial "manner, I drew his attention to his disregard of the "summons and gave him an opportunity to explain. "And even when after this I was about to place him "temporarily in custody in pursuance of powers vested "in me by law, he did not say he had a valid excuse "for his late appearance. Therefore my submission "is that I acted rightly and in strict accordance with "law and in the sound exercise of my judicial discre- "tion. In the circumstances, I venture to submit that "no apology can be due to the Sub-Inspector from "me. I explained the above facts in the representa- "tion which I made over to the Magistrate of Howrah. "The Government itself has decided in sundry orders "and resolutions that no one of its servents, however "humble, is to be condemned or punished without "his being given a full and fair opportunity to defend "himself. This rule, which is in consonance with "every principle of justice and equity is, to my utter

" misfortune, going to be ignored in my case. And " when I respectfully place my official superiors in " possession of the above facts in the honest belief " that when they come to the knowledge of the " Government, I would be absolved, I am only told " that my representation cannot be forwarded. I " hope I shall be pardoned when I say that I almost " cried out in despair that as an officer who has 23 " years' faithful service behind him and who has in "every respect borne an unblemished character through- " out his service, I deserved better treatment."

This brought on a crisis. It looked as if the matter had never been properly brought to the notice of the Lieut. Governor; but now all the papers with my brother's letter had to be placed before him. Sir Andrew Fraser, who was then the Lieut. Governor, had served in the Central Provinces for 30 years and had known me throughout his career there. He knew Basanta was my brother. I had been asked by friends to write to him on the subject but I had absolutely declined. My brother was equally firm on the point and he insisted on my doing no such thing. We both thought what the exigency of the case required was justice and not favour. Sir Andrew Fraser sent for my brother and in a most kindly manner went through the whole case with him and in the end decided to cancel the Government order. He also cancelled the order of transfer and gave him instead a prize appointment. I had throughout these proceedings asked my brother not to let the matter go into

the papers but it seems that the Police could not resist the temptation of publishing to the world the humiliation to which a judicial officer had been put to maintain its prestige. This compelled us to publish the true facts. This was done by my late brother-in-law, Babu Asu Tosh Biswas, who was the only person whom we had taken into our confidence. This elicited the following remarks from the "Capital," the well-known organ of the European commercial community in Calcutta. "That was an ugly story "which was related in the "Bengalee" concerning "the Deputy Magistrate and the Sub-Inspector of "Police. The Sub-Inspector failed to attend the "Court at the appointed time, and when he did turn "up, jauntily told the Magistrate that he had forgot-"ten all about it. Basanta Babu, the Magistrate, "ordered the Police-man to go into the dock, evidently "meaning to proceed against him under the law. "However, some Court Inspector or other expressed "regret for the man's conduct and he was allowed to "go. The man reported his story to his superior and "then an enquiry was held at which the Magistrate "was neither asked to be present, nor to be represent-"ed. And then, apparently upon this *exparte* "statement, an order came to the Deputy Magistrate "transferring him to another place and at the same "time ordering him to apologise to the Policeman. "Thunderstruck at this bolt from the blue, Basanta "Babu asked that his statement of the case might be "sent up to the Government but this was refused.

"Thereupon Basanta Babu promptly resigned and "resigned twice, for his first resignation was returned "by the Chief Secretary. In the long run, the Lieut. "Governor got hold of the facts and promptly quashed "the whole illegal and rather shady proceedings. "What the public want to know is, what punishment "Mr.....and Mr.....got or is to get for "their conduct in the affair?" I leave the case to tell its own tale. It is very much to be desired that European Government officers should learn to treat their Indian subordinates as men possessing as high a sense of honour as they themselves have and that Indian officers should not be condemned on the strength of *exparte* statements made behind their back by interested parties. This incident took place in July—Oct. 1908

PLAGUE IN NAGPUR IN 1909

Nagpur had been stricken with plague on several occasions, but never was it so sorely afflicted as during 1909. What added to the sufferings of the people was that the pestilence attained its greatest severity during the rains, when evacuation was attended with great inconvenience. The whole town was rapidly infected and the mortality reached a higher level than in any previous outbreak. The Municipal Committee took energetic measures to cope with the disaster. Extensive areas of land on all sides of the town had been acquired for the ready accommodation of persons camping out. Hutting materials were distributed, to the well-to-do on loan and to the poor, free of charge. Water-supply and lighting and

scavenging were provided for in these health camps. Never was innoculation more freely availed of than on this occasion. The operations during this outbreak were on the whole so successful as greatly to remove the prejudice against inoculation and I am sure it will be very largely availed of in the future. Mr. Bezonjee, Manager of the Empress Mills, induced his workmen in large numbers to submit to it and the account he published demonstrated its efficacy. There were certain classes of people who, owing either to their dense conservatism, or social customs, or the nature of their occupation, did not leave their homes in the infected areas nor did they get themselves innoculated, although a reward was promised to every one who would submit to the process. As a consequence, there was great distress and suffering, especially among the well-known weaver communities of Nagpur. So in co-operation with the local officers, we started a relief fund and with the willing help of the ladies and gentlemen of the two local missions organised relief parties, who visited the afflicted people in their homes and distributed the necessary relief in cash, clothes, blankets, invalid's food and medicine. Mr. Chitnavis, the President of the Municipality, took the lead in these operations. He went from one infected house to another giving relief himself in many cases and generally encouraging his subordinates, regardless of his personal safety. The people themselves were perfectly resigned and suffered in silence. They regarded plague more as a punish-

ment for their sins than as a disease to be combated against. We failed to convince the majority of them of their folly in not leaving the infected localities or in not getting themselves innoculated. The heavy penalty in the shape of death of their near and dear ones, which they daily paid, was at least proof positive of the sincerity of their faith, however much we might deplore their ignorance and prejudice. Some were of the opinion that such people did not deserve to be helped, but we thought it would be cruel to deny them relief because they could not be made to look at matters from our point of view. Moreover, there were the poor children and women, to whom we could not deny relief, because the heads of their families would not act in accordance with the latest views about preventive measures against plague. There could be no question these people were very hard-hit. There was scarcely a family which had not lost some of their members, more often their earning members. And yet the survivors did not even think of seeking protection from the death-dealing scourge by fight. The sufferers themselves behaved very well in the matter of acceptance of relief. The neighbours gave correct information and no attempt was made to take undue advantage of the charity. Everybody realised that relief given to the undeserving was relief withheld from the deserving. Of course relief was accepted with thankfulness, but there was no obtrusive attempt to force the hands of those engaged in giving relief.

The state of things disclosed exceeded by far in its sadness what we could have imagined. In dark, dingy corners were found huddled together the sick and the healthy. The latter never cared to think that they might catch the infection but nursed the former as if it was no danger to them to do so. It has since been established that the infection is carried through rat fleas and not from man to man. But this was not well-known at the time.

One day as I was taking my evening constitutional, I met my Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock. We walked together and talked on various matters. In the course of our conversation, he mentioned that one of the judges of our local High Court was going on leave and asked me whether I would agree to my name being submitted to the Government of India for the acting vacancy. I was taken by surprise and as after 36 years' practice at the Bar one naturally feels more anxious for rest than for accepting new and onerous duties, I hesitated and said I doubted my physical capacity to cope with the work. He asked me to think over the matter. On the 31st of January, 1909, he wrote to me as follows:

ADDITIONAL JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER C. Ps. 1909.

"You may remember my asking you whether "in the event of an acting vacancy on our local High "Court, you would care to officiate as A. J. C. You "promised to think over the matter. ... "The work "would be A. B. C. to you, but it is a question "whether your health would stand it. I do not think

"that it would be much of a strain because the work "will come so easy to you and I hope you will be "able to undertake it."

In view of the state of my health and the responsibilities of the office, I hesitated. But this was the first time that an Indian had been offered such an appointment in our Province and in view of the importance of the precedent that would be created, I agreed. The sanction came in due course and I took charge from the 1st of June 1909. On the 16th of June, when the civil side of the Court re-opened after the summer vacation, the members of the Bar assembled in my Court and Mr. F. W. Dillon, Barrister-at-Law, spoke to me as follows :—

"As the senior barrister present it is my privilege "to offer to your Honour the congratulations of the "Bar on your appointment as a Judge of this Court. "As a late colleague of ours, Your Honour is personally "well-acquainted with us all. Knowing us so well as "you do, you must be aware of the mingled feelings of "respect and affection with which we regard you. We "respect you for the strict sense of honour which has "at all times guided you in the discharge of your duty, "and for your wide learning and great ability as a law-"yer, in other words, for qualities which would have "earned for you the place of a leader at any Bar. On "the other hand, you have endeared yourself to us by "your invariable courtesy and kindness, and by that "thoughtful consideration for others which is said to "be the hall mark of a true gentleman.....It is

"now many years since you came to Nagpur, and "from the beginning almost you secured the leading "position at the Bar, a position which you have since "continued to hold. During this period an immense "volume of work had passed through your hands, so "that at the present day your name is a household "word among the people. At the Bar your influence "for good has been incalculable. You have set a high "standard of honour and duty which has borne fruit "in the years gone by and which must continue to "influence the profession for many years to come."

I was very much affected and could only say that I would do my best to justify the very kind words spoken of me and the great trust placed on me. The following notices of the appointment appeared in two Law Journals:—

Calcutta Weekly Notes. Vol. XVII P. clxxxvi. The appointment of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose and Pandit Sundar Lal as Judicial Commissioners in their respective provinces cannot be regarded as mere acts of the Local Governments concerned, but must be looked upon as a partial fulfilment of the Royal pledges that all appointments under the Crown are open to capable Indians. No doubt, Indians have before this been appointed to the highest judicial offices in the more progressive provinces, but this is the first time that Indians have been selected to fill such positions in the less advanced provinces. As regards the selections, they are unexceptionable. Sir B. K. Bose has occupied the leading position in every

respect amongst lawyers in the Central Provinces. He is not merely a capable lawyer but a man of such genuine good nature, mature judgment, sterling honesty and general moral excellence, that he is loved and respected alike in Bengal and the Central Provinces. His deep interest in the welfare of the community and cause of peace and good government made him a most valued adviser to the Local Government and led to his selection as a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council on more than one occasion. He has always been in deep sympathy with all progressive movements and has been ever keen for the promotion of the Swadeshi industries. His natural amiability of character and general kindliness of manners have made numerous friends amongst all communities. Both the Government of India and the Local Government are to be congratulated for having made such an excellent selection."

The Allahabad Law Journal Vol. VI (Notes and Cuttings) Page 96. "Another appointment of note has been made by the Government of India and it is the appointment of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose to an Additional Judicial Commissionership in the Central Provinces. Sir Bipin has enjoyed for many years a lucrative practice in the Central Provinces and is known to be a lawyer of great ability. He was for many years a member of the Supreme Council and rendered good service in connection with the Civil Procedure Bill in its early stages."

Two parties were given in honour of the appoint-

ment, one by some leading citizens of Nagpur and the other by the Bar Association.

I held the office for 8 months and the following statement shows the work I did :—

First Appeals	...	... 34
Second Appeals	...	... 280
Miscellaneous Appeals	...	... 18
Civil Revisions	...	... 86
Criminal Appeals	...	... 118
Criminal Revisions	...	... 115
Mis. Cri. Petitions	...	... 27
Mis. Judl. Cases	...	... 8
	Total	... 686

These represented all the cases on the file of the Court over which I presided as also some transferred from the file of the Judicial Commissioner. I was the vacation Criminal Judge. The hours generally kept by the Judges of the Court were not by any means regular, but I made it a point to attend punctually at 11. This was a great convenience to all having business to transact in my Court. I always consulted the convenience of every body. I made it a point to study the facts of the cases coming on for hearing and note the points for argument. This did not mean my forming premature opinions. Of course I was bound to form some opinion after reading the proceedings but this was purely provisional and it never prevented me from appreciating the arguments at the Bar and formulating my final judgment after

giving them due consideration. The system I followed had its advantages. It prevented waste of public time and enabled arguments to be concentrated on the vital points. It was never made a complaint of by any member of the Bar. In fact, considering the number of cases I had to get through daily, I could not have done the day's work during the day unless I had followed this system. My method of doing my work was as follows:—I sat down to a study of the day's cases at 6 A.M. and continued to work till the time of breakfast arrived. I was in Court at 11 and was generally able to finish hearing Counsel and parties by 2. I then returned home and wrote judgments till the time came to go out for my evening drive, which I never missed. I preferred writing my judgments in my own study, where I had the advantage of my private library which is fairly complete. I did not work for more than half an hour at night, looking through miscellaneous papers. I was always in bed by 9 and got up at 5. Thus I worked nearly nine hours daily. The work presented no difficulty to me. After 37 years' practice at the Bar, there was no phase of litigation with which I was not familiar and I had my up-to-date private notes carefully prepared from the law reports and journals to help me. I was able to deliver judgments promptly and there was hardly a case left undisposed of when I attended Court on Monday after two days' recess, Saturday and Sunday. Important judgments were generally written on these days. I

had to withdraw myself from much of my miscellaneous unofficial work and by this means and by keeping regular hours, I was able to get through my work expeditiously. I do not think I ever found any difficulty in making up my mind in civil cases, but it was somewhat different in criminal cases One is at a considerable disadvantage when he has not the witnesses before him and has to form his opinion on evidence taken by another judge. In important and difficult cases I always made it a point to examine with care the Police Diaries as they often showed the development of the case from day to day. The presumption arising out of the ordinary course of human affairs for or against a particular case has often been said by eminent judges to be a good test to apply in cases of conflicting evidence, when truth must lie on one side or other. I must confess I found in some cases a forgetfulness of the well-known principle that a person accused must be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is established by clear and convincing evidence. Again, I found now and then a tendency to imbibe a prejudice against the accused on the strength of what could not be regarded as legal evidence, such as police reports, demi-official correspondence and such like papers. Another thing that struck me was an incapacity to regulate the punishment according both to the nature of the offence as also the status of the convicted person. The authors of the Penal Code themselves have in their published report said that a sentence of imprisonment which to

a man accustomed to live a life of hard manual labour would be considered adequate would be crushingly severe in the case of a man of education and culture, who has never laboured with his hands and has always lived a life of ease and comfort. Again many crimes are cases of isolated lapse from virtue in a moment of forgetfulness or weakness in an otherwise crimeless career. Here the punishment ought not to be unduly severe. Now and then I found these considerations not given the weight they deserved. I reduced the sentence in such cases. On the other hand, I did not hesitate to enhance the sentence in some cases of theft accompanied by acts of brutal violence to those robbed and in one case, where a man had been murderously attacked in a vital part and made to lose his manhood for life because of a miserable quarrel about a depraved woman, on whom the accused had no sort of a claim. But it is the death cases which gave me the greatest anxiety. A sentence of death once carried out can never be recalled. And considering how often we fail in judging matters rightly, the passing of such a sentence involves a most heavy responsibility. The taking of life even under the sanction of law can never be consistent with human feelings, and where another form of punishment which is adequate, is allowable, it ought, whenever just and proper, to be adopted in preference to the death sentence. Thus in these cases I always looked at the motive for the crime and the surrounding facts with a view to discover, if possible, some mitigating

circumstances. And where I found any, I commuted the sentence to one of transportation for life. To my misfortune, I had to uphold the death-sentence in four cases. I am not ashamed to confess that I looked upon this necessity as a misfortune. Those were all cases where there could be no doubt whatever about the guilt and where the crime was of a brutal and diabolical character. To refuse to confirm the sentence in such cases would have been tantamount to my abolishing the capital punishment by a judicial decision in disregard of the law. The condemned men all appealed to the Local Government for exercise of the prerogative of mercy but without success. I may mention here an amusing talk I had with an Indian Magistrate. He said, officers in his Province (Berar) thought I must be a Brahmin seeing that I so seldom confirmed a death sentence. I told him to tell those gentlemen that though I could not claim that honour, I did not think that human life was to be taken away with a light heart. Another high officer, an European, once told me that my acquittal in a murder case had a very bad moral effect. I promptly told him that it was no function of a Judge to look to the moral effect of his judgments. He had to decide according to the evidence and if he allowed the so called "moral convictions" to influence his decisions, he failed in his duty as a Judge. This was a case where a lad of 14 had by means of considerable pressure, admittedly continued for two days, been made to confess, a con-

fession which was promptly retracted as soon as he appeared before the Court. Even the so-called confession was not a confession of murder at all but a mere statement that he had been taken by another man to the place where the murdered man slept and told to hold him down to the ground. As soon as the boy attempted to sit on his chest, he woke up and cut him (the boy) in the face with a knife, which made him run away. He did not know what took place afterwards. The real murderer, owing to the incapacity of those in charge of the case, was not caught.

I had some "political" cases. I brought to bear on their decision a perfectly judicial mind and I flatter myself I succeeded. In one case, where the complaint was that the accused, who were all men of position and respectability in the village, had burnt a foreign dhoti in furtherance of what is called the Swadeshi movement, I had, sitting as a Court of Revision, sent back the proceedings for further enquiry. A careful examination of the papers had convinced me that the Judges of the Courts below had not approached the case from the right stand-point and some important matters which should have been properly enquired into had not been dealt with. I had to make over charge soon after and the case finally came up before the Judge for whom I had officiated. He severely criticised my order as contravening the law which governed the exercise of revisional powers by the High Court and what he called the principle of "decentralisation." He specially dwelt

on the impropriety of my conduct in not accepting as conclusive the concurrent findings of fact by two European judges of experience and ability, as he thought. It was, however, forgotten (1) that he had no power whatever to sit in judgment over me, and his remarks were as uncalled for as they were unsound, (2) that the High Court has full power in revision to go into questions of fact if it thinks that justice requires it and (3) that the Court has to form its own opinion on the facts as disclosed and is not to be deterred from doing so because the judges of the Courts below are officers of experience and local knowledge. Although I had not much criminal practice, yet as the same considerations apply to the testing of evidence in criminal cases as in civil cases, the only difference being that in the former you are always bound to give the benefit of every doubt to the accused, I think I could say without being guilty of egotism that I was as able to appreciate at its proper value evidence in criminal as in civil cases and I could not surrender my own judgment of what was right and proper to the opinion of judges of Courts below, however able and experienced. I came to know of this incident long afterwards, when it was too late to have my say in the matter. I had another somewhat similar case, where a person was prosecuted for "boycotting" a theatre, whose proprietor had refused to subscribe to a political fund. The point involved was a novel one and I had no Indian cases to guide me. I studied carefully the English cases bearing on the subject and came to

the conclusion that a technical offence had been committed. The accused was a young pleader. I reduced the sentence of rigorous imprisonment to one of fine.

I had worked very hard, though fortunately I had maintained all throughout good health, and I was not sorry to be relieved. I may state here that I had come to no settlement about my pay before assuming charge. What was actually given me was not the full pay of the appointment, but only a part of it calculated under some provision of the Civil Service Regulations, which was unknown to me. I was advised by some friends to make a representation on the subject, but I declined, as pecuniary gain was not my object in accepting the post.

DEATH OF KING EDWARD VII

While I am here, there took place at the Calcutta *Maidan* a demonstration which should have a place in this narrative. King Edward VII had just then died and my country men of Calcutta decided to observe the 20th of May, 1910, as a day of universal mourning. Bare-footed and clad in pure white, which is the emblem of our national mourning on the occasion of death in the family, they assembled in their thousands at the *Maidan* to give expression to their feelings. The great magnates, the middle class men, the educated and the illiterate, all without any distinction participated in the function with the intensity of feeling as if of a personal bereavement. A life size portrait of the late King-Emperor was placed at the foot of the Ochterlony monument, a landmark in the

Maidan, before which thousands were seen to bow with deep veneration. There were *Sankirtan* parties who chanted sacred songs befitting the occasion. Pathetic songs, surcharged with deep feelings and giving unmistakable testimony to the profound sorrow at the loss of a sovereign who was truly their "friend and father," as was said by the bereaved Empress Alexandra, were sung by thousand throats. This unique out-burst of feeling showed as nothing else could that the Bengalees, though at times severe critics of government, were at heart thoroughly attached to the British throne. I was also in Calcutta in February, 1901, when a similar demonstration took place on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. I could not say which was more imposing or more demonstrative of the intense feeling of attachment of the people to their sovereigns, who, though sitting on a throne thousands of miles away, had moved their hearts by proclaiming them as their subjects possessed of equal rights and privileges with those who were of their own race and faith.

V

Nagpur, May 1919.

C. P. KING EDWARD MEMORIAL.

It is after an interval of nine years that I am able to resume this narrative. I have no longer the strength to carry on sustained brain work for long and I have had many matters to occupy my time. I have referred to the great Calcutta demonstration in connec-

tion with the death of King Edward VII. In September 1910, a movement was initiated in Nagpur for a memorial to him. A Provincial Committee was appointed at a public meeting to consider what form the memorial should take and to raise funds for the same. I was made a member of its Executive Committee. This Committee was able to raise a little over two lakhs of rupees. With accumulated interest resulting from judicious investment by the Honorary Secretary, my friend, Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, the face value of the funded capital now amounts two lakhs and eighty-eight thousand rupees yielding an annual income of little over Rs. 11,000, all invested in Government securities. After considerable discussion it has been decided to devote the "income to the institution of prizes, stipends, scholar-"ships, fellowships and the like for the promotion of "education, general, literary, scientific, technical, agri-"cultural and industrial, among the people of the "Central Provinces and Berar." I take this from the statement of the object in the Memorandum of Association of the "Central Provinces and Berar King Edward Memorial Society for the promotion of education among the people of the Central Provinces and Berar," a society which has been registered under the literary, scientific and Charitable Societies Registration Act, 1860. I look upon this as almost appropriate method of perpetuating the memory of a sovereign who during his short,—much too short,—reign was able by his strong sympathy for his Indian

subjects to win a degree of loyalty to his throne and a confidence in his sense of justice which were only equalled in the case of his august Mother. It may not be out place to mention here that I was asked whether I would like to have my name submitted to the Viceroy for selection as a representative of the Central Provinces on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty King George V in London in June 1911. To my infinite regret, I had to give a negative reply, for my health would not permit me to leave India, or for the matter of that my home, where alone I could have the comforts and conveniences I sorely need.

MORRIS COLLEGE AGAIN

I have referred to the grant by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Reginald Craddock, for the location of the Morris College, of the historic building known as the "Residency." It was constructed during the late Nagpur Raja's *regime* for the Resident at his Court. It was from the formation of the C. P. Administration till the construction of the new Government House on the Sadar Bazar Hill used as residential quarters for the Chief Commissioner. Necessary additions and alterations costing about Rs. 25,000, all paid by Government, having been made to suit the building for the requirements of the College, it moved into it in July 1911. I have also made mention of the very substantial help given by Government to improve and strengthen the staff. At this time, out of a total annual expenditure of over Rs. 48,000,

the Government gave a little over Rs. 39,000. It also bore the whole of the expenditure in connection with the teaching of science to our students in the Victoria Technical Institute, now called the Victoria College of Science. It has a laboratory fully equipped to teach up to the B. Sc., standard. The only contribution which the Society was able to make towards the up-keep of the institution was the interest on the capitalised securities amounting at this time to Rs. 6,300. Provision of hostels is one of the most important requisites of collegiate life. To quote the words of the Government of India resolution of 1904, "These institutions protect the students who live in them from the moral dangers of life in large towns, they provide common interests and create a spirit of healthy companionship and they are in accord not only with the usage of English public Schools and Colleges but with the ancient Indian tradition, that the pupil should live in the charge of his teacher." Construction of a new hostel on the grounds of the "Residency," which are extensive, was part of the scheme for housing the College in it. A plan for a hostel with accommodation for 80 boarders and capable of expansion to meet future developments was prepared and it was estimated to cost Rs. 60,000. The Government agreed to bear half the expenditure and the Council was to provide the other half. By appeal to the well-wishers of the institution and in other ways, it was able to raise Rs. 15,000. The remaining Rs. 15,000 came to be provided for from an unex-

pected source. I have alluded in a previous part of this narrative to a legacy of Rs. 75,000/. by Colonel Hector Mackenzie for the benefit of the people of these Provinces. He had always taken a deep interest in the diffusion of education among them and the Neill School owed much to him. It was thus appropriate that the Morris College which was an extension of the efforts which founded and sustained the Neill School should participate in the benefit of this bequest. On my representing matters in this light in my capacity as Secretary to the College Council to the proper authorities, the scheme of distribution sanctioned by the High Court of Calcutta provided for the payment of Rs. 15,000 to the funds of the Morris Memorial Society. The money was to be appropriated towards the cost of the hostel, which was to be called "the Hector Mackenzie Hostel." I cannot help transcribing here his parting words when replying to an address which was presented to him in the Neill School Hall by the citizens of Nagpur. They are still fresh in my memory He said, "I earnestly desire for the people of this country, for the people of these Provinces and in a special manner for the people of this City, where I have lived so long and enjoyed so much, constant progress in all good ways, in knowledge, in wisdom for a right use of knowledge, in such material prosperity as aids goodness, in public contentment, in the happiness of the family, in the welfare of each individual. This, which I earnestly desire, I shall ever be solicitous for."

PROVINCIALISATION OF THE MORRIS COLLEGE

With the completion of the arrangements mentioned above, it was thought that there would be no need of further improvements in the near future. But in these days when the Province is making such rapid progress in all directions, there is no such thing as resting on one's oars. The influx of students went on increasing and within three years of the time when the College moved into its new quarters, the Council had to think once more of further strengthening the staff. It became necessary to make arrangements to teach more subjects both in the B. A. and the M. A. classes. As it was out of the question to provide the large recurring expenditure which this further enlargement of the usefulness of the College was to entail from private subscriptions, there was no other alternative but to appeal once more to Government. But it very rightly pointed out that even as it was the institution was being practically run with State funds, the funds of the Society meeting a mere fraction of the expenditure, both recurring and non-recurring. The Government accordingly proposed that the College should be provincialised. The Council agreed to this and made a reference to the members of the Society. They met twice and not being in a position to provide for additional funds commensurate with the needs of the College, they decided on February 28th, 1914, to hand it over to Government in order that it might be made into a purely Government institution. At the same time they decided to modify the rules so

as to allow the funds of the Society to be utilised for some other educational purpose. After due consideration, the object of the Society was altered so as to allow the income from the endowment fund after providing for pension to four old Indian professors, who had been attached to the College almost from its foundation, to be applied to the following purposes, (1) scholarships to Morris College students and to its ex-students for post graduate education and (2) establishment, maintenance and improvement of any private educational institution for the promotion of secondary education. The proposal to provincialise the College had to go up to the Secretary of State for sanction and he directed that the endowment fund should be handed over to Government for expenditure on the College, as it had been specially raised for its establishment and support. But I on behalf of the members of the Society pointed out that the money had been raised by the people not to support a Government but a private institution to be managed by an agency of their own creation and further that the members had the right under the provisions of Act XXI of 1860 to alter the purpose of the Society to any other purpose within the meaning of the Act, namely, promotion of literature and science and diffusion of useful knowledge. The new purpose decided upon by them fully complied with this condition. This satisfied Government and the Society with a new Governing Body has now been reconstituted. I have ceased to be its Secretary but am still a member. My grandson, Vivian Bose,

has been appointed Secretary. I may note here that unlike what had happened on a previous occasion of a like nature, the handing over of the College to Government did not attract any adverse criticism from any quarter. Its necessity and utility were recognised. The administration of the endowment fund by a body constituted by the subscribers, an arrangement duly secured by the new rules was also a factor in this general satisfaction. I shall speak presently of the proposal to found a separate University for the two Provinces, which was to be both a teaching and an affiliating University and the Morris College is to be its nucleus. It is to be hoped that the future students of the College will remember that it owes its origin to the exertions of their own people and that it is these exertions continued for thirty years that have made possible the present state of things under which it has matured into a first class institution of its kind. It is further hoped that they will be proud of their *alma mater* and so comport themselves in their after lives as to establish and maintain for it a high reputation for building up a disciplined mind and character and turning out good and useful citizens of this great country, who by their thoughts and actions will add to the moral energy of the nation.

