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INDIA

EDITED BY

D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph. D., F.A.S.B.

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Part II of No. 1

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
Philadelphia, September, 1929

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

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Issued bi-monthly by the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Concord, New Hampshire.

Editorial Office, 3622-24 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

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Part II of Vol. CXLV of THE ANNALS
of the
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
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THE ANNALS

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ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S. W.

FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot, 22, Paris.

GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.

ITALY: Giornale degli Economisti, Milano, Via Canova, 27.

SPAIN: E. Dossat, 9 Plaza de Santa Ana, Madrid.

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Constitutional Development and Political Ideals

By THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, P.C.; G.C.S.I.;
G.C.I.E.; D.Litt. (Calcutta)
Governor of Bengal, 1917-1922

THERE are certain basic facts which have to be borne in mind when considering the question of constitutional development in India and that of the political ideals of her peoples. These facts are the size of the area to be dealt with; the diversity—racial, linguistic, religious and cultural—of the population, and the past history and traditions, more particularly of the Hindu people. The Indian Empire, that is to say India proper with its Native States and Burma, is approximately as large as Europe, exclusive of Russia. It is, however, less than two-thirds the size of the United States of America and it is clear, therefore, that the mere extent of the area to be dealt with presents no insuperable obstacle to the gradual evolution of a democratic form of Government, if that be the type of Government, which the peoples of India eventually decide that they desire. The analogy of the United States suggests, however, that in form any such Constitution must be of the Federal type evolved in America, rather than a strict copy of what may be described as the unicellular pattern evolved in a small, compact and homogeneous territory such as Great Britain.

DIVERSITIES

It is, however, in respect of the size and heterogeneity of the population that the analogy of the United States ceases to hold good. As compared with the 105,000,000 of America proper, the population of India is approximately 320,000,000. And the diver-

sity of tongues of this vast aggregation of human beings is so great that hitherto the language employed, not only in the various Legislative bodies that have been set up, but in such popular gatherings of public men from different parts of India as the Indian National Congress, has been English. Actually 222 dialects belonging to six distinct families of speech, namely, the Austric, Dravidian, Indo-European, Karen, Man and Tibeto-Chinese, are officially recognised, though there are, of course, Indian languages such as Hindi and Urdu which are spoken and understood by very large numbers of Indians even though they be not necessarily their mother tongues.

It is not only the diversity of tongues, however, that has to be taken into account when considering the question of Constitutional development. The religious cleavages between great fragments of this polygenous and polyglot population, numbering as it does within its midst the adherents of no less than nine great religions, cannot be altogether ignored, for they have proved sufficiently powerful in the case of two of them to compel those who framed the existing Constitution, to concede to their adherents separate representation in the Legislative Councils by means of separate electorates. Thus throughout India the Muhammadan members of the Legislative bodies are elected by constituencies composed exclusively of Moslem electors; and in the Punjab a similar concession has been granted to the Sikhs.

Of equal importance from the point of view of Constitutional development

is the cultural chasm which sunders the people at one end of the social scale from those at the other. At one end are to be found primitive tribes sunk in almost unplumbed depths of barbarism and superstition; at the other the fine flower of more than two millennia of culture. And between these two extremes are to be found every phase of civilisation from the prehistoric to the ultra modern, from the stone age to the twentieth century. Nor can the influence of the Hindu caste system in emphasising the gulf between the higher and the lower orders of the people be overlooked. There has been also in comparatively recent times another force at work, adding to the already existing diversities.

One of the most striking contrasts in a land which revels in antitheses is that between the comparatively small English-educated section of the population and the great mass of the people. The former constitutes a versatile, highly polished minority which has imbibed the spirit of Europe, has been educated on Western lines, speaks an alien tongue—English—with remarkable fluency, produces great judges, great lawyers, fine scholars, eminent scientists, capable administrators and a large number of politicians. The latter is engaged mainly in agriculture and is, generally speaking, illiterate. It must not be assumed, however, that because it is illiterate, it is therefore unintelligent. In India the two terms are in no sense synonymous.

There is yet one more diversity which presents a problem of fundamental importance to anyone who tries to visualise the Constitutional organisation of the India of the future, and that is the existence, scattered widely over the sub-continent, of a large number of Native States, some great, some small, over whose internal affairs Great Britain exercises no direct

administrative control, but whose rulers are in treaty relations with the Crown. Such States in various stages of political evolution, governed for the most part autocratically and none as advanced politically as British India, cover nearly two fifths of the total area of the land and embrace not far short of one quarter of its population.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Such then are the circumstances of the peoples on whose behalf self-governing institutions of a democratic type are being demanded. How did the demand arise? Parliamentary Government, as the peoples of the West understand it, is not a product of the Eastern mind. There are ancient records, it is true—notably in the Buddhist canon—which show that corporate activity was common in India in very early days. But such corporate life seems to have been confined to comparatively small units such as Village Boards, craft guilds, and, in the case of the Buddhists and Jains, assemblies of the members of the monastic orders founded by Sidhartha Gautama and Mahavira respectively; while in the affairs of State the system of government was much more autocratic than democratic. And it is significant that when, towards the close of the eighteenth century, Japan, the most advanced of all the nations of the East, in a Western sense, decided—not under pressure from alien masters but of her own free will—to adopt a modern form of Constitution, it was neither to Great Britain nor to America that she turned for a model, but to Germany with her Executive responsible, not to a popularly elected Parliament, but to the Emperor as the supreme authority in the State.

The Indian demand for a Parliamentary form of Government is due

to her long and intimate contact with Great Britain, and to the fact that ever since the British people assumed responsibility for the Government of India they have aimed at setting up, by slow degrees, institutions modelled as closely as circumstances would permit upon their own. The process has been instinctive rather than deliberate. When, about the year 1600 A.D., a band of merchants, with a charter from Queen Elizabeth in their pockets, set out for the East Indies, they did so with the intention of carrying on a lucrative trade, not of laying the foundations of a modern State in the heart of the immemorial East. It was the break-up of the Moghul Empire and the anarchy that followed from it that compelled the East India Company to take matters into their own hands and gradually to extend their sway over the sub-continent.

EARLY PROGRESS

Little was heard of any demand for Parliamentary Government till the nineteenth century was drawing to a close. By that time the fine spun web of an elaborate system of administration had been spread over the land, controlled by a highly trained Civil Service, acting under the direct orders of the Viceroy and his Council and the Governors and Lieutenant Governors in the various Provinces. For the management of purely local affairs, small self-governing institutions such as District and Municipal Boards had been set up, consisting of limited numbers of official and non-official members, partly nominated and partly elected on a restricted franchise, with experienced officials at their heads. It was intended that these bodies should become in course of time the counterpart of the County and Borough Councils of Great Britain. Had the founda-

tions of the ancient system of village government not been so entirely submerged by the welter of anarchy which accompanied the dissolution of the Moghul Empire, the architects who drew the plans of the structure of Local Self-Government in the days of Lord Ripon might have done so on rather different lines. But they found little to guide them in the India of their day and they, not unnaturally, drew their plans on the model with which they were themselves familiar.

The institutions thus set up excited little enthusiasm in the minds of the considerable body of Indian public men which now—mainly through the agency of the Indian National Congress—began to make itself heard. A few Indians had been invited to co-operate with the Government in a Legislative capacity, both in the Provinces and at the Headquarters of the Central Government. But up to the year 1909 the Legislative Councils were merely the Executive Councils with a few representative Indian gentlemen coöpted to them for the purpose of making laws, and discussing, though not voting upon, the annual Imperial and Provincial Budgets.

Those Indians who at the beginning of the twentieth century were voicing the political aspirations of their countrymen were the product of two or more generations of English education—education framed on purely English lines, given at colleges whose curricula followed the lines of the ordinary courses given in England, and imparted whether in Bengal, or in Madras, or in Bombay, or in the Punjab, or in any other part of India, in the English language. They had imbibed the theories of British political science taught by Mill and other political writers, and they now demanded the fruit of the tree which had been planted in their soil. The

demand was, in the circumstances, a perfectly natural and logical one, though here again it is reasonable to suppose that just as the British authorities of Lord Ripon's day might have planned Local Self-Governing Institutions on an Indian, rather than on an English model, had they found one to their hand, so might the Indian National Congress have advocated the creation of a system of self-government more in consonance with Indian ideas and tradition, had it not been composed almost exclusively of men who had been brought up on a purely English plan.

THE MINTO-MORLEY CONSTITUTION

The first definite response made by Great Britain to the demand of the Indian National Congress was the enactment by the British Parliament of the Government of India Act of 1909, establishing what was known as the Minto-Morley Constitution. The outstanding feature of the Constitution of 1909 was the composition of the new Legislative Councils. They were composed partly of official and partly of non-official members appointed partly by nomination and partly by a system of indirect election. In the case of the Provincial Legislative Councils—though not in the case of the Central Legislative Council of the Governor-General—there was a majority of non-official members. Subject to the veto of the Lieutenant Governors, Governors and the Viceroy, these new bodies were given large powers of control over legislation, and they were also able to bring no little influence to bear on the Government in respect both of its policy and of its executive acts. Side by side with this enlargement of the size and powers of the Legislative Councils, a well-known Indian public man, Sir S. P. (afterwards Lord) Sinha, at one time President of the

Indian National Congress, was admitted for the first time to membership of the Council of the Governor-General, the supreme executive authority in India.

The avowed object of this scheme was to associate with the British in the task of Government, representatives of the landed aristocracy of India, of the mercantile and industrial classes, and of the middle and professional classes of moderate outlook, who, under the Constitution then existing, had no sufficient inducement to enter political life and found little scope for the exercise of their legitimate influence on the fortunes of their country. Neither Lord Morley nor Lord Minto was willing to subscribe to the view, either that Indian conditions admitted of the establishment of Parliamentary Government, or that the Constitution for which they were responsible was intended to lead up to it. Lord Morley declared with some emphasis that he would have nothing to do with any reform that would be likely to lead to the establishment in India of a Parliamentary system. Lord Minto was equally emphatic.

We have distinctly maintained,

he declared in the course of the speech with which he opened the new Imperial Legislative Council on January 25, 1910,

that representative Government in its Western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire, and would be uncongenial to the traditions of Eastern peoples—that Indian conditions do not admit of popular representation—that the safety and welfare of this country must depend on the supremacy of British Administration—and that that supremacy can, in no circumstances, be delegated to any kind of representative assembly. We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils, but not at the creation of Parliaments.

GREAT BRITAIN'S POLICY

How rapidly opinion in such matters was changing was dramatically demonstrated when in August, 1917, only seven years after these declarations had been made, the Government of Great Britain solemnly announced in the House of Commons that their policy in regard to India was

the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in that country.

And having made this momentous statement they very properly added that they had decided that substantial steps should be taken in this direction with the least possible delay.

The declaration disclosed a very marked change in point of view, not as to the goal to be aimed at, but as to the particular means by which the goal was to be approached. As to the goal, Lord Minto and Lord Morley, in 1909, equally with Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, in 1917, aimed at transferring control over the internal administration of the country by gradual stages from the hands of its British rulers to the peoples of the country themselves. In other words the ultimate aim of both was the granting of self-government to India. But, whereas, Lord Minto and Lord Morley held the view that Parliamentary Government in its Western sense was inapplicable to India, and was generally uncongenial to the sentiments and traditions of Eastern peoples, the Government of 1917 specifically laid it down that it was by the establishment of Parliamentary Government as understood in the West, that they intended that the goal should be approached.

That this was so is clear from the wording of the Declaration itself,

which laid down that the policy to be pursued was that of the gradual development of self-governing institutions, "with a view to the progressive realisation of *responsible* Government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire." To the Englishman "responsible self-government" means one thing and one thing only—Government on the English model, the fundamental feature of which is an Executive *responsible* to a popular Assembly, the members of which are in their turn *responsible* to an electorate. This view was further fortified when the comprehensive Report, embodying concrete proposals for giving effect to the policy laid down, was written. The persons charged with the task of devising a scheme in accordance with the policy decreed were Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, assisted by a small Commission, who after taking evidence in all parts of India issued a Report in which, commenting on the nature of the policy to which they had been instructed to give effect, they wrote:

The policy, so far as Western Communities are concerned, is an old and tried one. Englishmen believe in "responsible" Government as the best form of Government that they know; and now in response to requests from India they have promised to extend it to India also.

The intention, then, was clear and it remained only to devise a scheme to give effect to it. At the very start those who were entrusted with the duty of framing the new Constitution were faced with a formidable complication. Parliament in England had not merely decreed the creation of Parliaments in India, but had laid it down that the process of creation was to be a *gradual* one. There was no difficulty in creating with a stroke of the pen—on paper at any rate—electorates and

Parliaments; there seemed to be, even in theory, almost insuperable difficulties in the way of doing these things by stages. And it was out of this difficulty that emerged the unique form of Constitution which has come to be known as Dyarchy.

DIARCHY

It was decided that while an increased degree of influence over the Central Government with the Viceroy at its head, should be conferred upon Indians by the establishment of a quasi-Parliamentary body consisting of two chambers—the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Council of State—and the appointment of a second Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council, the introduction of "responsibility" should at first be confined to the Provincial Governments, corresponding roughly to the State Governments in America. Dyarchy must be studied, therefore, in the Provinces, and Bengal as one of the most advanced Provinces may be taken as an example.

The difficulty in the way of creating a homogeneous electorate must be sufficiently obvious from what has been said as to the character of the population at the beginning of this chapter, and need not be stressed further here. Suffice it to say that in Bengal, with a population of approximately 50,000,000, an electorate of rather more than 1,000,000 was created. The Hindu electors were then invited to elect 46 of their Community to represent them in the new Parliament and the Moslems to elect 39 of their co-religionists to represent them. The remaining seats in a Parliament of 139 members were filled partly by nomination and partly by election by special constituencies such as Chambers of Commerce, large landholders, the European population and so on. In this

way a Parliament was created for Bengal.

But it was when it came to making the Government gradually responsible to this Parliament that the real difficulty began. Hitherto the Government of Bengal had been responsible through the Secretary of State to the Parliament of Great Britain. In theory there was no difficulty in relieving it of its responsibility to the British Parliament, and making it instead responsible to the Parliament of Bengal. But it had been laid down quite definitely that this was to be done gradually. Could responsibility be transferred gradually, and if so, how? Was there any possible half-way house between an Executive which was wholly independent of the Bengal Parliament and an Executive which was wholly responsible to it? There seemed to be only one way in which this could be done, namely, by dividing both the field of administration and the Bengal Government into two parts, handing one part of the field to a Government consisting of Ministers chosen from the Bengal Parliament and responsible to it; and retaining the other part in the hands of a Government consisting, as before, of a Council responsible for its actions to the Secretary of State. This was, indeed, what was done, the control of Education, Public Health, Public Works, Agriculture, etc., being vested in the representative half of the Government, and the control of the Law Courts, the Police, the jails, etc., in the Executive Council of the Governor. The Government under this new Constitution thus consisted of two separate bodies held loosely together by the Governor of the Province, who was armed with tolerably wide reserve powers, to enable him to act in an emergency over the head of the Legislature.

It is impossible, in the space avail-

able, to explain in detail the checks and balances of this delicately poised machinery. A typical example must suffice. The Executive Council of the Governor—known as the Reserved half of the Government—though not responsible to the Bengal Parliament in the technical sense of the word was, nevertheless, dependent upon it for legislation affecting the subjects under its control; and in the event of Parliament refusing to pass a measure deemed by the Governor to be essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject, such a measure might, nevertheless, become law, provided it received the assent of the Governor General and, after being laid before both Houses of Parliament in Great Britain, of his Majesty in Council. Similarly, while the Budgets of both parts of the Government had to be submitted to the Bengal Parliament in the form of demands for grants which might be assented to, reduced or rejected by it, a demand in respect of a “reserved” subject, which was reduced or rejected, might be restored by the Governor.

Such in brief is the Constitution set up by the Act passed by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1919. It carries out to the letter the policy laid down by the Declaration of August 20, 1917, for it has introduced a system of responsible self-government and it has introduced it gradually. Moreover, it has done so in such a way that at any moment further portions of the field of administration may be detached from the control of the Executive Council and added to that of the Ministry responsible to the Bengal Parliament, until the whole has been so transferred when Bengal, and *pari passu* with Bengal the other Provinces of India will find themselves equipped with full responsible self-government on the English model. The Act of 1919 does,

indeed, provide for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the working of the new Constitution and to report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable “to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing.”

INDIA'S FUTURE

The Commission contemplated by the Act, with an eminent jurist, Sir John Simon, at its head, has now (1928) been appointed, and for the next year, and more, will be engaged upon its difficult and responsible task. India, therefore, stands today at the parting of the ways. Now, if ever, must she say whether she desires to see the Constitution, under which she will be governed, completed on the model provided by the Constitution of Great Britain, with such modifications as may be necessary to fit it into a Federal frame; or whether she desires to see such alterations effected in it as will bring it into greater harmony with the past practice and traditions of her peoples.

Indian opinion, so far as it has hitherto expressed itself on this point, has been far from unanimous. Leading men both Hindus and Muhammadans have advocated systems of Government for India differing in fundamental particulars from that which has been evolved through centuries of time in Great Britain. And it is at least significant that in the Native State of Mysore a Committee composed exclusively of Indians should—since the passing of the Act of 1919 for British India—have drafted a Constitution for that State which repudiates the introduction of responsible government on the lines on which it has been introduced in the Dyarchic Constitution in British India. I have given in a

volume, entitled *The Heart of Aryavarta*, a summary of the recommendations of the Mysore Committee, and have space here to mention only two of the more important features of the Constitution. One is the means by which true representation of the people is sought to be secured in the Representative Assembly. Neighbourhood is admitted to be an important bond and territorial electorates a necessary basis of representation. But the ties of common interests and common functions that bind men into groups independently of the tie of neighbourhood, that is, any profession such as medicine, or the law, acquire, in the opinion of the Committee, greater importance with the more complex evolution of society.

A citizen of a State is a citizen, not merely because he resides in a particular locality, but really by virtue of the functions he exercises and the interests he has at stake in the body politic.

The constituencies returning members to the Representative Assembly are,

therefore, vocational in addition to territorial.

The other outstanding feature to be noted is that the Executive is neither responsible to, nor removable by the Legislature, but only to and by the Head of the State. The primacy of the people is secured and the unity between them and the Head of the State made living and effective by a right of initiative and referendum vested in the Representative Assembly.

Under the terms of the Act of 1919, the Commission of Enquiry is authorised to report, if it thinks fit, to what extent it is desirable that the principle of "responsible Government" should be *modified*. And for those who view with special interest the process of social and political evolution now in progress in the East, the conclusion of supreme importance at which the Simon Commission must arrive will be, not whether a larger or smaller advance shall be made along the existing Dyarchic road, but whether the structure of the system itself shall not undergo fundamental alteration.

The Indian Constitution

By SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, 1920-23; represented Government of India at the Imperial Conference, London, 1923

IT is not intended in this survey of the administration of India to trace in detail the origin and growth of British power in India. How, and by what gradual steps, and also by certain cataclysms a company of merchants originally intended to establish trade relations between Great Britain and the East Indies, ultimately succeeded in becoming a sovereign power, is one of the most fascinating chapters in human history. The fact that matters here is that by the middle of the nineteenth century the sovereignty of India had passed into the hands of the East India Company. In 1858, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, as a result of which the East India Company disappeared from the scene and the Crown took over the direct administration of India.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The Act created the Secretary of State for India to exercise such powers and to perform such duties relating to the Government of India as were exercised or performed by the East India Company. The simplest way of understanding the position of the Secretary of State is by remembering the provisions of the section of the Act which gave him the power to

superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the Government or revenues of India.

In actual practice, he was the new "Great Moghul" in the place of the old. To the people of India he was not constitutionally responsible, his responsibility being to the British Parliament alone. Since 1919, the salary of

the Secretary of State has been placed on the British estimates, to enable Parliament to discuss Indian affairs more effectively. In actual fact, his position in Parliament continues to be as secure as ever.

With the Secretary of State was associated a council generally known as the India Council. It consists, by statute, of between eight to twelve members, each of whom must have resided in India for at least ten years and must not have left India more than five years before appointment. Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State, appointed the first Indians to the Council, in 1907. Since then, several Indians have held the office. The Act requires the Council,

under the direction of the Secretary of State, to conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India.

No business can be brought before the Council except by the Secretary of State, and though the latter cannot get certain types of business done, without the consent of the former, the India Council essentially remains a consultative body.

For years past, Indian opinion has protested against the continuance of the India Council. Whatever may have been the utility of such a council forty or fifty years ago, it is felt that in the rapidly changing circumstances of India, the presence of retired members of the Indian Civil Service, or of the Army, or of retired English businessmen, does not supply an element of progress. The Civil Serviceman, it is felt, may have been a good adminis-

trator, but his outlook on big political issues is very far removed from that of a statesman accustomed to deal with questions of policy. Barring a few exceptions, Civil Servicemen have usually believed that efficient administration was all that India wanted, so that they have seldom been known to sympathise with Indian political sentiment of ideals.

The Secretary of State is the constitutional advisor of the Crown in all Indian matters. Appointments to all the highest judicial and executive offices in India are made on his advice. The Royal prerogative of vetoing any piece of Indian legislation is also similarly exercised. He exercises a very real control over the Government of India in three different ways: (1) He exercises administrative control in a variety of ways. The Government of India are in constant touch with him and obtain his advice, opinion, assent of sanction before they take any important step affecting the country, or come to any decision on a big question of policy. (2) He exercises financial control under Section 21 of the Government of India Act and a number of rules in force. (3) He next exercises legislative control with the result that there is scarcely a piece of important legislation which is not previously reported to the Secretary of State even when his previous sanction is not sought.

EXECUTIVE RELATIONSHIP

A controversy has for long raged on the question of the relations of the Secretary of State and the Governor General of India. Whereas, Lord Morley and certain other eminent statesmen have been distinctly inclined to the view that the Governor General was really subordinate to the Secretary of State, Sir Valentine Chirol and others have strongly contested

this theory on the ground that the Governor General is the direct and personal representative of the King Emperor in India. Leaving aside the political aspect of the question, and confining oneself to the strictly constitutional point of view, it is somewhat difficult to challenge the position of Lord Morley. No doubt the Governor General is also the Viceroy, and the two positions are absolutely distinct. But in his administrative capacity he is only the Governor General. Indeed, the statute nowhere speaks of him as Viceroy, and the fact of his being the Viceroy does not make him any the less amenable, as Governor General, to the control of the Secretary of State. Under section 33, he is required to pay due obedience to all orders of the Secretary of State, whose control, in practice, is at once open and insidious, visible and invisible. There is also a vast amount of private and personal correspondence of which no record is kept, and which is not ordinarily available to the members of the Governor General's Council or of the India Council, which is carried on between the Secretary of State and the Governor General. The Commission on Mesopotamia condemned this practice as being unwarranted by statute. It would thus appear that the relations of the Secretary of State and the Governor General are of special confidence which is not shared by the members of the India Council or the Governor General's Council.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

The expression, the Government of India, really means the Governor General in Council. The number of members of the Council is not prescribed by statute, but it is prescribed that

three at least of them must be persons who have been for at least ten years in the serv-

ice of the Crown in India, and one must be a barrister from England or Ireland or a member of the Faculty of Advocates from Scotland or a pleader of a High Court of not less than ten years standing.

The Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, of His Majesty's forces in India, is a member of the Governor General's Council, and has rank and precedence after the Governor General. If there is a difference of opinion on any question at a meeting of the Governor General's Executive Council, the Governor General is bound by the decision of the majority of those present, having the right to give a casting vote in case of a tie. In respect of a measure affecting the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or any part of it, the Governor General may override the decision of his Council, and on his own responsibility and authority, adopt, suspend or reject the measure in whole or in part. In exceptional circumstances the Governor General may exercise all the powers of the Governor General in Council. Ordinarily the Governor General in Council cannot enter into a war or make a treaty without the express order of the Secretary of State in Council. However, if hostilities have already commenced against the British Government in India, or against an Indian State, he can do so.

The Governor General in Council, representing the Central Executive, functions subject to the control of the Secretary of State, and is ultimately answerable to Parliament. It is not responsible to the Indian Legislature, which cannot, therefore, remove it or replace it by another. Morally it may respond to the recommendations of the Legislature, but constitutionally it is not incumbent upon it to do so.

The Government of India is divided into a certain number of departments, each being in the charge of a member.

The Foreign and Political departments are under the direct charge of the Governor General. There is a secretary attached to each department, and a certain number of Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries. The departments at present are: (1) Home, dealing mainly with law, order and justice, and the Indian Civil Services; (2) Finance; (3) Commerce, Railways and Ecclesiastical; (4) Industries and Labour; (5) Education, Health and Land; (6) Law. The Law Department is not an originating department. It generally advises the Government of India on constitutional matters. Ordinarily, every member in charge of a department disposes of such questions as come before him. If it is a question involving a matter of policy, he refers it to the Governor General, who may order the case to be circulated and subsequently discussed by the Executive Council. The secretary attached to a department is a secretary to the Government of India and not to the Member for the department, and may take over a matter directly to the Governor General if he dissents from the Member for that department. In such cases, ordinarily the Governor General decides the case, unless he considers it sufficiently important to make it a "Council Case."

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

The Central Legislature of India, created by an Act of Parliament in 1919, consists of a Lower Chamber called the Legislative Assembly, and an Upper Chamber called the Council of State. Each Province has a certain number of seats reserved to itself, the seats being then distributed over the constituencies in the Province.

The Legislative Assembly is not wholly elected. The present composition of the elected portion of the Assembly comprises 49 representatives

elected by the Non-Muhammadans, 30 by Muhammadans, 8 by Landholders, 9 by Europeans, 4 by Chambers of Commerce, 2 by Sikhs, and 2 are generally elected. The total of these elected members comes to 104. There are 14 more who are nominated to represent special interests. In addition there are 26 official members, that is, the members of the Governor General's Executive Council, the representatives of each one of the Provincial Governments, and so on. Thus the total strength of the Assembly comes to 144. The position of the Council of State is worse from a constitutional point of view. It consists of 60 members in all, of whom 33 are elected by general constituencies spread all over the country, and 27 are nominated by Government, of whom 20 are officials and 7, non-officials. The composition and colour of the Council of State is such that the Government are almost always certain of a majority.

It is misleading to talk of the Legislative Assembly as India's Parliament. It is neither wholly representative, nor has it unrestricted powers of legislation like the Dominion Parliaments. The more important of these restrictions may be noticed here. Section 65 of the Government of India Act, 1919, defines the powers of the Indian Legislature. Generally speaking, it legislates "for all persons, for all courts and for all places and things within British India." But it cannot make any law affecting or repealing any Act of Parliament extending to India, passed after 1860, nor any Act of Parliament enabling the Secretary of State to raise money for India in the United Kingdom. Further, it cannot pass an Act affecting the authority of Parliament, or any part of the unwritten laws of England, whereon may depend the allegiance of any person to the British Crown, or affecting the sov-

ereignty of the Crown, over any part of British India. Similarly, no measure can be introduced in the Assembly without the previous sanction of the Governor General if it affects the public debt or revenues of India, or the religion or religious rights of any community, or the discipline or maintenance of His Majesty's military forces, or the relations of the Government with foreign princes or states, and certain other matters. The Governor General, as distinct from the Governor General in Council, can direct, at any stage in the passage of a bill, that no further proceedings shall be taken in regard to the bill, if he certifies that it affects the safety of tranquillity of British India.

The Legislative Assembly cannot vote upon, and, unless the Governor General permits, cannot even discuss the parts of the budget providing for interest and sinking fund charges on loans, or for the salaries and pensions of persons appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, or for expenditure classified as political or defence. The other parts of the budget are votable by the Assembly, but even in their case the Governor General in Council can restore a grant thrown out by the Assembly, if he considers it essential for the discharge of his responsibilities to do so. The Governor General has the additional power to authorize such expenditure as he feels is necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part of it. After a bill is passed by both the chambers of the Indian Legislature, the Governor General can return it to either House for reconsideration. He can also refer it to a joint sitting of the two Houses. The Governor General has, in the last resort, the right of veto, which, even after his assent is given, can be exercised by the Crown as a Royal prerogative.

The most serious limitation, how-

ever, is one by which the Governor General can certify that the passage of a bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India, whereupon it becomes law even without being passed by either House of Legislature. The most notable instance of its use was the certification of the bill to double the salt tax in 1923. This power of certification has deepened the sense of conflict between the Executive and the Legislature, and has made the latter anything but an independent body. The power seriously impedes the growth of a sense of responsibility in the Legislature. To do away with it would mean converting an irresponsible Executive into a responsible one, which is the gist of the whole political struggle in India at present. Lastly, the Governor General can make and promulgate ordinances for the good government of British India, which have all the force of an Act passed by the Indian Legislature. Such ordinances are enforceable for not more than a period of six months.

REPRESENTATION AND FRANCHISE

One feature of popular representation in the Central, as also the Provincial Legislatures in India, is that the electorates are not wholly territorial. A certain number of seats in the Legislatures are held by Muhommedan members who are returned exclusively by separate Muhommedan electorates. Similarly, some seats are occupied by members who are returned exclusively by Landholders or Zamindars, or European, or Indian Chambers of Commerce.

These communal and special electorates are severely criticised by Hindu nationalists as being wrong in principle. In their opinion, they have retarded the growth of territorial patriotism, and intensified the communal consciousness in the people.

On the other hand, the Muhommedans, who form the most important minority community in India, have hitherto greatly cherished these separate electorates, and together with others who have enjoyed the privilege, are reluctant to forego it. One hopeful feature of the present situation, however, is that an appreciable body of opinion among the minorities is now favouring joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities. The protection of the submerged classes also has to be looked to. Without providing them perfect equality in civil matters and equal opportunities for education and general uplift, an attempt at evolving a stable constitution for India cannot be successful. The present system of Government nomination of members of these classes to represent their interests is considered at best very inefficient, and at worst it encourages such representatives to indulge in indiscriminate attack on even that section of the elected members which is in complete sympathy with their demands for social uplift and education.

The extension of the franchise in India has been a development of very cautious and slow growth. Down to 1919, the primary voter used to be represented in the Indian Legislatures by a very circuitous form of indirect representation. The Act of 1919, however, entirely swept away that system. The general franchise qualifications for the Legislative Assembly since then have been based on: (1) community, (2) residence, and (3) ownership of property of a certain value or above, usually calculated by the payment of land revenue, or income tax, or municipal taxes. Women, unless enfranchised by the Legislature concerned, have no vote. The Legislative Assembly, and the Bombay and the Madras Legislatures have accord-

ingly enfranchised women. The franchise for the Council of State and the Provincial Councils is based on similar qualifications, excepting that for the former the property qualification is much higher, and for the latter, lower, than for the Legislative Assembly. At present, 7,400,000 persons out of a total of 247,000,000 persons have got the franchise.

The number of enfranchised people is thus infinitesimally small, having regard to the population of India. The official argument against broadening the franchise is that the electorate is not properly educated and, therefore, would be at the mercy of the wirepuller. This argument is only a half truth and, therefore, all the more misleading. The Indian elector may not be competent to exercise judgment on questions of high policy, but so far as ordinary local matters are concerned the ordinary Indian villager possesses sufficient amount of intelligence to understand his good. The Indian reformers feel that the process of educating the electorate will be accelerated by freer opportunities given to the masses for the exercise of their political rights and duties, simultaneously with the adoption of an intensive and extensive program of primary and adult education. Such progress as has been made in the matter of primary education has been due to the interest taken in that cause by the much maligned middle classes who met with no inconsiderable opposition from the Government on various pretexts. It would be relevant to draw attention here to the condition of the electorate in England at the time of the Reforms Act of 1832:

Most of the English boroughs were either sold by their patrons, or by themselves, to the highest bidder. In 1793, when the members of the House of Commons numbered 558, no fewer than 354 were nominally returned by less than 15,000 voters, but in

reality, on the nomination of Government and 197 private patrons. (Taswell Langmead's *Constitutional History of England*.) Indian nationalists naturally conclude that it is neither necessary for India to wait for electoral reform till all the masses are properly educated.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

The constitution of the Provincial Governments may now be briefly discussed. India is divided into nine major Provinces, the type of government being everywhere the same. At the head of the Executive Government of every Province is a governor. The only permanent Indian Governor till now appointed, has been the late Lord Sinha. The functions of government in the Provinces are divided into two halves, called the "Reserved" and the "Transferred." This division, effected in 1919, is generally known as Dyarchy. Its underlying principle, first accepted by Mr. Montagu, was to give Indians a chance to acquire knowledge of practical administration in certain subjects, which were, therefore, to be placed under their control. The remaining departments were to be reserved to the official half and administered by the Executive Council. Constitutionally, the essential difference between the two classes of subjects is that the Transferred subjects are administered by Ministers appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures, the Ministers being responsible to it, while the Reserved subjects are administered by the members of the Executive Council who are appointed by the Crown and who owe no responsibility to the Legislatures. In practice, there is a considerable amount of influence exercised over the Ministers, by the Governor, in accordance with rules framed under the Act, and also because of his position as

Governor. The Act also intended that the Ministers should be given a chance to influence the opinion of the Executive Council—of which they are not members—while in practice the tendency has been to keep the two halves of Government apart. Dyarchy at first shocked both the political theorist and official opinion in India, though latterly there has come about a change in the official view of it. Indian politicians were sharply divided on the issue at the start, and a large section of them refused to have anything to do with the reforms as being unsatisfactory and insufficient. The Liberals, though dissatisfied with the Reforms, were prepared to work them. Both, however, are agreed now that Dyarchy is unworkable. It does not give a free scope to Indian talent, and is a fruitful source of friction inside the Government. It also makes it impossible to organise political parties on sound lines. The present demand in the Provinces is for the control of the Legislatures over all the subjects of administration, thus making the Executive removable by, and responsible to, the Legislatures.

The number of Members of a Governor's Executive Council varies from two to four from Province to Province, half of them being usually English members of the Indian Civil Service, and half Indians taken from non-official life. The principal subjects administered by the Reserved departments are the assessment, collection and administration of land revenue, laws regarding land tenures, land improvement and agricultural loans, famine relief, law, order and justice, mines, industrial matters, waterways, and sources of Provincial Revenue. The Transferred half, administered by the Governor acting with the Ministers, mainly includes Local Self-Government, that is, matters relating to

municipalities, improvement trusts, district boards, etc., medical administration, public health, sanitation and vital statistics, education excepting European and Anglo-Indian education, public works with certain reservations, agriculture including research institutes, fisheries, coöperative societies, excise, religious and charitable endowments, and the development of industries, including industrial research and technical education.

According to constitutional practice the Ministers ought to be collectively responsible to the Legislature. But actually, this is not so, since often they are not chosen from the same party. Further, it is not always that the Ministers represent the majority party in the Council. Their life is often prolonged by the support of the official bloc, which fact also tends to destroy the cordial and helpful relations between Ministers and their Councils.

The secretariat in the Provinces is, on a smaller scale, the imitation of that in the Central Government. It will be relevant to note at this stage that the subjects of administration in India, as a whole, are divided into Central and Provincial, those of an all India character being assigned to the Government of India, and those of a Provincial character to the Provinces. Rules framed under Section 45A of the *Government of India Act*, technically known as the *Devolution Rules*, define the limits within which the Government of India may interfere with the administration of the Transferred subjects in the Provinces, the financial relations between the Central and the Provincial Governments, and the limits of the financial autonomy of the Provinces. They also provide for the allocation of revenues between the Central and the Provincial Governments, the temporary administration

of Transferred subjects in case of emergency, and so on.

The unit of administration in every Province is the District, divided into a number of subdivisions. The head of a district is generally called a Collector. He combines in himself judicial and executive powers; he is the head of the magistracy and the police; he is responsible for the collection of land revenue, for the maintenance of peace and order, and general supervision. Until recent years, he was the ex-officio president of the municipalities in urban areas, and of the district boards in the rural areas. In rent and revenue matters appeal lies against the judgment of the district officers to Commissioners and then to the High Courts. Above the Collector comes the Commissioner over a group of districts, and above the Commissioner comes the Board of Revenue. Indian opinion has always condemned the combination of judicial and executive functions in the District Collector, though the system still continues.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

The Provincial Legislatures are, on a less grandiose scale, a copy of the Legislative Assembly. The important difference between them is that unlike the Central Legislature, they are unicameral. Their normal term, too, like the Legislative Assembly, is three years and they also have elected presidents. Then, they have an elected majority, as also the official and the nominated blocs. Their powers of legislation are limited in exactly the same manner as those of the Assembly, with the Governor in the place of the Governor General. Their legislative functions are naturally restricted to the subjects assigned to them by the Devolution Rules. A bill passed by a Provincial Council has usually to get the Governor General's assent also, after the Governor gives his. The Legislative Coun-

cils have the right to move non-binding resolutions, and the right of putting questions, just like the Assembly.

In regard to the Reserved subjects the powers of the Legislatures are much narrower than in the case of the Transferred subjects, and even taking the Provincial Legislatures as a whole, they cannot be described as independent bodies acting free from outside control. The Indian Constitution has no resemblance to well-recognised models of federal constitutions. Power is centralised in the Government of India, which again is subject to the superintendence, direction and control, of the Secretary of State. What powers are enjoyed by the Provincial Legislatures are more in the nature of a devolution from the top than anything else.

THE JUDICIARY

India does not possess a Supreme Court for the whole country. There are, however, High Courts functioning in most of the big Provinces, the total number in India being seven. Each High Court consists of a Chief Justice who is a member of the English bar, and a certain number of judges. Of the seven Chief Justices, only one, namely, Sir Shadi Lal, of Lahore, is an Indian. At least one third of the judges of each High Court have statutorily to be recruited from the Indian Civil Service. All judges of the High Courts are appointed by the King, and hold office during His Majesty's pleasure and not during good behaviour as in England. Chief Justices and other judges of the High Courts are paid salaries of Rs 5,000 and Rs 4,000, per mensem, respectively.

Ordinarily the High Courts exercise civil, criminal, probate and testamentary, and matrimonial jurisdiction. The maritime Provinces exercise admiralty jurisdiction also. The High Courts have appellate and revisional

jurisdiction both in civil and criminal matters over subordinate courts. Most of the law in India has been codified, and India possesses exhaustive codes on nearly every branch of civil and criminal law, both substantive and adjective. In the absence of any positive rule of law on any subject, courts are required to follow the rule of equity, justice, and good conscience. Indian lawyers have been appointed judges of High Courts from the earliest times of British rule in India, and their great ability and scholarship, judicial independence and integrity, have been acknowledged on all hands. India has also produced powerful and independent advocates and erudite lawyers. The contribution of some to legal literature has acquired more than Indian fame.

With certain reservations regarding the pecuniary value of the suit, and the nature of the question involved, appeal lies on the civil side, from the High Courts to the Privy Council. The Privy Council is not a court of criminal appeal, but at times it has interfered with criminal cases also.

The trial in civil suits takes place without the aid of a jury, but in certain criminal cases such aid is taken. Till very recently, there existed a very marked racial distinction in criminal procedure between Indians and Europeans, though now it has been modified.

THE PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE AIMS

The existing constitution of India is still very far removed from anything like responsible government or Dominion Status. Thus, though administratively the control of the Secretary of State has been relaxed in certain matters, even now, in theory, and largely in fact, the Government of India is still in the leading strings of the Secretary of State. What the next step of advance

will be, it is difficult to say. The Simon Commission, which has been appointed to investigate and report on the present situation, consists wholly of British members of Parliament. The exclusion of Indians from it has evoked a storm of criticism all over India, and a considerable section of politicians have decided to hold aloof from the Commission altogether.

Public opinion in India has, at times, loosely spoken of Provincial autonomy as the next possible step in India's political advance. During the last one year, however, opinion has been taking a different shape. The All Parties Conference held in Bombay in May last appointed a committee to frame a draft constitution for India. The report of this committee has been, generally speaking, very well received in India, though not in England. It recommends the establishment of full responsible government as the next immediate step in the political evolution of India, and has adopted the Dominion model, with large residuary power vested in the Central Government. Further, it lays down certain fundamental rights of the people, such as their equality before the law, the possession of equal civic rights by men and women, freedom of conscience and religious practices, the right to elementary education, freedom of association, combination and speech, and so on. It also provides for adult suffrage, particularly because, in its opinion, it affords the best solution of the communal difficulty in India. Side by side with these provisions, there are provisions for the protection of minorities also. This report may be said to mark a definite milestone in Indian politics, and the beginning of a new struggle against forces of conservatism in India and in England, which in the name of statesmanship are bound to resist the demand for the transfer of

political control and power from the people of England to the people of India. The future is uncertain, but Indian nationalism is gaining strength every day. It has acquired a new consciousness and a new self-respect. It is alive to the difficulties that lie ahead, but hopes to face them in a spirit of hope, confidence, and courage.

The Army and Navy in India

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY Aiyar, K.C.S.I.; C.I.E.

Member of the Executive Council, Madras, 1912-17; Advocate-General, 1908-12; President, Recruitment Committee for India Defence Force, 1917

THE subject upon which I have been asked to contribute to the pages of this journal is a very large one to which it is not possible to do even the barest justice within the limits usually allowed to an article. The subject may be dealt with from various points of view. I do not propose to deal with it from the professional and technical points of view, not merely because as a civilian and an outsider I do not feel competent to deal with these aspects, but also for the reason that these aspects are not likely to be of interest to the general public. I will therefore content myself with dealing with the general aspects only of the subject which are likely to appeal to the ordinary reader.

The army of India in the broad sense of the term includes not merely the regular and professional army of British India but the Non-Regular Forces, consisting of an Indian Auxiliary Force, the Indian Territorial Force, the Indian Army Reserve of British India, and also, the Indian State Forces, which are maintained by the various Indian States and placed at the disposal of the Government of India in time of need. The most important portion of the defensive forces in India is that which may be called the Regular Army of British India. This army again consists partly of British troops and partly of Indian troops.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE REGULAR ARMY

The beginnings of the Regular Army of India may be traced back to the year 1662 when a detachment of King's

troops was sent to garrison the island of Bombay. When the island was transferred to the East India Company, the control over the garrison also passed to the Company. After the renewal of the charter of the East India Company in 1798, the three presidencies were formed and each had an army of its own. The army then consisted of Europeans recruited from England or locally enlisted, of half-caste Goanese and of Indian sepoy.

It was in 1848 that the Company made the first appointment of Commander-in-Chief of its forces in India and it was in the same year that, following the example set by the French, the Company raised a small body of sepoy in Madras for the defence of its settlement here. It is not necessary to refer to the course of events which obliged the Company gradually to expand its army side by side with the growth of its territorial acquisitions; nor is it necessary to refer to the numerous changes in the organisation of the Company's army. Till the year 1857 the Indian troops which were organised in companies were under the command of their own Indian officers. When the introduction of a British element in the Indian units was resolved upon by Clive, he decided to retain the Indian command and a higher proportion of Indians to British officers. When the army was reorganised in 1796, the proportion of British officers assigned to the Indian Infantry Battalions was greatly raised and the number of British officers was fixed at 22 per infantry battalion. The power and status of the Indian officers, which had already

been affected by the changes introduced by Clive, were still further reduced by the later reorganisation.

REORGANISATION

The European troops in British India consisted partly of the King's troops and partly of the Company's troops. After the mutiny of 1857, steps were taken to reorganise the army and in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Peel Commission, the distinction between the Royal troops and the Company's European troops was abolished as the result of an amalgamation between the two.

The recommendations of the Peel Commission were of a momentous character and laid down several principles which have to this day continued to influence the organisation of the Indian Army and the military policy of the British Government. Before the mutiny, the greater part of the artillery in India was manned by Indian soldiers. After the mutiny, the total strength of the European troops was largely increased and that of the Indian army largely diminished. It was decided that the ratio of Indian to British troops should never greatly exceed two to one and that the field and other artillery should be exclusively or almost exclusively manned by Europeans. They considered the military police to be an element of future danger and would not therefore give them a stricter military training than was required for the maintenance of discipline. The commission further recommended that the Indian section of the army should be composed of different nationalities and castes which should, as a general rule, be mixed promiscuously in each regiment; that Europeans alone should, as far as possible, be employed in the scientific branch of the services and that a Corps

of Pioneers should be formed for the purpose of relieving European Sappers from duties entailing exposure to the climate.

In pursuance of the policy of amalgamation of the European troops of the Company with those of the Crown, the system of linked Battalions was introduced by the Cardwell scheme of 1872. The problem of providing European troops for British India and the colonies, besides the British Army serving at home, was attempted to be solved by this arrangement. The Infantry Regiments of the line were linked together in pairs. Out of each pair of battalions, one was to serve at home and be responsible for supplying men to the other battalions serving abroad. Prior to the mutiny, the total strength of the military establishment in India was 2,77,746 of which 24,363 was the strength of the Royal troops.

Another important commission under the presidency of Sir Ashley Eden was appointed in 1879 for the purpose of exploring the avenues for retrenchment of military expenditure and suggesting measures for improving the efficiency of the army for war. The strength of the three presidency armies in 1879 was 2,00,000 consisting of 65,000 British troops and 1,35,000 Indian troops. The most important recommendations of the commission were the abolition of the presidential system and the placing of all the armies under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief in India, the linking together of Indian Infantry regiments in groups of two or three battalions, the addition of British officers to Indian Cavalry and Infantry regiments and the reduction of the strength of the Indian section of the army.

PURPOSES FOR MAINTENANCE

The purposes for which the army of India was maintained were defined to

be (1) preventing or repelling invasions actual or threatened from foreign countries, (2) the prevention and suppression of rebellion within British India or its feudatory states and (3) watching and overawing the armies of feudatory Indian states. They pointed out also that the duty of preserving order and of protecting property and quelling disturbances was the primary function of the civil police employed by the civil government. They emphasized the importance of keeping the strength of the forces maintained by the Indian feudatory states within the limits prescribed by the treaties and of not allowing them to be equipped with improved modern armament. Arms of precision were not to be supplied to the troops of Indian States and the British Government should take no steps to employ the contingents of different states together.

As regards the position of the Commander-in-Chief, the commission were in favour of removing him from the Executive Council. Apart from the inability of the Commander-in-Chief to maintain continuous personal contact with the whole army and being in his place in the Executive Council at the same time, the commission pointed out that the existing system was unprecedented in the organisation of any European Government or army and that it was contrary to one of the most essential and salutary principles of sound administration and to the common instinct and experience of all administrations whether representative or despotic. The commission accordingly recommended that the relative positions of the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief should be the same as those of the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief in England. The separate existence of the presidential armies came to an

end in 1895 and they were all brought under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief. The reorganisation of the army with a view to the improvement of its efficiency has been engaging the attention of the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India almost continuously since the appointment of Lord Kitchener as Commander-in-Chief in 1902.

POST-WAR CHANGES

In 1912, a committee was appointed under the presidency of Lord Nicholson to consider and report on the numbers and constitution of the army required to meet the military obligations of India. Before the recommendations of this committee could be carried out, the great war broke out and the various defects of organisation which were brought to light by the experience of the war led to the appointment of a committee in 1919 under the presidency of Lord Esher. This committee was asked to report upon the organisation of the army in India, including its relations with the War Office and the India Office and relations of the two offices to one another, upon the position of the Commander-in-Chief in his dual capacity as head of the army and member of the Executive Council, and upon other relevant matters. This committee made many important recommendations and the task of reorganisation was vigorously taken in hand by Lord Rawlinson who was appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1920. Various important changes have since been made in the organisation of the army. The enormous growth of military expenditure involved in the very extensive proposals for reorganisation and reëquipment and the embarrassed condition of Indian finances, led to the appointment of a retrenchment committee, under Lord Inchcape, which recommended con-

siderable reductions in expenditure. At the same time, the committee expressed the opinion that no vital service of the army should be unduly weakened and that it should retain the essential features of the organisation of a modern army and a capacity for expansion in war.

The strength of the army at the present time according to the estimates for the year 1928-29, is for India proper and Burma 231,511 of which 68,000 odd may be roughly taken as representing the strength of the British officers and other ranks and 163,000 as representing the strength of the Indian officers with Viceroy's commissions and other ranks. The total strength of the Fighting Units alone, British and Indian, is 197,000 odd, and the remainder is distributed among the staff of the Ancillary Services, including the Training establishments, Educational establishments, Army Service Corps, Army Ordnance Corps, Medical Service, Veterinary Service, Remount Service, various miscellaneous establishments and the Air Force establishment. The strength of the Reserve sanctioned for the new financial year is 35,750. Of the total number of officers holding King's commissions, that is, 6,998 in the Indian army, the number of Indians holding such commissions on the first of April 1928, will be only 84. The budget estimate of the total of the military expenditure for the new year is Rs. 55,10,00,000 which amounts at the official rate of exchange to 41,000,000 pounds sterling while the total estimated revenue for the next financial year is 97,000,000 pounds odd. The military expenditure of the country is, therefore, a little over 42 per cent of the whole of the central revenues of the country.

FUNCTIONS IN WAR

With reference to the functions of the army in war, it has been divided

into three classes: the covering troops, the field army and the internal security troops. The covering troops are stationed on the North-West Frontier of India and are intended to bear the brunt of the first attack of a hostile force and to secure sufficient time for mobilisation of the troops behind. The field army is the striking force in any major war and is intended to deal primarily with external danger. The Internal Security Troops are primarily intended to deal with internal disorder and maintain the internal security of the country. While, in time of external peace, the field army may be utilized to assist in the maintenance of internal order, it should be released in time of war to carry out its duties in the field without being disturbed by any calls to assist in the preservation of internal order.

One curious feature of the arrangements for these three purposes is that while in the covering forces the ratio of British to Indian troops is one to 6.7 and in the Field army the proportion between the British and the Indian soldiers is one to 2.7, the ratio is very much higher in the internal security troops, the proportion of the British troops to the Indian troops being 1.24 to one. This feature calls for an explanation. The fact that in the Striking forces the British element bears only a proportion of one to 2.7 of the Indian element is explained by a reference to experience in war as to the most efficient proportion of combination. Making allowance for the fact that the British portion of the Internal Security Troops may have to serve the purpose of making good the wastage in the British section of the Field Army during war before further recruits can arrive from England, there can be no doubt that the proportion of the British element in the Internal Security Troops is excessively high and it can only be

ascribed to a policy of distrust of the people.

The control of the army under the Commander-in-Chief has been divided into four commands, the object being to restrict the areas of command for the purpose of securing effective administration. The enormous distances in India and the defects of communications in the interior are among the reasons which have led to the increase in the number of commands to four. Various other considerations are said to be responsible for the arrangement but it is needless to enter into them.

MILITARY POLICY

It has been already pointed out that the policy of distrust, which inspired the recommendations of the Peel Commission in 1859, has continued to inspire the military policy in India down to the present moment. It is part of this policy that Indians should be carefully excluded from the Artillery and all branches of the military service requiring any scientific knowledge. It is part of this policy that Indians should not receive any training which could develop initiative and capacity for leadership. In pursuance of this policy, Indians have till recently been practically excluded from the ranks of King's commissioned officers. It is part of this policy that Indians have been practically excluded hitherto from the Air Force, the Tank Corps, the Indian Signal Corps, the Royal Engineers and the Royal Artillery. Indians are now employed as drivers and artificers in the Royal Horse and Field Artillery and in Medium Batteries and as gunners, drivers and artificers in the Pack Artillery. In the Frontier Garrison Artillery, they are employed as gunners and artificers and in the Indian Coast Artillery as gunners only.

In consequence of the services of the Indian Army during the war, a few

King's Commissions have been granted to Indians since the year 1918. The number of commissions granted every year is ten and they have been confined only to the Cavalry and the Infantry. There are no Indian officers holding King's Commissions in the Head Quarters, in the staff of Commands or in the Ancillary Services, such as Supply and Transport, Veterinary Services, Ordnance, Remounts, Military training and Educational services. It may be mentioned here that there is an inferior class of commissions known as Viceroy's commissions granted to men in the ranks. The highest office under a Viceroy's commission is that of a Subedar-Major or a Risaldar-Major. But these officers, however long their standing, and however meritorious their services, can take rank only below the latest subaltern holding a King's commission.

It was the same policy of distrust that led to the exclusion of Indians from the Volunteer Corps until the exigencies of war suggested the formation of a Territorial Force. This policy of distrust was not confined to the people but to all classes of the Indian Army and the Police and the States. It rested upon the belief that the British rule in India can only be maintained by the sword and by inculcating in the Indian's mind the idea of his permanent racial inferiority to the British soldier and the invincibility of the white races. Various circumstances have occurred to produce a change in the outlook of the Indian and the Englishman alike. The defeat of Russia by Japan, the achievements of the Indian Army in the great war, the growth of a national consciousness among Indians, the declaration of the 20th of August, 1917, by the British Parliament and the discovery of the value of India as a reservoir of military strength have brought about a slight

change in the angle of vision of the British Government. It cannot be said, however, that the change has been considerable or has gone very deep or that the feeling of distrust of the people has disappeared from the British mind.

EFFORTS FOR INDIANISATION

The disabilities under which Indians labour in the army of their own country and their natural aspiration to make their country self-contained in the matter of defence have found repeated expression in and outside the legislatures. When Indians ask for responsible government, they are told that they cannot expect full responsible government until they can defend themselves and when they ask that they should be trained for undertaking the defence of the country, they are denied adequate facilities for the purpose. The whole question was dealt with in a series of resolutions in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1921, the very first year it came into existence, and though the resolutions were passed with the concurrence of the Government of India, no serious attempt has been made to give effect to any of them.

One of these resolutions pressed for the establishment of a military college in India corresponding to Sandhurst, at which Indians should be trained for all branches of the army. Another resolution recommended that the King Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of the military, naval and air forces in India, the Ancillary Services and the Auxiliary Forces, that every encouragement should be given to Indians, including the educated middle classes, subject to prescribed standards of fitness, to enter the commissioned ranks of the army. Another resolution urged the organisation of an adequate Territorial

Force on attractive conditions and the abolition of all invidious distinctions between the Territorial Force to which Indians were admitted and the Auxiliary Force to which Europeans and Eurasians were admitted. It would take too much space to reproduce all the resolutions which were passed on this occasion which summed up the demand of Indians for the Indianisation of the army on lines which recommended themselves to the Government of India as then constituted, and to the Commander-in-Chief.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

A committee was subsequently appointed in 1924 under the presidency of the Adjutant-General, Sir John Shea, to consider the problems connected with the Indian Territorial Force and Auxiliary Forces, and another committee was appointed under the presidency of the Chief of the General Staff, Sir Andrew Skeen, to consider the feasibility of establishing a military college like Sandhurst in India. Both these committees submitted unanimous reports. The recommendations of the Territorial Forces Committee have been substantially accepted in theory, but there is no sign of any intention of giving effect to these resolutions.

The most important recommendations made by this committee were that the University Training Corps should be expanded to the fullest possible limits and that Urban Battalions should be created for the purpose of giving military training to educated Indians on the same conditions as those under which it is given in the Auxiliary Force to Europeans and Eurasians. The existing strength of the University Training Corps and the Territorial Forces is 19,000 odd. The maximum strength of these two forces for which provision is made in the military budget for 1928-29 is only 20,000 and

the margin for increase is less than a thousand. Though there is no room for any doubt that the University Training Corps can be easily doubled and a few complete Urban Battalions can be raised, it is impossible to do so owing to the limitation of the maximum strength to 20,000. On the other hand, the provision made for the Auxiliary Forces contemplates a strength of 36,000 odd of all ranks and an expenditure of Rs. 61,00,000 odd. If there was any bona fide intention of giving effect to the recommendations of the Territorial Forces Committee, provision should have been made for a much larger expenditure than 29 lakhs.

The recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee have been practically rejected by the Government. The Government declared their intention of raising the number of King's commissions granted every year to 37, including a few commissions in the Royal Artillery, the Engineers and the Air Force. The recommendations for annual increments in the number of commissions have been turned down and the Government have refused to establish a military college in India for the training of Indian cadets for the Indian army.

