UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

ELEMENTARY CIVICS AND ADMINISTRATION

FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS

BY

MAN MOHAN M....

PRINCIPAL OF KHALSA COLLEGE, AMRITSAR.

AND

N. C. DARUWALLA M.A.

SENIOR PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, KHALSA COLLEGE, AMRITSAR

New Impression

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. LTD.

, OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA

53, NICOL ROAD, BOMBAY

36A, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

LONDON, TORONTO AND NEW YORK

1936

PRINTED AT
THE DIOCESAN PRESS, MADRAS—1936. C5778.

PREFACE

It may well be asked, as it is so often asked about books on other subjects: 'Why add one more to the list of already existing books'?

The reply is obvious. Civics is practically a new subject, even in England, and the number of books written on the subject is not large. The few good books and pamphlets published by various firms and by bodies like the 'Civic and Moral Education League,' although quite good for English students in England, are not meant for Indian students in India.

If Civics is a new subject in England, it is newer still in India. The books written on Indian citizenship are so few and the subjects of 'Civics' and 'Elements of Indian Administration' are so important and instructive that there is hardly any necessity for further apology.

Our aim in publishing this book is to put in the hands of teachers and students of schools and colleges a little book which may give them a useful introduction to the elements of 'Indian Citizenship' in a short and simple, but interesting and instructive manner.

The first part of the book deals with Civics in the widest sense of the word. Its chief aim is to guide, encourage, inspire. It is meant for general reading by any Indian. For these reasons the style, the language, the ideas, the quotations and poems—all have a literary bias. This part of the book tries to describe and emphasise the need of co-operation, or law and order, at home, at school and at play, patriotism, universal brotherhood, scouting, the laws of health, the right ways of improving the mind, education or culture and self-culture, good manners, character, gentlemanliness and other aspects of citizenship of a general nature.

But the word *'Civics'* is more often used in a narrower sense, and refers, especially to the duties of a citizen who wants to be of active help in the administration of his village, city or country. It is difficult to help the state in its administration of departments which concern themselves with the welfare of the teeming millions of India, without knowing anything about the manner in which the citizens are governed and how they can help other citizens and the state. So the second part of the book is entirely devoted to the elements of Indian administration, with special reference to the syllabus prescribed for the Matriculation examination of the Punjab, Bombay and other Universities of India.

In publishing such a book care had to be taken not only over the inclusion of certain subjects, but the exclusion of certain others. A few things had to be left out. Yet an attempt has been made to make the book as comprehensive, complete, readable, and educative as possible. Small books and 'boiled down' summaries, are as a rule, very dull, and lifeless. Small as it is, we have tried to put some life into this book. For any errors, however, of commission or omission, we ask to be forgiven.

We have left much for the teacher to guide, to amplify and supplement. The teacher can get plenty of material to build questions and problems on, whereby he can make the boys think, see, appreciate and do things for themselves.

In the hands of a good teacher the book may well become a source of inspiration, especially if it is combined with good teaching of history, geography, and nature-study. Maps, pictures, lantern slides and a knowledge of the lives of great men of India, England —and other parts of the world,—of local geography and history will help both teachers and the pupils very much. Examples and illustrations may, as far as possible, be drawn from village, town or province

in which the school is situated. 'Nature talks' and 'nature walks' also will help. The more advanced students may be taught something about regional survey, elementary economic survey, the local problems of health and sanitation, social service, social reform, educational reform and the like. The students may be made to watch and discuss election campaigns. It is good to make them take as much interest as possible in elections to the Municipal and District Boards, the Provincial Councils, the Legislative Assembly, and the Council of State. Mock elections and councils, school parliaments and debating societies also deserve encouragement.

The Indian school-boy of to-day will be a citizen of India and the Empire to-morrow. If this little effort of ours will guide, encourage or inspire any of these future citizens of India to do something for their country and its administration, the authors will consider themselves amply rewarded.

M. M.
N. C. D.

CONTENTS.

PART I—CIVICS.

PART II—ADMINISTRATION.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

CIVICS.

CHAPTER I

CO-OPERATION AS THE BASIS OF CITIZENSHIP.