MR. BAPU RAO DADA

Once or twice I had made mention of my friend Mr. Bapu Rao Dada. He was the first M.A. from these Provinces and I made his acquaintance in 1884, when resigning Government service, he joined the

Nagpur Bar. In the Municipal election held in that year, he was returned as a member. He also became a member of the Morris College Council when it was constituted in 1885. From that day till the date of his death, March 2nd, 1914, I was on terms of the closest intimacy with him and was associated with him in almost every public institution and movement with which I was connected. Whether it was his high intellectual ability, rare administrative capacity, devotion to the public cause, or self-less love for his country, there was none in the whole Province for whom I had higher regard, or in whose judgment I could rely with surer confidence. It was no less a pleasure than a privilege to have him as your co-worker. In 1913, his health began to fail and it never improved. But though he practically retired from his lucrative profession, he never relinquished charge of his manifold public duties which he continued to discharge almost to the last day of his life. I know that even when suffering great pain he would receive as usual the Municipal files as Vice-President of the Committee and they would be ready for the peon the next morning with his orders thereon. I realised ere long that the end could not be long delayed. Nevertheless when it came, it overwhelmed me. I had fourteen years ago lost my dear brother. I felt just as I had felt then, at the passing away of my life-long friend and co-worker. I immediately called a meeting of the Municipal Committee and had the following resolution passed:—

"The members of the Committee have learnt with the deepest regret the death of their colleague, Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada, which sad event took place on the night of Monday last. The Rao Bahadur entered the Municipality as an elected member on the 1st of April 1884 and became its Vice-President in 1890. His connection with the Committee thus begun only came to an end with his death. During this long period of 30 years, the Municipality had the rare privilege of being guided by his high ability, ripe wisdom and selfless devotion to duty. To the administration of its affairs in all its branches, especially finance, he ungrudgingly gave the best that was in him and spared neither time nor trouble to promote its interest and advance its cause. In the early days of the life of the Committee as constituted on the principle of Local Self-Government, when the difficulties of the situation were naturally very great and when one false step might have discredited the whole institution and thrown back the progress of Local Self-Government in Nagpur for years, it was his great tact and administrative capacity that enabled the Committee to grapple successfully with the various complex problems that confronted them and gradually to build up the present machinery for the government of the local affairs of this town. To the last, he continued to work for the committee with the whole-hearted devotion of his youthful days, a devotion which neither failing health nor diminishing power of work could affect. The obligations of the Com-

mittee to their late Vice-President for what he did for them can never be adequately repaid or acknowledged. All that the Committee can do is to join in the general mourning for a great and good citizen and offer to his memory their tribute of respect for his character and admiration for his ability. They feel that the void his disappearance has created it will be difficult to fill. They beg to place on record their highest appreciation of his invaluable services. They condole with those near and dear to him, whom he has left behind to mourn his loss, in their great grief. May his life and work be in the days to come a living source of inspiration to the Committee."

Similar resolutions were on my motion passed by the Morris College Council, the Nagpur District Council and the Neil School Committee, of which bodies he was member. At a public meeting held on the 7th of March, 1914, with myself as Chairman, his beneficent activities were summed up in the following resolution :—

"The people of Nagpur place on record their profound grief at the death of Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada and their highest appreciation of his eminent services in the past thirty years. During this period he was closely associated with almost every movement and institution having for its object the promotion of the common weal. His work as a Member and Vice-President of the Municipal Committee for over a quarter of a century has already been gratefully acknowledged by that

body. He was for 18 years a member of the Nagpur District Council and for three years was its Honorary Secretary. His services in these capacities have also found fitting recognition in the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council. In July 1884, he became a member of the Neill City School Committee and cordially co-operated with those who laboured to found the Morris College in order to give Nagpur an institution to impart higher education. He became a member of its governing body when it was first constituted in June 1885, and gave invaluable help at every stage of its progress and development. During the famine of 1896-97, he was in charge of the special charitable relief to weavers and to the respectable poor through cheap grain shops and how admirably he managed these departments of relief will be found acknowledged in the pages of official reports and in the proceedings of the Charitable Relief Committees and of the Famine Commission of the period. In the still more grievous famine of 1899-1900, he was also in charge of these branches of relief and rendered equally valuable services. During the scarcity of 1907, he gave the benefit of his ripe experience to those engaged in the distribution of charitable relief. During the severe epidemic of plague in the city in 1909, he was an active member of the Committee appointed to administer charitable relief to the widows and orphans of the victims and to the sufferers generally. He was one of the founders of the Malguzari and Loka Sabhas and took a prominent

part in their deliberations and activities including submission of representations regarding legislation regulating the relations of Government with the malguzars and of the malguzars with their tenantry and the Land Revenue policy of the Government generally. He was a prominent member of the Provincial Congress Committee and attended several sittings of the Congress. His benefactions to the public were many and various. Unostentatiously made, they were not generally known. His last act in this direction, the founding of a Maternity Hospital and General Dispensary in the heart of a locality in the City where the poor Koshti community predominate will, however, bear public testimony to his wisely-directed charity for the suffering humanity. The guiding principle of all his public acts and proceedings was a single-minded desire to advance the general good and entire abnegation of self and all those considerations which have their origin in self-advancement. In all he put his hands in, he laboured with a whole-hearted devotion and under a severe sense of public duty and spared neither himself nor his hard-earned leisure in the midst of an engrossing profession to attain the end in view. The indebtedness of the public of Nagpur to such a citizen and public benefactor is immense. It can scarcely be adequately repaid. The meeting earnestly hopes and prays that his good and unselfish life and example will in all time to come, have a vivifying influence on the public life of Nagpur and inspire its citizens to follow in his footsteps."

With heart sick and sore, I thus strove to do my duty by my departed friend. I left it to his fellow-countrymen, especially of this town, for whom he had laboured so long and to whose services he had given his life-blood, to establish some permanent memorial which would always put them in mind of their great citizen and which would enable them to profit by the lessons his life of strenuous labour for the public good taught. In this, I have been grievously disappointed. Not even a portrait of him is to be found in the local Town Hall, which he had helped to give to the city. There on its walls, I have these several years arranged to place the portraits of some of those who had worked for the good of this town, Rambhaji Rao Mahadik, Mukund Balkrishna Bootee, Gopal Hari Bhide, Narayen Swamy Naydu, Bhargao Rao Gadgil and Krishna Rao Phatak. I could any day have added to these my friend's portrait but I have not done so. For I felt that what the occasion demanded was not a memorial by me his personal friend but by those, his countrymen, who had so greatly benefitted by his services. Moreover, the occasion called for something more than a mere likeness of him. I dare say the people will in a few years even forget that there was ever such a person as Bapu Rao Dada among them.

THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS OF 1886.

One or two incidents of his political life may not be out of place here. When it began, these Provinces were like a Sleepy Hollow. In 1886, he and another deceased friend and co-worker, Krishna Rao

Phatak, had founded the Loka Sabha, the first political association among us. The first Congress had been held at Bombay in the year previous Its next sitting was announced to be held at Calcutta in December 1886. Girija Bhusan Mukherjee, who was my College friend, was one of its Secretaries and organisers. He wrote to me to try and send some representative men as delegates from Nagpur. I was then Judge of the Small Cause Court. In those days it needed no small courage to take part in political movements in our Province. The Congress, just then brought into existence, was looked upon with distinct disfavour by the official hierarchy. I spoke to Mr. Bapu Rao and he not only readily agreed to go himself but took with him as co-delegates, Mr. (now Sir Gangadhar Rao) Chitnavis, Gopal Hari Bhide and Abdul Aziz. The last was a member of the Bar and came of a respectable family of military pensioners of Kamptee. They were duly elected at a public meeting convened for the purpose. Mr. Abdul Aziz was a finished Urdu speaker and he made a telling speech in that language at the Congress. He died many years ago while yet in the prime of life, much to the regret of us all. Girija Bhusan was also carried off by the cruel hand of death soon after and my native country (Bengal) lost in him one of its brilliant young men and a selfless worker. I had a talk with Mr. Bapu Rao after his return from Calcutta and one interesting piece of news he gave me, which has never been made public, I may as well give out here. He said that Mr.

Chitnavis and he were among those whom the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, had graciously received, not as delegates of the Congress, but as "distinguished visitors to the Capital." In the talk which His Excellency had with the President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the matters soon came to a crisis and when Mr. Naoroji said that he and his friends were determined to carry on the propaganda vigorously until success was attained, His Excellency said, what if in the public interests he were to stop their dangerous activities by putting into operation both his ordinary and extraordinary powers in that behalf. Mr. Naoroji promptly replied that His Excellency might please himself and that he and his friends never expected to reach their goal except through many troubles and tribulations. I have given only the outline of what took place as reported to me. No publicity was given to the incident by any of the delegates present. It would have scared away many from the cause, who might otherwise have joined it. Constitutional organised public agitation was then yet in its infancy.

THE ALLAHABAD CONGRESS OF 1888

Just before the sitting of the fourth Congress at Allahabad, Lord Dufferin, who was then about to vacate his high office, publicly made a severe attack on it at a banquet given in his honour by the non-official European community of Calcutta. It may be of interest now to quote some of his words; "the (Congress) ideal authoritatively suggested as I understand is the creation of a representative body or

bodies, in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the pow r of the purse, and who through this instrumentality shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will." This attitude of open official hostility made it difficult for a backward Province like ours to get people to attend this Congress. Mr. Bapu Rao went as usual. Mr. Eardley Norton has just published some interesting reminiscences of this Congress. One omission of his I will here supply. He himself took an active part in the proceedings. He moved the second resolution which embodied the opinion of the Congress dissenting from some of the important recommendations of the Public Service Commission, whose report had just then been published. He was greeted with several rounds of applause as he left his Mādras colleagues and got on the platform In spite of the ten minutes rule, he with the enthusiastic assent of the whole audience spoke for half an hour and his speech was certainly the speech of the day. I still remember it. One remark of his was immensely appreciated. Referring to Raja Shiva Prasad's motion for the adoption of a petition he placed before the meeting condemning the Congress and its aims, Mr. Norton said that they must all rejoice at the "happy issue to the interesting condition from which the Raja had just then been delivered." Regarding Lord Dufferin's attack, it may be of interest to recall how it was met. Mr. Telang, who moved the resolution asking for the expansion and reform of the Legislative

Councils, referring to the attack said that His Lordship's description of Congress ideals was as appropriate to the realities of the case as the famous definition of a crab, namely, that it was a fish, was red and walked backwards. As a matter of fact, he said, a crab was not a fish, was not red and did not walk backwards. How we have moved since then! What in 1888 was said by great Congress leaders as a travesty of Congress demands is now the declared policy of the British Cabinet and a Bill* has just been introduced in Parliament to give it effect. The Allahabad Congress was held under great difficulties. Sir Aucland Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor, was the reputed author of the well-known article in the Pioneer on the great national demonstration to Lord Ripon when he retired, "If it is real, what does it mean." But the Congress with its propaganda had apparently frightened him out of his liberal views and he had become its bitter opponent. The local officials hampered the efforts of the Reception Committee to make proper arrangements. But in its chairman, Pandit Ajodha Nath, it had a man of iron will, indomitable courage and in defatigable energy. His speech welcoming the delegates was one continued denunciation of the obstructiveness of the local officers. His thrilling words that he and his colleagues were more loyal to their Sovereign and her representatives than those who made a parade of their devotion to Government

* It has since been passed into law and is now the Government of India Act, 1919. (9 and 10 Geo. 5. Ch. 101).

by abusing their countrymen, were received with such ringing cheers by the huge audience as would have convinced even the most sceptical that attachment to the British throne and the British connection was the very life of the movement. Sir Pherozeshah (then Mr.) Mehta in proposing that merchant prince of Calcutta, Mr. Yule, as President, made a telling hit when he said that the President at the previous Calcutta sitting was Lord Salisbury's "black man," but who despite his being "black" was esteemed and loved from one corner of India to another. Mr. Norton in his reminiscences has referred to the threatened split on the question of the Public Service Commission's Report. It was Mr. Mon Mohan Ghosh, who by his most powerful and at the same time persuasive speech, albeit it did not last more than fifteen minutes, brought about a satisfactory compromise to the relief of all. Altogether this Congress was a conspicuous success. It had met under conditions calculated to test all the qualities of manhood of the nation. It stood the ordeal not merely successfully, it displayed all those high qualities of moderation combined with boldness, firm determination combined with circumspection and self-restraint under great provocation, which go to build up a nation. We are now reaping the fruits of what was sown by the leaders of these old days. They are the real builders of the present Indian Nation. Let us not forget them and their great work.

I CEASE TO BE GOVERNMENT ADVOCATE

Just about the time I was to vacate my officiating appointment as a member of the Judicial Commissioner's Court, I had intimated to Government that I would like to be relieved of the Court work of the Government Advocate, the duty of advising the Administration on legal matters still remaining with me, if it so desired. In March, 1911, Mr. Dick, a member of the Nagpur Bar, was appointed Standing Counsel and he took over all my criminal work. This gave me great relief. In April, 1913, the Government created the post of Legal Remembrancer and appointed a member of the I. C. S. to the post. Thereupon I ceased to be Government Advocate. The dual duties I used to discharge as Government Advocate is now shared between the Standing Counsel and the Legal Remembrancer. I believe the Standing Counsel alone now gets two to three times what I used to receive. I mention this fact as a high officer of Government, with whom I once had a talk about my work and the remuneration I received for it, had said to me that he thought I was quite handsomely paid, I suppose he meant for an Indian.

C. P. AND BERAR GOKHALE MEMORIAL

On the morning of 20th of February, 1915, a private message was received at Nagpur that Mr. Gokhale was no more. He had expired the night previous. We knew he was seriously ill and could not live long. But we had hoped that he would be able to leave some record of his views as a member

of the Public Service Commission. There can be no question but that his end was quickened by the bitter and malicious controversies raised at the time. But remembering that great public interests were involved in the prolongation of his precious life even for a short while, it was not too great a sacrifice to make to leave him in peace while in the grip of his death-illness, so that he might leave to his country men the legacy of his invaluable opinion. But that was not to be. I made his acquaintance when he first took his seat as a member of the Viceroy's Council as Sir Pherozesha Mehta's successor on the 20th of December, 1901. Sir Pherozesha ostensibly resigned on the ground of ill-health but, I believe, he retired in order to give Mr. Gokhale a wider scope to serve his country. On Mr. Gokhale's unanimous election by the Bombay Council, Sir Pherozesha wrote to me that we would have as our colleague one who would soon make his mark in the public life of the country. Mr. Gokhale was then not much known. For eighteen years he had given the best that was in him in discharging the obligation of his pledge to an institution, which was and still is the embodiment of the highest spirit of ungrudging self-sacrifice for the public good, the Fergusson College of Poona. But he had not till then taken any conspicuous part in the public life of the country. Those who had read his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure of 1897 knew what a careful and capable student of Indian economics he was and how deeply read in all

that concerns the Government of the Empire. We had no introduction to one another. None was needed. I knew he was Mr. Gokhale the moment I saw him in the corridor of the Council Chamber, where we were waiting for the arrival of the Viceroy and we had a warm mutual *namashkar*. It did not take long before he made his personality felt. His very first budget speech (delivered in March 1902) showed the man as he was. It was a comprehensive criticism of the whole financial policy, result of most careful and exhaustive study. The Finance member said in reply that Mr. Gokhale had dealt with so many questions and in such detail, that not having sufficient notice to prepare careful answers, he was unable to give the full reply he should have been glad to offer. Throughout the time we were both in Council, and that was four years, we remained on terms of the closest intimacy. I need hardly say how greatly I profited by exchange of views with him on all public questions of the day. We used to meet often either at his place or at mine or at the residence of Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. Our discussions were frequent and at times animated. He used to chaff me in those days as his "brake." Later on he himself set up as the inspiration of his public life Mr. Ranade's well-known ideals as set forth in the prospectus of the Deccan Sabha:—"Liberalism and Moderation will be "our watchwords.....Moderation implies the con-"ditions of never vainly aspiring after the impossible

" or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to " take the next step in the order of natural growth by " doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a " spirit of compromise and fairness." We all know his courage. No finer example of this could be found than in the manly apology he made for his attack while in England on English soldiers in connection with plague-measures in Poona in 1897, as soon as he was convinced that it was unmerited. Like the tall cliff in the well-known passage of the poet, he stood unmoved at the rolling clouds of calumny. Soon after this incident, that is, in December, 1897, he attended the Amraoti Congress and the chilling, I had almost said, the hostile, reception he received from its extreme radical wing would have driven another man in disgust from public life. The feeling in this quarter was so strong that he could not be included in the list of speakers. But firm in the conviction that he had acted rightly and as a man of honour should, he stood unmoved and met the demand for his retirement from public life with the noble reply that he would go on doing his duty, whether it be sunshine or shade, for public duties undertaken at the bidding of no man, was not to be laid down at the desire of any one. We know also how magnificently he was equipped for his high duties. But his wonderful grasp of public affairs was not an intuition or inspiration. It was the result of prodigious industry, hard study, strenuous preparation and severest discipline acting in combination with intellectual gifts of the highest order. But I

speak of him here as I knew him in private life. What a life it was. Its simplicity, its purity, its gentleness, its noble self-denial, its lofty ideals, constituted an amalgam for which it would be difficult to find a parallel anywhere. Whenever I was with him I felt the magnetism of his sweet personality. At first his relations with Lord Curzon were good, I had almost said, cordial. He seldom met him in private, but he was in close and constant touch with Sir Walter Lawrence, the Private Secretary, and through Sir Walter he was able to convey his ideas on public affairs to His Excellency. And I have reasons to think that this was not without its effect on the policy of Government. I need hardly add that so long as this intercourse lasted, it was all for the country's good. On the New Years day of 1904, Mr. Gokhale was made a Companion of the Indian Empire. In conveying him his felicitations, Lord Curzon sent him an autograph letter. A finer tribute to a public man could not be conceived and it was, I need hardly say, thoroughly well deserved. Mr. Gokhale had not come to occupy then that position in the public life of the country as he did later on when he respectfully asked to be excused higher honours and to be permitted to remain as he was. His relations, however, with Lord Curzon became strained soon after the introduction of the University Bill. He opposed it from a high sense of public duty but his Lordship could not put up with this opposition with equanimity and severely upbraided Mr. Gokhale for, as he said, his unfounded

suspicious attitude. When he got his chance later on, Mr. Gokhale quietly remarked that he had not deserved the rebuke that had been administered to him. The rebuke was, however, repeated later on with greater emphasis. At the close of the day's sitting, even some official members came to Mr. Gokhale and told him that he had their sympathy in the unmerited reprimand levelled at him. One other incident I may mention as showing the character of the man. Sir Dr. Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was specially nominated an additional member to help in the elaboration of the University Bill. Generally, his views were in disagreement with Mr. Gokhale's and when it became his duty to criticise Dr. Bhandarkar's presentation of the case, he prefaced his speech by the graceful remark that the learned Doctor was his preceptor at College and he could not speak of him or of anything that fell from him except with great reverence. This put me in mind of the fine incident in the Mahabharat when Arjuna before battling with Dronacharjya, made his obeisance at the feet of his revered guru and prayed for his benedictions. One more incident, which we enjoyed much, I will relate here. Mr. Pedler, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in defending the Bill had gone out of his way to attack the Calcutta graduates, calling them convict graduates. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here Mr. Gokhale's fine retort, which was given on the spur of the moment:—

"The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler had told the Council of dishonest clerks, unscrupulous managers of colleges,

and convict graduates. I do hope, for the Hon'ble Member's own sake as much as for the credit of the educated classes, that there has been another and a brighter side to his experience. Else, my Lord, what a sad sense of failure he must carry with him into his retirement. Happily all educationists have not been so unfortunate in their experience nor, if I may say so, so one-sided in their judgments. There have been men among them who have regarded the affection and reverence of their pupils as their most valued possession, who have looked upon the educated classes with a feeling of pride, and who have always stood up for them whenever anyone has ventured to assail them. One such Professor, within my experience, was Dr. Wordsworth, grandson of the great poet,—a man honoured and loved as few Englishmen have been on our side. Another such man is Mr. Selby, whose approaching retirement will inflict a most severe loss on the Education Department of our Presidency. My Lord, I am aware that it is invidious to mention names; but these two men have exercised such abiding influence over successive generations of students during their time that I feel no hesitation in offering a special tribute of recognition and gratitude to them. Their hold over the minds of their pupils has been due, not only to their intellectual attainments, but also to their deep sympathy with them as a class which they had helped specially to create. I believe that such men have never had occasion to complain that their views on any subject did not receive at the

hands of educated Indians the consideration that was due to them. It is through such men that some of England's best work in India is done; it is these men who present to the Indian mind the best side of English character and English culture. It is such men that are principally wanted for the work of higher education in India in the present state of things, and the best interests of both the rulers and the ruled may safely be entrusted to their keeping."

For Lord Kitchener, Mr. Gokhale had the highest regard. He once referred to him in a felicitous passage in one of his speeches during the University Bill debate as that " Great Soldier sitting on the right of His Excellency." I know that between the two there soon grew up a strong friendship, the admiration and esteem of one virile nature for another. I may mention here that whenever the Budget discussion came on, Lord Kitchener used to feel rather nervous that Mr. Gokhale by his persuasive eloquence might convert the Government to his views regarding Army Estimates. To show how magnanimous he was, I will give here an instance. Once while passing through Nagpur he was grossly and wantonly insulted by a military officer, with whom he was, travelling in the same compartment. The matter was reported to Government. Hearing of this, the officer in question sent at once an apology to Mr. Gokhale. But Lord Curzon, who had just then punished an English regiment for their misconduct towards Indians, was for making an example of the delinquent. No sooner

did Mr. Gokhale come to know of this than he wrote of his own accord that with the apology the incident so far as he was concerned was over and he would be glad if it was allowed to rest there. I had this from Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. At our special request, he once broke his journey at Nagpur on his way back from Calcttta to Poona. He was then engaged in thinking out his scheme to found the "Servant of India Society." He unfolded it to me. He said Indians furnished the highest type of self-abnegation in their *Sanyasis*, who renounced the world and its material interests and subjecting themselves to rigorous self-discipline and self-annihilation, consecrated their lives to the service of God. Why should not such a nation find devotees willing to consecrate their lives to the service of their Motherland in the spirit of their religious *Sanyasis*? I told him that this was exactly the idea our immortal Bankim had developed in his "Ananda Math" and the "Bande Mataram" song was the outward manifestation of this spiritualised patriotism. But what was possible to create in the pages of a work of fiction, I said, might not be equally possible of materialisation in actual life. Mr. Gokhale replied that he had thought long and deep on the subject and had made up his mind to launch his scheme, for in it lay, he added, the salvation of our country. For unless we had a band of men moulded by one idea and schooled and spiritualised by rigid discipline into a compact body of self-less workers, we cannot have the driving

force so necessary for our advancement. Soon after this, in June, 1905, the Society was founded. He had barely ten years to nurture it. That it had proved a potent agency for political and social service, cannot now admit of any doubt. It will be for the nation to make it grow and prosper and realise fully the ideals of its noble founder. He paid another visit to Nagpur, that was in the course of his itinerary in connection with the primary education propaganda. I could see he was far from well. He badly needed rest both to his brain and body. I gently pointed this out to him but he said he could not think of rest while his work was still unfinished. I expostulated, adding what I thought should be a home-thrust, that his life was not his own but his nation's. But alas it had no effect. He said that if he died while serving his country that was just the kind of death he longed for.

We had our memorial meeting on the 27th of February. The City was then in the grip of plague and the people were camping out. Nevertheless the meeting, which had to be held in the Civil Station, was well attended. People came from their camps a long way off to attend it. Later on, on the 3rd of April, we had another meeting to settle about the form of the memorial. Besides a personal memorial in the shape of a portrait, we decided upon having a library in his name to serve as an information bureau and also to have a permanent fund for the Servant of India Society. Later on, the subscribers registered

themselves into a Society under Act XXI of 1860 called "the Gokhale Memorial Library Society," the main object as stated in the Memorandum of Association being the establishment in Nagpur of a Library for the study of economic, historical, political, social and administration questions. We have purchased a house in the new town-let of Nagpur, Craddock Town, where the library is located and which also serves as residential quarters for the local member of the Servant of India Society. The rest of the fund is in Government securities, which are vested in the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments under Act VI of 1890. Our Chief Commissioner, Sir Benjamin Robertson, had asked to be associated with the memorial as soon as he heard we were going to have one and he sent us a handsome subscription and so did Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Gokhale's colleague in the Public Service Commission. When our Council met on the 13th of March, 1915, Sir Benjamin referred to Mr. Gokhale's death in the following words.

"To Mr. Gokhale's brilliant talents and to his life work for India, into which he threw himself with all his wonderful energy and with wholesouled devotion, tribute has been paid in the last few weeks throughout the length and breadth of the country. To me his death has been a personal loss which I deeply deplore, as I was his colleague in the Imperial Legislative Council and was brought into close touch with him in the discussion of many matters of public importance. Chief amongst these was the question

of the grievances of Indians in South Africa. No one can testify more than I can to what Mr. Gokhale did to bring about a settlement of this difficulty, by his marvellous clear-sightedness and his moderate and statesmanlike views. India is the poorer by his death, but his example will remain for all time to guide and encourage all those who are working for her advancement and for the welfare of her people."

On behalf of the non-official members I replied as follows:—

"We thank you, Sir, for your most kindly reference to the passing away of our great leader and statesman, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and for your warm sympathy with us in the irreparable loss we have sustained by his death while he was yet in the midst of his great work in the cause of his country—a work for which he sacrificed his valuable life."

The over-whelming sense of loss comes upon me afresh as I write the above and I pass on with a heart as heavy and with feelings as highly strung as on the day when we heard that he had left us.

C. P. AND BERAR UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE.

By a resolution dated the 8th July, 1914, our local Administration appointed a Committee to frame a scheme providing for a University at Nagpur for the Central Provinces and Berar. I was put on this Committee. We are at present affiliated to the Allahabad University and we both officials and non-officials have often felt that owing to our not being adequately represented on the Senate and the Syndi-

cate our interests are not so well looked after as we think they should be.

The Committee was partly the outcome of this feeling. But its main justification lay in the circumstance that the two Provinces have now reached a stage in the matter of collegiate education when they should have a University exclusively for themselves and controlled by their own representatives. We had to elaborate a scheme for a University which was in the main to be a teaching and residential University with powers to affiliate outside institutions. For it is now recognised on all hands that the old type of Universities which are merely examining bodies must give place to teaching and residential Universities. Our deliberations began almost immediately on our formation and we submitted our report in March 1915. Not having any experience of the working of Universities, though I have always taken a keen interest in education. I cannot say I contributed anything of value to the deliberations of the Committee. We had however several experts to help us. I make one exception and that is as regards the law department. It was at my suggestion in that a three years course after graduating in Arts or Science was adopted. The course of study was also at my suggestion so framed as to make the scientific aspect of legal education its prominent feature, while of course not neglecting the current law and procedure. We also recommended that the method of teaching should be both by way of lectures and

tutorial instructions during the usual college hours. These recommendations evoked some adverse criticism. One of our members also dissented. The main grounds for objecting to the scheme were, (1) that it would impose greater financial burden on the students, (2) that it would defer their entry into the profession by one year and (3) that it would prevent law study from being combined with other occupations, such as teachership in schools, and clerkship in Government offices. But I would point out, as I pointed out at the time, that the Bar is an institution which is not so much for the special benefit of its members as for the good of the community. And so the ideal which should be kept in view in elaborating a scheme is not what would best conserve the personal interests of the students but what would give the public a select body of finished lawyers. Moreover, we already have in most of the principal towns as many legal practitioners as we reasonably need. There is no object in making the course cheap and easy merely to accentuate the present yearly rate of increase in their number. One very harmful effect of this increase in the supply beyond the legitimate demands of the public is that malpractices like touting creep in. In the struggle to secure a practice, the sense of honour which should regulate the conduct of the members of the Bar is lost sight of and while the less punctilious prosper, the really honourable men are unable to get a footing much to the loss of the litigants and the reputation of the profession. And it should not

be forgotten that touts cannot exist and flourish unless there are members of the Bar ready to avail themselves of their services and to thrive on them.