Another recommendation made by the Skeen Committee was that what has been called the Eight Units' Scheme should be abandoned. For the benefit of American readers, it may be stated that the Eight Units' Scheme was condemned by nearly all the witnesses, official and non-official, military and civil, who appeared before the Skeen Committee, and was condemned by the committee itself. This scheme was devised by the military authorities for the purpose of posting Indian cadets who succeeded in obtaining King's commissions to these Specified eight units of Cavalry and Infantry only

and not to any other units. The object of the scheme was to prevent the remotest possibility of any European commissioned officer who may be recruited in future years from serving under an Indian officer. That this was the real object of the scheme has been admitted by the Army Secretary in the debate which recently took place in the Indian Legislative Assembly on a vote of censure on the Government.

At the rate at which King's Commissions are proposed to be granted to Indians in the Indian Army, it will probably take a few centuries before the army can be Indianised or an Indian Officer can rise to a high position of command. It is no wonder that the policy, which has been pursued by the British Government in the matter of the organisation of the army in India, has caused deep discontent and distrust in the minds of the people of India. They are unable to believe that the Government could be sincere in the declarations of their intention to help India to attain responsible government.

INDIAN NAVY

A few words will suffice for the description of the situation with regard to the Indian Navy. It was an oft repeated demand of the Indian people that they should be eligible for admission to the Naval Force. It was announced by Lord Reading in 1926 that the Royal Indian Marine would be converted into a Royal Indian Navy and that commissions would be granted to suitable Indians by competition.

The necessary measures for the creation of the Royal Indian Navy was passed through parliament a short time ago, but, when the bill which was intended to provide for the discipline of the navy, was introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly, it was

rejected by the Assembly. At first sight, the attitude of the Assembly would seem to require explanation; but the reasons for which the Assembly refused its consent to the measure will satisfy an impartial observer that they are not arbitrary or inconsistent with a due sense of responsibility. The main reasons which influenced the rejection of the measure were that the control of the proposed Navy is intended to be vested not in the Government of India but in the British Government, that the proportion of commissions to which Indians would be eligible is one out of three, that it imposes no statutory obligation for the manning of the ships by Indians and that it enables the Imperial Government to employ the Indian Navy in any part of the world without legally imposing upon it a liability to pay the expenses incurred during the period of such employment. All these objections were pointed out during the passage of the bill in the House of Commons but the Conservative Government was obdurate and made no concessions. If the Indian Legislative Assembly felt that it would prefer not to have a Navy at all to having a Navy on these conditions, could it be said that the Indian Legislature acted unreasonably? There was an Indian Navy in existence in India but it was abolished in the year 1863. Like the famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, the chapter on the Indian Navy will now have to contain only one word "nil."

ATTAINMENT OF IDEAL

The ideal of modern India is to have an army, navy and air force of its own manned and officered by Indians in the same way as the forces of the self-governing Dominions are constituted and under the control of the Government of India. Indians recognise that the attainment of their ideal must take some time, but they contend that an earnest beginning should be made at once and that a definite programme should be framed for Indianising the defensive forces within a reasonable period of time. Of this there is no sign on the part of the British authorities and it is one of the root causes of the distrust of the British Government. Can Indians be blamed if they feel that they are only hewers of wood and drawers of water in the army of their own country, which is maintained entirely at the cost of the Indian taxpayer, and if they resent the treatment accorded to them as dictated solely by racial considerations and a distrust of their loyalty? How can loyalty be ever promoted by a policy of distrust? Self-government within the British Commonwealth is still the ambition of India. But the narrow-minded Imperialism of the British Government is calculated to instil the belief in the minds of Indians that England is not really prepared to satisfy their legitimate natural aspirations to full responsible government within any reasonable distance of time.

Emigration

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Deputation to South Africa

THERE is a popular and wide-spread belief that the stay-at-home Indian, far too attached to his hearth, will never take kindly to colonisation which is the predominating feature of public activities in all live societies and virile communities. This is, however, a baseless imputation.

EARLY HISTORY

The story of colonisation and movement of population found in the Ramayana, Mahabharata and Srimad-Bhagvat may perhaps be relegated to the pre-historic period and thought to contain much fiction with a few facts. There can, however, be no escape from the conclusion that east of India, in Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Bali, Cambodia and southwards in Ceylon, the course of Indian colonisation by Hindu missionaries, Buddhist monks and merchants of both denominations was large, prolonged and unimpeded. Tibet, Tartary and Central Asia were similarly affected. Mr. Kennedy has shown that Indians had settlements in Babylonia, Arabia and the East coast of Africa. Muhammadan colonisation from India towards the East in later days was also a notable feature of movements of populations, and there is more than a remnant of Muhammadan population in some of the islands and settlements mentioned above, whose spoken language is, strangely enough, still Sanskrit, at least one of its dialects. This is a thing not to be noted even in India, the home of the Sanskrit language, which is spoken as a learned

language only by some of her learned men. And in these islands, recently visited by Dr. Robindra Nath Tagore and Professor Suniti Chatterjee, Muhammadans to this day are bearers of Sanskrit and Sanskritised names. I met one such Muhammadan in 1912 in that old seat of learning—Leyden. He spoke good Sanskrit. Remains of noble edifices and monuments in these countries that have engaged the loving interests of scientific researchers like Foucher are abundant testimony of successful Indian colonisation in fairly recent times.

Indian pilots were thus instrumental in piloting western enterprise from the West to the East and assisting the East and West to meet. Why there was a lull in the tide of Indian emigration and colonisation in comparatively recent times has never been well understood. Nor is it clear why, after the successful enterprise of not very ancient times, a ban came to be placed upon Indian emigration and colonisation abroad among Hindus. A noted writer on Indian emigration writing under the pseudo-name of "Emigrant," who is unquestionably well posted in everything relating to emigration in modern times, says:

Why the spirit of adventure, the zeal for conquest, which flung Indian invaders into Ceylon, Java and the remote land of Cambodia, should have suddenly shrivelled under the blight of Muhammadan invasion is a mystery which still awaits solution.

The solution is not of much practical importance to the latter day problem, and it is more than doubtful whether

Muhammadan invasion itself had anything directly to do with this influence of the "paralysing hand of religious anathema that neutralised initiation and courage." Many causes probably combined in limiting the volume, importance, and usefulness of Indian colonisation in the middle ages of India and later; and Bengal, where it had flourished most, suffered most by such shrinkage.

Sea-faring people along Chittagong coasts, who manned and still man merchant vessels and go by the name of *Laskars*, had close contact with the Portuguese and manned their vessels as well as the vessels of rulers like the Maharaja Pratapaditya of Jasehar (not to be confused with modern Jessore) that in time was engulfed by the Sunderbans. Their activities were, however, confined chiefly to navigation, and not to emigration or colonisation. Madras, however, sent strong contingents to Ceylon and the Eastern islands, and later on to Mauritius, South Africa and the Western Islands. Bombay, Gujarat and the southern parts of the western coasts of India sent constant contingents to East Africa and later on to South Africa when the call came. The charge could never be properly and fairly laid at the door of these people that they ever shirked their duties and responsibilities as colonists and colonisers. The charge may well be the other way. Though compared to its vast population and poverty, India's contingents of emigrants and colonists have been infinitesimal, they have never found real hospitality abroad except when they were wanted and encouraged as servitors and almost as serfs.

When Indians succeeded in overthrowing age-long prejudices and overcame difficulties, obstacles and handicaps in the way of colonisation, the smallness of their numbers was no passport to cordial relations in the countries

of their sojourn and they were received and tolerated only on sufferance, so long as need of their services made them useful or indispensable.

BACKGROUND OF SENTIMENT AND PRESTIGE

Considerations like these made the mid-ancient legislators all the more averse to promotion and encouragement of emigration. And these considerations in much later time made the British legislators similarly averse, because of the incapacity of the Government fully to protect and promote Indian interests abroad. Stress of public opinion and popular demand made our later Viceroy—Lords Hardinge, Chelmsford, Reading and Irwin take up strong and pronounced attitudes regarding this question, enabling India to maintain "a semblance of self-respect."

Small and almost microscopic as the question is from the point of view of mere numbers, there is a strong background of sentiment and prestige which has made the Indian question of emigration bristle with difficulties. In theory these difficulties are not large. In October 1923, Viscount Peel, Secretary of State for India, and his colleagues put forward a powerful plea at the Imperial Conference for the treatment of Indians, who have settled in various parts of the Empire, on a basis of equality. The people and the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India had always a fair degree of unanimity on this question, and it was not for lack of will on their part that Indian interests had suffered. Mr. Cecil Rhodes himself admitted that "all civilized men should have equal rights;" and Lord Milner held that

When a colored man possesses a certain high grade of civilization, he ought to

obtain what I may call "white privileges" irrespective of colour.

The Indian question could not long be dealt with directly by the Secretary of State for India, but had to be circuitously dealt with through the Secretary of State for Colonies. Mr. Winston Churchill, as Secretary of State for Colonies said in this connection:

We wish to apply broadly and comprehensively, and so far as is practicable, Mr. Rhodes' principle of equal rights for all civilized men. That means that the natives of India who reach and conform to the well marked European standards should not be denied the fullest exercise and enjoyment of civil and political rights.

As the result of two Government of India delegations to South Africa (of the first of which I had the honour to be a member), a Round Table Conference on the Indian questions was recently held in South Africa. Among other things the South African Government agreed to the supreme necessity of the uplifting of the Indian community there. In the summary of conclusions reached by the Round Table Conference is the following notable admission by the South African Government:

The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people.

Apart from this notable admission, a still more notable feature of this historic Conference was that, henceforward, negotiations on behalf of India would be between the Govern-

ment of South Africa and the Indian Government directly, and not through the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies as heretofore. Thus India has entered upon a new phase of emigration and colonial development. In the Right Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, India has the first recognised plenipotentiary abroad. A striking personality of great eloquence and experience, he has remarkably impressed the South African people and the South African Government. India is thus on the threshold of coming into her own in this direction, and will do so if her people and her Government will duly persevere.

It is but right that justice, though belated, should ultimately be done. The Marquis of Curzon whose contribution as Viceroy to the demands for recognition of Indian claims was no less notable than that of his successors, in a speech on the subject said:

If you want to rescue the white men's legations from massacre at Peking, the matter is urgent, you request the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and an Indian General are best qualified for the task, you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling stations of the Empire, Aden, Mauritius, Singapore, Hong-Kong, even Tien-tsin or Shan-hai-Kwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway to Uganda or in the Sudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he came to me for assistance. It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demarara and Natal; with India-trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian forest officers that you tap the re-

sources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian Surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.

Referring to some other phases of Indian activities, the Indian deputation to South Africa, of which I was a member, argued before the Joint Select Committee of the Union Parliament as follows:

Since the days of Alexander, the march of events in the great sub-continent has found faithful chroniclers. Its history stretches into a remoter antiquity; their records bear ample testimony to India's civil splendour and military renown. Before the Christian era, Indian colonists penetrated into Java and portions of the Far East: the temples of Borobodur and Nakhon Vat still bear testimony to the impress of their genius on these countries. India gave birth to two of the world's greatest religions, Hinduism and Buddhism. Among her earliest rulers was Asoka, whose temporal power was greater than that of Charlemagne, and whose spiritual fervour firmly established Buddhism in China and Tibet. Among her earliest poets was Kalidasa, whose beautiful lyrical drama "Sakuntala" won the spontaneous homage of Goethe. Schopenhauer eulogized one of her best-known systems of philosophy in the following words:

In the whole world there is no study so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.

The confluence of philosophic subtlety and mysticism characteristic of early mediæval Hindu Society, with the artistic energy and political genius of her Muhammadan rulers, further enriched Indian civilization.

Numerous travellers and ambassadors from Europe have written of the magnificence and organization of the

most illustrious Mussulman dynasty that governed India. The fabled peacock throne is a memory of that magnificence; the Ain-i-Akbari, an impartial witness to that organization. We shall not enlarge on either at too great a length. We shall only mention the two most abiding monuments of Moghul influence: the magic mausoleum of the Taj Mahal at Agra, and the system of land revenue organisation, which the British power in India has adopted. When dominion in India passed to the British Crown, the civilization of her people received recognition in the gracious declaration of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, that neither their colour nor their creed would be a bar to their advancement.

ADVANCEMENT

That promise, which was re-affirmed by His Late Majesty King Edward VII, and His Majesty King George V., has already been fulfilled in a generous measure, for Indians have been promoted to the British Peerage and His Majesty's Privy Council, have been elected to the British House of Commons, and, with the exception of the Viceroyalty, have held every high office in India. In the world of literature and science they have vindicated their ready adaptability by the completeness with which they have assimilated western culture. In literature and art, Tagore; in science, Roy, Bose and Raman; in oriental scholarship, Bhandarkar and Shibi; in mathematics, Ramanujan; in educational statesmanship, Sir Syed Ahmad; in politics, Gokhale, have worthily upheld India's claim to be included in the world's intellectual aristocracy. In sport, which occupies so important a place in the life of Western nations, the pre-eminence of an Indian Prince, Ranjitsinghji, is universally acknowledged. Her industrial advance has been no less re-

markable. It is submitted, therefore, that by virtue of the antiquity and vitality of their civilization, Indians have established a strong claim to be treated as the equals of any race. Most civilized countries recognize this in their treatment of Indian nationals.

This point of view was accepted by the Union Parliament and later on by the South African people, and on its basis the Right Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is attempting to place Indian Colonies in South Africa on a better footing than has hitherto been possible.

Space and time will not permit examination of the details of the long drawn struggle conducted chiefly before the return of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa to India. The Late Mr. Gokhale, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the Rev. Mr. Andrews well championed the Indian cause, and the final work on behalf of the Government of India was in the hands of our Deputation and the Habibulla Deputation, the labours of which have been closed with credit and honour to all parties and with benefit to India.

All this was, however, in the interest and for the benefit of no more than 1,060,000 Indian men, women and children, who in the natural course of things will be wiped out and extinct in but a few generations. The cardinal points of this settlement are that all emigration from India and, therefore, colonisation, must stop for good and that the remnants of the Indian subjects in South Africa shall be repatriated under settled terms and conditions as soon as, and as far as possible.

PRIVILEGES

Here, therefore, is more than incipient finality of the prospects of Indian emigrants abroad on a large scale or on a lasting basis. Though from the

viewpoint of mere numbers the question of Indian emigration is not very large, it is spread over a fairly large and diversified area and includes Ceylon, Malaya, the Straits Settlement, Mauritius, Trinidad, Jamaica, Fizi, British Guiana, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, East Africa, Uganda, Nijshand, Kenya and Rhodesia. To these must be added the mandated territories, which are not integral portions of the British Empire, but which for practical purposes form a part of the problem, in spite of the question of "Trusteeship for the indigenous population" about which one hears when convenience and expediency bring it up. The Indian asks everywhere for full freedom of movement, for complete equality of opportunity, for absolute parity of rights in all Crown colonies and self-governing Dominions. Following the reciprocity resolution of 1918 at the Imperial Conference, I made myself responsible in the Council of State of India in 1925 for what came to be known as the Reciprocity Act after it had been duly passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly. As a condition of faithful observance by India of the reciprocity resolution and not merely as a corollary, India insists on the admission of Indian subjects to the Dominions with the same privileges, political and economic, that are enjoyed by the most favoured classes of His Majesty's subjects.

Within the limited space at my disposal it is not possible, nor necessary, for me to go into the details of the question affecting the various countries, as mentioned above, that are a part of the British Empire, of which Indians are citizens in the same sense as any other races and people. Historically, and on principle, the Indian claim stands on firm ground. Their right to emigrate to any part of the Empire cannot be questioned and has not been questioned

in theory. They have always cherished it as a privilege of imperial citizenship. To deny equality would be to deny justice which is the basic rockbed of Empire. The development of autonomy, which is said to be the goal everywhere in the British Empire, should and may be well compatible with the ideal of equal rights and opportunities for all. The proposal in certain quarters for a separate colony for the surplus population of India is veritably a counsel of despair. Economic objections on behalf of the white settler cannot be urged, for the Empire has vast unpeopled tracts, clamouring for population and development. There can be no distinction between various classes of His Majesty's subjects regarding migration, and the imperial character of the problem cannot be too strongly emphasised. To harmonise different civilisations is an unquestioned objective and a clear need of the Empire, for equality is the key of Imperial Unity.

HISTORICAL DATA

The lull in Indian colonisation to which reference has been made above, strangely enough, came to an end with the abolition of slavery in the British Empire during the ministry of Earl Grey, in August, 1833. A system of seven years' apprenticeship was established as a transitional period of liberty; this was practical slavery for all intents and purposes. Economic depression of the West Indian Colonies followed and became the subject of anxious parliamentary enquiry in 1842 and 1848. The distress was attributed to the difficulty of obtaining labour; and because white hands are averse to hard and continued manual labour in adverse climates, India presented itself as a likely source of new supply of labour. Mauritius used to have labour supplied from India as early as

1819, but the scale became larger in 1834 as a result of the abolition of slavery. Between 1834 and 1837 as many as 7,000 emigrants left Calcutta for Mauritius. In 1838 two ships carrying 400 emigrants left British Guiana. The first consignment of labourers was shipped to Trinidad in 1844. Indian emigrants were introduced into Jamaica in 1845. By 1847 the Colony had received 4,000. Natal got its first supply in 1860. To lesser islands like Granada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, emigration started in 1856, 1858 and 1861 respectively. Slavery was abolished in the French Colonies in 1848, and the planters in Reunion and other islands began to look to India for labour supplies. A formal agreement with the French Government was negotiated in 1860 when emigration to Reunion, Mauritius, Guadeloupe and its dependencies, and French Guiana was recognised by law. Emigration to the Danish Colony of St. Croix was thrown open in 1863. A convention to regulate emigration to the Dutch Colony of Surinam was negotiated in 1872, and made operative by the Government of India the same year.

EFFECTS OF EMIGRATION

Without going into further and unnecessary details it may be summarised that emigration from India both westward and eastward was a matter of necessity for the development of the resources of the Empire and its allies. The indentured system of overseas emigration and inland emigration served its purpose for a time but soon outlived its usefulness, stood condemned and was ultimately abolished. It is a long drawn tale of misery, woe and shame that has left a dire back-trail. This is only historically important, showing how the economic demands of civilisation in the west made abundant use of India's labour resources,

and how in the end, when the need of such use disappeared, adverse feeling was roused everywhere against Indian labourers and also Indian settlers and merchants, who came in their wake.

It was but natural that trade, and ultimately commerce, would follow the path of labour and that family ties would grow leading to permanent settlement in lands of the emigrants' choice and adoption. From the very nature of things men and women belonging to the lower strata of life would be the first to go and for lack of education and of suitable sanitary and economic ideals would make unfavourable impressions on their surroundings. This, in turn, operated as a recoil on the situation, and attempts have been made to bar the better classes, not coming exactly under the category of labour or trade. So successful has this bar been in South Africa that social workers in sufficient numbers are deplorably lacking for the people's uplift. Priests and preachers are conspicuous by their absence, and when Mr. Srinivas Sastri, himself an eminent educator, began his educational campaign in South Africa, the absence of the right type of teachers was his first difficulty. It stands to reason that if the Indian people are to have their place and take their stand among those who regard them as aliens, the educational level and the sanitary and economic ideals must be commensurate with the surroundings. The members of our Deputation, in 1925-26, insistently urged this point of view on Indians settled in South Africa, and there was considerable response which was followed up when the Habibullah Deputation went there later on. Those who talk lightly of enforced or "persuaded repatriation" of these people forget that they have been away from India for many generations and have

lost all touch with it and its customs, manners and institutions.

FUTURE EQUALITY

Theoretical equality of the races in the Empire has never been overtly denied. Mr. Lloyd George, addressing the Imperial Conference in London in 1921, said:

No greater calamity could overtake the world than any further accentuation of the world's divisions upon the lines of race. The British Empire has done signal service to humanity in bridging those divisions in the past; the loyalty of the King Emperor's Asiatic peoples is the proof. To depart from that policy, to fail in that duty, would not only greatly increase the dangers of international war; it would divide the British Empire against itself. Our foreign policy can never range itself in any sense upon the differences of race and civilisation between East and West. It would be fatal to the Empire.

This is completely different from the Dutch ideal in South Africa that was enshrined in the language of the *Grootwet* of 1883 "that there shall be no equality between the white and the non-white." Since then, there have been the Boer war and the Great European war, in the trenches of which "non-white" troops, particularly Indian, have fought side by side with "white" troops, and have given good account of themselves and have laid down their lives in order that the Empire might live and grow ever greater. The final phase of the Indian question in South Africa destroys the Dutch ideal, for the Union Government has now declared

That they firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity.

It has also accepted the view

That in the provisions of educational and other facilities the considerable numbers of Indians who remain part of the population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the population.

In Kenya and Tanganyika a definite challenge, however, has been thrown out against the claim of equality of Indians. Opposed to this, the Commonwealth Government of Australia have redeemed their promise to place their domiciled Indian subjects on the same footing, in all respects, with the white population. The Canadian position, on the other hand, is by no means free from difficulties. It is summarised by Professor Rushbrook Williams in his official publication, *India in 1922-23*. He says:

The impending struggle between East and West, foretold by many persons who cannot be classed either as visionaries or as fanatics, may easily be mitigated or even entirely averted if the British Commonwealth of Nations can find a place within its wide compass for three hundred and twenty millions of Asiatics fully enjoying the privileges, and adequately discharging the responsibilities, which at present characterize the inhabitants of Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions.

The numbers involved are infinitely small. There are in Canada fewer than 1,200 people and in Australia there are not more than 900. Why then is there the marked differentiation in the treatment of the same questions in two different countries belonging to the Empire? There may be the fear of foreign complications, for both in Canada and Australia there are settlers from China and Japan who are without votes. But the reply is that the British subjects by birth have a higher footing than an alien seeking to acquire citizenship by domicile. Local hostile opinion, resulting from ignorance and prejudice, should not be allowed to prevail. A

question that affects the unity of the Empire should be above mere party politics. There is no foundation for the fear that confirmation of rights on Asiatics would mean domination by them. In no responsible Indian quarter does such an intention or claim find any place. This has been abundantly proved in India itself where in spite of abundant Indians, alien interests are carefully safeguarded. The theoretical position is absolutely clear. The Indian admits the right of the Dominions to regulate the composition of their population in deference to their autonomy—an autonomy which he hopes to secure for his own country within the orbit of the Empire. In the Crown Colonies he asks for a fair field and no favour.

From the above short sketch it will be clear that the Indian emigration question, as it is known to-day, has large possibilities, but is by no means free from difficulties. The people and the Government of India are determined to have their rights, and they expect the British Government fully to back and support them. After repeated pronouncements by British Statesmen in the foremost rank in the Councils of the Empire, Indian claims cannot be lightly set aside. The Indian Legislature has clearly indicated its attitude in the matter by the Reciprocity Act and the various resolutions carried from time to time in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. At the same time, one must recognise that the ethical pre-eminence of the principle of universal brotherhood will not be sufficient to overcome the love of autonomy or the dictates of self-interest. Legitimate expansion of India's colonial and emigration ambitions must be a matter of reason and reasonable compromise, and adequate educational, sanitary, moral and economic standards must be cultivated

and maintained if that expansion is not to receive a check. India has still a high message of spirituality and morality for the super-materialised West and the manner in which the least of her missionaries are still received in Europe and America must be a matter of encouragement, nay, inspiration, to those who want to make India better known abroad. The least, therefore, of those who go abroad, however humble their station in life and however inadequate their equipments may be, must deem himself an ambassador of the Great Mother in other lands and behave accordingly. By them, by their character and conduct must she necessarily be judged, and whoever causes that judgment to go against her is an arch traitor to his country.

Local Self-Government in India

By HON. S. N. MALLIK, M.A., B.L.

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IN India from very ancient times there existed the very interesting and important social institution of village communities which have all along attracted the attention and impressed the imagination of the celebrated observers of Indian social structure from Megasthenes in the third century B. C. to Lord Metcalfe a century ago and Sir Henry S. Maine in the mid-Victorian era.

ANCIENT INDIA

The constitution and form of those village communities have not been exempt from the general course of progress and decay; but there can be no doubt that their general characteristics have been handed down through several centuries with an extraordinary pertinacity which is to a very large extent the secret of the persistence of Hindu civilization, which has survived and survived with full force when other equally ancient civilizations in other parts of the world have long disappeared. These communities were based on a marvellous combination of the spiritual as well as the social and the economical forces of the ancient Hindu race, and, as such, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the Indian people through all the conquests and revolutions which they have suffered, and were conducive, in a remarkably high degree, not only to their happiness and spirituality, but also to their enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.

The village communities were each a separate little state in which the needs

of the villagers for their individual and corporate lives were well provided for. Village officers used to be appointed for such purposes, and in virtue of caste and heredity they were remunerated by land or fixed fees for their services to the community. They looked after agriculture and arts, public health and sanitation, trade and commerce, as well as education and protection. Minor functionaries like the potter, the barber, and the cobbler used also to be appointed and even the goldsmith and money-lender were not forgotten. The groups of these village communities could also in times of trouble arm and fortify themselves. If the force which opposed them was irresistible, then the people would flee to distant but friendly villages and would return as soon as opportunities occurred. A generation might pass away, but a succeeding generation would return and the sons would take the place of their fathers—on the same site, the same homestead and the same lands. Thus in India from the distant past there was a highly organised system of village self-government, the pertinacity of which was so well described by Lord Metcalfe in 1830:

They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Mughal, Mahratta, Sikh, English are all masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same.

So far as the bigger towns were concerned, we find it provided in the celebrated code of Manu that every large town should have a superintendent who should personally inspect the work of

all officials and obtain secret information about their behaviour, as the great lawgiver quaintly observes, that

For the servants of the King who are appointed to protect the people generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such men.

In the account of Megasthenes again, we find that the large cities used to have six bodies of five members each and that each of these bodies used to be entrusted with particular and important departments of human activities, amongst which even the care and entertainment of foreigners was included, and the registration of births and deaths was not neglected. Thus it is that in ancient India local self-government, with all its implications, was an important and well-organised institution which had its roots in the very fundamental conditions of life.

THE MUHAMMEDAN SYSTEM

This system of village communities and self-government continued to a great extent during the Muhammedan period for several centuries without any serious modification. In the days of the Moghul Empire local self-government through village communities continued in the rural areas and through their caste and hereditary officers, and in the bigger towns there used to be appointed officers, called the *Koetwals*, who were not only the chief executive officers for all magisterial, police and fiscal matters, but they were also the chief officials for discharging such functions as are now classed as municipal. The great Abul Fazl, in his notable book *Ain-i-Akbari* (or the institutions of Akbar), has handed down to us detailed descriptions of the duties and liabilities of the *Koetwals* which are highly interesting and illuminating from the point of view of

town life and administration of those times. The duties of the *Koetwal* were truly multifarious, severely exacting and frequently unpleasant, and he was expected to be a man of refined address to make his vigilance reflect credit on his administration. He was called upon to see that thieves were discovered and stolen goods recovered from them, or be himself responsible for the loss, and it was also his duty to see that the rich should not take beyond what was necessary for their consumption; the former, an impossible duty in modern days and the latter, a more than hopeless task at all times.

In India local self-government was not vested in a representative body of the people of the locality exactly according to the type of western countries, but it had its authority vested in the local officials, particularly in the towns. In the rural areas the local government was originally by the Panchayet, that is, the Board of Five—though the body so called was not always limited to five. They were the heads of superior families with the rules of caste and heredity as the regulating factors. Such was the system which best suited the social, religious and economical concepts of the race, and the people in general were none the less happy in the absence of a western system of popular representation.

THE BRITISH PERIOD

The system of local self-government as it exists now in British India is very largely an exotic institution and for the most part of comparatively recent introduction. The urban and rural areas are not only differently constituted, but they have different names as well. The local self-government boards of the urban areas are called Municipalities, while those of the rural areas are called the District

Boards, and the former have a much earlier origin than the latter. For convenience of treatment the Municipalities may be taken up first.

The Municipal government of the English pattern first came into existence owing to the insistence of Sir Josiah Child, the then Governor of Madras, for the solution of the difficult problem of the conservancy of that town, with the result that in 1687, James II, King of England, conferred on the East India Company, the power of establishing a Corporation and Mayor's court in Madras, by charter. This new civil government was established with the full paraphernalia of a Mayor, aldermen and burgesses, who were empowered to levy taxes for the building of a Guildhall, a jail and a schoolhouse and for other works of public utility and ornament, and for paying the salaries of municipal officers, including a schoolmaster. The Mayor and aldermen were made a Court of Record for trying civil and criminal cases. The ornamental features of municipal life were closely copied from London, and on solemn occasions the Mayor used to have carried before him two silver maces, gilt, not exceeding three feet and a half in length, and he and the aldermen used to ride, robed in scarlet serge gowns, on horses richly furnished with various trimmings.

But, notwithstanding all this pomp and circumstance, the people strenuously opposed the imposition of a direct tax, and so the work of the new corporation could not be undertaken till permission was obtained by the Mayor to levy an octroi duty to provide the funds for street-cleaning. Thereafter, in 1726, was established by a Royal Charter a Mayor's Court, with aldermen but no burgesses, in each of the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, but these courts were intended to ex-

ercise judicial rather than administrative functions.

Long after this, the first statutory enactment of real municipal administration was made in the Charter Act of 1793. This Act was passed by the British Parliament soon after the East India Company accepted political responsibilities in India. By this Act was appointed a Governor-General of India and he was empowered to appoint Justices of the Peace for the Presidency towns, who in addition to their judicial duties were vested with the power to raise funds by assessing the lands and houses in the towns for scavenging, watching, and maintaining the streets.

About half a century later (1850-53) the municipal constitutions of those three Presidency towns were widened and the elective principle was introduced to a very limited extent, but within a very short time, in 1856, a very reactionary policy was resorted to, and municipal functions were concentrated in a body corporate of three nominated and salaried members.

It is interesting to note that since 1793 it had been the practice to raise money for municipal improvements by means of lotteries, the proceeds of which, in Calcutta, used to be made over to the Town Improvement Committee, which was appointed by Lord Wellesly, in 1803. These lotteries yielded a good deal of income, with which many useful public works and services were performed. This method became so very popular that in 1817 a Lottery Committee was framed, which for 20 years carried on works of great utility and improvement, till, public opinion in England having condemned this method of providing funds for municipal purposes, the committee came to an end in 1836. The Town Hall of Calcutta, amongst other great works of public service, was built during those

years with the proceeds of the lottery funds.

It was after the passing of the Councils Act in 1861 that the system of municipal administration was remodelled through the Provincial legislatures which were then called into existence, and henceforth the history of the growth and development of municipal affairs in each of the three Presidency towns is different. Through local legislation, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, in the years 1872, 1876 and 1878, respectively, obtained for the first time the system of election of representatives by the ratepayers, but it must not be supposed that anything even distantly approaching a full local self-government, was granted to them through those Acts. For nearly half a century after, the policy of the Government has been to keep an unnecessarily stiff control over these municipalities through official chairmen and various other contrivances calculated to deprive them of real popular control. Through various steps, however, some even positively retrograde in character, those three municipalities have eventually obtained more or less developed real self-government. Practical autonomy has been obtained by the corporation of Calcutta (III of 1923) and also by those of Bombay (III of 1888) and Madras, (IV of 1919) though to a somewhat lesser extent.

MUNICIPALITIES IN THE COUNTY TOWNS

Outside the Presidency towns, no attempt at establishing municipalities was made before 1842. Bengal was the first province where this attempt was made by an Act which was far in advance of the times. It was, however, purely of a voluntary character, enforceable on the application of two-thirds of the householders, and the funds provided were to be the proceeds

of a direct taxation. For all these reasons it failed to impress the public mind. It was introduced into only one town, and when the time came for realizing the tax, the whole town not only refused to pay, but actually prosecuted the Collector for Trespass, when he proceeded to levy it.

In 1850, the next attempt was made by an Act for the whole of British India. That was also a permissive Act, but it was more successful, as taxation by indirect methods had been provided. This Act was applied largely in the then North West Provinces and in Bombay but it was very little resorted to in Bengal and Madras, where other methods of municipal efforts were attempted. Thereafter, the report of the Royal Army Sanitary Commission came to be published, in 1863, and urgent attention being shown to the needs of municipal measures in the County areas, (Mofassils) there came to be passed, between 1864 and 1868, Acts for Bengal, Madras, Punjab and Northwest Provinces. The Act of 1850, with certain modifications, was accepted in Bombay and the Central Provinces, and Oudh accepted the Punjab Act. In the activity that followed a very large number of municipalities were created, and in many instances zeal overpowered discretion and insignificant rural areas were saddled with municipalities which were subsequently withdrawn. The Acts for Bengal, Northwest Provinces and Punjab made the elective principle permissive, but in almost all places the commissioners were nominated. Though from the point of view of local self-government these Acts did not go very far, yet they were certainly helpful in improving the sanitary conditions of many country towns.

Two important steps taken by the great Viceroys, viz.: Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon, in subsequent years afforded a great encouragement to local

self-government in India. The Resolution of Lord Mayo's Government introduced the system of Provincial finance, which distinctly aimed at affording opportunities for the development of self-government and also for the association of Indians and Europeans in taking a large share in the administration of local affairs. To carry out this beneficent policy new Acts were passed for almost all the Provinces, and it came to be extended to Burma also. The Acts widened the sphere of municipal usefulness and also extended the principle of election. The elective principle, however, could not be successfully introduced into any province except the Central Provinces, owing to objections from the people themselves.

About ten years after, in 1881-82, the Government of Lord Ripon issued orders which had the result of further encouraging the development of local self-government. He took a keen and statesmanlike interest in the matter, as he believed that local self-government was a means of popular and political education. The progress that followed could have been greatly expedited if the bureaucracy, to whose hands the actual organisation had to be entrusted, had been less shortsighted and more statesmanlike. However, Acts were passed in 1883-84 which greatly altered the constitution of the municipal bodies and also added to their power and functions. A wide extension was sought to be given to the elective system, and some towns were allowed to have elected chairmen in the place of the executive officials. There was also a great change made by Lord Ripon by releasing the municipalities from the burden of paying the costs of the town police over which they had no control. In the place of such costs, the municipalities were called upon to support education, medical aid, and local

public works, and at the same time some parts of the Provincial revenues were allocated to local self-government, with proportionate liability. The principles laid down by Lord Ripon for local self-government are still in force through the later Acts (Bombay III of 1901, Bengal III of 1884, Madras V of 1920, Punjab III of 1911, United Provinces II of 1916, Central Provinces II of 1922 and Burma III of 1898), though they have, in the light of past experience and modern municipal methods, made necessary modifications in powers and liabilities of these public bodies.

Space will not permit a detailed examination of the growth of municipal constitution in the different provinces of India. The Municipal government is vested in a body corporate, composed of members who are partly elected from the ratepayers and also partly nominated by the Government. There is a chairman of the municipality under the Acts, and in the advanced provinces he is generally an elected member of the body. The Municipal funds and properties are vested in these bodies. A considerable portion of the work is done in committees.

Elections are ordinarily held every three years, and the rules for elections are framed by the Provincial Governments concerned. Voters are required to have a certain property or status qualification. The elections in bigger bodies are held ordinarily by wards or classes of the community, or both. The enfranchisement of women is rather the exception than the rule, but the desirability of it is being gradually recognised.

The history of Government control over the municipalities is not a very happy one. Though it was the policy of Lord Ripon to substitute outside control for inside interference in municipal matters, still the desire of the

bureaucracy to hold these local bodies perpetually by the apronstring in the name of efficiency had all along been a very marked one. This unfortunate circumstance thwarted the growth of genuine local self-government for about a third of a century after Lord Ripon's time. As it is, this control is generally exercised through the District Magistrate and the Divisional Commissioner. Since the introduction of the Reforms, however, the final control now rests with the minister in charge of local self-government in the various provinces, who is selected from among the elected members of the provincial Legislative Councils. Special control is exercised over finance and important appointments, and the annual budget has to be sanctioned by the Government.

The functions of the Municipalities are gradually increasing, and their duties, which are now comprehensive, may be divided into those that are either obligatory or discretionary, each Municipality being called upon to fulfil such duties as its means will permit. The Acts and by-laws framed under them confer various powers on the municipalities for enforcing sanitary requisitions or preventing adulteration of food, etc. by fines and other penalties.

Though the municipalities in British India have not much increased in numerical strength, they have certainly improved considerably so far as efficiency and constitutional progress are concerned. In 1881 they were 722 in number with a population of 11,000,000, and the percentage of elected members was only 22.5. In 1891 they were 739 with a population of 13,000,000, while the percentage rose to 53. In 1901 the number rose to 742, but the percentage dropped down to 50. In 1921 the number rose to 749 with a population of over 18,000,000 and the percentage rose to 88, while in 1926 the figures were 762, 19,000,000

and 96 per cent respectively. The total income of the municipalities has risen from Rs. 10,000,000 in 1881 to Rs. 27,000,000 in 1902 and to 75,500,000 in 1925. The incidence of taxation has risen from three-fourths of a Rupee to about 8 Rupees per head. As for population, the Presidency towns of Bombay and Calcutta have each a population of over 1,000,000, while that of Madras has only 500,000; but out of the aforesaid 763 municipalities only 24 have a population of over 100,000 each, and 70 only have each a population of 50,000 or over. In this connection it may be mentioned that over 85 per cent of the people of India live in the rural areas.

THE DISTRICT AND LOCAL BOARDS

As has been said before, local self-government in the rural areas was started much later than in the municipalities, and their growth is also much more slow. In Madras and Bombay, semi-voluntary funds for local improvements were the first germ of local self-government in the rural areas of British India. This system did not extend to Bengal and the United Provinces, where there were consultative committees to help the District Collector in the management of the public funds for education, roads and dispensaries. Sindh, of all the places in the country, was the first to raise a local cess for public purposes, in 1865, and Sindh was followed by Madras in the next year. Bombay followed suit in 1869. The proceeds of these cesses were to be administered by committees nominated by the Government and under the tutelage of the District officers, and for a long time to come the application of the elective principle was not thought of, and the interest that the people took in such committees was necessarily most perfunctory.

The financial decentralisation scheme

of Lord Mayo, referred to above, brought about, however, a certain amount of improvement in the administration, and in 1871 were passed Acts for Madras, Bengal, Northwest Provinces, Punjab, while Bombay and Sindh stuck to their previous Acts. In these Acts, passed in 1871, provisions were made for local taxation to help the resources of Provincial finance.

In Bengal, which was a permanently settled province, the passing of this Act (Road Cess Act 1871) was very much resented, as it was considered to be a breach of faith on the part of the Government to empower the local bodies newly created to levy a rate on landed properties. The Act, however, provided that these local bodies might be either nominated or elected by the ratepayers—a privilege which was not conceded to the other provinces in Northern India, with the result that the newly created bodies in those parts took very little interest in the work, which used to be practically carried on by the District officers. For the next ten years or so matters went on thus, till the wise and sympathetic policy of Lord Ripon led to the abolition of those committees and to the establishment of a network of boards all over the country. The principle of securing the interest of the members and also their local knowledge led to the formation of smaller units of administration, which were to be under the control of the District Boards. The District Boards were to be composed of delegates from those local Boards and also of official and non-official members nominated by the Government. The elective principle was partially recognised, and certain items of Provincial revenue, with proportional share of expenditure, were transferred to the Board. Owing to the fact that conditions in various parts of the country were not sufficiently advanced or uniform, a large measure of

discretion was retained by Government in its own hands. Acts of the legislatures were passed in the different provinces during the years 1883–85 to give effect to the policy of Lord Ripon, and that policy is still mainly in force in different parts of the Country, though a certain amount of progress can easily be noticed in the latest legislation of the different provinces on the subject, that is, the introduction of the elective principle and the non-officialisation of the post of the chairman of the Boards, etc.

The Indian Local Self-Government Policy of 1915 contemplates the removal of some of the restrictions on the powers of the Municipal and Rural Area institutions. A detailed examination of the growth and the present condition of the constitution of these bodies in connection with the various Provinces is beyond the scope of a very limited treatise. The local self-government Acts in the provinces are: Bengal III of 1885, Bombay VI of 1923, Madras XIV of 1920, Punjab XX of 1883, United Provinces X of 1922, Central Provinces IV of 1920, and Burma IV of 1921.

The number of Rural Boards of all kinds in 1889 was 970 in a population of 171,000,000; in 1900, it was 1,073 in a population of 193,000,000. Their income was Rs. 26,000,000 in 1889, and Rs. 31,000,000 in 1900. In 1915, the number rose to 1,144 with an income of Rs. 75,000,000; while in 1925, the number was 1,279 with an income of Rs. 121,000,000. The incidence of taxation has risen roughly from one-fifteenth of a Rupee in 1889 to about one-half Rupee in 1925. Though a large percentage of the Boards are yet far from efficient, yet there cannot be any doubt that there are signs of growth and vitality on all sides, but there are considerable difficulties here in the way as well.

There are other kinds of activities in the line of local self-government into the details of which it will not be possible to go. There are the Improvement Trusts of Bombay and Calcutta which have rendered excellent service in improving the sanitation and the general amenities of those cities. Then again, there are the Port and Harbour Trusts in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon and Chittangong. All these have chairmen appointed by Government with a limited amount of representation of municipalities and of Chambers of Commerce on their respective Boards of Management. These Trusts have been empowered to raise funds by loans to meet capital expenditure.

THE DIFFICULTIES

In the Rural Boards as well as in the minor municipalities the chief difficulty has always been the smallness and inelasticity of local revenues and the difficulty of devising further forms of taxation. This is more or less the result of a very low economical condition of the country, where the income per head is nothing above 3d. per head per day and it is a fact that a considerable portion of the people cannot get even one full meal a day. The second important reason is to be found in the fact that there is still prevailing, in the country, a great deal of indifference towards all forms of public life. This is undoubtedly the result of extreme want of education, as only 12 per cent of the males and 2 per cent of the females are literate. Severe poverty and lamentable illiteracy, forming a strong and vicious brotherhood, will have, it is feared, the strength to keep alive that deplorable indifference for yet a long time to come. The third important difficulty that exists consists in the fact that even educated Indians of the better class are often unwilling to submit to the trouble, expense, and incon-

veniences of election. In this connection the most serious difficulty proceeds from the fact that the "higher classes" of Indians, as a whole, have a serious dislike for door to door canvassing, as it is considered to be derogatory to dignity to go about soliciting votes, specially of the "lower classes."

Another important class of difficulty arises from the fact that the sense of responsibility in public affairs has not hitherto been allowed by the policy of the Government to develop in an adequate measure. Undue interference with the executive of the public bodies, and improper leniency in the matters of assessment and realisation of taxes, are glaring instances of this class. To them might be added such other difficulties as arise from the ignorance of the laws of public health and from an absence of the power of making intelligent anticipations of public needs. This unfortunate list, however, cannot be closed without mentioning the most lamentable difficulties that very frequently arise from severe party spirit, communal feeling and even most unjustifiable and protracted litigation over elections. The mischief that is created by these difficulties cannot be too strongly condemned. Recently, again, the result of the growing habit of introducing a strong political feeling into these local bodies has often been to shake those institutions to their very foundations.

SOME SUGGESTED REMEDIES

The Indian Local Self-Government Policy of 1915 has gone somewhat thoroughly into the question and has laid down certain definite directions for the improvement of those bodies. The fault of the British Bureaucracy in always holding the people in leading strings, in the past, has been partly recognised, and directions have been given to withdraw or minimize the old

system of rigorous internal control over these bodies according to their capacities for self-administration. The real remedy will be to extend useful mass education in the land—a duty which the Government has so far faced with lamentable indifference, as will be quite evident from the fact that the Government spends only 5 per cent of its revenues on Education. In that education the rudiments of local self-government in its important features regarding Sanitation, Public Health Coöperation and “Mass sense” should be taught to enable the future citizens to acquire the necessary ideas and conceptions and a few of the principles of Election and Public Life.

Respect for public property and public funds are unfortunately often absent, and strength of private influences and personal considerations in public matters is also often lamentably high. To remedy all these a strict system of public audit and supervision is necessary, though more of education in the fundamentals of civic life is certainly the only effective remedy, particularly against party spirit and communal bitterness. The whole organization must be rebuilt from village unions upwards with more expanded electorates and with gradually decreasing internal con-

trol and interference. There should be given to the local bodies more ample control over their budgets and a genuine power of reappropriation of grants. To the municipalities and the Boards there should be given full powers of levying local taxes for their own purposes. There is always a strong opinion against raising local taxes, but the public mind has got to be gradually educated in this matter. There is no doubt that the crushing poverty of the people as a whole is at the root of this difficulty, and any suggestions of remedial measures in that behalf will be quite out of place here.

Another urgent step necessary is the establishment of Provincial Training Institutions for the entrants in the Local Self Government Departments for previous training, including practical, and the creation of a distinct Provincial Service for them with decent prospects of promotion to executive offices.

In spite of all these difficulties, the present system of local self-government is becoming more and more popular every day, and the institutions are daily attracting the intelligence of the country and the better class of her citizens; there can be no doubt that there is a glorious future before it.

The Internal States of India

By KERALAPUTRA

THE Indian Empire consists of two distinct parts: the area known as British India which is under the direct sovereignty of the British Crown and the protected States which are under Indian Rulers. These latter cover one-third of the total area of India and comprise one-fifth of its population. They vary in size and importance from Kashmir, which is bigger than France and Hyderabad, which has a population of 12,000,000, to little States in Kathiawad consisting of a few acres of land. They are scattered all over, from Kashmir in the extreme north touching Central Asia and the Pamirs to Travancore in the extreme south. Leaving out of consideration such small principalities and jurisdictions, there are in India 108 States whose rulers enjoy a measure of independence in their own government and who are bound to the British Government by treaties of alliance guaranteeing them their authority.

POLITICAL POSITION

The position of *Indian States* is unique. From the point of view of international law, they have no existence, and their peculiar position receives no recognition. So far as the British Empire itself is concerned, the relationship of the States to the Crown is recognised officially to be that of *alliance*; but this alliance is declared to be indissoluble, and the British Government with whom the States are allied have claimed, as we shall see, various rights of paramountcy and suzerainty which have no basis in the original treaties. In fact, though the relations between the British Government and the States are said to be based on

treaties of alliance, there has grown up during the last 100 years a system of political law, resulting mainly from the accumulation of usage and precedent which have to some extent modified the original condition of the treaties.

Even so, the political system which has developed is not based on any legal sanction, for the issues between the States and the Government of India are not decided by courts; nor are the decisions based on statute. It is a system of semi-international law, wherein the Supreme Government, in virtue of the suzerainty claimed for the Crown, decides questions according to the conditions of individual treaties and the general practice that has developed in relation to Indian States.

But it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the Indian States are not parts of British India. It is true that the Rulers acknowledge the suzerainty of the Crown, but their own sovereignty in relation to their subjects is at the present time unchallenged. The British Parliament and the Indian Legislative Assembly cannot legislate for the subjects of Indian States; nor can British Law be extended to the territories of Indian States without express grant of permission from the Rulers. There is no appeal from their Court to any judicial body in India or even to the Privy Council in England. In fact, they are the last and final source of legislation and judicial authority within their territories.

Again, a great many of the Major States have their own coins, postal arrangements, and customs tariff; and at least one State has its own telegraph. They maintain military establishments,

some of them being very considerable. In short, their legal independence is a matter which the British Government fully recognise and accept. The existence of these States gives rise to a twofold problem—first, in relation to their internal government, and, secondly, in relation to the Government and people of British India.

The problem of Indian self-government is rendered infinitely more complicated by their presence, as a definition of their proper relations with the rest of India is an essential condition to the evolution of an Indian polity. This question has come to the front a great deal during the last two years, and the British Cabinet have now appointed an expert Committee to examine and report on the position of Indian States. This Committee, which consists of an experienced Indian administrator, an eminent jurist, Professor Holdsworth of Oxford, and an authority on international finance, has been studying the question in India, especially the economic and political aspect of the relations between British India and the States.

THE EXTERNAL PROBLEM

The present position of Indian States is the result of the accidents of historical growth. When, after the decay of Moghul power in the middle of the eighteenth century, the East Indian Company began to intervene in the political affairs of India they had to solicit the favour of Indian Rulers like the Nizam and the Mahrattas and seek their alliance in order to maintain their position against the French. The Company was not at that time a political power, and the same circumstances which favoured the growth of their power also operated to strengthen and to establish on an independent footing the rule of the local chieftains and viceroys who owed nominal allegiance

to the Moghul. Thus though the majority of bigger Indian States are not survivals of old Indian monarchies, they are not, except in the single case of the State of Benares, the creations of British policy. Without a knowledge of the historical conditions which gave rise to the present position, it is therefore impossible to understand the relations subsisting between the Government of India and the States.

Originally the East India Company, like other European trading companies in India, was interested merely in trade and had no political ambitions. It was only after 1740, when the political genius of Dupliex forced the issue on the east coast, that the English Company turned its attention to political power. From the occasion of its first intervention in Arcot against the French, to the Battle of Buxar and the consequent reduction of the Nawab Vazir, and the acquisition of the Dewani¹ in 1765, the Company stood in relation to Indian States in the position of subordination. From the time the acquisition of the Dewani to the end of Warren Hastings' rule the Company is engaged in a life and death struggle, first with Mysore and then with the Mahrattas with the object of establishing an equality of status with the Indian powers.

This period saw the development of the theory of subordinate alliance, not indeed as a general scheme for India as it became under Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings, but as a scheme for defending the Company's possessions from external aggression and carrying on offensive warfare if necessary, without any expenditure.

The first of such subsidiary treaties was negotiated with the Nawab Vazir of Oudh in 1765 after the Company's forces had marched into Lucknow. The Company was not in a position

¹ Dewani means the right to collect taxes.

to annex the State, as it would have given the British merchants, whose strength lay on the sea, an extensive land frontier which they would have had to defend against two Powers who were at that time stronger on the land than they were—the Afghans under the Duranee King and the Mahrattas. The result was an alliance by which Shuja-ud-Dowla was restored to the throne and the Company undertook to defend his frontier on the condition that he defrayed the expense of such defence. The Company recognised that the defence of Oudh was the defence of Bengal. *Thus the subsidiary system began as a method of defence without expenditure.*²

During the period between 1765 and 1782, the Company increased in authority and prestige owing to the grant of the Dewani by the Moghul Emperor and the reorganisation of its political administration by the intervention of Parliament. The Regulating Act transformed the Company from a purely trading corporation into a semi-sovereign political body under the control and direction of the Parliament. But except for the reduction of Oudh by successive treaties to the position of absolute dependence, the relation of the major Indian powers to the Company remained unchanged.

When Lord Cornwallis succeeded to the Governor Generalship, the Company was fully content with the position of equality attained under Hastings. The main States at that time in India were the Mahrattas, the Nizam, the Nawab of Arcot and the Sultan of Mysore. They maintained relations of a friendly character with the Mahrattas who ruled the whole of Hindustan excepting the Punjab and Bengal. With the Nizam their relations were more cordial. Even at the

Court of the Nawab of Arcot their position was not one of superiority, while with Mysore their relations were merely correct but hardly friendly.

The campaign against Mysore, consequent upon Tipu's attack on Travancore, united the Company, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, in what was called a triple alliance; but this alliance was only of a temporary nature meant for a specific and agreed purpose and dissoluble at the will of any of the parties. The treaty with the Nawab of Arcot underwent, however, a significant change. By the treaty of 1787 the Company bound itself to maintain the *whole military force required* for the protection of the Carnatic in consideration of which the Nawab was prohibited from entering into any political negotiations or correspondence.

CHANGE IN AUTHORITY

The relative position of the States *vis à vis* the Company continued to be the same until the arrival of the Earl of Mornington, later on, the Marquis of Wellesley. But among themselves their power and authority had undergone considerable change. The Nizam was reduced to impotence after the fatal field of Kurdla in 1795, where his army capitulated to the Mahrattas under Parusuram Bhau Pattavardhan. In the Mahratta Empire itself, the death of Mahdajee Scindia had altered the balance of power. The central authority of the Peshwa had weakened. Mysore remained under Tipu, but that redoubtable Sultan's power was very greatly reduced. Scindia alone remained a power of first class military importance in Hindustan and the forces of Holkar held Central India.

It is the masterful personality of Wellesley who transformed the position of the Company from that of one among a number of rival Indian States

² Letter to Colonel Champion. Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, i-443.

to one of paramountcy. A new treaty was negotiated with the Nizam by which he was rendered a subsidiary ally of the Company. This treaty was unlike the former agreements negotiated between the Nizam and the Company at least in three important matters:

1. It was indissoluble. After the signature of this treaty the Nizam was not free to pick and choose his friends. The State, came to be in "permanent alliance" with the British.
2. There was a British Army officered by Europeans but paid for by the Nizam established in his territory. This force was for the purpose of internal as well as external defence and it gave to the Company a handle wherewith to influence the internal affairs of the State.
3. The treaty stipulated that the foreign relations of the Nizam should be conducted exclusively through the Company.

These three characteristics were, as we have pointed out, developed slowly during the 55 years of relations with Oudh and Arcot. The subsidiary system did not come suddenly into existence with all its characteristics fully developed. With the increasing power of the East India Company, new restrictive clauses were introduced to the original stipulation of a subsidiary force to be paid for by the Ruler. It is in the Hyderabad Treaty that we meet with all these clauses in their fully developed form.

The Hyderabad Treaty may, therefore, be said to be the subsidiary treaty *par excellence*, and the consequences that followed from the special characteristics noted above may, therefore, be analysed.

First, it may be said here, that the East India Company did not in any way conceal their object in negotiating

the Hyderabad treaty. "The fundamental principle of His Excellency the Governor General's policy in establishing the subsidiary alliance is to place the States in such a degree of dependence on the British power as may deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measure hazardous to the security of the British Empire."³

The permanent and indissoluble character of the alliance made the Ruler a subordinate and unequal. Though the Nizam realised that in allowing the Mahrattas to be crushed, he was sealing his own doom, the treaty gave him no loophole as his own forces were under the effective command of the British Resident. The permanent nature of the alliance also tended to give the executive decisions of the British Government the force of finality, as there was no method of settlement by arbitration or otherwise of questions on which there was divergence of opinion.

The second feature, the establishment of a "subsidised force" within the territory of the Ruler, is even more pregnant with disastrous consequences for the State. A subsidised force meant an army kept within the allied State by the British Government for the expenses of which a subsidy was given by the protected Ruler.

It was usually postulated that the subsidy (which formed generally about one third of the revenues of the State) should be paid annually. The Company's Government knew well enough that so heavy a demand on the States' revenues could not easily be met with any regularity especially in India, where revenues shrink or expand according to the monsoon. The result was, as the Duke of Wellington foresaw, that the States fell into arrears. This gave the Company opportunity to annex the most valuable portions of the

³ Despatch of the Government of India to the Resident at Hyderabad, 4th Feb. 1804.

territory of its allies. The principle on which the commutation of subsidy was generally negotiated is put in the following words by the Marquis of Wellesley himself in a Despatch to the Secret Committee of the Board of Directors. In advising the Court of Directors to follow the Hyderabad precedent in the Oudh negotiations, Wellesley stated:

In commutation of 40 lakhs a country rated at the annual value of 62 lakhs of rupees was taken away in full sovereignty in the Nizam's case.⁴

The pay and allowances of the Nizam's contingent officered by Britishers but paid for by the Hyderabad State were many times more than what prevailed in the Company's forces or in the British Army. The Commandant was paid £5,000 a year, and the other officers were paid in proportion.⁵ The object of this contingent was thus explained in a moment of candour by the Government of India:

When for our private views that prince was constrained to support a body of our troops to be stationed near his capital the then Government disguised the interested oppressiveness by the sturdy declaration that His Highness had spontaneously sought the aid of a subsidiary force to secure his person and territories.⁶

The subsidiary force besides dislocating the finances and demoralising the administration also gave the Company the pretext for internal interference. Wellesley enunciated this principle in relation to Oudh. As the Nawab's

authority is upheld by the terror of our name and exercised by the immediate force of our arms,

and as the Nawab himself is

sustained exclusively by his connection with the Company's Government and the reputation and honour of the British nation,⁷

the Governor General claimed that the right to interfere in any matter whatsoever rested with the Company. This principle in the form that Wellesley enunciated was capable of application to every case of a subsidiary alliance.