What is Civics or Citizenship?—A Citizen—Rights and Duties—Control and co-operation at home between mother and child—At School—At Play—Conclusion.

CIVICS is the science of citizenship. What is citizenship? Who is a good citizen? What are his rights and duties? What sort of training, ideas, knowledge and education does he need? What should be his ideal as an Indian patriot and citizen? The purpose of this little book is to answer—or try to answer—these questions as shortly and simply as possible.

The word 'Citizen' is derived from the same Latin word which gives us the words *City*, *civil* and *civic* in English or *cité* in French, meaning a city. In a general sense a city is a large and important town. So, literally, a citizen is a native or inhabitant of a city. But in this book we shall use the word citizen in its broad and usual sense so as to mean anybody who claims or is entitled to the rights and privileges given by the land of his birth or the country in which he lives. But if the Motherland generously grants privileges, she expects some duties to be performed by every citizen worthy of the name. What are these rights and duties?

Let us picture to ourselves what we must have been like when we were tiny tots or little babies kicking our heels, tearing, breaking or biting whatever came our way, screaming or crying and making a nuisance of ourselves in more ways than one! What a nuisance we must have been when we were in a

temper! And yet how sweet, how loving our mother was to us! We struggled, cried, kicked. She fondled, caressed, kissed. We gave her kicks. She gave us milk. She had to do her household work, cook the meals, look after the bathing and the washing, serve the food or see that it was served well, do a lot of needlework and embroidery and, in spite of it all, she found time to feed us properly, keep us clean, wash our clothes, train us to speak, walk or talk when we were the right age.

Why did she do all this? Why didn't she throw us out of the nearest window, if, on some evil day, we made too much of a nuisance of ourselves? 'Because she loved us,' you say. And quite right too. But isn't there another reason? Is it not the duty of a mother to take care of her children, feed them well, keep them in healthy surroundings, give them fresh air and exercise and a sound education? It is the duty of a mother or father to do this. It is the right of the children to claim these. But if the mother does so much for us, are we to do nothing for her? Must we not love her, obey her commands, carry out her wishes, give her protection in her old age as she protected us in our infancy? Of course we must. Why? Because it is our *duty* to do so and our mother expects it as a matter of *right*. Rights and duties go hand in hand.

We certainly have our duties towards our father and mother. Every dutiful son or daughter performs them. What a dutiful son Cowper must have been, judging from his beautiful lines on his mother whom he lost when he was only six years old!

On the Receipt of my Mother's Picture

Oh that those lips had language! Life has passed
With me roughly since I heard thee last.
Those lips are thine—thy own sweet smile I see,
The same, that oft in childhood solaced me;
Voice only fails, else, how distinct they say,
'Grieve not, my child, chase all thy fears away.'

My Mother! when I learned that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
* * * * * * *
Perhaps thou gavest me, though unfelt, a kiss;
Perhaps a tear, if souls can weep in bliss.
Ah, that maternal smile! It answers—yes.
I heard the bell tolled on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse, that bore thee slow away;
And, turning from my nursery window, drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu'!

This theory of reciprocal rights and duties is applicable to our home, family, neighbours, school, college, city, country, humanity. At home we must look to each other's convenience, respect and obey our elders, help the young, and remember that

Little acts of kindness,
Little words of love,
Make this earth an Eden—
Like the heaven above.

What is applicable to our home, equally well applies to our school and our neighbours. We have to rub shoulders with other students of all kinds on equal terms, help each other, learn cheerfully and live peacefully with each other, obey our teachers, learn our lessons, and carry out the laws of the school loyally. On the school play-ground again we learn this lesson of loyalty, co-operation, discipline and devotion to duty in a still better way. Much discipline and co-operation are required to make a really good Cricket, Hockey or Football XI or a Tug-of-War Team.

Just think of it! What a lot of self-discipline is necessary to make a really good cricketer or hockey player! A cricketer must go to the nets almost every day for practice in order to improve or keep his 'form.' Next to billiards, perhaps, cricket is the most skilful game in the world. A Hobbs, a Grace or a Ranji is not made in a day. 'Practice makes perfect.'