MRS. BESANT IN NAGPUR

In October, 1915, Mrs. Besant paid a visit to Nagpur. She had just then relinquished charge of her great educational institution at Benares and had decided to engage in political work. She bought up the moribund "Madras Standard" and re-christening it "New India," made it her organ. She founded a new political organisation and called it the "Indian Home Rule League." The Congress had already declared the attainment under aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire to be its object and goal, this object and goal to be achieved though constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration. Mrs. Besant wanted however, to have a separate organization of her own, having for its sole aim the attainment of what she called "Home Rule" and with her marvellous energy she got to work. In the course of her itinerary she came here. She put up with me and I had to arrange for a meeting where she could unfold and explain her scheme. As far as I could make out from the discussions I had with her, she seemed to think that India was ready immediately to assume charge of the government of the country, except military forces and the foreign relations. She

wanted me to join her "League" and help to establish a branch at Nagpur. I told her that so far as my Province was concerned, and of it only I could speak with knowledge, I was of opinion that we would have to go through some years of severe training before we would be fit to replace completely the existing system by a Government of our own, although a beg inning could with advantage be made in the direction of attain ment of the goal set before us by the Congress. There being no place in Nagpur where the large audience expected could be accommodated, the meeting was held in an open park. It was packed to its utmost capacity. I had to preside as no body else would. I say this because I do not think I have presided over more than three or four public meetings in my life and then too under pressing and peculiar circumstances. The address was a thrilling and enchanting piece of rhetoric but I may be excused for saying that although we were told a great deal in words of glowing eloquence of the ancient glories of India, there was not much in it dealing with the realities of the present situation except generalities. I told her after the lecture that she would have my warm sympathy in her selfless work for the uplift of my people generally but I could not join her just then. Whatever opinion one may have about the main planks of her propaganda, there can be no question that she captivated and to a great extent captured "Young India." In little more than a year the Home Rule movement became the

most powerful movement among the Indian intelligentsia. It opened branches in every province and it had its organ in every leading city. It soon captured the Congress and brushing aside the Moderates, installed Mrs. Besant as President in the Calcutta Session of 1917, despite the opposition of the old leaders, which opposition was, however, for the sake of buying peace afterwards withdrawn. The propaganda work was arranged on the lines familiar in England and young men devoted their time and energy to the cause without stint. The ideals formulated by President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and others that the wishes of the people must be the supreme consideration in the settlement of their government reverberated from one end of the country to the other and for the first time in our political history the so-called "dumb masses" were reached and were educated into the belief that in their own land they were a subject and inferior people. The cry was heard everywhere that if the Japanese and the Chinese could manage their own affairs, why could not the Indians with their great past civilisation do likewise? Why deny them a fair trial? In June 1917, within three years of her entry into the arena of politics, the Madras Government interned her with a view to put an end to her activities, as it was thought.

HER INTERNMENT

But as after events demonstrated, it had exactly the contrary effect. It enhanced her popularity and influence and secured for her sympathy even in

quarters where her propaganda was not approved. I was then President of the Local Congress Committee and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Association and it became necessary for me to decide whether I should guide and control the strong feeling of resentment that the action of the Madras Government had roused among my countrymen of all shades of opinion. I had no hesitation in deciding that whatever my views about Mrs. Besant's ideals, I should join my countrymen in protesting against what I agreed in thinking was an arbitrary act of interference with legitimate political agitation under an Act which, according to the authoritative statements made in Council, was directed against anarchical crimes and conspiracies and revolutionary movements. The Governor of Madras had just then stated that the carrying on of a movement for the early securing of self-government was by itself an objectionable course. And the internment was presumably a logical consequence of this view. But it did not take the Government long to resile from this obviously untenable position. But the *Communique* that was issued failed to make it clear why Mrs. Besant was interned, unless it be to crush her Home Rule movement. Lord Pentland in his interview with her declared his inability to say why her liberty was being interfered with. If she had spoken or written anything which transgressed the penal laws, the proper course was to have prosecuted her. The popular feeling was in a most excited condition and

we had to take special precautions with respect to the public meeting that was proposed to be held. Mr. M. V. Joshi, the veteran Berar leader, had a little previous to this come and settled down at Nagpur much to the strengthening of our local political movements. I proposed him as Chairman. The speakers were selected with care and their speeches were prepared in advance and subjected to careful scrutiny. As a result, we had the satisfaction of having demonstrated within perfectly legitimate limits, while giving full and adequate expression to the intense popular feeling. The official reporters present were given every facility to take notes, and to help them copies of the intended speeches were given to them in advance, so that there might be no room for misreporting. Mrs. Besant was soon released, presumably under instructions from higher quarters and I think the Government gained and not lost prestige by this act of courageous statesmanship. After this, Mrs. Besant had no difficulty in securing the majority of votes of the various Provincial Congress Committees in support of her candidature for the Presidentship. Although I had joined in the demonstration of protest against her internment, I disagreed with those who thought she was the fittest person to lead and guide the Congress at that critical time. I was out voted and had to resign my presidentship of the Congress Committee. Later on, I had to sever my connection completely with it, as also with the Provincial Association, as those disagreeing with the

view which I held and with which I was associated all my life, had secured a large majority in both the bodies. I believe that persons of our ways of thinking have been entirely weeded out of them both.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR MARRIAGE

On the 20th February, 1917, we completed the fiftieth year of our marriage. We were both children when we were married and we only saw one another when our hands were joined together at the auspicious moment fixed according to our Shastric rules in the midst of a solemn religious ceremony prescribed for us by our sages in ages gone by. Surrounded by our loving children and grand-children, we had a quiet devotional thanks-giving ceremony to remind us of the happy years that have rolled over us since then. The present Hindu marriage system gives no scope for the free exercise of choice. Now that we are discarding child-marriage, as we must if we wish to survive as a nation in the struggle for existence, leaving alone other considerations, it is inevitable that our children must have a voice in selecting their companions in life. None the less, I am strongly of opinion that in this matter their discretion should not be absolute and unfettered. I think that there is much in our own system which deserves to be maintained, with of course modifications made necessary by changing circumstances. I will relate what happened in our own case. My wife's grand-father, Babu Shib Chandra Deb, accompained by Babu Peary

Chand Mitra, one of the creators of the modern Bengali Literature, came to 'see' me as the phrase goes. The latter by the by was the grand-father of Mr. J. Mitra, our present Additional Judicial Commissioner and father-in-law of Shib Chandra Babu's fourth daughter, Mr. Mitra's mother. They examined me in my studies, put me through a course of catechism about my general habits regarding my health, methods of study &c. and finished up by asking me to write down my ideas about the duties of a husband to his wife! Fortunately, I was a diligent reader of Bengali literature and had read most of Peary Babu's works. I complied and they took my wonderful production home. I believe I was declared as having passed the test. This was followed by a visit by my maternal grand-father accompanied by my father, who was then a young man and therefore took only a subordinate part in the matter, to "see" my wife. In those days female education had only just begun. My grand-father, though belonging to the old class, was in favour of educating our girls. For then, he used to say, they would be able to read Ramayana and Mahabharata themselves. He examined my wife as to her studies. But having done so, he made critical enquiries as to whether she had been trained in the household duties of a Hindu girl. Babu Shib Chandra Deb's wife was a highly educated lady, a very rare thing in those old days. But unlike what unfortunately happens among us in these later days, her education had not made her forget her duties as a

Hindu wife. She remained what she ever was, the guardian angel of her husband's household. She had six daughters and several grand daughters including my wife under her care and besides the literary education she gave them, she carefully trained them in all the domestic duties of a Hindu family and so my grand-father was satisfied. After this, both parties made careful enquiries regarding various matters relating to the two families and also our general conduct at our respective schools. A satisfactory decision on all points having been reached, the final word was given and the marriage took place in due course. Our gratefulness to our grand-fathers who brought us together is as deep as it is unending. An admirable life of Babu Shib Chandra Deb and his saintly wife has recently been brought out by the eldest son of their eldest daughter, Babu Abinash Chandra Ghosh, M. A., B. L. It may not be out of place to mention here that Abinash Babu's father was Babu Girish Chandra Ghosh, the founder of the "Bengalee." No body can rise from a perusal of this book without being the better for it. Truly the poet has sung the lives of great men remind us; we can make our lives sublime.

Here for the present I stop. I hope later on to continue this narrative, though I feel that my time for thought is fast running out.

VI

Nagpur, May 1920.

I resume once more the thread of this narrative.

SIR HENRY COTTON

Towards the end of October, 1915, news was received in India of the death of Sir Henry Cotton. I was in the Imperial Legislative Council when Sir Henry was one of its official additional members. He was then Chief Commissioner of Assam and was specially nominated a member to help the Government in piloting the Assam Labour Emigration Bill through the Legislature. I was with him in the Select Committee on this Bill and I then came to know him intimately and to respect him, to quote the words of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, "as a noble type of the high-minded and high-souled Englishman." I have already referred to his chivalrous and bold advocacy of the cause of the ill-paid coolies on the tea-gardens of Assam. It was currently reported at the time that the price he paid for his open denouncement in Council of the surrender of Lord Curzon's government to the powerful influence of the tea-planters was the loss of the *gaddi* of Belvedere. If it was so, it was a misfortune as much for the Government as for the people. For had he succeeded Sir John Woodburn as Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, it is certain there would have been no partition of Bengal, a measure characterised by no less an authority than Lord Macdonnell as "the greatest blunder that had been committed in India since Clive conquered at

Plassy." I mourned with my country-men all over India the death of this good and distinguished man. It is the existence of Englishmen like him, whose ideal of Imperial dominion in India is to weld her varying races and communities into one united national existence, "broad-based upon the peoples will," that preserves and strengthens the Indian people's attachment to the British connection.

THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

On the 17th of December, 1908, Lord Morley unfolded in the House of Lords his Scheme of Reforms, thereby opening a new and an important chapter in the history of our constitutional progress and the relations of Great Britain with India. The cardinal points of the scheme may be said to be, (1) the creation of a Provincial Legislature in Provinces where it did not exist, (2) the introduction of the elective principle in the appointment of the majority of non-official members, (3) the abolition of the standing official majority in the Provincial Councils and the substitution in its place of a non-official majority, (4) the conferral on non-official members of the right to move resolutions, to divide the Council on administrative questions and to influence the Budget by bringing forward specified recommendations which would be put to the vote. It took nearly five years for the scheme to materialise in the case of our Province. The statutory proclamation authorising the creation of a Local Legislative Council for the Central Provinces was issued on the 8th of

November, 1913. The framing of the necessary regulations took some months more and it was not till the 17th of August 1914, that the first meeting of our Council took place. Unfortunately, effective safeguards against corrupt practices at elections were not introduced, as they should have been, *pari passu* with the introduction of the elective principle. This permitted the carrying on of election-campaigns on methods incompatible with the really free and unfettered exercise of their right of election by the voters. The non-recognition of the principle of direct election on a broad franchise further facilitated the adoption of illegitimate practices. All this made it difficult for men, fitted by their intrinsic worth to represent their countrymen, but who, in seeking election, were not prepared to sacrifice their self-respect, to come forward as candidates. In view of what I saw and heard going on around me, I took the liberty to publish an appeal to my brother-electors pointing out that the privilege had not been given in order that it might be utilised to promote any personal end as opposed to public good. It would be an abuse, not a legitimate use, of the right if it were to be made to conserve some purpose other than that of sending to the Council men who would by their ability, character and self-less service be able to contribute towards the attainment by it of as a high level of usefulness as it was permissible to it to attain. The right, I added, was not one's own private property to be

bartered away to please a friend, or to repay some obligation, or to secure some personal advantage. In short, it would be a betrayal of a great trust if in recording his vote, a voter allowed any but considerations of public interests to influence him. I am afraid my appeal proved a cry in the wilderness and in saying this I merely echo what several candidates themselves openly stated at the time. In trying to carry out the above principles in my own case as a voter, I incurred the severe displeasure of several friends, and my relations with them remained in a strained condition for a considerable time after I had recorded my vote. In view of the formation of our Council, I was asked by Sir Benjamin Robertson, our Chief Commissioner, whether I was going to stand as a candidate. I replied that as I was not prepared under existing conditions to go about canvassing for votes and as without this I had very scant chances of success, I did not propose to seek election. He then said that he would in that case nominate me. I was well aware that in a popular assembly based on the principle of election, a member nominated by Government is an anomaly. But so long as votes are not given with a single-minded desire to promote the commonweal and so long as the mode of conducting elections tended to give representation, to use the words of a great British Statesman, "to small sections of the people and not to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community," there was, I thought, room for nomination. It must and should

disappear as soon as the people acquire a correct knowledge of the ethics of the principle of election and the great responsibility the exercise of the privilege involved. Accordingly I accepted the nomination, especially as I thought I might be of some use in the elaboration of several important Bills deeply affecting the welfare of the people, which I knew, would be introduced in the Council. In the subject-matters of these Bills, I had always taken a deep interest and I had given a great deal of my time and thought to the study of them. I had as Government Advocate helped in the preparation of some of them. These measures had been long over-due but engrossed as the Governor-General's Council was with matters of imperial interests, it could not make time to attend to them. There was one advantage in the position I agreed to accept. I would be perfectly free to exercise my judgment untrammelled by any consideration of pleasing any body and basing it solely on what I thought would best advance the good of the people, according to the light that was in me. It may not be amiss to give here Burke's classical exposition of the true relations of a member to his electors; "your representative owes you, not his industry only but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

OPENING OF THE C. P. COUNCILS

As soon as the Council was constituted, we the non-official members, elected and nominated, had a private meeting at which we decided to meet and

discuss in advance measures and matters to be brought before the Council and settle, as far as may be, a common line of action. This was not intended to hamper the liberty of the members to act and conduct themselves as they pleased in the Council itself. As soon as the Council met, the President, Sir Benjamin Robertson, accorded us "a very sincere and hearty welcome" and struck the right note by saying that he had no doubt that we would prove our fitness for the responsibilities laid on us and that he would count upon our help in conducting the proceedings with earnestness and dignity and with zeal for the common interest. On behalf of the C.P. Members I responded that we fully realised the responsibilities of the new situation and had every hope that a spirit of healthy co-operation and mutual trust between officials and non-officials would characterise our actions to the lasting good and prosperity of the country. I added that we were on the threshold of a future pregnant with great possibilities; that under the vivifying impulse of a sympathetic and enlightened administration, the country, which had suffered much in the past, had since 1863 made great strides towards progressive development and that we had at last arrived at a stage when we would be able to co-operate actively and effectively with the Government in the advancement of the province. This was not possible under the old order of things. Looking back these six years I have much pleasure in recording that the hopes which animated us when we entered

upon our new duties have in a substantial degree been fulfilled. As demonstrating the good that comes of healthy co-operation and mutual good-will between officials and non-officials, I shall recount at some length the work that has been done. For what has happened in our case teaches a lesson which may be useful in the strenuous and difficult times that are ahead of us.

RIGHT OF INTERPELLATION

The right of interpellation has been fully and freely exercised, in some instances, it may perhaps be said, too freely. Considering that the questions have ranged over the whole field of administration in all its branches, preparation of the answers put a severe strain on the officers of Government. But Sir Benjamin's orders on the subject were conceived in a most liberal spirit and his officers carried them out in an equally liberal spirit. The result has been that the answers have been generally exhaustive and satisfactory. They have not only served to place valuable information hitherto locked up in official files and boxes at the disposal of the public but have furnished a convenient vehicle by which to explain the policy and proceedings of Government to the people. Thus the cause of good government has been greatly advanced.

LAND REVENUE BILL

I will now mention some of the important legislative measures that we helped to place on the statute book. The law regulating the relations between the

landholders and Government was first codified in 1881. The Act of that year was the first attempt at legislation on this subject for the Central Provinces. Its actual operation disclosed several defects and a new enactment had become long overdue, when a Bill to consolidate and amend the law was introduced in our Council in January 1915. My general attitude towards the Bill will appear from the following passages in my speech on the motion referring it to a Select Committee. "The vast "majority of the people of these Provinces depend, "directly or indirectly, upon land for their existence, "and whether they shall live a life of comfort and "contentment and the Country shall prosper, is "largely bound up with the land policy of Govern- "ment.....If there is any thing which is not sound "in that policy or anything that is unhealthy in the "relations between Government and the landholding "classes, a feeling of insecurity pervades, incentives "to improvements cease to operate and the general "progress of the Country is arrested.....The Bill "has, therefore, an importance, which transcends in "its far-reaching results any other measure of "legislation.....Without in any way suggesting "that the interests of the people have been deliberate- "ly overlooked in drafting the Bill, it is no injustice "to those responsible for it, individually or collective- "ly, to predicate of it that one at least of its main "objects has been to broaden and strengthen the "powers of the executive officers engaged in the

"administration of land revenue with a consequent "curtailment of the powers of the ordinary Civil "Courts.....This much can be said of the Bill "without detracting its value-that it is, in the shape "it is now before the Council, a one-sided measure in "the sense that those who are to be affected by the "enforcement of its provisions have had no hand in "its elaboration.....It is in the circumstances "perhaps inevitable that it should be so and I do not "make a grievance of it. I merely state a fact..... "I, however, cherish the hope that the Bill will "emerge in such shape from the Select Committee "as to disarm all legitimate criticism and to leave no "serious contentious matter to agitate men's minds in "the present abnormal condition of the country "resulting from the world-wide war in which we are "engaged as an integral part of the British Empire." The Select Committee consisted of four official members including the Legal Remembrancer and four non-official members. I was one of the latter. It began its labours in the following July. We had 25 sittings. We began punctually at 11 and generally sat with a short interval of a quarter of an hour till 5. This represents only a small part of our labours. For we worked at home and made everything ready for the meeting. Every clause was subjected to a critical scrutiny. The drafts prepared at home were frequently altered as on further consideration difficulties cropped up and this process went on until a satisfactory solu-

tion was reached. The amendments proposed by us numbered, I believe, about three hundred and each one received most careful consideration. In the Hon'ble Mr. Crump, we had a Chairman, who was as fair as he was well-informed in all the intricacies of the subject. He gave the utmost consideration to every suggestion we put forward and I am very glad to record that except as regards one important matter which I shall presently mention, we were able to arrive at an unanimous decision on all debatable questions. The Bill as recast by the Select Committee was as regards its important clauses practically a new measure. The amendments introduced robbed the original Bill of provisions which had been objected to during the Council debate as constituting encroachments on the rights of the people. Many doubtful matters of law and procedure appearing in the Bill as introduced were also put right. Several questions, which, under the then existing law, had evoked much litigation and had led to conflicting decisions, were placed on a satisfactory basis and openings for harassing law-suits were thus closed. The matters on which an agreement could not be reached were the question of putting a statutory limit on the percentage of assets which could be taken as land revenue and the period of Settlement. Both these subjects were parts of an imperial policy and the Local Government could not without the orders of the Secretary of State and the Supreme Government come to any compromise with us, the non-official

members, regarding them. I signed the Select Committee's report subject to the following note:—

"At the Settlement made soon after the constitution of the Central Provinces into a separate unit of administration, when proprietary rights were for the first time recognised by Government, certain broad principles were authoritatively laid down. At that time, the country was undeveloped. Large areas of culturable land were waiting for the plough. There was also the future prospect of profit in the expected rise in prices from the opening up of the country by roads and railways. With a full knowledge of these facts, Sir Richard Temple, acting in this matter with the sanction of the Government of India, embodied in his Settlement Code the principle of long-term settlement, the actual period laid down being 30 years and the rule of half-assets assessment. As would appear from his Administration reports, he had large numbers of landholders assembled in every district and explained to them the policy of Government. They thus came to have faith in its permanency. The law relating to land revenue was codified in 1881 and though the principles of Sir Richard Temple's Settlement were not embodied in the Act then passed, as had been prayed for, yet indications are not wanting in it that at that time there was no intention to go back on the policy of long-term settlement. (See Sections 57 and 58 of the Act). Now that cultivation has largely developed, leaving very little really profitable culturable land still unreclaimed,

except in a few backward tracts, and almost every district has been linked up with the great centres of trade, the landholding classes naturally desire that the principles of Sir Richard Temple's Settlement should find legislative recognition so as to place the matter on a secure basis. They further point out that in the benefit of such a boon, their tenants would participate. For rents, except when new tenancies are created, remain under the operation of the Tenancy Law practically unaltered during the interval between two settlements. And the proprietors and the tenants between them constitute the great majority of the people of the Province. I think that this is a reasonable prayer and it would advance the cause of good Government, if it could be met by embodiment of apt provisions in the Act itself, reserving at the same time to Government the right to depart from them in special circumstances." My three colleagues appended a separate joint note on the same lines.

HELP FROM THE PUBLIC IN OUR LEGISLATIVE WORK

I think I should mention here that we, the non-official members of the Select Committee, received little or no help from the general public in considering the provisions of the Bill, although it would be difficult to conceive of a measure which more vitally affected the vast majority of the people than this Bill. Three Landholders' Associations, to two of which I had specially written to submit their views, sent representations touching some matters affecting their class interests. The Union of Co-operative

Banks sent a note concerning a few points specially affecting Co-operative Societies and a Marwari gentleman of Harda sent some remarks. But this was all. There was no attempt in any quarter to subject the various important provisions of the Bill to a careful examination. We have now several public bodies which profess to represent the people and protect their rights and interests. But, to our misfortune, they were all dumb. Perhaps they were too busy considering matters of high state policy and arranging for public meetings where eloquent speeches would be delivered and beautifully phrased resolutions passed, to be able to spare time for a humdrum parochial subject like our Land Revenue Bill. For no criticism or suggestion likely to be of any value could have been offered without a close and critical study of the many difficult questions which the Bill dealt with, and this was not possible without an expenditure of much thought and time. This sacrifice, our leaders and instructors in public matters were probably not in a position to make without detriment to their other duties, which, I must admit, served the important purpose of keeping them in the lime-light and winning for them popular plaudits of a character with which we have become so familiar of late. The same remarks apply to our instructors of the public press. They also generally left us severely alone. I may state here in passing that this attitude of stern indifference to our legislative activities was fully maintained as regards all other Bills with one notable

exception. This was the Medical Registration Bill. It affected some influential Medical practitioners of Nagpur and it was our privilege to receive criticisms on its provisions intended to safeguard what was considered their endangered interests.

Our notes of dissent regarding the question of codification of the half-assets rule and the period of Settlement received, I believe, careful consideration. Immediately following the publication of the Select Committee's report in the Gazette, the Government made public the despatches of the Secretary of State and the Government of India of the year 1910 rejecting the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission for codification of the above matters. There is every reason to think that these important official papers were for the first time given publicity after six years and at this particular juncture in view of the impending discussion in Council of our Land Revenue Bill. They made clear the position that the Government was not prepared to agree to codification. The non-official members were in the majority in the Council and we could, if we had all combined, as we were likely to have done in this matter, have carried our amendments through the Council. But this would not have advanced our cause. For, we were left in no doubt that the Bill would, in that case, be either withdrawn or vetoed. This would have been most lamentable, for it was a very valuable piece of legislative work and deserved to be passed into law even without the provisions we

advocated. Such being the situation, I thought proper to open negotiations with Government with a view to find out whether some concession by way of compromise could not be made to the popular view. I had hinted at such a compromise by suggesting in my note that failing codification, the two matters therein discussed might be dealt with by rules. The rules would be subject to what is technically called "previous publication." That is to say, the Government would be bound on the eve of every settlement to publish by way of drafts, its proposals regarding the proportion of assets to be taken as revenue and the period to be fixed for the new Settlement. Within the time-limit fixed the people would have the right to submit criticisms. Resolutions could also be moved in the Council regarding the tentative Government proposals. The final proposals of Government would emerge after the matter had been thus fully ventilated and discussed. After some correspondence and discussion, the Government agreed to the incorporation in the Bill of a provision laying down that before issuing a notification for a new Settlement, "the Chief Commissioner shall publish for public criticism the proposals of Government for the standard enhancement of rent, the per-centage of assets to be taken as revenue and the term, for which the Settlement is to be made. An apt amendment embodying the above proposal was moved by a non-official member representing the land-holding class and was unanimously passed. That this was a substantial gain I thus

explained in Council. "Under the existing law there is no obligation on the Government to give the people an opportunity to know on what principle the revenue is going to be assessed, what is to be the period of settlement and how rent and rental values are to be fixed. All these important matters vitally affecting the agricultural classes are now settled behind their back by *exparte* correspondence between the officers of Government and it is only after the final decision is arrived at that an announcement is made to the people. They are then faced with an accomplished fact which is very difficult to get modified by memorials and representations. This, at least, has been the teaching of the past. It would have been impossible to have made a more impressive appeal than what was done by the Bilaspur people against Rai Bahadur Purushottamdass's Settlement and yet the response was a stern refusal to make any concession. "The amendment proposed will secure a full and fair discussion of the matter while yet the Government has an open mind and when there will be no question of undoing a settled fact." I may state here in passing that the subject has now only an academic interest. For most of the recent Settlements have been made on the half-assets rule and there is not the least likelihood of its being violated in future. The period of Settlement has also been considerably enlarged. Further the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons appointed to consider the Reforms Bill of 1919 have recom-

mended that "the main principle by which the land "revenue is determined, the methods of valuation, "the pitch of assessment, the period of revisions, the "graduation of enhancements, and the other chief "processes which touch the well-being of the revenue-"payers should be embodied in the law."