The third characteristic was the stipulation that the State in subsidiary alliance should have no foreign relations. It was only in 1787 that this clause was introduced in the treaty with the Nawab of Arcot. But with no other State had the Company so far insisted upon this restriction. In the treaty with the Nizam, Wellesley introduced it as an essential feature of subsidiary alliance, because his policy from the beginning was to isolate the Mahrattas and make any alliance between the Deccan powers impossible.

Though with the Hyderabad Treaty the subsidiary alliance in all its essential features came into existence and all the problems of internal intervention, restriction of sovereign powers, forced appointment of dewan and control of succession began to agitate Anglo-Indian statesmen even at the beginning of the century, it should not be thought that a political system embracing the whole of India was brought into being at the time. The treaty with Scindia in 1804 left him a sovereign power whose independence was acknowledged. The treaty with Holkar was also not of the kind which reduced him to the position of a subordinate ally. In 1809 Lord Minto refused to enter into an alliance with Bhopal. By the agreements negotiated by Minto after the departure of Wellesley and the death of Cornwallis, who was sent out to replace him, the commitments in

⁴ Wellesley's *Despatches*, p. 205.

⁵ Kaye's *Life of Marquis*, Vol. II, p. 15.

⁶ *Bengal Political Letter*, 20 Dec. 1822 (Government of India to Matcalfe).

⁷ Wellesley's *Despatches*, p. 200.

Central India were reduced and the subsidiary alliances of the Company even dissolved in some cases.

There are two considerations with regard to the relations of the Company with the Indian powers at this time to which attention should be called.

1. All the treaties, except that with Mysore, are negotiated on a basis of equality. The Company did not claim any paramountcy or authority, and the treaties themselves clearly show that at least in the case of those States which were not conquered there was a spirit of reciprocity. As the great Mahratta powers and the Nizam were in the enjoyment of absolute internal and external sovereignty, the reciprocity established with them was not merely a verbal formality or something to soothe wounded susceptibilities, but a historical fact.

Each of these treaties guarantees in a most absolute manner the absolute authority of the Ruler over his own subjects and most unequivocally repudiates any claim to intervene in the affairs of the State. That the clause so laid down was not merely a friendly profession may be seen from the fact that Wellesley recognised its baneful influence and, where he had the chance as in Mysore, tried to remedy it in the treaty itself.

Recollecting the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen to the parties concerned under the double Governments and conflicting authorities unfortunately established in Oudh, Carnatic and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve for the Company the most extensive and indisputable rights of interposition in the internal affairs of Mysore.⁸

If, after realising the baneful influence of this system of guaranteeing absolute authority, Wellesley and his successors were forced to insert a clause of this

kind uniformly in all treaties, it is clear it could not have been done as an act of mere formality.

A NEW PERIOD

With the Marquis of Hastings a new period opens in the relations of Indian States with the Government of India. By the destruction of Mahratta power in 1818, the Company was left supreme in Hindustan (excepting the Punjab), and from that time up to the assumption of sovereignty by the Crown in 1858, the position of the States underwent a slow but imperceptible change. In 1818 Scindia was still an independent power. Holkar had not been fully absorbed into the subsidiary system. Sir John Malcolm in 1822 had declared that

with Scindia we have only general relations of amity and we can claim no right of interference in any part of his administration.⁹

When Dowlat Rao Scindia was lying seriously ill in 1826, the Government of India ostentatiously denied that they had anything whatever to do with the succession in the State or with its internal administration. The position was similar in Indore.

The British Government hereby declares that it has no manner of concern with any of the Maharaja's children, relatives, dependents or subjects or servants with respect to whom the Maharaja is absolute.¹⁰

But a new political system was coming into existence, side by side with this. A new group of States had come into existence mainly in Central India (excepting Gwalior, Indore and Bhopal) and in Kathiawad, over whom the Government of India claimed complete authority. The alliance with the states in Rajputana concluded after the defeat of the Mahrattas was the basis of "subordinate coöperation."

⁸ Despatch to the Court of Directors, Aug. 3, 1799.

⁹ *Central India* Vol. II. P. 452.

¹⁰ Article X of the Treaty of Mandsaur.

In fact, the agreements made after 1818, with the single exception of Kashmir, due to geographical and political considerations at the time, were of such a character as to reserve for the Company full powers of authority and control.

The policy of the Company during the period was neither uniform nor consistent. It treated the major Rulers as Independent Sovereigns. In the case of the minor rulers it tried a policy of feudalisation with incidental claims of escheat, wardship, etc. But the policy of the Company, except in States like Oudh, Hyderabad and Mysore, where a different tradition had grown up, was not based on intervention but on annexation.

The Court of Directors in 1841 enunciated the policy of "abandoning no just and honourable assession of territory or revenue." This instruction was faithfully followed by the Marquis of Dalhousie with the results that Oudh, Satara, Nagpur, Tanjore and numerous other States were annexed and became part of the territories of the Company. It was only when the disastrous results of the creed of grab were written in letters of blood during the Mutiny that the authorities came to realise its failure. After the mutiny annexation on any pretext ceased to be a part of British policy towards Indian States.

The position before 1858 was acknowledged officially to be that of friendly and non-interfering alliance with the more important States.

In the Act that transferred India from the Company to the Crown, it was specially declared that the treaties made by the Company were binding on the British Crown. Queen Victoria's proclamation also announced the same fact. The transference of the Company's possessions to the Crown could not, it is obvious, make the least difference in the legal theory of the position

of the States and the British power. And yet in 1861, almost immediately after the Mutiny was put down, mainly owing to the loyal exertions of the Princes, the claim was put forward that the independent allies of yesterday had all of a sudden become transformed into dependent chiefs, liable to be punished, deposed and dishonoured according to the wishes of the Government of India. A claim of paramountcy, not only as a historical fact but as a legal principle capable of interpretation and expansion, was introduced. Lord Canning expressed the principle thus in his address to the Princes of Rajputana:

The last vestiges of the royal house of Delhi from which, for our own convenience, we had long been content to accept a vicarious authority, have been swept away. The last pretender to the representation of the Peishwa has disappeared. The Crown of England stands forward the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India and is for the first time brought face to face with its feudatories. There is a reality in the suzerainty of the sovereign of England which has never existed before and which is not only felt but eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs.

This theory of suzerainty on the one hand and feudal subordination on the other which was put forward as a uniform principle in relation to all the States for the first time was further expanded, annotated and underlined by Lord Mayo. In his speech to the Princes assembled at Ajmere, Lord Mayo said as follows:

If we respect your rights and privileges you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of Rajputana, justice and order shall prevail; that every man's property shall be secure; that the traveller shall come and go in

safety; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour; and the trader the produce of his commerce; that you shall make roads and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people and swell the revenues of your States; that you shall encourage education and provide for the relief of the sick.

The principle enunciated by Lord Mayo in this speech was in complete violation of the clear and unequivocal declaration in most of the treaties that "the British Government shall have no manner of concern whatsoever" with the administration of the States and that in internal government the Rulers "shall be absolute," etc. The claim put forward that the Government of India had the right to look after the welfare of the people and that in giving up the policy of annexation, they had introduced in its stead the policy of considering all of them uniformly dependent on the British Government and owning allegiance alike, with the co-relative right of interference in Scindia's territory as much as in that of a minor Kathiawad State was capable of infinite expansion. And it was *in order to establish this uniform loyalty that the Sanad of 1861 was granted allowing adoption in all the States.*

That Sanad created by mere declaration the duty of loyalty to the British Government, and it will be noticed that whenever any Indian Prince has put forward claims to be treated on the basis of the original agreement, the duty imposed by the acceptance of the Sanad of 1861 is brought forward as an argument. The latest example of this was in the case of Hyderabad, when the claim of the Nizam to a different position was met with by the declaration of Lord Reading, textually approved by the Secretary of State, that the Ruler of Hyderabad had along with other Princes *accepted* the Sanad of

1861. The relationship of the States was practically made uniform in the matter of loyalty and allegiance by that Sanad.

The inconsistency of the position of the rights of independence established by treaty and the loyalty and allegiance established by the Sanad and the constitutional position taken up afterwards was noticed by Lord Mayo. Writing to a Cabinet Minister in England he said:

Our relations with our Native Feudatory States are on the whole satisfactory, though they are by no means defined. We act on the principle of non-interference, but we must constantly interpose. We allow them to keep armies for the defence of their States, but we cannot permit them to go to war. We encourage them to establish Courts of Justice, but we cannot hear of their trying Europeans. We recognise them as separate Sovereigns, but we daily issue to them orders which are implicitly obeyed. We depose them, as in the Tonk case, when the ruler commits or sanctions a grievous crime; or create an administration for them, as in the Alwar case, when the Chief misgoverns and worries his subjects. With some we place political agents, with others we do not; with some as with Jaipur, Bhopal and Patiala, we are on terms of intimacy and friendship. Others such as Dholpur and Alwar, we scarcely ever address except to find fault with them for some gross neglect of duty.¹¹

ECONOMIC CHANGE

It will be seen from this that within the first ten years after the Mutiny, the States had been transformed from foreign territory which they were technically and legally into areas under the indirect government of the Governor General in Council. Before the Mutiny the princes stood in fear of annexation; now that fear had vanished. But with it also had vanished the idea of guaranteed independence and au-

¹¹ Hunter's *Life of Mayo*. Vol. II, pp. 207-10.

tonomy. A new fear, that of constant worrying and vexatious intervention replaced the fear of annexation.

If some territory was required either for strategic or for commercial purposes, the East India Company before the Mutiny, simply proceeded to annex it or in some other manner to get full control of it. In his Minutes, dated 28th February, 1856, Lord Dalhousie had declared as a justification for his taking over Berar from the Nizam as follows:

In the possession of Berar and the neighbouring districts, the British Government, it deserves to be remembered, has secured the finest cotton tracts which are known to exist in all the continent of India; and thus has opened up a great additional channel of supply; through which to make good a felt deficiency in the staple of one great branch of its manufacturing industry.

The same Governor General had frankly noted:

I take occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves.¹¹

This policy of adding to the territories of the Company was given up, but instead the Company *began to treat for the purposes of its economic and other development the areas ruled by the Princes as being dominions over which they could exercise rights*. The policy with regard to railway construction, telegraph lines, currency, etc., will establish this point. In the Sanads given to Jind and Patiala after the Mutiny, it was laid down that the Raja will furnish at current rates through the agency of his own officers, the necessary materials, railway stations, roads and bridges. In the Mysore agreement of 1881, the Govern-

ment of India stipulated that the Maharaja should grant such land as may be required for the construction of railways and transfer full jurisdiction within such lands. The policy pursued on this matter is best illustrated in the case of Patiala:

Upon a full review of the case the Government of India have come to the conclusion that for Imperial reasons which apply throughout India and which are of the utmost importance for the administration of the whole system of Indian Railways, it is necessary that the Patiala Durbar should comply with the wishes of the Government in the matter as the majority of the Native States have already done in India.

His Honour must, therefore, ask the Patiala Durbar now to carry out the request and return duly signed two copies of the agreement forwarded with this office letter No. 5 dated, 24th July, 1899, in respect of each of the Railways mentioned in that letter.¹²

DEVELOPMENT IN ECONOMIC LIFE

The policy of the Government of India since the Mutiny was directed to the steady consolidation of economic interests. The period following the Mutiny saw an extraordinary development in the economic life of India. The extension of railways, the sudden demand for Indian cotton owing to the stoppage of supplies from America during the Civil War and the consequent rise of Bombay as a leading industrial and commercial centre, the growth of modern banking, posts and telegraphs, etc., led to a steady and irresistible movement towards economic unification. The States which lay within the operation of these currents were naturally caught up. They surrendered or were forced to surrender their economic independence.

The Government of India, which before the Mutiny would have uncer-

¹¹ Arnold, *Dalhousie's Indian Administration*. II-119.

¹² Chief Secretary Government of Punjab's letter No. 417, dated 5th April, 1900.

moniously annexed the States on a frankly economic plea, was now satisfied with making the States surrender their economic privileges, that is, permit the construction of railway; with attendant cession of jurisdiction, establish British-Indian post offices and currency, telegraph and telephone system.

The policy of forcing the States into a single economic system was carried further in the matter of salt and customs. The States with a sea board were forced against their wishes to accept British customs rates and those which had no sea board and were surrounded by British territory were altogether denied the revenue from customs. Because Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir, whose territories bordered on Russian and Chinese Turkistan, levied duty on goods that passed through the State, the Punjab Government threatened to intervene, in 1865, though at that time the Jammu and Kashmir State enjoyed complete independence. In the matter of salt, also, the Government of India pursued a consistent policy of acquiring, at the expense of the States, a monopoly in production.

The cumulative result of all this was that in the nineteen years between the Mutiny and the first Delhi Durbar the position of the States had been seriously affected both in political rights and in economic independence. In political rights, the Government of India had put forward and exercised the claim to depose and try Rulers of States (Gaekwar and the Nawab of Tonk), interfere forcibly in internal affairs (Alwar, Datia, Jodhpur, etc.), settle precedence, salutes, etc. (Datia), grant titles and orders of chivalry (at the Durbar). In fact, a theory of semifeudalistic relations was consciously developed by the Government of India, though this was in every way in direct conflict with

known and notorious historical facts.

The economic subordination was equally serious and was pursued with equal consistency and vigour. The Government of India took every opportunity afforded to them either by the minority or temporary embarrassments of rulers to force them into the economic life of British India. This process continued with such disastrous effects on the general prosperity of the population of the States that they came to be considered backward areas, without realising that their backwardness was due to the policy of economic aggression followed by the Government of India.

The position became so serious that in blind defiance of all history, authoritative quarters began to enunciate the theory that the rights of Indian Princes were not inherent but merely derivative. "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged: it has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative," said Lord Curzon. If this were so, then the Government of India would be justified in making any claim it chooses. It was clearly on the tacit assumption of this theory that the agreements and conventions were forced upon Indian States in the interests of British and Indian trade. This theory continued, at least, till the Minto-Morley Reforms when the whole question of British relations with the Princes was reconsidered in view of the rising nationalist movement in British India.

It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge that the results of this changed attitude became visible. The treaty with Mysore, which had placed that important State in a position of inferiority compared to other principalities, was revised. During the European War Lord Hardinge freely consulted the Princes on all matters, and their steadfast loyalty to the British

connection and the very valuable help, military and financial, which they were able to give proved once again the paramount necessity of maintaining them in their authority and guaranteeing them against the encroachments of the British Indian Government. In the Reforms that were introduced into Indian Government after the war, the position of the Princes was sympathetically considered. Two important results followed from this. The Government of India withdrew the ban which they had so far maintained against joint consultation among Princes and agreed to the establishment of a standing Committee of Princes whose main duty was to watch the interests of the States in matters of wider political or economic interest. A Chamber of Princes was also established with the object of advising the Viceroy on questions affecting the Princes as a whole.

These two institutions, the Standing Committee and the Chamber of Princes have helped to change the attitude of the Government of India on the external aspect of the problem. It is not contended now as it was in the days of Lord Curzon that the powers and prerogatives of Indian Rulers are merely derivative and that the ultimate source of all authority even in the States is the British Crown. That theory has been definitely given up. The Princes of India are recognised to be internally sovereign, and it is now accepted that they are presumed to be in the enjoyment of all powers which have been either by treaty or by long usage surrendered to the British Crown. The acceptance of this principle naturally involves a reconsideration of many questions, economic and political which were decided in the past by the Government of India on an unauthorised assumption of legal rights. The undoubted tendency in the external prob-

lem of Indian States has been for the Government of India to surrender and the States to resume much of the authority which during the period between the Mutiny and the régime of Lord Curzon had been taken away from them. It is in order to put that resumption on a systematic and legal basis that the Butler Committee, of which mention was made before, was appointed by the British Government.

There is another, and no less important, aspect of the external problem of Indian States. And that is the relation of the States with the people of British India. Indian States are all of them internal States. They are, except in the case of Kashmir, surrounded on all sides by British territory. Their people are bound by innumerable ties with the people of British India. Economically and politically they are, in fact, part and parcel of the same country. Hence the political and economic development of British India affect the Indian States closely: for example, the imposition of Customs duty at British Indian ports operates as indirect taxation of Indian States. Hence, it is clear, that with development of democratic political institutions in India the relations of the Princes—with whomever their alliance may be—will become more and more intimate with the people of British India. The position that the Princes have taken up on the question of Indian self-government is clear and unequivocal. They have not hesitated to express their sympathy with the demand of the British Indian people for autonomy. But they have made it equally clear that the devolution of powers from the British Government to a representative assembly of British India would not and could not mean the transference to it of the political control over the States now exercised by the Viceroy. The treaty relations of the Princes of India

are with the Crown. At the present time the Viceroy combines both the functions; that of the representative of the Crown in relation to the Princes, and that of the chief administrative officer of British India. The point of view of the Princes is that if by Parliamentary legislation the chief executive authority of British India is made subordinate to a representative assembly, it would not in any way affect their position *vis-à-vis* the Crown. Apart from this the Princes have as a body expressed their willingness to come to any reasonable agreement on economic and political questions affecting them jointly with British India.

INTERNAL

The relations of the States with British India form but one aspect of a most complicated problem. An equally important though less agitating aspect of the question is that of internal government. The problem can be stated this way. What are the responsibilities of the Rulers to their subjects? What sanctions are to be provided in order to see that the States are progressively and wisely administered; and arising out of the above two, is the question, what are the rights of intervention which the Government of India as representing the Crown possesses?

It is clear that as the States are maintained (at the present time) by the military power of the Government of India, and the States have, generally speaking, surrendered the right of external defence and in many cases of internal defence, there is on the part of the suzerain power a duty to see that its protection is not abused; that under the shadow of its guns and under the cover of its protection the Ruler does not oppress his subjects or permit in his State institutions which are subversive of order (that is organised robbery) or

recognised to be barbarous (that is, infanticide). In case of the breakdown of administration, financial bankruptcy or criminal misuse of sovereign powers the claim of the suzerain State to intervene is undoubted. But what is the amount of oppression that would justify intervention? Can the Government of India intervene merely on the constructive necessity of affording better government? There is again the question whether the subjects of Indian Rulers owe any allegiance to the British Government?

These problems have always been in the background of the picture. When the British Government deposed a Ruler the claim put forward was generally that it had a duty towards the people of the State. The whole question of intervention in internal affairs turned on the degree of responsibility which the British Government felt towards the subjects of the States. The connection between the external and internal aspects of the problem has dawned upon the Indian Princes only recently. Their claim had been that being sovereigns in their own States no oppression or misgovernment would justify intervention on the part of the suzerain power. This attitude has undergone considerable change of late. As His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir said in a recent speech:

We realize that treaties and engagements alone cannot secure our position. Authority must ultimately be derived from within. The strength and stability of our position depends more on the support that we receive from within the State and the subjects we govern, than on any external institutions that may be devised to safeguard our position. We have inherited from our forefathers the duty and responsibility of securing the welfare and progress of our people. We live with them, we share with them their joys and sorrows; we are the protectors of their rights and interests.

The best and the most effective guarantee

of our position, therefore, lies in their well-being and prosperity. At the same time it is necessary that our relations with the British Government and the Empire of which we form a part, should be put on a satisfactory basis. I join my brother Princes in sincerely hoping that the work of the Committee will result in a great step in this direction. It is for the first time that the affairs of the Princes and States are being subjected to careful examination, by an able and impartial body. I can only express the hope that the outcome of the deliberations and recommendations of the Committee will tend further to strengthen the ties which bind the Princes of India to the British Empire and will inaugurate a definite and enduring policy of sympathy and trust in all matters affecting the Indian States.

That this tendency is a genuine movement towards constitutional Reform in the States may be seen from the following resolution proposed on behalf of the Standing Committee of Princes by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, a representative of the Princes held at Bombay and unanimously accepted:

The meeting of the Rulers and representatives of State Governments affirms the intention of the Indian States to join with His Majesty's Government and with the Government and people of British India in working for a solution which shall secure protection for all interests and progress for all India, re-affirms the abiding determination of the Rulers of Indian States, as recorded in the last session of the Chamber of Princes, to ensure the rule of law in their States and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects.

Emphasises the dependence of the progress and prosperity of British India and the States alike upon the creation of constitutional means for the adjustment of relations between them.

It is also known that the Princes accepted a scheme of constitutional reform for the States, the main features

of which were thus summarised by a leading Ruler.

(1) A proper apportionment of revenue between the Ruler and the Administration, which in India means that the Prince, as the father of his people, assigns to the well-being of the body politic a very large share of his revenue, retaining to himself only as much as will suffice to maintain his exalted position—a conception fundamentally different from the Western idea of a King, who receives a small portion of what primarily belongs to the people.

(2) The security of the State services, each servant of the State being assured, both by practice and by virtue of regulation enforced, that he will be secure in his position so long as he properly performs his duties; secure also from undue interference either from the Ruler, or from other departments of the Administration, and that he will be entitled to a decent pension on his retirement, as a reward for the proper performance of his duties.

(3) The security of person and property, so that each subject may feel that as long as he respects the law, he will be continued in the fullest enjoyment of his personal liberty, of his right of ownership, and of the fruits of his labours; which postulate.

- (a) A sound system of law, whether legislative or customary;
- (b) the maintenance of an efficient and incorruptible police, with adequate military force in the background;
- (c) An independent judiciary, every judge occupying a high social status, with necessary qualifications and in receipt of a salary large enough to place him above temptation and consequent corruption, and assured of his being irremovable from his position until he has earned his pension, except

for misconduct, which must be established at a trial by a competent body composed of his colleagues and other members of the administration, of an equal or higher position.

In many of the larger States these principles have long been enforced both by legislation and by practice. In fact the record of progressive administration in Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad and Kashmir, which between them cover over 230,000 square miles, will bear comparison with British India. In education, social legislation and economic activity, the Governments of the progressive Indian States are far ahead of British India. Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Baroda have the highest percentage of literacy in India. In economic and industrial matters, Mysore, Gwalior and Kashmir Governments are active in the interests of their population. So far as social legislation is concerned, the Rulers of Indian States have been able to achieve more than the Government of British India. The practice of child marriage has been abolished by legislation in Baroda, Kashmir and Mandi. The matriarchal system which was prevalent in Travancore and Cochin was abolished by the legislatures of the State. In fact, it cannot be denied that the majority of Indian States—and certainly the most important of them—have followed a consistent policy of progressive and enlightened administration.

In this, if nowhere else, lies their justification. The internal States consti-

tute Indian India where the people, as well as the Rulers, have been attempting to reform themselves and build up a higher national life out of their own efforts.

The position that the States should occupy in a general scheme of Indian political settlement is perfectly well understood by all the parties concerned, though none of them have so far attempted to define it. The policy which would abolish them as inconvenient encumbrances in the way of progress is clearly impracticable because if for no other reason than that the people of British India have not the necessary force at their command. Neither is it conceivable that these 120 States should remain independent of the rest of India with full liberty to fly at each others' throats and split up the country by numerous fiscal and political barriers. It is accepted on all hands that the only solution lies in devising a polity which would guarantee the Princes the rights which are theirs by treaty and securing them the measure of independence consistent with the safety and tranquillity of India. The Princes have whole-heartedly accepted this view and have always declared themselves willing to work any scheme which, while guaranteeing them their legitimate rights, would secure the evolution of a united India. To such a polity of autonomous States federated together under a Central Government responsible for common defence and external policy, the Indian States ruled by their own sovereigns and developing lines best suited to their traditions will have a great deal to contribute.

Communications—Railways

By D. Y. ANDERSON, M.A.

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AS it is not possible to publish a map of India with this article, the reader is advised to examine the atlas, since, as with other countries, it has been the geography of India which has determined the layout of its railroad communications.

ORIGINS

To the west of the Peninsula lies the Indian Ocean, the only trade route which in the nineteenth century connected India with the Western Hemisphere, and the direct approach from Europe through the gateway of India—Bombay. The importance of Karachi as a harbour is of recent growth, and in the middle of the nineteenth century Bombay had no rival on the Western coast. On the East there is the Bay of Bengal, at its head the city and port of Calcutta, on the River Hooghli. The Hooghli connects with the two great rivers, Ganges and Brahmaputra, and thus Calcutta was in touch with the fertile plains of Bengal, and the rich agricultural districts of Behar and Assam. South from Calcutta, half way down the coast, is the city of Madras, capital of the great province of that name, and the harbour for the Southern part of India.

To the North conditions are very different; here we have no seas, but enormous masses of almost impenetrable mountain, beyond which lie strange lands—Tibet, Nepal, China, Russia. The past history of India consisted to a very great extent of invasions through the passes of these mountains, particularly in the Northwest, where lived the warlike border

tribes, always ready to attack the rich plains of the Punjab. Beyond the border were the fierce Afghans; and beyond them again the shadow of the Russian menace.

The geography of a country determines its trade routes and also its liability to attack; and these conditions in turn determine the system and direction of its communications. So, as was to be expected, we find that the Indian railway map has been influenced by three necessities—first, to connect with the shipping at the great harbours of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras; second, to transport and distribute the produce grown in the great stretch of plain along the course of the River Ganges; and third, to meet the danger of invasion in the Northwest. Hence, the railway system connects the three ports with each other, and with the Northwest; hence, too, the concentration of lines in the North, to the comparative exclusion of the South. The fertile belt stretches from the tea gardens of Assam, through the jute and rice fields of Bengal, the grains of Behar and Oudh, the wheat of Agra and the Punjab, and so on to the strategical area of the Northwest and to the borders of Afghanistan. Thus we find a great network of lines stretching from Calcutta to Peshawar; the main lines connecting Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and comparatively little else.

The development of this system has taken nearly ninety years, the first proposals for the construction of railways in India having been made to the East India Company in 1844 by R. M.

Stephenson, who was later to become Chief Engineer of the great East Indian Railway. In 1849 the East Indian Railway entered into a contract for the construction of an experimental line, 100 miles in length, to run from Calcutta in a westerly direction towards Mirzapore. The estimated cost was one million pounds, and the East India Company (not to be confused with the East Indian Railway) agreed to guarantee a return of 5 per cent on this capital. In the same year a similar contract was made with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway for a line between Bombay and Kalyan, and this line, or its first 22 miles from Bombay to Thana, was the first railway to be opened in India, the date of opening being the 18th of August, 1853. In 1854 this construction reached Kalyan; Vasind—50 miles from Bombay—in 1855; and by 1870 the Great Indian Peninsula Railway had been carried to Jubbulpore, 617 miles from Bombay, and the point where a connection was made with the East Indian Railway from Calcutta.

The East Indian Railway was opened on the 15th of August, 1854, the line being from Calcutta to Hooghly, and the distance 23 miles. This reached Raneegunge, in the coal district, in 1855, and was completed through to Ghaziabad (941 miles) by 1871, the route touching such important places as Dinapore, Mirzapore, Allahabad, and Cawnpore.

In the South, two miles of line were opened in Madras (city) in July, 1856, this short section being the nucleus of what is now the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

The gauge adopted for the track in all these early lines was 5 ft. 6 in.—now known as the Standard Gauge, which accounts for over half of the total mileage in India. Only less important is the metre gauge system (3 ft.

3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.) which began with a line from Delhi to Rewari (51 miles), now part of the Bombay Baroda & Central India Railway. This was opened in February, 1873; and in 1875 some parts of the South Indian Railway, in Madras, which had originally been standard gauge, were converted to metre. By March, 1927, the total route mileage—that is, distance from terminus to terminus excluding multiple track and sidings—was 19,367 miles standard gauge, 15,932 miles metre gauge, and 3,750 miles narrow gauge (*i. e.*, 2 ft. or 2 ft. 6 in.).

It may seem strange that such a variety of gauges should have been permitted, and in fact much criticism has been levelled at those who were responsible, the chief argument being that a break of gauge means additional handling, and so materially increases the cost of transportation. Actually the arrangement has been a boon to the country, as it has permitted the opening up of districts which otherwise would have remained without communications, roads being almost unknown. The standard gauge has been found suitable for the long main routes in India, but naturally construction on this gauge is an expensive undertaking. The cheaper cost of the metre gauge has enabled it to work successfully where the financial results of a standard gauge line would have been at best doubtful, and narrow gauge lines again have opened up trade in places where even the metre gauge could not profitably penetrate. The narrow gauge lines, with their necessarily restricted speeds, are unsuited to long distances, and have been built solely as feeder lines, or as mountain railways; but the metre gauge has developed in such a manner that its total mileage is now little short of the standard gauge total, and freight can travel entirely over the metre gauge from the northern limits

of Assam across India to the coasts of the Bombay Presidency.

DEVELOPMENT

We have seen that railroads began in the 1850's; by 1860 there were 838 miles of line open in India, the capital expended being Rs. 266,600,000, or approximately \$88,000,000. (Before the Great War the rupee was worth approximately 33 cents; it has recently been fixed at 1sh. 6d., or about 37 cents). The following table shows how the railways have grown from their birth to the end of March, 1927:

Year	Miles Opened	Capital Cost in 1000's
1850-1860	838	Rs. 26 66 00
1861-1870	3,933	63 34. 50
1871-1880	4,225	38. 56. 41
1881-1890	7,408	85 10 13
1891-1900	8,348	1. 15. 86 30
1901-1910	7,347	1. 09 51 39
1911-1920	4,636	1. 27. 33 04
1921-1927	2,314	2. 22 28. 89
Total	39,049	7. 88. 66. 66

The period 1891-1900 was that in which construction was carried on with the greatest energy; the table also shows the effect of the Great War, both on development and on prices.

It has already been stated that, of the total of 39,049 route miles, 19,367 miles were standard gauge, 15,932 metre gauge, and 3,750 miles narrow gauge. During the year 1926-27, 421 miles were opened for public traffic; and at the end of March, 1927 (the latest date for which official figures are as yet available), 2,551 miles were under construction.

In addition to the lines owned and worked by the Government of India and by companies, there were 5,044 miles owned by Indian States, of which these States themselves operate

3,153 miles, the remainder being controlled by the neighbouring main line administrations. There is also a small miscellaneous mileage (271 miles) consisting principally of District Board lines.

OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

We have seen that the original lines were constructed at the expense of companies, and that a fixed dividend was guaranteed by the East India Company—in other words, by what is now the Government of India. This policy was adopted in 1854 on the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie, who argued that, though the State engineers could make the railways as well and as cheaply as the companies could, the withdrawal of so many men from the State service would be against the public interest. He also held that it was not the business of the State to conduct commercial undertakings. Thus between 1854 and 1860, contracts were made between the East India Company (or after 1858, the Secretary of State for India) with the East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula, Madras, Bombay Borada & Central India, Eastern Bengal, and other railway companies; under which contracts the companies undertook to construct and operate specified lines, while the State undertook to supply the necessary land, and guaranteed interest on the capital cost at rates varying from 4.5 to 5 per cent.

Should the profits exceed the amount required to pay the guaranteed interest, half of the surplus was to be paid to the Government in recoupment of any sums which the Government may have had to pay to the companies in the past. The Government also retained control over all matters of importance except the selection of the personnel; and the railways were to be held by the

companies on 99-year leases, provision being made to enable the Government to buy them out after 25 or 50 years, on specified terms.

This principle of guaranteed companies continued till 1862, when the Government began an attempt to secure more favourable conditions—an experiment, the failure of which was summed up by Sir John Lawrence in 1869 thus:

The Government of India has for several years been striving to induce capitalists to undertake the construction of Railways in India at their own risk . . . with a minimum of Government interference. But the attempt has entirely failed, and it has become obvious that no capital can be obtained for such undertakings otherwise than under a guarantee of interest fully equal to that which the Government would have to pay if it borrowed directly on its own account.

The previous methods were therefore altered, at this time, in two important particulars: first, it was agreed with some of the original guaranteed companies that half of the surplus profits should be paid to the Government in every half year, the Government in return giving up the right to purchase at the end of the first 25 years; and second, the Government decided that the time had come when capital expenditure on railways might conveniently be incurred directly by the State. Thus by the end of 1879 there were in India 6,128 miles of line built by companies at a cost of £97,872,000, and 2,175 miles built by the State at a cost of £23,695,226.

The next step came as the result of the great famine of 1878, which demonstrated that the railway mileage of the country was far short of its requirements. To help make good this deficiency, six new companies were formed between 1881 and 1887—three guaranteed, and three without guar-

antee; another guaranteed company was subsequently formed in 1892, and yet another in 1897.

In dealing with the original guaranteed companies, and with those formed after 1880, it has been the practice of the Government to terminate the contracts as soon as this could be done, the method of termination differing in different cases. Certain lines were purchased, and thereafter operated by the State: some were acquired, but were left under the management of companies; others again continued under their original management on conditions which were made more favourable to the State.

The relations between the State and the guaranteed companies today are roughly as follows: The lines themselves, and the bulk of the capital, belong to the Government. If funds are required, the Government may either provide them or order the company to do so. There is a guaranteed rate of interest, and surplus profits are divided between the Government and the company—the former taking the lion's share. Contracts are terminable at the option of the Government, and, on termination, the capital is repayable at par. The company must operate the line to the satisfaction of the Government, which maintains a service of inspecting officer to ensure that this is done. The Government retains considerable control over the details of working; a Government official is to have a seat on the Board of Directors; and all expenditure must be sanctioned by the State. In short, the Government has the preponderating financial interest in the guaranteed lines; it has great control over their operation; and it can take possession of them at specified times and on specified terms.

There are two considerable metre gauge lines not guaranteed by the State—the Bengal and Northwestern

and the Rohilkhund and Kumaon, which are to all intents and purposes one system. They also are subject to Government inspection, and may be purchased by the Government, on terms which should be very favourable to the companies, in the year 1932; or, failing this, in 1981, on terms much more favourable to the State.

NATIONALISATION

Thus the position came to be that the railways of India, whether guaranteed or not, were worked under contracts which meant that sooner or later they could be taken over by the State; and when the time for a decision approached, the question was, What was the State going to do? Were the old arrangements to be extended, or were the lines to be nationalised?

Nationalisation of railways, nationalisation of shipping, nationalisation of mines—these are problems which have given rise to endless discussion all the world over. In France, railways were nationalised—the results were bad; in Canada railways were nationalised—the results were disastrous. It would therefore appear that nationalisation was to be avoided. But, on the other hand, there were railways in India which had been owned and operated by the State for many years and which had not been entirely unsuccessful financially. The Northwestern had been variable—some years there was a loss, some years a profit. From 1886 to 1902 inclusive, there was a regular annual loss to the State; from 1903 to 1927 there was an average annual gain of roughly Rs. 1,800,000. But the Northwestern was to a considerable extent a strategic line, and as such was not expected to be profitable. The Eastern Bengal, from 1888 to 1927, has been a gain to the State in all but seven years.

On the Oudh and Rohilkhund, the

State had a profit in all but three years, from 1910 to 1925. There were thus arguments on both sides, and in order to decide the question, the Secretary of State for India, at the end of 1920, appointed a Committee (known from its Chairman as the Acworth Committee) to report on this and other matters affecting the Indian railroads. The Committee consisted of the President, Sir William Acworth, who had already sat on a similar commission in Canada; Sir Henry Burt, an ex-President of the Indian Railway Board; Sir R. N. Mookerjee, senior partner in the firm of Martin and Co., Managing Agents for several Light Railway Companies; Sir A. R. Anderson, another Ex-President of the Railway Board; Sir George Godfrey, Agent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway; the Hon. Mr. Sastri, Member of the Council of State; Mr. E. H. Hiley, General Manager of the New Zealand Government Railways; Sir Henry Ledgard of Cawnpore, representing European commercial interests; Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas of Bombay, representing Indian commercial interests; and Mr. Tuke, a Director of Barclays Bank, Ltd.

These details are mentioned to show that the Committee consisted of two groups, one of men with experience of railways, and the other of men without such experience. On the subject of the future management of railways in India, the Committee was equally divided; the President (who in Canada had recommended *Company* management), three non-railway members, and Mr. Hiley, recommended direct State management; the four railway members and Sir H. Ledgard recommended a continuance of the guaranteed companies. The result has been that the Government has definitely accepted a policy of nationalisation, and accordingly, in 1925, the East Indian and Great Indian Penin-

sula systems, whose leases fell in, were taken over by the State, and are now operated as State lines.

It is only two years since the East Indian Railway and Great Indian Peninsula Railway were taken over by the State, and it is, therefore, too early to say what the result has been; the figures do not cover a long enough period to be of great value, and cannot be put forward as an argument either for or against company management. All we can do is to hope for the best. Where State management has failed in the past it has been due to political interference; before 1925 the Indian lines escaped this interference; but the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms have brought politics so much into the limelight, and have made them so popular, that there is now a much greater danger to be feared from the theories and practises of parties and politicians.

Reference has been made to "District Board" Railways; these are in general short feeder lines, built and operated on the guarantee-and-share-of-profits principle, the guarantor being a District Board, or what corresponds roughly to the County Council in Britain.

THE ACWORTH REPORT

The terms of reference of the Acworth Committee were (1) to make recommendations as to the method of management; (2) to examine the functions of the Railway Board, and the control exercised by the Government of India; (3) to consider arrangements for the financing of railways in India, and in particular the feasibility of the greater utilisation of private enterprise and capital in new constructions; (4) to report on the Government control of railway charges, and on the method of dealing with disputes between railways and traders; and (5) to make recommendations germane to the enquiry.

The Committee's report on the method of management has already been dealt with. As regards the Railway Board, which is the controlling authority for all the railways, the Committee suggested considerable alterations; a Department of Communications should be created, and at the head of this there should be a Member of Council in constant touch with railway matters—an experienced administrator, but not necessarily a technical expert. The Railway Board should be a technical body under the Member, with a Chief Commissioner, four Commissioners, and six Directors. Actually we now have a Member (of Council) for Railways, and a Railway Board which consists of a Chief Commissioner (ranking as a Secretary to the Government), a Member for Finance, a technical Member, and a general Member. The Board is assisted by five Directors, for Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Traffic, Establishment and Finance; and is thus the direct controlling authority over 15,000 miles of State-owned and operated line; it represents the predominant partner in other systems totally over 27,000 miles; it is the guarantor of many of the smaller railways; and it is the statutory authority over all railways in India.

As regards finance, the Acworth Committee carried out a much needed reform in recommending that the Finance Department of the Government should cease to control the internal finance of the railways; and that the railways should have a separate budget of their own, to be presented to the Legislative Assembly, not by the Finance Member of Council, but by the Member in charge of Railways. This has meant that the earnings from the railways are no longer merged in the general exchequer of the Government, but are definitely allocated to

railway purposes. The railways now know how they stand financially, and are no longer in the very unsatisfactory position of having to depend upon the state of the general budget for their expenditure.

The Committee also laid stress "on the importance of giving to the Indian public an adequate voice in the management of their railways;" and to secure this end, there are now a number of Advisory Councils. There is a Central Advisory Council which meets in Delhi or in Simla four times a year: this Council has 26 members including the Member in charge of the Railway Department as Chairman, and the Chief Commissioner; and it discusses matters of general railway interest. There are also a number of Local Advisory Councils, which meet once a month at the local headquarters of the various railway systems. These local councils meet under the chairmanship of the Agent of the railway concerned, the members being representative of the local Government, local bodies, and local business interests. These discuss matters of local interest such as alterations in the train schedules, reduction in charges, construction of new lines, and so on. There were 92 such meetings, held at various centres, during the year 1926-27, and there can be no doubt that these friendly discussions between the railway authorities and the public have been of great service.

The Government has also set up a Rates Advisory Committee which came into existence on the first of April, 1926. It consists of a president and two members—one representing the railways and the other the traders—and their work is to investigate complaints made by the public regarding undue preference (or discrimination), unreasonable rates, unreasonable conditions as to packing, etc., failure

to provide reasonable facilities, and so forth.

A Standing Finance Committee has also been created. When it was decided in 1924 that the railway finances should be kept separate from the general finances of the country, it was arranged to appoint a Standing Finance Committee for railways, consisting of a nominated chairman and eleven members elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly from amongst their own number. This Committee has to study all the important estimates of railway expenditure; and must examine all the demands for grants for the ensuing year before these are placed before the Assembly for sanction.

ORGANISATION

The organisation of the Government controlling authorities has been described—the Member, the Board, and the Standing Finance Committee. We now come to the organisation of the individual railway systems, each of which has as its chief administrative official, a General Manager, or, as he is usually called, an Agent. Until recently the actual executive work of the railways was on the departmental plan, according to which there were a number of heads of departments all under the control of the Agent—a Chief Engineer responsible for the construction and maintenance of the permanent way and buildings; a Chief Mechanical Engineer in charge of locomotives, carriages, wagons and workshops; a Traffic Manager to control the running of trains and the booking, transportation and delivery of freight and passengers; a Chief Auditor of Accounts; and a Chief Storekeeper. Each of these, except the last two, had under him various district officers and assistants. But this departmental system has now

been abolished on the larger railways and has been replaced by the divisional system under which the supervising staff is organised on a geographical basis. At the top, still under the control of the Agent, there is now a Chief Operating Superintendent who carries the entire administrative responsibility for the movement of all kinds of traffic, including the supply of vehicles and power, and for coördinating these with the upkeep of the track. The responsibility for executive work of the same description rests with a number of Divisional Superintendents each in charge of a particular part or section of the complete line.

RAILWAY CONFERENCE ASSOCIATION

In addition to the machinery set up by the Government for the general control of railways, the railways themselves have arranged a code of procedure for the regulation of inter-system business, such as the interchange of vehicles, the method of dealing with through traffic, the adjustment of claims as between railways, the issue of free passes, and so on. The Association is made up of the officers of the various railways, and has a permanent secretary. Once a year there is a full meeting of the Association, attended by senior officials from almost all lines; for the remainder of the year the work is carried on from the Secretary's office by correspondence with the officials, each line having a certain number of votes in accordance with its importance. There are also several Conference Committees which meet at odd times to discuss departmental topics. One of these is the Claims Arbitration Committee which settles disputed questions of responsibility for claims, and thus saves the companies from having to go to the law courts when they are unable to agree. The Association issues a num-

ber of publications of which the chief are the Conference Regulations for the interchange of through traffic; and the Goods and Coaching Tariffs containing the conditions and rates for the carriage of all kinds of traffic.

CONCLUSION

There are, roughly, three hundred million people in India, and to meet the transportation requirements of this huge population there are, as we have seen, some 40,000 miles of railroad—7,500 people per route mile. It is clear, therefore, that we have a long way to go before it can be said that the country is adequately supplied with railroad communications.

There are few who would venture to predict either the nature or the extent of railroad development in India during the coming years. The country itself is at present to a very great degree in the melting pot; it cannot be denied that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have not been an unqualified success. They were admittedly an experiment whose working many people think has not been allowed a fair trial. The Simon Commission, appointed to report upon the working of the Reforms, has paid its preliminary visit to India, where it met with a very mixed reception. Opinion appears to have become somewhat more moderate, but the Committee has still to complete its enquiries, and it will be many days before its report is submitted. Prophecy is impossible, and the future system of the Government in India is still very much on the knees of the Gods: and obviously the form of government must have a very strong influence on railroad development.

India, for all the centuries of her great history, is still a child; millions of her people are illiterate; great stretches of her territory are undeveloped, or only partly developed; the

number of completely different languages spoken within her borders runs well into three figures: in addition to Christianity, there are the two great religions, Hinduism and Muhomedanism, which are still hostile to each other—often intensely antagonistic; and there are a hundred other problems calling for, and equally difficult of, solution.

What are the problems that face the railroads? First of all, nationalisation: for good or ill, the present policy is for the State to assume control—a policy which many experienced railroad men look upon with great misgiving. It remains to be seen whether the policy will succeed, and whether it will be adhered to.

Then there is the question of Indianisation. Everyone is anxious to let the Indian have his opportunity, and to train him to govern his own country and to manage his own business. This is an ambition which must be constantly sustained and encouraged, and which eventually must be realised; but we must be careful not to run before we can walk, and the danger lies in the selection of Indians, simply because they are Indians, and without sufficient regard to qualifications. Efficiency may thus be sacrificed to nationalism.

Technically, our chief problem at present is the problem of all railroads

throughout the world—the competition from road transport. In common with other countries, we have so far failed to discover a means of meeting this rivalry, and it is doubtful if a means can be discovered so long as the road transport companies continue to enjoy the advantage of escaping local taxation. England is imposing a petrol tax: let us hope India will follow suit.

“Transportation is Civilisation.” Indian railroads depend to a very great extent upon their third-class passenger traffic, which in the past has been content with what was supplied—speed was of small account; if you miss a train today you will get one tomorrow; and after all comfort is a relative term. But now there are the motors, and the illiterate cultivator is learning to appreciate speed. The railroads will have to meet this challenge; services will have to be speeded up, and accommodation made more attractive. There is ample room for all forms of transport, and all that is needed is control at the top, and good will throughout.

The standard of civilisation in India is low in comparison with that in countries such as America and England; our railroads have certainly made a brave show against the more elaborate arrangements of the Occident. We may have far to go, but we are going there with a sure faith and a high heart.

Indian Mercantile Marine

By SETH NAROTTAM MORARJEE

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THE United States of America, which stand today in the forefront of countries bent upon developing an adequate national Mercantile Marine, rightly present a model to other nations striving to be free from the control of foreign shipping rings in the interests of their industrial and commercial growth. External pressure exerted in the interests of British shipping was responsible for that revolt of the early English Colonies, which as a result grew into the United States as we know them today. It may be recalled that among the first acts of the new Republic within a few years of its birth, the American Legislature passed an Act, in 1789, which resulted in the exclusion of Non-American shipping from the Coastal Trade of America, and which was definitely reserved to ships flying the American Flag in 1817.

As a result of the immense strides in the commercial and industrial progress that America has taken during the 100 years that followed the adoption of the policy of reservation, it was but natural that when next the shipping problem loomed large, within the vision of that country, immense attention should be paid to the question of the carriage of even the foreign trade of America by American vessels. The causes underlying the demand for a fully equipped national Mercantile Marine, which are nowhere better summarised than in the Preamble of the American Mercantile Marine Act of 1920, wherein it is stated:

THAT IT is necessary for the national defence and for the proper growth of its foreign trade and domestic commerce that the United States shall have a merchant

Marine of the best equipped and the most suitable types of vessels sufficient to carry the greater portion of its commerce and serve as a naval or military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency, ultimately to be owned and operated privately by citizens of the United States and it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to do whatever may be necessary to develop and encourage the maintenance of such a merchant Marine.

This extract from the Preamble so well sums up the general grounds for development of a national mercantile Marine, that it provides an excuse, if one was needed, for beginning an article on Indian Shipping with extracts from relative American Legislation.

SHIPPING PROBLEMS

It may be mentioned as an example of the simultaneous nature of that universal national thinking in industrial and commercial matters, that followed the Treaty of Versailles throughout the world, that the fervour which led the United States of America to pass an Act in 1920 had its reflex, microscopic no doubt, as is natural in a dependency dominated by a foreign bureaucracy, in the recommendation made to the Government of India by a private member in the newly formed Legislative Assembly, where Sir Sivaswami Iyer moved the resolution recommending to the Government of India of the appointment of a Committee to consider what measures can usefully be taken:

1. For the liberal recruitment of Indians as deck or executive officers and engineers in the Royal Indian Marine.

2. For the establishment of an adequate college in Indian waters for the purpose of training executive officers and engineers of ships.

3. For ensuring the entertainment of apprentices for training as such officers and engineers in the ships owned by shipping firms that enjoy any subsidy or other benefits from Government or any account for the creation of an adequate number of state scholarships for providing instruction in the nautical and training ships in England pending the formation of a nautical college in India.

4. For the encouragement of shipbuilding and of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine by a system of bounties, subsidies, and such other measures as have been adopted in Japan.

5. For the acquisition of training ships by gift from the Imperial Government or otherwise.

6. For the construction of the necessary dockyards and engineering workshops in one or more ports.

The terms of this Resolution, which was accepted by the Government, show the very backward condition into which the Indian Mercantile Marine had fallen as a result of the apathy for over a century of the Government of India in regard to matters connected with the maintenance and development of Indigenous Indian Shipping. This indifference of the Government proved all the more disastrous in so far as all private Indian effort in this line was nipped in the bud by a powerful British monopoly which had managed by diverse methods, well understood by monopolists, to practically reserving the coastal trade of India to its own vessels. Thus, between the indifference of the British Government of India and the self-seeking activities of the foreign organisations, the national shipping and shipbuilding industries of India became a matter of past history, though only

a hundred years ago Bombay used to build first line of Man-of-war for the British Admiralty. To revive the glories of such an immediate past has become the natural ambition of every true Indian patriot today. It is, therefore, not without reason, that all the Indian witnesses including those speaking on behalf of organised Associations have demanded with one voice the adoption of measures necessary to recreate and develop an Indian Mercantile Marine.

TRAINING

As the first step in that direction the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee has recommended the maintenance, by the Government, of a Training Ship, which has now been stationed at Bombay and on which the first batch of Indian Cadets will begin to qualify themselves for a nautical career, from the first of December next. As regards the Marine Engineers, the Government of India are considering measures likely intended to help Indian youths to qualify for those ports.

It should, however, be noted that mere provision of facilities for Indian lads to be trained as nautical officers, or engineers, is not adequate for the creation of an Indian Mercantile Marine. The definite view of the Committee is, that something more is required beyond the provision of training facilities and that "something more" is the reservation of the Coastal Trade.

RECOMMENDATIONS

They have, therefore recommended that the Indian Coastal Trade should be reserved "for ships the ownership and controlling interests of which are predominantly Indian." Their definition of an Indian owned and managed ship is as follows:

1. That it is registered in India.
2. That it is owned and managed by

an individual Indian or by a Joint Stock Company (private or public) which is registered in India with rupee capital, with a majority of Indians on its Directorate and a majority of its shares held by Indians, and

3. That the management of such company is predominantly in the hands of Indians.

The Committee proposed that effects should be given to their recommendations on Coastal Trade by the introduction of a system of licenses to be granted to ships trading on the Indian Coast. The practical nature of this recommendation is of such absorbing importance that those interested in the subject will welcome an opportunity of perusing in detail.

It should be announced that on, and from a certain date to be specified by the Government, no ship should be entitled to engage or take part in the coasting trade of India, unless such ship has first obtained a license from the licensing authority appointed for the purpose, subject to the following conditions:

Condition 1: Licenses or permits shall after the introduction of the licensing system be issued to any ship flying the British Flag, provided that it proved to the satisfaction of the licensing authority that such ship, not being more than 25 years old, has been regularly engaged on the coasting trade during the preceding twelve months and that the Joint Stock Company, (public or private) or individual by whom it is owned, gives an undertaking in writing to take Indian apprentices for training subject to a minimum of two per ship, no line being compelled to take more than 20 apprentices all told. Provided further that such Joint Stock Company, or individual owner, undertakes to employ qualified Indian Officers and Engineers as they become eligible, up to the extent of at least 50 per cent of the total number of Officers and En-

gineers employed. These licenses shall continue subject to Board of Trade Regulations until the ship has reached the age of 25 years provided the conditions set forth above are being complied with.

Condition 2: All ships hereafter seeking to enter the Coastal Trade can only obtain licenses in their complying with such conditions as may be laid down by Government for Indian Shipping concerns; provided also that the owners of all such ships are likewise required to give an undertaking on the lines indicated in Condition 1 regarding the employment of Indian apprentices and the gradual Indianisation of their Officers and Engineers.

Condition 3: The licensing authority may be given discretion to waive all or any of these conditions during exceptional periods of stress such as trade booms, famines, war etc., and to issue permits to any ship flying the British flag to cover such periods as he may consider requisite.

Condition 4: The licensing authority may also be vested with power to take such steps with the approval of the Government of India, as may be considered advisable to deal with deferred rebates, rate wars, or any other conditions which act unduly as a restraint on trade.

Condition 5: Provision should be made that, where by treaty made before the 13th of May 1869, Her late Majesty Queen Victoria agreed to grant to any ship of a foreign State such rights or privileges in respect of the Coasting Trade of British India, those rights and privileges shall be enjoyed by those ships for so long as Her Majesty agreed or His Majesty the King may hereafter agree to grant them. This, however, should be subject to the proviso that no foreign ships should under any circumstances enjoy superior privileges to those accorded to British Ships.

Condition 6: For the purpose of these regulations "Coasting Trade" may be deemed to mean trade exclusively carried on between any port or ports

in British India and any port or ports or place on the Continent of India (including Burma).

It is a significant commentary upon the absence of a national outlook in the present Government of India that a constructive proposal of an expert body, composed of members of their choice, is not given effect to by the

Government of India. It is, however, a good augury for the future development of an Indian Mercantile Marine, that public opinion, which has now come to have a keen realisation of the importance of an Indian Mercantile Marine, will not easily allow the Government to continue long its present indifference to the subject.

The Agriculture of India

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THE cultivation and use of the land in so vast a country as India must necessarily show enormous diversity, and it may at once be stated that the popular idea that a very large part of the sub-continent is like the land of the lotus eaters, where the necessities of life fall with little or no labour into the mouths of the indolent population is entirely false. Equally false, however, is the view which, largely on the basis of statistics, pictures India as a country largely desert, the remainder being badly cultivated and only needing the presence of the more knowing men of other lands to bring it to the agricultural level, say, of the countries of western Europe. As a matter of fact, India has areas, small though they be, where living is easy and where a livelihood, albeit a very poor one, can be obtained with the minimum of labour. On the other hand, there are desert areas, and large tracts where a meagre return only can be obtained for the expenditure of a very large amount of labour.

But two features are characteristic of the country from an agricultural point of view, almost from one end to the other. The first of these is the fact that all over (with the single exception of the planting industries of tea, coffee, rubber, etc.) agriculture is a peasant industry, conducted independently by small holders with their own hands, and to the extent which their own labour, or little more, supplies for the exploitation of the land. In this it is, of course, similar to most of the agriculture of Eastern

Europe and of China, but the pre-dominance of such peasant holdings marks Indian rural life off from that of modern England or the United States of America, and gives it characteristics which must always be remembered in trying to picture India as an agricultural country.

RURAL LIFE

The typical unit of cultivation in India is, therefore, small. Though 125,000,000 of the population in British India live (to use the terminology of the Census of 1921) on "the exploitation of animals and vegetation," or, in other words on agriculture, and though these form 73 per cent of the total population, yet they only actually crop 226 million acres (1924-25) or only 1.8 acres per head, or say seven acres per rural family. This at once, marks out the character of the work. It is cultivation on a very small scale, carried out with the simplest implements, with a minimum of machinery, capital, or hired labour. The results are those which are found everywhere under similar conditions, unless modified by the development of coöperation, that is to say, a self-reliant, self-contained rural population, intensely devoted to the land and unwilling to change it for industrial labour if this can possibly be avoided, but generally living near the limit of subsistence.

There are exceptions to these general statements. The great planting industries of tea, coffee, rubber and the like are the outstanding examples of

the extension of large scale cultivation in India. These occupy nearly a million acres¹ under these crops in *British* India alone. These industries, which have been developed most largely in regions previously uncultivated, by foreign agency, are not purely agricultural in character. Each of them is associated with a somewhat complicated manufacturing procedure (more marked in the case of tea and rubber than in the case of coffee), and each means, in addition, waiting several years for a return on capital. Each has, moreover, a market which it is difficult for the small producer to exploit. Apart from these planting industries, localised as they are almost entirely in the northeast and extreme south of the country, agriculture on an estate scale conducted with hired labour, has never developed in any part of *British* India, in spite of many efforts and the expenditure of much capital.

The other feature which is characteristic of rural life and of agriculture in India is the tenure of the land and the collection of the people in self-contained and largely self-governing villages. Hardly any of the land in the country is, in the full sense of the term, privately owned. The assumption, on the part of all governing authorities, at any rate, is that the land belongs to the State, but is placed in the hands of subsidiary owners who, though they have in most cases, power to sell it, yet they or any buyers hold it subject to the payment of a fixed assessment to the Government. In some cases, as in most parts of Bengal, this assessment is fixed for ever; in most of the other parts of India, it may be varied by the State at definite intervals, of twenty, thirty or forty years, according to considerations which are now

standardised in each of the provinces of India.