Nor is this all. Every cricketer has to be a good fielder. To be a good fielder he has to be very smart and active. To be smart and active he has to keep

early and regular hours, abstain from strong drinks, eat neither too much nor too little, never smoke, for smoking is very bad for young people, and in every way take care of his health. Above all, he has to work with the team, field wherever he is asked to go, obey the captain or the umpire and sink self and play for the side. There should be law and order even in a cricket match. There is the control of the captain and the umpire over the team; there is co-operation on the part of the Eleven, all working together for the name and fame of their school or college. A student guilty of rowdyism, vulgar behaviour, or any kind of unsporting conduct, is a bad citizen of his school or college and disgraces it. A cricketer who refuses to obey his captain or argues and quarrels with the umpire is a bad citizen and does not deserve to be called a cricketer. Almost military discipline is required in a match—discipline in the midst of freedom—

'Theirs not to make reply.
'Theirs not to reason why,
'Theirs but to do and die.'

The above remarks on control and co-operation are true for football, hockey or any other game. 'Play to the whistle' should be the motto of every footballer or hockey-player. If this rule were obeyed we should not hear ugly tales or see disgraceful sights of referees being hissed and hooted by a vulgar mob. This would mean less unpleasantness, more enjoyment and good fellowship. No more would football and hockey matches end in a free fight, the defeated side—or rather the spectators who are supporters of that side—attacking the other side just out of spite, and a few people going home or to the hospital with a cut, a bruise, a broken head or a bandaged knee. One sometimes witnesses such sights, the hockey-sticks being used for purposes other than those of hitting the ball. The hockey-sticks are meant to

play with, not to fight with. The games are meant to promote a feeling of friendship and fraternity in the great brotherhood of sportsmen; they are not meant to sow seeds of petty jealousies and quarrels. Sportsmanship and skill are no use at all without a sporting spirit. It is much better to be a sport than a sportsman.

So much for control and obedience. Now let us turn to co-operation. In no games are the results of co-operation so marvellous as in hockey, soccer* and rugger*. It is the combination that counts. A goal-keeper saves the goal, passes the ball to the full-back, the full-back passes the ball to the right wing, the wing to the inside right, the inside right to the centre-forward who shoots from within the circle and scores *a goal!* Who scored the goal? Not the centre-forward alone, surely. The goal-keeper, the back, the outside right, the inside right, and the centre-forward were all responsible for the goal. Each did his bit. 'Passing' is the key to success in hockey and football. 'Passing' implies combination, co-operation. Individual play of one or two men, however brilliant, is no substitute for a united effort made by a well-trained combination of clever players who do not think of self but play only for the side.

To conclude then, let us remember that a citizen is one who is entitled to the rights and privileges given by the country; that duties and responsibilities go hand in hand with rights and privileges; and that law and order or control and co-operation are as necessary at home as at school, at college or on the play-ground. Each individual must strive his utmost for the whole team or 'side,' put aside petty jealousies and all kinds of meanness and whole-heartedly play for the side, modest in victory and smiling or whistling, like a good scout, even in defeat.

* *Soccer* is Association Football, as usually played in India and England. *Rugger* is Rugby Football much played in Public Schools in England.

CHAPTER II

PATRIOTISM, OR THE CITIZEN'S DUTY TO HIS COUNTRY.

Patriotism—Examples from History and Literature—Love of City—Love of Country—True Idea of Patriotism for a good citizen—League of Nations—Brotherhood of man.

In the first chapter we saw the reasons why we should love our parents who gave us birth and emphasised the duty we owe to them. And should we not love the land of our birth? Do we owe nothing to our 'Motherland' or 'Fatherland'? Where should we be without the laws which protect us, the power of a strong but just and impartial government, the defence of the country by the police, the army and the navy? Without these there would be no security of life and property, no law and order.

Patriotism means the love of one's fatherland. It is a word derived from the Latin 'Pater' meaning 'father' or 'Patria' meaning the fatherland. The Germans call Germany their 'Fatherland.' We in India call 'Mother India' our 'Motherland.'