LAND ALIENATION BILL

Along with the Land Revenue Bill, we had another important Bill, the Land Alienation Bill. The question of restrictions on alienation of agricultural land had been a burning topic in all parts of India. In the Punjab and in some parts of the United Provinces it had been found necessary to legislate for the protection of certain classes of landholders. In the Central Provinces, with the rapid rise in the value of land owing to the improvement of communications, acquisition of landed property had become an object of keen desire on the part of the well-to-do money-lending classes and the members of the aboriginal tribes were being rapidly ousted from their ancestral villages often by unfair transactions. The new proprietors living at head-quarters of the district or the tehsil, away from their estates and possessing no sympathy or fellow-feeling with their tenants, were not the kind of men best fitted to take the place of the old hereditary leaders of the village community. The British law has thus become a potent destroyer rather than a sympathetic protector of ancient rights. I had always held strong views on the subject and I supported the Bill. I give the following

extract from my speech as explaining the position I took up:—

"Before the grant of proprietary right the interest which the Patels and Malguzars of the old revenue system possessed in their estates was not transferable, except with the sanction of the Revenue authorities. When it was decided to recognise, in favour of the old Patels and Malguzars, a proprietary right in the soil the original Government order was that this newly created right should not under any circumstances be liable to sale for simple debt, or for any kind of debt contracted before the Settlement. Papers available to the public do not disclose why effect was not given to this policy when proprietary right came actually to be conferred. Now, so long as the village sowcar was a member of the village community, dependent for the prosperity of his calling upon the good-will of the village headman, he could not afford to be hard in his dealings either with the Patel or his ryots. But when along with the creation of this valuable right of property, a new system of law and procedure was introduced, the old ties of inter-dependence were dissolved. The new law armed the sowcars with all the advantages of the so-called doctrine of freedom of contract and the Courts with the power and prestige of Government behind them became his agents to register and collect his debts, and he was thus set free from the previous restraining influences. To this state of things may be added the

"gradual relaxation of the time-honoured fetters on "the power of alienation according to the law of the "Mitakshara joint family, under the operation of our "judge-made law, making what was formerly diffi-"cult of dissipation by any single member of the family "an easy prey to the sowcar. The result has been "that a policy, conceived and carried out in a spirit "of generous recognition of the rights of the people, "has in its effect, been a potent destroyer of their "ancient rights. In many parts of the country the old "landholding families, the natural leaders of the "village communities, have disappeared, and their "place has been taken by a class of people who, in "many cases, are fitted neither by their character nor "by their past traditions to have any fellow-feeling "with the tenants, sharing in their joys and sorrows "and helping them in their trials and difficulties. I "cannot illustrate the contrast between the old and "the new order of things better than in the following "words of Sir John Morris, for 15 years our Chief "Commissioner. It is well to consider the position "of the landholders before and since the Settlement. "The villages prior to the Settlement were held by "farmers, called Patels. Malguzars, Gaontias, and "other local designations. The larger estates were "held by *quasi*-proprietors called Rajas, Zamindars "Thakurs, etc. In the case both of the farmer and "the Zamindar, a hereditary right of succession "existed to all the perquisites and privileges of the "position, but there was no right of transfer or mort-

"gage or sale. So far then as the possession of the "landed property was concerned, the position of the "landholding class was one of absolute security. A "creditor might charge exorbitant interest, or elabo- "rate a false account, or attempt any kind of sharp "practice and having done all this, he might obtain "a decree of court, but all his machinations were "powerless against the land; that could neither be "proceeded against nor sold, so that, however much "a family in debt might be harassed,—a trouble they "accepted ordinarily with resignation as a merited "penalty—they could not be permanently degraded "from the position they had inherited, and so be "ruined for ever. Under our law, however, this is "exactly what does happen! For the absolute property "in land acknowledged at the Settlement involves a "sale of all rights and interests therein in cases of "debt and an execution of decree, carrying out this "penalty, means to the old proprietor a sentence of "permanent banishment from the position, which, "above all things, he and his family have prized. A "procedure of this kind is alien to the whole traditions "of the people, and, whenever enforced, leaves behind "a growing sense of injustice. I cannot think our "policy on this point is unalterable. There may be "strong economic objections to the system in all its "details which we have superseded, but what has "been well said in connection with other circum- "stances applies here. You cannot bring an indictment "against a whole people. Their system requires that

"a hereditary connection with the land should not be "rudely severed, and it is for the good of the com- "munity generally that, so far as possible, the existing "landlord class should be upheld in possession of their "estates. Being for the good of the community, it "seems to me the duty of Government to recognise "this part of the Native system, and to frame our "law and procedure with a view to its continued "maintenance."

"I submit it cannot be urged against these "unfortunate victims of a system which they were "unprepared by their modes and habits of life to accept "and assimilate that they had earned this penalty of "eviction from their old family rights. I am afraid "there must be something unsuitable in the system "itself within which they were brought, which led to "these results. And if this be admitted, there can be "no doubt about the propriety of effective and appro- "priate remedial measures. The Bill is only a partial "and a somewhat belated step in this direction."

The Bill received the cordial support of all my colleagues and was soon placed on the Statute Book.

THE C. P. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL

The next important Bill, I shall mention is the Local Self-Government Bill. On the promulgation of the famous resolution of 18th May 1882 of Lord Ripon's Government, an Act was passed in 1883 to constitute in the Central Provinces local bodies, based on the principle of election, to administer the old District fund which consisted mainly of the proceeds

of the two Settlement imposts, the education and the Road cess. Under no other Government was the above resolution given effect to in a bolder and more honest spirit than by Sir John Morris, then our Chief Commissioner. Even before the resolution was issued, he had done much to leaven our Municipalities with a popular elective element. He had thus no difficulty in giving the resolution a full and fair trial. In some of the newly constituted District Boards, he permitted the election of non-official chairmen. The official element was also reduced to a minimum. This was specially the case in Nagpur, where there were only two or three officials. They were there to help and advise and not to rule and dominate. How the policy thus launched had worked would appear from the following extract from a paper read in 1912 by Sir John Miller, for several years our Chief Commissioner, before the Royal Society of Arts, London :—

"When Lord Ripon formulated his famous policy, "the Chief Commissioner decided that it should have "a full and genuine trial. He would have nothing "to do with shams, and he adopted the bold policy "of placing all local bodies under non-official chairmen. "In the case of District Boards it would be premature "to say that any great measure of success had been "achieved. That may be due to want of funds..... "Be that as it may, the experiment has been fully "justified in the Municipal sphere. The large cities "even of Jubbulpore and Nagpur have been successfully managed by these non-official bodies; and the

"administration has been conducted on progressive "lines, very creditable in a poor province. The water- "works with which both cities are provided, and "still larger schemes of improvement that are being "undertaken in Nagpur, are striking examples of what "may be effected under purely non-official manage- "ment, when it works in friendly and harmonious "relations with the official world. I doubt if there is "any city in India of the size of Nagpur, where a "similar experiment has been as fully tried, and the "Government were undoubtedly fortunate in finding "amongst the leading citizens men of such public "spirit and such liberal ideas as Sir Bepin Bose and "Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis to assist in demons- "trating the fitness of the inhabitants for the responsi- "bilities placed on them."

The restrained opinion regarding District Boards is probably correct. But want of funds was the main cause of their slow development. They could not afford to have establishments to carry on their work and thus became deliberative bodies, their executive duties being discharged by the P. W. D. and the Tehsil staffs. Nevertheless, they were able to achieve in one sphere a good measure of success,—education. Though hampered by financial difficulties, they greatly helped in the diffusion of primary education and it was often made a matter of complaint against them that they devoted money raised and intended for roads and other purposes to education. In other respects also, defects were discovered in their

constitution under the Act of 1881. Thus it became clear that the whole question had to be reviewed and the Boards re-constituted on a broader basis, if their usefulness was to be increased. Representations were also made to Government by some of the leading Boards that they should be vested with some power of taxation in order to free them from their position of dependence on Government doles for their revenues and at the same time better to equip them to discharge their statutory duties. It was further felt that the system of making the land-holding classes pay through the cesses imposed under the Settlement engagement for the education not only of their own children but the children of non-agricultural communities, ought to give place to a more equitable arrangement under which the costs would be spread over all in proportion to the benefits enjoyed. The same remark also applied to the road cess. The trading classes profitted as much by the District roads as the agriculturists. Thus with the march of times, when classes not dependent on agriculture came into existence and flourished, an equitable distribution of the financial burden for the maintenance of the institutions which benefitted the whole community, became imperative. The question of regulating markets also assumed importance owing to the utter lack of control and supervison over the proprietors of the market sites, who, while making a good income from the necessities of the people for some central place wherein to transact business in sale

and purchase of agricultural and industrial products and cattle, had grievously failed to fulfil their correlative obligations to make these places sanitary and to equip them with conveniences which every place of public resort ought to possess. The whole matter was first taken up by Government in 1906-07, and was considered by a small conference of officials and non-officials. The incubation of the Bill, however, took a long time and when at last it was ready, its introduction in Council was held up pending the creation of our local Legislature. It was introduced in our Council in December 1917. Later on, in March 1918, when the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was made, it met with opposition from some non-official members on the ground that it was not liberal enough in several respects. In view of this opposition, the Government withdrew the Bill. Later on, when I got a chance, I deplored this wreckage of a valuable Bill, the result of years of careful deliberation between officials and non-officials and which, though given the widest publicity through the gazette and in other ways, had not been objected to by any public body in the Province. Regarding its alleged defects, I said that the Chief Commissioner in his speech had announced that the Government had no desire whatever to stick to the actual draft of the Bill; on the contrary, it was prepared to have it liberalised in the Select Committee to the extent desired by public opinion. I published a note in the newspapers embodying the above views

and suggested the re-introduction of the Bill after such amendments of its clauses as might be deemed expedient. On the publication of the Government of India resolution of 16th May 1918 on Local Self-Government, a Committee was appointed by the Chief Commissioner consisting of two officials and five non-official members of our Council to consider the Bill in the light of this resolution. I was one of the latter. This Committee had several sittings and as a result of its deliberations, an amended Bill which met with the unanimous support of us all was prepared for introduction in Council. It was introduced in July 1918 and referred to a Select Committee of four official and four non-official members. I was among the latter. In the Select Committee, it under-went several important changes, all in the direction of further liberalising its provisions. The out-come has been a measure, which, I venture to think, is ahead of similar legislative enactments in other Provinces. I will give here some of the main provisions:—

(1) Regarding constitution, at least three-fourths of the members are to be elected and not more than one-fourth nominated. No official is to be eligible either for election or nomination.

(2) The Chairman is to be elected, an official being ordinarily ineligible. If, however, any Board decided at a special meeting by a majority of two-thirds of the members to have an official Chairman, it may apply in that behalf to the Local Government

which may at its discretion permit such selection. But in no case are the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman to be both officials. In view of the very backward condition of some of the tracts, such a provision has been considered necessary.

(3) The franchise is to be on a broad basis. The voters are to be persons holding land and paying revenue or rent of such amount as may be fixed by rules and also persons possessing an annual income from sources other than agriculture of such amount as may be similarly fixed.

(4) The electorate is to be entirely territorial, no communal representation being recognised.

(5) The power of nomination is to be exercised to place on the Board persons representing interests and communities—that may fail to get represented through election.

(6) The Boards are to have power to tax non-agriculturists for education, the proceeds of the tax being ear-marked for maintaining schools within the area where the tax is to be imposed.

(7) Boards are to have power to establish public markets and to control and supervise private markets.

(8) The power of control over the Boards is to reside in a body to be specially established, called the "Local Government Board." It is to consist of an official and two non-officials. As Local Self-Government is to be a transferred subject under the new scheme of reforms, this official will necessarily be the

"Minister" in charge of the department. Thus the Local Boards are to be entirely non-official bodies controlled by an authority equally non-official in character.

(9) Official element within and official control without, ceasing to exist, adequate safe-guards have been provided to ensure purity of administration.

(10) Stringent regulations are to be made under the rule-making power to prevent corrupt and illegal practices at elections.

The Bill was to have been passed at the sitting of the Council in January last but unfortunately a telegram was received at the last moment from the Government of India to put it off. We all hope it will soon become law. It is a much needed measure and is calculated to start our local bodies on a career of great usefulness in the domain of Local Self-Government. They are to constitute the training ground from which political sagacity and a sense of responsibility will take their rise.*

THE C. P. TENANCY BILL

The last measure I shall mention is the Tenancy Bill. The Land Revenue Act has placed the law regulating the relations of Government with the land-holding classes on a sound basis. It remained to have a similar measure dealing with the relations between the proprietors and their tenants. The last Tenancy Act was 22 years old and it needed revision in many respects. For several years

* I am glad to say the Bill has become law.

past, there had been conferences between officials and non-officials in all the divisions as to the general principles on which the new Bill was to be framed. The Bill introduced in Council in March 1919 was the out-come of these deliberations. With the unanimous assent of all the members, it was at once referred to a Select Committee of four official and an equal number of non-official members including myself. Although the sittings of the Select Committee were not so prolonged as in the case of the Land Revenue Bill, which covered a wider range of matters, its labours were by no means less exacting or less strenuous. The reason was that the points for consideration involved many intricate questions of law and general policy and they could not be settled except after most careful discussions and deliberations. Several important changes were introduced in the Select Committee, the object kept in view being to simplify as far as may be the existing law and settle controversial matters which had been evoking wasteful litigation. One very important change was the elimination of the class of ordinary tenants who had been created by the Act of 1883 as a sort of compromise between the tenants-at-will and the occupancy tenants of Act X of 1859 and the conferral on all tenants, whatever the length of their occupation, of a permanent right of tenancy coupled with a fair rent to be settled by a Statutory authority—Settlement officers during the currency of settlements and Revenue officers during the interval between two settlements.

This was a great satisfaction to me, for I had advocated such a measure in the eighties when the Bill which culminated in the Act of 1883 was under preparation. To show that there was nothing unfair in this to the proprietors, I shall narrate briefly the past history of tenant-right in these Provinces. Such a history may perhaps prove generally useful. Under the Mahratha Revenue System, the vast majority of the predecessors of the present proprietors were mere farmers of revenue holding under terminable leases. Under this system, what was true of the other parts of India was equally true of this, that the cultivator of the soil was entitled to remain on his land so long as he paid the customary rent. There was no law then to protect him, but the powerful public opinion of the village community was able to accomplish for his protection what the law of the present day attempts but more often than not fails to accomplish. When the Government decided in the public interests to create proprietary right in land, a right which it had not acknowledged before, and to convert farmers of the old *regime* into proprietors, it recognished that it was equally its duty to look to the interests of the tenants and secure them in their customary rights. It pointed out that such rights did exist, though now and then over-borne. It added that, no doubt, there was no law for their protection against capricious ejectment and unfair rent but neither was there any law upholding the rights of the landlords against the Government. Thus it would have been quite in keep-

ing with local custom and feeling to confer on every resident cultivator the privilege of fixity of tenure subject to the payment of the customary rent along with the gift of proprietary right on his landlord. In three districts this was done. But to the cultivators of the Province generally was given that veritable apple of discord, occupancy right as depending on the twelve years rule of Act X of 1859. When in 1864 this Act was extended to these Provinces, then newly formed into a separate administration, a larger measure of protection was in contemplation. But the feeling of security engendered by the bestowal of proprietary right coupled with the fixation of the State-demand for a long period led to a large extention of cultivation and the necessity of reclaiming the vast reserves of culturable lands then available made it to the interest of the landholders to secure good cultivators on fair terms and, when secured, to keep them on their lands. Arbitrary eviction thus became unknown and the question of fresh legislation in the interests of tenants receded to the back ground. The various difficult problems which the creation of a new administration brought into existence also contributed to this result. Thus it happened that no attempt was made to grapple with the question of tenant-right until 1880. In that year, Mr. Jones, an experienced Revenue Officer and who succeeded Sir John Morris as Chief Commissioner, was entrusted with the duty of drafting a Bill on the subject. His scheme of protection was a very complicated measure

and was severely criticised as affording no real protection but at the same time creating fresh openings for embittered litigation between the two classes. As I have already said in a previous part of this memoir, I pleaded strongly for giving every tenant a fixity of tenure irrespective of the length of his occupation. The Bill with the criticism it had evoked was entrusted to a Committee of three officers including the Judicial Commissioner, Sir Charles Crosthwaite. They drafted what was practically a new Bill with some important modifications. It became law as Act XI of 1883. Its main feature was the creation of a new class of tenants called ordinary tenants who were protected against arbitrary eviction by the adoption, after the Irish Land Act of the time, of the self-acting principle of compensation for disturbance. But in course of time and with the progress of cultivation the number of persons anxious to have land outstripped the area of land available for new tenants and then the rule of compensation for disturbance proved impotent as a measure of protection. For when it became possible for the proprietors to secure a higher premium from a new comer, it ceased to be to his interest to maintain the old tenant on his land. His eviction after payment of the statutory compensation proved a more profitable bargain. Thus the Select Committee was faced with the problem of evolving some other measure of protection and in its amended Bill it abolished the class of ordinary tenants and made every person holding under

a proprietor occupancy or permanent tenant. Thus step by step the position, which should have been taken up in the matter of recognition of tenant-right when the Patels of the Mahratha System were converted into proprietors, was at last reached and the controversy of fifty years closed once for all.

TRANSFERABILITY OF TENANT-RIGHT.

I have said before that our legislative work generally evoked little or no criticism from the public. The Tenancy Bill proved an exception as regards one of its under-lying principles. To the tenants generally, it gave no right of transfer, except a limited right to sub-let to tide over any temporary difficulty of personal cultivation. This was objected to by a few of the members of the Council and by a considerable body of people outside it. As far as I could make out, the main object of proposing to give to tenants a right of transfer, was to facilitate the acquisition of tenant-right independently of the proprietor by persons, belonging mostly to the professional and official classes, of limited means as an investment for their savings. These persons are unable to find a profitable investment for their money in proprietory land, which commands a much higher value in the market than tenancy land. I strongly opposed the proposal in Council, and also outside Council by publication of notes in the local papers. The position I took up was that the stand-points from which the question should be looked at are mainly two:—(1) is it for their good that the tenants should have

unrestricted power to transfer the right created for their special benefit by the Legislature, generally in derogation of their contract with the proprietors and (2) would an unrestricted flow of agricultural land from those who actually till it with their own hands and with their own labour to those who are mere rent-receivers advance public interests? Now the argument that it will do the tenant good to have the power of transfer was founded on the assumption that he could not without it raise enough money to meet the legitimate needs of his cultivation. But it was clearly shown by careful enquiries made under Sir Reginald Craddock's government that quite 90 per cent of the tenants were able to procure seed-grain and the ordinary cost of cultivation, when they were in need of them, on the security of their crops and without mortgaging their holdings. And no fair-minded person could advocate giving them the power of transfer in order that they might run into debt for purposes other than those connected with the proper tillage of their land. On no reasonable view of the matter, they could be permitted to do so by utilising a statutory right created in the public interests for the special benefit of their class and their class alone. As regards the second point, as the inevitable result of clothing tenants with power of transfer would be to transfer their lands to money-lenders in satisfaction of their long-drawn accounts, often swelled beyond recognition by interest and various other charges which it is customary to

add to the account, or to the members of the professional or to official classes buying up tenant-right as an investment. It might be readily conceded that the country could not gain any benefit from a law which attempts to keep a cultivator attached to his land when he is no longer able for want of resources to put it to the best use. In such a case it would, no doubt, be an advantage if the impoverished tenant could be re-placed by an enterprising new tenant, able by the introduction of improved methods of agriculture to add to the national wealth. But this is exactly what does not happen and would not happen. Whether it be the money-lender or a member of the professional or official class, he would, in the vast majority of cases, never take to cultivation himself abandoning his own lucrative profession. He would sub-let, for the simple reason that under existing conditions he could by this means earn a substantial profit out of his property without the risk and trouble attendant on personal cultivation. Thus there would be brought into existence between the proprietors and the ostensible tenant, a class of persons who would be the real tenants but whose position would be one of absolute insecurity and who would be getting only the wages of their labour. For the sub-rents are always pitched so high as to leave the sub-tenants only a bare subsistence and nothing more. Thus a law intended for the protection of the actual tiller of the land would cease to give him any protection and would protect instead a class of middlemen,

mere rent-receivers, who are not entitled to any legislative protection independently of their contracts with the proprietors. I am glad to say these views prevailed and the various amendments, proposed to give a right of transfer absolute or limited, were all rejected by substantial majorities.

HEREDITABILITY OF TENANT-RIGHT

In another respect also, the position of tenants was strengthened. Under the old law, succession was very restricted, so much so as to amount to a practical denial of any but lineal succession. The Bill substituted for this the personal law of succession coupled, however, with the restriction that it was not to extend beyond the seventh degree.

The Act has come into force from the 1st of May and I earnestly hope it will prove a fair settlement of the various difficult questions which surround the law of landlord and tenant. This much I can honestly say of it that no pains have been spared to make it attain this end. I prepared a note explaining the various provisions of the Act. This and its translations in Marathi and Hindi have at the instance of Government been widely distributed so as to give the people a clear idea of the new law, and enable them to take full advantage of it.

OTHER ACTS

Altogether 18 Acts have been passed by our Legislature including, besides those mentioned above, an Excise Act, and a Primary Education Act. This last has been framed generally on the lines adopted in

other Provinces, giving power to local bodies to introduce compulsory primary education subject to certain conditions as to the provision of funds and the utilisation of child labour by the guardians, especially in the case of agriculturists, at certain seasons and for certain hours. In view of the great and general scarcity of labour in all the advanced districts and the economic loss which the absolute prohibition of child-labour in agriculture would entail, it has been found necessary to embody provisions safe-guarding, when necessary, the interest of agriculture, on the prosperity of which the progress of the country is entirely dependent.

THE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT BILL

A Bill to establish Village Panchayats to administer Civil and Criminal justice in certain simple cases and also to discharge some administrative functions in villages was introduced in November 1919. It was, according to our established practice, referred to a Select Committee of four official and four non-official members. Of these latter, three were elected members and the fourth was myself. A wide divergence of opinion manifested itself in the Select Committee regarding the constitution of Panchayats. The Bill provided for their establishment by the Deputy Commissioner in accordance with rules made by the Local Government. A draft of these rules was placed before us. One of them provided that the Deputy Commissioner shall in appointing Punches consult the villagers and shall be

guided by their general wishes, unless for special reasons he finds himself unable to do so. His action will in ordinary course be subject to revision by the higher executive authorities The three elected members thought that the members of the Panchyat should be all elected, every adult resident of the village, presumably both male and female, being given the right to vote at the election For reasons I shall presently explain, I differed from this view and so did the official members. But as Government had no desire to go counter to the opinion of the elected members, the Select Committee merely reported their inability to come to any decision and asked for further instructions from the Council. When the Council met in March following, one of the elected members as the mouth-piece of his brother-members, made a statement in which he formulated the conditions subject to which the Bill would be acceptable to them.

Incidentally he gave expression to his regret that the non-official nominated members had not taken part in their deliberations, thus insinuating that they had declined to do so. I promptly got up and contradicted him by pointing out that we had never been asked and had no knowledge that any conference was going to be held. The speaker had to admit that this was so. An animated debate followed. When my turn came, I explained why after having actively helped to make our Local Boards and District Councils and Village Sanitary Committees under

the Local Self-Government Bill and the Village Sanitation Bill elective, I had opposed the introduction of the principle of election in the constitution of the Panchayats of the Bill under discussion. I pointed out that there was a vital difference between administrative bodies and judicial tribunals and our Village Panchayat Bill was primarily intended to bring into existence bodies of the latter type for the trial and decision of petty civil and criminal disputes arising among the villagers. For this they had now to run to our Courts with their intricate, costly and necessarily protracted procedure and thus subjected to great inconvenience. Whether they won or lost they were left poorer in purse and not unoften in character by litigation in Courts. All were agreed as to the necessity of finding a remedy for this lamentable state of things and the main object of the Bill was to do so by creating village Courts composed of the elders of the village, who would be well acquainted with local conditions and would be in a position to do prompt and simple justice without having to go through the elaborate procedure of our regular Courts. And the question for decision was, whether these Courts should be constituted by popular election or by the Crown acting through its representatives. To adopt the former method would be to go counter to the hitherto universally accepted principle underlying the constitution of our judicial tribunals. The purity, the independence and the impartiality of the judges would be gone, if their offices were to be

thrown open to periodic election by the very people over whom they would be exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction. It was still more objectionable to make the proceedings of these judicial bodies subject to revision through the agency of popular bodies like our District Councils, as proposed. The Bill, no doubt, provided that these Panchayats might be invested with some administrative functions relating to village sanitation and such like matters but if there was any objection to their being so invested because they were not elected bodies, this part of the Bill might be taken out and embodied in a separate Bill. The Chief Commissioner, Sir Frank Sly, in summing up the debate said that his Government as at present constituted was responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament and he had to look for his constitutional authority to those bodies. It would be otherwise, when the constitution of Government would be changed next year regarding certain functions. Till then he could not take the responsibility for legislation which the Government thought unsound. Regarding the Bill he said, "The Hon'ble "Sir Bepin Bose, with his clear thought, has pointed "out there are really two separate principles in the "Bill, one dealing with judicial functions; the other "dealing with administrative functions. It may be "that it would have been more suitable to have dealt "with these two sets of functions in entirely separate "Bills. But that is not the position at the present "time. We have before us a Bill dealing with both

" functions and if it is the desire of the Council that " it should be proceeded with on existing lines, then we " are prepared to do so. Regarding judicial functions, " I wholly support the views urged by Sir Bepin Bose " that under no circumstance can judicial functions " be exercised by an elected Panchayat. In every " case the Deputy Commissioner will consider whe- " ther the Panchayat is suitable or not to be invested " with judicial functions. We must be quite clear " that the grant of judicial functions will be solely " dependent on the District Magistrate." He concluded by saying that a motion would be placed before the Council by the official member in charge to recommit the Bill to the Select Committee *for consideration upon the lines stated by him.* The members would vote on it as they pleased. The motion was then introduced and strange to say, it was agreed to *nem. con.* Evidently the Hon'ble elected members had in the interval been convinced that they were wrong, otherwise they could not have accepted the motion clogged as it was with the condition that the general principle of the Bill regarding the constitution of the Panchayats was to be maintained. The Select Committee will meet in July next and I hope there will be no further trouble. I may state here in passing that a similar Bill embodying the same principle has recently been introduced in the U. P. Council and as far as I could make out from the published report, the principle of nomination by the District Magistrate was accepted and the Bill

referred to a Select Committee on the basis of such acceptance. I hope I do no injustice to my friends when I say that the U. P. Council can boast of as sturdy champians of popular rights as our Council.*

RESOLUTIONS IN COUNCIL

'As regards resolutions in the Council, several were moved by my colleagues. I did not move any, though I spoke on many of them. I will make mention of some important resolutions. We as members of local bodies charged with the duty of looking after primary education had often felt that our Department of Public Instruction had not done as much as it could and should have done to utilise the Imperial grants for education in helping us in our task. A resolution giving expression to this feeling was moved in the Council when the first Financial Statement was presented for discussion. I pointed out in my speech in support that out of non-recurring grants received since 1911-12 aggregating about 23¼ lakhs, only a little over half had been spent, the remainder going to swell the closing balance. The same remarks also applied to the recurring grants. All over the Province there was a great and ever-growing demand for education in all its branches and a considerable number of boys, eager and anxious to receive education, were unable to do so because no provision could under the standing orders of the department be made for them in the existing schools. These schools, especially those under private management, were also in need of improve-

* I am glad to say the Bill has been passed into law.

ments in various directions but the managers were unable to carry them out for want of funds. And all this time, the generous Imperial grants were to a considerable extent lying idle and unutilised. The result of such a policy was to lead to what might be called a double wrong, wrong because the educational needs of the people were not fully met and wrong, because it dried up the source from which these fertilising grants flowed. For the Imperial Government could not be expected to continue to make grants when the grants already made were not fully spent. The question thus was that on one hand there was an over-whelming demand for what might be called the very lifeblood of the nation and on the other hand, substantial financial resources to meet them were available, and yet means were not devised to bring the two factors together to the fullest extent permissible. To illustrate what I meant I pointed to the case of the Nagpur Municipality. The management of primary education was handed over to it in 1911. The schools were then found to be in a very unsatisfactory condition. For one thing, they were lodged in buildings, ill-lighted, ill-ventilated and without any open spaces to be used as play-grounds. The Nagpur Committee had on several occasions applied for help to construct suitable buildings for their schools but only some paltry sums not exceeding in all Rs. 1,200 had been received. To show that this frigid treatment was not confined to Nagpur, I referred to the Education Report for 1912-13, where it was stated that primary

school buildings had generally throughout the Province fallen to a state of hopeless dis-repair. The discussion almost immediately bore fruit. The very next year, the Nagpur Municipal Committee received a substantial building grant as did other local bodies.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT OF MUNICIPALITIES

Thanks to the liberal policy adopted in 1883 by Sir John Morris, the Municipalities of the Province enjoy the right to elect their own President. In 1916, an Extra Assistant Commissioner attached to the district staff was elected President of the Khandwa Municipality, defeating the rival candidate, a non-official, who had served as member and Vice President for several years. A resolution was moved in Council protesting against this appointment as brought about by undue official influence. The attitude of Government in Council was correct. It disclaimed all desire to impede the free exercise of their right in this respect by the members of Municipal Committees and expressed itself willing to issue instructions in this sense. The position I took up was that the fault lay mainly with our people. The right is a valued privilege going to the root of the principle of local self-government. On its sound exercise depends whether the Committees are to be really self-governing bodies, or only so in name. For generally speaking, with an official President a Municipality ceases to be an independent unit of administration and becomes only a branch of district administration, as it was before 1883. Further, experience has

shown that it is only when the members are clothed with real power that a sense of responsibility is created and they take an active interest in their duties. With an official President there is no responsibility and all incentive to work disappears and the members degenerate into mere figure-heads. And when our people fail to make proper use of their right in this matter and proclaim their own incompetence by electing an official as their President, the fault is primarily ours. This was specially so in the case of the Khandwa members, as the defeated candidate was quite competent to be their head. The conduct of the official, who canvassed for his election was even more reprehensible. He exercised large magisterial and executive powers over his countrymen and this should have satisfied his ambition. He should not have permitted himself to be appointed to an office which was really not meant for him but for a non-official, even though some of the members, whether through want of public spirit or under extraneous pressure, forgot what was due to themselves and their countrymen. The discussion had its effect and at the next election, a non-official was made President.