While this alienable tenure of land, under the final ownership of the State, and subject to the payment of a fixed annual assessment, is practically universal in *British* India, yet the form it takes varies widely, but resolves itself into two essentially different types. In North India generally, including almost the whole of the great alluvial areas in the valleys of *Brahmaputra*, *Ganges*, and *Indus*, the land is held by landlords (termed *zemindars*) who then let it to the actual peasant cultivators. In the remainder of the country, embracing the Central Indian and Deccan plateaux, *Burma*, and South India generally, the ultimate owner of the land (that is to say, the Government) deals with the peasant cultivator himself (*raiyat*) who is responsible for the assessment, and, in the ideal, cultivates the land himself. In any case, the result as regards the agriculture is similar. Small holdings are the basis of cultivation, and are necessarily grouped into villages with a very strong bond of union between the people of the same village, either because the land belongs to the same *zemindar* or because such small holders have to provide for common services (carpenter, blacksmith, ropemaker, etc.). Thus there is much community in supplying the needs of the people, but each *raiyat* cultivates, in absolute or almost absolute independence, the small amount of land which he holds, either as the tenant of a *zemindar*, or as a direct holder from the State. This *independence in cultivation* of each of the holders of land, however small the holding may be, is very deep rooted in the people, and though farming in coöperation *does* occur, it is relatively rare, and the pooling of holdings to make a decent-sized farm is equally little known.

¹ The figures for 1924-25 are: Tea, 715,836 acres; Coffee, 94,298 acres; Rubber, 80,807 acres.

We have, therefore, almost everywhere, a system of peasant agriculture, with all its disadvantages intensified by the smallness of the holdings, and by the fact that (even when the cultivators are tenants of one *zemindar*) they cultivate independently. This results in perennial shortness and extreme expensiveness of working capital, and of inability to use the capital so as to get the best result in production from the land. These disadvantages are least seen where the soil and climate, or irrigation arrangements, permit intensive cultivation, and the use of a large amount of hand labour, which, in certain agricultural conditions, obtains yields and results that no large scale cultivation has yet obtained. The disadvantages are most in evidence in those dry and precarious regions where intense hand work yields no adequate return.

CONDITIONS OF THE LAND

Recognising that, with the exceptions noted, India is a country of peasant agriculture, conducted independently by very small holders with very limited working capital, we may now consider how the use of the land is affected by other conditions. First, as regards soil. In this matter one great distinction may at once be made. The great alluvial plains forming two thirds of the cultivable area of British India, and comprising the whole of the valleys of the Brahmaputra, Ganges, and Indus, and of the lower courses of all the rivers draining into the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea, represent as good agricultural soil as occurs anywhere in the world. Indefinitely deep, in many places without a stone, originally consisting of forest jungle and grass plains, they are capable, with adequate water supply and good cultivation, of producing crops (and in some cases

do actually produce crops) as good as any found in the richest areas of the United States. The rest of the country, comprising almost the whole of peninsular India and extending northward in Central India nearly to the Ganges and Jumna rivers, consists of rocky high lands, sometimes hills and valleys, sometimes high irregular plateaux, always poor as a whole, with patches or strips of rich land which have the benefit of erosion from the higher lands. Some of the soils of these uplands have a high reputation, like the black cotton soil or *regur* found on the Malwa plateau in Central India, or the Deccan plateau further south; but the really good land is always patchy, and, taken generally, peasant agriculture in these areas is usually hard and yields small returns.

IRRIGATION

Much of the country included both in the alluvial plains, and in the rocky high lands and plateaux has a small and precarious rainfall. An uncertain rainfall is, of course, far more dangerous from an agricultural point of view, than a small rainfall; for the areas of very small rainfall, like Sind and parts of the Rajputana desert and of the Punjab, remains uncultivated and often without landholders, until irrigation is introduced, and when water becomes available the country blossoms as the rose. But in the precarious tracts,² the position is far more uncertain. In a majority of years a reasonable crop can be obtained. In the remainder, the crop is small and incapable of supporting the peasant holder, and, in extreme cases, no crop at all is obtained. Under these conditions irrigation has seemed the only remedy, and though there has been some experiment in the direction

² The precariousness of rain will be dealt with in detail in the chapter on famines.

of retaining water in the soil by improved methods of cultivation (the so-called "dry farming"), the extension of this method is a matter for the future.

But irrigation has been developed in the desert and in the precarious tracts of India on a colossal scale in recent years, particularly in the areas included in the great alluvial areas of North India. The construction of irrigation works, either by private individuals or by the State is, however, no new thing in India. All parts of the country where rain is not sufficient or sufficiently well distributed, or too precarious, and where water is available at a reasonable cost, abound in sources from which the land can be watered which are still used and are still being extended. Wells are employed in almost all parts, from the Ganges valley where they can be constructed for a few rupees, to many of the Deccan areas where a well capable of irrigating only five or six acres will cost a thousand rupees. Further, Madras and the South generally is the home of the irrigation tank or lake, made by blocking up the mouth of the small valleys so common in that region. The larger rivers had, even in pre-British times, already been utilised for inundation canals which flowed and fertilised the land during the flood season, but it has been reserved for recent years to undertake works on a scale not hitherto thought of, and so to extend enormously the area which has been made no longer solely dependent on the most precarious rainfall.

In some parts of India, this extension of irrigation has created an agricultural revolution. These are chiefly in the areas of the great rivers of the north, particularly in those watered by the Indus and its feeders, and to a less extent by the Ganges and

Jumna. In what has been here termed the rocky peninsular areas, the opportunity is less, and only a small proportion of the cropped area can ever be irrigated, owing partly to lack of water and partly to the conformation of the country. But a general idea of the importance of irrigation to India as a whole can be obtained from the following statement showing the proportion of the area in British India sown with crops, which is irrigated.

NORTH INDIA AREAS, WITH BURMA	
	<i>Per Cent</i>
Bengal	3.5
Assam	7.5
Burma	8.5
Bihar and Orissa	17
United Provinces	19.5
Punjab	40.5
North West Frontier	36
Sind	73
PENINSULA AREAS	
	<i>Per Cent</i>
Bombay	4
Central Provinces	4
Hyderabad State	5
Madras	24

Excluding Madras, where the figure given is very largely increased by the inclusion of the irrigation in the lower valleys of the great Deccan rivers near the East Coast, it will be seen that the area irrigated compared to the area sown, is decidedly small—almost negligible in fact—in the Peninsula. In the North Indian provinces, however, when irrigation is needed at all, the proportion may reach a very high figure, as in the Punjab and Sind. In the Punjab, in fact, the recent development of irrigation (where it has now reached over 13,000,000 acres) has converted a poverty stricken province into almost the richest region in the country.

PRIMARY PRODUCTION

The primary production of the agricultural land of India is food for its

300,000,000 of people, and it will not therefore be surprising that out of a total of 225,000,000 acres annually under crop in British India, no less than 200,000,000 are, at least partially, under various food grains, out of which by far the largest area is occupied by rice. Except for rice and wheat, little of all this production of grain is exported. Even of the two grains mentioned, under 8 per cent of the rice production leaves the country, and about 14 per cent of that of wheat, though this latter is one of the chief export crops and the amount sent from the country in 1924-25 reached a total of 1,100,000 tons.

These food crops, grown by India, thus, almost entirely for the feeding of its own people, on eight-ninths of the area actually cultivated, consists chiefly of eight grains. *Rice* heads the list, and occupies nearly 80,000,000 acres, being grown wherever there is a rainfall sufficient, (say over 40 inches per annum) or good irrigation, and where the soil is good enough. It is, *par excellence*, the crop of flat lands, and though in the regions suitable for them, varieties are known which flourish at almost any time of the year, the great crop is that grown during the rainy season, ripening in standing or flowing water, and grown, over most of the area, by transplanting the seedlings laboriously by hand into the fields where they finally grow. Rice is the typical crop of the small cultivators in the wetter parts of India in the rainy (*kharif*) season.

Next to rice stands wheat, grown entirely as a winter (*rabi*) crop and almost entirely in north and Central India, where 90 per cent of the area lies. Over one third of the land under wheat is irrigated. The average yield per acre compared with other countries, is small, being 17 bushels per acre under irrigation, and 11 bushels

per acre without irrigation, in the greatest wheat growing province (Punjab).

After wheat come the group of millets, which make up together nearly 40,000,000 acres, almost exclusively used as a food by the people in India. These are chiefly sorghum (*jowar*) which is by far the most important, extending over 22,500,000 acres; pearl millet (*bajra*) with 12,000,000 acres, and *ragi* (*Eleusine corocana*) a small grain hardly grown elsewhere on a large scale, but occupying 4,000,000 acres in India. The two last are grown in the rainy season, on poor lands, while sorghum, the typical crop of heavier land in the drier tracts without irrigation, is cultivated both in the rains and in the winter season.

Maize is relatively a far less important crop than would have been expected, though it occupies nearly 5,500,000 acres. Most of this however, occurs in the drier alluvial tracts of the Punjab, the North West Frontier and the United Provinces. Very little is grown in Peninsular India. Barley is likewise only important in the north where it is grown as a winter crop, but in spite of this restriction in area, it occupies nearly 7,000,000 acres.

The importance of Indian crops in world agriculture does not, however, depend on these food grains, but rather on those others which are classed by Indian cultivators as money crops. These are grown for sale, and in many cases for export. These include cotton, which occupies by far the largest area; jute and similar fibres, of which India has almost a world's monopoly; oil-seeds of various kinds, of great importance in the export trade; dyes like indigo whose cultivation is, in most cases, now dying out; sugar cane whose product is entirely absorbed in the country itself; tobacco, another large scale cultivation done now chiefly

for Indian consumption: and the planting crops, tea, coffee, and rubber, previously referred to.

The cotton crop in India is only second in quantity to that produced in the United States of America, and furnishes over 6,000,000 bales of cotton to the world's supply. It is a vitally important crop to the Indian cultivators through almost all the drier parts of the country with an annual rainfall of less than 40 inches, from almost the extreme north of the country to Cape Comorin in the South. There are over 17,000,000 acres under this crop, in British India alone, out of which 3,000,000 acres are irrigated. This only very inadequately represents the importance of the crop, for at least 6,000,000 additional acres of cotton are grown in the various Indian States. The average yield per acre is low, being only 104 pounds, though there has been a steady increase in recent years. The characteristic Indian cotton is short in staple and rough, suited for coarse spinning and weaving, though there are now types grown in Bombay, the Punjab, and Madras which are of high quality. Over by far the greater part of the cotton area, especially in the black cotton soil regions of Central and Peninsular India, where the concentration of cotton-growing is the greatest, the crop is grown in rotation with sorghum (*jowar*), the latter giving food to the peasant population and their animals, and the former furnishing the money for their livelihood.

In its own area, the jute crop is equally important, but this is almost entirely in the northeast of the country, with a rainfall of over 50 inches per annum. The total land under the crop reaches nearly 3,000,000 acres in British India, of which 86 per cent is in Bengal. The crop rotates with rice, and is grown between April and October, being planted before the rainy

season so as to get well started before the land is flooded by the heavy rains. The conditions required for successful jute cultivation are fairly narrow, and the retting of the fibre can only be done in a country of great rivers and abundant water. The lower Ganges and Brahmaputra valleys present these conditions and hence almost monopolise the production of *jute* in the world. Jute substitutes, like sann-hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*) or Deccan hemp (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) are far more widely grown, to the extent of three quarters of a million acres, but the true hemp (*Cannabis indica*), though a common plant in many parts of the country, is never grown for fibre, but is cultivated to a limited extent for the intoxicating drug known as *hashish* or *ganja*.

If Indian agriculture is responsible for the world's supply of jute, and for a substantial portion of that of cotton, it furnishes also one of the most important sources of oil seeds and their products, including linseed, sesamum, castor, cocoanut, and, in recent years, groundnut, besides many others which are less well known. Together the area under these oilseed crops is over 15,000,000 of acres in British India, while a very large acreage is also found in Indian States.

The international importance of these cultivations is suggested by the fact that the export of oilseeds and oilcakes was valued at nearly 24,000,000 pounds sterling in 1925-26. Naturally a variety of crops like these demand very different conditions of growth, but almost every part of India furnishes one or other of them. Linseed, for instance, which occupies over 2,500,000 acres, is concentrated in the Central Provinces, and the country to the north between them and Himalayas, and the estimated yield in British India only is between five and

six hundred thousand tons. Sesamum, a still more typical Indian oilseed crop, occupies 3,500,000 tons of seed. It is very widely grown, but is most concentrated in a belt through the central parts of the country from the northern parts of Madras, through the Central Provinces, to Rajputana—and in Burma

Rape and mustard, on the other hand, form essentially the winter crop of Northern India. These seeds occupy an area of nearly 4,000,000 acres, and yield over 1,000,000 tons of seed per annum. The progress of the groundnut (peanut) crop in recent years is most remarkable, and it now occupies nearly 3,000,000 acres and is calculated to yield about 1,500,000 tons per annum. The cultivation is rapidly developing in all the drier regions of the country, especially in the plateau soils of the peninsula and in Central India, as well as in central Burma.

Finally, castor may be mentioned, though the centre of its cultivation lies in the Hyderabad State. But its importance is likely to increase, and it occupies chiefly high, dry lands in the Indian peninsula, fit for little else. At present there are about 1,250,000 acres under the crop, of which three-fifths are in Hyderabad, and half the remainder in Madras.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

It is only necessary, in a short sketch like the present, to refer to two or three other characteristic Indian agricultural crops and products, for these are less numerous than they used to be. Dyes, especially indigo, formerly so important, have now sunk to insignificance, owing to their replacement by synthetic products. The cultivation of opium, formerly so important in the Ganges Valley and in Central India, is now very severely restricted, being only grown under the

strictest Government supervision. Silk is a declining production, and, it seems, is fated to fall even below its present amount. In the case of lac, for the production of shellac, where India is the main producer for the world, the position is different, and despite the loss of the market for lac dye, the cultivation of the lac insect on local trees and cultivated plants is a matter of great importance to the peoples of several of the wilder areas of the country. The annual value of the Indian lac export is not less than 5,000,000 pounds sterling (1925-26).

Sugar cane cultivation in India is very widespread, but except in a few parts of North India has never become the basis of a sugar industry on modern lines, while the import of sugar is one of the biggest items in the external trade. The crop occupies 2,500,000 acres and, on the average, only yields under one and a half tons of crude sugar (*gur*) per acre. There is no crop with greater possibilities of development, and the yield per acre in northern India is certain to advance rapidly in the future as a result of the discovery and breeding of higher yielding canes.

Tobacco is another rapidly developing crop, and now occupies over 1,000,000 acres. Indian tobacco has usually been classed as inferior, strong, and coarse; but its cultivation is nevertheless very widespread, reaching its highest intensity in northern Bengal, on the east coast, and in parts of Burma. It is essentially a crop demanding high class work, on rich soil, and, here, as in other countries, to be a successful grower of tobacco marks a man as a cultivator of the first rank.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

This partial enumeration of the chief crops of India does perhaps little to carry an idea of the agriculture of the country, and yet it *should* do so to

a much greater extent than in most other countries of the world. For the Indian farmers are essentially producers of *crops*. Animal husbandry and the preparation of animals and their products for market take a far less important position in India than almost anywhere else. For a very large part of the Indian population consists of vegetarians, and, for the rest, the consumption of meat is very small per head. Hence the demand for animals for meat is very limited. Further, in India, the horse is not used for agricultural purposes, its place being taken almost entirely by the bullock. Therefore, the production of horses is very restricted: the production of cattle and even of sheep for meat is extremely small: and animal husbandry concentrates on supplying cattle for work purposes and for milk, and on sheep and goats for wool (or hair), skins, or other products—and only to a very minor extent for meat.

Nevertheless there are large areas which are almost purely pastoral, and a large part of the cattle and other animals needed in the life of the country are produced in a few thinly peopled areas where the growing of crops is almost impossible, but where the soil and rainfall ensure ample supplies of grass. In such tracts—like Rajputana, parts of the Punjab and Sind, Kathiawar and North Gujarat, or the high lands of Central India, the best breeds of working cattle are raised by semi-nomadic pastoral people, and sent to the more densely peopled areas. The milk supply is very largely obtained from the water-buffalo, which though nearly useless as a work animal, yet gives a fairly large amount of rich milk on a diet too coarse for ordinary cows.

The keeping of sheep and goats as a business (though many goats kept for milk will be found in almost any

Indian village) is also very largely in the hands of semi-nomadic breeders and shepherds, though they are found in very many areas where cattle breeding under similar conditions is not possible. The sheep are poor, both in size and in production of wool, and, as a matter of fact, a *large* sheep is not desirable where meat is not a primary object. Many attempts to improve the wool have however been made by cross breeding, with a good deal of success in the Punjab and north India generally, and with little success anywhere else. The importance of the wool production can be perhaps, judged by the fact that, after supplying local needs, there is a net annual export of raw wool from India of 3,000,000 pounds sterling, besides an export of woollen goods of 1,000,000 pounds sterling (1924-25).

IMPROVEMENTS

The picture of Indian agriculture which has been given is, therefore, that of a vast mass of small holdings, worked as a rule on a family basis with a minimum of hired labour, and also with a minimum of capital. The farmer grows such crops as the land is suited for, chiefly for the feeding of himself and family and his working animals (the latter being invariably bullocks), but also growing a proportion of money crops which enables Government assessment to be paid and such necessities as are required to be purchased from outside.

Perhaps the item in this summary which affects the agriculture most is the fact that the capital possessed by the farmer is usually the minimum possible, apart from his land, and this absence of capital determines to an almost inconceivable extent the way in which agriculture is carried on. For the absence of capital—especially in the absence of a well-developed

agricultural banking system, and still more when matters are complicated by an uncertain and precarious climate such as occurs in a very large part of India—means comparatively crude methods of work, primitive implements, hesitation to utilise fertilisers, whose purchase demands out-of-pocket investment, and generally, the impossibility of making experiments, or of making very radical changes in agricultural methods. As a result, the cultivators of the land in India are *supposed* to be extremely conservative, to refuse change when the advantage of change is clear, to refuse to take advantage of methods which have proved their value in other parts of the world.

After long experience of Indian farmers in many parts of India, I think that this idea of innate conservatism among the rural classes is not correct, and possibly they are really less averse to change than a very large proportion of the farmers of western countries. I have seen, again and again, within twenty years an old but less efficient implement replaced almost entirely, over large regions, by one more efficient, or an improved type of seed replace that in use for a hundred years, or the employment of artificial manure become general. And it would really seem to be true that readiness to adopt new methods is the characteristic of the Indian cultivators, provided they are *proved*, to their own satisfaction, to be of advantage, and provided they give a return which will warrant the borrowing of capital at high interest. To put it another way, economy of capital or out-of-pocket cost is more important than economy of running expenditure, where the labour is a man's own and has to be provided with food and maintenance in any case.

Hence, throughout India, implements will be found to be crude,

rough, less economical in working than those which might easily replace them and which are available at a higher capital cost. The manures and fertilisers used are generally those which can be obtained locally, and with little or no cost except for labour. The most welcome improvements are those which, like an improved type of seed, will prove increased returns with little capital outlay, even if much more work is required in raising the crop. If the result is good and the returns are increased, then other improvements immediately become acceptable.

These considerations must be in the minds of anyone who studies the gradual but relatively rapid advance in the technique of Indian agriculture in recent years. After all that has been done, the outside observer will probably consider farming in India as being in a very primitive state of development, but I doubt whether it is so. Certain it is that the attempts at the wholesale adoption of western methods in Indian agriculture have usually failed, and I know no sadder sight than the museums one sometimes sees of large numbers of implements, apparently suited to the conditions, imported by some enthusiast into a particular area for use by the cultivators of the country—but which have never come into use.

And yet, as has already been stated, there has been a great advance in recent years in the agriculture of the country, as judged by the returns which the land can be made to give. Many of these advances have been made as the result of the work of the various agricultural departments in India, which, though founded many years before, were placed on a substantial basis in about 1905. These have very largely expanded since that time, and in most of the Indian provinces as well

as in some of the Indian States very full advantage has been taken of the discoveries made and the experiments carried on.

These recent improvements have chiefly taken two or three lines. Of these the first is the production and extension of types of crops giving a bigger return than those actually in cultivation, and these have been taken up with enthusiasm by the small-holding cultivators of the country. Improved cottons, sometimes higher yielding types, sometimes better quality types, are now in cultivation over millions of acres; higher yielding kinds of jute have already spread to 10 per cent of the total area under that crop. In the production of food crops like wheat and rice, particularly the former, very great success has been attained in getting higher yield per acre and better quality of grain and greater suitability of the plant to the conditions. Sugarcane varieties have been evolved suited for north India, which give vastly greater yields than were formerly possible in that part of the country. Tobacco strains have been isolated and are now in widespread use, which have enabled a much higher grade of product to be obtained.

Implements are rapidly being modified to suit the conditions. I remember the time when the iron ploughs in use

in the Deccan could be counted on the fingers; now they are there by the hundred thousand. And where a cheap implement is found which will do better work under any particular conditions, then there is rapid adoption. But the problems of cultivation under the special conditions of Indian agriculture are only beginning to be really attacked by the agricultural departments.

The use of artificial fertilisers is spreading, particularly in irrigated lands. Indian soils are usually, though not universally, rich, except in nitrogen, and hence it is the use of sulphate of ammonia which has developed more than that of any other fertiliser. But others are coming, and, in certain cases, the proved value of green manuring has modified profoundly the methods and results of growing a crop.

There are some indications of the lines in which progress, in such an old agricultural country as India, is even now being made. I see little limit to what can be done, provided always the fact that the essential unit of agriculture in India is a small holder, with little or no capital beyond his land and bullocks, is kept in view. A rise of 50 per cent in the production of the land in India in the course of the next generation is not, in any sense, a Utopian ideal.

Famines and Standards of Living

By V. N. MEHTA, I.C.S.

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THE Sanskrit word for famine is "Durbhiksha," a state of things in which it is difficult to indulge in the desire to divide one's portion with others. The word rivets one's attention to the five Sacramental acts which every Hindu householder is enjoined to perform every day of his life—two of the most important being offerings to human and other sentient beings. This vast ramification of charity keeps alive a floating population living on the margin of want without the state having ever to step in to organise their systematic relief. Whenever there is a failure of crops and crop prices mount up, this margin available in every household shrinks up and the poor migrate to towns where private charity is better organised and more easily mobilised. Cultivators find it difficult to carry on without borrowing, and as the Sahukar (money lender) curtails his credit there is both dearness of food supplies and shortage in the wherewithal to buy utilities. People begin to draw out gold and silver ornaments from their hoards and cattle, both draft and milkers, are brought to the market for sale. The townward trek of the poor, the migration of labourers in the search of employment and the sale of cattle and ornaments, indicate that scarcity, has set in.

EARLY HISTORY

In the days of old, the charity-minded started *Sadavrats* (grain doles) and temples, *annakshetras* (free mess booths). The State, as is noted by the Mauryan Minister Kautilya in his book on *Indian Polity*, commenced

works on fortresses and bridges. Banjaras (public carriers) were encouraged to mobilise their pack bullocks for tapping the surplusage of one region to make up the depletion of another and the doors of Dharmagolas or grain conservatories were thrown open. Royal forests, tanks and orchards were made accessible to those in want, and the sowing of root and early growing crops were encouraged and many other palliative measures were undertaken to tide through the privation of the season. But when there was a succession of failure of crops, when on the top of shortage of supplies came shrinkage in the effective ability to meet wants or demand for commodities, then the Statescraft of those days stood bankrupt, and save migration to regions near the sea, nothing was left for the King to order and the subject to obey. It was then that the march route to Malwa and Gujerat was littered with the dead and dying and the state of nature of which Hobbes has given such a gruesome picture, "the war of all against all", prevailed.

It is a deep-seated idea amongst the Indians that the King (*Rājā Kālasya Kāranam*) was responsible for the creation of the time-spirit. Failure of crops, whether it was due to acts of nature or man, was put down as the result of the King's misdeeds and yet, except in the South of India where hydro-engineering had reached a high level of development, we read of only one serious protective measure attempted by the Kings of the North, when the Kauravas,¹ in trying to win over their Pandu-phil subjects, were

¹ Kirātārjuniya of Bhāraṇi.

constructing water channels, dependent for their water supplies, on rain. The sparseness of the population, the unexhausted nature of the soil and the infinite possibility of expansion in unexplored hinterlands, however, kept famines at bay.

The system of keeping up Dharma-golas or grain stores mentioned by Megasthenese made up for local deficiencies of a not-too-widespread character and the theory of royal land taxation left economic rent and more with the cultivator. The land was supposed to belong to the person who broke the glebe. The State-takings were restricted to one sixth of the land produce. "Milch the cow with due regard for the calf. Do not bore the udders;" and though in times of need rich men were made to vomit wealth (Vamanam) there was a general feeling against the King demanding more than his customary fee (the *ati-Khādinam* or too-much-eating-King was disliked). Standards of life were regulated and stereotyped on a community basis. Flaunting of wealth in an ostentatious manner was taboo and the surplus was generally spent on constructing way-side wells and tanks—still redolent, by their names as "the well of the grain-grinder," or "the tank of the corn-parcher," of the lowly origin of their authors.

The invasions of Scythians and Huns, the Greeks and the Muslims, specially of the predatory Pathan and not the cultured Arab type, harried the country side. The Muslim theory of State-ownership of land introduced a different theory of land assessment. Middlemen came in between the cultivator and the ruler and these sponges, as *Vespasian* called them, were squeezed at regular intervals as they were supposed all along to suck in any moisture that was visible in the country side. The vagaries of the

season, the vicissitudes of political life and the pranks of *Indian Caligulas* and *Heliogobalus* made the cultivator the plaything of potentates and the sport of circumstances. If a botanical trope be allowed, the even course of normal life corresponds to the equilibrium in plant life existing in the plant sap between the even push of the root-pressure and the steady pull of leaf-transpiration. Structures always adapt themselves to changes of function and if there is fear of desiccation in the soil or failure of regular supply of food, the plant, if it is to live, must build up hard tissues on the leaves which curtail transpiration and storages of reserve food material and even water in the plant body.

For the Indian cultivator the pull of tax-transpiration increased and the push of root-pressure diminished. Prudential considerations were of no avail. *Mathew Arnold* failed to notice the significance of environment on the workaday life when he pictured in his *Pagan World*,

The East bow'd low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legion thunder past
And plunged in thought again.

The cultivator became improvident. His economic myopia has been the result of the incalculable nature of his future and the cause of the low standard of his life. "An elephant perch one day, a horse ride another and footing it on bare feet the third" has been the parable of his economic existence and a confession of failure to maintain a decent standard of life. The result has been that it has been pitched at the lowest level. It is said you can take away something from an Englishman's life, none from an Irishman's. The Indian is in this respect on a par with the Irish and his staple diet of potatoes. Necessities, decencies and luxuries are the three

stages on the march of the economic conquest of nature and its subdual for the improvement of man's estate. Their scale has become stereotyped in the standards of life of provident people and the community strives incessantly to mould nature to be the hand maid of this social ordering.

FIGHTING FAMINES

The pathogenic conditions that usher in an era of local or widespread famine are the outcome of any one or more of the following causes: (1) drought; (2) floods; (3) insect pest; (4) hail or frost; (5) devastation by armies or wholesale evacuations as were ordered in the time of Mohammad Tughlakh when he changed the metropolis from Delhi to Deogiri in the South; (6) absence of diversity of occupations; (7) exclusive dependence on agriculture or, in the expressive language of the Sanskritists, excessive milking of the agricultural cow so that nothing is left for the nourishment of the calf; and, (8) "the earth's becoming man-heavy." Any of these causes or the cumulative effect of more than one creates a milieu wherein those who are not in a position to lower their standards are left resourceless.

Famines are, in short, the result of acts of God or acts of man. Their action and re-action are complementary and the indigent are pulverised between the nether stone of drought and the upper one of resourcelessness. No earthly power can stop drought. It can lighten the intensity of its on-set. Afforestation can draw clouds and the undergrowth can intercept, in its toils, surface water from rushing into ravines. The irrigation commission found that a sustained policy of protective canalisation would wrest 2.25 per cent of the volume of water that at present ran out to sea and make it available for irrigation. As has been

noted above, little had been done in the Hindu period to protect the country directly against drought. Firoz Tughlakh harnessed the Jumna for irrigation of his domains in Hissar.

The Moghals had seen canals in their home lands and were keen horticulturists, but they cut canals from rivers for their pleasure gardens. Khairuddin the Persian historian of the Sharqis of Jaunpur relates the incident of Akbar finding a mother wailing on one side of the Gomti, waiting for the ferry to hurry her across to her hungry baby when the Sharqis could have, in the words of Akbar, built a bridge across the river Gomti instead of wasting their substance in the construction of forts and mosques. But even Akbar did not undertake an irrigation work that would have made the North independent of rain. Even his architectonic mind which contrived to do so much for public weal bowed before the inevitable and left his people only with the weapon of the Mantra "Magic chants" to compel the "dispenser of rain to tilt his water bag."

The impotence of man and the omnipotence of the forces of nature could not have been more unerringly demonstrated. This terrible race experience has worked darkly into the warp of the cultivator's mind and the resultant "will to action" has ever after acquired a fatal limp. His life has become a gamble in rain and he is a gambler not in the exuberance of plenitude but the despair of destitution.

A striking change in this policy of fighting famines was inaugurated in the forties of last century when the Ganges canal was first cut and Lord Sydenheim describes with pardonable pride in "my working life" how the British have brought three crores of acres under irrigation, an achievement unapproached in pre-British India. In spite of the criticism that railways discour-

aged the habit of storing grain and ordinarily left the cultivator with money but not the grain to buy it with, the Famine Commission of 1900 definitely found that

the railways though they have extended the area of famines have reduced the intensity of distress and if they have discouraged the storage of grain they have substituted the great reserve of the country at large for the petty reserve of the individual.

Protective canals and famine railways are two of the best measures taken for insuring the country against the recurrence of a type of famine which in 1900 spread over 475,000 square miles and in 1899 involved 69,500,000 persons under relief.

What Legoyt has said about France has happened in India in that famines have been gradually replaced by Disettes (scarcity), and today only Chertés (dearth) are known. The famine code, like the code of Justinian, will ever remain a monument signalling the establishment of the "reign of law" in the midst of warring policies, and what was once but a pious wish has been made a detail of famine administrative routine:²

Every District Officer would be held *personally* responsible that no death occurred from starvation which could have been avoided by any exertion or arrangement on his part.

ERRING LAND REVENUE POLICY

The resourcelessness of the family unit is directly the result of erring land revenue policy. The efficient suction of the sponge of land taxation has been responsible for its birth and the low standard of life, which most of the cultivators are condemned to accept,

² Order passed in 1808 by Sir William Muir, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, reproduced on page 478 of Sir Harcourt Butler's brilliant article on "Famines" in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Volume III.

its visible repercussion. Ever since the Muslim conquest, except when Akbar tried to restrict Government demand of land revenue to one-third of the average out-turn, the State has looked upon the cultivator as a helot on a human cattle farm where the inmate is left just the barest minimum sufficient to keep him alive and the economic rent and more has wholly gone to the estate owner—the State.

Lord Cornwallis pitched the Government demand at eleven-twelfths or 90 per cent of the rental and justified the fixity of demand on the selfish ground that the landholder would thereby be able to build up a margin on which he could draw for payment of Government revenue in lean years. The tenant was left to the tender mercies of a landed aristocracy brought up in the traditions of rack renting and what, with the increase of population due to Pax Britannica, and the absence of alternative occupations to absorb the increasing number, the pressure on the land accelerated subinfudation and there were as many as twenty tiers of tenure-holders between the payer of Government revenue and the actual rack rented cultivator of the soil. It was clear that the margin which would have been otherwise available under the permanent settlement for raising the standard of life was wholly absorbed by the concentration of higher number of persons on the same area for their sustenance.

In the North the Government demand was at first pitched as high as 83 per cent, subsequently lowered to 75 per cent then to 60 per cent, and it was not till 1855 that it was fixed at 55 per cent. The policy pursued in the Ryotwari tracts in the South and in the Malguzari tracts of C. P. took as much back from the land as would have been consistent with the theory of the State taking the economic rent, leaving to the

cultivator the barest minimum for his subsistence. It was not till after a new orientation in the policy of Government was ushered in by the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown that the methods of management of this country as a huge cattle farm were given up. Various acts were passed restricting the rent which was forced out of an ignorant home-keeping tenantry. The prime consideration of deriving as much income from the land as possible gave place to the higher consideration of making the assessment in the words of Lord Curzon's Government resolution

equitable in character and moderate in incidence; and that there should be left to the proprietor or to the cultivator of the soil that margin of profit that will enable him to save in ordinary seasons and to meet the strain of exceptionable misfortune.

The MacDonnell Famine Commission of 1900 found that the

land tax was full and its rigidity in hard times forced the cultivator into debt and unless provision for suspension and remission of revenue and rent be an integral part of the revenue system in any province the cultivator will be forced to borrow on conditions incompatible with his solvency and independence. *Nothing can be more useful in anticipation of famine than improvements in the material condition of the cultivators whereby they may be enabled to withstand the pressure of hard times.*

The feeling against heavy assessment was due to the fact that it was a visible direct tax, that it formed an important item of the State revenue and in the eyes of the critics it was wholly a loss to the country as it was described as leaving India in the shape of the home charges.

It is to this that Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, referred when he wrote:

So far as it is possible to change the Indian system it is desirable that the culti-

vator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts where the capital is scarce. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent.

The persistent ventilation that Mr. Dutt's writings gave to the State of penury of the ryots in Ryotwari tracts and of landholders in temporarily settled districts ultimately resulted in restricting and regulating the suction of the sponge of the land tax and preparing a famine campaign that would cope with the famine of money and food. The "India of the future was not to be a land of diminishing plenty, of empty prospects and of justifiable discontent." Land revenue has since become a provincial subject. Its incidence and repercussion on the tenantry have become subjects for the provincial legislature and its levy is no longer objected to on the ground that it is a drain from the province. The danger lies in introducing rigidity where elasticity should be the rule.

STANDARDS OF LIVING

It was Mr. Dutt who wrote at the end of last century that 80 per cent of the gross produce was retained by the cultivator in Bengal, 14 per cent paid to landlord as rent and 6 per cent to the Government as land tax. In Northern India the cultivator got 80 per cent, the landlord 10 per cent and the Government 10 per cent. In Bombay and Madras the cultivator got 70 per cent, and in C. P. 60 per cent, the balance going to the Government. But the question can be pertinently put and was actually put by Lord Curzon before the Madras Mahajan Sabha whether in case the Government reduced the demand by 25 per cent would "there be no more famine, no more poverty, no more distress?"

The reply which Sir Narayan Chandavkar is reported to have given to it has been partially correct. In the Ryotwari tract it would leave a larger margin to the cultivator, but in the absence of a settled and persistent policy on the part of the Government to protect the country from drought and the readiness on the part of the cultivator to absorb the superplusage of one season in rendering him less resourceless, the margin released would be frittered away on feeding a larger population per acre. The scrambling for land available for cultivation would increase. Possession of land still confers a patent of gentility and is a passport to the marriage market. The vicious tendency of tying up a larger proportion of men than can utilise land as an efficient instrument of wealth production will be intensified. It is in this sense that we are considering famines in their relation to the standard of living. Action will have to be bilateral in order to immunise the community against the dire consequences of drought.

Lord Curzon was never tired of enjoining on Indians the necessity for raising their standard and enriching the content of their lives. If an agricultural simile be allowed, the even tenor of the cultivator's life was like his superficially furrowed field, lacking in the capacity of absorbing moisture precipitated from outside. It needed lateral expansion and vertical depth just as much as the soil required its crust to be broken and the subsoil thoroughly upturned and aerated. This increased its capacity to retain hygroscopic moisture for the sustenance of a thoroughly tillering plant. A superficially ploughed field falls an easy victim to desiccation and is incapable of acting as a retentive sponge—suffering like its owner acutely from the scantiness of precipi-

tation and little advantaged by its surplus.

In the reformed council as has already been remarked there is not that acute desire to fix permanently Government demand on land. Money is wanted for long postponed social, sanitary and industrial reforms, for rural amelioration and rural reconstruction. "Let the Sun suck the moisture available in rural areas provided it is wholly precipitated back on land." There should be an agricultural policy. The rural areas should come into their own. The town-bred absentee landlord, who looks upon his zamindari as a business on which a certain percentage must be anyhow returned, is to be discouraged from looking village-ward for his investment. However much the Land Alienation Acts in the Punjab and Bombay, which curtailed the power of the peasant cultivator of alienating his land, might have been assailed with the most pointed missiles thrown up from the witches cauldron of pure Manchesterthum, the grandfatherly policy, intended to save the prodigal from his own extravagant follies, was needed so that the rising land market and the facile credit available may not prove the cultivator's own undoing. He has been trained to use the land as a sacred trust in the interests of his family and of the community.

FAMILY BUDGETS

Unfortunately, as Sir Vishveshvaraya's Indian Economic Inquiry Committee has found, we have not materials before us for the intensive study of family budgets which Le Place made available in France or which Engels in his intensive and extensive studies of workmen's budgets exploited for interesting deductions for social reform. I have tried to collect details of family budgets in my district.

The harvest garnered so far is far from satisfactory, but it yields enough detail to indicate prevalent tendencies. Roughly put, Engels divided a family budget into expenditure on

- (1) Food.
- (2) House rent.
- (3) Clothes.
- (4) Light and fuel and other operative services which greased the wheels of a householder's life.
- (5) Higher life including expenditure on education, religion and saving.

Roughly, the average expenditure of a working class family in the late fifties in Europe on item one was 55 per cent; 18 on two; 16 on three; 6 per cent on four; 5 per cent on five. According to Engels, the poorer a family the larger the proportion of the expenditure on bare subsistence. In short, the proportion of the income spent on food was an unfailing index of the material well-being of a community. In Belgium the expenditure under the five heads was 67, 11, 13, 6, 3. In America it has been 43, 18, 13, 6, 20. In the rural areas of the unprogressive eastern districts of the United Provinces where I analysed the family budgets, I found that the proportion varied a great deal. The percentage on food was below 50, but everywhere Engels' generalisation was falsified in so far as he wrote that the lower the percentage spent on food the higher the material prosperity. A lower percentage was found to be spent on food not out of choice but of necessity, and expenditure on food was not the first charge.

There was next to no expenditure on house rent, little on clothes, none on higher life, everything was swallowed up by food and operative services. In the latter I have included expenditure on marriages, births and deaths, also expenditure on litigation and interest on loans. The cultivator thinks that

the wheels of his household will get clogged without this lubrication even if it has to be administered at the expense of the internal lubrication of his own bodily machine. His avidity for long distance places of pilgrimage has grown with the growing facilities of rail borne journey. The legal system has whetted his gambling instinct. He indulges in litigation all the time with a pathetic Micawberian belief that "something may turn up."

The system of marketing is wasteful of time and puts the article in a market of restricted demand so that he does not get the best return for his output. It is only when we turn to the *nouveaux riches* amongst the lower middle class or the landless man that we find there is comparative freedom from debt and expenditure of about half of the income on food. Sometimes where some enterprising members of the family have migrated and taken up service in the metropolitan towns of Bombay, Calcutta or Rangoon, the family at home can afford to spend a fair amount on necessities. In Sultanpur, an eastern district of the United Provinces, I found that remittances from abroad contributed a large share of the Government revenue.

Where does all this hard cash, saved by the up-country-man, whose standard of life has been a by-word for squalor in his adopted cities, go? Not certainly absorbed in the family and reappearing by syphonic action in increased stock of decencies relieving the devastating emptiness of his home, but in premium paid for adding an acre to the family land or securing the acceptance of the hand of a daughter in a family higher in social status than one's own. He does not buy an oil engine that would be his standby in case his bullock power failed. He does not rebuild his house with an idea of keeping dampness,

darkness and smoke out of it. He does not deposit his money in a credit society for the rainless day. He does not add a milch cow that would give vitaminous ghee to his growing urchins. The idea of controlling population, by methods other than moral restraint, has not yet been woven in the web of Indian life. As a matter of fact it has been considered distinctly dysgenic. Life has not been made sufficiently secure from death to make the acceptance of Malthusianism a question of more than academic interest.

REMEDY

The remedy lies in the reëducation of his ideals and in changing the orientation of his outlook. Societies for rural reconstruction and for fostering rural solidarity are needed. Pan-chaysts have been started with the object of securing compulsory arbitration of disputes or framing sumptuary laws to restrain expenditure in maintaining false notions of family prestige. Land has to be dethroned from its high pedestal to be put in its proper place in the rural economy as an instrument of wealth production and thereby emancipate the land-stricted cultivator from the thraldom of a fetish. Diversity of occupation has to be provided for a full and varied life. His economic manumission requires

that all his eggs should not be put in one basket and the present lack of alternative occupations to occupy him industrially in case of failure of crops has to be remedied.

Conditions in the towns are to be improved to entice the enterprising villager to seek a settled career in industrial pursuits and a more intelligent, a more intensive and a more resourceful use has to be made of land for purposes of producing increasing quantity of food for men and cattle. It is in the direction of coöperation that we have to look for the new organon that would supply the lever for raising the standard and the struts that would sustain it. It is the only matrix in which life has to be cast if Engels' "operative services" are not to make a heavy inroad on the family budget.

The tug of war between nature and morality which Huxley has emphasised in his *Evolution and Ethics* has its replica in the pitching of man against drought on the physical and of the individual against custom in the social plane. The panacea lies in training malevolent intractable nature to be the beneficent servitor of the grain producer and in "mutual aid" which while putting man above want would enable him to maximise utilities and minimise wastes in working the family machine.

Industry and Commerce

By SIR LALUBHIA SAMALDAS, K.T., C.I.E.

Director of various joint-stock companies; President, Indian Industrial Conference, 1913; and of the Indian Economic Conference, 1925; Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1910-20; Member of the Council of State, 1921-25; temporary Revenue Member of the Bombay Government

THERE is sufficient evidence in the Vedic hymns addressed to Varuna, the Ocean God, to show that in the Vedic times, that is many, many centuries before the Christian Era, the Aryans of India had ships of their own and that these ships were plying on the high seas for the purpose of carrying on the produce of India to Foreign countries. Coming to later times, we have the authority of Chánakya, the Sage Minister of Chandragupta, for saying that India was carrying on a fairly large amount of trade and commerce with Foreign countries. Although the Arthashastra of Kautilya (Chánakya) does not give any statistics and their absence in later accounts is a handicap to students of economical conditions of ancient India, it is easy to infer from internal evidence that the trade at that time consisted mainly of manufactured Indian goods.

Recent discoveries connected with Greater India show that even now there are relics of Indian Architecture—Hindu and Buddhistic—in Java, in portions of China and in eastern Asiatic islands. It appears, from the articles contributed by the various scholars, that India sent out missionaries to teach her religion and culture to these Foreign lands long long ago. Trade followed in the wake of these missionary efforts. This reversal of the modern order of trade preceding the missionary might be due to the fact that the Aryans of India gave greater importance to spreading their spiritual

knowledge than to expansion of their trade. This is in marked contrast to the present Western method of colonization, wherein more attention is paid to material expansion than to spiritual development. In the twentieth century, India is also learning to follow European methods, as evidenced by India sending out recently a deputation of Representatives of the Cotton Manufacturing Industry to open new markets for the wares of Indian Cotton Mills in Foreign countries.

EARLY TRADING

In spite of the dearth of statistical information in old records, English writers of the history of ancient India give us some idea of the nature of exports in those days. Mr. Thornton in his book *Description of Ancient India* says:

Ere the pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile, when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of the wilderness, India was the seat of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the marks of industry; rich crops of the most coveted productions of nature annually rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Skilled artisans converted the rude products of the soil into fabrics of unrivalled delicacy and beauty. Architects and sculptors joined in constructing works, the solidity of which has not, in some instances, been overcome by the evolution of thousands of years. The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence.

That this statement is no exaggeration is borne out by various other writers. Not only were Indian Products exported to the Eastern Countries, but they were also being exported to East Africa many centuries back. Cotton manufactures formed a large part of those exports. This is recognised on all hands, but it is sometimes forgotten that India had many other industries besides that of manufacturing cotton. The late Mr. Justice Ranade in his book on Indian Economics referring to the development of Iron industry in the country says:

The Iron industry not only supplied all local wants, but it also enabled India to export its finished products to Foreign countries. The quality of the material turned out had also a world-wide fame. The famous iron pillar near Delhi, which is at least fifteen hundred years old, indicates an amount of skill in the manufacture of wrought iron, which has been the marvel of all who have endeavoured to account for it. Mr. Ball (late of the Geological Survey of India) admits that it is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest factories in the world, and even now, there are comparatively very few factories where such a mass of metal could be turned out. Cannons were manufactured in Assam of the largest calibre.

The very fact that invaders came to India from the time of Alexander the Great, down to Temur and Ahmad Irani through the North West Frontier, show that the riches and wealth of India were well known far outside and that the reports of this wealth drew Foreign invaders who were anxious to share these riches. That India was economically self-contained is borne out by what Dr. Robertson says:

In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to India. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either

for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art. In all ages, the trade with India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has always been considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns.

The eyes of the Dutch, Portuguese, French and English Nations were turned toward India on account of her reputed wealth and of the vast collection of her priceless jewels.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Till the advent of the British in India, that is, up to the eighteenth century, India held the first place amongst other Nations as regards her industrial development and her trade and commerce with Foreign countries.

Sir Thomas Munro referring to the economic, social and cultural condition of India in his time says:

But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy are among the signs which denote a civilized people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo.

BRITISH CONTROL

The two things that thereafter killed Indian industries were (1) the invention of steam power and (2) the calculated policy of Britain to kill Indian industries and to convert her into a big market for her own manufactures. Authorities are not wanting to show that all sorts of measures were adopted to achieve this end. Since 1858, when the British Crown took over the control of Government from the East India Company, the Government of India have till very recently followed the policy of free trade which was good for Britain but which was and is not acceptable even to her colonies or dominions. As a result of this policy India has become more and more an agricultural country and less and less an industrial one.

In this connection, I cannot do better than quote some of the remarks of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola from his Presidential speech at the 1927 Session of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress. After a very long period of public service both in the Local and Imperial Council, Sir Ibrahim was appointed a Member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bombay. During the period of Councillorship, he was asked to work as President of the Fiscal Commission appointed by the Government of India. After he left office, he was first nominated and then elected President of the Reformed Legislative Council of Bombay. He has been connected with various industries and Banks and is thus best fitted to form an independent and unbiassed opinion on this important subject. Says Sir Ibrahim:

To any one who has taken any interest in the public life of the country, there is only one answer; that answer is that Britain has throughout been primarily concerned with maintaining the Indian market for her

manufactures. Her political power has been used for the promotion of this object. The small band of merchant adventurers who came out to India, we are told, intended to carry on a lucrative trade. The political power which they acquired was used by the East India Company for this purpose.

After referring to the transfer of direct control over India from the East India Company to the Crown of Britain, Sir Ibrahim says that in spite of such transfer the orders of the Secretary of State for India remains the same as that of the East India Company. What that policy is he explains in the following terms:

The concern of our trustees seems to be to obtain all the revenues that they may acquire for carrying on the administration of India and to sell to India increased quantities of her manufactured goods. Britain does not appear to have applied her mind to the development of the economic resources of this country. All that she has been concerned with has been the immediate sale to India of increased quantities of her manufactured goods. She imposed upon India, I dare say in the conscientious discharge of her "sacred trust," a policy of free trade, to which her own Dominions, let alone other civilized nations, refused to subscribe.

Similar opinion is expressed by the Rt. Hon. Sir W. Joynson Hicks, Home Secretary in the present British Cabinet. In one of his speeches he was frank enough to say:

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain . . . I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire Cotton goods in particular.

Sir Ibrahim then gives his opinion as to what the duty of a Civilized Government should be and how far the Gov-

ernment of India have carried out this duty in the interest of the millions of India.

Every Civilized Government in the world considers it its first duty to raise the economic resources of its people and increase its national wealth. It is true that some spasmodic efforts have been made by the Government of India to promote the economic interests of the country. They have constituted several commissions to examine various aspects of this question. We have had an Industrial Commission, a Railway Commission, two Currency and Exchange Commissions, one Fiscal Commission and now an Agricultural Commission. The economic problem may be subdivided into the subjects entrusted for examination to each of these Commissions, but it is hardly possible to reach satisfactory conclusions and carry out a broad economic policy by piecemeal examination of the problem.

The Fiscal Commission recommended a policy of discriminative protection, and the Government of India accepting that recommendation appointed a Tariff Board to examine in the first instance the claims of Iron and Steel Industry (a key industry) to protection. The Tariff Board under the Chairmanship of the present Commerce Member of the Government of India, Sir George Rainey, made exhaustive enquiries and recommended certain import duties and subsidies. Be it said to the credit of Lord Reading and his Commerce Member Sir Charles Innes, that they accepted the proposals of the Tariff Board and submitted to the Central Legislature and carried through the same a Tariff Bill based on those recommendations. The Iron and Steel Industry is now established on a sound basis and within a few years India will produce more than 50 per cent. of her Steel requirements. Similarly the Excise Cotton Duty levied under order from Lancashire through the Secretary of State has also been

abolished. It can be seen from these acts of the Government of India that they have given up the old policy of pure Free Trade and *Laissez Faire*, and are prepared to help according to their lights, the industrial development of the country.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Representatives of the Government of India, to the Economic Conference held in Geneva in May 1927, submitted to the Conference a note on the present economic conditions of this country. In a prefatory remark they say that India is

A debtor country in the sense that British and Foreign Capital is invested in her Railways and Irrigation Works and in some of her industries in excess of her own investments abroad.

The fact of India's indebtedness and of her having to remit interest thereon every year to Britain and other creditor countries, necessitates her exporting "Every year goods to a higher value than the value of her imports."

The favourable balance of trade is really a balance of her visible trade. To secure this balance she must have a surplus production over and above the quantity wanted for consumption within the borders of the country. If she cannot produce a sufficient quantity to meet both these calls, her own inhabitants will have to be starved to enable her to pay regularly her interest charges for the purpose of maintaining her credit. The same note of Government of India's representatives says:

Agricultural exports of India, which in one form or another constitute nine times of her total exports, represent at the same time only one eleventh of her total production.

Such a statement would lead one to believe that the remaining (ten-elevenths) agricultural produce is more than sufficient to feed and clothe and

provide the necessities of life of the vast population of India.

Unfortunately this is not the case as has been proved by Professor Shah and Mr. Khambatta in their book, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*. According to these authors the total of India's produce is not sufficient even for the requirements of her own people. That statement has not yet been contradicted and till that is done it must be accepted as a correct representation of the existing state of things.

The serious gap between the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods which occurred during the post-war period had an important bearing on India's trade. A greater productive effort was necessary to enable India to purchase the same value of imports as pre-war.¹ What did actually happen in 1924 and 1925 was that "exports increased (by comparison with pre-war) while imports were relatively less."¹ Till some equilibrium is again maintained between the costs and profits of producers and manufacturers, India and countries mainly producing raw materials will be forced either to curtail their purchase of manufactured goods, at the expense of their general standard of life, or, alternatively, to provide more and more for themselves those commodities which they have hitherto found it convenient to draw from abroad.¹ The first alternative means improvement in agricultural methods and in marketing facilities, while the second alternative means industrial development to meet the growing needs of the country. A Royal Commission on Agriculture has been appointed by Government to make enquiries and suggest reforms regarding the former, while very little is done as regards the second alternative

excepting the creation of a Tariff Board. This is quite in keeping with the century-old policy of making India producer of raw materials and consumer of foreign manufactured goods.

BANKING SYSTEM

The Trade and Industries of a country are dependent to a great extent on the Banking facilities existing in the country at the time. The indigenous system of Banking consisted of an individual shroff or banker for each City and large town, and of a Sowcar who combined the duties of a banker and a merchant in each small town and large village. In pre-British time there was no Joint Stock Company's Act, nor a State or a Joint Stock Bank. After the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, there came into existence the old Presidency Banks, each for the Capital of the Presidency of Bombay, Bengal and Madras. These Banks have recently been amalgamated, and an All India Bank called the Imperial Bank has been constituted as a result of the amalgamation. English, and later, other Foreign Banks established Branches in Presidency Towns. It was only in the present century that pure Indian Joint Stock Banks were established in various important centres of Trade and Commerce. Some of these Banks came to grief about 15 years back, either because they went in for speculation or because they were not efficiently managed on correct Banking lines and in a few cases because their management was not honest. It has been alleged at least in the case of one Bank failure that it was due more to unfair competition and hostile attitude of the then existing Presidency and Foreign Banks and less to its industrial activities. The following tables show the growth of these different types of Banks from 1913 (pre-war year) to 1925.

¹Report of the Members of India submitted to the International Economic Conference of 1927. Pages 19 to 21.

TABLE I—PRESIDENCY BANKS AND THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA

31st December	Capital	Reserve and Rest	Government or Public Deposits	Private Deposits	Proportion per cent. of Government Deposits (Column 3) to		Cash Balance
					Total Capital and Deposits (Column 1 to 4)	Private Deposits Column 4)	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Per Cent	Per Cent	Rs. (1,000)
1913 (pre-war year) . . .	3,75,00	3,73,07	5,88,66	36,48,50	11 8	16 1	15,37,75
1914	3,75,00	3,89,17	5,61,52	40,04,08	10 5	14 0	20,83,92
1915	3,75,00	3,72,50	4,88,67	38,61,19	9 6	12 7	14,65,24
1916	3,75,00	3,60,99	5,20,58	44,70,87	9 1	11 6	17,27,25
1917	3,75,00	3,67,52	7,71,28	67,71,74	9 3	11 4	33,77,31
1918	3,75,00	3,44,58	8,64,28	50,97,75	12 8	16 9	17,07,62
1919	3,75,00	3,57,81	7,72,24	68,21,37	9 3	11 3	23,62,93
1920	3,75,00	3,77,79	9,02,63	73,01,90	9 5	11 6	26,03,34
1921	5,62,24	4,14,54	6,80,01	65,77,99	8 3	10 3	13,60,23
1922	5,62,50	4,33,07	14,15,73	57,00,57	17 4	24 8	15,07,47
1923	5,62,50	4,55,21	8,56,94	74,19,51	9 2	11 5	15,01,34
1924	5,62,50	4,80,08	7,50,26	76,71,22	7 9	9 9	15,60,26
1925	5,62,50	4,92,73	5,46,44	77,83,33	5 8	7 0	17,46,82

TABLE II—EXCHANGE BANKS

	Number of Banks	Capital, Reserve and Rest	Deposits in India	Cash balance in India
		£(1,000)	£ (1,000)	£ (1,000)
1913 (pre-war year)	12	37,825	31,035	5,882
1914	11	36,972	30,148	8,394
1915	11	36,793	33,546	7,601
1916	10	37,931	38,039	10,140
1917	9	32,682	53,375	33,744
1918	10	39,449	61,856	15,173
1919	11	53,070	74,359	29,983
1920	15	90,217	74,807	25,175
1921	17	111,632	75,196	23,567
1922	18	112,221	73,384	16,176
1923	18	140,103	68,443	14,479
1924	18	130,464	70,635	16,367
1925	18	138,311	70,546	9,416

TABLE III—INDIAN JOINT-STOCK BANKS

	Class A				Class B			
	Number of Banks	Capital and Reserves	Deposits	Cash balances	Number of Banks	Capital and Reserves	Deposits	Cash balances
		Rs. (lakhs)	Rs. (lakhs)	Rs. (lakhs)		Rs. (lakhs)	Rs. (lakhs)	Rs. (lakhs)
1913 (pre-war year)	18	3,64	22,59	4,00	23	50	1,51	25
1914	17	3,93	17,11	3,53	25	55	1,26	28
1915	20	4,38	17,87	3,99	25	55	91	20
1916	20	4,61	24,71	6,03	28	63	1,01	17
1917	18	4,67	31,17	7,65	25	54	99	20
1918	19	6,02	40,59	9,49	28	63	1,55	37
1919	18	7,63	58,99	12,17	29	75	2,28	54
1920	25	10,92	71,15	16,31	33	82	2,33	42
1921	27	12,40	76,90	15,66	38	1,00	3,26	44
1922	27	10,64	61,64	12,04	41	1,11	3,38	56
1923	26	9,73	44,43	7,37	43	1,11	3,26	61
1924	29	10,71	52,50	11,30	40	1,07	2,67	34
1925	28	10,60	54,49	10,10	46	1,18	3,42	68

	Population (Millions)	Total Number of Societies	Total Number of Members of Primary Societies	Total Working Capital in 1,000 Rupees	Number of Rupees per Member of Primary Societies	Number of Rupees per Head of Population
British India	245.2	69,016	2,669,087	5,30,067	199	2-3/16
Indian States	33.9	11,166	388,938	45,972	118	1-6/16
Total	279.1	80,182	3,058,025	5,76,039	188	2-1/16

The total deposits of these classes of Banks have increased during the last decade from 114 to 212 Crores. Out of these totals the Imperial Banks' share is 40 per cent., that of the Exchange Banks 33 per cent. and that of the Indian Joint Stock Banks 27 per cent. only. All these Banks mainly serve principal Cities and large Towns. They have not been able to go even to all large Towns and necessarily not to ordinary Towns or large villages. Constituted as they are, it is not possible for them to render any assistance in providing Banking facilities to the

Townsmen and villagers. These Joint Stock Banks are of the English or Scotch type, that is, they help Trade and Commerce only, but do not directly finance industries nor agriculture, except in very few cases. One Industrial Bank was started during the boom period and though it was also doing ordinary Banking business, yet for various reasons—chiefly that of slump in trade in post-war period—it had to amalgamate itself with a going indigenous Joint Stock Bank.