Literature and History are full of this noble sentiment. Think of the ancient Greeks and Romans and their love for their own city or country—for Athens or Sparta or Rome or the Roman Empire. Think of the ancient Persians in the great days of Zal, Rustam, Framroze, Sohrab and Barjore, as narrated in Firdausi's *Shah Namah*. Think of the heroic deeds done by the patriotic ancient Aryans as narrated in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata!* For the love of Sparta every Spartan lady expected her son, brother or husband to return from battle '*with* the shield or *on* it' meaning that he should either come victorious,

or as a corpse carried upon the shield. Who has not heard of the Pass of Thermopylæ so bravely defended by the patriotic Spartans with one of their Kings (Leonidas) against overwhelming odds with certain death staring them in the face? But they were determined to die, every mother's son of them. They wanted to go home *on* the shield since going *with* it was impossible. Leonidas tried to save the life of two of his kinsmen by giving them letters and messages to Sparta, but in vain. 'I have come to fight or die, not to carry letters,' said one. 'My deeds will tell all that Sparta wishes to know,' said another. Another Spartan was told that the Persian archers were so many that their arrows darkened the sun. 'So much the better,' he said. 'We shall fight in the shade.' Who has not read those beautiful lines of Macaulay upon the way Horatius, with the help of Spurius Lartius and Herminius, defended the bridge over the river Tiber when the Tuscans invaded Rome?

Then outspake brave Horatius,
The Captain of the Gate:
'To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late.
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his Gods?

'Hew down the bridge, Sir Consul,
With all the speed ye may;
I, with two more to help me,
Will hold the foe in play.
In yon strait path a thousand
May well be stopped by three.
Now who will stand on either hand,
And keep the bridge with me?

'Horatius,' quoth the Consul,
'As thou sayest, so let it be.'
And straight against that great array
Forth went the dauntless Three.
For Romans in Rome's quarrel
Spared neither land nor gold,
Nor son nor wife, nor limb nor life
In the brave days of old.

Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the state;
Then the great men helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great;
Then lands were fairly portioned;
Then spoils were fairly sold;
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old.

Some of the above lines give us good ideas on patriotism worthy of a good citizen. Equally well-known is the patriotic outburst of Sir Walter Scott on Scotland:

Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
From wandering on a foreign strand!
If such there breathe, go, mark him well:
For him no minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim:
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.

O Caledonia! stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child!
Land of brown heath and shaggy wood!
Land of the mountain and the flood,
Land of my sires! what mortal hand
Can e'er unite the filial band,
That knits me to thy rugged strand!

Patriotism may arise from love of home or love of race, caste or religion. Local Patriotism refers to the love of one's birth-place—whether town, city or village. It often takes the form of what is called provincial patriotism and sometimes degenerates into narrow-minded cries of 'Bengal for the Bengalis,' or 'Punjab for the Punjabis'! The love of one's race or religion, is a good thing if it is broadened and improved by love of one's country. Had it not been for

pride in their glorious past and in their religion, the Jews and Parsis would, ere now, have been wiped off the surface of the earth. But when patriotism of this kind is carried to excess, it degenerates into hatred of other races and controversial problems arise, like Hindus versus Muhammadans, Brahmins versus Non-Brahmins and so on, dividing man from man, brother from his brethren. Born of the same mother, Mother Hind, sheltered by the mountains above and the seas below, nourished by the same corn, plant or vegetable, subject to the same disease and the same winds, warmed by the same sun, why should we Indians fight among ourselves when greater things are waiting to be done for national unity? Union is strength. Division or race-hatred among Indians themselves means the necessity for foreign rule. Let us learn from the example of Italy under Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, and 'awake, arise or be for ever fallen.' Napoleon found out from his experiences of Spain, Portugal, Prussia and Russia that it is no easy matter to crush a nation,

> 'For freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won.'

But love of country must not mean hatred of something or somebody else. Love does not mean hate. We say God is love. What, then, can be more divine than universal love for all mankind? 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' 'Do as you would be done by.' These little sayings are very true and lead us to the higher and nobler truth of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. God's love is not bounded by the feeble fences of mountains, seas and rivers. We cannot imagine Him to love an Englishman more than a Frenchman or a Frenchman more than a German. Indian or British, French or German, African or American,

Gentile or Jew, we are all the children of one Father.