THE PROVINCIAL JUDICIAL SERVICE

In August 1915, a *communique* unfolding a scheme to re-organise the judicial service was issued. It was strongly felt by the Indian public that it failed to recognise adequately the claims of the members of the provincial branch of the service, a most hard-

working and meritorious class of officers, who constituted the back-bone of the judical administration. A resoulution giving expression to this feeling was moved in Council. In speaking in its support, I pointed out that out of an excess expenditure of little less than two lakhs, which the introduction of the scheme would annually cost, the Indian branch of the service would receive a little over 22 per cent or less than a quarter. Again by grading the two branches of the service, the covenanted and the uncovenanted, in one list, the promotion of the members of the latter branch would for several years to come be so retarded as in practice to bring down the above percentage during this period of stagnation to about fifteen. The remainder of the excess expenditure would go to improve the pay of the Covenanted Service, except a trifling part of it, which was intended for the benefit of the ministerial staff. It further appeared from a close examination of the scheme that the flow of promotion, such as it was, would in the case of Munsiffs be so slow as to make it impossible for them to reach the lowest grade of sub-judges, which carried a pay of Rs. 400, in less than 20 years. And while the emoluments of the office were dealt with in this miserly spirit, the responsibilities attaching to it were to be increased by raising the jurisdiction of Munsifs from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000. The provincial service was also prejudicially affected in another way. In 1908, when the cadre of District Judges was first sanctioned, its

members held 17 out of 24 Divisional and District Judgeships. The Scheme reduced the number of these administrative posts to eleven, out of which only four were assigned to the provincial service. Sir Stanley Ismay, Judicial Commissioner who had re-organised the service and had recruited it largely by Indian officers was, as I knew from personal knowledge, well satisfied with their work and this retrograde policy in the matter of recognition of Indian claims called for, I said, an explanation and a justification. I developed these points at some length and concluded by saying that the Government scheme could not but be pronounced as unfair to a most deserving class of officers. It was also to be condemned on the ground of economy, as it substituted to a considerable extent a highly paid, though by no means a more efficient, European staff in place of the Indian staff. The resolution was lost by a majority of three, two Indian members voting with Government. But though lost for the time being, the facts and figures placed before the Council, and which were not controverted, told their own tale and they could not be lightly passed over. Though it has taken a long time to mature, a new scheme has after all been sanctioned, which wipes out the injustice of the scheme of 1915 and gives to our Indian Judicial officers what is justly their due. It has given general satisfaction. I need only mention one feature of it. The Munsiff shall now begin at Rs. 300/. and will go up to Rs. 650/. when he will enter the grade of Sub-

Judges. The rise up to a certain point will be regulated by time-scale and not by vacancies.

POLITICAL MEETINGS AND SCHOOL-BOYS

I have in a previous part of this memoir referred to the unrest among school-boys in the year 1907 and how it was dealt with successfully and to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. For several years after this, every thing went on all right. But with the introduction of the Home-Rule propaganda in 1917-18, the trouble re-appeared. School-boys were received with open arms in meetings where Home-rule was preached in language which did not err on the side of moderation. Expulsion, rustication and similar measures were adopted by the Education Department to meet the unfortunate situation thus created. A resolution for merciful treatment of the erring boys was moved in Council. The following extract from the speech I made in connection with it would explain the attitude I took up:—

"I accept the principle that the school authorities must have control over their boys, not only during school hours, but also out of school hours, and that they are within their rights when they prescribe rules for the guidance of the boys, whether while in school or out of school, so long as they are on the roll of the school. I also absolutely endorse the principle that it is not for the boys to sit in judgment over the school authorities and decide for themselves whether they shall or shall not obey the rules laid down for their guidance. Were it so, discipline would dis-

appear and the great object of education, building up of character, self-discipline and self-control, would be entirely gone.....So that if a boy deliberately disobeys the rules of his school, he must be punished, but the power of punishment should be exercised with due regard to circumstances. And what are the circumstances here? Since some time past attempts have been made by gentlemen holding certain political views to indoctrinate with their ideals the boys of our schools. I do not question the good faith of these gentlemen. But let us see what is the result. Nothing is easier than to inflame the immature minds of school boys and turn their heads by rhetorical appeals to their passion and prejudice. They are wholly unfitted by their lack of knowledge and experience to bring to bear a calm and thoughtful mind on the consideration of the most difficult problems that are now making the nation pulsate as it were with a new life. For politics is as much a science as any other subject affecting human progress. And what is to be expected happens. The emotions of a boy are naturally strong and he is apt to be carried away by high-sounding speeches admonishing him to devote himself to what is called the service of his mother-land regardless of consequences. Under such influences, it is no wonder if the poor fellow breaks loose from the restraint of discipline, and defying those in authority over him, betrays himself into extravagance of conduct. But if a school is to be the place where the preparatory training, which

alone can make the boy develop into a good and useful citizen, must be gone through. such conduct cannot be overlooked. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the really responsible party is not the poor misguided boy, but those who, while not prepared to open educational institutions of their own to be conducted in accordance with their own ideals, carry on propaganda in a manner which they know or ought to know will disturb that harmonious relation between the boys and the school authorities which is essential for the orderly progress of all educational institutions. The boy is thus a victim of circumstances he is unable to control. There is another consideration which should not be lost sight of. You can exclude a boy from political meetings but you cannot exclude him entirely from politics. He will get it in papers, he will get perhaps in his own home, he will get it from persons whom he meets. Absolute prohibition only aggravates his natural cravings and will give him a grievance, just or unjust, but none the less a grievance. The "Old Adam" survives in boys all the world over. They crave for the forbidden fruit, because it is forbidden here as elsewhere. The result is that an unhealthy spirit is evolved and it spreads from boy to boy. The only safe and sure way to meet this is by the adoption of countervailing healthy attraction in the school itself. Politics should not be tabooed as if it were an unclean thing. Political questions should be openly and courageously faced in the schools them.

selves and the boys should be encourged to open out their minds freely and without fear of disfavour. Mistaken notions and extravagant ideas should be kindly exposed and sympathetically corrected. I say then, let the golden rule of punishment be observed. Let its degree be so adjusted as to have the greatest possible effect on others, with the least possible pain on the delinquent. For, after all 'punishment,' as has been said, is 'but a medicine and we are restricted to the least possible amount by which the disorder can be removed.' Excess will not cure but reproduce the disease."

While I was developing my points and the consequential plea for lenient treatment, an Hon'ble member rose to a point of order, evidently with a view to gag me and thus prevent unpleasant truths being told in Council so as to reach the public. I pointed out that while the opposite view had been fully set forth by the Hon'ble member and his friends, it was only fair that I should be allowed to place my views without any interruption. The debate led to what I might call a compromise, the settlement of the matter being left to the judgment of the Director of Public Instruction. Shortly after this, the boys who had been expelled or rusticated were taken back on making their submission.

PROMOTION OF INDIAN OFFICERS IN THE P. W. D.

In 1917-8, there was a considerable agitation in the public press both within the Province and outside it regarding the supercession of Indian officers of the

P. W. D. in the filling up of high administrative posts. A resolution on the subject was moved in Council in December 1918. It was shown during the debate that the claims of Indian Officers for reasons not made public had been disregarded in filling vacancies to the post of Superintending Engineer. The reply given on behalf of Government failed to satisfy us and we all voted solid for the resolution and carried it by a majority of one, the minority consisting of the official members. Very soon after this, an Indian Executive Engineer was appointed to officiate as Superintending Engineer by Sir Benjamin Robertson. A similar second appointment has just been made by the present Chief Commissioner, Sir Frank Sly, so that two out of three Superintending Engineers in the General Department are now Indians.

USEFULNESS OF THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

I have been at some pains to give a general idea of the volume of work that has passed through our Council, my object being to show by reference to actual results that it has proved a potent instrument for the promotion of public good, thereby refuting the oft-made assertion, regarding Lord Morley's Reforms that they are unreal and that the Councils created thereunder are mere shams. It has certainly not been so in our case. The C. P. Council is now six years old and I have no hesitation in saying that it has fully justified its existence. If it has done nothing else, it has certainly created for the people a new

domain of public service and public activity and has brought them in closer touch with Government and has thereby distinctly broadened and strengthened the foundations of good Government. Besides this, which may be called its general result, it has been able to do some solid useful work, work which would otherwise have been left undone. Many important matters affecting the well-being of the people and their rights and privileges have been brought under public discussion and such discussions have in several important cases borne fruit, even though the actual proposals made were not accepted by Government at the time. This I have clearly shown by giving concrete cases. As regards legislative work, I venture to think its quality will not suffer by comparison with similar work for our Province in the Council of the Governor-General. If anything, wider knowledge born of local experience has been brought to bear on its consideration and closer attention has been given to details than was possible in the Imperial Council in the midst of the distractions of large general questions affecting India as a whole. There, as I know, our important legislative work was on several occasions crowded out under the pressure of Imperial matters. As regards the relations between the official and non-official members, they have throughout been characterised by good feeling and a discriminating appreciation of one another's difficulties and responsibilities. In this, all have been greatly helped by the attitude of the President. He extended to us, the non-official

members, the hand of fellow-ship and for the dignity with which our proceedings have been conducted and for the courtesy and *bon homie* that have characterised them, we owe the initiative to him. All of us, officials and non-officials, have met on the floor of the Council Chamber, animated by one common aim and moved by one common impulse, how best to devote ourselves to the service of the people and advance their highest interests. The result has been that a new life, whose pulsations have reached far and wide, has begun for the people and in the anxious and strenuous times that are now ahead of us, the acts and proceedings of the present council and the tradition it has been able to gather up and establish will, I am sure, prove of great value and assistance.

THE C. P. & BERAR PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The first Provincial Conference for the Central Provinces and Bearer was held at Nagpur in the Easter week of 1905. It was the beginning of what it was hoped at the time, would shape itself into a permanent institution, through which could be voiced the hopes and aspirations of the people and their grievances brought before the administration in a responsible form. This hope, was however, not realised. For though followed by two more Sessions, one at Jubbulpore and the other at Raipur, the Conference came to an abrupt close after that. For this the people of the Central Provinces were not wholly responsible. Circumstances, over which they had no control, happened elsewhere, which to the deep regret of all

sincere well-wishers of the country, made our leaders range themselves into two sharply-divided hostile camps. It was not long before the disintegrating influences, which brought about this unfortunate situation, made themselves felt among us. The germs of sound political life had only just begun to germinate and when those who would have nourished it and made it to grow to a vigorous organism, were so divided in opinion as to make united action impossible, it is not to be wondered at if the forces which had led to the establishment of the Conference lost their potency and ceased to influence our public activities. It thus came to pass that no sitting of the Conference took place after the third.

The year 1914, however, witnessed the beginning of a more hopeful state of affairs. A wise and generous statesmanship gave to the Province a local legislature and this at once brought into existence forces which made it necessary that the people should close their ranks, sink minor differences and unite to advance the common cause, if they wished to reap the full advantage of this valuable privilege. About the middle of the year, two movements, one emanating from Amraoti and the other from Nagpur, began to work almost simultaneously to bring about a Conference, which would be not a mere sectional gathering but would be truly representative of the people as a whole. It is never difficult to arrive at a *modus vivendi*, when people are prepared to make reasonable concessions and when a high sense of duty an

responsibility is allowed to be the sole dominating principle of action.

The adverse circumstances which had made the holding of an united Conference impossible being thus happily removed, the whilom antagonism gave place to mutual trust and an earnest desire to work in harmonious co-operation was the natural result. The Berar leaders wanted to have the sitting at Amraoti. The Nagpur people, however anxious to secure the honour of inviting the rejuvinated Conference to their town, would not have entered into competition with their Berar friends; but the question settled itself by the appearance of plague at Amraoti. In accordance with the established practice, a Reception Committee with Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis as Chairman was constituted at Nagpur and also an Executive Committee with several sub-committees to work out all the details of the many and various arrangements that had to be made. Craddock Town, a newly built municipal town-let with its nicely built new Bungalows, its spacious roads and other municipal conveniences, was selected as the site for the Conference. On its park was raised a structure which when filled with variagated brightly-clad delegates from the various parts of the two Provinces, presented a spectacle of great picturesque beauty. It was thought that the hall was too large for the object in view, but as after-events showed, it was not too large for the great gathering of delegates. A goodly part of the hall was at first set apart for visitors but such was the unprecedentally

large number of delegates that the space for the visitors had to be cut down. Altogether the hall was utilised to its fullest capacity. The time left for election of delegates was short but such was the enthusiam evoked that the movement swelled as it rolled on, until as many as 1165 delegates were recorded. The following details regarding the profession and occupation of the delegates will give an idea of the representative character of the gathering :—

Landholders	...	568
Those engaged in trade and commerce	...	264
Legal Practitioners	...	247
Bankers	...	28
Medical Practitioners	...	27
Private clerical service	...	25
Engineers	...	6
Total	...	1165

The Central Provinces accounted for 866 and Berar 299 delegates. The speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee was such as was to be expected from a public man of his sense of responsibility. Referring to the abnormal conditions created by the great war which was then raging in all its ghastly frightfulness, he said that these conditions instead of acting as a set back to our future progress, had exactly the contrary effect. For India's loyalty and devotion to the British Empire in the hour of her sore need had quickened the sympathy of all, and res-

ponsible authorities recognised that it was perfectly legitimate for the Indians to agitate for the realisation in their own case of those ideals of liberty and self-government, of which Britain herself had sown the seed among them and for which she was then fighting. Sir Gangadhar Rao added that while his countrymen aspired after equal citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty, they did not shrink from sharing the responsibility which that citizenship involved. "Our greatest disappointment is that Indian "manhood is not exploited to the extent we want. It "is true Indian soldiers are fighting in all the "theatres of war. But we feel this is not enough. "We want a wider scope for the employment of our "talent and energy and a larger and more direct "participation in the defence of the Empire..... "With the war over and the deliverance of civiliza-"tion from the danger which was threatening to "smother it, we shall carry on our programme of "constitutional reforms with greater enthusiasm and "with a surer prospect of success." A fully representative Subject-Committee consisting of 107 persons was constituted. The Sub-Committee of the Reception Committee had prepared in advance a set of resolutions. These formed a basis for the Subject-Committee to work upon. It met in the morning before the Conference met and again in the evening after the Conference rose. I presided over the deliberations. The discussions were prolonged and at times it seemed as if there would be a sharp division of

opinion regarding some important subjects to be brought before the Conference. Thanks however to the moderating influence of the leaders, especially of the Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde, an agreement on controversial matters was arrived at and the resolutions placed before the Conference were unanimously passed. It fell to me as Chairman to draft them in accordance with the result of the deliberations of the Subject-Committee. Except resolutions deploring the most heavy loss the country had sustained by the death during the year of Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherose Shah Mehta, names sanctified by life-long selfless labours in the national cause, and another making feeling reference to the gap in the ranks of our local leaders caused by the death of Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada and resolutions regarding the war and our duty in connection therewith, the rest dealt with local matters. I shall say a few words about a comprehensive resolution on the question of education, especially that part of it which dealt with secondary education. We pointed out that according to the latest education report (that for 1914-15), the percentage of male scholars to male population of school-going age was a little over 30. Taking the whole male and female population, the percentage was a little over 16. These figures compared most unfavourably with similar figures for Bengal, Bombay and Madras. But while our revenues had largely increased within recent years, the expenditure on education had failed to show an equal progressive development.

One point which was most insistent in official pronouncements was that a high standard of efficiency must be maintained in schools. To this end, rules had been made limiting the number of admissions both in the classes as also in the whole institution and imposing stringent conditions as to accommodation, staff and equipment. It was pointed out by the Conference that the people were not indifferent to the claims of efficiency, but efficiency was not to be made a fetish so as to hamper progress. So long as a considerable number of young people anxious to receive education had to go without it because there were no schools to receive them under existing conditions, wider public interests demanded that some means should be devised to meet this situation. For secondary education is not a luxury but a necessity. A wide diffusion of education, primary and secondary, is the merest justice to the people. That a large number of children should have no opportunity for cultural development is not only unfair to the children themselves but from the national point of view, wasteful. The Government had declared as its policy that its responsibility was limited to the maintenance of one model high school in a district. The Conference said that this policy should be revised so as to permit establishment of Government schools where necessary in the head-quarters of Tehsils (sub-divisions of a district) and also that the grant-in-aid rules should be so liberalised as to make it reasonably possible for private

agencies to open new schools to meet the demand. The Conference felt that the question would naturally be asked, where is the money to carry out its suggestions to come from? The answer, so far as the people are concerned, is not difficult to find. The Government has repeatedly said that the Excise monopoly, which it enforces by its laws, is maintained in the interests of public morals. This policy is unexceptionable; but the money, which the people are made to pay through their indulgence in the ruinous habit of intoxication, ruinous alike morally and physically, should in the main be spent for their direct and immediate benefit and no more effective method of advancing public morality and benefiting the people can be conceived than a wide diffusion of education and the ideals which education creates and fosters. In 1913-14, before the effect of the war made itself felt, the net excise revenue was a little over Rs. 84,50,000 and the expenditure on education Rs. 25,85,000 in round figures. Thus we spent just a little more than a quarter of the excise revenue on education. As a result of the agitation began by the Conference and maintained in the local Council, the expenditure on education in 1919-20 rose to about forty lakhs and a quarter. It may be interesting to point out here that the excise revenue has, in the meantime, largely increased. In 1919-20, the net figure was about one crore and six lakhs, an increase since 1913-14 of about twenty lakhs and a quarter. Thus although some progress is to be noticed, much

lee-way has yet to be made up before we came up any where near the standard which every civilised country is striving to attain. I have a special reason for placing these facts on record. Under the new reforms, education is to be a transferred subject in charge of the popular minister. It will be his foremost duty to see that every child of school-going age receives an education suited to his condition of life. And funds must be found to discharge this the first duty of every progressive government. For no development in any direction is possible unless the people receive an education according to their requirements. I wrote a report of the Conference and I give here an extract from its concluding paragraph:—

"It is fervently wished that the seeds of constitutional political life thus planted may grow to maturity, that this development may be on sound lines and in accordance with the special conditions and requirements of the two Provinces and their people and that its orderly progress may receive, as it deserves, the sympathy of those in whose hands the government of the country now rests. For the forces that are now working have been set in motion by themselves. In them lies the divine essence of national life."

The report also embodied an earnest hope that the spirit of comradeship and co-operation that made the Conference the success it was would continue to regulate our future political activities. It was further

hoped that the lessons of the Nagpur Conference would receive the earnest consideration of our friends elsewhere and that it might be found possible to cause the disappearance of the strain which owed its birth to the unfortunate events surrounding the abortive Surat Congress of 1907. It pains me very much to say that these hopes have not been realised. Most unfortunately, the new reforms, about which I shall speak later on, have not only perpetuated the split but has made it more pronounced. We waited on the Chief Commissioner with our resolutions and received a very sympathetic reply from him. Several of the suggestions of the Conference have borne fruit.

C. P. MUNICIPAL BILL

The present law relating to our Municipalities is contained in an Imperial Act, No. XVI of 1903. I was a member of the Imperial Council when it was passed and was of some help in its elaboration. Since then its working has disclosed various imperfections. The advance of times has also rendered new provisions of law to meet new situations necessary. The local administration had been engaged since some years past in preparing the draft of a new law, which would meet the deficiencies of the present law. At a Council meeting in 1919, the Chief Commissioner announced that the draft was ready and he desired that it be considered by an informal Committee of the elective members before its introduction. They selected three of themselves to serve on this Committee and at their request, I was also placed on

it, though owing to the state of my health and the onerous character of the work, I was somewhat disinclined to undertake this new duty. However, as I thought that my long connection with municipal affairs and the experience gained thereby might be of some help, I agreed. Another consideration also weighed with me. Several of the new provisions were the outcome of suggestions from the Nagpur Municipal Committee. The draft was carefully considered and was materially altered so as to liberalise the constitution of the Committees, generally on the lines adopted in our Local Self-Government Bill, to which I have made reference in a previous part of this memoir. One matter disclosed at first considerable difference of opinion. Some of the members thought that the local bodies of the future should be freed from all control. I strongly demurred. I admitted that the official control as it existed must disappear but I pointed out that there must be some central authority having power of general supervision and revision. Such an authority would also be required to regulate grants from the provincial revenues and see that they were properly applied and also to co-ordinate local efforts on general lines, especially in the matter of taxation and the making of rules and regulations. This was the more necessary as with us the constituencies were not yet so organised and so well-informed as to be able to correct any abuse of powers. It would take a considerable time before strong electorates fully representative of the rate-payers and

able to control the acts and proceedings of the Committees would come into existence. I pleaded that it was possible to establish a system of central administrative control, which would not impinge on local autonomy but would at the same time secure efficient administration. In England, this control is now exercised through the Ministry of Health. It has a large permanent expert staff to help it in its work. After discussion, we agreed to the constitution of a Local Government Board, on the lines adapted in the Local Self-Government Bill. It would consist of the Minister in charge of Local Self-Government and two non-official members of Council appointed by Government. This Board would, as in England, have an efficient staff including an Engineer, a Sanitary officer and an Auditor, who would be always going about to examine the work done by the Committees. Thus in place of the close control now exercised by officers of Government, there would be substituted control through an expert staff acting under the orders of a wholly non-official central authority. I earnestly hope that this feature of the Bill will find acceptance in the new Council. In the United States, Municipal bodies are without any control and the scandalous manner in which they use or rather abuse their powers ought to be a warning to us. I give in the connection a passage from Mr. Sidney Webb's monograph on "Grants-in-aid." After describing the continental, the Amercian and the English systems, he says:—

"The third, however, secures national inspection "and audit, and the amount of national supervision "and control that is required in the interest of the "community as a whole, without offending the suscep- "tibilities of local autonomy and without losing the "real advantage of local initiative and local freedom to "experiment. It produces results in a remarkable "combination of liberty and efficiency, on the whole "preferable to the achievement of either the "bureaucratic system of France and Germany or the "American anarchy of local government." In another passage he says that the United States with their system of complete autonomy have the worst local government of any country claiming to be civilised.

GRADUAL RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC DUTIES

Owing to the infirmities of age, I am now gradually retiring from my public functions. I ceased to be a member of the District Council four years ago Two years ago, I relinquished charge of the office of the Secretary to the Neill City High School and since April 1918, I have retired from active participation in the administration of our local Municipality, although under pressure from several friends, I have not resigned my membership. I hope I shall be permitted to do so when my term expires next year. Besides the consideration of health, there is another reason why I have ceased to hold the position I had occupied in the Municipality continuously for thirty-five years. My connection with it must in any case come to an end soon, and in the interest of the

beneficent institution which I had in my humble way helped to build up, it was essential that new men should be initiated in the work and should realise its responsibilities and difficulties. So long as I would hold the threads of administration and remain responsible for it, there would naturally be a disinclination on the part of the new members to assume charge and be answerable for efficient management. This was a perfectly correct attitude, and in view of this, I had made up my mind to retire on the first opportunity. That opportunity came when a general election took place in May 1918, leading to the formation of a new Committee. This Committee with a President and a Vice-President of their own choice have been in charge since June 1918.

NAGPUR MUNICIPALITY

To be of some help to the new Committee, the old Committee had placed on record several schemes of reforms. A sound finance is a *sine qua non* of successful administration. Octroi had always formed the main stay of our Municipal finance, as we thought that that was the best form taxation could take in Nagpur, where Octroi had existed since the time of the Bhonsla Government. We had successfully withstood several attempts from high quarters to abolish it and to have in its place a system of direct taxation. But owing to various causes which need not be stated here, Octroi had of late become a wasteful system of raising revenue in as much as nearly half the gross income had to be given back

by way of refunds on exports of dutiable articles. After most careful consideration extending over several months and in full consultation with the principal traders and with their general concurrence, we had formulated a scheme of Terminal Tax and elaborated it in all its details. A terminal tax, it may be mentioned here, is nothing but Octroi with a very moderate rate on articles of general consumption entering the town by rail or road and without the privilege of refund when they are exported. We rejected the house tax as completely counter to popular sentiment and subversive of popular convenience. As under the law then in force, we had to secure the sanction of the Government of India, a strong case had to be made out. An elaborate report reviewing and explaining the whole financial position was prepared and submitted and the sanction came a little before the old Committee ceased to exist. Next to Octroi, the conservancy cess and the water rate have always formed the most important sources of revenue. These also needed revision. At the time we took up the question of revision, they were mostly paid by classes above the labouring population. But the heavy rise in prices within recent years had introduced a radical change in the comparative financial position of the people. While the wages of labour had fairly kept place with this rise, having increased nearly three-fold the condition of the classes above them, especially of the middle class, who constituted the great majority of the payers of these taxes, had

become one of actute embarrassment. While their income had remained practically stationary, their expenses had largely gone up. The labouring classes, while fairly well off, escaped taxation by dispensing with private latrine and house-supply of water and resorting to public latrines and public standards. For these conveniences, they paid little or nothing, although the expenses incurred to maintain these institutions were heavy. To meet this state of things, the systems of conservancy cess and water rate were revised so as to distribute their incidence on a just and fair basis commensurate with the benefits received. All these new schemes of taxation were so elaborated as to lead to a substantial increase of revenue without any unfair pressure on any section of the population. The old Committee could have brought these schemes into operation before they were dissolved but they thought that the responsibility for their adoption should rest with those who would have to work them and so left them on record for the new Committee to deal with them as they pleased. They have not yet become law. I do not know when they will, and in the meantime the inconvenience and the hardship of the existing taxes continue in full force. In other ways also, the old Committee did what they could to smooth the way for their successors. They submitted a representation to Government to bear its legitimate share of the cost of preparation of correct and up-to-date records relating to Crown property in the City of Nagpur. The Municipality manages this property

and enjoys a portion of its income. Persumably, on this ground the whole of the charges had under Government orders been thrown on municipal funds. The injustice of this arrangement was pointed out and after a some-what protracted correspondence and many explanations, a refund of Rs. forty thousand was ordered. The new Committee will have the benefit of this money. Similarly the old Committee secured by their representations several grants from the provincial revenues for the improvement of surface drainage, for the widening of roads and the opening up of congested areas and for the repair and strengthening of the dam of the Ambajheri Reservoir, one of the two sources of water-supply. These grants aggregate over three lakhs and the present Committee will reap the benefit of them.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NAGPUR.

In 1911, the management of primary education was made over to the Mmnicipal Committee. There were then six schools with 1134 scholars. These schools were all wretchedly staffed, wretchedly equipped and housed in ill-ventilated and ill-lighted rented buildings wholly unsuited for school purposes. With the heavy liabilities in connection with the loans taken to finance a comprehensive drainage scheme and a second reservoir for water-supply, pressing on their revenues, the Committee were very much handicapped in finding money to extend and improve primary education. Nevertheless, they did their best and when they handed over charge to their succes-

sors, they were able to give them 15 schools. Regarding school-buildings, with the help of donations generously given by three members of the Committee and grants from Government secured by agitation in the Legislative Council as already stated, supplemented by allotments from the Municipal Fund, the old Committee were able either to construct, or to arrange for the construction of, altogether nine commodious buildings at a total cost of about a lakh and a quarter. Now, it is cruel to make little children pass the best portion of the day in dark and dingy houses to the injury of their physical growth in order that they might receive some elementary education in reading, writing and arithmetic. To provide suitable buildings for the rest of the schools was, therefore, considered a primary duty. Further, although something was done to improve the pay and prospect of the teachers, much still remained to be done. An unskilled workman is now able to earn eight annas a day and to pay those on whom rests the up-bringing of our future generation less than what we give to our coolies is deplorable. Again, we found a keen and growing desire among all classes in the town to give some education to their children and to meet this demand, a large increase in the number of schools was indispensable. As it was not possible to find money for these objects, however deserving, out of the existing revenues, the Committee applied to Government for permission to impose a moderate education cess.