Agriculture is being financed to a certain extent by Coöperative Banks

which came into existence after 1904 in which year the Government of India put on the Statute Book the Coöperative Credit Act. That movement has made very good progress during the last two decades,—thanks to the sympathy of the officials selected as Registrar of Coöperative Societies and to the keen interest taken in the development of the movement by a band of selfless, non-official workers. Both these agencies have on the whole worked harmoniously; and if they continue to do so, the movement with the help of the Land Mortgage Banks that are gradually coming into existence will solve to a large extent the problem of Agricultural finance. The attached statement gives the figures showing the position of these Banks and Societies at the end of 1925. It will be seen from the statement that the amount of Working Capital per member is merely sufficient to provide Capital for Agricultural operations of a member, but is not sufficient to assist the Agriculturist to introduce improvements in the methods of cultivation or to reduce his existing debts. For the latter purpose establishment of Land Mortgage Banks is absolutely necessary. A few small Banks of this type have been started and their progress is being carefully watched. If they work successfully, larger Banks, probably one for each province, will have to be started, and then the country may reasonably hope for the removal of agricultural indebtedness to a large extent.

Agriculture and Industry are so interdependent that it is hardly possible for an advance in one without a corresponding advance in the other. In India very little attention was paid by Government, even to the development of either, till the beginning of this century. The great famine of 1899–1900 opened the eyes of the Government to the necessity of taking some action

to help Agriculture. The Famine Commission, the Irrigation Commission and the Coöperative (Sir Edward Low's) Committee all owe their existence in a sense to that Famine. The recommendations of these bodies have to a certain extent been accepted and acted upon by Government, and Agriculture has so far benefitted to that extent.

As regards Industry, an Industrial Commission was appointed as a result of the insistent demand of non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Practically no action was taken on the recommendations of that Commission, partly because the country was still involved in the Great War and also because the Government of India of that day did not believe in the necessity of assisting indigenous industries, which might lead to competition with England. A few years later the Government of India appointed another Commission, the Fiscal Commission. The unanimous recommendations of this Commission were in the main accepted by Government and the Central Legislature. As a result of the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly, a Tariff Board was constituted to make enquiries into the existing condition of a particular industry, its prospects for the future, and make recommendation for strengthening it. The first industry to be referred to this Board was the Iron and Steel Industry, and the recommendations of the Tariff Board were—be it said to the credit of the then Government of India—accepted, and the Industry saved by the adoption of measures recommended by the Tariff Board. Later on the recommendations of the Board were not treated with the same courtesy and respect as those of the first Report of the Tariff Board. This may be due either to a change in the angle of vision of the present Government of India or

to a lack of confidence in the Tariff Board as constituted at present. Whatever the reasons, the results are unfavourable to the development of indigenous industries.

The Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics is publishing a weekly Trade journal, a few monthly statements and several annual journals of Statistics about Trade, Agriculture, Prices and Wages, Cotton Mills, etc. The annual review of the Trade of India contains comparative figures of imports and exports with reasons of the fluctuations therein. I append herewith a copy of the Chart relating to the Foreign Sea Borne Trade of India during the sixty years (1864-69 to 1919-24) by quinquennial averages. It will be seen therefrom that while the gap between exports and imports during the War-period was much greater than any preceding five years, the gap is much smaller in the last five years, and is actually smaller than it has ever been during the last 30 years. The result is due to an equilibrium not being maintained between the costs and profits of producers and manufacturers as has been shown by the Indian representatives to the Economic Conference held in Geneva in May 1927.

During the year 1926-27 the total exports of merchandise amounted to 309 crores which was 76 crores less than the value of exports in the preceding year. This large reduction is attributed by the Compiler of Statistics to the "heavy fall in the world prices of raw materials, particularly of cotton and jute." The official Compiler does not refer to the effect on the prices of the Rupee being fixed at 1 s. 6 d. against the almost unanimous demand of the intelligenzia of the Country to have it fixed at 1 s. 4 d. The protagonist of the latter ratio based their demand for the same on various grounds, not the least important of

which was that the higher ratio was penalizing the Agriculturist by artificially keeping the export prices lower than what they would have been if the ratio had been fixed at the pre-war figure of 1 s. 4 d.

While the exports show a decrease of 76 crores, the imports show a small increase, the actual figure for 1925-26 and 1926-27 being 226 and 231 crores. The most important of these were Cotton manufactures, which formed 28.15 per cent. of the total imports and came to 65.05 crores. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Cotton exports during the same period amounted to 58.60 crores. In the preceding year the figures of the value of cotton exported and cotton manufactures imported are still more striking, the former being 94.99 crores and the latter being 64.54. If the Cotton Mill Industry had received the support of the Government, which it has every right to claim as the Premier Indigenous Industry, India would have manufactured cotton goods from the cotton exported and would have found employment for a large number of skilled workmen. At present she pays the Foreign workmen and also is mulcted as regards the steamer freight, either one way or both ways.

Metals and ores occupy the second place of imports, the amount and percentage of the total imports being 23.85 crores and 10.31 per cent. respectively. The third important article of import is Sugar, the figures of the value of import and percentage to the total imports being 19.16 crores and 8.28 per cent. India is capable of supplying the requirements of its Citizen as regards Sugar. The Sugar Cane grown in the Country was till some years back converted into Gur or Jaggery. A few factories for refining this Gur and manufacturing white sugar were put up in Bihar, U. P., and Madras. Later on, plants were

put up for crushing sugar cane and manufacturing sugar direct from the cane juice. As many of these factories found difficulties in not getting a regular cane supply, and in facing competition from Java and Mauritius, a Commission was appointed by the Government of India to make enquiries in the matter and submit their recommendations.

The Commission's report has practi-

cally been pigeon-holed as has been often said by one of the members of the Commission Hon. Sir Jogendra Sinh—from his place in the Council of State. The same apathy of the Government is visible as regards this industry as in the general industrial development of the Country. The other articles of import in order of their importance with their values and percentages are given below:

IMPORTS
(In Thousands of Rupees)

	1926-27	Percentage of Proportion to Total Imports of Merchandise in 1926-27
Machinery and millwork	13,63,14	5.89
Oils	9,18,78	3.97
Vehicles	6,39,93	2.77
Provisions and oilman's stores	5,50,49	2.38
Hardware	5,06,62	2.19
Silk raw and manufactures	4,59,71	1.99
Wool raw and manufactures	4,46,36	1.93
Instruments, apparatus and appliances	4,01,18	1.73
Liquors	3,52,86	1.52
Railway plant and rolling stock	3,26,24	1.41
Spices	3,12,29	1.35
Paper and pasteboard	3,08,20	1.33
Tobacco	2,56,11	1.11
Glass and glassware	2,52,88	1.09
Chemicals	2,44,35	1.06
Dyes	2,13,23	.92
Rubber	2,10,96	.91
Drugs and medicines	2,06,60	.89
Apparel	1,77,87	.77
Fruits and vegetables	1,61,76	.70
Soap	1,52,41	.66
Paints and painters' materials	1,44,23	.62
Salt	1,26,20	.55
Building & engineering materials	1,23,91	.54
Haberdashery and millinery	1,13,41	.49
Precious stones and pearls, unset	1,06,99	.46
Grain, pulse and flour	91,69	.40
Earthenware and porcelain	82,82	.36
Stationery	81,96	.35
Belting for machinery	81,29	.35
Matches	75,09	.32

Amongst manufactured articles of very recently a monopoly of English-Export the most important position is that of Jute manufactures which came to 53.18 Crores out of the total of 301.43 Crores, i.e. 17.64 per cent. This industry was till men and received greater sympathetic treatment than that of Cotton manufacture. The other articles of Export are given below in order of their importance:

EXPORTS
(In Thousands of Rupees)

	1926-27	Percentage of Proportion to Total Exports of Merchandise in 1926-27
Jute raw	26,78,04	8.88
Cotton, raw and waste	59,14,19	19.62
Cotton manufactures	10,74,85	3.57
Grain, pulse and flour	39,24,90	13.02
Tea	29,03,77	9.63
Seeds	19,08,77	6.33
Leather	7,37,69	2.45
Metals and ores	7,20,86	2.39
Hides and skins, raw	7,17,55	2.38
Lac	5,47,24	1.82
Wool, raw and manufactures	4,68,28	1.55
Rubber, raw	2,60,14	.86
Oilcakes	2,52,76	.84
Opium	2,11,85	.70
Paraffin wax	1,84,60	.61
Wood and timber	1,62,04	.54
Spices	1,55,97	.52
Coffee	1,32,63	.44
Manures	1,25,40	.41
Dyeing and tanning substances	1,17,72	.39
Mica	1,08,41	.36
Fodder, bran and pollards	1,06,25	.35
Tobacco	1,04,15	.35
Coir	99,85	.33
Oils	95,71	.32

Money Reconstruction in India (1925-27)

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IN referring to the work of the various Currency Commissions of India, Mr. Keynes has observed that Indian Currency can always find some new aspect with which to interest and instruct the student of Economics. As he has put it, the Chamberlain Commission dealt profoundly with the problem of a large temporary adverse balance of indebtedness and prescribed for it effectively; on the other hand, the Babington-Smith Committee was called upon to deal with the problem of protecting India from the excessive rise of prices in sympathy with world prices, of the adjustment of a series of abnormally favourable balance of trade and of a great rise in the price of silver. Mr. Keynes might have added that both these bodies recommended important improvements in the Indian Paper Currency system, and they also restated the principles and improved the practice of the Gold Exchange Standard in India. Indeed it can be safely assumed that had the terms of reference of the Chamberlain Commission been such as to afford it a wider scope, it would have radically improved the pre-war Gold Exchange Standard of India, and would have placed it beyond the criticism that had been so long directed against it.

The Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance of 1925-26 enjoyed unique good fortune, both as regards the time of its appointment and its terms of reference, which enabled it to undertake a scheme of general monetary reconstruction and of coördinating the various elements of the Indian Monetary system. The Commission

had also the benefit of the willing and expert coöperation of the Indian Finance Department in the task of overhauling the monetary system; and the memorandum prepared by that Department supplied valuable reviews of the evolution of currency in India and important suggestions as to the task of reconstruction. Equally important was the assistance received from foreign experts on various aspects of currency and banking. But the most important among the circumstances facilitating the task of reconstruction was the development of centralised banking in India under the Imperial Bank of India, and the possibility of creating a Reserve Bank which might be made the pivot and the instrument of currency operations, sale and purchase of gold, remittance business and note issue. Such a pivot was not available to be utilized by the earlier commissions; and, for popularising the idea of centralised banking in India, and for endowing it with worthy associations and traditions, a great deal of credit is due to the Imperial Bank of India.

CRITICISMS

The true criterion and test of the merits of the scheme for monetary reconstruction put forward in the Report of the Royal Currency Commission of 1925-26 is to be found in the large number of controversies about and criticisms of the monetary system of India which would be set at rest and rendered obsolete were the recommendations contained in that Report to be adopted. We possess an extensive literature of the criticism of the older

monetary policy, and almost the whole of that literature would retain only a historical interest were the proposals in the Report carried out. The name of such criticisms is legion; but a few among the leading ones might be selected in order to illustrate the present suggestion.

Thus the former perennial complaints about the amounts and the rates of the sale of Council Drafts, and as regards the question whether such sales checked the flow of gold into India would become matters of the past; for the methods and agency of remittance are going to be changed. Gone also would be the disputes regarding the location, disposition and employment of the Gold Standard Reserve as well as about the discrimination between the employment or functions of that reserve and the Paper Currency Reserve; for the reserves are to be amalgamated. No one would be able even to suggest any further that immense sums were being transferred from India to London needlessly, and that the Indian market was being thus deprived of the use of funds to which it was legitimately entitled. There would also be no room left for the oft-repeated criticism that our monetary system is bringing into existence an extensive token currency which does not enjoy the confidence of the public; because it is proposed to introduce the fullest possible convertibility of the local currency into gold. The scientific critic will no longer be able to deplore the fact that the control of currency and of credit was in separate hands.

It speaks well for the comprehensive monetary scheme advocated in the Report that it will make so much criticism on so many lines irrelevant and inapplicable—and indeed that effect has been felt already. It is very instructive to contrast the numerous

points in the older system against which criticism was directed before the last Commission, with the few and isolated items objected to by the same critics in the Report scheme. In fact, the issues in the currency controversy which has raged recently, and since the publication of the Report, can be narrowed down to two only—the one relating to the Exchange ratio and the other to the constitution of the directorate of the Reserve Bank; for the gold currency is now only an aspiration and is recognized to be outside the range of practical politics in the immediate future. This contraction of the volume and range of monetary criticism might be taken as a measure of the constructive work done by the Commission.

THE CHOICE OF A MONETARY STANDARD

It is best to commence a study of the Commission's scheme of reconstruction by appraising the merits of the system of Gold Bullion Standard which they have recommended for India. A comparison might be instituted between this Gold Bullion Standard and the Gold Exchange Standard *as it prevailed in India before the war*, in order to show the superiority of the new system over the old. Particularly due regard is paid to the requirements of the Indian conditions. The first thing that strikes us in making the comparison is that under the pre-war system the convertibility of the local currency into the international currency was a partial and conditional one. Professor Kemmerer and other scientific critics had emphasized this aspect of our pre-war system. As he put it rather strongly "certainly the Indian business community is justified in wanting the Government to assume this responsibility" for convertibility. The scheme of our report of 1926, however, has

taken away the possibility of this line of criticism because according to it—after the stage of transition is over—“gold bars are to be given in exchange of notes or silver rupees, not for export only but for any purpose.” The allegation, that in the absence of full convertibility for our fiduciary coins the token coinage tended to multiply needlessly and to produce inflation and instability of prices, will then no longer be heard of.

Other important merits of the Gold Bullion Standard might be considered briefly. The proposed obligation upon the currency authority to buy and sell gold will secure that automatic provision for expanding and contracting the currency in which the pre-war system of India was to some extent deficient, owing to the absence of a statutory commitment or obligation to redeem rupees in gold on demand. Moreover, under the older *régime*, the rupee was said to be “in reality linked to the sterling only, and the system ceased to be a gold exchange standard as soon as sterling depreciated.” The new scheme, by introducing the obligation to buy and sell gold for rupees without limit, will base the rupee firmly on gold, in a manner that is conspicuously visible. Further, the principle will be established that gold is the standard of Indian currency. That also removes the grounds for the former allegations that the monetary standard of India was not an independent standard but a dependent or parasitic one. Thus, it was alleged that “it is not a monetary system but a connecting link between an isolated market and the broader market to which it looks for support.” That allegation could scarcely be sustained even as regards the older monetary system of India; but it could not possibly be made as regards the Gold Bullion Standard.

While there is not, from the point of

view of monetary theory, much difference between the Gold Bullion Standard and the *ideal* Gold Exchange Standard, there is yet a significant and practically important difference in the *mechanism* of working of the two systems. The difference lies, to use the words of Sir J. Brunyate,

in the use of gold as the ultimate medium of international adjustments as distinguished from a mere undertaking to provide unlimited external credits.

In a word, while the older system depended in case of reverse remittance on the use of credits abroad, the Gold Bullion Standard relies upon gold exports. So much about the reverse remittance; in the case of a favorable balance of trade, too, the advantage is with the latter standard which ensures an export of gold from the debtor country or countries and consequently a fall of prices there. The result is that the new currency which is added to ours in such a case not only raises prices in India but lowers them abroad. Thus, as regards the adjustments of international price levels the Gold Bullion Standard has all the merits claimed for the gold standard.

Again, as developed in India the system of Gold Exchange Standard was at the mercy of abnormal fluctuation in the price of silver. Sometimes, indeed, the effect of the rise in the price of silver was catastrophic as was shown after the year 1917. This great danger must continue to hang like a sword of Damocles over India's monetary system as long as the rupee coinage maintains its predominance in the country; and the resulting obligation for the conversion of notes into silver rupees necessitated a large holding of silver in the Paper Currency Reserve.

The Report of 1926 has tried to remove this great danger from silver by two strokes of monetary policy. It recommended in the first place that

“no legal obligation for conversion into silver rupees should attach to renew notes.” In the second place, while it recognised that it is incumbent in practice to make rupees and other coin available to the public when demanded, it impliedly recommends that “the coinage of rupees should be stopped for a long time to come until the amount of silver rupees in circulation is reduced to the amount required for small change.” The prosecution of this policy is rendered possible by the existence of the large amounts of silver coinage in the reserves and in the hoards. The dominance of the rupee is to be gradually weakened in order “to get rid of the threat to the currency inherent in the possibility of a rise in the price of silver.” Moreover, as the rupees in the reserve are transferred to the public, gold resources could be made to take their place as is necessary for a country going to be on a gold standard.

Thus the recommendation averts not only the danger from fluctuation in the price of silver but that arising from any considerable extension of the token currency.

In the light of these merits of the Gold Bullion Standard and of the monetary scheme presented by the Report, one can easily understand why the suggestion received the blessing of able writers like Professor Cannan and Sir Stanley Reed who had been hitherto advocating the introduction of a gold currency into India. The fact seems to be that the publication of the Commission's proposal has cut the ground from under the advocacy of a gold currency and has rendered obsolete and relegated to the past, many of the arguments formerly advanced on behalf of such currency. Thus, from Sir James Begbie downwards, the champions of gold currency had argued that, owing to the want of

full convertibility, there has been both a lack of confidence in the rupee and a great encouragement of the hoarding habit.

Another argument that had been repeatedly urged was that a gold standard with gold currency was much more automatic than the pre-war monetary system of India. It used also to be urged that under the pre-war system gold was not freely allowed to reach India but was intercepted by the sale of councils. These arguments would entirely lose what force they once might have had, on the introduction of the Gold Bullion Standard, which will bring with it the most ample convertibility, as well as the obligation on the currency authority, to buy gold as well as to sell it without regard to the purpose for which it might be required.

DIFFICULTIES OF WORKING THE STANDARD

The advocates of gold currency in India seemed to minimise both the difficulties of working that standard in India and the cost of introducing into the country. Let us examine the difficulties of working the standard. These difficulties are due to the hoarding habit assisted by the large and sudden demands for currency made by our foreign trade during favorable seasons. As Dr. Sprague argued before the last Currency Commission, if when balances are favourable and gold is coming in, a considerable proportion of it is hoarded away, it would not have the usual influence on prices as in other countries. Nor can we be sure, when the balance is unfavourable, how much of the gold thus hoarded will leave the hoards to be exported. Instead of gold flowing out of the hoards at such times it might have to flow out of the banks for export—thus causing a strain on the banking machinery. It is clear that

the working of gold standard with gold currency must be adversely affected by abnormal influences in a country where hoarding prevails. Dr. Sprague might have added that these influences together with the arbitrary flowing of gold into and out of hoards, would make the working of such a standard in India erratic and would bring about instability of prices. Indeed, when gold exchange standard in India has been blamed by Professor Nicholson and others as causing instability of prices, they are transferring to that standard a share of the blame merited by the hoarding habit.

The cost of introducing such a gold currency into India has also been minimised by the protagonists of a gold currency. Indeed, sometimes it has been even contended that the cost will be *nil*, and that we have only to open a gold mint and to leave the introduction of the gold currency to the action of favourable balances of trade. Those who argue thus forget that if and when a gold currency is to be introduced we shall have to strengthen our gold reserves considerably in order to meet the demand for coinage, as well as the demand for gold, for non-monetary purposes; for there is no reason to expect that the present non-monetary demand for gold will be suddenly and materially reduced on the introduction of a gold currency. But, besides meeting these monetary and non-monetary demands, there should be enough gold left in the reserves to maintain the confidence of the public in our currency system.

Because in the absence of the necessary redeemability of our rupees and notes into gold coin the latter would go to a premium and might cease to circulate. But on all these accumulations of gold in our reserves the country will have to pay interest. Other alternative elements in the cost of introducing

gold currency are also sometimes lost sight of. As Professors Cannan and Gregory propose before the Commission, we might have to restrict or "starve" the volume of other kinds of currency in order to pump in the gold currency. But that implies that a part of the cost of introducing the gold currency is to be shifted on to the business circles in India in the shape of persistently high rates for money. There remains another very substantial part of the cost to be borne by all those who possess silver ornaments or hoards in India and here we have also to consider the resulting social injustice. For the introduction of gold currency into India will undoubtedly result in a great fall in the price of silver; the social injustice involved in such a reduction of the value of the savings of the poorer classes will be very great. Taking all these elements of the cost together we might be sure that India will have to pay a pretty heavy price for the luxury of a gold currency.

But for the present India has recognised the impossibility of introducing a gold currency. The so-called stock of "free gold" in America is obviously not available for the purpose of supplying a gold currency to India and consequently any immediate introduction of such a currency has been felt to be out of the question. Nor would it be in the interest of India itself to draw largely upon the gold stock of the world and thus to help to usher in an era of low world prices. But, though the idea of an effective gold currency in India has been at least postponed, for many years to come, the old hankering after gold currency remains and manifests itself in illogical and ineffective projects like those of coining steadily small quantities of gold, or of retaining the sovereign as legal tender, or of having an over-valued or token gold coin. It is scarcely necessary to criti-

cise such proposals at great length. As long as the sovereign (or any local gold coin) is legal tender in India the Gold Bullion Standard is obviously bound to work erratically, and anything like price control or the automatic contraction and expansion of the volume of money will not be possible.

It is well known that there are many millions of sovereigns in Indian hoards where they have been replacing the rupee for many years. If on those occasions, when the currency authority is trying to contract the currency and to control credit, the sovereigns or mohurs keep coming out of the hoards, the contraction is frustrated. So also the arbitrary entrance of sovereigns or gold mohurs into the hoards, and their occasional exit from them into circulation, must affect unfavourably the stability of prices. The other idea that in order to placate the advocates of gold currency, India should go on coining a certain volume of gold currency or mohurs annually, irrespective of the demand for them or of what happens to them, needs only to be stated in order to be condemned. There remains for consideration the project of the over-valued or token coin.

Now it has been shown clearly that a 20 rupee gold mohur of 165.5 grains cannot become the standard of value of India. It is also difficult to see how the issue of such over-valued token coins can advance the cause of an effective gold currency; because, being few in number, they must command a premium and cannot circulate freely and at a fixed value; again being so few they must be issued only to a number of favoured holders. As Sir Basil Blackett has further argued, in times of contraction of currency they would not prove entirely satisfactory, from the standpoint of the currency authority. The obvious conclusion is that all these inefficient makeshifts cannot be

regarded as even leading up to an effective gold currency, but they can certainly hinder the smooth working of the Gold Bullion Standard and they must alarm the world's monetary centres by convincing them of our incurably mercantilistic proclivities.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RATIO

Among the recommendations of the Currency Commission the most important were those which related to the Gold Bullion Standard and to the Reserve Bank; but propaganda and controversy have spent their force around the question of the ratio and have given it an importance which intrinsically it did not possess. The leading issue in the ratio controversy was whether prices in India have adjusted themselves to the ratio of 1s. 6d. recommended by the Commission; for, it is agreed, that if it can be shown that prices have in a preponderant degree thus adjusted themselves to the existing ratio, there is no sense in going back to the older ratio, since such a reversion would mean a new set of adjustments.

In stating the case for such an adjustment of prices in India to the ratio of 1s. 6d., the first thing to be emphasised is that for a considerable period a number of important economic factors have been favourable to such an adjustment. In fact the experiment in the stabilisation of exchange might be said to have been carried out under ideally favourable conditions, which might be thus referred to:

(1) The most important factor in the situation, which has not received in the course of the controversy the attention which it deserves, has been the achievement of budgetary equilibrium for a number of years. The critics of the Report have exaggerated the monetary deflation which preceded the rise of the rupee to 1s. 6d., while they have underestimated, and indeed hardly even

mentioned, the "financial deflation" which was really a more important factor in the situation. The monetary experience of Europe in the last decade has amply proved that "granted such a budgetary equilibrium, an improvement in the exchange will follow of itself and also a fall in prices." As an eminent French economist has well observed let us seek financial deflation and all other things will be granted unto us.

(2) The second important factor in the adjustment of internal prices has, of course, been the monetary deflation; though when we consider the immense inflation of the Indian currency during the period from 1913 to 1920, and also the lessened volume of business transactions since that period, the deflation will not appear to be undue or excessive. The net contraction in the year 1920-21 was 31,58 lakhs; and that in the years 1921-22 and 1922-23 amounted to 1,11 lakhs and 5,69 lakhs respectively. That this contraction was not excessive is proved by the striking fact that in 1920-21 the downward fall of the rupee continued, and it fell as low as 1s. 3d., in spite of the deflation. Indeed, anything like a radical contraction was out of the question in India because, as late as 1922, on account of the budgetary weakness the operation of wiping out of the created securities in the Paper Currency Reserve had to be adjourned *sine die* and thus the provisions of the Paper Currency Act of 1920, which aimed at deflation, had to be suspended. Another factor which always renders anything like a drastic deflation out of the question in India is the exceptional sensitiveness of the money market.

A great deal has been made of the magnitude of the later deflation; but such criticism neglects several most important deductions to be made from that deflation. In order to arrive at

the *net* contraction we must in the first place deduct from the 32 crores of contraction (in the period 1925 to 1927) the 13 crores of silver rupees which came back into the reserves, and thus the deflation is brought down to 18,96 lakhs. But this is not all; for a second deduction remains to be made before we can arrive at the actual deflation.

It is to be noted that besides the rupees which have been going back to the Paper Currency Reserve, a large number went into active circulation, thus to some extent undoing the work of deflation. If, indeed, the deflation had been anything like drastic the Indian money market would have manifested its usual sensitiveness to and intolerance of anything like serious contraction. We have only to contrast with this very hesitating and cautious deflation the inflation of the period 1913 to 1920, to come to the conclusion that such deflation as has taken place was quite necessary and that the rise of the exchange was not the consequence of currency manipulation. The truth is that neither in 1926 nor 1898 was contraction of currency the main factor in the raising of Indian Exchange—the condition of India as regards foreign trade being the decisive factor in each case.

(3) The third factor favouring the adjustment of Indian prices to the 1s. 6d. ratio has been gradually receiving recognition in India, and consists of the influence exercised by the steadily maintained ratio of exchange itself on the purchasing power parities. In the light of European experience since the war, distinguished economists like Nogaro and Aftalion have emphasised the decisive influence of exchanges on internal prices. It has been recognised that exchanges and purchasing parities reciprocally influence each other. In the case of India, an exchange higher than 1s. 4d. had been exerting its in-

fluence on prices for some years before the stabilisation in 1926.

The *cumulative* effect of these several influences on the Indian price level makes it highly improbable that the adjustment of prices to the new ratio has not taken place. The only answer that has been or can be advanced to this, consists of the assertion that the adjustment of prices to the exchanges is extremely slow and difficult in the case of India. No doubt there is something in the argument, and there is a time-lag in the inverse correlation between prices and exchanges in India. But this condition of a time-lag has been more than adequately met in the present case where a higher exchange than 1s. 4d., has been prevailing for several years.

It is to be noted that the 1s. 4d. (gold) was reached again in 1924. But even before that if we cast a glance at the period since 1917, the difficulty as regards the time-lag is found to vanish, because for the greater part of that time the ruling exchange ratio was higher than 1s. 4d., and therefore the prices must have adjusted themselves for many years to a ratio higher than 1s. 4d. Further, as Professor Kemmerer has observed, "there occasionally arise conditions in which temporary forces tend to pull exchange rate and general prices in the same direction," but in the present case the special conditions which have been prevailing for the last five years have facilitated the negative correlation. For five successive good harvests have powerfully assisted to raise the exchange ratio, which but for the efforts to keep it down to 1s. 6d., would have easily gone up to 1s. 10d.; the same causes have lowered local prices and have thus assisted the adjustment of the ratio and the prices.

The above general considerations regarding the adjustment of prices to the ratio might be reinforced by some

statistical considerations. In the Report of the Commissions on page 71, we find a remarkably close negative correlation traced between the curve of the rupee exchange and that of internal prices in India. It is very rare indeed to see such a close fit between price parities and exchanges. But as time went on even a closer fit between the two curves was demonstrated satisfactorily. A few months after the publication of the Report, Sir Basil Blackett brought up the figures to a later date and showed that "eighty per cent of the adjustment of price to the 1s. 6d. ratio had already taken place" before the Commission had ended its labour. The figures on which he based his calculations are given below:

	Gold Parity of Rupees	United States of America Prices	Calcutta Rupee Prices
1922	95	156	176
1926	112	152	150

The inference from these figures was obvious. The rise of 17 points in the gold parity called for a drop of 15 points in the Calcutta prices, and the Calcutta prices seem to have responded in almost the same proportion. Even allowing for the fall in world prices which must itself have reacted on Indian prices, the drop of prices in India was over 80 per cent, which thus forms a very close adjustment.

Attempts have been made to show that the fall of prices in India was not so much an adjustment to the higher exchange as a reflection of the fall of world prices. But such a point of view is quite untenable. Any reliable set of statistics—like those of the Monthly Bulletin of the League of Nations—will show that the fall of prices in India started much earlier than in other coun-

tries—as a matter of fact, from October, 1924 (*i.e.*, from the time when the rupee rose to 1s. 4d. in gold)—and was much greater than in other countries during the period of which the Report speaks; indeed, in the United States, there was hardly any fall of prices during the period referred to. Under such circumstances, it would be a mistake to lay too much stress on any sympathetic action of foreign prices, and to ignore the action of the other important prices mentioned before.

THE RESERVE BANK SCHEME

The pivot of the whole scheme of monetary reconstruction put forward by the Commission is to be formed by the proposed Reserve Bank of India. The greatest care was, therefore, necessary to adapt the constitution of that bank and of its governing body to the special circumstances of India, and to apply the world's experience of centralised banking to Indian conditions. It needs hardly be emphasised that in many important aspects, the currency and banking conditions of India are markedly different from those prevailing elsewhere. It would have been easy to borrow the idea of a state bank or of any other type central bank bodily from abroad and to force it on India; but that would have been a futile procedure. The *true test* of the merits of the Commission's scheme of a central bank for India is whether it fits into Indian life, and is adapted to the special Indian conditions. It is this test that we shall now proceed to apply to the Royal Commission's project of a Reserve Bank:

(1) The most important peculiarities of India in the matter of banking is that joint stock banking is so little developed as yet, and the traditions and standards of banking, as well as its proper methods, have as yet to be formed while banking talent has to be

discovered and trained. That being, according to general testimony, the prevailing state of things, the idea of a state bank (of the pure type) is obviously ill-adapted to Indian conditions. It is beside the point to tell us that there was once a great state bank in Russia, or that new state banks have been recently started and are working in Australia or Latvia or Esthonia. There are no precedents in which such a development of commercial and joint stock banking as India so greatly requires took place under the *aegis* of a state bank.

While magnificent systems of commercial banking have grown up under the wings of the ordinary type of central banks—witness the banking systems of England, Germany and other countries—the pure state bank has always been sterile in this respect, and even such assistance as it has sometimes capriciously extended to industry and trade has generally been of the dangerous inflationary variety. It is not in the power of mere state organisation to create the spirit of banking, and it is the development of banking traditions and spirit which India needs above all, at this juncture.

The Royal Commission recognised this necessity and recommended the formation of a Reserve Bank in which the private shareholder will have just sufficient voice to secure the independence of the Bank *vis-à-vis* the state; at the same time in view of the transfer of the state's note issue and its remittance as well as banking business to the new bank and also with a due regard to the ultimate responsibility which the state must bear in India, the Commission gave an adequate voice to the state in the management of the bank, through its power of nominating five out of the fourteen members of the Central Board. It might also be added that while in

deference to the views of politicians, in the later scheme evolved in 1927 the Reserve Bank has been entitled a state bank, yet through the addition of private stockholders and their wide geographical distribution and special qualifications, many of the advantageous features of a shareholder's bank have been retained successfully. There are quite a number of intermediate types between the ordinary central bank and the state bank, and the scheme of Sir Basil Blackett is in reality far more closely allied to the former than to the latter.

In other ways, too, the Royal Commission's scheme kept closely in view the much-required development of commercial banking in India. It fully recognised the great value to India of the commercial traditions carried forward by the existing Imperial Bank of India, and consequently based the future banking system of the country not upon a central bank alone—as in so many other countries—but upon the coöperation of a central bank and the Imperial Bank of India. It also outlined a workable and appropriate scheme of such coöperation. These features formed important examples of the adaptation of the occidental ideas of central banking to Indian conditions in the scheme of the Report.

Another special circumstance to be taken account of carefully, in the case of India, was the fact that much of the banking, note issue and remittance business of the country has been for a long period carried on by the Government, and the sudden removal of such Government prestige from those operations might affect public confidence in their working unfavourably. Care has therefore been taken to secure Government assistance and guarantee wherever the operations require it. Thus, it has been proposed that the notes of the Reserve Bank of India should be

guaranteed by the Government; the Bank has been given the important right to deliver redundant rupees to the Government and to be supplied with rupees and token coins whenever necessary; the cash balances of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State (both inside and outside of India) are to be placed in charge of the Bank. Ample provision has also been made for due supervision and audit by the Government.

The importance of avoiding any possibility of political influence and pressure over central banks and the inadvisability of any direct political representation on their boards are matters generally recognised and acted upon in all advanced countries. With all respect to the Indian legislation it might be added that there is special need of such a self-denying ordinance. No one can question the capacity or integrity of our politicians, but neither can the fact be ignored that democratic and representative institutions are in their infancy or early youth in India, and that high political traditions are yet in the process of being formed. Consequently the suggestions so persistently made to introduce members of the Legislatures on the directorate of the Bank are specially dangerous in India.

If adopted, these measures would introduce political pressure in its least desirable form—in the party form and in the personal form—into the Bank's directorate and would make of that body a house divided against itself. The eddies of political feeling and party antagonisms would be made to act directly on the Bank and its policy with very undesirable results. Nor should it be forgotten that monetary issues are quite capable of becoming first-class political issues at any time, and the dominant party of the day having its numbers on the Bank's

directorates will be at great advantage in forcing its point of view into action. It was in view of these considerations that the Commissions recommended that no person was to be on the Central Board of the Reserve Bank if he was a member of the Governor General's Council, the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly or Councils.

In other directions, too, the idea of a central bank was worked out with reference to the special banking conditions prevailing in India. Thus the absence of a well-organised money market in India would form a great limitation of the utility of the Reserve Bank. Appreciating this state of thing, the Report notes suggestions for granting facilities for the development of a bill market in India. It was owing to the existence of the same condition that the Report attaches less importance than it otherwise would have done to the direct operations of the Reserve Bank in the bill market. A full appreciation of the local condition and of the importance of public confidence in the resources of the Reserve Bank dictated the suggestion that the reserve of the Bank should be built up rapidly even at the expense of the profits of the Bank. All these considerations tend to show that a careful study of the special circumstances of banking development in India underlies the proposals of the Commissions.

Since the above was written the Reserve Bank Bill has had to be dropped. It can hardly be doubted that the wrecking of the Bill is a misfortune for India, since it adjourns *sine die* the process of the transfer of the control of currency and credit from the Secretary of State and the Government of India to the representatives of the people of India. Still the course of the controversy demonstrated the general prevalence of the opinion that India was badly in need of a true cen-

tral bank; and from this it can be safely inferred that the Bill will be revived at no distant date. It is to be hoped that the future Bill will be based like its predecessor on the best lessons of the evolution of central banking in the world.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE PAPER CURRENCY SYSTEM

In the general scheme of monetary reconstruction in India the reorganisation of the Paper Currency system according to the Commission's proposals would form a notable chapter. There was a great need for reorganisation in this direction. The paper currency system of India was an imitation of the corresponding system in England, although, as Professor Marshall has observed, in matters of currency England was a specially bad example for India to follow. While in England the needed element of elasticity under such arrangements was gained through the use of cheques, India continued to pay the penalty of "the creed of 1861" in the shape of an inelastic paper currency. During the war period and after, the need for money for additional circulations had led to a rapid *crescendo* movement which had carried the fiduciary issue to heights undreamed of. Before the war, the fiduciary issue had been raised to 14 crores; by 1925, a fiduciary issue of 100 crores was made possible.

Another very undesirable feature of the situation had been the vast growth of Indian "created securities" in the Paper Currency Reserve. It is true that a reform of this state of things had been projected by the Act 45 of 1920, by which the "created securities" were to be limited to 12 crores, while the fiduciary issue was transformed into a percentage of the total note issue—though even so we did not progress as far as the "Cunliffe limit" idea. But

the temporary provisions of the Act were so suited to the financial conditions of the time and were so tenaciously clung to and utilised that the permanent provisions of the Act which formed a real scheme of reform were never given a chance, and the automatic elasticity which had been aimed at was never realised. Indeed, by 1922, in order to give relief to general finances the proposed employment of the interest on paper currency securities to extinguish the created securities was put off virtually *sine die*.

We have space here only to indicate the main lines of the radical reform which the Commission projected as regards the Paper Currency system. The most important of these recommendations was that relating to the introduction of the Proportional Reserve system which when adopted will restore to the note issue that elasticity which has been foreign to it so long. As the Report observes "the system permits of a far wider range of expansion and of contraction than the fixed fiduciary system," which, it might be added, does not give general satisfaction, even in England, in these days. The constant and unsatisfactory efforts witnessed in the past in India to secure elasticity by raising the fiduciary issue and by other extrinsic methods will under the Proportional Reserve system, be a matter of the past. Then, again, the fusion of the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve which has been long overdue is about to become an accomplished fact. The future elasticity of the currency is now to be assured not merely by the introduction of the Proportional Reserve system, but further by the issue of notes against self-liquidating trade bills to the maximum of 60 crores. A still further provision for elasticity is the recommendations as regards the suspension of the Reserve

requirements and the tax on additional note issue. Then we come to note the improvements recommended as regards the constitution of the Paper Currency and Banking Reserve.

Within a period of ten years the "created securities" must go and be replaced by marketable securities. In view of the advent of the Gold Bullion Standard and because the paper currency is to cease to be convertible by law into silver coin, it is proposed that the silver holding in the Reserve should be very substantially reduced during a transitional period of ten years. The Reserve will contain a minimum of 40 per cent of gold and gold securities while the normal figures must be higher. While we follow here the example of all modern banks, care has been also taken to strengthen the gold holding from the very initial stages of the formation of the Reserve Bank. Thus, on the one hand the Reserve Bank will have ample gold and gold securities to protect the exchange while, on the other hand, there will be enough silver in it to provide against an internal drain.

It is satisfactory to find that the paper currency scheme of the Royal Commission has been simultaneously criticised from two opposed and irreconcilable points of view. Some advanced and able Indian economists have, while expressing a general approval of the scheme, deplored that too little discretion has been left by the scheme to the Reserve Bank authorities in the matter of fixing the percentage of the gold and gold securities in the reserve. They would also object to the "rigid stages outlined by the Commission for the reduction of the rupee reserves" and to the "arbitrary stages laid down for the final attainment of the ratio of the gold in the reserve." According to them, the Commission ought to have gone much

further in the direction of granting discretion to the banking authority in matters like the composition and location of the Reserve.

But, on the other hand, a number of Indian political leaders of eminence have proposed a very stringent curtailment of the discretion of the currency and banking authorities with the avowed object of broadening the stream of gold flowing into India. For instance, they would insist that after the first ten years of the Bank's existence the gold securities in the reserves must *never* exceed one-half of the total gold assets; also that care should be taken that 85 per cent of gold coin and bullion in the Reserve should never leave India. They would further, in order to insure the keeping of more gold in India, insist that the currency authority should buy gold but not sell it (only exchange on foreign countries being sold when balances are adverse), though such a line of policy would, of course, make an end of the Gold Bullion Standard.

In the presence of the sharply defined schools of opinion in India, the course laid down by the Royal Commission seems to be the only possible one. The fullest discretion should of course be extended to the Reserve Bank's directorate when the latter has been wisely constituted and has a sound record and traditions behind it; but unlimited discretion cannot be granted irrespective of achievement and personnel, and the constitution of the governing body of the Reserve Bank is still on the knees of the Gods.

PROCEDURE OF THE REMITTANCE OPERATIONS

Even a brief review of monetary reconstruction in India would be incomplete without some reference to the recommendations of the Royal Commissions relating to the System of

Remittances for financing the Home Treasury. As long as the Government continued to operate in the exchange market, criticisms were ceaselessly directed against its policy in this respect. For instance, it was alleged that unnecessarily large balances were kept up in England; that by the sale of council drafts the flow of gold to India was being checked and consequently the use of token coinage was encouraged. It was further supposed that gratuitously lower prices were accepted for the Council bills to the detriment of India. Even if the Royal Commission's recommendations to transfer the Remittance Business to the Reserve Bank only laid these old spectres, a very great advantage would have been secured. But further, if the Reserve Bank, as suggested, was to control the currency policy and to discharge the obligations implied in it, a necessary preliminary was its control of the remittances; for the Government remittances constituted a very large proportion of the total foreign remittances of India.

Besides the transfer of the Remittance Business to the Reserve Bank the Commission recommended that the Secretary of State should furnish to the Bank through the Government of India, periodical information as to his forecasts of requirements. The difficulties as regards the formation of such advance programmes are admittedly great, but reasonably accurate forecasts of the financial requirements might be possible, and would prove of great value in facilitating the remittance operations of the Bank.

While thus affording facilities to the Bank in its task, the Commission declined to prescribe or to limit the methods of remittance to be employed by it, and left full discretion to it as regards the *modus operandi*. In this way, the remitting authority is left the

discretion as to acquiring sterling or rupees according to the circumstances, but at the same time the Report showed a preference for the recently introduced methods of remittance by the purchase of sterling in India. This valuable innovation is recommended as the regular method because by means of regulating such purchases of sterling the Government of India has been able to steady the Exchange repeatedly, and because it is in India that the factors affecting the immediate course of exchange could best be appraised. As to whether the sterling purchases are to be by public tender, or whether the Banks' operations are in this respect to be discretionary and the method of private purchases is to be employed, the Commission refused to fetter the discretion of the Bank, though it made some useful general observations on the point.

There is much to be said for the view that the main factor to be considered is the comparative cost of the remittance, and that, while under normal conditions the public tender system will give the best results, there is scope for the employment of the method of private purchase, especially in transitional periods. Thus the Commission has touched on the general principles of remittance work, leaving the details to be worked out in the light of experience.

We have now traced the main lines of the comprehensive monetary policy recommended by a Currency Commission in 1925-26 so far as the space at our disposal permitted. But it re-

mains to add that the proposals of the Report amount to something more than a scheme for monetary reconstruction.

It is submitted that the Report forms at once a most important step in the evolution of the economic autonomy of India and a great chapter in the history of Economic Liberalism. As Sir Basil Blackett has observed:

The whole burden of the Currency Commission was to recommend a transfer to India of the control of India's finances under the auspices of a Reserve Bank independent of Government control.

Under the scheme of the Report, the Government will divest itself of the right of issuing notes, will cease to operate directly in the exchange market, will hand over the remittance business and will part with its balances both in and out of India. The critics of the Report might very pertinently be asked to point to any other example in economic history where Governments have at one stroke transferred such a wide range of economic functions into the popular control.

A great deal of the credit for such a policy is justly due to the authors of the Finance Department memorandum placed before the Commission. But the momentum thus imparted has been carried forward fully by the Report, and hence, as has been said before, India will in future regard the Report as an important step forward in the national financial autonomy, and many of the chapters in that Report form also chapters in the growth and development of Economic Liberalism.

Public Finance in India

By GEORGE FINDLAY SHIRRAS, M.A.

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SOME years ago when I lectured at Harvard and Princeton I remember the interest that was taken in the Indian financial system and the changes brought about in Federal and State finance—I use the American terms—consequent on the Reforms introduced by the new Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1919. The object of this Memorandum is to describe so that he who runs may read and reading understand the main features of this financial system as it works in this country today.

Like the great and friendly Republic before the war and like the Union of South Africa, Australia, Canada, and many other countries today, India is a debtor country in the sense that foreign capital is invested in her railways and irrigation works and in industries in excess of her own investments abroad. She has also to remit an amount varying between \$150,000,000 and \$175,000,000 (£30 and £35 million sterling) annually, known as Home Charges, to meet the expenditure connected with railway material, military, pension and other sterling adjustments. The question of exchange, therefore, is of great importance. To liquidate the claims official and nonofficial exports have to exceed imports, that is, India has to maintain a favourable balance of her visible grade.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

India, it will be remembered, is as large as Europe without Russia, and her population is one fifth of the human race. The area is 3,750,000 square

miles with a population of 319,000,000, while Europe, including Russia, has an area of 1,805,332 square miles and a population of 475,000,000. The wants of the people are simple and are chiefly available within reasonably close proximity to the consumer. Agriculture is far in a way the most important industry and India's exports (which amount to one eleventh of her total production) are to the extent of nine tenths agricultural products. Thus she is more like the United States in that she relies on internal markets to a large degree, and is unhampered by interprovincial trade barriers. Her industries, especially the cotton textile industry, iron and coal, have felt the effects of world depression. During the war many of her industries increased their capacity and with the absence of demand and of the stimulus of high prices these have suffered considerably.

The slump of 1920-21, and subsequent years, affected the economic life of India in various ways. In the first place it was necessary, if India was to purchase the same volume of imports as before, that she should export proportionately much more of her raw materials to pay for the highly priced manufactured goods. The prices of manufactured goods increased more than those of raw materials. Three quarters of India's exports are raw materials and approximately the same proportion of her imports are manufactured goods. In 1924 and 1925, however, exports did increase as compared with prewar levels but imports were relatively less. Fluctuation in

prices has been serious. There has, too, been the lag in the rise of wages in regard to prices. When a fall of prices occurred and trade became depressed a reduction in wages was not possible. At the International Economic Conference Geneva in May, 1927, the representatives of this country stated that,

Partly as a result of war and postwar conditions, and partly as a result of the adoption of a policy of discriminating protection, a change has occurred in the character of India's foreign trade. Manufacturers account for a slightly lower proportion of her imports and a slightly higher proportion of her exports. While, thanks to a succession of good harvests, agricultural production has increased, local consumption has in the main increased more rapidly than exports.

FINANCIAL SYSTEM

The facts stated in the preceding paragraphs have an important bearing on public finance in many ways. For example, indirect taxation is the main source of taxation as might be expected where the population to a large degree depends on agriculture. Again fluctuations in exchange were brought about by the trade boom and its aftermath. From 1s. 4d. the rupee rose to 2s. 10½d. in the spring of 1920. It fell approximately to 1s. 3d. in 1921, and subsequently rose to 1s. 6d. where, by legislation in 1927, it has been stabilised.

With this explanation of the basic facts behind the Indian financial system we may now plunge *in medias res*. The Reforms *inter alia* were designed to secure a greater measure of independence for Provincial (or State) Governments and each Provincial Government has its own budget and is responsible for its own finance. The Indian or Native States are also responsible for their own finances which are not, of course, included in the Central or Federal or in the Provincial Budgets. The General Budget is di-

vided into two heads (1) Revenue and expenditure charged to revenue and mainly representing current revenue and expenditure; and (2) "Receipts and disbursements" which represent capital transactions. This part of the budget is often called the "Ways & Means" budget. The receipt side of this latter budget (which is often misunderstood) includes any surplus or deficit in revenue, after meeting the expenditure charged to it, railway capital contributed by railway companies and Indian States towards outlay on State railways and proceeds of loans and other credit transactions including the annual additions to certain funds which may be classified as "debts, deposits and advances." The expenditure side of this account includes capital account disbursements and "debts, deposits, and advances." The financial year extends from April 1st to the following March 31st. The Budget is prepared about the middle of the current financial year, is submitted to the Legislature on the last day of February, and voted before the beginning of the financial year to which it refers.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
(In millions of Rupees)

	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus+ Deficit—
1913-14 (prewar year)	813.27	778.58	+34.69
1923-24	1331.7	1307.8	+23.9
1924-25	1380.4	1323.6	+56.8
1925-26	1333.3	1300.1	+33.2
1926-27	1302.5	1271.5	+31.0
1927-28	1289.6	1252.6	+37.6

In the last five years, financial equilibrium has been obtained, and the country looks forward with an improvement in the international trade position to a period of commercial ex-

pansion. The years 1917-18, and their four immediate successors, were years of unbalanced budgets and are a real blot in the history of Indian finance. The total deficits in these five years amount to over 980 millions of rupees. In the five years ended 1927-28 the surpluses have amounted in the aggregate to over 180 millions of rupees.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

The main sources of revenue of the Central Government are customs, railways, income tax, salt, opium, currency and mint, military receipts, and contributions and assignments to the Central Government by Provincial Governments. The main heads of expenditure are military services, railways, and debt services, which accounted for 1,060 millions of rupees out of a total expenditure of 1,300 millions of rupees in 1926-27 (Budget Estimates). The sources of revenue just mentioned amounted, in the same year, to nearly 1,230 millions of rupees out of a total revenue of 1,300 millions. It may be noted here that the export of opium to China was prohibited in 1913 and in June, 1926, the Government of India decided to reduce progressively exports of opium from India, except for strictly medical and scientific purposes, so as to extinguish them altogether at the end of 1935. Thus the revenue from this head is a dwindling one.

In addition to the Central or Federal Government's budget there are the budgets of the various Provincial or State Governments. The Budget Estimates for 1926-27, the latest available year show a total revenue of 940 millions of rupees and a total expenditure of 970 millions of rupees. In this connection the Finance Minister of the Central Government said, some years ago:

It has been suggested to me by more than one spokesman for the provinces that there is a feeling in the minds of the Provincial Governments and of their legislatures that it would be unwise for them to show balanced budgets. They are, it is hinted, taking a leaf out of the book of some charitable and religious bodies which make a habit of showing an annual deficit in order to make a striking appeal to their supporters to come to their rescue. The Provincial Governments think, it will be said, that they will get more sympathy from the Central Government and get rid of their provincial contributions (to the Central Government) quicker if they can show a handsome deficit and appeal to the charity of the Central Government. I should like to say for my part that the strongest appeal that the Provincial Governments can make to me in this matter of provincial contributions is to show themselves worthy of assistance from the Central Government by strenuous and successful endeavours to make ends meet for themselves.

The main heads of revenue for 1926-27 (Budget Estimates) of the Provincial Governments are land revenue, excise, stamps, irrigation, and forests—Rs. 820 millions out of a total revenue of Rs. 940 millions. Of the expenditure of Rs. 970 millions, salaries of civil departments including education were Rs. 520 millions, civil works Rs. 110 millions, irrigation Rs. 70 millions, assignments and contributions to the Central Government Rs. 54.5 millions, and land revenue Rs. 40 millions. To some of these items we shall refer in a subsequent paragraph where the questions of provincial contributions and provincial stringency are discussed.

It will thus be clear that the Central Government's budget is the controlling factor in Indian Public Finance today. It is far greater than all the Provincial budgets put together. It possesses elastic heads of revenue (such as income tax and customs) which, or at least a share of which, provincial governments long to have for the develop-

ment of education and sanitation. On the other hand the Central Government has the all important duty of defence. India has 1,400 miles of dangerous frontier and although Rs. 590 millions out of an expenditure of Rs. 1,300 millions is on military services this is a far less proportion if provincial budgets are also taken into account. The Central Government has, too, the control of India's public debt and the preservation of the high credit which India has in the London money market. Added to this there are the railways which are a source of profit to the State. The total capital at charge on Railways to the end of 1925-26 was Rs. 7,630 millions and the average return on the capital at charge 5.61 per cent.

From 1924-25 Railway Finance has been separated from the general finances of Government. There is now a fixed contribution from railways to general revenues of Rs. 50.9 millions and Government obtains in addition one third of the excess over Rs. 30 millions of the net balance shown by receipts over expenditure. There is a Railway Reserve apart from Government revenues, and Railways are run on a commercial basis.

CENTRALISED FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

In India financial administration was for long centralised. All the revenues of British India went into one purse and the Central Government allowed the provincial governments so much annually. When the government of the country was simple this system worked but when after the Mutiny with the development of police communications, and education, the needs of provincial governments became greater and some decentralisation of financial powers became more and more necessary.

In 1870 it was decided to give provincial governments some incentive to practise economies and to make them take part of the burden of administration off the shoulders of the Central Government. The outlines of the scheme of Lord Mayo were published in the Government of India Gazette of December 14, 1870, and it was in brief that there were two groups of services, one of which was to be administered by the Central Government and the other by the provinces. The latter group included such services as police, education, sanitation, and public works (roads and buildings) belonging to local governments.

The expenditure in connection with these was provided for by an annual consolidated grant, fixed as a rule for five years, for each province. Any savings made in these grants (which were not reduced except in the most urgent necessity) went to the Provincial Government and did not lapse to the Central Government at the end of the year. This was in general terms the system which was in force until the new constitution came into being in 1921. It will be noted that under the Mayo Scheme, instead of fixed grants to provincial governments, certain specified heads of revenue were given to them in whole that is, income from stamps, excise, law and justice or in part. Thus began the system of "divided heads," divided heads of revenue between the central and provincial governments which were believed to be the most capable of expansion under proper management. At each five-yearly settlement the terms were slightly altered. In 1904 the financial settlements between the Government of India and the provinces were made quasi-permanent and in 1912 absolutely so. In 1904 the provinces were given the right to keep their own savings.

DIVISION OF HEADS

The constitution contemplated by the Government of India Act 1919 necessitated with the new status and responsibilities of provincial governments a complete revision of the financial relations and division of revenues between the central and provincial governments. Provincial governments were given additional powers to borrow and to tax and the system of divided heads was abolished. The Central Government retained income tax, customs and salt while the provincial governments had land revenue and the other heads referred to above.

In the division of heads the Central Government was left with insufficient resources and thus it was necessary to ask the provinces to pay back to the Central Government, each year, an amount which was fixed by the Meston Committee in 1920. The Committee were aware that the scale of expenditure differed from province to province, but thought that it would be fairest for those provinces, which gained most by the proposed new allocation of revenues, to pay most to the Central Government. The disadvantages of this scheme were (1) that a province that had been economical in the past was penalised for its economy, because the new scheme made the difference between its expenditure and its newly gained revenue all the greater and therefore it would have to pay more to the Central Government; (2) that in the past, provinces had not developed their communications and services adequately and that this difference between revenue and expenditure should be kept by the provinces in order to correct the harmfully low expenditure hitherto followed.