It is for this reason that the League of Nations has been formed. Ever since the days of the great Napoleon, the world has thought over the question of a 'Concert of Europe.' The great Congress of Vienna (1815) was more or less a meeting of ambassadors. Few people now believe in the idea of War being a necessity. The soldiers who fought in the Great War say they have had enough of it. They were face to face with the reality, the horror, the wickedness of war. War often takes away the bulk of the male population and the best part of it. Able-bodied, intelligent people in the prime of manhood are killed, and the maimed and the old, the sick and the weak, and the women remain at home. In one sense an aggressive war is a crime and all warfare means practically a survival of the unfittest. Well does Ella Wheeler Wilcox say in her beautiful poem on 'Woman and War:'

> We women teach our little sons how wrong
> And how ignoble blows are; school and church
> Support our precepts and inoculate
> The growing minds with thoughts of love and peace.
> 'Let dogs delight to bark and bite,' we say;
> But, human beings with immortal souls
> Must rise above the methods of the brute
> And walk with reason and with self-control.

CHAPTER III

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

It was in the great Palace of Versailles that on the 28th June, 1919, statesmen of thirty-one nations assembled together to work for the peace of mankind. Some other states were invited to join and they did. Now the League of Nations consists of representatives of over 56 states, including three-fourths of the people of the world.

The League decided to have a kind of Parliament with two Houses—the *Assembly*, and the *Council*. The Assembly is like a lower and larger House. It has a representative from every State which has joined the League. The Council is the smaller body of the two, consisting of representatives from the British Empire (including a representative from India) France, Italy, Japan and from about six other States elected each year by the Assembly. It seems a great pity that the very country—America—which did so much for the idea of a League of Nations during the great days of President Woodrow Wilson, has kept out of the League. But let us hope that she also will join.

The Council is an executive body, and meets much oftener than the Assembly. A small group of men can come together much more easily than a large crowd of politicians from different parts of the world can. Sometimes it meets in Paris, sometimes in London, Geneva or other places. The September session is held in Geneva. Usually all these sessions are public, but sometimes the members meet in cabinet or privately. The discussions are carried on mostly

in two languages—English and French. What is spoken in one language is translated into the other.

The first and the most important task of the council is to prevent war. It has to attend to any matter brought to the attention of the League by any member. It is also given some special duties, such as looking after the districts placed under the authority of the League by the Peace Treaty—the Saar District between France and Germany and the port of Danzig on the Baltic. The Saar District contains some valuable mines. The control of these was given over to France by the Peace Treaty as a compensation for the loss of her mines in the war. The port of Danzig was a Polish town taken from Germany in the war and placed under the League to give Poland an outlet to the sea.

A third duty also is entrusted to the Council. It has to look after the colonies taken from Germany in the war. A special committee of the council does this work and reports to the council.

There are some races which were placed by the Peace Treaties under governments of a race different from their own. Because they are smaller or minor groups placed under bigger nations, they are called 'minorities.'* Special rules are made for the prevention of unfair treatment to them, so that they can be free to use any language they like and be free to have schools and churches as they like.

For about one month every year, on the first Monday in September, the Assembly meets at Geneva. Each nation represented on the League is allowed to send three representatives or delegates, who are helped by experts and advisers. The reports of the Council and the Secretariat of the League are discussed for about one week. Then the Assembly breaks up into

* The most important minorities among all these are German minorities in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, Austrian minorities in Italy, and Hungarians under Roumania.

six committees which devise plans to carry out the suggestions made by the whole Assembly.

During the intervals between the meetings of either the Council or the Assembly, much work has to be done, and somebody has to do it. The members are far away, each in his own country, busy with his own work. So a special staff of men and women is kept at the headquarters to carry on the correspondence, collect facts, file papers, write reports in both English and French, make public the doings of the League and explain to the public its aim. This staff of men and women is called the Secretariat of the League. Outside the garden wall of the Secretariat on the road running by the beautiful Lake Leman is a marble memorial in memory of President Woodrow Wilson, 'the founder of the League of Nations.'