The sanction came near about the end of the term of their office and as in the case of the other schemes of taxation, this too was left for the new Committee to take up. In the mean time, a scheme complete in all its details was prepared and placed on record. As far as I am aware, in this matter too, no progress has been made. The Primary Education Act has recently been passed by our Council. It has clothed local bodies with power to introduce compulsory primary education. As the introduction of a new tax takes time, it will be some time before the premier Municipality of the Province, which should have given the lead to other Municipalities, will be in a position to take advantage of the new law. For people cannot be compelled to send their children to school unless there are duly equipped schools to receive them. There is another very important consideration which makes it obligatory on all local bodies to raise more money for education. The primary schools give the children the barest of elementary education. A very small fraction of those who pass out of these institutions join the secondary schools. The great majority give up their study and engage in some money-earning occupation and then soon forget what little in their early years they had learnt. Thus full value is not got out of our present system of elementary education. To remedy this, there must be continuation night-schools and circulating free libraries and perhaps an addition of one or two higher classes to our primary schools. It is to be hoped that the present Committee

will take up these important matters without loss of time and courageously accept responsibilities, financial and administrative, for the introduction of these very necessary reforms. The matter has assumed the greatest importance since the introduction of the new reforms. For political responsibility to be rightly exercised must have its root in knowledge. "We must "educate our masters," to quote the words of a great English statesman.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION 1883-1917

I have stated in an early part of this narrative the circumstances in which we took charge in April 1883 of the Municipal administration of this town. The city is built on a bed of black soil of varying depth, with trap Mooram below it. In some parts there is a rock formation older than the trap, genesis. This black soil holds water like a sponge. The Nag Naddi is the most important channel for the drainage of the town. It has its gathering ground in the Ambajheri Hills, whose head-waters have been impounded to form the older of the two water-works reservoirs. Nagpur founded in the later days of a Gond regime of which the ancient glory was already departing, came very soon under the dominion of the Bhonsla Rajas. Their genius lay more in the direction of military enterprise than in arts of peace, and little or nothing was done under their rule for their capital, either for its sanitation or for its structural beauty. They did not leave behind them the legacy of a single broad street, a single properly constructed

drain, or a single well-ordered market, or a single model basti. Ambajheri in its original primitive form was no doubt their work, but it supplied only the palace and some of the adjoining buildings of high court officials. The town generally depended for its drinking water on 1230 wells, of which about 900 gave brackish water. The City was further allowed to grow up without any plan or system and just as the personal needs and changing whims of the people dictated. The result was what was to be expected. There were few cities where what might be called municipal amenities were in such a deplorable condition as in Nagpur.

The Municipality of Nagpur was constituted by Sir Richard Temple within two years of the formation of the C. P. Government, that is, in 1864. In the first decade, its finances were very limited and its energies had, for want of funds, to be devoted to the barest necessities of public service. Its most important work during this period was the introduction of the Ambajheri water-supply. It was a heavy charge that we took over in April 1883, as in whatever direction we cast our eyes, we found that there was no lack of useful work waiting to be taken up. As already stated, in 1904, I issued a review of what we were able to do during the preceding twenty years. I published a second note in October 1918, bringing the account up to the end of 1916-17. I will here very briefly summarise what we were able to do during our thirty-five years control of municipal affairs.

First as to finance. When we assumed charge, we found the income to be about Rs. 1,69,000. In 1916-17, it had grown to about Rs. 5,42,000. A part of this increase was no doubt due to normal growth but careful management on sound principles may legitimately claim a share in it. We were able by judicious contracts with railways, mills and factories to raise enough money to make the water-works completely self-supporting even to the extent of freeing the general revenues from the liabilities for the loans with the help of which the works were constructed. The yield of the rate of course largely contributed to this result. We added largely to the general income by the construction of markets, buildings, shops and stalls, which were let out on reasonable rents. The money spent on them was thus received back in a few years. We acquired lands with the help of Government for establishing new bastis and for opening up congested localities. We so laid them out in plots as to be in a position to raise enough money from the premia on leases to meet the cost of acquisition. In some instances, a substantial surplus was left, which was utilised in the improvement of the localities concerned. As regards water-supply, the old Ambajheri system was extended at a cost of Rs. 4,70,000 and a new tank more than duplicating the supply and placing the water supply problem on a secure basis for the next 30 years, was constructed at a cost of about eight lakhs. A comprehensive system of drainage with the latest

improvements has just been completed at a cost of sixteen lakhs. It consists of sewers, branch sewers, pail depots and out-fall works. The sewers rest on a foundation of either rock or hard mooram and according to the expert opinion of the P. W. D. officers of Government they are well and substantially built. The system is a water-carriage one and the construction of the second reservoir with its catchment area twice that of Ambajheri has made available the necessary water-supply to work it. The effluent from the sewers after passing through liquifying tanks is to be used for a sewage farm, for which lands have been acquired. It will soon be in working order and the drains will then begin to work. If this farm is a success, as it is hoped that it will be, then besides bringing a good revenue to the Municipality, it will to a great extent solve the problem of supplying good vegetables to Nagpur. It is one of its crying wants now. I may state here in passing that the project was examined in 1909 by Mr. Mollison, then Inspector General of Agriculture for India, the highest available authority on the subject, and was approved by him. To predicate, as some new members have done, of the drainage with its auxiliary the second tank that it is a costly luxury is to betray lamentable ignorance of the requirements of the town and the civil responsibilities of its Committee. The health and welfare of the thousands residing in it or visiting it on various business as the head quarters of the two Provinces are indissolubly bound up with the

construction of these works. The trade and its expansion, industrial enterprises and their expansion, are all dependent on the existence of a well-ordered healthy town. One Sanitary Board had described the city proper "as the largest area of evil-smelling *mohollas*." It could not be otherwise, seeing that millions of gallons of polluted water now sink into the spongy soil for want of a well-organised system of drainage. This evil was aggravated by the introduction of a copious water-supply, a supply which otherwise has undoubtedly been a blessing. Next in importance to water-supply and drainage, come roads. We had inherited nine miles of metalled roads and handed over to our successors forty-five miles of such roads. Besides, small lanes and alleys covering a length of about 150 miles were made into *moorum* roads, good enough for pedestrians and light traffic. Plague first made its appearance in Nagpur in 1899. Since then it has scarcely been free from it for more than a couple of years continuously. Whatever opinion one may hold about the feasibility of freeing a place from this scourge by evacuation, innoculation, rat-destruction and the like, one fact emerges clear from a study of the origin and progress of this fell disease. It is that it finds its most favourable breeding-ground in insanitary and crowded localities. Realising this fact, the Committee spent large sums in opening up congested areas. But the displacement of people by the process of acquiring their houses without establishing new bastis to house those who are thus made

homeless only leads to over-crowding elsewhere. Accordingly *pari passu* with the opening out of congested areas, three new bastis on the outskirts of the town were established. The most notable of them is the Craddock Town. It is meant for the well to-do. The other two bastis are for the poorer classes, especially the labouring population. They have been equipped with municipal conveniences costing several lakhs. Two more schemes in the same direction have been left on record for the new Committee. A Health Department under a competent Health Officer has been established to look after conservancy and general sanitation and similarly, a P.W.D. to look after works. The town has been given a public hall, built on the site of the historic palace of the Bhonsle Kings. It was burnt down in the sixties, thereby creating a fine open ground in the heart of the town capable of being utilised for public purposes. Another fine building on this site serves as a combined public library, Honorary Magistrates' Court and Post Office. The town Hall is proving too small for the present needs of the people and it will be the duty of the new Committee to build a bigger one. Various other smaller works of improvement have been carried out but it would be out of place to go into details here. I have done so elsewhere. The town owes these reforms to Rambhaji Rao Mahadik, Mukund Balkrishna Buti, Gopal Hari Bhiday, Narayanswamy Naidu, Krishna Rao Deshpande, Bhargao Rao Gadgil, Rajarampant Dixit and last though not the least, Bapu

Rao Dada. They gave all that was best in them to the service of their townsmen. They have all left us but their work will remain, though that they did it, will, no doubt, be forgotten. In fact, it is already forgotten. For in place of any appreciation, we hear only captious criticism. But what Herbert Spencer has said of individuals is equally true of a body of persons associated together for a public purpose. "Do "what is right. If public approbation comes, well "and good. If it does not come, even then well and "good though not nearly so well and good. But in "any event, do what you think is right." Be that as it may, the evolution of the present machinery of administration has been a work of strenuous labour, of selfless sacrifice of much hard-earned leisure, of expenditure of much earnest thought and what should never be forgotten, severe struggle with many difficulties. The present Committee will know none of them. They inherit a rich legacy, rich in its past tradition of useful work honestly and earnestly done and richer still in its potentialities of even better work to be done in the times to come with the momentum of the past to push on and help the march onward. If they illustrate by the censorious criticism of the past the truth of the old saying that gratitude is a lively sense of favours to come, it does not matter. But what does matter is that they should fully realise the responsibilities of their position and rise to the height of their great opportunity.

INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC IN NAGPUR.

In the autumn of 1918, what in many respects was a mysterious disease broke out almost in every part of the world. It has been called "Spanish Influenza" as it is said to have first appeared in Spain. Its rapid spread and disastrous effect soon focussed the attention of medical men on it. The enquiry showed that it was after all not a new visitation, but had swept over the earth in 1889-90, when its ravages had extended to Bombay and Calcutta. Its approximate cause is said to be the growth in a virulent form of a minute living organism, parasitic on the membranes of the respiratory tract, where it exists in countless number. The poison it generates in its growth causes the inflammation of the respiratory tract and extends to the whole nervous system. What adds to the danger of the attack is that when a person gets infected, he loses his usual power of resisting the growth of other germs, which inhabit his respiratory tract and which ordinarily lie dormant. One of them is the cause of pneumonia, and thus in many cases pneumonia supervenes on an attack of simple influenza and then it generally ends fatally. The disease spreads rapidly because of the facility with which the germ is emitted and sent out to fill the atmosphere. Every act of sneezing or coughing sends out countless millions of active and infective bacillus into the air, which are then breathed in by all and sundry. Thus the infection spreads and each person infected becomes a

centre of new infection. The germ needs, however, the human respiratory tract or human blood in order that it may exist and dies out at once if deprived of this habitat. Its spread is thus facilitated by close atmosphere, close human contact and over-crowding. And this shows that the most effective preventive is plenty of fresh air and light and free ventilation. The incubation period rarely exceeds 48 hours and if the germ fails to fasten itself on a human body within this period, it dies. The out-break in Nagpur was of a virulent character, as it was throughout the Provinces. It carried off within the few months it raged more people than plague had done during the two previous decades. Apart from humanitarian considerations, the economic loss to the country from the loss of so many young and youthful lives has been great, for it is among them that the disease found its largest number of victims. My brother Basant Krishna was with me at the time of the epidemic. With the approval of Mr. Dick, the Chairman of the Civil Station Sub-Committee of the Municipality, my brother, assisted by my widowed daughter who lives with me and my grandson, Vivian, undertook to carry relief to the sufferers in some of the villages which constitute the suburbs of the Civil Station. I got for them the necessary medicines from Calcutta and also arranged to give them milk, sago, tea and other food for the patients. The conditions in which the people were found were appalling. All light and air were rigidly excluded from the huts in

which most of them lived. The patients were herded together in the darkest corners of these dismal abodes. And to crown all, thick curtains, full of dirt, a regular culture ground for germs, were found across the place, so as to exclude every breath of air or ray of light. And not unoften, there was a smoking *chula* near by, where some food for the family was being cooked. And in this corrupt atmosphere, patients with just the fraction of a sound lung struggling to do the work of two and feed the system with the necessary life-giving oxygen were found lying down. The visitors did their best to bring the patients out on to the verandah and thus give them a chance to recover. But it was hard work, for exposure of a sick person to light and air was forbidden by time-honoured "custom." But persistent preaching and kindly treatment gradually had their effect and the objections wore down. The behaviour of the people under this terrible visitation was all that could be desired. They were very patient and resigned and they never begged for food, except small children who came crawling about and surrounded the visitors with their little dirty cups to receive their dole of milk and tea. These scenes put one in mind of what Dickens has said: "Cant as we may, and as we shall to the "end of all things, it is very much harder for the poor "to be virtuous than it is for the rich and the good "that is in them shines the brighter for it." Several lives were saved as a result of these measures, the number of deaths not exceeding three or four. Mrs.

Dick and several missionary ladies and gentlemen had charge of a number of villages near about. They were most untiring in their self-imposed task and had the satisfaction of saving many lives. The experience thus gained clearly demonstrated that by proper measures it is possible to combat this disease to a very great extent. The appalling deaths in the interior of the country were certainly due to want of medical relief. I have had talks with many people coming from all parts of the Province and I heard only one tale,—no medicine, no nursing, no dieting,—the people were simply left to die. And what deaths! Whole families were just wiped out. I blame nobody. Perhaps the visitation was so sudden that it was not possible to make the necessary arrangements or organise relief parties commensurate with the needs of the people. Still the fact remains that the number of preventable deaths has been staggering. Let us hope that we shall profit by our sad past experience and do something to avert such catastrophic results in the future. Medical relief will be one of the transferred subjects under a popular minister and it should be his foremost duty to organise as soon as may be a network of institutions of various kinds to give medical relief to meet ordinary as also extra-ordinary conditions. Simultaneously with this, every attempt should be made through the village-schools and otherwise to break down old ideas regarding health and sanitation and to teach the people some simple rules on the subject which they can

readily understand and adopt. It will pay to do this.

BENGALEE BOYS' SCHOOL AT NAGPUR.

When I came to Nagpur in 1874, there were about half a dozen Bengalees with their families here. Three of them were lecturers in the local medical school. This school was later on abolished but the mistake of closing it was afterwards recognised and it has now been revived. This is however by the way. In 1900, the office of the Deputy Accountant General of Post and Telegraphs, which was then in Calcutta, was transferred to Nagpur. The staff consisted of Bengalees. Their translation to Nagpur was an undoubted hardship to them but larger public interests demanded that the transfer should take place and all efforts by those affected to have it cancelled failed. As there was no school at Nagpur where their children could be educated with due regard to the cultivation of their mother-tongue, the members of the transferred staff appealed to Government for some special grant to enable them to start a school of their own suited to their special requirements. The Government of India recognised the justice of their prayer and a liberal grant was arranged for. With this, supplemented by fees and subscriptions, the community started a school for their boys. But after some time, the liberal grant made at the beginning was curtailed and much difficulty was experienced in maintaining the institution in a state of efficiency. The local educational authorities were

against the maintenance of a sectional school and would have preferred that its boys had joined the local schools where instruction was imparted through the language of the country, Marathi. This would have compelled the boys to learn two new languages, English and Marathi, in addition to their mother-tongue, Bengalee. The parents could not, therefore, fall in with these views and the school was continued. It was located in an unsuitable rented house in the midst of a congested locality and with every appearance of plague it had to be closed. To give it a habitation of its own, in 1915, a plot of land was secured from Government on permanent lease after payment of the prescribed premium in the new town-let, Craddock Town. A large plot adjoining it was generously given by Government for a play ground. The combined site is one of the best in the locality and on it has been constructed a decent school building.* The next step taken was to place the management on a sound basis. For this, a Society was formed in 1918 and it was registered under the Literary and Scientific Societies Act, 1860. My countrymen have been kind enough to call it after my revered father, "The Dinanath School Society of Nagpur." Mr. J. Mitra, who is now a judge of our local High Court, has donated Rs. 3,000 for the school and the money has been handed over to the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments in trust for the school. Smaller donations have also been

* Residential quarters for the masters have since been added.

received and duly invested. The school has yet to depend to some extent on subscriptions and we are trying to secure a permanent fund so as to make it independent of this somewhat uncertain source of income. It is difficult to attract teachers from Bengal to come here on such pay as we are able to give them. We have, however, for the time being got a fairly good teaching staff. I am President of the Governing body of the Society. We have given a part of the building for a circulating library of Bengalee books, which all of us have helped to found much to the benefit of our community. It is pleasing to find our ladies largely patronising this library. It has not been possible to establish a girls' school. The difficulties, specially that of securing Bengalee female teachers, are great. Apart from their intrinsic usefulness, these institutions have created a bond of union in our community in this land of our sojourn. Durga Puja is held every year in the hall of the school building. It is a great occasion for interchange of social amenities. All classes of people are cordially invited to partake of the hospitality of the Bengalee community and their response is equally cordial. Their ladies especially come in hundreds to see and worship the "Devi." It is always a pleasing function and has its value in creating general fellow-feeling.

SURENDRANATH BANERJEE IN NAGPUR.

In December 1918, the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjee came to Nagpur as a member of the Franchise Committee appointed in connection with

the new reforms. Of late, political controversy centering round these reforms has been very acute and bitter and Babu Surendranath especially has been the subject of much virulent attack by a section of his countrymen in Bengal who do not agree with his views. It is always possible honestly to differ from one another in political as in other matters without however forgetting the decencies of public life. Such difference can never be any justification for indulging in an orgy of abuse and misrepresentation of those from whom we differ. The Bengalee community of Nagpur were anxious to show that whatever may be the case elsewhere, the esteem in which Surendranath Babu has hitherto been held by his countrymen for his unforgettable services to his country have undergone no change. Accordingly they organised an "At Home" in his honour in the grounds of the "Dinanath School." These were most tastefully decorated by the Engineers of the Empress Mill under the kind orders of Sir Bezonjee Dadabhoy Mehta, its eminent manager. People of all classes and shades of political opinion were invited to the function and they most kindly and heartily responded. The gathering was so large that the spacious shamiyana of the Mill was unable to hold all who came and the guests spread themselves all over the lawn. Refreshments were mostly prepared in the best Bengalee style by our own ladies and were very much appreciated. The party was not meant to be a political demonstration but a tribute to the personality of the host. It was

understood that no speech was to be made but the people would not be deprived of the pleasure of hearing India's greatest orator. So he had to say a few words, thanking the organisers for the honour done to him and adding that such a demonstration was an encouragement and stimulus to him to persevere in his work. He said that he did not complain of the difference of opinion that had disclosed itself in connection with the reforms. It was probably natural but he earnestly pleaded for tolerence, charity and mutual forbearance. He expressed great satisfaction that the relations between the Bengalee community and their fellow-countrymen of Nagpur were cordial and that they were able to work shoulder to shoulder in matters affecting their common interests. He spoke with his usual eloquence and vigour. In conclusion he heartily thanked the ladies, specially mentioning my wife, for organising the refreshments. He said that for our men there was need for womanly sympathy and encouragement in the arduous task of India's emancipation and in the attainment by her of her great destiny.

THE NEW REFORMS

The Titanic war suddenly launched in August 1914 was a clash not so much of individual nations as of widely divergent concepts of national life and progress. Those who for more than half a century controlled and guided the destiny of Germany had evolved a policy and ambition incompatible with the existence of principles which the democratic nations of the world symbolise. Intoxicated with their mar-

vellous success under their iron Chancellor, the great Bismark, the German people under the stern and unbending rule of their Government permitted themselves to be drilled into a most potent instrument for dominating the whole world. Britain, after an earnest effort to avert the catastrophe, was drawn into the terrific struggle by the obligations of duty, honour and good faith, no less than for the defence of the vital interests of the Empire which acknowledges her sway. With her "contemptible little army," she stood the shock of the avalanche of men, trained and equipped to the highest pitch of perfection by all that science and military genius could do, now fighting, now retreating, now reforming, now fighting again, from the Mons to the Oise. And at the crisis, the subjects of her great Empire in every quarter of the globe rallied to her standard. The response was as instantaneous as it was self-generated. And India was at the forefront of this wonderful rally. Indian troops marching through the blood-stained battle-fields of Flanders in defence of republican France and the liberties of Christian Europe was a spectacle the like of which was never before seen in the history of nations. And the Indian army, though smitten, hip and thigh, faced about and fought again and again side by side with the British and the French and effectively helped to destroy the momentum of the tremendous German attack and paved the way for the success of the great move which hurled back in disorder across the Marne the puissant invad-

ing force flushed with pride and self-confidence. Thus in this momentous chapter in the Empire's history, by their valiant deeds, Indians sealed their loyalty to it and the high principles it stood and fought for. And in His message to His Indian subjects, His Majesty the King Emperor said that the bond of brotherhood proved by partnership in trials and triumphs would endure in years to come. The problems of reconstruction of society, political, social and economic, evolved by the triumphs of Britain and her allies set free forces, before which Governments not based on the people's will disappeared like the baseless fabric of a dream. And from the midst of the ghastly ruin and sufferings of the worldwide conflagration, there emerged the supremacy of the spirit of nationalism and self-determination. No wonder if India was stirred to her innermost depths by this upheaval and her children began to pulsate with new hopes and aspirations. The historic declaration of August 20, 1917, was the response of His Majesty's Government to these hopes and aspirations. It is, no doubt, as true of India as of other countries what Mr. Lloyd George has said that the war and the ideals it has thrown up have made the world run through the track of centuries. Never-the-less, any one who carefully examines the proceedings of the National Congress since it was founded in 1885 would see that the progress has clearly been one of orderly evolution. The reform of Legislative Councils was asked for at the very first session of the Congress and the agitation

was continued at each successive session until the enlarged Councils of 1892 were brought into existence Ten years of further judicious and sustained agitation resulted in a further advance as embodied in the Morley-Minto Scheme. I have already tried to show that that scheme was neither a sham nor the enlarged Councils constituted under it merely ornamental bodies, impotent for good. And now we are on the thereshold of an era, which introduces a momentous change in the constitution of Government.

DIVISION INTO TWO DISTINCT PARTIES.

In the cold season of 1917, the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, came to India to make the necessary enquiries in collaboration with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, with a view to the elaboration of a definite scheme to give effect to the promises embodied in the Declaration of August 1917. The result was the Joint Report of April 22, 1918. A wide and vital divergence of opinion disclosed itself among us in connection with this report and its schme of constitutional reforms. Since some years past, there has come into existence among us two parties, one commonly known as the "extremists" and the other as the "moderates." As both parties lay claim to the term "national," I use these two expressions as a matter of convenience and not to cast reflection on any body. The cleavage was perhaps natural. When the national mind is brought face to face with a new set of circumstances and conditions, when the Government is to be recast on an altogether new foundation and

when men's minds are in a state of flux alternating with hopes and disappointments, good-feeling and resentment, a division into different schools of political thought resulting from difference in temparament and out-look is inevitable. Some will think that the people must have full freedom to create their own political machinery, so that Government may be moulded according to the cast of national life and that it is waste of time and energy to try and work a machinery fashioned for us by others according to their ideas of what is best for us. There will be others again who while by no means averting their eye from the ideal as the goal of India's ultimate ambition, will take into consideration the posibilities and realities of the existing situation and accept in a spirit of practical accommodation what is given, provided it contains within itself the germs of continuous development leading within a reasonable limit of time to the goal. They accept as an axiom of their political faith what Charles Bradlaugh, the great tribune of the people and one of India's best friends, said in the historic Congress of 1889: "Not only do not expect "too much, but do not expect all at once. Don't be "disappointed if, of a just claim, only something is conceded."..... Till the end of 1904, Sir Pheroseshah Mehta and those who thought with him dominated the Congress and its policy. At the Benares sitting in 1905, when Mr. Gokhale presided, the existence of a new school first made itself felt. Matters

threatened to come to a head at the next sitting at Calcutta and the crisis was only averted by specially requisitioning Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee to preside. But it came all the same next year (1907) at Surat. Sir Pheroseshah then rightly declared that people vitally differing in opinion and method could not run the same organisation and so from 1908 up to the sitting in Bombay in 1915, the Congress was an organization run by the old party, the new party having gone out altogether. Since 1915, the Congress has been entirely dominated by the extremist party, who have been able to enter it and then to capture it by taking advantage of the modification of the rules introduced at the initiative of Mr. Gokhale in order to make it once more a really national organization.

THE REFORMS AND THE EXTREMISTS.

No sooner had the Joint Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy become public and before the vast majority of our countrymen taking interest in public affairs had any opportunity to read it and to form any considered opinion on the various difficult and complex problems it attempted to find a solution for, the leaders of the extremists party, evidently with a view to be first in the field, pronounced the constitution of Government it formulated as extremely disappointing and entirely unacceptable, as being so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail as to be incapable of being improved upon. Some of us in Nagpur as members of Council were furnished with copies of the Report immediately it was made public.

Realising the gravity of the situation that would be created if the impression once gained ground that Indians would have none of the scheme even as a basis for discussion, we had an emergent private meeting of some friends to consider the Report. Having done so, nine of us, including Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis, Sir Bezonjee Dadabhoy Mehta, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy Mr. M. V. Joshi, Mr. N. A. Dravid of the Servant of India Society and Mr. Vasudeo Rao Pandit sent a joint telegram through the Associated Press to all the papers giving the scheme so far as it related to Provincial Governments our general support and accepting it as a genuine attempt to give effect to the policy of the pronouncement of August, 1917. We followed this up on the 21st of July 1918 by an elaborate note analysing the various proposals of the report and pointing out why and how they constituted in the case of provincial governments a substantial step towards responsible government. We also suggested some modification which we thought would improve the scheme. This was signed by some more friends who later on joined us in our deliberations. We had this note widely distributed in our Province. I believe we were the first to issue such a review. I give the concluding paragraph of the note:

" Judged with reference to the conditions of our people in these Provinces, we have no hesitation in saying that the scheme we have summarised marks a great and most notable advance in the system of

government since these Provinces were constituted into a separate administrative unit in 1862, and ushers into existence a new era in their constitutional development. They were started on their career of improvement under that great administrator, Sir Richard Temple. A generous revenue system which for the first time gave the people permanent rights in land subject to a moderate land revenue, following a system of uncertain and almost unbearable pressure of the state demand on land, laid the foundation of their future progress and prosperity. During the years which followed, under the impulse and influence of a succession of vigorous rulers, the people were able to make great and striking strides in the path of progress, moral and material. The creation of a local legislature four years ago, for the first time brought into existence, an agency which placed the people in a position to co-operate more actively and effectively with the Government in furthering their own welfare than was possible or permissible under the old order of things. A generous statesmanship now takes us to the threshold of a future pregnant with immeasurable possibilities. The principle which inspires and animates the report is the principle which makes for human freedom. Let us not turn our back and refuse to grasp the hand of friendliness that is extended to us. For, the present opportunity once lost may not recur for long years to come. Let us not belittle the value of these reforms, even if they be small. For

by their judicious exercise, we shall be enabled to march on the next stage; and the greater our success, the more rapid will be the rate of progress towards the goal. A heavy responsibility thus rests on us. Let us not in running after an ideal unattainable under existing circumstances lose sight of the realities of the present situation. To our countrymen then in these Provinces we appeal in all earnestness to approach the subject in a calm and judicious spirit, uninfluenced by extraneous considerations which have no application to us. Let us not say anything or do anything which may create an atmosphere surcharged with a spirit of impatience and intolerance. The statesmen of Britain have done their part. Let us not fail in ours."