The Committee had to fix ideal or standard contributions to be made by

government until the deficit in the Government of India's (that is the Central Government's) finances should be abolished. This new settlement produced great indignation in the provinces which for the first time saw how much they were contributing to the Central Government, and there was much eagerness to push on with the nation-building departments and at the same time owing to the increased cost of living to meet the increased pay required for the provincial services. When it is remembered that during the first years of the Reforms, Madras had to pay Rs. 34.8 millions, the United Provinces Rs. 24 millions and the Punjab 17.5 millions the seriousness of the situation can be imagined and how impeded has been the working of the reforms in the provinces owing to financial stringency.

By 1926 the total contributions to the Central Government were reduced from 98.3 millions to Rs. 60.8 millions per annum and on February 28, 1927 the Finance Minister announced a recurring surplus of 36.4 millions of rupees of which he proposed to use 35 millions for the remission of provincial contributions. For special reasons the whole of Bombay's contribution was remitted and all but 19.5 millions of the provincial contributions have been permanently remitted while Rs. 35 millions have been remitted for the year 1927-28 only. In the present year 1928-29 it is hoped that the remaining sum of Rs. 19.5 millions will be permanently remitted. During 1927-28 no province will pay anything to the Central Government in the way of contributions and thus no less than 54.5 millions of rupees (35 + 19.5) have been given to the provinces as additional spending power or power to command goods and services. This remission is the most important event in the financial relations between the Government of

India and the governments of the provinces and may have an important bearing on the development of the Indian constitution.

TAXATION

Local legislatures cannot without the previous sanction of the Central Government impose or authorise the imposition of any new tax unless the tax is a scheduled tax that is, (1) a tax on land put to uses other than agriculture; (2) a tax on succession or on acquisition by survivorship in a joint family (This raises the interesting question of inheritance taxation in India); (3) a tax on any form of betting or gambling permitted by law; (4) a tax on advertisements; (5) a tax on amusements; (6) a tax on any specified luxury; (7) a registration fee; and (8) a stamp duty other than duties of which the amount is fixed by Indian legislation, not provincial legislation. Taxes, cesses, rates, duties and fees such as a toll, a tax on buildings, servants, professions, markets, etc., which are for purely local authorities, are also included under scheduled taxes. All other taxation requires the sanction so far as provincial authorities are concerned of the Central Government or Legislature.

Since 1921 the year of the introduction of the Reforms the financial story is a remarkably good one to relate. The financial machinery has been improved, notably in regard to the separation of railway finance from the general finances as explained above. No longer is there an alternation between raids by the Railways on the taxpayer and raids by the taxpayer on the Railways. It will lead to valuable dividends in future budgets and to great economies in the working of Indian railways. It gives a real incentive to increase their efficiency. The taxpayer, instead of paying the whole of

the expenses and taking the whole of the incomings of the railways, has entered into a bargain with the railways to receive from them (1) a sum sufficient to pay in full the interest on capital invested in the commercial lines; (2) an additional dividend of five sixths of one per cent on that capital and (3) a share of any surplus earnings that may be secured. In return the railways will be left to carry on as a business and to retain any surplus over and above what they pay to Government and to apply it to railway purposes (a) for creating reserves and (b) to use these reserves to improve the services. The Government of India and the Assembly are in complete control just as hitherto. The Railways in short are now a real commercial undertaking managed on commercial lines and the taxpayer gets the benefit of commercial accounts and management. Considerable progress has, it has been seen, been made in regard to the extinction of Provincial contributions. The salt tax, an elastic and on the whole a good tax in India, has been reduced and the cotton excise duty has been abolished. The rains or weather conditions have favoured us. The level of taxation is still high as compared with 1914 but not in compulsion with other countries, as the following data shows:

TAXATION PER HEAD

	1913-14	1926-27
India	Rs. 3.42	Rs. 6.03*
Great Britain	£3-11.4	£14.11.8
France	Fcs. 84.5	Fcs. 910.2
Germany	R.M. 31.3	R.M. 113.4
Italy	Lire 53.8	Lire 394.4
United States †	\$6.8	\$30

* *Science of Public Finance* (Macmillan), p. 644 table XX.

† Federal only.

The balance between direct and indirect taxation in India today is as follows:

	50 Years Ago	Prewar Year 1913-14	1921- 22 *
Land Revenue	45.9	41.5	25.8
Other direct taxes	3.5	5.4	19.2
Direct taxes	49.4	46.9	45.
Indirect taxes	50.6	53.1	55.
	100	100	100

* P. 160, *Science of Public Finance*.

IMPORTANT MATTERS

A review of the Indian financial system would be incomplete without some reference to three matters that deserve notice in view of their importance in recent years—retrenchment, certification, and the public debt. In the winter of 1922-23 a strong Committee presided over by Lord Inchcape examined the whole range of expenditure in so far as it related to Central finance. The Committee realised the importance of financial equilibrium and of the place of expenditure in securing this equilibrium. Savings to the extent of nearly Rs. 193 millions were recommended, the largest items of economy being on the military side (Rs. 105 millions), railways Rs. 45 millions, Post and Telegraphs (Rs. 13 millions) exclusive of five millions in the capital expenditure of the Telegraph Department. In the sphere of general administration a reduction of five millions was recommended towards which every Department of the Government of India had to contribute by very drastic economies. In the 1923-24 budget the Government was able to include the major portion of the economies recommended.

In regard to certification it is sometimes necessary to certify, restore, or

authorise expenditure as an Act of the Executive. This is provided in the constitution as defined in the Government of India Act 1919 and is described elsewhere¹ both in regard to the central and provincial governments. The Finance Bill of 1923 and the Finance Bill of 1924 were certified and the Governor-General stated at length the reasons which led him to certify these Bills. In the pre-reform days the official bloc on the Legislature enabled the Executive to pass necessary legislation. The reason for entrusting these powers of certification to the Governor-General and to Governors is the fact that the Central Government is responsible not to the Central Legislature but to the British Parliament and with the lessening of this responsibility to Parliament the certifying powers will *pro tanto* be reduced.

The debt position of India today is one of considerable interest to students of finance because of the large proportion of the total debt that is productive. The productive portion is invested mainly in irrigation works and in railways which pay a return on the capital invested. The total debt of India on March 31st, 1927, was as follows:

	<i>R (millions)</i>
In India	5231.4
In England ²	4524.0
	<hr/> 9755.4
Productive	
for Central Government	6544.2
for Provinces	1194.1
	<hr/> 7738.3
Unproductive	2107.1
	<hr/> 9755.4

¹ Vide ch. XXXIX, the *Legislation of the Budget, Science of Public Finance*, p. 594.

² Converted at 1s. 6d. to the rupee. The sterling amount of the public debt was £339.3 millions.

The unproductive debt of India includes the true war debt, the building of the capital, New Delhi, and accumulated deficits of the five years ended March 31, 1923. Taking the periods of 80 years for productive debt and 50 years for unproductive debt as the period reasonable to fix for the redemption of these classes of debt and assuming that the sums provided year by year are set aside to accumulate at 5 per cent compound interest we find that Rs. 36.6 millions is the amount to be provided annually beginning with the year 1924-25 to redeem the whole debt of India within the assigned period. An annual provision of Rs. 40.4 millions would for the next five years achieve the same end for the quinquennium. A statutory programme for the redemption of debt such as the one adopted is most desirable. The Government of India have made regular provision for reduction or avoidance of debt and have been able accordingly to borrow on favourable terms in the market.

India has been buying back the titles to some part of her sterling loans and this is a process that is the beginning of India's becoming a creditor nation in the ordinary sense of the words. Hitherto she has been a creditor in the sense her exports exceed her imports and hitherto the payment has been mainly in the form of gold and silver. A Provincial Loans Fund has been established and it will regulate on definite principles the borrowing of the Provinces. In short, the interest charges and the terms on which the advances are granted, for various purposes are to be repaid, will be the same for all provinces, and at such rates as will keep the Fund solvent. The Fund has the germs of a noteworthy development as it is likely some day to be the Fund which should be administered by an Indian body corresponding to the

National Debt Commissioners and the Public Works Loan Commissioners in England.

It would be advantageous to the finances of India if the advances made by the Central Government to the Provincial Governments could be excluded from the Public Debt of the Government of India in the same way as advances made on the guarantee of the British Treasury to public bodies in Great Britain are excluded from the British Public Debt. It would show better the real facts of India's Public Debt and the single borrower, the Government of India, would then raise what was necessary for itself on the sole security of the Indian revenues.

PRINCIPLES OF SOUND FINANCE

The principles of sound finance must be applied to every function of Government and this is the problem that has been successfully tackled in India. It is not without criticism as ever since the creation of a Finance Membership in the Governor-General's Council in 1859 the policy has in the main been the policy of law and order first. Since 1910 the policy of spending more and more on education and other social services has been followed but the amount spent is still deplorably insufficient. In the last Census the number of males able to read and write was 19,800,000 as against 142,600,000 unable to read and write. The number of females who were literate were 2,800,000 as against 150,800,000 unable to read and write.³ Provinces, therefore, require funds to remove this blight of illiteracy and in the next few years the question of provincial and central finance will be one of the hardest India will have to solve. Financial reform will be an urgent necessity and the

³ Census. These numbers fall short of the total population of India as literacy was not enumerated in one or two tracts.

aims of our taxation will have to be further explored.

One cannot conclude this survey without a reference to the Rt. Hon. James Wilson the first Finance Minister of India. He did for Indian Finance what Alexander Hamilton did for American Finance. A former Financial Secretary of the British Treasury, he came to India in 1859, and in eight busy months laid the foundations of sound finance, foundations which remain up to the present time. In the words of Bagehot, the son-in-law of Wilson:

He united high financial reputation, considerable knowledge of India acquired at the Board of Control, tried habits of business, and long experience at the English Treasury, to the sagacious readiness in dealing with new situations which self-made men commonly have, but which is commonly wanting in others.

Wilson's successors carried on the tradition and until recent years the orthodox English or Gladstonian finance of the 19th century was the order of the day. The 20th century has passed or is passing away from this tradition, as the Reforms introduced in 1921 have changed the complexion of Indian finance. We are apt to forget the first, and perhaps the greatest, of our finance ministers and we say this remembering all the famous galaxy. Wilson, like Hamilton, is outstanding among them. Indeed the words of Madison applied to Hamilton are true of Wilson,

That he possessed intellectual powers of the first order, and the moral qualities of integrity and honour in a captivating degree, has been awarded him by a suffrage now universal.

Wilson, in short, had Hamilton's strong will, unbounded energy, unmistakable courage and great self-confidence.

Unemployment in India

By A. G. CLOW, M.A., C.I.E.

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UNEMPLOYMENT in a country such as India is a phenomenon which assumes aspects essentially different from those with which western countries are familiar: indeed the form which unemployment takes is so different that the use of the word for the phenomena with which India is acquainted is apt to convey to a Westerner an entirely erroneous impression.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

To the resident of a western country unemployment ordinarily means the existence for a considerable period of a body of men seeking employment in industry and unable to obtain it. It would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that unemployment in this sense is not to be found in India. As Sir Atul Chatterjee, the present High Commissioner for India, informed the International Labour Conference in 1924:

Ordinarily speaking, there is no unemployment among industrial workers in India, because the demand for labour is always greater than the supply.

This does not of course imply that there are never cases in which industrial workers want jobs and are unable to obtain them: but such cases constitute the exception and not the rule. Where industries have to contract their activity owing to a period of commercial depression, there may be for a time a small surplus of men thrown out of work; but for reasons which will appear later, this surplus does not remain long in the market for industrial labour. In one branch of activity there is always a large number of men awaiting work: this is in the shipping trade. But the ordinary seaman in the mercantile

marine in every country in the world expects to be employed on a ship for only part of the time—his engagement is normally for a limited period. And while the reserve of seamen, in the port of Calcutta in particular, is probably inflated by the fact that seamen generally receive higher rates of remuneration than can be secured by men of the same type in other walks of life, the existence of this reserve can hardly be regarded as constituting industrial unemployment, in the sense in which that term is understood in the West.

ABSENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The absence of unemployment can be traced to two factors. In the first place, the industries of India have been expanding steadily for many years, and their demand for labour is a constantly increasing one. Registered factories, for example, rose from 656 in 1892, to well over 7,000 in 1926; the numbers employed in these factories have risen from less than a third of a million in 1892, to more than a million and a half in 1926. The expansion in the number of factories is due to some extent to changes in the law; but much the greater part of the expansion in the number of operatives represents a real expansion in industry. In only one year out of the last thirty-four has the number of operatives failed to show an appreciable advance on the figures of the previous year. Equally striking has been the increase in other directions; that is, railways and mines. The railways are constantly extending, and mining as an industry was in its infancy, in India, a generation ago. The result is that industry requires

every year a substantial addition to the labour force, so that a surplus arising from accidental causes can ordinarily be absorbed in a short period.

But, there is another and even more important factor which operates to prevent the appearance of any permanent surplus. This is the fact that the industrial worker in industry is seldom completely divorced from agriculture. He leaves his village owing to economic pressure, but he does not intend, ordinarily, to spend more than a few years in industry and he hopes, when he has saved a little money, to return to the land again. He maintains his ties with the village, his relatives cultivate the lands or holding belonging to his family, he revisits them if he can for comparatively long holidays in the middle of his brief industrial career, and he looks forward constantly to the time of his return. Consequently, if owing to any cause, he is thrown out of his job and cannot easily find another of the same kind, he reverts to his ancestral occupation. In Bombay (and to a much smaller extent in a few places elsewhere) there is the nucleus of a permanent industrial population; but everywhere the great majority of workers give only a temporary allegiance to industry.

A discussion of the many and far-reaching effects of this phenomenon lies outside the limits of the subject under discussion. But it should be observed that while the constant migration of labour to and from the land brings several evils in its train, it has its advantages in some directions. And one of these is undoubtedly the almost complete insurance it gives against the menace of unemployment.

DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

But unemployment in a different direction can occur on a scale to which western countries afford no parallel.

The rural population of India forms 90 per cent of the whole so that the great mass of the population is closely dependent on the land. More than 70 per cent of the total population is actually engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. And, as the great majority live in a state of poverty unknown in the west, the ordinary cultivator or labourer has practically no margin on which to fall back in time of distress. Finally, the prosperity of agriculture, owing to the climatic conditions, can vary in a striking manner from year to year. A single bad monsoon will result in a crop failure in some places and a crop shortage over huge areas, and can consequently bring widespread distress. A series of indifferent monsoons can produce quite as serious effects. The agriculturist's resources are quickly exhausted, and large numbers of men find themselves unable to follow their wonted occupations and in danger of starvation for themselves and their families. The persons so rendered unemployed can on occasion reach totals far exceeding the highest known in those western industrial countries where unemployment is worst.

The long experience gained, not without many errors, in the attempts to deal with this problem has been crystallised in the organization set up to deal with unemployment of this type when it arises. The systems differ somewhat from province to province and the very brief description which follows is based on a single provincial system, but the general principles remain the same everywhere. The main principle is that of providing work rather than gratuitous relief, for those able to work and confining relief to others. In other words the able-bodied man is enabled to earn his bread: dependents and others are supported directly by the State. And

while it is seldom if ever possible to provide work that will be financially profitable to the State, every endeavour is made to secure that the work done is of real and permanent value.

PREPARING FOR SCARCITY CONDITIONS

Schemes of work are therefore devised and kept in readiness for the appearance of scarcity conditions. These consist generally of unskilled work on embankments, roads, irrigation reservoirs and canals, and vary from large schemes capable of furnishing employment for many thousands of people to what may be little more than the enlargement or the levelling of a village pond. At the beginning of indications of distress, test works may be opened; the numbers coming to these serve to show how far there is likely to be a demand for employment on any large scale. On all works, the daily task demanded is normally less than that which an ordinary labourer is accustomed to perform in ordinary times—allowance has to be made for the fact that to many men work of this kind may be unfamiliar and that their physical strength may be somewhat below normal before they seek such work. In return for the appointed tale of work, a money wage is given which is equivalent to a subsistence wage and no more, and supports only the worker and not his dependents. The latter receive an allowance in grain. In addition to this relief can be given in temporary poor-houses or in the houses of those in distress, but this relief is not given to the able-bodied. In the case of poor-houses, some work is generally required as a matter of discipline; where gratuitous relief is given in the homes, no work is required.

The first object of the system is, of course, to prevent starvation. Subsidiary objects are the maintenance of the self-respect of the worker and his

restoration to a normal way of life as soon as possible. The rate of wages given is fixed with a view to ensuring that while the worker has enough to eat, he is under no temptation to remain on a relief work after work is available for him in the ordinary way. As soon as conditions improve—with the appearance of good rain in many cases—the general demand for labour again appears and those on the works drift rapidly away. The demand then is generally for loans to be utilized in purchasing seed-grains, plough-bullocks, etc.

OPERATION SCALE

Some indication of the scale on which the organizations may be required to operate is afforded by the fact that in 1900 the number on relief at one time rose to 6,000,000 people. It is to be hoped, however, that the growth of methods of prevention will steadily diminish the demands on methods of cure: and there are encouraging signs of progress in this direction already. For example, although the crop-failure of 1918–19 was on a scale quite comparable with that of 1900, the number relieved never rose to a tenth of the figures reached in 1900. The increase in big irrigation works has rendered large areas secure which were formerly precarious, and has brought under cultivation areas formerly barren—canals now ordinarily irrigate 28,000,000 acres. At the same time, the great improvement in communications which has been a feature of the last generation, has done much to render less terrible the spectre of famine. In the early days, the movement of large quantities of foodstuffs was almost impossible in India, and the failure of crops in any large area meant starvation for many.

MIDDLE-CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT

Mention must be made of unemployment in a very different direction

which, while it affects only a very limited class, constitutes a problem of genuine importance and increasing gravity. This is what is known in India as middle-class unemployment. It is quite impossible in the limits of a short article to analyse this question adequately, but no discussion of Indian unemployment can possibly overlook it. Increasing numbers of Indian youths reach manhood every year after receiving a higher school, college or university education, complete or otherwise. The men so turned out look for openings in the learned professions and the clerical occupations and find that such openings are comparatively few. Government service—which is generally regarded as particularly desirable—can only provide for a limited number, the legal profession is so overcrowded that, even in an extremely litigious country, the rank and file can secure a bare living with difficulty, there are many more would-be-teachers than can be absorbed, and clerks can be secured in any big city on the most miserable of pittance. A Committee which investigated the question in Madras arranged for the insertion of a test advertisement of a clerk's post on Rs. 35—(about 12 dollars) a month and received 666 applications. For a similar post in a commercial firm, there were 787 applicants. The distress which lies behind bare figures such as these must be left to the imagination of those who have not visited India. Those acquainted with conditions in Indian cities are only too familiar with the tragic spectacle of thousands of young men finding, at the outset of their adult lives, that there is no work for them to do. The fact that the great majority of men even in this class are married before they are 21 accentuates the tragedy.

It may seem to a Western reader

that the term unemployment is misapplied to a phenomenon like this, and the obvious question arises—if openings in one class are too few, why not try another class? Is there not a scarcity of industrial labour, and can not the man who is unable to secure work in an office secure work with his hands? But such a view takes no adequate account of the peculiar conditions in India. In the first place, the man trained (however imperfectly) for an office is not qualified and is frequently quite unable, to turn to manual employment. There is, among the castes which have not participated in manual labour for centuries, a strong objection to it. Indeed, for some castes it was not merely condemned by social ideas but by religious sanctions. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, a well-known Bengali publicist, speaking on the subject of middle-class unemployment in the Legislative Assembly stated a truth when he said:

Now, let us be honest for once, and let us ask ourselves this question about our sons. My son, or the son of my friend over there when he gets one. Is he going in for the learned professions or is he going in for such work as will place him in a chair and not put him on the lowest rung of the ladder? What would he prefer? I frankly say, Sir, one of my sons is training himself for mechanical and electrical engineering; but when I learn that he has to wield a hammer hour after hour, I frankly say I do not like the idea of it very much. I would have preferred if he could have done without it. That is the general feeling. It is ingrained among us and that feeling is to a large extent responsible for this middle class unemployment with which the Resolution deals.

It is only fair to add that an increasing number of young men are overcoming or ignoring the traditions to which reference is made in this quotation. Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, a distinguished

Madras Brahmin, in the same debate said:

I know from my personal knowledge that even among the most conservative classes in Southern India, namely the Brahmins, the objection to manual labour has largely disappeared.

The religious inhibitions are certainly disappearing, and there are indications everywhere that the advance of modern thought is combining with economic necessity to remove the sense of social inferiority attached to manual labour—but this process must be gradual. It should be remembered that apart from any traditional ideas, climatic conditions in India substantially enhance the attraction of sedentary occupations.

The fact is that, in this as in other directions, India is suffering from the clash of two very different systems of thought and civilization, and that the process of adjustment cannot but be painful. The present age is witnessing a steady disintegration of the old social and economic system. For centuries occupations were handed down from father to son. The scribe's son became a scribe, the barber's son could only become a barber and the potter's son a potter. Reading and writing were confined to the higher castes, and, in most parts of India, clerical work was the monopoly of a few castes. The higher forms of literary education of the Western type, when introduced, were for a number of years confined to the upper middle classes and the majority of those who passed through the colleges had little difficulty in securing suitable employment. Now the position is altered. Men from all grades can secure admittance to the colleges and higher schools and those who feel that they have, by tradition, a claim to man the clerical professions have to compete with an increasing number of men whose ancestors for

centuries never aspired to any such occupation.

REMEDIES

Various remedies have been suggested by the Committees which have examined the question and by individual thinkers. Some see in home rule for India the solvent of this, as of her other troubles. Others place the blame on the educational system and propose various heroic remedies involving its reform. Much was hoped for at one time from technical education, and the pursuit of industrial occupations by an increasing number of young men is a healthy symptom. A policy of "back to the land" has been advocated by several experts in the subject and the Madras Committee to which allusion has been made recorded their view that

the principal remedy for the present unemployment should be the diversion of the educated middle classes, especially for those who own or occupy land, to agriculture.

This appears to offer the most hopeful line of advance, but the diversion cannot be easily achieved.

The problem is in fact, very complex, and it is not capable of any simple or single solution. The development of the country, particularly on the industrial side, alterations in the educational system, an increasing realization by parents and others of the changes that have taken place, a greater recognition of the call to service which comes insistently from rural India, will all be of assistance. But most of these factors must be gradual in their influence. And in the meantime conditions are changing so rapidly that adjustments are incomplete before new and important disturbing factors are at work. It is not surprising that there are those among the honoured leaders of Indian

thought who would seek to turn her back from the adoption of the Western economic system. But the majority of her thinkers recognize that progress in this direction is inevitable, and that the aim must be to minimize the suffering involved in the "growing pains" of a new age.

Primary and Secondary Education

By E. F. OATEN, M.A., LL.B., I.E.S.

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TO attempt to write an account of primary and secondary education in Europe in a few pages would be an absurdity; to attempt the same task for India is obviously less difficult, owing to the similarity of system throughout the continent, and the lower degree of complexity and development. Even so it is clear that little more can be accomplished than an indication of tendencies and a selection of relevant statistics.

WHAT AND WHOM SHALL WE TEACH?

The present organisation cannot be understood without a reference to the past. When the British administration began first to allot funds for education, they were faced with the question, "What and whom shall we teach?" What may be termed the first educational despatch stated (1914) that it was "to be applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India." Though by Science the despatch meant Oriental Science, as was made clear in a subsequent despatch, the working obviously left considerable latitude.

Finally all doubts as to what ought to be taught were resolved by a resolution, based on Macaulay's famous minute, in favour of the "promulgation of European literature and science," it being decided that "all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." "His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds

. . . be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English Literature and Science, through the medium of the English language."

The policy was to establish a few Zillah (District) Schools, in which English and the local vernacular would be taught, the idea being, under the filtration theory, that

the youth of the upper and middle classes will receive such an education at the head station of the Zillah as will make them willing and intelligent auxiliaries to us hereafter, in extending the same advantages to the rest of their countrymen.

And so the fateful decision was taken which fixed a great gulf between the newer and the older schools; and so was definitely overthrown in 1835 the policy of Lord Moira expressed in the following words in 1815:

The humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters claims the first place in this discussion . . . Any intervention by Government either by superintendence or by contribution should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition and the diffusion of it to places and persons now out of its reach.

The Macaulay policy has been profoundly modified by subsequent educational despatches, but primary and secondary education still bear on them the impress of that early decision. A new type of secondary school was deliberately created and fostered which had no connection whatever with any type of schools secondary or primary then existing. The State threw its weight on the side of a system which gave the middle classes funds for a particular type of school, which they

desired for their vocational needs and which the State desired for its administrative needs, which had no roots whatever in Indian culture. All the efforts made since to correct the initial bias away from Indian culture, away from mass education, away from a reasonable primary educational system, in favour of a system which would base secondary education upon a sound primary education system integrated with Indian religion and culture have never been able to restore the balance. The beginning was at the top, and Indian education in consequence grew into the topheavy inverted pyramid which it still remains.

PRESENT-DAY EDUCATION

Let us go forward nearly a hundred years, to the present day. The figures for educational institutions, apart from Universities, are as follows:¹ The few Zillah schools of the 1835 despatch have grown into 2,294 high schools and 2,968 middle or higher elementary schools teaching English. The indigenous or vernacular schools so easily put aside in 1835 have become 150,919 primary schools (a deceptive figure) and 3,853 vernacular middle or higher elementary schools. In addition we have 7,423 special schools of all kinds, that is, medical, commercial, agricultural, technical, schools for defectives (blind, dumb, etc.). And even this is not all. For bringing up the rear are 32,027 schools of the so-called unrecognised class, that is, they conform to no standards laid down by Government, and seek no favour at its hands. And the 28,510 schools for girls and women must not be forgotten. Studying in all the schools, there are not far short of ten million pupils.

These are imposing figures, but not remarkably imposing when we remember that we are dealing with a continent

¹ Figures are taken from *Education in India* (1924-25).

and with over 200,000,000 people. In 1921, 13 per cent of the male population was literate; against 11 per cent in 1911, and 6 per cent in 1881. This represents definite progress, even though the figures are not a subject for complacency. For women the real value of the figure quoted will be realised when it is stated that 3 per cent of the female population were literate in 1921. This is all that the grand total of 228,229 educational institutions and 9,797,344 pupils¹ connotes. Though our figures are almost geological, the problem of educating India has scarcely begun.

Whatever our views as to the rightness or wrongness of the policy, this fact stands out that the main contribution of British genius to Indian education was the high school, in which English is taught. It grew to dominate education in India, because for many years practically all the available funds went to support it and in addition, in 1844, it was announced that preference would be given in all appointments to men who had received a western education. The copingstone of this system was the Universities which were first created in 1857 and which have grown to 17 in 1928.

HIGH SCHOOLS

What is this high school in which all leading Indians have received their early education? It may be studied in the pages of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, in *The Education of India* by Mr. Arthur Mayhew, and in many other publications. It is an institution, with anything from 70 to 700 pupils, but generally approximating to between 200 and 400, recognised by a University or a Board of Education as fit to present pupils

¹ Figures are taken from *Education in India* (1924-25).

for an examination admitting to a University. This is the essential; except as the ante-room to the University few high schools could exist. They give in no sense a complete education. The final examination can be taken at 15 or 16 as a rule. Some of them are directly maintained or controlled by Government; some are aided and the control is less direct; some take no aid, especially in Bengal, and Government have no control. In the latter class of schools the total annual expenditure on staff and other expenses may be as low as £300, the Headmaster receiving say £70, though figures as low as that are not common outside Bengal.

Standards are prescribed by the University or Board of Education for whose examinations they work. The language of instruction in the upper classes, and of the final examination is English; in the lower classes the vernacular (or often more than one, classes being divided into sections where linguistic diversity prevails) is used. One of the tendencies of the day is towards the substitution of the pupils' mother tongue for English as the medium of instruction and examination, and in some areas, that is the Central Provinces, this has actually been carried into effect. The Calcutta University Commission spoke with no certain voice on this question, and indeed linguistic complexity, the poverty of language in certain vernaculars, the absence of text books, the increase in expenditure necessary where there are more vernaculars than one, combine to render the problem difficult. But the change is right and inevitable wherever it is practicable, for the deficiencies of the high school product are undoubtedly in part due to the fact that the student learns, owing to the system, to use words before he understands the thing behind the word for which it stands.

Severely vocational in its aims as the ante-room to the University, and so a necessary conduit pipe towards Government service, it has been in the past unduly limited in its outlook and aims. Under the stimulus of modern ideas, it has seen interesting intruders—manual training, drawing, music, boy-scouting, drill, compulsory games, school gardening, agricultural work, spinning, first aid courses, all of which have no examination value, and are consequently received without enthusiasm by the parent. In some schools, not one of these intruders finds a place, and every single activity of the school directs itself towards the ultimate examination which is its sole *raison d'être*.

Science has obtained an entry, and is welcomed since it can be made to count in examinations, but it is expensive and is not very commonly found—very rarely indeed, for instance, in Bengal. Religious teaching generally is absent except in Moslem Schools and a certain number of communal institutions, and a substitute in direct moral training has not been easy to introduce. It is agreed, to quote Mr. Mayhew, that

in the absence of religious foundation the formation of character must depend on bringing out the moral significance of the humanities, as taught in schools and colleges, and still more on the development of the corporate idea of school and college life.

But alas! the "humanities" have but little place in the schools; "the severely utilitarian treatment of the English language and literature, and the inadequate teaching of vernaculars and classical literature" affording but little opportunity for the illustration of ethical principles.

IMPROVING STANDARDS

Such as it is, the high school has come to stay. Education departments

do what they can to enforce increasingly improved standards, though with inadequate funds; and owing to an absolute lack of control of any kind over those schools which take no aid, they cannot do all that they would like to do. The other controlling authorities—Universities and the Boards of Education—do their best, but they cannot enforce a standard which schools cannot afford, or for which public opinion is not prepared. Training Colleges, all too inadequate in number, aim at training teachers, though handicapped by opinions analogous to those of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee, of 1922, which declared that teachers were born and not made, and proposed their abolition.

The greatest difficulty is the parent, who suspects any activity not directly concerned with success in examinations, and is reluctant to pay for it. But there are encouraging signs, of which the growing demand for physical training is one. But though the obvious policy is the gradual improvement of the high school system, there are not wanting signs that there is a gradual awakening to the fact that if India is, as seems probable, to produce, in increasing number, men who will hold His Majesty's Commission, and hold the higher civil posts, a better type of school more adequately designed to the making of men and not merely for the production of a successful examinee must come into existence at least in small numbers.

The Hastings House attempt at the creation of a "Public" School on English lines failed; but the late Hon. Mr. S. R. Das's renewed attempt, and his successful appeal for a large private endowment, shows that the conception of a school, which will aim primarily at character formation, is catching hold of the imagination of some of the

leaders of modern India. Dissatisfaction with the limited outlook and aim of the high school takes other forms. Leaving aside the abortive attempt at the creation of "national" schools under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi, we may note such interesting experiments as that of Dr. Tagore at Bolpur, where under the shade of trees and in an atmosphere of religion and culture a modern Indian conception of what a school should be is worked out in practice.

The Mission schools too present a variant of a valuable kind, especially in the so-called vocational middle or high school which aims at economic uplift through the school, though their emphasis on Christian ethics and religion must divorce them somewhat from meeting fully the national conception of the ideal school. The Chiefs' Colleges are schools for the aristocracy and valuable assets to India. The Moslems who never till comparatively recently cared much for the English high school are experimenting in Bengal, with the full support of Government, with a type of reformed Madrasah, which, while basing itself on Islamic religion and cultural subjects, imparts a knowledge of English and the ordinary school subjects, history, geography and so on. And, while on the subject of Madrasahs, let us not forget, that a large number of schools of a communal nature, survivors of the old pre-English type in which Sanskrit and Islamic learning respectively without the intrusion of English or English subjects in any shape or form have survived from the cold shadow of the neglect of 1835 into the genial tolerance and sometimes active patronage of 1928. The Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrasah and the Tol Department of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, maintained entirely by Government, exist

to prove that the policy of Macaulay was not carried out without exception.

OTHER TYPES

It is impossible in this short review to do more than mention the other types of education which may be designated as secondary. There is a special type of education for European and Anglo-Indians conforming more to the English home model, many of the schools being residential, while most Indian schools are mainly day-schools. The education of Europeans, unlike the education of Indians, has not been handed over to Indian control under the reforms, being subject to a Member in Council.

Girls' secondary education (Indian) is a subject of very small dimensions, only 35,000 in all India proceeding beyond the primary stage. The number of girls' high schools in India is 236, there being also 252 middle English and 446 middle vernacular schools. The problem of the creation of the right type of girls' secondary school is a very real one, and recent women's conferences, have given it some attention.

Indian public opinion is slowly changing from its former attitude of positive dislike to the education of women, and is progressing through apathy to cordial coöperation.

There is great diversity of opinion as to what should be taught, but when the local high school examination is the university Matriculation it is useless to attempt to frame any curriculum which does not lead to it.

The people of Bengal, wrote an Indian Inspectress, seem to appreciate the Matriculation certificate more than any useful practical course of studies and the girls set their hearts in passing the Matriculation. There are many difficulties in the way of the increase and improvement of

girls' education, but the future is full of hope. Such institutions as the Queen Mary's College, Lahore; the Seva Sadan Society's School, Poona; the Gokhale Memorial Girls School, Calcutta; and many others, make it clear that women's education is not by any means being stereotyped in one mould, and that we may hope with some confidence for more individuality than is presented by the boys' high schools. Good work too is done in the middle schools, both those which teach English and those which teach modern subjects through the medium of the vernacular. As so many girls owing to the custom of early marriage never go beyond the middle stage, these schools possess special importance.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

But what of the vast and appalling problem of primary education? What the problem is can best be realised by the quotation of the first sentence in Mason Olcott's book, *Village Schools in India*. One-sixth of the human race lives in the villages of India. The villagers of India number 286,467,204. They live in 685,665 census villages, averaging 418 each. And this takes no account of that 10 per cent of the people who are classed as urban.

For these, so far as British India is concerned, there are 175,596 primary schools. In towns, these schools may sometimes be adequately organised and staffed; but the number of such is few. A bird's-eye view of the primary school system may be obtained from the table, on the following page, of the number of pupils in the first six classes of the recognised schools in British India in 1925. In other words, "half the pupils in general institutions below college grade are in the first class," and never reach the stage of literacy, so that the figures of school attendance are cer-

tainly deceptive, unless read with an understanding of the meaning below the figures. Over 4,000,000 children in the bottom class are represented in the fourth by 668,345 and 367,824 in the fifth, and it is doubtful whether any child who does not study long enough, or progress well enough to reach the fourth class, attains useful literacy and retains it in after life.

Class	Number	Per Cent of Total	Loss from Preceding Class
I.....	4,671,111	52.8	.
II.....	1,401,585	15.8	3,269,526
III.....	984,358	11.1	417,227
IV.....	668,345	7.5	316,013
V.....	367,824	4.2	300,521
VI.....	237,012	2.7	130,812
VII-XII.....	522,221	5.9

Figures are taken from *Education in India* (1924-25).

HANDICAPS

The causes of this unsatisfactory state of things are manifold. First, the cultivator does not value education; the school is a convenient place in which to place the child when it is very young; as soon as it becomes old enough to be useful in the field, he withdraws him from school. Next the remuneration available for the teacher is so poor that good men cannot be attracted to the work, and the schools are therefore ordinarily not good. Women who in many countries are the foundation of the primary school system are not available as teachers. The state grants are inadequate, and taxation, either provincial or local for the spread of primary education, is generally difficult.

The middle classes are apathetic on the subject, there is no real enthusiasm.

The very conditions of the problem—the smallness of the village—often necessitating a one-teacher school of 30 or 40 with five classes, set the reformer a stupendous task. If the school is not almost at the door, the parent will not send his child. Finally, there is no doubt that, economically speaking, the villagers often need their children's labour, if they are to be solvent, so that compulsory attendance at school would ruin many a family.

It is obvious that the problem which faces the educational administrator in India is appalling in its dimensions. Universal compulsion is impossible—funds are not available; if they were, teachers are not available; and if both were available, the children would not at least in many cases be available, for numerous families deprived of the work of the children would go bankrupt.

Primary education is in the main controlled and administered by District Boards and Urban Municipalities, which in return for grants from the Provincial Government conform to the rules and regulations of the Provincial Education Department. The local bodies allot grants, after considering the reports of the Departmental inspecting staff, having no staff of their own. In some cases they have their own inspecting staff. Schools are mainly private schools, aided by grants which may be taken away if they fall below a reasonable standard. Many schools exist without aid of any kind. The local Boards supplement the Government grant by contributions of their own.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Legislation in recent years has aimed at authorising the introduction of compulsory education by local option. Bombay led the way in 1918, and Bihar

and Orissa, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Madras followed suit. The acts differ in their detail, but in general the position is that if a local body, at a special meeting convened for the purpose, decides by a two-thirds majority in favour of the introduction of compulsion in any part of the area in its control, it may submit a scheme to Government to give effect to its decision, such scheme necessarily involving expenditure, part of which, if not all, must necessarily fall on the local body, to be raised by local taxation. Under these acts a certain amount of sporadic compulsion has been introduced, but not a great deal, that is, the first case of compulsion in Bengal was in Chittagong Municipality in 1928, though in some other provinces the number is much more encouraging.

In general with exceptions here and there, Punjab, Madras, compulsion had made little headway, and Bengal had by 1927 come to the conclusion that without compulsory local taxation enforced by the central provincial authority no headway could be made, especially in the rural districts. A rural Primary Education Bill which aims at raising money by compulsory local taxation, and at a wide extension of education on a compulsory basis in rural areas was drafted, but it is not yet an Act. In this way Bengal has reacted to the view commonly expressed that the various "local bodies" cannot be expected to incur the odium of introducing a coercive measure involving taxation, and that the initiative must come from Government.

So we have passed from 1835 to 1928. In 1835 all funds were to go to English education to educate the middle classes who were to pass on knowledge to the toiler. In 1854 Sir Charles Wood's despatch acknowledges

the responsibility of the Government to the teeming millions, and its desire to combat the ignorance of the people, which may be considered the greatest curse of the country.

A system of grant in aid to privately managed schools was directed. In 1882 the Education Commission declared

primary education that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

In 1904 the Government of India said:

The Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds; it should be made a leading charge upon the provincial revenues; in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation.

In 1913 the same Government said:

The position that illiteracy must be broken down and that primary education has in the present circumstances of India a predominant claim upon the public funds, represents accepted policy no longer open to discussion,

but the momentum of 1835 is still strong, and the village is still illiterate, for the gulf fixed in 1835 between the newer and the older schools still yawns, and the middle classes are still in desperate need of what money there is for their own system of schools.

There is a direct clash of interest, for in the absence of *ad hoc* taxation which would leave enough for all, money spent on primary education means little or nothing for that special type of schools which meet the needs of the middle class. For money is scarce and needs are many, and squar-

ing the circle is a simple operation compared with that of properly financing either primary or secondary education, let alone both, on the existing provincial revenues. India cannot have better schools or more schools than it is willing and able to afford; the question is can it and will it afford them? Let the reformed Governments give the answer.

The Indian Universities

By SIR P. J. HARTOG, C.I.E., M.A., LL.D.

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“**E** DUCATION,” writes Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford, one of the most distinguished of Indologists,

is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and philosophers.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

In centuries of which we have no exact chronological record Taxila in the northwest, and, later, Nalanda (near Patna) in the northeast became great centres of learning, and have been called universities. But the modern universities of India are entirely of western origin. During the struggles of Hindus with Muslim invaders from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, and later of Moghuls with Marathas, there was no evolution of guilds of teachers like that which led to the creation of European Universities, in the latter part of the Middle Ages; and at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, when the East India Company began to direct its attention to the problem of education, Indian learning was at a low ebb.

The scientific study of Sanskrit was begun by two Englishmen Sir Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones (a Judge of the High Court) under the influence of Warren Hastings. European missionaries in Bengal were the first to print vernacular languages in their own script. But Indians led by

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, began to take part in the movement for higher education on western lines early in the nineteenth century; and the Hindu College, first called the Vidyalyaya, which later developed into the Presidency College, Calcutta, was founded in 1817 by Roy and David Hare, a British watchmaker. It was the first modern college in India. It is a fact significant of the condition of oriental studies in India at the time, that Ram Mohan Roy, himself a Sanskrit scholar, protested against the foundation of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta by the Government as a retrograde step. After the Hindu College, other colleges, at Serampore, Hooghly, Dacca, Krishnagar, Berhampur, Madras and Bombay, were founded between 1827 and 1853. The famous despatch of Macaulay, then legal member of the Government, in 1835 led to the diversion of Government funds from the encouragement of the classical Indian languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, to education through the medium of English, and from that date till now the greater portion of education on western lines in the higher classes of schools, in colleges and in universities, has been conducted in English.

The great despatch of 1854 from the Directors of the East India Company, signed by Sir Charles Wood (grandfather of the present Viceroy), is generally regarded as the charter of Indian education. It led directly to the foundation of universities, on the model of the existing University of London, at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in

1857, immediately after the Mutiny. They were affiliating and examining universities; in other words, their functions were limited to the examining of students from affiliated colleges, of which some were established and maintained by Government, and others were "private" colleges, in some cases aided by Government. In 1882 the University of the Punjab (with headquarters at Lahore) and in 1887 the University of Allahabad (which was given teaching powers, but did not use them for many years) were founded on the same model.

The colleges under the universities and the number of students multiplied greatly, and numerous defects of the system became apparent. Lord Curzon, as Viceroy, set up a University Commission in 1902, which resulted in the Universities Act of 1904. New and more stringent rules were laid down for the recognition of colleges, which led to great improvements in the staff and equipment, and the housing of students in college hostels. It also provided powers for all the universities to undertake teaching, of which little use was made till 1917, when Calcutta set up a scheme of "post-graduate" teaching, consisting of teaching up to the M.A. standard, with some additions of special chairs and other teacherships for research.

Before dealing with the new movement which began in 1917, two colleges must be mentioned which were created to serve the purpose of special communities. From the date when Persian was abandoned as the language of the courts (about 1830), the Mahomedans had looked askance at western education as likely to lead to infidelity to Islam. But in 1875, Sir Syed Ahmad, a Mahomedan of very high character, despite great opposition from his orthodox coreligionists, created the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental

College at Aligarh which has had an immense influence on the Moslem community, and for a time was probably regarded as the first residential college in the whole of India. The influence of the college in its early days in bringing Mahomedans, both into Government service and into the stream of political life, cannot be over-rated. The Hindu community did not wish to be left behind, and the Central Hindu College, Benares, was created, in 1898, largely through the influence of Mrs. Annie Besant, as an All-India Institution for Hindus, though both colleges admitted students of beliefs other than those of their founders. Both institutions were affiliated to the University of Allahabad.

In 1915 the Central Hindu College was incorporated as the Benares Hindu University; in 1916 was founded the University of Mysore, the first university to be set up in a Native State; in 1917 a new affiliating and teaching university (split off from Calcutta) was established at Patna, and early in 1918 the Osmania University in the native state of Hyderabad was created, with the special feature that while English is a compulsory subject, the general medium of instruction is Urdu (Hindustani), the vernacular spoken by the largest number of Indians.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

During the first fifteen years after Lord Curzon's Commission there was an immense growth in the student population, but this had been accompanied, in the general belief, by a great lowering of the standards, especially in the largest of the universities, that of Calcutta, which in 1917 had 58 affiliated institutions and 28,000 students, while the total for all India was 58,000 students, a very large number compared with the literate population.

In 1917, in the middle of the Great War, the Government of India, Lord Chelmsford being Viceroy, set up a new Commission, presided over by Dr. (now Sir) Michael Sadler, to enquire and report on the University of Calcutta (and also incidentally on University education elsewhere in India). The Commission sat for seventeen months and produced a report in five volumes (exclusive of evidence and memoranda) which gives a comprehensive and critical survey of the condition and problems of education in Bengal, and which has had a great influence on Indian education in general, though the constitution of the University of Calcutta, for reasons of which space does not allow the discussion, has remained "unreformed." There can be no doubt that the Government, in setting up the Commission during the war, had clearly in view the democratic reforms which came into force afterwards and the desirability of raising the standard of western education in India, to meet the needs of western political ideals.

The report (Chapter LII) stated that

the University system of Bengal is . . . fundamentally defective in almost every aspect, and in so far as it does good work, does it in spite of the method of organisation now in vogue,

and what was true of Calcutta was certainly true, though in perhaps less measure, of other affiliating universities in India. It recommended drastic changes in the system of secondary education and the splitting off of the first two years of University instruction as belonging to secondary rather than higher education, and pointed out *inter alia* that the numbers of students in the Calcutta University were too large to be efficiently dealt with by a single organization, that the methods of mass-instruction were mechanical, that

the conditions of most teacherships were so bad that few men of the highest ability were attracted to the University, and that owing to a University degree being required as the sole credential for public employment, too many students used the University merely as an avenue for such employment. It also pointed out that the reform of the mechanical examination system, which dominated the whole teaching in Bengal, was essential for any reform.

The Commission made certain general recommendations applicable to all future universities in Bengal (which contains some 45,000,000 inhabitants) and especially recommended the institution of three-year honor courses taken after the Intermediate examination, and that the pass course should be later extended to three years.

It further recommended that a new university of a residential and non-affiliating character should at once be set up in Dacca, the second city in Bengal. The establishment in 1920-21 of Dacca University on the new lines recommended by the Commission was the first important effect of the Sadler Report in Bengal. A number of other universities were also created after the issue of the Report and their organization was influenced by it: the Aligarh Muslim University (1920), Rangoon University (split off from Calcutta, 1920), Lucknow University (split off from Allahabad, 1921-22), Nagpur (also split off from Allahabad, 1922-23), Andhra (split off from Madras, 1926), Agra (split off from Allahabad, 1927, leaving Allahabad as a teaching and unitary university).

The Madras University Act of 1923 must also be mentioned as a result of the Sadler Report. It was designed to establish a teaching and residential University in Madras whilst enabling the University to continue to exert due control

over the quality of the teaching in its constituted and affiliated colleges

A new Bombay University Act is under consideration. The large increase in the number of universities, from 1915 to 1927, has tended, in the opinion of some critics, to a lowering of examination standards. But, in the view of the writer, although there have been fluctuations in standard in some centres, there has been no general lowering of the examination standards. The concentration of the higher work at the headquarters of affiliating universities, like those of Calcutta and the Punjab, and to a minor extent in other places, that is, Bombay and Madras, and the creation of real centres of University teaching in the newer universities has led to a very great improvement in the standard of University teaching and an active production of research which hardly existed twenty years ago in India.

With a few marked exceptions, University teachers in those days regarded the advancement of knowledge as outside their functions, and the opinion has been expressed, even in recent years, that Indian Universities only need teachers of the kind that are required by English public (that is, secondary) schools.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The great difficulty of the affiliating universities is that they are bound to keep the level of their examinations such that it inflicts no injustice on the weakest of the affiliated colleges. The evil would not be so great if all the universities restricted the students of outlying and weakly equipped affiliated colleges to preparation for pass degrees, and recognised that the preparation of students for honour degrees and for the master's degree (called in India "post-graduate" work) requires an equipment in the shape of libraries

and laboratories, and of teachers capable of advancing knowledge, which it would be wasteful to provide for a few students in each of a large number of centres. Both in Calcutta and Lahore the University teaching staff for the more advanced work is supplemented by the more highly qualified among those teachers whose main work is in the affiliated colleges in these cities.

In view of the immense size of India and the smallness of the financial resources devoted to higher education, the affiliating system, with all its disadvantages is bound to continue for a considerable time. But there can be no doubt that the new unitary universities, like Allahabad, Dacca and Lucknow, and the departments of the older universities, where the teachers are appointed not only to teach, but to conduct research, are the only Indian University institutions which can maintain a level comparable to the level of universities, say in France or Germany, or to that of the great provincial universities in England (I purposely refrain from comparison with American Universities in which the variations of standards are so great).

The number of scholars and men of science of the first rank teaching in, or produced by, Indian Universities is still small, but it is growing and one may look forward to a future when Indian scholars and men of science will play a part in the intellectual development of the world more comparable than at present with the vast population of India.

In recent books, written both by Europeans and Indians, there has been (in the opinion of the writer) a tendency to over-estimate racial differences in the field of intellectual activities. But, to quote again Dr. Thomas, the reason is pan-human. There is no difference of race in dealing with the

physical and natural sciences; there is no such thing as British mathematics or Indian zoölogy; and, to turn to a wider field, few educated Indians regard either the Bible or Shakespeare as alien to their minds and hearts. The critical methods which India had to learn from the West have not been and need not be destructive of reverence for the great works of Indian philosophy or literature. On the contrary, the study of Oriental subjects is being steadily promoted in the Indian Universities by the methods which have yielded such fruitful results in the West. In this connection one feels bound to quote the name of that great oriental scholar Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who led the way in the adoption of critical methods in oriental research in India, and whose name has been perpetuated in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. The influence of the west has been to produce a renaissance in oriental studies in India.

An attempt to create "National Universities" in connection with the non-coöperation movement which began in 1919 has led to disappointingly meagre results; in part because "recognised degrees" are made a qualification for many branches of Government service, but probably also in part because they were unable to show any departure from the existing system capable of arousing widespread enthusiasm. The only important private institution of an exceptional character on University lines is the *Ashram* of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, at Santiniketan in Bengal, where a small number of distinguished scholars, including visiting teachers from Europe, lecture to small audiences. Interesting as an experiment, it cannot be said that it has yet had any marked influence on Indian thought or culture. But Dr. Tagore has collected an ad-

mirable library, and the future of Santiniketan is full of interest. It might play in Bengal a part similar to that of the College de France in Paris.

One other important and well-equipped institution, which though not technically a university gives scientific instruction of an advanced character and promotes research, is the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, established about 1906 under a trust by Sir Dorabji and the late Sir Ratanji Tata, of Bombay. The "Visitor" is the Viceroy of India.

CRITICISM

The most general criticism of the Indian educational system is that it is "top-heavy," by which is meant that the development of university and secondary education is out of all proportion to the development of primary education, and further that it is too exclusively literary.

With regard to the first point, the immense need for an extension of primary education in India must be conceded; but the writer is unable to agree that university and secondary education should be curtailed for this purpose. There is still almost as much need for improving the quality of university education as of increasing the quantity of primary education. It has been rightly said that the base of the educational pyramid needs to be broadened; its apex needs to be more finely tempered.

The predominance of literary over technical education is due to two causes which are not independent: (1) that manual labour has been regarded as degrading by the higher castes, and (2) that the industrial system of India is on a small scale compared to the size of the country and population, over 70 per cent of the population being dependent on agriculture. But the

distaste for manual labour among the educated classes, though still strong, is tending to diminish.

ORGANIZATION AND RELATION TO GOVERNMENT

The first universities created in India by the Acts of 1857, as modified by the Act of 1904, were managed by large senates consisting of as many as 100 persons, with a small executive called the Syndicate. The great majority of the members of the Senate were nominated by the Government, the Viceroy was the Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor was appointed by the Government. It has been a characteristic of the system that a very large number of the Senate are not University teachers and that the teaching institutions of the University are not directly represented on the Senate. This system, with a few modifications, has been retained by some of the older affiliating universities, though the number of actual teachers in the University Senates is greater than at first; but a new type of constitution, based more or less on the model of the English provincial universities, in which the teachers occupy a much more important position, has been adopted in accordance with the recommendations of the Sadler Commission in the new residential universities like Dacca, Lucknow, and Allahabad (in its most recent form.)

In these universities the executive powers, in matters not entirely academic, are entrusted to an executive council, on which the teachers are represented, academic matters are dealt with by an academic council consisting wholly, or mainly, of teachers and by faculties and departments of study, also mainly, or entirely composed of teachers, and these are the most important bodies concerned in carrying on the affairs of the University.

There is also a large body, the Court, of which the members are partly nominated by the Government, partly by teachers and partly by the graduates, which alone has the power of making or revising the statutes, and which also has certain powers of rejecting changes made in minor University rules, called ordinances. The annual budget estimate has also to be submitted to the Court, which can make such recommendations as it sees fit to the Executive Council, but without binding power. The Court in Dacca can also pass resolutions making recommendations on the general management of the University.

The Executive Council at Dacca communicates its minutes to the Court, though it is not obliged to do so, and may make an exception in the case of confidential matters. The Court only meets twice or thrice a year, but its existence ensures a publicity to the actions of the Executive Council which is useful in many ways, and the interest taken by the general public in India, in University matters, is considerable. The new constitution has, in the opinion of the writer, amply justified the changes made. A body constituted like the University of Dacca readily adapts its curricula to new developments in the various branches of study, and has in general an elasticity lacking in the constitutions of older universities. In some universities like Benares and Aligarh, large executive powers are entrusted to a Court which meets at distant intervals. It is obvious that if such powers were used to any considerable extent, the whole working of a university might be endangered by decisions made by a chance vote.

In practice, constitutions of this kind, which are ultra-democratic in appearance, are liable to the danger that the whole power may be left in the hands

of one or two persons, in whom the majority for the time being have confidence; they resemble Governments by *plébiscite*. At the University of Aligarh even the appointment of executive officers, like the Registrar, is left to the Court, and at this University the appointment of the Registrar is for five years only. The constitutions of the Indian Universities are on their trial and no definite opinion can be pronounced on them at present. One of the points regarded as most contentious is the question whether the Vice-Chancellor should or should not be an honorary officer or a full-time paid officer; and the question whether he should be appointed for a long or a short period is also under discussion. The system of an experienced man as a paid Vice-Chancellor up to the age of retirement, common in the large provincial English Universities, has not been tried.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL

The political reforms of 1919 transferred the subject of education from the central to the local Governments, and under the local Governments to the control of ministers responsible to the local legislative councils, and the Chancellor of a provincial university is, as a rule, the Governor of the province *ex-officio*. The sanction of the Chancellor is generally required for all changes in statutes and sometimes of ordinances. Moreover the Chancellor, in practice, takes advice from the Government department of education, so that this power of the Chancellor means in effect a control by Government over the universities created by legislation. At the present moment there are no universities of any magnitude or importance other than those so created.

The Universities of Aligarh, Benares and Delhi remain under the aegis of the central Government.

Provision is made in a number of universities for visitation or enquiry by the supreme authority and for changes to be made as a consequence of such enquiry by that authority, but that power has not been exercised up to the present (March, 1928).

Apart from constitutional control, the Government exercises control by means of the grants made to the universities, and voted by the legislative councils. The whole of the University finances would obviously be disorganised, and it would be impossible to provide any security of tenure for teachers if the annual votes were liable to capricious decisions of a legislature, influenced by chance incidents, but so far there have been no sudden reductions of grants. The Bengal legislature passed in 1925 an Act providing a statutory annual grant of 5.5 lakhs (550,000) rupees to Dacca. It is possible that the finances of other universities may be established in a similar way, as the legislatures acquire confidence in the governing bodies of the universities.

ARTS COLLEGES.

The term "Arts College" is used in India to denote a college which prepares students for degrees in arts and science but does not give professional training.

The ordinary University course for the B.A. and B.S. degree in Indian Universities is a four years course taken subsequently to the matriculation examination, for which the inferior age limit is 15 or 16. An "intermediate examination" is normally taken at the end of two years (and the final examination for the pass degree, and sometimes for the honours degree, at the end of another two years). The Sadler Commission reported that the work of the first two years was, in effect, school teaching, for which the mass-

lectures of a university were unsuitable. They recommended that the intermediate examination should be treated as the entrance examination to the universities and that a new kind of institution should be founded to take over the two years of intermediate teaching, with improved methods akin to those of school teaching and especially improved teaching in English and some technical and commercial teaching, with a view to diverting a certain number of the students into technical and commercial and agricultural careers.

INTERMEDIATE COLLEGES.

In Bengal, the only intermediate colleges created have been two, in the Dacca University area. But a number of such colleges have been set up in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in the Punjab. In Bihar and Orissa the experiment has been tried and abandoned. The colleges have in some cases been formed with a two year course only, and in others with a four year course, including the two highest years of the "high school" as well as the two "intermediate" years. The latter system is probably the more efficient. The strengthening of the staff for the intermediate years was an essential feature of the Sadler Scheme. Without such strengthening the scheme was doomed to failure. In the United Provinces (outside the jurisdiction of the communal and "All-India" Universities of Aligarh and Benares) and in the Dacca University area, secondary and intermediate education have been placed under the control of special Boards for Secondary and Intermediate education set up for this purpose, and the Intermediate examination, as well as the High School examination, corresponding to the old Matriculation examination, have been placed under the jurisdiction of these boards,

on which the universities are represented.