The chief aim of the League, as given in the first sentence of the Covenant is 'to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security' by 'the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.'

Thus it was that in October, 1925, when Greece and Bulgaria began fighting and the Bulgarians appealed to the League, the Council took the matter up, asked Greece to send her soldiers out of Bulgaria within sixty hours and ordered both Greece and Bulgaria to stop fighting, which they did. A commission was appointed to consider the situation and the war-clouds were dispersed.

Indeed, the two best remedies to prevent war are, as Galsworthy, a great English writer puts it, publicity and delay. We are capable of getting angry with our neighbours and fighting and quarrelling in the heat of the moment. When some time is allowed to elapse we cool down and are capable of seeing both sides of the question. Then we see that if we were right on some points, our opponent too was probably right from his own point of view. This is the reason

why even if two parties cannot agree to a decision of the League, they still, like other members of it, are bound by a promise not to declare war for at least three months after the decision of the Council is given. Any member of the League has the 'friendly right' to bring to the notice of the Council any danger of war and the Council takes action. Even Finland, which was not a member of the League, accepted the decision of the Council in 1920 when Finland, and not Sweden, was asked to keep the Aaland Islands. It was Great Britain which exercised the 'friendly right,' brought the matter before the League and prevented war between Finland and Sweden.

Yet there was that possibility of war to be got rid of. After three months at least, two nations could fight if they chose. Even this possibility is, to a certain extent, diminished by the Locarno Pact, named after Locarno, a beautiful town in Switzerland on Lake Maggiore. By this Pact Germany was to join the League, and her offer to stick to her present western boundary and to make a treaty with France leaving all disputes to peaceful settlement was accepted by France. Similar treaties were made by Belgium, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia with Germany by the Locarno Pact.

For the peaceful settlement or 'mediation,' 'arbitration' or 'conciliation,' a special court of some kind is necessary. Therefore, a court of eleven judges and four deputy-judges was set up, 'regardless of nationality, from among persons of high moral character.' This Court can successfully decide the legal aspect of questions. A dispute between France and England was amicably settled by the Court and France then made a peaceful arrangement with England.

Besides the prevention of war, the League fights diseases like typhus, plague, cholera, etc.; helps people in distress, sends food or clothing to famine-stricken

places, and so on. The Health section of the League is very important, and Red Cross and other societies have been established. In this kind of welfare work Dr. Nansen, the Arctic explorer, has helped very much. The League also helps native races, fights slavery and the opium traffic and helps children. It has established what is called *'An advisory Committee, for the protection of Children and young Persons.'* In its *'Declaration of Geneva,'* a Charter of the rights of children was drafted to save children, to feed the hungry, to nurse the sick, to help the backward child and the orphan and to educate or prepare such children to earn their livelihood. The League has also formed a *'Committee on International Co-operation'* to create an intellectual atmosphere and to help to raise the standard of intellectual life. It has also formed another body, the *'International Labour Organisation,'* or the *I. L. O.*, as it is called, which helps the labourer. It tries to help the workers by giving them shorter hours of work, better pay, protection in sickness or injury, assistance during unemployment, etc.

In spite of this great work, all that Great Britain has to pay the League is about £100,000 a year.* This is nothing at all in comparison with her expenses for the army, the navy and the air service. The upkeep alone of *one* of her large battleships costs four times the amount every year. Even in financial matters the League lends its aid. It saved Austria from ruin in 1922. Two million pounds were lent to Austria in 1922 by Great Britain to save her from bankruptcy.

If all the great powers of the world including the United States of America will join the League and live up to its principles; if, as H. G. Wells

* £1,000,000 for the entire upkeep of the League. Compare this with over £44,000,000 spent by England in peace time only on her army.

says, all young people are deliberately trained to look upon other human beings as brothers and are educated up to *the ideal of a world state and world citizenship;* if real executive authority is placed in the hands of the League of Nations with an army, a navy, an air force and absolute sovereignty over existing states:—if all these things are done, surely we shall think of wars and battles as things of the past. For the present let us hope for the best and wish every success to the League. Let us hope that man will rise above selfishness, above egotism, above commercial rivalries or national hatred, and sincerely try to co-operate with the League. Everything depends upon educating the people up to this great ideal.