To emphasise some points which could not find place in a joint note, I published a separate note on my own responsibility on 7th September 1918. I transcribe here the last two paragraphs of this note:—

"Without going into further details, I have, after giving such consideration to the subject as its gravity demands, come to the conclusion that the scheme is unquestionably a substantial step in the progress towards complete self-government and is thus a *bona-fide* compliance with the terms of the pronouncement. We see that from the very beginning such nation-building subjects as primary and technical education and local self-government will be made over to popular control, that the Legislative Council constituted on a broad franchise and with a

substantial elected majority will be able completely to control the administration of the transferred subjects through the power of voting the supplies, and that after five years it will acquire further power and direct control over the minister through the power of refusing to vote his salary, that though the Governor will in theory appoint the minister as in the Colonies, he will in practice be bound to choose such a person only as enjoys the confidence of the Council, that the people will make their own laws through their representatives in regard to all transferred subjects, that the power of proposing fresh taxation will rest solely with the minister, that he will have a controlling voice in the shaping of the Budget as a whole including allotments for non-transferred subjects through his privilege of refusing to allow the introduction of new schemes of taxation necessary to adjust the Budget to the requirements of the various services and that the residuary power of control vested in the Governor will be similar to those in the self-governing Colonies and operative only in exceptional and emergent cases.

"It follows from what I have submitted above that in my opinion, we of this Province ought to accept the scheme so far as it affects us, even if no modifications as suggested in various quarters outside our Province are introduced in it. For, it lays, sure and solid, the foundations of the new fabric that is to be raised. We have the assurance which we have no reason or right to distrust, that the members of the present Government will loyally do their duty in the

new surroundings which the changed order of things will bring about. And if we on our part accept and work the scheme in the spirit in which it is conceived and offered, we will not have to wait long before we reach the end of our journey. In the hope that it will be so, I earnestly appeal to my countrymen in this Province to approach the consideration of the subject with a full sense of the heavy responsibility that lies on us all in this grave crisis in our history, when any false step will be fraught with immeasurable injury in the time to come to our best interests."

ORGANIZATION OF THE MODERATES.

With the progress of the discussion, the divergence of opinion regarding the scheme of the Joint Report between the two parties became more pronounced and clear-cut. Several Provincial Conferences were held by the party opposed to our views condemning the scheme, root and branch. We were invited to attend the one held at Akola in Berar. It was to be presided over by Mr. Horniman who in his paper, the *Bombay Chronicle*, was day after day denouncing the scheme in unmeasured terms and calling upon the country to reject it. By the by, this paper was established by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to represent his school of thought. I was one of those who had subscribed to its funds. But under Mr. Horniman it was converted into an organ of the extremists' party. Before responding to the invitation to attend the Akola Conference, we wished to be told whether the organisers would recommend to the Con-

ference for adoption the views appearing daily in the columns of the president's paper. We sent a telegram to this effect but received no reply. Nevertheless, Mr. R. N. Mudholker and Mr. M. V. Joshi attended with some friends but the treatment they received in the preliminary negotiations to settle the programme showed that their views would have no fair chance of being placed before the assembly and considered on their merits. They accordingly withdrew. Some moderate leaders had the temerity to attend the Calcutta Conference. When they tried to speak, they were hooted and hissed and denied a hearing. These provincial demonstrations were followed by a special Session of the Congress in Bombay in August, 1918. The moderate leaders of Bengal realising the gravity of the situation and forgetting the attacks on their patriotism and good faith in the papers and speeches of their opponents asked for a short postponement of the date fixed for the special Session to permit of mutual exchange of views with a view to try and arrive at some compromise. The request was refused. The moderate party had then to decide whether they should as a party attend the Congress. It was urged in some quarters that they should attend it and lay their views before it. That would, no doubt, have been the proper procedure to adopt in a case of ordinary difference of opinion. But the difference in the present case cut into the very foundations of political thought and out-look. Those who controlled the Congress wanted what might not unreasonably

be called a revolution in the present system of government, whereas the moderate party were for its modification by a process of evolution eading to complete self-government in due course of time. They knew they would be in a decided minority and that there was no chance of their views influencing the decision. Then what would go forth before the public including the public in England, as voicing the Congress opinion would be the resolutions of the majority and not the dissenting views of the minority. English sympathisers earnestly warned us, both publicly and privately, that an attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the scheme would in all likelihood lead to its withdrawal. After interchange of views among leaders of our party throughout India, the conclusion was reached that abstention as a party would best serve the cause we had at heart. Mr. Joshi, Mr. Dravid and myself published a joint note, explaining the whole situation and justifying the decision thus arrived at as not only in accordance with the best interests of the country but in consonance with English parliamentary practice, for a party is formed and kept up by substantial unity of principles, methods and attitudes regarding vital public questions. This decision, however, was not intended to prevent members of the party from attending the Congress in their individual capacity and placing their views before the delegates. The special sitting came on the appointed date and as every body expected, the principal resolution

condemned the scheme of the joint report as "disappointing and unsatisfactory." Other resolutions, going entirely counter to the principles laid down in the pronouncement of August 20th, 1917 and setting at naught the limitations and conditions they involved, were passed. From the information, both public and private, we had as to the trend of opinion in England, we were convinced that this meant a grave danger to our cause. For there was a strong body of public men in England who strenuously worked for the withdrawal of the scheme on the ground among others that it was an attempt "to appease the unappeasable," "as offering a compromise to those who were "constitutionally incapable of appreciating a compromise." Our friends in England also gave us to understand that they could not be expected to work for the success of a scheme which was rejected by those for whom it was intended. We therefore decided to have a separate organization of our own and as a first step towards it, it was settled that there should be at Bombay an All-India Conference of those who agreed with us. We immediately issued a manifesto to our countrymen in our Province explaining to them the reasons for holding the Conference and calling on them to attend it, if they were in sympathy with the views we set forth. It has now become very difficult for me to leave home, for it is only at home that I can observe the strict rules of health prescribed for me by my medical adviser to keep off the complaint I

suffer from. I met Mr. Banerjee and party at the Nagpur Railway Station on their way to the Conference and sent the following telegram to Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Chairman of the Reception Committee,—"Deeply regret feeble health prevents me joining Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee and party on their way to the Conference. Considerate and discriminating support of the Reform Scheme essential to our political future which is greatly jeopardised by unreasonable opposition swayed by passion and prejudice and dictated by unsound appreciation of the march of events. Concentration of opinion of persons ready to grasp the hand of fellow-ship that is extended to us and co-operate with Government to make the Scheme the success it deserves to be is urgently called for in our best interests. May complete success attend the Conference." Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis was in bed at the time severely ill and he also could not go. He wired his fullest sympathy. About sixty similar telegrams were sent from sympathisers in the various districts in our Province and Berar. Messrs. Mudholkar and Joshi attended with several friends. The principal resolution cordially welcomed the Reform proposals as constituting a distinct advance on the present conditions and as a real and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in due fulfilment of the terms of the announcement and gave them its hearty support. Another resolution decided to send a deputation to England to support the views of the Conference and to

urge on British statesmen and Parliament to give at an early date legislative effect to the Montague-Chemsford Scheme. The last resolution appointed a Committee to form a permanent organization of the party with branches in the various Provinces.

C. P. NATIONAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

In accordance with the decision of the Conference, we founded the "Central Provinces National Liberal Association." We issued two manifestoes, one giving the proceedings of the Conference with explanatory notes and another justifying the formation of our association and giving its aims and objects and rules. To the second Conference held at Calcutta in December 1919, our Association was able to send a strong contingent headed by Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis. To the fund that was raised to meet the expenses of our deputation to England, we made a contribution to the best of our means. The General Secretary, Mr. N. M. Samarth, thus acknowledged it: "I cannot sufficiently thank you for the "donations that you have collected and sent for the "expenses of our deputation." Here I must make a confession. While we have been able to secure members from among men of the older generation, the number of young men in our list of members is almost negligible. British rule has been subjected in recent years to much misrepresentation. The propaganda against it has been persistent and well organised and not always fair. This has certainly

created a prejudice against Government and as a consequence against those who wish to work in co-operation with Government. But this cannot wholly account for the attitude of our young men. Part of it, how much I will not attempt to apportion, is undoubtedly due to faults of judgment and temper on the side of the officials and their general attitude towards the people. There is also the feeling of soreness, if not generated, certainly accentuated, by the ideals thrown up by the War, against a Government, which, even when it is benevolent or beneficent, is after all foreign. This now hurts the national self-respect more than it had ever done before, when the feeling was still undeveloped. Other considerations and feelings, like seeking to attain notoriety as champions of popular rights and racial antipathy, have also perhaps played their part. The reforms have not come too soon. The hope of a better understanding lies in giving effect to them honestly and in an ungrudging spirit and thereby to make the people actually realise that they will now be able to shape their destiny themselves according to their ideas of what is best for them in important departments of Government. Exercise of real power and participation in a substantial degree in the government of the country will also create a sense of responsibility. Those who are now irreconcilable, will then find that constructive work must give place to angry denunciation and destructive criticism.

THE FRANCHISE AND FUNCTIONS COMMITTEES.

Two Committees were appointed from England to settle the broad principles of the franchise and what departments of Government should be immediately handed over to the popular control. Our Association submitted notes on both these matters so far as they affected our Province. I also published my individual views; and in doing so I prepared three notes, one on franchise, another on functions and a third on corrupt and illegal practices at elections. I placed special emphasis on the necessity of passing a strong Act on the last subject before the elections took place. Some time ago, the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye, the eminent Principal of the Ferguson College, had lectured at Nagpur on proportional representation in connection with our lecture-series. We had organised the series some five years ago at the suggestion and with the active help and co-operation of our present Chief Commissioner, Sir Frank Sly, the object being to evoke intellectual activity and stimulate general culture among us. We were able to secure many distinguished lecturers. I was much impressed by what the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye said regarding proportional representation as a means of giving representation to minorities instead of the communal scheme. I was thus led to study the subject. Proportional representation has recently been introduced in France along with the re-establishment of plural-member large constituencies displacing the system of small single-member constituencies. It has

also been accepted in Australia. It was rejected by the House of Commons in connection with the Reform Act of 1918, though accepted so far as the universities were concerned. The astounding result of the last general election in the United Kingdom under which the Coalition got a majority of 347 in Great Britain, while on the basis of the voters it ought to have got only 75, has demonstrated the need of some such system as proportional representation if the House of Commons is to be, to use Burke's words, "an express image of the nation." In these circumstances, I published a note advocating proportional representation with transferable vote. The transferable vote system was recommended in the Joint Report regarding the formation of the elective part of the Grand Committee. Reserving to a particular community a certain number of seats in plural constituencies, but with a general electoral vote, was also recommended in the report for securing representation of minorities as preferable to communal electorates. The Southborough Committee, however, reported against the introduction of proportional representation on the ground that the electors being inexperienced, the most simple system should for the present be adopted. I may, however, be permitted to point out that so far as the voters are concerned there need be no difficulty. They have only to state their preference in writing by putting marks (1), (2), (3) etc., against the names of the candidates. The returning officers must, of course, be well-grounded in

the details of the scheme. It may not be impracticable to secure such men. I hope the question will be reconsidered at the next stock-taking, for it is very necessary that we should have as little of sectional representation as possible and at the same time our Councils should really represent the nation.*

DEBATE ON TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

As suggested in the Joint Report, the list of transferred subjects was discussed by the non-official members at a sitting of our Council in September 1918. Some members suggested an enlargement of the list of the report by including in it land revenue and some other subjects. The view I submitted was that our demand should be determined by the circumstances of the people of our Province and the limitations they imposed on us. I give an extract from my speech:—

"A judicious selection of subjects to be transferred is a matter of vital importance. If less is given than what the exigencies of our position demand, there will be no real step in advance and no genuine fulfilment of the pronouncement of August 1917. If, on the contrary, more is taken up than what we are in a position to assume charge of with fair prospect of

* *Note.*—Since the above was written, I find that the new Irish Home Rule Bill proposes this method for the two Irish Parliaments it seeks to set up. In the rules framed under the Government of India Act 1917 for submission to the Secretary of State it has been adopted in the Election of representatives of (1) Europeans in the Bengal Presidency in the Bengal Legislative Council, (2) Europeans in Bengal for the Legislative Assembly and (3) Non-Mahomedans in the Madras Presidency for the Council of State.

success, we will be inviting a set-back and thereby blocking the way for future progress. It follows that we should exercise all the wisdom we can command in settling what powers we should be vested with in the beginning and which it would be possible for us to put to the best use under existing conditions. Caution and patience are virtues which one must learn to cultivate in this as on all other activities of life if we wish to succeed, and it is no shame to admit our present imperfections, especially when haste and impatience will involve indefinite postponement of the consummation we all devoutly wish for." I then took up one by one the extra subjects recommended by my colleagues and tried to show how imperfectly we were equipped to administer them with advantage to the public. I said that if we took up education, local self-government, agriculture, industries, co-operative credit and a few miscellaneous subjects, which I need not specify here, together with Excise as a source of revenue, we would have taken up as much as we could possibly manage for the present with efficiency. For the art of government, I added, was not heaven-born; on the contrary, the aptitude and the experience to manage successfully departments of government had to be acquired by strenuous labour, and step by step.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919.

After gathering all the necessary information, Mr. Montagu lost no time in embodying his scheme in a Bill and introducing it in Parliament. It was

referred to a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses. This Committee made its report on 17th November, 1919 and with it was submitted an amended Bill incorporating several important suggestions which Indian witnesses, especially members of the Moderate deputation, had made to liberalise the original scheme. This Bill passed through the two Houses with only a few verbal amendments. In giving his assent to the Act, His Majesty issued a proclamation on the 24th of December, 1919, breathing in every line sentiments of sympathy and affection for His Indian subjects. He appealed to the leaders of the people, ministers of the future, to co-operate with the officers of Government for the common good in sinking unessential differences and maintaining the essential standards of just government. Equally He called upon His officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness and to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions. He called upon all, His people, and His officers, to work together for a common purpose, so that India might be led to greater prosperity and contentment and might grow to the fulness of political freedom. Two resolutions were moved in our Council, one embodying an expression of its dutiful homage and heart-felt thanks for the proclamation and another warmly welcoming the Government of India Act as placing India on the road to complete responsible government and assuring

Government that it would be worked in a spirit of loyal and harmonious co-operation and good-will for the advancement of the highest good of the people. The Hon'ble Mr. Crump, speaking on behalf of our local government, assured us that the people would receive every aid and co-operation from the officials of all the services. The resolutions were passed with acclamation. This was a great satisfaction to me, for efforts had not been wanting outside the Council to make the people of the Province fall in with the views identified with the Congress propaganda.

THE CONGRESS AND THE ACT

The Congress met at Amritsar immediately after the Act was passed and the Royal Proclamation was issued. "Inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" was the verdict regarding the Act repeated from the previous year's resolution. Nothing would make the Congress budge a step from its previous attitude of uncompromising hostility, even though it was admitted by its organs in the press that the Act was in several respects an improvement on the original scheme. As to responding to the Royal Proclamation, Mr. Gandhi's first amendment calling upon the people to co-operate with the authorities in making the Reforms a success had to be withdrawn. His second amendment in which he quoted the very words of the Proclamation asking for co-operation of all, the officials and the people, had also to be abandoned. His earnest appeal for amity and his reminder that the Sovereign

himself had extended to us the hand of friendliness, failed to evoke any response. Mrs. Besant's amendment in the same direction was put to the vote and declared lost by an overwhelming majority. By way of what was deemed a compromise, Mr. Montagu was thanked, but for what? For giving us a system of Government, which was pronounced to be "disappointing, unsatisfactory and unacceptable" and which we were to do our best not to work to success but to wreck.

THE TWO PARTIES

Lord Sinha was severely attacked by the Congress party for advising the moderates to maintain their own organization intact and not to lose their separate entity with their own special ideals of public life by getting themselves absorbed in the Congress. Our Association entirely agreed with the views of Lord Sinha and we issued an appeal to our future voters to send to the Council only such people who would bind themselves to make an honest effort to make the new Government a success. We pointed out that it might be that hitherto patriotism necessitated opposition to Government. But we would now have what was for all intents and purposes a national Government. The Indian and the Briton would be of equal status and equal power in the Executive Council. And in our Province, in the executive Government the Indians would be three to one excluding the Governor. And not only would the Indians thus have a commanding position within the Govern-

ment, but they would have behind them a large elected majority in the Legislature. As the Government would be one, though its departmental control would be divided into two halves, the popular half and the official half would have to co-operate if they wished to bring about the uplift of the country. The people could not say with reason that the presence of one British Councillor in the Executive would make the Government foreign. We also pointed out that those who owed allegiance to the Congress could not honestly work for the success of the Act, not only so but they would be bound to prevent its smooth working and thus make it a failure in order to pave the way for a new Act which they hoped to get passed with the help of their friends in England. Compromise between two such mutually destructive policies, one of co-operation with a view to secure a further advance by successful constructive work under the Act itself and the other of uncompromising opposition with a view to reduce the Act to a nullity and thus destroy its structure, was not possible or desirable in the best interests of the country. We mean to follow this up by more appeals to the electors as soon as the rolls are ready, making the position clear so that there might be no delusion as to the kind of representatives we should send to the Council, if we desire to make the new Government a success. For it should not be forgotten that the difference between the two parties into which the nation is now divided

is not one of surface. It is a fundamental difference. While one party stands for exclusiveness and uncompromising hostility, the other party stands for cordial welcome of every benefit secured, for reasoned agitation for more and for hearty co-operation in cases where this could be achieved without sacrifice of principle. The importance of the continued maintenance of a party like the moderate party lies in this that it provides a connecting link between the two extremes, the ultra-conservatives and the ultra-radicals. While it displays no hostility to Government *qua* Government, it is yet able to sympathise with the enthusiasm which characterises the activities of the members of the extreme party and tries to exercise a sobering influence on them. It believes that the ordered progress of India, its constitutional advance along the road leading to sisterhood with the self-governing nations within the Empire, lies in holding aloft the policy and the convictions it stands for.

SIR FRANK SLY AND THE REFORMS.

Sir Frank Sly took over charge of the office of our Chief Commissioner in February, 1920. It is understood he will be our first Governor. He is an old C. P. Officer and knows the Province and its people thoroughly. There is hardly an officer now with us who can claim a more intimate knowledge of them. His great ability is unquestioned. The success of the new Reforms will depend very largely on his attitude towards them. It was thus a matter of vital

importance to know his views. He was a witness before the Parliamentary Joint Committee and he there said that if he were a young man seeking a career he would have no hesitation in entering the Civil Service under the new scheme of reforms and that he regretted that his service was coming to an end rather than starting. This gave us strong hopes. With a view, however, to secure an authoritative pronouncement of his views as Chief Commissioner and also with the object of enlisting the good-will of the people in working the new government, I spoke to some prominent members of the Nagpur Municipal Committee to present an address to him, welcoming the Royal Proclamation and responding to His Majesty's appeal for co-operation. My proposal was favourably received and a motion was passed appointing a sub-committee consisting of the President, a member representing the views of the advanced party and myself, to prepare the address. The draft we prepared received unanimous acceptance. The address was presented at the Town Hall before a large gathering of the towns-people representing all sections and classes. Similar addresses with similar expressions of high appreciation of the new reforms and of offer of hearty co-operation were presented by local bodies at Raipur and Jubbulpore. I quote the following from Sir Frank's reply to the Nagpur address:—

"In your address, you have referred to a portion of the evidence that I was privileged to give before the "Joint Parliamentary Committee in the course of their

"enquiry into the Government of India Bill. I am "glad that you have referred to this particular "passage, for I adhere fully to the personal opinion "that I then expressed. My long service has been "one unbroken record of enjoyment in my official "work. And if this is my experience of the past, "why should I hesitate about the future under the "Reform scheme of government? I try not to "under-rate the difficulties of the task that lies "before us all, but I believe in that scheme because "I believe in India's future, because I believe that "the leaders of the people in this Province will "respond fully to the call of His Majesty the King "Emperor for mutual co-operation for the common "good, that India 'may be led to greater prospe-"rity, and contentment, and may grow to the "fulness of political freedom.' I recognise fully, "that in many respects the future work of an "official will be very difficult. But what nobler "and better career could be offered to a young "Englishman than that of helping forward the "fulfilment of the policy laid down by His Majesty "the King-Emperor for the realisation of complete "responsible government in India within the British "Empire? I firmly believe that the British official "will still be required to assist India to that goal, "but only the man who recognises fully the policy "and who will work loyally towards the realisation "of the goal. For such a person, there is a future "career of absorbing interest. Difficult it may be

"in some respects, but I believe in its ultimate "success, and I repeat my regret that I am not a "young man privileged to devote myself to the "interests of the British Empire in India, which are "identical with the interests of India."

By these public functions, those in favour of the Reforms tried to bring into existence an atmosphere where it would be possible to give them a fair and honest trial. I firmly believe, and in this belief I am confirmed by the discussions I have had with several of our young men of advanced views, that in our Province such an atmosphere has been created and that we need have no apprehension that by the healthy assimilation and consolidation of the powers and privileges we have got and by sober and substantial work in the sphere of practical administration, we shall establish our fitness for a further advance taking us to the goal.

SOCIAL REFORMS

I had imbibed while at College what I may call advanced views regarding some of our social manners and customs. Apart from the question of their intrinsic utility, several of our present day social institutions could not appeal even to our old Shastraic rules and injunctions in support of their existence as integral part of our national organism. They had come to be grafted on our society because of our arrested growth as a nation. Our knowledge had become stagnant, our reason had ceased to be active and in this state of intellectual inanition we had

come to attach more value to external rites and forms than to the spirit which lay behind them. Thus losing sight of the underlying vital principles, we had failed to adapt our lives in accordance with their real meaning as applied to the altered conditions of our society. Wider knowledge which came with age and experience did not materially shake the views I had formed at College. At the same time, I was entirely against the tendency to copy exotic ways and modes of life without any attempt to discriminate what we could adopt and assimilate with real benefit to ourselves and without breaking completely with the past and thus disrupting the continuity of our normal development. In Bengal, we had alternated between two extremes, blind imitation of things foreign and their unreasoning rejection because they are foreign. One thing that had much impressed my young mind was the evil effect of the strict system of *parda* under which we confined and brought up our women within the four corners of the zenana and subjected them to all manner of, what I cannot but call, irrational rules and restrictions regarding their every day life. I believe the *parda* came to us during the Mahomedan rule. As soon as I came to Nagpur, I discarded the *parda* and my wife mixed freely with the ladies of the families of my Mahratha friends. There is nothing like the Bengal *parda* system among them. This is specially the case with those coming from the Poona side. In course of time, we came to count several English ladies and

gentlemen among our friends and we moved among them and they amongst us, freely. I never had occasion to repent of this decision. The circumstance that my eldest daughter-in-law is an English lady of culture has helped me to carry out my views in this matter. I may state here in passing that my old parents, rigid Hindus that they were, had come to us here in Nagpur especially to meet my daughter-in-law, when she visited us soon after the birth of her first child. With mutual concessions, ungrudgingly made, we got on very well and my parents were greatly pleased. I refer to this incident to show that given the right spirit, there is no reason why we should not progress in social matters on right lines without creating friction and unpleasantness. My parents knew I had given up *purda* but in their presence and in their company, my wife observed all the old rules and this quite satisfied them.

I gave to my two daughters the best education to be got at Nagpur. My youngest daughter's husband is a member of the Indian Civil Service and I have so brought her up that she is able to take her proper place in society. At the same time, we have carefully taught her duties as a Hindu wife and a Hindu daughter-in-law and she has not forgotten them.

AGE OF CONSENT BILL.

In 1890-91, the introduction of what is known as the Age of Consent Bill created in Bengal a widespread ferment. The main object of the Bill was to

prevent premature consummation by adult husbands of marriages with their immature child-wives. Apart from individual sufferings, the practice caused physical degeneration of the race, for children born as a result of artificially stimulated generative functions could not have a sound vigourous constitution. But mainly on the ground that an alien Government should not interfere with our social customs, the Bill met with fierce opposition in Bengal. In this part of the country, it created hardly any stir, for although at the time child-marriage was the general practice, the wife did not begin to discharge her marital duties until the appearance of a certain event indicating that she had attained the particular stage in her life, when she would be able to sustain the responsiblities of maternity. When I told my friends here that in Bengal some such law had become necessary as the practice there among the higher castes was for the wife, whatever her age, to go and live with her husband immediately after marrige, they were shocked. I was then Government Advocate and knowing what I knew of this pernicious custom in Bengal, in submitting my opinion on the Bill, I strongly supported its general principle, while suggesting modifications in matters of detail to prevent the law being used to gratify private grudge. Ultimately, the age of consent was raised from ten to twelve years. This law has now been in existence for nearly thirty years and its evil effects, as alleged and feared, have not been felt. It has, in fact, been a dead letter. The main cause of

this is the most gratifying rise in the age of marriage. My eldest sister, who was married in 1865, was then only eight years old. At the time of the Bill, the age had slightly gone up but still no Hindu father belonging to the higher castes would at the time dare postpone the marriage of his girl till after her puberty. But now immature marriages have practically disappeared. Right views regarding marriageable age may have had something to do with this. But the most powerful influences have been two. The first is the disinclination in these days of hard struggle for existence, of our young men to marry until they are able to support their future families. This has necessarily operated to raise the marriageable age of girls. The second cause is the great difficulty the fathers of girls meet with to raise money to satisfy the oppressive demands of parents of boys for dowry. Attempts by leaders of our society to create a public opinion against this practice were not very successful to beat down the selfish instincts in human nature upon which it rested. But what they could not do, has been done by the very enormity of these exactions. Among my own relations, several marriages have taken place within recent years where the brides were of quite proper age. This practice has now become so common that the orthodox society is obliged to wink at it. This illustrates the truth of the saying that nothing is an unmixed evil in this world.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

I have in the early pages of this memoir referred

to the part "The Radical League" of U. N. Dass had taken in connection with the Civil Marriage Act of 1872. Out of deference to conservative opinion and to disarm opposition from certain quarters, a provision was incorporated in the Bill in its final shape under which it could only be taken advantage of by persons who did not follow any of the recognised religions and were prepared to make a statutory declaration to that effect. In 1912, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu introduced a Bill in the Imperial Council so to alter the existing law as to permit Civil Marriages to take place without the statutory declaration required by the Act of 1872. This met with strong opposition from orthodox quarters, though how a permissive measure like Mr. Basu's Bill could affect the recognised religions of the country was never made clear. However, after its experience in connection with the Age of Consent Bill, the Government naturally felt disinclined to put its hands into a matter to which was given the appearance of interference with religious and social customs. The Bill was dropped. I had as Government Advocate given it my support. In 1918, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel of Bombay introduced a Bill with a somewhat limited scope, namely, to declare the validity of marriages between Hindus of different castes and sub-castes. Such marriages have begun to take place and are likely to take place in the future in increasing numbers. But their legality, according to our judge-made law, is doubtful. The parties to these marriages can-

not take advantage of the Act of 1872 unless they are prepared to disavow their faith in the Hindu religion. As they claim to be Hindus and their marriage to be in accordance with the old Shastraic precepts, they naturally do not desire to make the declaration required by the Act. The dilemma before them is thus one of great cruelty and injustice. They must either make a declaration against their conscientious convictions by averring that they are not Hindus, or they must make a false declaration to secure for their wives and children the status of legitimacy. There is no question here of interfering with the religion of any class of Hindus. For the Bill is a purely validating piece of legislation. It does not compel any person to contract a marriage under its provision, nor does it make it obligatory on any body to have social relations with people who take advantage of it. Its justification lies in the broad principle that every subject of the British Empire has the right to have conceded to him perfect freedom of action in social and religious matters so long as his action does not subverse public morals or unreasonably affect legal rights of others. On the other hand, opposition to it can only be supported on the ground that members of one section of a community, provided they are in the majority, can impose on the minority their own interpretation and application of Shastraic precepts, by placing before the minority the alternative either of giving up their convictions by marrying according to strict orthodox

rules, or of running the grave risk of the law Courts declaring their marriages illegal with the disastrous consequences of such a declaration to their wives and children. There is also an important political aspect of the question. To drive people who are anxious to remain within the fold of Hinduism out of it by forcing them into a situation where they must either act against their conscience or against the best interests of those near and dear to them, is to weaken still further the already weakened nation. This is exactly what has happened and is happening in the case of the depressed classes. The higher castes by their oppressive treatment of these classes have driven a large numbers of them out of the pale of Hinduism in order that they may escape from the humiliating disabilities to which they are subjected so long as they remain part and parcel of the Hindu social organism. Obsessed by religious prejudice and narrow social concepts, the unfortunate political effect of this process of conversion to other religious faiths is not perceived, or only very dimly perceived. In response to a requisition from Government, I submitted some notes on the Bill discussing the subjects from the points of view set forth above. I also published some notes in the newspapers. The Bill will be taken up by the new reformed Council. It is earnestly to be hoped that it will be responsive to the progressive ideas of the times and help to further the healthy development of our race and arrest its disintegration under the influence of narrow social ideas. One

curious feature of the agitation against the Bill, I should not omit to mention. I can understand the opposition of conscientious orthodox Hindus but I am unable to understand the mentality of people who in the domain of politics are loudly demanding the application of the principle of "Self-determination" without any limitation and are at the same time equally loudly refusing to apply it in the case of their own people in matters social. They decline to be ruled by out-siders politically but are ready to impose their individual social views on their own people, because they themselves happen to be in a large majority and thus can wield the powers which society arms them with against the minority. We had several meetings by our so-called nationalist leaders denouncing the Bill.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

We have in Nagpur a branch of the Depressed Class Mission. It is doing useful work. It has a primary school built on a site in one of the newly established bastis given to it by the Nagpur Municipal Committee on favourable terms and on a nominal rent for boys belonging to the Depressed Classes and also a hostel for their more advanced boys. A few years ago, its Secretary applied to the Committee of management of the Neill City High School to admit some boys living under the guardianship of the Mission to this School. As Secretary to the Committee, it fell to me to deal with this application. After due enquiry, I admitted the boys. This was

the first attempt to have boys of a depressed class introduced in our School, which had at the time on its roll mostly boys of higher castes. The opposition to the admission of Mahar boys into such an institution was strong. The Mahars in this part were at the time not a very advanced community. A considerable number of them were no doubt engaged in lucrative trades and had in consequence risen in life but the great majority of them were in a depressed condition. Their children were not brought up in very happy and healthy surroundings. Consequently the rules of conduct they imbibed in their homes left much to be desired. There was thus a disinclination, which in the circumstances was not unreasonable, on the part of the parents of boys of higher castes to indiscriminately allow their children to mix with Mahar boys in schools irrespective of the position and status of the parents of such boys. For it is in the schools that the boys are to receive that tone and training which is to fix their moral character and modes of thought and habits of life. It is this very feeling which leads members of some other communities to have educational institutions for the exclusive use of their children, from which children of other communities are kept out, whatever the status of their parents may be. We have one such institution in Nagpur. But any objection founded on this consideration can have no application to Mahar boys living under the guardianship of a respectable body like the Depressed Class Mission

or whose parents are well off and live pretty nearly the same kind of life that people of higher castes adopt. There is, no doubt, also the religious objection. But it is inadmissible in the case of an institution which receives aid from public funds, to which all classes of the community contribute. I placed these considerations before the members of my committee and they endorsed my action in admitting the boys of the Mission and rejecting objections lodged by guardians of some of the boys. The way was thus made clear for other Mahar boys to come in and some more have been let in since. The students of the school themselves make no objection to mix freely with these Mahar boys in the class and in their sports. This is a healthy sign and shows that sooner or later when the new generation grows up, the present disabilities of the depresssd class will disappear of themselves, thereby making us one really compact nation with equal rights and privileges for all. I may state here in passing that the depressed classes have been given two special representatives in the new reformed Council. Political emancipation is bound to quicken the betterment of social condition.