MISSIONARY COLLEGES.

Missionary colleges, wholly or partly financed by various Christian communities, have played an important and pioneering part in University education in India from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Like other "private" colleges, they now receive grants from the Government, without which it would, in most cases, be impossible for them to survive; but their European and American teachers are, as a rule, content with salaries much below that which they would receive if attached to Government colleges, and the colleges can, therefore, be run at a relatively low cost. It should be added, however, that only a small proportion of the teachers belong to the missionary community and that in many cases the majority of the staff are Indians who profess Indian religions.

The majority of these colleges make no attempt to proselytise, but seek to maintain a "religious atmosphere" which is valued by many parents belonging to the Hindu and Muslim communities who have no desire whatever that their sons should abandon their own faith. The missionary teachers in these colleges often hold high positions in the general organisation of the universities.

Among the colleges supported by American religious organisations should be mentioned the Forman Christian College, Lahore, and the Isabella Thoburn College, which forms the Women's Department of the University of Lucknow.

MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Medical education is given in "medical schools" which are not of a University standard and do not confer

degrees, and in the medical colleges attached to the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Madras, Mysore, the Punjab and Rangoon. The ordinary courses are based on European models and extend over a period of five or six years, or even longer. An effort is being made to modernise the Ayurvedic or Hindu system, and the Unani or Muslim system of medicine in certain centres.

ENGINEERING COLLEGES

There are engineering colleges at the Universities of Benares, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Mysore, Patna and Rangoon. The courses for the Bachelor's degree as a rule extend over four years. In some of the universities, that is, Benares and Madras, the degree is not conferred until at least a year has been spent in approved practical work, after the passing of the final examination.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

Although about 70 per cent of the Indian population are dependent on agriculture, the average size of the holdings is small, and there is only a small demand for trained agriculturists of University standing outside the Government service. There are four agricultural colleges which prepare for a University degree, all managed by the Government, at Poona (University of Bombay), Coimbatore (University of Madras), Lyallpur (University of the Punjab) and Nagpur. There is also a chair of Forestry at Rangoon.

LAW SCHOOLS

A degree in law is necessary for the Indian student, who is not a barrister, to practise in the law courts. No student is as a rule allowed to enter on a course in law until he has taken a degree in arts or science. The course in

law generally extends over three years, but the lectures are so arranged (in the early morning or in the evening) that the work does not fully occupy the time of the students; and many students are allowed to proceed to the M.A. degree and a law degree simultaneously. In 1925 the fifteen law schools had over 8,000 students.

SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

University training in education is generally given in training colleges, affiliated to universities of which there were, in 1925, twenty-two, with about 1,000 students.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Women are generally admitted to the Indian Universities on the same terms as men, but the number of women students is very small.

In some universities, that is, Calcutta and Madras, there are special colleges for women where they are taught separately during the undergraduate course. They are admitted to the medical colleges, and there is a special medical college for women of high standing, the Lady Hardinge Medical College at Delhi, affiliated to the University of the Punjab.

RELATIONS OF UNIVERSITIES WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION

For the vast majority of Indian students the only method of entering a university is by passing the Matriculation examination as a pupil of a recognised "high school," though a small number are admitted as private students. The recognition of high schools rests with the universities, except in areas where there are Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education, and hence the influence of the University over the high schools and especially over their curriculum is very great. But the universities have funds

neither to aid the schools nor to inspect them. The Government, on the other hand, both aids and inspects the schools, and the universities have to depend for any detailed knowledge of the working of the schools, within their area, on Government inspection. This system of dual control was severely criticised by the Sadler Commission.

COST OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The cost of University education in India is small for the students in arts and science. The class fees vary from about Rs. 72 to Rs. 144¹ a year, the fees being paid in monthly instalments; and the average hostel expenses vary from Rs. 15 to Rs. 50 a month. The average yearly fee in "arts colleges" for the quinquennium 1917-1922 was Rs. 82.5. The fees for courses in medicine and engineering are considerably higher. The fees above mentioned do not include examination fees.

The total cost per student is, as in other countries, largely in excess of the fees paid by him and varies greatly with the character of the college or university. For the quinquennium 1917-1922, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the annual cost of educating a student in a Government college was about Rs. 652, in an "aided college" Rs. 370 and in an unaided college Rs. 356. In Bengal the corresponding figures were, for a Government college, Rs. 375, for aided colleges Rs. 127 and for unaided colleges Rs. 89. The range of cost in the unaided colleges in Bengal varied from Rs. 57 to Rs. 270. The lowness of cost in many institutions is due to the paucity of the salaries paid to the teachers and the inadequate provision of books and equipment. It should be added that the actual cost in the Government colleges is higher than the figures given,

¹ At the present rate of exchange (March, 1928) 1 rupee equalled .274 dollars.

as these take no account of the cost of pensions to the staff, maintenance of buildings, etc.

SALARIES OF TEACHERS

The salaries paid to teachers vary very greatly. Up until recently the superior posts in the Government colleges were largely staffed by the Indian Educational Service, mostly consisting of European officers whose salaries were much higher than the average salaries in private colleges. But, with the transference of the subject of education to local Governments, recruitment to that Service has been stopped. Other Government posts have been filled by officers of "provincial educational services" with a salary scale smaller than that of the Indian Educational Service, and minor posts, like demonstratorships, from "subordinate educational services."

The service system is obviously unsuitable for universities in which appointments to higher posts are filled by men who have already proved their capacity by long teaching experience and original production. The normal salary for Indian members of a University staff is from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000 per mensem for a Professor and Rs. 400 to Rs. 800 for a Reader; but the rates vary so greatly in different universities that no general statement can be made. The salaries of teachers of oriental languages, such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, of all ranks are generally much lower than those of teachers in other subjects, except in universities like Dacca where a uniform scale has been adopted. Where it is desired to secure European teachers (who have two homes to maintain), *ad hoc* appointments are sometimes made with salaries in excess of those paid to Indian teachers. In most provinces the number of European teachers is rapidly diminishing, at the present moment, largely

owing to the cessation to recruit for the Indian Educational Service.

The total expenditure on University and Intermediate education for males in British India, with its population of 247 million people² (of whom only 84 per thousand of those above 5 years of age are literate) was in 1924-1925 (the last year for which returns are available) about 27,500,000 rupees (exclusive of expenditure on buildings); the grand total for expenditure of every kind on male education being returned as 181,000,000 rupees, of which 88,000,000 rupees were expended by the Government.

The corresponding figures for education, specifically provided for females, are as follows: for University and Intermediate education, Rs. 242,000; for education of all kinds, Rs. 2,457,000.

PENSIONS AND PROVIDENT FUND

University teachers in Government service receive a pension on retirement after a certain number of years service. The ordinary retiring age is 55. In the newer Universities it is usual to give university teachers the benefit of a Provident Fund bearing compound interest to which the monthly subscriptions amount to from 10 per cent to 20 per cent of the monthly salary, and of which not less than half is as a rule subscribed by the University. In the majority of private colleges there is neither a pension nor a provident fund.

TENURE

The tenure in Government colleges is generally a secure one; the tenure in private institutions is, as a rule, insecure. Some recent University Acts have made it a condition that all University appointments shall be made

on written contracts. Such contracts are sometimes for a term of years, and others are tenable with or without a period of probation, up to the age for retirement.

CONDITIONS OF RESIDENCE

The average Indian student is very poor, although there are, of course, exceptions. The general rule of universities and colleges is that the students must live either in university hostels or under "approved guardians" who may be their own parents or other relatives. The hostels are of the simplest character. A student is fortunate if he has a cubicle to himself, say 10 feet by 8; in many cases a room (of larger dimensions than those quoted) is shared with one, two, or three comrades. Each student has, as a rule, only a bed, a table, a chair, a small shelf for books, and pegs for hanging up his clothes. In some large cities, such as Calcutta, students have been allowed to live in "messes" under very unfavorable conditions, but matters are improving in this respect.

RECREATIONS

A considerable number of Indian students play western games, especially cricket, hockey, football and lawn tennis, and their matches attract large crowds of the outside public. An important investigation carried on by the University of Calcutta showed that the general standard of the students' physical condition was unsatisfactory and measures are being taken to improve it. In universities like Dacca, or Benares, where the University has a large area, like that of an American University campus, it is easier to provide for physical culture; in some universities every student has to take part regularly in physical drill or gymnastics, subject to the directions of the University medical officer.

²This is the figure used in the *Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India for 1917-1922*.

LIST OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES *

Name of University and Date of Foundation	Character of University (Affiliating or Teaching)	Number of Colleges. (Where not otherwise indicated, the colleges are affiliated colleges)	Headquarters of University
Agra (1926-27) Aligarh Muslim University (1920)	Affiliating Teaching	14 (Maintains One Intermediate College)	Agra Aligarh
Allahabad (1887; reconstituted 1921) Andhra University (1926)	Teaching Affiliating	19	Allahabad Bezwada, Ma- dras
Benares Hindu University (1916) Bombay (1857)	Teaching Affiliating and teaching	7 constituent 26 (besides Uni- versity School of Economics)	Benares Bombay
Calcutta (1857)	Affiliating and teaching	51 (besides Uni- versity Law College and University College of Sci- ence and lab- oratories)	Calcutta
Dacca (1920-21) Delhi (1922)	Teaching Affiliating and teaching	7 (these col- leges are termed 'con- stituent col- leges'). There is also a Uni- versity Law Hall.	Dacca, Bengal Delhi
Lucknow (1921-22) Madras (1857)	Teaching Affiliating	3 constituent 15 constituent 39 affiliated 15 oriental	Lucknow Madras
Mysore (1916) Nagpur (1923)	Teaching Affiliating	5 constituents 1 constituent (for law)	Mysore and Bangalore Nagpur
Osmania University (1918)	Teaching	7 affiliated 4 constituent	Hyderabad (Deccan)
Patna (1917) University of the Punjab (1882)	Affiliating Affiliating and teaching	15 36	Patna Lahore
Rangoon (1920)	Teaching	2 constituent 1 constituent; Intermediate College	Rangoon

* Table has been compiled from the *Handbook of Indian Universities for 1927*, supplemented by other sources.

Officers Training Corps have been started at a number of Indian Universities with the help of the Government, and have been successful. A movement to make military training compulsory in Indian Universities has not met with much approval.

A small beginning has been made in the way of social service leagues in some universities, but the movement has not yet attained any magnitude.

There are in all Indian Universities many literary and debating societies, mainly conducted in English, and dramatic societies which produce plays in the vernacular. The dramatic performances attract large audiences, and the plays often last five or six hours and arouse great enthusiasm.

LIBRARIES

The libraries of Indian Universities are on a modest scale compared with those of the United States. The University of Calcutta has a library of about 100,000 volumes, the largest university library in India. It is only during recent years, with the progress in research, that there has been any great demand for scholarly and scientific periodicals in the university libraries, for which the annual grants are as a rule very small. In the new residential universities the libraries are beginning to be better equipped in this respect.

TUTORIAL WORK AND STUDY ABROAD

The amount of individual teaching given in Indian Universities is small compared to that given at Oxford or Cambridge. Under the influence of

the Sadler Report it has no doubt been considerably developed, especially in connection with the new three-year honours courses; but in many institutions the University teacher rarely sees his students except across a lecture table.

A large number of Indian students go to foreign countries especially Great Britain, the United States, Germany and Japan, to complete their studies. In 1925 there were between 1,500 to 2,000 Indian students in the United Kingdom alone.

INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

As a result of the Indian Universities Conference held at Simla in 1924, an Inter-University Board was founded, which met for the first time at Bombay in 1925. The Board is intended to facilitate the coördination of University work and has no executive powers. It meets annually at different centres, and all the Universities, with one or two exceptions, are represented on it. It issues an annual *Handbook of Indian Universities*.

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Technical and Vocational Education

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THE history and present position of technical and vocational education in India is perhaps best understood from a review of the circumstances surrounding the establishment and growth of such institutions as are mainly devoted to this important aspect of educational and social policy. "India," however, is too large a geographical unit within which this kind of survey can best be undertaken. Few persons are in a position to make a survey over so wide a field. In what follows consideration is, therefore, mainly confined to conditions obtaining in the province of Bengal, one of the oldest of the provinces of India, and till 1912 the principal location of the machinery of the supreme Government in this country. It can reasonably be said that what is true of Bengal is also largely true of the remaining important provinces of India.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Broadly speaking, the ordinary educational policy of the Government in India arose from the necessity of educating its own clerical and executive personnel. It was Government agency that supplied the initiative in the early years of the last century, and it is still true that on the whole the responsibility of initiating schemes of educational progress is usually left to official inspiration. In the realm of technical education little also has been done by private agency, though mention must be made of the efforts of non-official bodies such as the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Technical Education, established in the year 1904, and which has functioned in Cal-

cutta and has given a large number of Bengalee students, approximately 200, technical education abroad.

The other principal, unofficial efforts of a striking character followed from the large sums of money recently left by Sir Rash Behari Ghose and Sir T. Palit and a few other Bengalee gentlemen which have been devoted to the establishment, in the year 1915, of a well-founded University College of Science with professorial chairs in Chemistry and Physics, both Pure and Applied, as well as Mathematics and Botany. A part of these valuable legacies was also devoted to the improvement of a large and well-equipped Technical Institute, established in 1906.

Public attention was first drawn to the question in 1886, when the Government of India gave its opinion that practically no progress of a substantial character was being made in promoting technical education. Sir Anthony—subsequently Lord Macdonell—prepared a memorandum from which it appears that the then only promising institution in the whole of the province of Bengal, apart from certain survey schools giving instruction in the principles and practice of surveying for revenue purposes, was a certain industrial school in the district of Midnapore. This school has long been extinct and its records forgotten. There were apparently other industrial schools then existing in Bengal described as excrescences on the general educational system, with neither plan nor object. It was suggested that all such schools should be subordinate to a central technical institution.

In 1888 the Government of India

published a resolution on this memorandum, and *inter alia* recommended the establishment of technical schools at places where industries were centralised, and in large towns where a demand for superior skill might be said to exist. It was also recommended that each province should carry out an industrial survey, and the question of pursuing a forward policy in matters of technical education referred to a standing committee of educational experts and professional men.

In Bengal this industrial survey was made by an officer of the Civil Service who reported at the end of the year 1890, and the second portion of his report dealing with the subject of technical education made the following proposals:

- (1) The institution of schools for mining students in connection with the coal mining industry.
- (2) The training of mechanical engineers by the introduction of apprentices into the workshops connected with the State Railways.
- (3) The provision of special training for apprentices and intelligent workmen in the railway and canal workshops in Calcutta and environments.
- (4) The institution of improved industrial schools and the encouragement of industrial classes.
- (5) The appointment of an inspector to supervise industrial education.
- (6) Private firms, Municipalities and District Boards to be encouraged to open technical schools.

The report was reviewed by the Bengal Government in 1891, and it was decided to push on with the training of mining assistants, to establish a hostel for the apprentices in the locomotive workshops at Kanchrapara, and to set up a textile weaving school at Berham-

pore. The policy determined upon this report emphasised that the advancement of technical education was not a matter which could be pressed regardless of the demand or of economy, and it was clear that practical progress in this matter was more or less limited to the development of the Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur, for the purpose of training civil engineers for the Public Works Department of Government, and also the Calcutta School of Art. It is significant that progress was made contingent upon considerations of economy and the existence of a demand.

DIFFICULTIES

Important matters of this kind when handled by persons with limited experience and with subordination to considerations of economy seldom get far. In this instance stagnation inevitably followed, as will be clear when it is understood that practically all the recommendations made in the year 1890 have only now been brought to fruition, and only that within the last decade. It is difficult to diagnose the causes of the slow progress made, but judging from later experience it seems clear that the absence of scientifically trained leaders, in responsible positions, and the inability of the few prominent and successful industrialists to comprehend the supreme importance of technical education, and the necessity of putting into effect practical measures for its culture, left matters practically entirely to the pedagogical and other academical interests.

There were, of course, other difficulties to contend with, by far the most substantial of which resided in the lethargy and supineness of the general public. Ambition for an industrial career has never been common in the ranks of India's young intelligentsia. Such application to industrial pursuits

as obtains today is of quite recent origin. Ambition of this kind has had to be generated, and much seed sown has fallen upon hard and unreceptive ground. Following India's hoary traditions all manual and creative work and handicrafts in village and town economy have been performed by the more humble members of the community; people who are largely denied opportunities of culture, knowledge and enterprise by a rigorous quasi-religious social order.

India's people undoubtedly possess unquestioned gifts and skill as craftsmen, as well as mental acumen and intelligence of the highest order, but it still remains a comparatively rare phenomenon to find a combination of practical craftsmanship and high intelligence united in the one and the same personality. However, it seems certain that this state of affairs is in 1927 passing away, accelerated by the more effective measures now either in operation or on the point of establishment for the promotion and practice of technical and industrial education.

INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

So far, however, we have only touched on the harsher aspects of the picture. It can be said that during the long incubation period the technical education torch was never entirely extinguished. It flared up vigorously here and there. For example, a technological institute was established with Government financial aid and encouragement in Bombay in the early years of the twentieth century. In the year 1901 a Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction of the various provinces was held at Simla to consider the questions of the industrial education of the peoples of India. As a result of the deliberations, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, submitted a report

proposing that a school should be established for the purpose of giving instruction in up-to-date methods of hand weaving, as, next to agriculture, handloom weaving constituted the most important industry of rural Bengal. A special committee was then appointed to constitute enquiries into the economic conditions of the handloom industry, the causes of its decline and to suggest remedial measures. They were unanimous in their opinion that the industry still possessed great vitality and that it could be revived and fostered by the introduction of fly-shuttle looms and by instruction given on modern methods of weaving. Accordingly, Serampore was found as the most suitable centre in which operations could be commenced, and an Institute was opened there in 1908.

In 1906 the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians submitted proposals for the establishment of a similar institution to that in Bombay for Bengal. The subjects proposed for the new technological college were nine in number, namely, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Spinning and Weaving, Sheet Metal and Enamel Work, Industrial Chemistry, Dyeing and Paints, Ceramic, Silk, Mining and Metallurgy. This proposal was examined with the object of ascertaining how far it would trespass upon the future of the existing Civil Engineering College at Sibpur near Calcutta, which had hitherto been specifically devoted to the training of young men for posts in the Public Works Department of the province. The proposal did not proceed beyond the discussion stage.

At this time the Madras Provincial Government was anxious to promote industrial activities in its province, and the general line taken was that its policy should incline to the development and fostering of industries in the

first instance as precedent to the introduction of technical and industrial schools. The tendency in Bengal, on the other hand, had always been in the direction of applying Government policy to the promotion of technical education apart from the consideration as to whether actual industries were in existence or otherwise. This can be understood, inasmuch as Bengal has always been foremost amongst the provinces in India in regard to industrial enterprise. Its proximity to the coal fields and the availability of the jute monopoly as the basis of its great textile industry may be accepted as an adequate reason for this state of affairs. The line of policy advocated in Madras, however, did not commend itself to higher authority. It was indicated generally that any reasonable proposal for promoting technical education by itself would be encouraged, but any activity by Government agency in the direct promotion of actual industries was to be deprecated.

Again, so far back as the year 1900 it had been proposed in Bengal that an experienced technical education expert should be appointed to supervise industrial education. This proposal smouldered for some time. In 1910 an officer of that description was definitely appointed, in spite of discouraging criticism, and placed under the control of the Director of Public Instruction, the chief administrative officer of the general Educational Department of the Government. Generally he was to inspect such incipient technical schools and industrial classes as then existed. He was to keep himself in close touch with the industries of the province and to tour in the districts not less than 150 days in a year. Although the officer appointed was a man of considerable ability and experience of technical educational schools in England, which experience he appears to have applied in

an assiduous manner to the programme placed in front of him, little progress was achieved largely because this officer contracted malaria and had to be invalided home.

DEVELOPMENT

It was unfortunate that administration of Bengal at this period was in a state of flux. Three of its important divisions were transferred from its control and combined with the districts of Assam under a local government of its own. The creation of a new province afforded an excellent opportunity for reviewing the position in regard to industrial education and development, and little time was lost in assembling a representative conference in the year 1909 for this purpose.

A most exhaustive survey of the position resulted, and a report was presented embodying not less than 70 resolutions. The main substance of these resolutions, however, resolved into the advocacy for the establishment of a separate and new Department of Industries by the local Government whose main functions were to be

- (a) The scientific investigation of industrial problems,
- (b) The collection and supply of information,
- (c) The pioneering of new industries and of improved processes,
- (d) The better organisation of industries, and
- (e) The control of technical and industrial education.

The department was to be developed under the control of an officer as director, assisted by an Advisory Board of responsible officials and interested non-officials and local gentlemen. This proposal was adopted by the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government. Its main difficulty was that of providing the necessary funds. While the scheme received the blessing of both the Gov-

ernment of India and with some modification of the then Secretary of State, it suffered the misfortune that by the time approval was received, that is, in the year 1912, the separate Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam had been dissolved. The torch was thus handed back again to the provincial Government of Bengal.

While these considerations had been occupying the attention of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the question of technical education had not remained entirely moribund. At this time the difficulty in Bengal was the existence and development of the Civil Engineering College at Sibpur on the outskirts of Calcutta. Was it desirable to develop this college into a large polytechnic institution, embracing every possible technical subject, such as is included in the great Polytechnics of the West, the Manchester School of Technology, or the great German institution at Charlottenburg? If, again, development was to follow on these lines, should the polytechnic remain on the site at Sibpur, which till that time had been notoriously unhealthy, or should the location of the institution be moved to some central site in Calcutta where it would be in close contact with the numerous industries of the city and its suburbs, or should the bold step be taken of erecting the institution in a healthy situation far removed from Calcutta?

At this time a small night school was started in Calcutta for imparting technical education in mechanical and electrical subjects to the apprentices then employed in the various engineering workshops. This school was established largely through the enterprise of the staff of the East Indian Railway Company and of Messrs. Burn & Co., the latter being one of the largest local engineering concerns. If the polytechnic institution was to be developed

in Calcutta, then it would naturally absorb this evening school within its scope, and this course was agreed to by the Managing Committee of the night school. No decision was arrived at for some considerable time, and indeed it was not until some years later that the final decision was taken that the Civil Engineering College should remain at Sibpur, effective measures being taken to improve its drainage and water supply on the score of health, the college being confined to its main purpose, that is, to that of providing Civil Engineering and Mechanical and Electrical courses of a university standard. A corollary to this decision followed, that is, that the polytechnic institution should be an entirely separate concern.

IMPORTANT ISSUES

To all these discussions another issue of vital importance always lay in the background, whether this polytechnic institution was to remain under the control of the Education Department of Government, or whether its creation and development was to be handed over to a newly established Department of Industries entirely separate from the Education Department—it being understood that the Department of Industries would make it a cardinal feature of its policy to associate the industrial concerns of the province in establishing the polytechnic institution.

The next stage at which the importance of technical education was emphasised arose out of the considerations advanced by the Bengal District Administration Committee in the year 1913. In dealing with the economic condition of the people the Committees found that there was in existence a large educated class scattered through country villages, as well as in the few towns, who were all either rent receivers, salaried employees or professional men. Only a small portion of these

persons lived a life of productive activity while they were found to be acutely conscious of their industrial ineffectiveness. The Committee urged the desirability of adopting such remedial and beneficent measures as would afford some relief to the difficult economic situation then existing. They considered that the most promising line of policy was to help persons of this character to take a part in organised industries. The fact that many attempts at establishing national industries had been made in the troublous times that had followed the division of the province, showed that such developments were consonant with the ambitions of the educated youth of the country.

It was thought that many of these indigenous enterprises had been prevented from attaining economic success owing to a lack of technical knowledge and of the commercial experience necessary to such ventures. The Committee were of the opinion that these defects might be remedied if Government came out with a bold policy of helping the people to establish small organised industries demonstrating the possibilities of modern mechanical appliances, and indeed of stimulating the application to industrial and technical processes in every possible way, and to this end the Committee again advocated the setting up of a Department of Industries under a highly skilled experienced and competent director who had himself accumulated a comprehensive industrial experience, the department to be entirely free from the supervision of the Department of Education.

For this latter reason the Committee were not prepared to advocate the proposals for the Calcutta Technological Institute and the University School of Engineering at Dacca as they stood at that time. They desired to lift the whole question out of the hands of the

scholastic Department of Education and develop it in conditions more amenable to the commercial and industrial interests of the province. The Committee also expressed its conviction that the newly established Department of Industries should be coördinated with the existing Coöperative Credit and Agricultural Departments. At this point another experienced Government officer was deputed to make an enquiry into, and report on the industrial development of the province.

This officer also formed the opinion that the encouragement to industrial development by Government might take a more active form than had hitherto been the case, and he pressed for a forward policy in undertaking demonstration of possibilities of manufacture, ascertaining the cost of the same, the possibilities of markets and the margin of profit that might be obtained, and quoted from the successful experience of the then existing Department of Industries in Madras in this connection. The upshot of all these schemes, investigations and reports was that in May, 1915, the Government of Bengal decided to establish its own Department of Industries—an action which was ultimately sanctioned by the Government of India and which led to the establishment of the post of Director of Industries with a senior member of the Civil Service as the occupant in 1917.

At this time the prosecution of the war and the fact that India was the base of the extensive military operations in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere, had made it necessary for Government to take active measures in mobilising men, material and manufactured articles for war purposes. The post of Controller of Munitions as being responsible for these activities was combined with that of the Director of Industries, hence it happened that the

newly established department was entirely pre-occupied with munition production and war work down to the end of the year 1919. In 1920 the nucleus staff gradually took up the threads of the many schemes previously adumbrated and thus finally emerged as a new and entirely independent Department of Industries under an Indian Minister, as a transferred subject, following upon the reforms in Government administration in 1919.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

One of its first tasks was to lay down a comprehensive programme of technical and industrial education providing such facilities for a student at any stage in the general education line. For example, next to agriculture the largest and most widespread rural industry is that of weaving. By means of the peripatetic weaving schools, which have now been established to the number of 26, it is possible for an almost illiterate boy to obtain a short course of instruction extending over two months by means of which a small income can be made by plying the fly shuttle hand loom. No fee is charged for such instruction but, on the other hand, a small stipend is given to a limited number of students. Admittedly this only touches the fringe of the problem, but this is only the lowest rung of the technical education ladder.

Where a semi-literate boy can be maintained for a period of one year, he may obtain a more comprehensive training as an artisan weaver, in silk or cotton weaving and dyeing, at the various district weaving schools, the central Serampore Weaving Institute, or the Silk Weaving Institute at Berhampore. Again for boys who are semi-literate with some knowledge of English, artisan classes in woodwork and smithy work are available at small handicrafts or technical schools situ-

ated in ten of the principal district towns of the province. Scholarships or stipends are available to large numbers, and after a course of three years in these schools a boy, who has shown any application at all, is able to command a salary of Rs. 40 per month as a workman in the various water works, jute presses, and other small factories existing in the rural districts.

The department has also embarked upon a policy of extending the numbers of these technical schools and also of increasing the scope of the instruction given in the same in coöperation with District Boards and local bodies. The improved schools are called Junior Technical Schools. They include workshop courses in which the primary machine tools such as lathes, drilling machines, circular saws, planing machines, pneumatic smithy hammers, etc., are installed, and they contain sufficient equipment to familiarise boys up to 15 or 16 years of age, literate in English, in the elements of industrial machinery and processes, with the object of winning them into organised industry. It is realised that while such training will not make first-class fitter mechanics or machinists, such as are required for and are trained in large factories and the railway workshops, nevertheless, training of this kind will make it possible for the sons of local gentlemen, with some financial resources, to organise and embark upon a small scale industry such as a motor garage repairing workshop, rice mill, ice factory, etc.

A further opportunity available to boys of limited education with some knowledge of English is the training in surveying for posts as surveyors, usually known as Amins. This training is given at four of the technical schools, and for a very small fee sufficient instruction is given to enable a boy to obtain employment in the surveying

line under estate proprietors, municipalities, Revenue Department of Government and so on. A further and more comprehensive training enabling boys to pass an examination held by the Survey Education Advisory Board is given at the senior Survey School at Mainamati. The boys who successfully pass this course get employment as certificated surveyors under local bodies, Public Works Department, etc., on a salary from Rs. 50 to 150 per month. Arising out of this course opportunities are provided for eight students who have passed the Survey Board Final examination each year to proceed to the Bengal coal fields, where they are given a special training in mine surveying work.

ADVANCED INSTRUCTION

So far only the facilities available to boys with a less standard of education than the University Matriculation Standard has been considered. For those boys who have arrived at the matriculate stage a much larger field for technical and industrial instruction is available. In three of the district technical schools and also in the Dacca School of Engineering, a two-year course is given in elementary engineering subjects combined with simple workshop training in carpentry and smithy work, which enables such boys to find openings under the District Boards and other public local authorities, or even as contractors or sub-overseers, that is, the supervisors' posts necessary for carrying out road construction, water supply, drainage schemes, etc. Here again the salary available after such training is not less than Rs. 40 per month and may go much higher.

There is in addition at the Dacca School of Engineering, a further course of training up to the Overseer Standard of the Public Works Department. The

course occupies two years longer and with one year's practical training under the Public Works Department, or other satisfactory experience, admission to the Upper Subordinate Engineering Service of the Public Works Department is possible. The department also maintains courses of instruction in mining in the coal fields. A lecture hall has been built at Sitarampore, and a lecturer with academical qualifications and a first-class colliery manager's certificate is responsible for a three-year course of lectures covering the whole range of relevant technical subjects including Surveying, Principles of Coal Mining, Application of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering in Collieries, etc.

The students who finish the course and pass the examination at its conclusion satisfactorily, have possibilities for employment as colliery managers. When the present slump in the coal fields disappears, prospects of employment in this line will undoubtedly be good. A first-class School of Mines and Geology, aiming at the same standard as the Royal School of Mines in London, has been established by the Government of India in the centre of the coal fields in Dhanbad. The Bengal Government provide four scholarships, one of which is available at this School of Mines, to one of the students who passes the three-year course of lectureship under the mining instructor at Sitarampur.

TEXTILES AND TANNING

Serampore is traditionally identified with the textile industry in Bengal from the time of the Danish settlement. In this town, some 15 miles from Calcutta, the department is building up a Central Textile Institute equipped with modern textile weaving machinery, testing laboratories as well as facilities for instruction in dyeing and fancy

weaving with hand fly shuttle looms. Young men of the Matriculate Standard taking the higher three-year course of this Institute get the whole course free. For a number of students stipends sufficient for their maintenance are provided and there are large and developing possibilities of employment in the cotton mills, numbers of which in Bengal are increasing, or as teachers in the ever expanding schools of instruction or demonstrations now being given all over the province for the improvement of the hand loom weaving industry. As time goes on the increasing number of textile factories under Indian management in Bengal will intensify the demand for practically trained intelligent young men in the principles of the textile industry.

Another branch of training for which the new Department of Industries is entirely responsible is that provided in the Bengal Tanning Institute in the outskirts of Calcutta. Here Government maintain a small experimental tannery together with a fully equipped leather chemistry laboratory and a two-year course in the laboratory, and in all the operations of a practical tannery, from the fleshing of the raw hide to the finished leather, whether by the vegetable or chrome processes, is available. Here again scholarships or stipends are provided as an inducement to deserving students. Those who have applied themselves to this two-year course with industry have found service in existing tanneries or have been able to launch out and establish small tanneries or leather working factories of their own.

NEED FOR TECHNICAL TRAINING

Technical education first came into prominent public attention in regard to the needs of the mechanical engineering industry, and it was for this industry that the first efforts to establish an

evening technical school were made in Calcutta. The need for technical training to apprentices in large engineering workshops has been vocal for a number of years. Arising out of a developing opinion in this direction, the Government of Bengal appointed a representative committee to examine the position, and from the deliberations of this committee there has emerged the scheme for a Board of Control for Apprenticeship Training as well as the scheme which has ultimately resulted in the establishment of the large Technical School in Calcutta.

Under the Board of Control for Apprenticeship Training, the chairman of which is the Director of Industries, and whose members represent the large established mechanical and electrical industries, railway workshops, etc., an examination is held twice in every year which determines the number of young men who must have generally passed the Matriculation Standard in the general line, and who have the requisite qualifications for training as apprentices in various workshops. From the list of boys who have passed this admission examination, various workshops select their apprentices taken on each year.

Apprentices employed at the large locomotive and carriage workshops of the E. B. Railway, Kanchrapara, are given their technical training in a four-year course at the Kanchrapara Technical School, which has been built and staffed by the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal. Sixty-six young men are now being trained in the school, and all of them have the chance of employment under the railway subsequently. After their four-year course they are examined by the examiners appointed by the Board, who issue a certificate depending on the results of the same, while the best students have the chance of passing on to

the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, and there qualify for the full diploma in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering issued by that college. For apprentices employed in the various engineering workshops in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, similar opportunities of training are provided at the Calcutta Technical School erected by the Government of Bengal in the centre of the city on a suitable site and at a total cost of nearly £80,000.

The nucleus of a similar technical school has been started at Khargpur, the site of the railway workshops of the B. N. Railway, as also under slightly different conditions at the Ishapur Rifle and Metal and Steel Factories of the Government of India near Calcutta. A technical school of this kind is also in contemplation near Chittagong, where the works of the Carriage and Railway Works of the A. B. Rail-

way are situated. Students who pass the practical and technical courses under the Board of Control for Apprenticeship Training thus become eligible for the supervisors and higher grade posts in the railway services, as well as in the ordnance factories and other large engineering concerns situated in Bengal.

In conclusion it can be said that the policy being pursued by this new but important Government department is to set up model institutions both in the industrial and more rural centres, of the character most fitted to the local industrial needs and to involve and substantially encourage all unofficial effort, both by private or local civic bodies to emulate and develop the same. The prospect of real development on these lines is one of the most prominent features in the expansion and progress of the province.

Origin and Growth of Journalism Among Indians

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, M.A.
Editor, *Modern Review* and *Pravasi*, Calcutta

NEWSPAPERS in their modern sense began to be first published in India during the British period of Indian history. The first newspaper published in India was the *Bengal Gazette*, generally known as *Hickey's Gazette*, or *Journal*, from the name of its founder. It was first published in January, 1780. The first newspaper published in any Indian language was the *Samachar-Darpan* ("Mirror of News") in Bengali. Its first number was issued on May 23, 1818. The famous missionaries, Ward, Carey and Marshman, published it from Serampore, which was then a foreign, that is to say, non-British settlement. Regarding early Bengali newspapers, it is stated in the *Friend of India* for July, 1826:

The first in point of age is the *Sumachar Durpan*, published at the Serampore Press, of which the first number appeared on the 23rd May, 1818. . . . The next two papers are the *Sumbad Koumudi* and *Sumbad Chandrika*. . . . The youngest of the papers is the *Teemer Nausuck*—"The Destroyer of Darkness."

The *Sumbad Koumudi* was founded and edited by Raja Rammohun Roy. He also founded and edited a Persian newspaper, named *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, or "Mirror of Intelligence." Another purely Indian newspaper, the *Bombay Samachar*, in Gujarati, was first published in 1822. Of all these early papers only the *Bombay Samachar* still exists. The circulation of all these papers was necessarily very small.

From the very beginning the press was looked upon with disfavour by the British authorities. Editors were dis-

couraged and persecuted, and their activities were seriously restricted. Those in power could not brook any criticism. Editors were sometimes punished for the publication of even harmless news. From the year 1791 to the year 1799, several editors were deported to Europe without trial, whilst many more were censured and had to tender abject apologies. It is not necessary to follow in detail chronologically all the regulations and laws affecting the press in those early days. But as specimens of such legislation, the following passed by the Bengal Government in 1799 may be quoted:

No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorized by him for that purpose.

The penalty for offending against any one of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

How the press was looked upon by the authorities in those days will appear from the following extract from the Bengal Government's scheme for the publication of a newspaper at its own expense:

The increase of private printing presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences. Of this sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and the public, and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European adventurers who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence.

The Marquess of Hastings did not like to place great restrictions on the

liberty of the press and abolished press censorship during the latter part of his administration. The rules promulgated by him were less stringent than those which had been in force previously. They were as follows:

The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads:

1. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Hon'ble Court of Directors or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

2. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religion or observances.

3. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

4. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite discussion in society.

Immediately after the abolition of press censorship, James Silk Buckingham, editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, incurred the displeasure of the authorities. Lord Hastings did not want to take any extreme step against him. But his successor, Adam, a civilian who officiated as Governor-General for some time, ordered him to leave the country. Soon afterwards, on March 14, 1823, a Rule and Ordinance was passed, curtailing the liberty of the press. According to an Act of the British Parliament, 13 Geo. III, Cap. 63, every regulation made by the Governor-General of India then required to be sanctioned and registered by the Supreme Court before it passed into law—a provision subsequently repealed. Believing that

a free press is one of the best safeguards of liberty, Raja Rammohun Roy petitioned the Supreme Court against the press ordinance; and, when that proved unavailing, he appealed to the King in Council, which also proved fruitless. In the opinion of Miss Sophia Dobson Collett, one of the Raja's biographers, the memorial to the Supreme Court

may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian history. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English Culture in the East.

The same writer observes that

the appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style forever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British history.

It should be stated here that Lord Hastings encouraged journalism in India by allowing the *Samachar-Darpan*, published by the Serampore missionaries, to be carried by the post office at one-fourth the usual rates of postage.

Up to the year 1835 the press was confined mostly to the Presidency towns. Subsequently it spread to other cities also. During the Mutiny Lord Canning passed the Gagging Act to curb the license of a few papers and to prevent the publication of news which might be prejudicial to public interests. It was in force for only one year.

In the year 1858 there were 10 Anglo-Indian papers and 25 Indian papers. It is stated in the *Asiatic Journal* for August, 1826, that "the number of newspapers published in the languages of India, and designed solely for native readers, has increased, in the course of

seven years, from one to six. Four of these are in Bengali and two in Persian." These facts give us some idea of the progress of journalism from 1819 to 1858.

During 1918 the following newspapers and periodicals were published: in Madras, 254; Bombay, 140; Bengal, 353; United Provinces, 359; Punjab, 264; Burma, 35; Bihar and Orissa, 59; Central Provinces and Berar, 29; Delhi, 28; total, 1,521. The figures for the year 1924-25 were as follows: Madras, 597; Bombay, 816; Bengal, 632; United Provinces, 580; Punjab, 390; Burma, 139; Bihar and Orissa, 117; Central Provinces and Berar, 68; Assam, 35; Delhi, 75; total 3,449. These figures show that in the course of about seven years the number of journals had more than doubled, partly owing, it is believed, to the repeal of some penal and restrictive press laws in 1922. No information is available as to how many of them were Anglo-Indian and how many Indian. But by far the largest part of the press in India is Indian, numbering over 650 newspapers in 1927 (excluding periodicals).

Some idea of the restrictive press legislation before and during the Mutiny has been given above. The present Press and Registration of Books Act was passed in 1867. The Vernacular Press Act, which did not affect papers conducted in English, was passed by the Viceroy Lord Lytton in 1878. It is believed that its chief object was to kill or cripple the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which was then a Bengali weekly. But that object was frustrated by the conductors of the paper bringing it out in English from the very next week after the passing of that Act. It was repealed in 1882 during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. From that date till 1907 there was no direct press legislation. But what is called "sedition" has been sought to be eradicated

by the passing in 1898 of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code in its present form and by the introduction into the Penal Code of section 153A and into the Criminal Procedure Code of section 108. For dealing with papers inciting to political murder or to other acts of violence, the Government passed the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act in 1908.

THE PRESS ACT OF 1910

The Indian Press Act was passed in 1910. As to this Act the Indian year-book of 1927 states:

The Act deals, not only with incitements to murder and acts of violence, but also with other specified classes of published matter, including any words or signs tending to seduce soldiers or sailors from their allegiance or duty, to bring into hatred or contempt the British Government, any Native Prince, or any section of His Majesty's subjects in India, or to intimidate public servants or public individuals.

The different sections of the Act have in view (I) control over presses and means of publication; (II) control over publishers of newspapers; (III) control over the importation into British India and the transmission by the post of objectionable matter; (IV) the suppression of seditious or objectionable newspapers, books, or other documents wherever found.

By the autumn of 1917 the Government of India had begun to consider the desirability of modifying at least one section of the Press Act to which great exception had been taken on account of the wide powers that it gave. Finally, after more than once consulting Local Governments, a Committee was appointed in February, 1921, after a debate in the Legislative Assembly, to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the Indian Press Act, 1910, and report what modifications were required in the existing law. That Committee made an unanimous report in July, 1921, recommending:

- (1) The Press Act should be repealed.
- (2) The Newspapers Incitements to Offences Act should be repealed.

(3) The Press and Registration of Books Act and the Post Office Act should be amended where necessary to meet the conclusions noted below: (a) the name of the editor should be inscribed on every issue of a newspaper and the editor should be subject to the same liabilities as the printer and publisher, as regards criminal and civil responsibilities; (b) any person registering under the Press and Registration of Books Act should be a major as defined by the Indian Majority Act; (c) local Governments should retain the power of confiscating openly seditious leaflets, subject to the owner of the press or any other person aggrieved being able to protest before a court and challenge the seizure of such documents, in which case the local Government ordering the confiscation should be called upon to prove the seditious character of the documents. (d) The powers conferred by sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act should be retained, Customs and Postal officers being empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code subject to review on the part of the local Government and challenge by any persons interested in the courts; (e) any person challenging the orders of Government should do so in the local High Court; (f) the term of imprisonment prescribed in sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be reduced to six months; (g) the provisions of section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act.

Effect was given to these recommendations during the year 1922.

In 1927 an Act was passed making it a specific offense to intentionally insult or attempt to insult the religion or to outrage or attempt to outrage the religious feelings of any class of Emperor George V's subjects in India.

THE ETHICS OF JOURNALISM

It is only in recent years that some Indian journals have been started

mainly as business enterprises. Formerly Indian newspapers for the most used to be conducted mainly with the object of serving the country. I do not mean to suggest that no journal conducted for pecuniary gain can do good to the country, though in starting and running newspapers the sole or chief object should not be money. It is true, newspapers cannot be conducted without money; but sufficient money can be earned for running a journal without sacrificing moral principles and public good. The average young Indian journalist who works for money takes to the profession with a high object. His achievement can, however, only be commensurate with his character, attainments, capacity and industry.

Ours is a very difficult task. I shall point out the difficulties with reference to Indian conditions. We have to serve and please many masters. The staff of those journals which are owned by capitalists have to serve them. They may not in all cases have to do their bidding directly, but there is indirect, perhaps unconscious, pressure on their minds. But even in the case of those journalists who are proprietors of their own papers, there are other masters to serve and please. There is the circle of readers, drawn from all or some political, social, religious (orthodox or reforming), or communal sections. There are the advertisers. And last of all, one must not offend the ruling bureaucracy beyond a certain more or less unknown and unknowable point. Having to serve so many masters, we may seek to be excused for not listening, above all, to the voice of the Master within, speaking through our conscience. But there can be no excuse. Ours is a sacred duty. We must not sacrifice our convictions for any advantage whatsoever. Great is the temptation to play to the gallery;

but our task is to mould and guide as well as to give publicity to public opinion.

An endowed newspaper may probably be placed beyond some of the direct and indirect influences spoken of above. But these influences are not always harmful. However, the experiment of an endowed newspaper is worth trying. Though not exactly endowed, the *Freeman* of America was conducted for some years successfully under a guarantee of its deficits being paid by a public-spirited lady.

INDIAN JOURNALISM TODAY

It is obvious that the spread of literacy and education has greatly to do with the progress of journalism and journalistic success. Political freedom and economic prosperity are other factors in such progress and success. Religious and social freedom also are indispensable for progress in journalism. Indians are for the most part illiterate, only 82 per thousand persons, aged 5 and over, being literate. India is also a dependent country subject to stringent and elastic laws of sedition, etc. Our religious and social superstitions are another obstacle. And, last of all, India is a very poor country. No wonder, then, that we possess only a small number of journals compared with other peoples who are more educated, more prosperous and politically and socially free. The following table will give some idea of the position we occupy in the field of journalism. The figures are taken from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1927:

The table shows that in proportion to her population India possesses a much smaller number of newspapers and periodicals than the countries named above, which are all politically free and more educated and prosperous. But the mere number of India's journals perhaps gives an exaggerated

Country	Population	Number of Journals
India.....	318,942,480	8,449
Canada.....	8,788,483	1,554
United States of America.....	115,378,000	20,681
Japan.....	61,081,954	4,592
Chile.....	3,963,462	627

idea of her progress in this respect. For, whereas in United States of America, Japan, etc., many newspapers and periodicals have sales exceeding a million each, no journal in India has a circulation of even 50,000, most papers having a circulation of only a few hundred or a thousand.

Though India has a large population, the multiplicity of languages spoken there, added to the prevailing illiteracy, stands in the way of any vernacular journal having a very large circulation. Of all vernaculars Hindi is spoken by the largest number of persons, namely, about 99 millions. But unfortunately all the Hindi-speaking regions in India are among the most illiterate in the country. Moreover, as the speakers of Hindi live in four or five different provinces, and, as owing to distance and other causes, papers published in one province do not circulate largely in others, Hindi papers cannot under present circumstances have a large circulation. About 50 millions of people speak Bengali. Most of them live in Bengal. But owing to most of them being illiterate, Bengali journals also cannot have a large circulation. Each of the other vernaculars is spoken by less than 25 millions, and several by only a few hundred thousands. Some papers conducted in English, particularly those owned and edited by Britishers, circulate in more than one province. The British-owned and British-edited

papers are more prosperous than Indian ones; because the British sojourners here are well-to-do and can all buy papers, and the adults among them are all literate. Another reason is that, as India's commerce, trade, manufacturing industries and transport are mostly in their hands, their papers get plenty of advertisements. Our journals cannot prosper and multiply in number unless all our adults are able to read, and unless the commerce, manufacturing industries and transport of our country come into our hands.

Besides illiteracy and other causes, our postage rates stand in the way of the circulation of our papers. In Japan postcards cost four and a half pies, in India six pies. In Japan the lowest postage rate for newspapers is half sen, or one and a half pie; here it is three pies. There are differences in other items, too, all to the advantage of Japan. For this and other reasons, though Japan has a much smaller population than India, the number of letters, postcards, newspapers, parcels and packets dealt with by the Indian Post Office is smaller than the volume of ordinary (as apart from the foreign) mail matters handled by the Japanese Post Office, as the following table shows:

Country	Population	Mail Matters	Year
India...	318,942,480	1,244,425,235	1924-25
Japan...	61,081,954	3,806,120,000	1920-21

The invention of typewriting machines has greatly facilitated the speedy preparation of quite legible "copy" for the press. But so far as the Vernaculars of India are concerned, the invention has not benefited their writers much. For many of these vernaculars have different kinds of characters and

alphabets, for all of which typewriters have not been invented. And the machines constructed for some of the vernaculars are not at all as satisfactory and as convenient to use as those constructed for Roman characters. A great difficulty is the existence in Sanskritic alphabets of numerous compound consonantal letters and the different forms which the vowels assume when connected with consonants. "X" is the only compound consonantal letter in English. In the Sanskritic alphabets they are quite numerous.

A far greater handicap than the absence of satisfactory typewriting machines for our vernaculars is the non-existence of type-casting and setting machines like the linotype, the monotype, etc., for our vernaculars. Unless there be such machines for the vernaculars, daily newspapers in them can never promptly supply the reading public with news and comments thereupon, as fresh and full as newspapers conducted in English. The vernacular dailies labour also under the disadvantage that they receive all their inland and foreign telegraphic messages in English, which they have to translate before passing them on to the printer's department, which dailies conducted in English have not got to do. Reporting in the vernaculars has not made as much progress as in English, which latter even is here in a backward condition. This fact often necessitates the translation of English reports into the vernacular. I am dwelling on these points, because journals conducted in English can never appease the news-hunger, views-hunger and knowledge-hunger of the vast population of India. Of the 22,623,651 literate persons in India, only 2,527,350 are literate in English. When there is universal and free compulsory education throughout India

this difference between the number of literates in the vernacular and that of literates in English will most probably increase instead of decreasing. Therefore, for the greatest development of journalism in India, we must depend on its development through the medium of the vernaculars.

Madras has earned for itself the credit of establishing an institution for imparting education in journalism. Fully equipped institutions for giving such training should be established at all University centres. As reporting has necessarily to be taught at all such schools, special attention should be paid to reporting in the vernaculars.

Progress in journalism depends to a great extent on the supply of cheap paper, ink, etc. Raw materials for their manufacture exist in India in abundance. If we could supply our own paper, ink, etc., that would be a great step forward. The manufacture of our own printing machinery would also be a great help. Though that is not a problem whose solution can be looked for in the immediate future, we note with hope that the mineral resources of India are quite sufficient for all such purposes.

Photographic materials and everything else needed for equipping process engraving departments are also required for big newspaper establishments. How far India can ever be self-supplying in this respect can be stated only by specialists.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN NEWS

One of the disadvantages of Indian journalism is that the supply of foreign news is practically entirely in the hands of foreigners. Reuter gives us much news which we do not want, and does not give us much that we want. Moreover, what is given reaches us after manipulation in British interests. "The

Free Press of India" has recently rendered good service in arranging for news being sent quickly from London in relation to the Simon Commission. Permanent arrangements for such independent supply of foreign news would remove a much-felt want, though the disadvantage of cables and ether waves being controlled by non-Indians would still remain. Some of our dailies have correspondents in London. There should be such correspondents in the capitals of other powerful and progressive foreign countries.

Indian dailies in many provinces already have correspondents in other provinces. In addition to correspondents in all the principal provinces, who ought to pay greater attention to their cultural movements and events and vernacular journals than they do, it would perhaps be very desirable for the most flourishing dailies to have, among their editorial assistants, competent young men from different provinces, who could pay attention to things appearing in their vernacular newspapers also. The German mode of apprenticeship known as *Wanderjahre*, or wander-year, that is, the time spent in travel by artisans, students, etc., as a mode of apprenticeship, may be adopted by our young journalists also. Of course, they could do so with advantage only if our dailies in the different provinces would, by mutual arrangement, agree to allow such persons to serve in their editorial offices for fixed periods. Such all-India experience would stimulate our love of India as a whole, broaden our outlook, and cure us of our provincial narrownesses and angularities to a considerable extent.

WAYS TOWARD PROGRESS

It would be desirable to have an All-India Journalist's Association and

Institute with branches in Provincial centres. These should be registered under Act XXI of 1860. The Association may have a monthly journal, and draw up a code of ethics and etiquette for journals. Without such Associations, and solidarity and mutual co-operation, we cannot aspire to acquire and exercise the influence belonging rightfully to the Fourth Estate. There should be libraries connected with such Associations or with the schools of journalism referred to above. In these libraries, in addition to books, reports, etc., required by the profession, complete files of all important journals should be kept. It may be difficult, if not impossible, now to procure files of all such papers from the beginning;

but an earnest attempt ought to be made.

There should be Journalists' Defence Funds in all provinces, in order that no deserving journalist may go undefended for want of means when prosecuted for sedition and similar technical offences. A Journalists' Benevolent Fund may also be created for helping the families of deceased journalists under stated conditions.

So far as I am aware, there is no complete and connected history of journalism in any province of India, though fragmentary notes and articles have been written. When such provincial histories have been published, it would be easy to write a complete History of Indian Journalism.

Origin and Growth of Journalism Among Europeans

By A. H. WATSON

Editor, *Statesman*, Calcutta; formerly Editor of *Westminster Gazette* and *Weekly Westminster*

HOWEVER true it may be that the Englishman wherever he goes in the world seeks out a site for a golf course, his passion for starting a newspaper has endured longer and is as strong now as ever it was. Hence the very active developments of journalism in a town like Karachi, the newest of the big Indian ports. The story of British journalism in India traces back almost as far as that of regular government by the British, although it naturally does not extend to the unsettled days of the early traders. Within seven years of the Regulating Act of 1773, which created a Governor-General and set up a Supreme Court, the first British newspaper was published in Calcutta and by 1790 Bombay boasted two newspapers in the *Herald* and the *Courier*, the latter of which was to be merged at a much later date in the *Times of India*.

In the conditions of India in those early days the newspapers were naturally born to trouble. The rule of the East India Company was autocratic; its officers did not welcome criticism; they had large powers in deciding who should enter the settlements and how long their stay should be. Journals in those circumstances were either official, safe and dull, or were written with an eye to the scandals of the community, in which case their life was apt to be short. *Hicky's Gazette or Journal*, the first of Calcutta's newspapers, was so scandalous in dealing with the life of the community that it and its proprietor disappeared within two years. It had successors which were equally short-lived, for the most part because they were dull.

The producers of these early organs of opinions faced many difficulties. Mails bringing news from home were uncertain and far between. A sailing ship might take anything up to thirteen months to reach Calcutta from England, and there was no organisation of a news service. The journalist was thrown back for his material in the main upon the life of a very small community and had to battle with every discouragement from the supreme authority, who objected to practically all news affecting its servants. Editors were deported for trivial offences against the regulations or were made to apologise publicly. Stringent rules were set up for the control of the Press, which was subjected to strict censorship. Everything that was to be printed had first to receive official sanction, and it was not until 1818, under the governorship of the Marquis of Hastings, that there was any relaxation of this stern and unenlightened code. Nevertheless, from this period one newspaper survives to the present day. The *Bengal Gazette*, started in 1780 under Government patronage, is the *Calcutta Gazette* of today, a purely official publication recording the proceedings of the Bengal Government.

THE BEGINNINGS

To this period of beginnings belongs the story of James Silk Buckingham, who after a youth of wandering established the *Calcutta Journal* in 1818. This was the most successful of all the newspapers, but its vigorous criticism of the East India Company brought down wrath upon the head of the pro-

prietor. He was expelled from India, and his journal suppressed. But he had friends at home. The proceedings against him were made the subject of Parliamentary debate, and as a result the East India Company was driven to give him a pension of £200 a year. In England he started the *Oriental Herald* and the *Athenæum*, destined to great distinction under his successors. He sat in Parliament for five years, and was subsequently awarded a second pension from the Civil List of £200 a year. It has been worth while to dwell upon his story, for what he was made to suffer and the public attention which his case evoked were powerful factors in smoothing the way of his successors in journalism in India.

Incidentally Buckingham's paper gave rise to a newspaper which survives today as one of the two European dailies of Calcutta. Disturbed by the radicalism of Buckingham a syndicate of British merchants started, in 1821, *John Bull in the East*, avowedly to support the régime as it was and to inculcate the most rigid of Tory principles. Its columns were as dull as those of Buckingham were lively, but under Stoequeler, who changed its name to the *Englishman*, it became the most powerful organ in India and for long its supremacy was unchallenged.

In the early history of the Press in India the missionaries played a distinguished part. Many of the publications of today can trace their history back to the productions of the missionary presses, which were mainly in the vernacular. Ward, Carey and Marshman are conspicuous names in this connection. Working at Serampore under the encouragement of the Marquis of Hastings they issued papers in the Bengali language. From the same source came the *Friend of India* which after many vicissitudes, appearing sometimes as a monthly, sometimes as

a weekly and finally as a quarterly, had its identity merged in the *Statesman* of Calcutta, the outstanding paper, in point of circulation and revenue, of India. Another clergyman, Dr. George Buist, was later to give a distinctive note of literary culture and vigorous writing to the Bombay newspaper. The debt of the Press in India to the Church is heavy.