Soon after I finished writing the above, an All-India Conference of the Depressed Classes was held at Nagpur. I attended it. It has acted as an eye-opener to me. I could never have believed until I attended this Conference that the members of the depressed classes had made such great advance or

that the humiliating social distinctions had sown the seeds of eternal disunion and discontent. I give below an extract from an account I sent to the papers giving my impressions of what I saw at the Conference:—

An All-India Conference of the Depressed Classes was held at Nagpur on the 30th of May last and the following two days. The pandal was quite unpretentious and could not be compared with the gorgeous structures where the Congress and Conferences are usually held. But what was lacking in it in external and spectacular display was more than made up by the enthusiasm of those who had come together under its roof from all parts of the Central Provinces, Berar and the Presidency of Bombay. It was packed to its fullest capacity. One note-worthy feature of the gathering was the presence of several Mahar ladies, who were given a prominent place and who seemed to follow the proceedings with much interest. The presidential speech was an earnest statement of the case for the removal of the disabilities imposed on the depressed classes by the higher castes and maintained in all their rigour in many parts of the country even in these days of progressive ideas and national development. He was followed by several speakers. Some of the speeches were quite good and for piquancy and smartness would not have suffered by comparison with what are generally heard in our Congress and Conferences. The speeches and the enthusiasm with which they were received made

one thing quite clear. The whole assembly was permeated by an intense feeling of resentment at the humiliating social restrictions to which the depressed classes have been subjected for centuries past and a firm determination to leave nothing undone to have them removed at the earliest possible opportunity. One speaker in his vehemence went so far as to say that if the higher castes would not listen to reason and treat the members of the depressed classes as their equals in every respect but continue to look upon them as unclean beings whose touch was pollution, there should be stern retaliation, the depressed classes should repay the higher castes in their own coin by treating *them* as unclean. This was loudly cheered. It is as clear as the sun in the heavens that if there is to be peace, harmony and good-will in the nation, the present state of things must disappear, for the depressed classes are certainly not going to take things lying-down any longer. One speaker made a telling point by recounting an incident within his personal knowledge. Two teachers, one belonging to the higher caste and the other to one of the depressed classes, were travelling together to attend some educational conference. They rested during noon-time under the shade of some trees near the village-well. They had their respective meals and then they needed a drink. The teacher belonging to the higher caste went down to the well by the steps leading to it and had his fill. But his companion, who was an untouchable, could not do as he did. A

dog went down to the well in their presence and had its drink, but what was allowed in the case of the dog was denied in the case of a human being because the higher classes had decreed him to be unclean. He had to wait until a good Samaritan came and gave him some water to allay his burning thirst. It was a hot summer day. The pandal resounded with the cries of "shame," "shame." A Bombay gentleman belonging to the Chamar caste made a very effective speech. He quoted passages from Mr. Tilak's *Kesari* to show the kind of treatment they were to expect from people, who, he said, while invoking against the British Government the principle of self-determination in order to embarrass it in its earnest endeavours to start India on the road to self-government by successive stages, were themselves trying their level best to keep a considerable section of their own countrymen tied to a position of eternal subjection and humiliation in order that they might maintain undiminished their own unrighteous privileges. A somewhat prominent member of the local nationalist party was present during the first day. He was, by the by, the sole representative of his class at the gathering. The editor of the local organ of the party was invited to come as also some of its other leaders but they were conspicuous by their absence. The above gentleman asked permission to speak and this was readily given. He tried to defend and justify the existing state of things by postulating that the ancestors of the present-day depressed classes had themselves to thank for

their disabilities. For they owed them to their own misdeeds. The audience promptly retorted that admitting what was said was true, where did the speaker and his friends find the moral law by which they arrogated to themselves the right to visit on the innocent descendants the sins of their fore-fathers, committed, even according to their own allegation, ages ago. The speaker also tried to throw the responsibility on Government for not promoting education for the depressed classes and thus keeping them in a backward condition, and referred in this connection to the efforts of Mr. Gokhale in this behalf. To the confusion of the speaker, the retort came like a thunder-clap that while alive this great and good son of India was denounced by the speaker's friends and leaders in unmeasured terms and persecuted for his advanced social views and now that he was to our infinite misfortune no longer among us to guide us and help us, he was to be exploited from the benefit of people who might almost be said to have hastened his sad end! In fact, although the speaker was given a patient hearing throughout his rather longish speech, every point he tried to make was received with vehement cries of "shame," "shame."

A feature of the meeting worth noticing is the appreciative terms in which the impartiality of Government in treating all classes alike was referred to. The laws of the land recognise no distinction of caste or creed and it is our own people, it was pointed out, who have introduced unfair inequalities and

imposed distressing disabilities. As an illustration, it was said, that while Government educational institutions are open to all alike, it is the classes, who have hitherto monopolised to themselves all their advantages, that raise objection to the admission into them of boys of the depressed classes, the object evidently being to perpetuate this monopoly in order that their less favoured and less advanced countrymen may be kept in perpetual social bondage. The efforts of the Christian Missionaries were also referred to in grateful terms. Sir Bepin Bose, who attended, was asked to speak and in complying he said he had not come to speak but to hear and learn. He would, however, obey the call. He aid the Conference had his fullest sympathy in its effects to secure justice and equal treatment for the depressed classes. Instead of having acrimonious discussion as to the origin of the present disabilities and their equities, the right policy, he said, was to let the dead past bury its dead and to act in the living present by combining with good-will to replace the existing irritating inequality by equal treatment of, and equal opportunities for, all. To continue any longer the present state of things was to divide the nation into twain and arrest the growth of that spirit of one-ness without which we could never attain our highest nationhood. On no principle of social morality could one part of the nation claim the right to keep down another part. Politically this policy of exclusive and unequal privilege was weakening the Hindu nation by forcing out of its fold many,

who, in order to escape from a position destructive of one's self-respect, were embracing other faiths. He added that we were fighting for the principle of self-determination being applied to us in the domain of politics. To be consistent, we should do likewise ourselves in adjusting our social relations. He continued that the reforms would soon be opening for us new opportunities for public usefulness. Let us utilise them to sweep away once for all those social and religious differences and disqualifications which were keeping us widely apart. The depressed classes were of our own flesh and blood and let us, he said, extend to them the hand of fraternal fellowship and unite with good-will and mutual trust to march onward to our goal of an united self-governing nation with equal rights and privileges for all."

OUR NEW REFORM COUNCILS.

Two years have gone by since I last wrote this memoir. It has been a time in which have crowded together events of momentous importance. The Government of India Act of 1919 came into force during this period and Councils imperial and provincial, were constituted in accordance with its provisions. This was done in the space of a singular combination of adverse circumstances. Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the well-known leader of the South African Passive Resistance movement, returned to India and entered the theatre of Indian public life. Under his inspiration and guidance, the Congress organised a furious campaign against the new reforms

and nothing was left undone to kill in the womb the new popular assemblies by subjecting to unmeasured obloquy and social persecution every candidate who stood and every voter who went to the polls as a betrayer of his motherland. With regard to our province, I think I can honestly say that these efforts were on the whole not a success, although I admit that some good men, whose presence in the Council would have advanced the public interests, were kept away. The only measure of success, if it can be called so that was attained was that in two or three constituencies men of questionable status were elected with the help of the Congress party, the object being to cover the Council with ridicule and to discredit its representative character. Our elections took place in the closing months of 1920 and the first sitting of the new Council was held on the 27th of January 1921. Sir Frank Sly, our first Governor, attended and addressed the members a few words of welcome. I give an extract from his address :—

"The youngest province of the Indian Empire, it was only in 1914 that the first Legislative Council was instituted and now I am addressing the new Reform Council constituted in every respect on the same principles as the Legislative Councils of the major provinces, with the same wide representation of the elected element and with the same powers and responsibilities. To you is entrusted the full control of the administration in the

transferred subjects, subjects of primary importance for the welfare of the people. And in the reserved subjects you have also wide powers of control. It is the intention of the Government to administer the reserved subjects in accordance with the reasonable views of the Council. Your financial powers are great. The annual budget will be placed before you and the proposals for expenditure require your sanction in the form of grants for the expenditure under each head. You are empowered to make laws for the peace and good government of the province. The future good government of the province, the welfare of the people, the advancement of their moral and material progress will thus depend largely upon your action... .....As the first Governor, I wish to assure you that it is my earnest desire to work whole-heartedly with you to bring to full fruition and success this important change in the form of Government." I was asked to join the new administration and failing that to be the President of the Legislative Council. In view of my indifferent health and the infirmities of age, I thought I would not be acting rightly if I were to accept any of these offices while not in a position to discharge the duties attaching to them in a manner worthy of their high importance. A non-official, our distinguished townsman, Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis, has been appointed President. The appointment has given general satisfaction. The Governor in his address said that Sir Gangadhar Rao had at his repeated insistence been good enough to overcome his

personal desire to abstain from taking office, a decision given out of his patriotic desire to render every help towards the success of the Reform Government. I may mention here in passing that owing to famine conditions prevailing in several parts of the Central Provinces, Sir Gangadhar Rao did not avail himself of the pay of his office during the first year. Pending the formation of the University for the Province, the member who was to represent University interests is to be nominated. The seat was offered to me and this I could not well decline, however much I felt that I would not be able to do any appreciable useful work. The Council has been at work for fourteen months and I think it inspires the hope that it will be a success. It has had to consider two Budgets and the way the Government proposals were handled on both these occasions entirely belied the charge against it by the Congress party that it would merely be an instrument to carry our the old policy of the bureaucracy. The members are fully conscious of their wide powers and are determined to use them according as *they* think will best conserve the public interests. In several matters, they placed the Government in the minority in spite of closely reasoned defensive speeches from the official benches. It is clear as anything can be that autocratic tutelage under which every thing was done for the people and little or nothing by the people themselves is now a thing of the past and both officials and non-officials fully realise that the British connection as an equal partner-

ship within the Empire founded on representative institutions and responsible government is to be the basic conception of the future government of India. That the new Reforms are a mere camouflage intended to throw dust in our eyes is a piece of gratuitous averment devoid of any foundation. The future lies with us and complete self-government within the British Empire will be ours as surely as the sun is in the heavens if only we use rightly the opportunity given us.

DEATH OF MR. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Mr. Tilak, the great nationalist leader of the Maharashtra, died somewhat suddenly on the 1st of August, 1920. It was understood that he had opposed Mr. Gandhi's Non-Co-operation resolution at the sitting of the All-India Congress Committee at Benares held in May 1920 and he was expected to lead those who did not believe that India's salvation lay in that direction, at the special Calcutta Session to take place in September next following. An open air meeting was held at Nagpur on the 9th August to give expression to the sense of loss the country had sustained by his death. The members of the moderate party were asked to join in this demonstration of grief. Whatever our political differences with Mr. Tilak, we recognised that it was our duty to respond to this call. Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis presided over the meeting. I was asked to speak and the following is a substantial reproduction of what I said:—

"I have not the strength nor the voice to make

myself heard in this vast assembly. But I realise that I would be wanting in my duty if I fail to give public expression to what I feel on this occasion. The towering personality whose loss you have gathered together here to mourn lived a life of ceaseless storm and strife. Round him clustered rolling clouds of controversies, furious and bitter, which shook the very foundations of our national life. He battled against them, fearlessly and manfully, as does a great mariner in the midst of the heaving waves of an angry sea. In the upheaval of the national mind which these conflicts and controversies evoked, in our march over the rugged path which leads to our goal, I often and often found myself ranged in the opposite camp to his. But the Angel of Death has been in our midst. In his presence, the voice of controversy is hushed. At this moment, when the whole country as with one mind is mourning the disappearance from the arena of our national public life of one of her greatest sons, I remember him who is gone as a great scholar who held aloft the cause of Aryan culture and vindicated its claim to a high place in the progress of human mind towards a higher and nobler civilization. I remember him as a prince of workers, as a selfless patriot, with whom love of his motherland was a passion, which consumed every fibre of his body and animated every action of his life, who consecrated his unrivalled intellect, his marvellous power of organisation, his indomitable perseverance, his iron will, in the service of his countrymen. For them he lived, for

them he suffered, for them he may almost be said to have laid down his life. And now "his race well run, his crown well won," he is gone to his eternal rest. In the midst of the wave of universal grief which is rolling over the country from one end to the other, irrespective of caste, creed or party, my humble tribute of respect to his memory mingles with yours and my heart's sympathy goes to you in your and the nation's heavy loss. But we may find consolation in the thought that though he is gone, the lesson of his life remains as an abiding and animating force in the new sphere of usefulness that is dawning, when it will be our duty by sober and substantial work in the arena of practical administration to establish our right for a further advance towards the goal. That lesson is best summed up in the words of our immortal Gita, whose divine teachings he did so much to expound and ellucidate—these words may be translated thus :—

"Do your duty for its own sake and never or its fruits." If popular applause and approbation come, well and good, if not, equally well and good. But do your duty, as did Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

THE NAGPUR CONGRESS, DECEMBER, 1920

At the special Session of the Congress held at Calcutta in the month of September 1920, Mr. Gandhi placed his Non-Co-operation resolution for acceptance. With the disappearance of Mr. Tilak, there was nobody in the Congress platform to dispute Mr. Gandhi's commanding position and

authority. Nonetheless, though the resolution was adopted, its adoption was not unanimous. Out of the total number of 5814 registered delegates, only 2773 actually recorded their votes. Out of this, 1885 voted for Non-Co-operation and of the remainder, 873 voted against it and the rest abstained. It was understood that the matter would be placed for final decision before the regular Session of the Congress to be held at Nagpur in December following. The members of the moderate party at Nagpur had to decide whether they should attend this Session. It appeared that besides the Non-Co-operation resolution, a motion would be brought forward to change the creed. The then existing creed recognised the attainment of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire like its self-governing members as our goal. It entirely excluded the idea of independent existence outside the Empire. And this goal was to be attained by constitutional means and by progressive improvements in our moral and material condition. The proposed creed was radically different. In the first place, maintenance of the British connection was no longer to be a part of the creed, thus letting in complete independence as within its legitimate scope. The expression "constitutional" to qualify the means and methods of attainments of self-government was also to be omitted. The situation was thus one of great gravity. The vital principles of a national organization built up by the united wisdom and labours of our great and revered

political leaders in the past were to be dug up by the roots and that at the bidding of a person who though of saintly life, was only a biginner in the study of the complex and difficult problems of the Indian political situation. He had himself once admitted that Mr. Gokhale, whom he was fond of calling his "political guru," had warned him not to speak on Indian questions as India was a foreign land to him. But within a few years of this, he had come to look upon himself as fully qualified to preach a new gospel of political faith and to impose it on his countrymen. After anxious consideration, we decided to attend the Congress. We were still its members and so long as the creed was not altered and the cult of Non-Co-operation not finally adopted, there would be no justification for us to severe our connection with it. Further, the pace at which the Congress was being driven to an unknown and undefined destiny, had alarmed the old members of the Nationalist party at Nagpur, who owed political allegiance to the late Mr. Tilak and they expressed a desire that we should join hands with them in an effort to prevent, if possible, a consummation which we agreed in believing would be fatal to our best interests. We issued a manifesto setting forth the reasons for our decision. We were under no delusion as to the extreme difficulties of our position. Nevertheless, we thought the attempt should be made before it became our mournful duty to cut ourselves adrift from an institution, which had been the beacon of our political hopes and aspirations and

to which we had been attached from the day of its foundation. We would then have done our duty. We had been repeatedly told by Mr. Gandhi's followers that this duty did not lie in sulking but in attending the Congress and placing our views before it.

Since the special session in September 1920, the country had been inflamed to a pitch of high excitement by appeals to some of the most dangerous elements in human nature. When the Congress met, the atmosphere was highly electrical. The very first day's proceedings showed the temper of the majority. They were not such as to inspire any hope of a calm and reasoned consideration of the momentous matter on whose right decision depended the future progress of the country. The noise and confusion were such that the President failed to get a hearing. As a last resource, the services of one who is known to possess a stentorian voice were requisitioned to read the speech. He was, however, careful to read only such portions as were likely to suit the temper of the majority. When he came to the part in which the unsoundness and the dangerous character of the Non-Co operation programme of the Calcutta session were fearlessly and mercilessly laid bare, he stopped, ostensibly on the ground of failure of his voice, but really, it was surmised, because his reading it would have raised a storm which it would have been beyond even the power of the virtual dictator of the Congress to control. For while it is easy to raise the whirlwind, it is not so easy to lay it. After the close of the day's sitting, the delegates met

to elect their representatives on the Subjects Committee. It is this body which really lays down the policy of the Congress. It is thus very important that all shades of opinion should be duly represented on it. It should not be filled by members representing only a section of the nation, albeit a large and assertive section. This was the convention which had grown up in the Congress. When the Moderates agreed to join the Congress, it was understood that this convention would be respected. Accordingly we attended the meeting of the delegates. The scene which confronted us baffles description. Several persons were haranguing the meeting at one and the same time in the midst of a continuous din, punctuated with shouts of defiance at all opinions not agreeable to the majority of those present. It was impossible to get a hearing at such an assembly, much less to conduct the proceedings decently and on any recognised rules of public meetings. After some order had been secured by the efforts of the local leaders of the Nationalist party, one who had borne the brunt of the responsibilities of the Congress arrangements, proposed that a fair representation should be allowed to the Moderate party. He was instantly and without the slightest hesitation met with vehement cries of "no" "no." He pleaded hard for fair play and calm deliberation; but was shouted down and his voice proved a cry in the wilderness. After this, all names proposed by him were unceremoniously rejected and only persons pledged to support through thick and thin Mr. Gandhi and his propaganda were elected. After this, I with-

drew from the Congress. The proposed new creed involving the elimination of the principle of retention of the British connection with equal rights and responsibilities with the other members of the British Empire was adopted as also practically the whole programme of Non-Co-operation, which was to paralyse and disrupt the existing "Satanic" Government, as it had been called by Mr. Gandhi. A fiery propaganda followed. Appeals to the lawyers to suspend practice miserably failed. The vast majority of them continued as busy as ever coining money by practice of their profession. Many of the most enthusiastic admirers of Mr. Gandhi were at the time to be found among the members of the great Marwari community. The bulk of the trade of the country is centred in their hands but they gave no sign of giving up their lucrative business relations with foreign firms in response to the call of the Congress. But the most dangerous and disastrous part of the programme was that which aimed at destroying our existing educational institutions without putting anything in their place. It was calculated not only to ruin the career of many a promising youth who might really have been, when properly equipped by necessary knowledge and training, "the torch-bearers on the path of freedom," to quote one of Mr. Gandhi's prominent lieutenants, but by setting children against their parents and elders, to sap the very foundation of our home-life. The most melancholy feature of this part of the agitation was that the best energies of Mr. Gandhi and his followers were directed against the great educational

institutions founded and consecrated by the strenuous labour and selfless devotion of some of our best men, like the Aligarh College and the Hindu University of Benares. The result was that thousands of our boys left their school. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee said the other day in one of his speeches before the Calcutta Senate that as many as 40,000 boys had ceased to attend school in Bengal. No figures have been collected regarding the state of things in our Province generally. In this City, the Neill City High School has shrunk to nearly a third of its normal strength. The other schools here have also been similarly affected. Throughout the Province, complaints are heard that primary schools, which are all administered by our local bodies, have lost several of their boys. The agriculturists generally have never been very enthusiastic about sending their children to school, for then they lose their services in their agricultural operations. In a great many places, pressure had to be brought to bear on them to educate their boys. Advantage has been taken of the Non-Co-operation cult to withdraw the boys from their schools.

Another dangerous outcome of the movement has been that the masses are being affected. Appeals to the thinking classes like the lawyers and the merchants having failed and the Councils having everywhere been constituted and set working despite all efforts to make them still-born, a strenuous and intensive agitation was begun among the unthinking classes of the people. The result has been what every sane person thought it would be.

the potentialities of disorder and mischief always latent among them have in several places burst out into actualities. I shall only mention what took place among us in this city. We had a rising of the mob, during the course of which private property was looted or destroyed, people were prevented by force or show of force from following their vocations and a general reign of terror was introduced for the time being. Attempt was made to set fire to the Tehsilee but fortunately it did not succeed. Force had at last to be used to put down the upheaval and there was some lamentable loss of life. It was admitted on all hands that under the direction of Sir Frank Sly, who fortunately was at the time present at Nagpur, the executive officers of Government engaged in putting down the disturbance showed the utmost coolness and self-restraint and nothing which was not absolutely necessary to restore order was done.

But there are signs that the clouds are lifting. A mere policy of negation without any constructive programme to take the place of what is destroyed can never for long retain influence in shaping the destiny of a nation. Even those few lawyers who had retired from practice are one by one resuming it. As regards boycott of foreign goods, no true Indian could fail to sympathise with and encourage by all rational means what was once a flourishing industry among us, and which was strangled by means not always fair, namely, our indigenous cotton manufactures. And so what has been called the "Khaddar Movement" deserves to be taken up and encouraged by all legiti-

mate means as a subsidiary home-industry to supplement our Mill industry. But so far as this was intended to kill foreign trade in cotton, it has been a failure. Our school boys also are now gradually coming back. They have been disillusioned. The Councils are in full operation and are proving themselves potent instruments for good. As regards the Government, it shows no sign of approaching paralysis or dissolution. The disappearance of the leader of the movement from the political arena is also having its effect in letting loose the disintegrating forces hitherto kept under control by his magnetic influence. We may now fairly hope that "Non-Co-operation" will soon become one of the forgotten vanities of life.

I have a firm faith born of past experience for nearly half a century of a somewhat crowded public life in the policy of co-operation on equal terms. I have adhered to this policy throughout and have not had any occasion to regret my having done so. It is not true that India is governed by a "Satanic" Government by the sword. It is governed by the willing co-operation between the British and the Indian. If we desire an united self-governing, orderly and peaceful India, as I doubt not we all do irrespective of party, British co-operation cannot under existing conditions be wholly dispensed with. If we dissolve the tie that binds us to the British Empire at a time when we have not learnt even the rudiments of the art of military defence, we destroy the barrier guarded by highly organised and superbly trained and equipped soldiers, both British and Indian, which

alone keeps us immune from the plundering and murdering hordes beyond the Khyber and onwards. History will then repeat itself. The hapless country will once more fall back to anarchy and become the cock-pit of warring races and opposing creeds. We are now united because of the cement of co-operation between the British and the Indian. In course of time when we have shed our religious differences, our provincial and racial jealousies, our cruel caste prejudices and social disabilities, then and then only we shall be able to stand on our own united strength. But that time is not yet. The goal can only be reached through a process of evolution. The new reforms based on good-will and co-operation will, if rightly used, give us what we all devoutly wish for, an united self-governing and self-reliant Indian people.

CONCLUSION

Although my tenure of office as a member of the new Council will not terminate for a year and a half more, with my virtual withdrawal from active participation in public affairs, this memoir necessarily comes to a close. For I have hitherto striven to live, in the surroundings amidst which I have been placed, a life of public activity and the object with which I took to recording my thoughts and impressions has been that the lessons I have learnt during the course of my experience may perchance be of some use to those who may be circumstanced as I have been. I do not pretend absolute consistency of life and opinion. But I imbibed early as a result of close thought some ideas, principles and convictions and these it has been

my earnest endeavours to embody in my acts. One who chooses to enter public life and be immersed in its vortex must be prepared to face disagreeable duties and suffer severe criticisms. A perfectly judicial mind is not always easy of attainment under such conditions. But there is one thing which is possible for every man. Whatever be the depth and energy of his convictions, he need not cease to bear a spirit of fairness towards opponents. I trust I have been able to do so and have not carried on controversy with rancour. Those wonderful and priceless teachings, which have been handed down to us as the "Bhagavad Gita" and which for centuries have brought solace and strength to many a doubtful soul and lifted it from the low level of selfish life, lay down that there are three chief paths to the attainment by man of the highest ideal of life on earth. They are, duty and work, knowledge and wisdom, and love and devotion. As regards the first, duty must be performed for its own sake and never for its fruits. Says Shri Krishna to Arjuna, "Thy business is with the action only, never with its fruits. So let not the fruits of action be thy motive, nor be thou to inaction attached." This sublime doctrine of human duty has been for Hindus an imperishable inheritance and it would be impossible to place the matter on a higher plane. To be religious thus means to draw to oneself all that is pure, just and honest. It means to be true to the faith that is in one's own mind. He who tries to apply these sublime principles to his life does not live in vain, be the result success or failure.

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