The years between 1818 and 1857, when the Mutiny temporarily interrupted most of the peaceful activities of the country, saw a considerable development of the Press. Following in the footsteps of the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck allowed a large liberty to writers. While many of the penal enactments remained on the Statute Book they were not enforced, and in 1835 Bentinck made a clean sweep of most of the restrictions that still nominally existed. As a result the Press, hitherto confined to the Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, developed in Gwalior, Delhi and Agra. But it would be wrong to conceive of the newspapers of this date as having any large circulations. Their influence arose mainly from the fact that they were read by and appealed to the very small governing and mercantile community. It was through these that they exercised a very real power upon the governments of the day, servants of which were frequently the principal contributors. By the time of the Mutiny there were nineteen Anglo-Indian newspapers, and rather more produced in the vernaculars.

FREEDOM GAINED

By the time of the Mutiny the Press had not only gained a large measure of freedom—it was conscious of the fact. Certain papers criticised the Government with a very considerable daring and were in almost perpetual opposi-

tion. Among the able journalists of those days, the outstanding figure was Robert Knight, who was destined to leave a conspicuous stamp upon Indian journalism. He had held a prominent place in the Government service; but when he took up his pen in Bombay, it was as a champion of the rights and liberties of the Indian. Under him the *Bombay Times* was transformed into the *Times of India*. Frequently under the displeasure of Government he stuck sternly to his guns and was foremost in advocating clemency after the Mutiny, at a time when to do so, as Canning found, was to incur the censure and dislike of most of the British community. Knight had his reward in a splendid presentation from the Indian community, but he was compelled eventually to transfer his activities from Bombay to Calcutta. There he purchased the goodwill of the *Friend of India* and issued a daily paper as *The Indian Statesman* after an earlier venture with the *Indian Economist*.

Robert Knight was a man of conspicuous ability, a trained economist with genuine sympathy with native aspirations that made him something of an Ishmael among the official class. But he conducted his paper with conspicuous ability against heavy odds. The *Englishman* was more than a formidable rival; it practically held the field. After the Mutiny it had been acquired by Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, who ran it with ability as an organ that supported British rule through thick and thin. His successors were not so enterprising, and the opportunity of the *Statesman* came when that property passed, by the death of Robert Knight, under the control of his sons, Paul and Robert Knight, who modernised the paper, introduced the first rotary presses into India, utilised the railways for distribution, and by publishing at one anna, when their principal rival was

still four annas, gave a new meaning to circulation in India. If today the chief newspapers of India can rival those of any part of the Empire in their appearance and in the modernity of their style, while the Indian Press has arrived at new conceptions of what a newspaper should be, the credit is very largely due to the two brothers who have now retired with a large fortune from the field of their success.

The seventies were a great formative era in the progress of the Indian Press. With Robert Knight beginning his work in Calcutta two newspapers destined to distinction were born in northern India. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, started as a weekly in Simlai, presently transferred itself to Lahore and began to appear as a daily. The *Pioneer* was floated at Allahabad and quickly established a position that it was to hold for many years as the most authoritative of Indian journals. Famous men such as Sir Henry Walker, who made a great fortune in Simla, and Sir George Chesney, the author of *The Battle of Dorking* were associated with its fortunes, but its distinctive position was given it by Mr. Howard Hensman, who, as correspondent with the Government of India, conferred upon his paper a semi-official character and made of it a hunting ground for official news. By this time the Press was beginning really to feel its freedom and to avail itself of its opportunities, improving its news services and enlisting distinguished men as its writers. James Maclean, who was responsible for the *Bombay Gazette*, after a brilliant career in India filled a considerable position in Parliament at Home. A young man, Rudyard Kipling, was laying the foundations of world fame in the service of the *Civil and Military Gazette* under the editorship of Kay Robinson, himself destined to a distinguished career as a writer in England. The newspapers

began to take a wider range and at times to become daringly critical of the Government, which had for so long held them in repression.

All this was a natural outgrowth of the new political situation in India inaugurated after the Mutiny. An understanding of the bigger influences at work is necessary to full comprehension of the new position which the Press had come to occupy. The policy of Government was frankly the association of Indians with most branches of the Administration, and a gradual movement towards the time when self-government would be possible. This more democratic spirit involved a free public criticism of the whole scheme of Government, and an increasing susceptibility on the part of Government itself to the popular view of its acts. Side by side with this the rapidly increasing range of education was creating in India a reading public eager for information, while the growth of railway facilities gave range to the distribution of news and opinions. While repressive laws were on the Code, they remained dormant, and in no country in the world did the Press enjoy a more complete freedom in actual fact than in India.

Some surprise may be felt that a Government situated as the Government of India was in times still recent, enjoying practically autocratic sway, and holding in its own hands every string of the administration of the country, has never embarked on journals officially inspired by itself. An explanation may be sought in the traditional character of the Indian Government which for a long period was autocratic and had no need for publicity. It governed; it did not explain its acts; it had no reason to persuade an electorate to its point of view, for an electorate did not exist. All that has altered. An electorate has been brought into being; the affairs of the

Government are publicly debated in Assembly and Councils; practically every act is challenged, while there has grown up a numerous vernacular and Indian-owned Press which for the most part is in opposition to the ruling powers. The case against the Government is stated daily by hundreds of journalists who lack neither ability nor powers of denunciation; that of the Government itself is never officially expounded except in the various Councils. Nor has any endeavour been made to counter this disadvantage; and the time for such an endeavour has probably passed with the rise in the power and influence of the English-owned newspapers. But this position has wrought a subtle change in the general attitude of these newspapers. Although they remain independent and are at times strong critics of individual acts of the Government, in general they are to be found supporting official acts and legislation. There is no longer the sharp division of newspapers in perpetual opposition and in perpetual support of the Administration. The function of criticism has passed to the native-owned Press, that of defence has become the province of the English-owned newspapers. Several of them maintain correspondents with the Government of India who gather news as their primary function, but are inevitably thrown into close contact with officialdom and are in a position to explain what lies behind the acts of Government. British journalists have, too, in several cases entered the legislatures as members and in that capacity take a prominent part in public affairs.

THE PRESS TODAY

The influence of this British-owned Press in India is enormous and is not to be measured by circulations which seem small when compared with those

obtained in Western countries. The educated classes in India who read are themselves small in numbers, but they dominate the opinion of millions. A typical Indian village scene is the reading and translation of the newspaper in the open air to groups of those interested. The opinion of a whole village may be swayed by a single copy of an article. As education spreads circulations are rising, and it may be doubted whether there is any country in the world in which public opinion is more directly dependent upon the Press than it is in India today, nor any in which Government is so obviously influenced in its acts by Press criticism. The late Mr. Samuel Montagu—the principal author of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms scheme which has gone so far to democratise the form of government in India—said in private conversation after his experience in India that were he a young man he would like to control a newspaper in India and through it dictate to the Viceroy and the permanent services their policy of rule. While no newspaper reaches that position of authority, the anecdote is illustrative of the impression formed by an acute observer of the power and influence that the Press can wield in the peculiar conditions in India today.

In this new phase of its development the European-owned Press in India has been able to avail itself of the most modern machinery, and there are newspaper offices as completely equipped as those to be found in any city in the world. Rotary presses and linotype machines were introduced into Calcutta over twenty years ago, and other places quickly followed the lead. Today India has not only illustrated dailies, but fine weekly newspapers, that record by pictures and letter-press the kaleidoscopic life of what is practically a continent. The organisation of news services has been undertaken on

Western lines and in Mr. K. C. Roy, a Bengali Brahmin, India has produced at least one great news collector whose work, although he has never occupied an editorial chair, has been vastly formative both as regards the European and the Indian Press. Able journalists are attracted in increasing numbers to service in India, and the staffs of the large and richer papers compare in academic distinction, in journalistic experience and in ripe knowledge of public affairs with those of the best papers at home. An outstanding figure of recent years has been Sir Stanley Reed, who, when conducting the *Times of India* during the war, offered his services to the Government and did notable work in propaganda.

Although the war tended to reduce the number of the English periodicals in India—and there has been no development since that has fully replaced those which ceased publication—the number of English-owned newspapers remains fairly constant. Naturally the principal of these are in the centres with a considerable European population—in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, Karachi and Rangoon. Delhi, the new capital, as yet boasts no English-owned newspaper, but it is inconceivable that that field will be long neglected in spite of the possession of a climate that is almost intolerable to Europeans for something like half the year.

Delhi is destined to great developments and though it may not be probable that the annual flight of Government to the hills will cease for long to come, the British population there throughout the year is bound to increase and will require an organ putting it more immediately in touch with affairs than it can be with the newspapers that come from some distance away. The promise is that the European-directed newspapers will increase

throughout the country and that their power will become greater in the new conditions. India with immense travail is passing under forms of self-government that are unfamiliar to her people and in many ways repugnant to nations—for they are no less—that have been habituated to personal rule for countless centuries. She wants guidance in the new forms and in the fresh approach to every kind of public question to which she is called. Circumstances have decreed that the main burden of that education must fall

upon the newspapers controlled and directed by those familiar with Western ways of government, since there is no other machinery that can supply the want. While the newspaper is primarily an instrument for the distribution of news, it retains in India to the full its character as a mould of public opinion. Views are read and accepted with faith. The mission of the European-directed Press, in the newer conditions, is to help in a transition that will be full of difficulties and will call for infinite patience.

Hindu-Moslem Unity

By VICTOR ALEXANDER GEORGE ROBERT LYTTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Governor of Bengal, 1922-27; Acting Governor-General of India, 1925; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1920-22; Representative of India in the League of Nations

OF the many difficulties which surround the problem of Government in India, not the least is that of the relations between Hindus and Muhammadans—the two great communities of which the Indian people is mainly composed. If the population were either entirely Muhammadan or entirely Hindu, the problem of Government would be immensely simplified and means might be found without much difficulty of adjusting the interests—in so far as they are distinct—of the different Provinces or races of which India is composed. As it is, the Hindu-Moslem problem is to be found in almost every Province, and it accentuates every other cause of disunion. It is worth while, therefore, in any study of Indian conditions to consider how far community differences are reconcilable and what are the prospects of forming a nationhood strong enough to supersede them.

SOME FACTS

The main facts of the problem must first be stated. Neither of the two communities are actually indigenous in the country, as both the Hindus and the Muhammadans originally came as conquerors from without; yet both have been settled in the country long enough to be regarded as its native population. Though both are to be found all over the Peninsula, they are not distributed in equal numbers. In the whole of British India the Hindu population outnumbered the Muhammadan by roughly three to one—the actual numbers being Hindus 216,734,586 and Muhammadans 68,735,233.

The Hindus preponderate in the south, the Muhammadans in the north. Of the 9 Provinces of British India, the Hindus are in a majority in 6, and the Muhammadans in 3, namely:

	Hindus	Moslems
Madras	88.64	6.71
Bombay	76.58	19.74
United Provinces	85.09	14.28
Behar and Orissa	82.84	10.85
Central Provinces	83.54	4.05
Assam	54.34	28.96
Bengal	43.27	53.99
Punjab	31.80	55.33
Northwest Frontier Province	6.66	91.62

Mere numbers, therefore, suggest that the Hindu community is the more important section of the Indian population, and this suggestion is intensified by the fact that the standard of education is higher among the Hindus than among the Muhammadans. This is partly due to the character of the two populations and partly to the fact that when English became the medium of instruction and examination in the schools, the Muhammadans refused to abandon Persian which had been the language of their Court and literature since the days of the Muhammadan conquest, and their boys, whose knowledge of English was defective, fell behind the Hindus in all scholastic competitions. In Bengal 90 per cent of the Muhammadan population are cultivators who have no education at all, and the Moslem with high academic qualifications is a recent product and

hard to find, even in a Province where the Moslems provide 54 per cent of the population. The important consideration, however, is that the home of the Muhammadan religion is among the virile and warlike races of Northern India and in the hill fastnesses of the Northwest frontier and Afghanistan beyond. In the hypothetical trial of strength which the two communities have ever in mind, the Hindu relies upon his numbers and his superior intellect and the Moslem upon his virility and fighting qualities. Each is confident of his ability to hold his own in any war for supremacy. Under a bureaucratic system of Government, dominated by British officials, opportunities of conflict between the two communities were comparatively rare and the conception of a common citizenship in the State established under British rule has enabled both Hindus and Moslems to obtain administrative experience and to unite in joint political organisations.

During the last twenty years, however, when Democracy became the ideal of Indian politicians, and especially during the last five years when that ideal has come nearer to realisation, the rivalry between the two communities has become more acute and occasions of conflict more numerous. Indian politicians who are fully conscious of the weakening of their cause by this disunion are in the habit of attributing it to British policy and console themselves with the belief that their masters, in order to perpetuate their subjection, deliberately foster the community jealousies which prevent their union. This belief, so comforting to national pride, ignores the two vital facts of the situation: (1) that the only union which exists between the two communities is to be found in their common membership of a State which is a British creation and (2) that the

democratisation of that State is as much a British as an Indian ideal.

SOME DIFFERENCES

The next point to be considered is the nature of the differences between Hindus and Moslems. Are they such as time and education may rectify, or are they of a kind which must permanently prevent any political union between the two communities? The first and most apparent difference is one of religion. Moslems are essentially monotheistic. The unity of God is the cardinal basis of their religion. The Hindus, on the other hand, acknowledge many gods and the attributes of Divinity which they worship are symbolised in countless images. Not merely idols made by their own hands, but living animals and natural objects are regarded as sacred or worshipped as divine. How fierce may be the fears and hatreds engendered by differences of faith, the religious wars of the world, and the struggles between Catholics and Protestants within the Christian Church, will testify. If, however, Hindus and Muhammadans were only distinguished by the ritual of their worship, such cause of disunion might well be expected to diminish with time, as it has done with other sects. But the social and racial differences between the two communities are equally strong and more difficult to reconcile.

To the Muhammadan the Hindus are not merely idolaters, they are the descendants of a race which his own ancestors have conquered and ruled, and he regards them less as fellow Indians than as an inferior race which he would subjugate to his service if free to do so. To the high-caste Hindu a Muhammadan is no better than the untouchables of his own race, inadmissible to his own household, unacceptable even as a tenant and altogether outside the pale of his own social circle. Each

regards the other as a potential enemy which he both despises and fears. The most fruitful cause of conflict in recent years has been the question of the playing of music by Hindu religious processions when passing Muhammadan mosques. The Hindus contend that the playing of music is an essential part of their religious observance and a necessary feature in their religious processions. In support of their claim they refer to a recent decision of the Privy Council which has declared the conduct of religious processions through the public thoroughfare with musical accompaniment to be a common law right, and any prohibition of such a privilege is resented as an interference with citizen rights.

The Muhammadans, on the other hand, claim that the playing of music outside their mosques disturbs their devotions, and they quote Queen Victoria's proclamation when the Crown assumed responsibility for the Government of India as justification for their claim that Government should ensure to them the undisturbed pursuance of their religious practices. Given a reasonable amount of tolerance and goodwill, this question should not present any serious difficulty. Hindus have never felt any grievance at being required to stop their music temporarily when passing a hospital, and they would not object to a similar concession to the worshippers in a Christian Church. But in recent years the strained relations between the two communities have caused each of them to make of this question a trial of strength—a test of the pressure which they can bring to bear upon Government. Both have exhibited the maximum of unreason. Hindus have shown a preference for routes on which mosques are situated and Moslems have congregated at mosques at unaccustomed hours merely for the purpose of

protesting against Hindu religious processions. In consequence serious riots have taken place all over India, resulting in considerable loss of life, and Hindu religious processions now usually require abnormal police protection.

This state of affairs is peculiar to India. In other parts of the world Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan populations have no difficulty in living at peace with each other, and the basic cause of their enmity in India must be discovered and removed before an Indian Nation can be firmly established. The fear which each community has of the domination of the other, rendered more acute as the possibility of such domination is increased by recent constitutional developments, is a symptom rather than a cause. Those who sincerely desire to understand the evil and find practical remedies must dig deeper to find the root cause. Modern psychologists are accustomed to attribute the unaccountable prejudices of individuals to unconscious motives, and it is probable that crowd animosities have also an unconscious origin. The explanations given by individual Moslems or Hindus of the prejudices of their respective communities are mostly what psychologists call rationalisations and the commonest of such rationalisations—because the one which most completely absolves either side of any responsibility—is the statement that Hindu-Muhammadan quarrels are deliberately fomented by British rulers in order to make their own hold on the country more secure. The fallacy of this convenient excuse lies in the fact that such a policy would be impossible without the connivance of the Hindus and Muhammadans themselves. The existence of an antipathy so pronounced and so unreasonable is only to be explained by a sense of injury which is not realised because it is imbedded in the

crowd unconsciousness of the Hindu people.

Dr. Owen Berkeley-Hill, in a recent paper read before the Indian Psycho-Analytical Society, has made the interesting suggestion that as the most cherished religious susceptibilities of the Hindus are associated with female tutelary deities—Kali, Durga, etc.—so, too, their conception of India is associated with ideas of woman, mother, virgin, and consequently the ferocity of their sentiments towards their Moslem fellow-countrymen is to be explained by an unconscious hatred of the Muhammadan conquerors who violated their beloved Motherland. This feeling is aggravated by the fact that the slaughter of cows is particularly provocative in the case of Moslems, since they alone kill cows ceremoniously. The festival of the Bakr-Id is thus an annual cause of irritation which tends to keep alive the feeling of animosity which their joint interests in a common country would otherwise serve to diminish. This suggestion is well worthy of the serious study of sincere Hindu and Muhammadan patriots and affords a more promising avenue towards a reconciliation of their differences than the delicately balanced pacts with which politicians seek to achieve a mere surface agreement.

In local administration Hindus and Muhammadans have no difficulty in working harmoniously, and a similar coöperation in national affairs should not be impossible, if only the leaders of the two communities would investigate the fundamental cause of their age-long feud and recognise the constellation of primitive ideas which are symbolised today in their respective religious observances. The attitude of each towards the cow is probably the key to the whole problem, and in the removal of this cause of friction lies the best hope of Indian nationalism.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

I have already stated that the advent of the recent Reforms in India has tended to increase the hostility between the two communities as the reformed Constitution has stimulated their rivalry for power. This is not true of individuals, as the opportunities afforded to Moslems and Hindus of working together as colleagues in the same Government have rather helped to remove antipathies and create a community of interest. Hindu and Moslem Ministers have, on the whole, found little difficulty in working together, and on the Local and District Boards members of each community have addressed themselves with harmony and goodwill to the problems of local self-government. Even the political leaders of these two communities have much in common and can be very good friends. But whilst individuals have been brought together in their joint political activities their followers have developed acute group patriotism which has accentuated rather than diminished their animosities towards each other.

The Hindus who feel themselves ready to take full advantage of representative forms of Government are generally in favour of a rapid development of the Constitution in the direction of a democracy and strongly advocate the establishment of a common mixed electorate. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, who feel themselves to be backward in education and in political organisation, are more inclined to favour a slower rate of progress. They hold that in a rapid democratisation of the Institutions of Government their interests would suffer, and they desire time in which to improve the educational standard of their people, secure a larger proportion of employment in the Government

services and develop an organised political consciousness before they are called upon to face the severe competition which democratic institutions involve. In the meantime, they adhere most tenaciously to the necessity of maintaining communal representation and insist that communal electorates are absolutely vital for the protection of Muhammadan interests.

Those who consider Constitutional problems from the point of view of abstract theory are inclined to join with the Hindus in advocating a common electorate, since they hold that sectional interests are more likely to disappear, and a national consciousness to be developed, when Moslems are elected by Hindu votes and Hindus by Moslem votes. But practical statesmen have to consider group fears and prejudices as well as abstract theories, and any attempt at the present time to establish a common electorate in India would antagonise the whole Muhammadan population. The Moslems are in a minority in India, and no system which did not secure adequate protection for minorities would find favor with them. In this matter the European community, which is an even smaller minority, is inclined to side with the Muhammadans.

In opening the last session of the Indian Legislature, the Viceroy made an impressive speech in which he deplored the communal riots which had been responsible for so much loss of life in India during the last few years, and expressed his willingness to summon a conference of representative men of both communities to discuss their differences and endeavour to find some working agreement. Such a conference, if it were to take place, would undoubtedly be of value, and no man is better qualified than Lord Irwin to preside over it. But there is one feature of the present situation which is

likely to prove a serious obstacle to the success of any conference of leaders, and that is the knowledge which such leaders would possess of their inability to bind their followers by any agreement they might come to.

This difficulty was experienced by the representative Hindus and Muhammadans who met in Calcutta in the spring of 1926 to discuss the vexed question of music before Mosques. The leaders who came together were all reasonable and sensible men. If the decision had rested with them alone, they would have had little difficulty in coming to some agreement. But both the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders knew well enough that if they made the slightest concession they would be disowned by their followers. Neither side, therefore, would concede anything and both agreed that whatever decision was reached must be the decision of Government and imposed upon them both with the authority of Government. Some day, perhaps, the cumulative effect of years of strife and bloodshed, and the impossibility of either side deriving any advantage by such means, may cause the two sides to grow weary of the struggle and authorise their leaders to negotiate terms of peace on their behalf. Then, and then only, will a conference of leaders be able to take place with good prospects of success.

Before the Great War of 1914-1918 the nations of the world were not prepared to allow national interests to be submitted to any international tribunal. It was the experience of that War which alone made the League of Nations possible, and it is the recollection of what the conflict of national interests produced which alone—and even now with difficulty—enables that League to carry on its work. In India the two rival communities are not yet convinced of the futility of strife and

therefore they are not yet ready to take advantage of Lord Irwin's offer of mediation. But the number of men who are weary of strife and sincerely anxious for peace is growing every year, and before long the two great

communities will come to realise that destructively they can accomplish nothing, but that united they may build a National Government under which each may receive equal justice and equal opportunities for self-expression.

Backward and Untouchable Classes

By MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI

UNTOUCHABILITY is perhaps the greatest evil that has crept into Hinduism. The nearest approach to it to be found in the West was the untouchability of the Jews who were confined to the ghettos. I do not know the historical origin of this disease. Socially it seems to have arisen from the desire of the so-called superior classes to isolate themselves from those whom they regarded as inferior. It is the excrescence of *varnashrama dharma* which has been misrepresented as the caste-system with which, as seen in the multitudinous castes of latter-day Hinduism, the original four divisions have little to do.

Untouchability in its mildest form takes the shape of not touching or having any social intercourse with the "untouchable." In its extreme form it becomes unapproachability and even invisibility. The approach of a man within a defined distance or his very sight in some parts of the extreme South pollutes the "superior" classes. The "unapproachables" and the "invisibles" are very few in number, whereas the untouchables are roughly estimated at sixty millions. In my own opinion this is a highly exaggerated estimate.

Though I regard myself as a staunch Hindu believing in and having great veneration for the *Vedas* and the other Hindu religious books, and though I claim, not as a scholar but as a religiously minded man, to have made a serious attempt to understand the Hindu scriptures, I can discover no warrant for this brutal doctrine of untouchability in it. Save for a few texts of doubtful authority in the *Smritis*, the whole doctrine of "un-

touchability" is utterly repugnant to the spirit of Hinduism whose glory consists in proclaiming non-violence to be the basis of religion and which lays down the bold formula that all life, including the meanest crawling beings, is *One*.

But to a reformer like me this philosophical foundation of Hinduism affords but little comfort in the face of the cruel fact that professors of that religion regard innumerable fellow beings as beyond the pale of society solely on the ground of their birth in a particular group of men and women in every way like them.

But this untouchability will soon be a thing of the past. Hindu society has become conscious of the hideous wrong done to man by this sinful doctrine. Hundreds of Hindu workers are devoting themselves to the uplift of these suppressed classes. Among the latest reformers may be named the late Swami Shradhanandji and Lala Lajpat Rai. These, however, may not be regarded as orthodox. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, who is accepted by all Hindus as an orthodox Hindu, has thrown in the weight of his great influence on the side of reform. Everywhere one sees the process of emancipation silently but surely and steadily going on. The so-called higher class Hindus are conducting schools and building hostels for them, giving them medical relief and serving them in a variety of ways. Be it noted that this effort is absolutely independent of the Government and is part of the process of purification that Hinduism is undergoing. Lastly, the great National Congress adopted removal of untouchability as a vital part of its constructive programme in 1920. It may not be

superfluous to add that whilst untouchability is undoubtedly a grave social wrong, it has no legal sanction behind it. So far as I am aware, there is no legal disability against the "*untouchables*."

Whilst, therefore, I am full of hope which is daily increasing, I must caution the distant reader from reading in

my hope more than I mean. The reformer has still a stiff task before him in having to convert the masses to his point of view. The masses give intellectual assent to the reformer's plea, but are slow to grant equality in practice to their outcaste brethren. Nevertheless, "untouchability" is doomed, and Hinduism is saved.

Caste System and Its Relation to Social and Economic Life

By M. D. ALTEKAR, M.A.

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THE caste system is a peculiar product of the Hindu civilisation. It has formed, particularly in recent times, a subject for the keenest controversy. Its apologists often compare it to the division of society into classes that obtains in western countries, and try to establish that the caste system and the class system are almost identical. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the two. The classes in the west are no longer based (if they ever were so based theoretically) upon the rigid principle of the accident of birth, while the castes are entirely based on that accident. Consequently, the class system is of a dynamic nature. By dint of ability, by the acquisition of scholarship or of wealth, by meritorious public service, the member of one class is translated to another in European countries. There is no theoretical prohibition of interdining and intermarrying among the classes. Above all, there is no religion mixed up, no spiritual or other-worldly considerations brought in, in the phenomenon of the classes in modern Europe (which, for the purposes of this essay, includes America).

CASTE SYSTEM OF THE HINDUS

The caste system of the Hindus, however, is a religious institution based upon considerations, which do not always refer to affairs in this world. Its rigidity is founded, as it were, on a rock. It is a static and an unchangeable system. The old books have described four castes. These are now

further divided into four hundred and more. An accurate and minute survey of castes and subcastes in India gives their number even in more than three figures. And the process of subdivision is the only dynamic thing about the system. The political problem of communalism among the Hindus (represented by the non-Brahmin movement in Madras and Bombay) is partly the result of Government's policy (these movements being the direct outcome of the introduction of the pernicious system of communal electorates), but it is mainly due to the fact that the Hindu community is divided into a large number of castes and subcastes, each caste anxious to assert its spiritual superiority to others, and each again chafing at the thought that there are other castes which look down upon it and count it as inferior. Thus the caste system has been the cause of the disintegration and, consequently, the deterioration and the present helplessness of the Hindu community.

GROWTH OF THE CASTE SYSTEM

History tells us that in India every vocation gave birth to a new caste, and as time went by the original four castes had been subdivided into many more. Hereditary vocations have an economic advantage, but, as will be seen, this economic advantage was more than counterbalanced by the social disadvantages that the rigidity of the system imposed and the feelings of superiority and inferiority based on birth and vocation once introduced became the firm

rock on which dissensions and bitter enmities were securely reared, and these have proved to be a disastrous impediment in the path of progress of the modern Hindu society. Besides the principle of vocation, another curious element entered into making the castes more rigid and exclusive. A large mass of the Hindu community bore the mark of inferiority. Consequently, a new sect and a new religion, which theoretically (and often practically) removed this inferiority and based its influence on the principle of equality irrespective of the accident of birth or the nature of the vocation, was bound to attract the people.

The Hindu system was assaulted by such sects, from time to time, and the only way for it to preserve itself was to absorb the more attractive points in each such sect. Vegetarianism, for instance, appears to be a gift of Jainism. The practice of creating Sanyasins on a vast scale appears to have been induced by a desire to compete with the order of the Buddhist Bhikshus. As something new was added, however, to the definition of Hinduism, the castes became more and more exclusive. Besides birth and vocation, food and clothes, and even place of residence, were matters that conferred superiority and sanctity, or otherwise, and a disposition arose among the people for each one to claim superiority over the rest. This superiority became, in the course of time, more and more a matter of arrogant claim rather than a function of conduct. That is how hypocrisy arose and became a necessary part of men's behaviour. The Shastras have laid down the duties of the four castes. Even before the advent of the western education, these duties were in a chaotic condition. Brahmins, who must not become servants, took to service to earn a livelihood and took to agriculture. Many a peasant became

a soldier. The original edifice of caste theoretically collapsed, but the feelings of superiority and inferiority based on birth and vocation grew intenser, and the centrifugal tendencies gathered momentum.

All this has been enormously accentuated, in later days, owing to the advent of a new education and modern money. At present, and for some time past, all the causes that determined superiority, such as vocation, food, place of residence, and rituals, etc., have practically ceased to operate. The one thing that now sustains the caste system is the factor of birth or heredity. Everyone takes up that vocation which he chooses, or is forced to choose, irrespective of his caste which is now entirely the result of the accident of birth and of nothing else. The superiority claimed on this account merely, therefore, excites greater jealousy and resentment than it did in earlier days.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

The economic effects of the caste system no longer obtain as widely as they did in the past. These effects were due to the principle of the division of labour. Proficiency in a handicraft handed down from generation to generation gathers stability and strength, and thus the particular art benefits and its products are superior to those produced under dissimilar circumstances. Specialisation was thus the economic advantage of the caste system. At the same time, overspecialisation has its disadvantages. It is an impediment to economic elasticity; and when elasticity weakens, the very economic structure, which is after all a part of the social structure, is shaken to its foundations. A man must do what his father did. If he cannot do it, he must do nothing else. That means that he must be put down

on the debit side of the social balance sheet. This result undoubtedly counterbalanced any advantage that specialisation conferred.

In recent times, however, the influence of the caste system on vocations has considerably weakened. The leavening of society by education and by the new money power has resulted in restoring economic mobility. A man does, not necessarily what he must do according to the Shastras, but what he finds it convenient to do. A cobbler by caste, if he gets the opportunity, becomes a *savant* in economics or philosophy, and a Brahmin, when education does not make him a deputy collector or a subordinate judge, becomes a tradesman and sells anything from ghee and sugar to boots and shoes. The Kshatriya, no longer required to fight, unless he has secured a post in the Indian army, gets an opportunity to go to school and takes to the solving of the intricacies of the village accounts, or administers justice in the *taluka*. The gradual breaking up of the joint family system has considerably helped this vocational elasticity. The equality of man before law is another important factor contributing to the same result.

There are still in India many castes which are described by their vocations. The richer and more educated among them, however, lose no time in giving up the hereditary profession and in seeking more congenial and "respectable" work. The advent of machinery has also helped this divorce between a caste and its time-honoured vocation. Machinery kills manual art, and when a craftsman loses his economic value owing to the introduction of machinery, he will not necessarily stick to the old job in the altered environment. The job will also be invaded by many people, who would have never thought of doing so before the age of machines.

A man who is not a tailor by caste, for instance, may buy a sewing machine and set up as a tailor, because it is easier to manipulate the machine than to be proficient in the old manual art of tailoring.

The economic aspect of the caste system, therefore, has been getting into the background, and probably its social consequences have been accentuated. The caste divisions in the Hindu society no longer serve any useful economic purpose. It is now preëminently a social institution entirely based upon the accident of birth. Its immediate and continuous result is the engendering of a feeling of deep and bitter resentment of almost each caste against every other caste. The resentment sometimes reaches such proportions that instead of realising that the bettering of some one caste means the bettering of a part of the whole social organism and therefore the bettering of the whole organism, the principal fear that dominates the mind of each caste is that some other caste will get better advantages than itself, and it often tries, therefore, not to improve its own position, but to pull down the other caste to a lower level. This mutual suspicion and ill feeling is the most regrettable consequence of the caste system at the present time.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

The caste system was but the stereotyping of the exclusive tendencies that developed in society. The intolerant attitude of the Muslim invaders of India accentuated this exclusiveness which became the sign of spiritual superiority if not of material prosperity. In fact, the less the material prosperity of a man, the more he was anxious to establish his claim to spiritual superiority, and he tried to substantiate that claim by some peculiarity of dress, of diet, or of conduct. Its

practical expression took the form of disdain for everybody else. In some instances this disdain resulted into profound bitterness, and even enmity, when it stamped a man as impure by establishing sexual irregularity somewhere in his ancestry. There are whole subcastes that are made to bear the badge of inferiority in this outrageous fashion. Sometimes even lesser causes were sufficient to make a new caste. Some people in a village swallow by mistake or by deceit some forbidden food. If they are Brahmins, they become Brahmins of an inferior grade on that account. This is the process that has multiplied castes and subcastes at an alarming pace. And that is how the four castes are subdivided into hundreds. The process operated even among the so-called depressed classes. They may be untouchables to the rest of their co-religionists, but among themselves they have degrees of untouchability and superiority.

The social consequences of the caste system have proved to be extremely unfortunate. In a static society regulated by a strict caste system, the place of each individual is fixed from the moment he is born and that place cannot be changed under any circumstances in this world and in this birth. This is a total negation of the dignity of man, as a man, and the democratic principle of individuality. It entails terrible loss for the society in every direction. It runs counter to the principle of selection which reigns supreme in nature. It gives a sort of stability to society provided the habit of "no questions asked" is inculcated. For that reason it kills all initiative and men lose their faith in effort and the pernicious doctrine of fatalism rules supreme. That is the worst consequence of the caste system. But for good or for ill, questions are being

asked, and they are asked more and more as education spreads and free discussion makes progress. The old society was so constructed that the lower classes were absolutely dependent for their very livelihood on the goodwill of the higher classes. The old village system of India is an instance to the point. Every depressed caste was given particular work, and remuneration was provided for that work from the only productive agent of the day, the land, which was almost exclusively owned by the non-depressed castes. The untouchables could earn their livelihood only in that way, and in no other. In a society based on status, contract was, of course, not tolerated, and thus the caste system reduced all but the fortunate few to a helpless position.

The feelings of resentment thus engendered have been growing up, unconsciously it may be, for centuries in the bosom of those who are held to be inferior, and at present the sudden, and therefore the terrific explosion of that resentment, is being witnessed all over the country, and the outburst is so great that the political unity, laboriously built up for half a century by patriotic men, has been consumed in the twinkling of an eye by the devouring flames of communal strife. The misfortune does not end there, however. Man is a social animal, and it is by mutual knowledge and understanding that sympathy and solidarity are produced. But the caste system practically demands that men must not mingle together intimately. They must not interdine and they must not intermarry. And thus the great sources of reconciliation are not allowed to exist. It is not maintained that caste rules are being strictly observed everywhere. They are not. Among the better-to-do classes, wealth and education have rendered them less binding. But even

among them the social intercourse is of a limited nature. It scarcely exceeds the drawing-room formalities. Except in cities and in big towns, the social intercourse between the different castes is so limited as to approach the magnitude of the mathematical zero. One curious indication of the situation is found in vernacular fiction. Its descriptions rarely touch the backward and the depressed classes except in a few cases. The reason is that the writers who mostly belong to the more fortunate classes know nothing about them. Unity is a word the inner meaning of which rarely, on this account, penetrates the secret places of the heart.

The gloominess of the picture is somewhat offset by the fact that communal consciousness has resulted in

sincere efforts to improve the lot of the particular community or caste, educationally and economically, and by the consequent hope that the narrow form which this consciousness usually takes, will, in the course of time, with the spread of education and development of sober thought, emerge in a broader outlook as national consciousness. The praiseworthy efforts of such institutions as the Brahms Samaj and the Arya Samaj, the Depressed Classes Missions and the Servants of India Society to counteract the poison of caste, also inspire the hope that the future will be bright in spite of the dreary past and the quarrelsome present, and so this survey of the results of the caste system may be brought to a close in an optimistic vein.

Europeanization and the Ancient Culture of India

By THE LATE LALA LAJPAT RAI, M.L.A.

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IT is difficult to define culture. I have so far not come across such a definition as would be at once satisfactory and exhaustive. In the absence of any such comprehensive definition of the term culture one is justified in describing a particular country's culture according to his notions of what a culture should be. My conception of culture includes:

- (a) A fairly high standard of comfort in life.
- (b) A developed taste for literature and fine arts.
- (c) Developed industries indicating refinement and taste.
- (d) A developed and fairly extensive literature.
- (e) A philosophical and well-reasoned conception of religion.
- (f) High social position of women.
- (g) Respect for individual liberty with due regard to the strength and good of the whole society.
- (h) High ethical standards in war.
- (i) The economic welfare of the common man, and
- (j) A high standard of public and private hygiene.

Judged from these standards one may confidently assert that India has fulfilled these conditions almost always during the period known to us.

Hindus believe that the Vedas belong to the most remote period of Indian life. European scholars do not, however, accept that view. It is, however, admitted that India is one of the most ancient countries of the world. European scholars are apt to start the history of culture and democracy from the Greek period of civilization. The Greeks and after them the Romans were the founders of civiliza-

tion in Europe. That the East had developed a high state of civilization and culture long before Greece came into prominence in human life is now acknowledged by scholars. Egypt, China, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia and India had all enjoyed long periods of civilization. It is now freely admitted that Europe (or for that matter, Greece) borrowed its art and civilization from Egypt. Whether the civilization of Egypt was an indigenous one or she had borrowed it from some other source is a moot question. However, no civilization can be wholly borrowed nor can any be entirely indigenous, if we are to assume that at no period of world's history were the different parts of the world so isolated from each other as to bar the possibility of some international communication or exchange.

Today the world is rather a small place, distances and obstacles to free communication having been destroyed by steam and electricity. But even when the world had no such facilities, the different parts of the world did know each other either through markets or through universities. Personally I do not believe that civilization had its birth in any one place or in any one country. The world has always been inter-dependent, always borrowing and giving ideas as well as commodities. I believe all civilizations have developed in that way India was no exception to this nor was Europe or Egypt.

RELIGION

India is a vast country. It has undergone vast changes, geographi-

cally, historically, as well as culturally. At first sight it seems absurd to give one name to all Indian civilization. But a close examination of facts and data amply proves the unity of Indian civilization, at least for the present geological period. Ever since the beginning of Indian history Indian civilization has been more or less religious. One may retort that this could equally be said of other civilizations too. I do not admit that. Religion has had to do something with all civilizations. That is true. But religion has not been the dominating feature of them all. Take, for instance, the European civilization. Some people call it a Christian civilization, but it has no relation whatsoever with the religion preached by Christ. It may have been so in certain epochs, but not always, nor now. It has not had that continuity of religious stamp on it that the civilization of India can claim. I am not saying this because I claim any credit for that. I am simply stating a fact. Ever since India has had a literature that is literature, the civilization embodied therein, and the life lived by the people who composed that literature have been dominated by religion.

Religion has had its developments in India but fundamentally and in its essence it has remained the same. When I speak of religion in relation to India, I mean the religion followed by the great bulk of its population, that is, Brahmanism; Buddhism and Jainism are daughters of Hinduism. Their philosophy is only an extension or an amplification of the Hindu philosophy. Their doctrine in its essence is a Hindu doctrine. I will quote only two opinions, one about the unity of its civilization and the other about the dominance of religion. Dr. V. A. Smith, the historian of the "Early History of India," says:

Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other religions of the world, while they are common to the whole country or rather sub-continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social, religious, and intellectual development of mankind.

Professor Lowes Dickinson of Oxford, in his essay on the *Civilization of India, China and Japan*, says:

I conceive the dominant note of India to be religion; of China, humanity; of Japan, chivalry. But religion to Indians means more than praying for children, praying for rain, praying for healing, praying for everything they want. . . . Observers believe that it is, too, and I am inclined to think they are right. That even the Indian peasant does really believe that the true life is a spiritual life; that he respects the saint more than any other man; and that he regards the material world as "unreal," and all its cares as illusion. He can not, of course, and does not, put this conviction into practice, or Indian society would come to an end.

Now let us see the chief distinguishing features of Hinduism. It is a religion which, in its manifold phases, developments and manipulations, insists on seeing one in many and many in one. Within this limit it gives the fullest possible freedom of thought, belief and worship to all its votaries, the fullest possible liberty to the individual in the realm of thought, belief and worship. This distinguishing feature of Hinduism is reflected in its social institutions.

What is the caste system? It is the division of the body of the "Purusha" into four parts (varnas) (see X Rigveda) resulting eventually in the remerging of all into one at the time of *Moksha*. "The poets of the Rigveda," says Professor Rapson in the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 54:

know nothing of caste in the later and stricter sense of the term; but they recog-

nise that there are divers orders of men. Before the end of the period covered by the hymns of the Rigveda a belief in the Divine origin of the four orders of men was fully established; but there is nowhere in the Rigveda any indication of the castes into which these orders were afterwards sub-divided.

At no period of Indian history has the caste system stood in the way of a man of the lowest caste becoming divine. The "untouchables," the Pariahs of Madras, have produced saints whose shrines and images are worshipped by Brahmin and Sudras alike, in the temple of Srirangam at Trichnopoly. The same may be said of *Kabir*, a *Julaha* or weaver of northern India, or of *Sur Das*, and many others.

Speaking politically the caste system of India has been a curse. As a social institution I have said in another place¹ that "Today the Indian caste system is beyond doubt an anachronism." It is fast disintegrating. Other communities and other nations have known of caste or class divisions, too, but in their case the distinguishing feature of these divisions has been either wealth or economic position. Not so in India. In India a wealthy Brahmin may never attain salvation, while the poorest Pariah may. I am not praising the system. I am again only stating a fact.

Coming to Indian literature, there also one finds religion as the dominant note.²

¹ *Unhappy India*, 1st edition, p. 88.

² Says Professor Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, p. 58): "Literature controlled by Brahmanism or by Jain and Buddhist monks, must naturally represent systems of faith rather than national ties. They must deal with thought rather than with action, with ideas rather than with events. And in fact, as sources for the history of religion and philosophy, and for the development of those sciences which, like grammar, depend on the minute and careful observation of facts, they stand among the literatures of the ancient world unequalled in

Of late some scholars have made good use of the Buddhistic *Jatakas* and the *Puranas* in building up ancient Indian history.

LITERATURE AND ART

There has been no break in the continuity of Hindu literature. Literature of the highest type, covering all the departments of knowledge, science, and art exists in India from before 3000 years B.C. up to date. I wonder if there is any other country in the world which can establish such a claim unless it be China. India stands unique in this respect. Having spoken of religion and literature, we come to the art of India. For long, scholars continued to hint that India borrowed its art from Greece, but the recent discoveries at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have set this matter at rest.

The art of the Indus is distinct from that of any neighbouring country, notwithstanding that there are certain elements in common. The best of the figures on the engraved seals—notably the humped Indian bulls and short-horn cattle—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and form unequalled in the contemporary glyptic art of Elam or Mesopotamia or Egypt? The modelling, too, in faience of the miniature rams, monkeys, dogs and squirrels is of a very high order—far in advance of what we should expect in the fourth and third millenniums B.C. Contrasted with these, the few examples we possess of human figures, whether executed in marble, stone, clay or bronze, are strangely uncouth and suggest

their fullness and their continuity. But as records of political progress they are deficient. By their aid alone it would be impossible to sketch the outline of the political history of any of the nations of India before the Muhammadan conquest. Fortunately two other sources of information—foreign accounts of India and the monuments of India (especially the inscriptions and coins)—supply to some extent this deficiency of the literatures, and furnish a chronological framework for the history of certain periods."

that for some reason or other the artists could have had relatively little experience in delineating the human form.

About Industrial art also the following evidence is sufficiently conclusive:

Numerous spindle wheels in the débris of the houses attest the practice of spinning and weaving, and scraps of a fine woven material, which appears to be linen, have also been found.

The ornaments of the rich were of silver and gold or copper plated with gold, of blue faience ivory, carnelian, jadestone, and multi-color stones of various kinds. For the poor, they were mainly of shell or terracotta. Many examples of both kinds are exhibited in the collection. Especially striking are the girdles of carnelian and gilded copper and some of the smaller objects, that is, earrings and "netting" needles of pure gold, the surface of which is polished to a degree that would do credit to a present day jeweller.

Besides gold and silver, the Indus people were familiar with copper, tin and lead. Copper they used freely for weapons, implements and domestic utensils; daggers, knives, hatchets, sickles, celts, chisels, vessels, figurines and personal ornaments, amulets, wire, etc. Most of these objects are wrought by hammering, but examples of cast copper are not unknown.

Common domestic vessels were of earthenware. Their greater variety of shapes—each evolved for some particular purpose—evidence a long period of antecedent development, though it is curious how few of the vases are provided with handles. Most of the pottery is plain undecorated red ware, but painted ware is by no means uncommon. As a rule, the designs are painted in black on a darkish red slip and consist of geometric and foliate devices with occasional figures of animals. A few specimens of polychrome decoration in red, white and black have also been met with. Certain of the ceramic shapes and ornamental patterns betoken a connection with Baluchistan, as well as with Elam and Mesopotamia.

The presence of inscribed seals, sealings and other objects in almost every building is sufficient indication that the citizens

must have been familiar with the art of writing, and it may be inferred that it was employed for business and other purposes.

I have given these extracts in full because in my judgment they are almost conclusive proof of a high degree of material civilization in the Indus valley region of India some 5000 years ago.³

It will be relevant to quote further here the opinion of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, about the level of the general culture of the people of India at that time:

That by the above date city life in Harappa and Mohenjodaro was already remarkably well-organized and that the material culture of the people was relatively highly developed, is evident. Indeed, the roomy and well-built houses and the degree of luxury denoted by the presence in them of walls and bath-rooms, betoken a social condition of the citizens, at least equal to that found in Sumer, and markedly in advance of that prevailing in contemporary Babylonia and Egypt, where the royal monuments of the kings—palaces, tombs and temples—may have been superior to anything of their class to be found in India, but where no private dwelling houses of the citizens have been discovered at all comparable with those unearthed in India.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

About the economic condition of the people of India, in the historical period, we have the evidence of literature, laws and folklore. The historical period in India has been placed about 750 B.C. "The Sutras precede the earliest works on Buddhism. The earliest known Parana precedes the later law books by centuries," (says the *Cambridge History of India*). Taking all this into consideration and looking at the life of the peoples of

³ For subsequent developments of Arts and Industries, I must refer the reader to the writings of Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy.

North India, as it survives in the records of their folklore, and of the discipline of the brethren who lived in close touch with all classes, Mrs. Rhys Davids, the writer of the chapter on Economic conditions in the *Cambridge History of India*, has come to the following conclusion:

And we have seen agriculture diligently and amicably carried on by practically the whole people as a toilsome but most natural and necessary pursuit. We have seen crafts and commerce flourishing, highly organised corporately and locally, under conditions of individual and corporate competition, the leading men thereof the friends and counsellors of kings. We have found "labour" largely hereditary, yet, therewithal, a mobility and initiative, anything but rigid, revealed in the exercise of it. And we have discovered a thorough familiarity with money and credit ages before the seventh century A.D.

The same learned writer says

that the rural economy of India, at the coming of Buddhism was (*i.e.*, about the fifth century B.C.) based chiefly on a system of village communities of land owners or what in Europe was known as village proportionship.

Speaking of the same period Professor Rhys Davids has said in his *Buddhist India*:

There was security, there was independence, there were landlords and no paupers. The mass of the people held it degradation to which only dire misfortune would drive them, to work for hire.

These three quotations give a good picture of economic conditions in ancient India. Megasthenes and other Greek writers have testified to "the high level of veracity and honesty" in the India of the Mauriyan period (300 B.C.).

About the health of the people of India, in the Mauriyan period of Indian history, which almost begins

with the "raid" of Alexander (323 B.C.), we find the Greeks stating:

There was really very little for a doctor to do in India except to cure snake bites since diseases were so rare in India (*Cambridge History of India* P. 406).

Another Greek writer described the Indians to be singularly free from disease and long-lived. The people of Sind, Onesicritus said, sometimes reached 130 years.⁴

THE STATUS OF THE WOMEN

As for the status of the women in ancient Indian society one may fairly assume the accuracy of the following conclusions:

- (a) The Vedic marriage was usually monogamic though polygamy was not unknown probably among the princely class.
- (b) Polyandry was unknown.
- (c) The poetical idea of the family was decidedly high, and we have no reason to doubt that it was often actually fulfilled (Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic India*, p. 488).
- (d) Rigveda X, 85, discloses a society in which the parties to the marriage were grown up persons competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give consent and make choice (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, pp. 372 and 373).
- (e) The same hymn gives evidence of the complete supremacy of the wife as mistress of her husband's house (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, pp. 372 and 373).
- (f) No religious ceremony could be considered complete and efficacious unless both husband and wife joined in it.

⁴ The intellectual powers which they displayed in arts and crafts were attributed, like the health and longevity, to the purity of the air and the rarified qualities of water, but their health was also attributed to the simplicity of their diet and their abstinence from wine. (Pp. 407 and 408 *Cambridge History Of India*.)

- (g) The words *Pati* (Master) and *Patni* (Mistress) signify equality of general position.
- (h) There was no seclusion of women.
- (i) No trace of *Sati* is to be found in the Vedic literature.
- (j) Women enjoyed full rights of property (*Stridham*).

This is with regard to the Vedic period. In the Epic period the position of women did not deteriorate. There was the same position of general equality. The Epic period expressly recognises marriages of love contracted otherwise than with the consent of parents. The tendency of the Epic period seems to have been to confer the status of marriage on all permanent unions, however effected,—permanent in the intentions of the parties. In fact even irregular unions were declared valid. Hindu law really makes no mention of illegitimacy of children. There are no caste distinctions. The wife enjoys full rights of property in her estate. Singing and dancing and riding were considered accomplishments, and otherwise also sex relations were of the best kind. Women were freely and highly educated.

It is during the *Sutra* and the *Smirti* period that the position of the Indian woman becomes one of dependence, and caste restrictions are enforced. The position of a Hindu mother has always been and is infinitely superior to anything known in any other part of the world. As regards inheritance in a divided Hindu family, the widow, the mother, the daughter and the sister all have rights of inheritance under certain circumstances. The widow has a right of adopting a son to her husband under certain circumstances, a right perhaps known to no other part of the world. It is maintained that if one compares, period by period and epoch by epoch, he will find that at no

period of the world's history before the nineteenth century, was the general position of the Indian woman inferior to her sisters elsewhere, except perhaps as far as it was affected by the custom of child marriage and the prohibition against the remarriage of widows. In the best period of ancient Indian culture, however, both these customs were non-existent. In medieval India they were the product of political conditions.

WAR TIME SANCTIONS

The standard of culture in a community is, I think, best determined by the treatment it sanctions for enemies in war time. In the war of 1914–18, "Kill the enemy and the enemy nation by all means available" was the principle. The Indians, however, had no bombs, and no submarines. They did not evidently know of poisonous gases, nor did they blockade whole countries for the purpose of starving them to subjection. Nevertheless, the Epic period of India shows ideals of war loftier than anything known anywhere else in the world. The *Mahabharata* and the *Sutras* lay down high ideals of war morality. The warrior was specially enjoined to avoid doing any harm to women, old men, men bearing no arms, and non-combatants. To kill the enemy by fraud, or to starve or blockade him was considered unworthy of a warrior.

Apastamba and *Baudhyana* and *Gautama* prohibited the use of poisoned arrows or an attack on those who supplicate for mercy or are helpless, such as those who have ceased to fight, or surrendered. That these rules were followed in actual practice can be abundantly proved by the pages of *Rajput* history. Even in medieval India *Rajputs* showed more humanity and chivalry in war than the Europeans did in 1914–18.

Gautama X, 18, lays down that a

king commits a sin if he injures or slays in battle

those who have lost their horses, chariot-eers, or arms, those who join their hands (in supplication), those who flee with flying hair, those who sit down with averted faces, those who have climbed (in flight) on eminences or trees, messengers, and those who declare themselves to be cows or Brahmans.

Baudhyana on p. 200 says:

Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, (nor with those) who have lost their armour, (nor with) women, infants, aged men, and Brahmanas.

The Greek writers have made it a point worthy of mention that the cultivators took no part in war.

"War rolled past them. At the very time when a battle was going on, the neighboring cultivators might be seen quietly pursuing their work of ploughing or digging unmolested" (*Cambridge History of India*, p. 410).

THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

I am sorry that considerations of space forbid me from saying something about the art of Government in ancient India. Government in ancient India was much more civilised and humane and in a way more democratic than it has been in any country in the world before the eighteenth century A.D. In certain respects it would bear good comparison even with modern Governments of Europe and America.

THE EFFECT OF MODERN EUROPEAN CULTURE

So much about the spirit of the culture of Ancient India. Now I shall discuss the effect of modern European culture on it. It is too early yet to speak of the permanent effects of European culture on Hindu civilization. One can only mention certain tendencies. As far as religion is con-

cerned, India has little to learn from Europe.

Neither Christian dogma, nor Christian theology, nor European philosophy have made any appreciable impression on the Indian people. No doubt the number of Christians is increasing every year, but the reason for it is other than the superiority of Christian doctrine. European non-religionism also is not having much vogue. Speaking of the nation as a whole, India is not likely to lose her spiritual mentality. But her spiritual outlook is bound to be transformed by the general European outlook on life. Back to the simple religion of the Vedas with their joyful outlook on life may be the outcome, but it is dangerous to prophesy. In the matter of the rights of women, the change in the mentality of educated India is distinctly progressive and it may be confidently asserted that *Purdah* (seclusion of women), early marriage, the prohibition against widow remarriage, will go. There has never been any *Purdah* in the south. In the north its rigour has been confined to city folk of respectability, mostly *Musalman*s. In the villages throughout India there has hardly been any *Purdah*. The custom of child marriage is fast disappearing. That also was confined to particular classes. Prohibition to widow remarriage was never universal. It was generally confined to the higher caste. Among these, too, widow remarriages are multiplying. The present custom of marriage being arranged by parents will also cease to function and marriage by choice among adult persons will take its place. The immediate cause of it may be the impact of European civilization, but it will not be a new thing. The economic independence of women may come, but only to a limited extent, as Indians on the whole still loath to think of their women

having to earn either for themselves or for others. There is a deep-rooted sentiment against it, with a reason behind it. Birth control is, I think, an entirely new idea for India. It will grow. As regards the improvement of the Hindu women's position for the purposes of inheritance, that too may come, though the break up of the joint family system and the power to dispose of one's property by will make it rather unnecessary.

In education the women are coming into their own. That again will be reproducing ancient conditions. The effect of European art on Indian art was at first horrible. But the Indian art and ideals are fast recovering, and will probably create an entirely new system peculiar to India and her civilisation.

In the matter of Industrial art, Europe's cheap designs have almost completely destroyed Indian ideals. Machine has killed the soul, and the result is only a caricature of its former self. There is a revival in this respect too. As far as clean and hygienic living is concerned, India can not do

better than revert to her ancient ideals. European influence in this respect is partly good and partly bad. The bulk of the people are too poor and too ignorant to observe rules of hygiene, and the Government is too callous to spare money for public health arrangements. Things may improve slowly.

On the whole, I am inclined to think that the influence of European culture on the Indian mind has not been much for the good of the latter. In the long run, as I have already remarked, no culture can remain purely local. India will certainly learn many things from Europe, and Europe also, as she comes to know India better, will grow in her appreciation of ancient Indian culture. European science and European learning is producing a revolution in people's mentality all over the world and India can not and will not remain unaffected. Nor is there any reason why she should. India wants to take her proper place in the up-to-date nations of the world, and has no ambition to be an isolated unit.

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Some Comments on FARM RELIEF

Edited by CLYDE L. KING

March, 1929, Issue of *The Annals*



Dr. King's FARM RELIEF issue of *The Annals* of the American Academy ranks as the best one-volume discussion of the farm problem since the National Industrial Conference Board's book, "The Agricultural Problem in the United States." Dr. King has achieved a triumph of compilation, since with fifty-six titles and nearly as many writers there is hardly a page or paragraph not pertinent to the subject. The greater part of the book is devoted to the presentation of constructive proposals rather than to the customary recitals of the old sad story.

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FARM RELIEF. Some fifty-odd papers by specialists in various phases of this subject are included in the March number of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Though none deal distinctly with problems of the farm home or family, many of them help to explain their status and would be of interest to rural home economists.—*Journal of Home Economics*, June 1929



May I take this opportunity of saying how much I look forward to receiving *The Annals* of the American Academy as they appear from time to time, and how much I find myself in sympathy with the general outlook which they indicate. I am particularly glad to be kept in touch with the outlook of what I am sure is a representative section of the educated and intelligent American public. It is an aspect of American life of which we do not hear enough on this side of the Atlantic. People read Menchen and Sinclair Lewis and then think they know all about America.—Excerpt from a letter received from *Hugh P. Vowles*, London, England.

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