No better introduction to this ideal can be given than by the Boy Scout and the Girl Guide movements. A scout is a brother to every other scout. A Girl Guide is a sister to every other guide. Once this ideal of love for all mankind is given at home, school, and college, the rest is plain sailing, and the great and glorious ideal of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God will be achieved.

CHAPTER IV

SCOUTING AS AN AID TO CITIZENSHIP.

If we really want to be good citizens of the world and wish to bring about universal brotherhood in a real world state, we should begin at the beginning. Children and young people of this generation must be taught the ideal of a world union. Hitherto all efforts made to further the interests of the League of Nations have been by adults for adults. Appeals have been made to the adults, whose ideas of patriotism and whose likes and dislikes about the different nations are already formed. For the young, whose ideas are unformed, no better instrument can be found to give the ideal of a universal brotherhood than the Boy Scout movement for boys, and the Girl Guide movement for girls.

What a wonderful movement this is! Indeed, Lord Baden-Powell, the founder of this movement deserves to be classed as one of the benefactors of mankind. Those who had the good fortune to hear his witty lectures, and to attend the Jamboree in London in 1920, learned what wonders have been worked by the movement. Scores of nations were represented in the Jamboree from all parts of the world. Just think of the situation! The most terrific war known to history had just finished. Over the problems of peace and reconstruction after the war, the adult people of most of the countries could not agree among themselves. Each was frowning at his neighbour. France was still angry with Germany, England with Russia. There were troubles in Egypt, Ireland, and India. There were troubles between capital and labour, the classes and the masses in

England and elsewhere. And yet in this Scout Jamboree the sons of these adults—white, black, brown or yellow—sons of capitalists and sons of working people, all met together as brothers from all parts of the world including India and Ireland.

Scouting is an extremely useful instrument of education, and supplies many of the things which are lacking in our educational system. A really good Scout or Girl Guide is a well-educated young gentleman or lady. What a number of good qualities are required to be an efficient Scout and to get many badges of efficiency! Observation, patience, perseverance, presence of mind, quick-footedness, manual skill, consideration for others, kindness to strangers, the desire to do a good turn to any one, mercy, and love are all required, among other things.

The Scout Law will speak for itself.—

1. A Scout's honour is to be trusted.
2. A Scout is loyal to the king, his parents, his country, his employers and to those under him.
3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.
4. He is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter of what race or social class. Like Kipling's 'Kim,' he is 'a friend of all the world.'
5. A Scout has to be courteous.
6. A Scout should be kind to animals.
7. A Scout obeys the orders of his parents, teachers, patrol leader, or Scout Master.
8. A Scout smiles and whistles when in difficulties. He is not expected to curse and swear when things go wrong.
9. A Scout is thrifty and saves every anna he can.
10. A Scout is pure in thought, word and deed.

The above ideas about the Scout Law are summarised in the following four lines:—

Trusty, loyal and helpful,
Brotherly, courteous, kind,
Obedient, smiling and thrifty,
Pure as the rustling wind.

Besides the Scout Law, the movement teaches many games and useful occupations such as:—First Aid to the Injured or Ambulance, Boxing, Carpentry, Shooting, etc.

Scouting is based upon the best and the most up-to-date principles of education. It is, more or less, a process of self-education. It requires self-help and develops the power of observation, concentration on things which generally interest the boy's mind, and trains him in the art of citizenship through all that appeals to him. It teaches discipline, and pays individual attention to his hobbies and his mind, trains him to use his limbs and develop his body. In short, it tries to make as perfect a being out of the boy as it possibly can, in an atmosphere of freedom, limited only by the freedom of others. He is free from desks, free from small stuffy school-rooms, and gets his birth-right and privilege to be out in the open, to work with his hands, to be on the move, and to work, run, watch, jump and shout in God's fresh air. Would you not like to be a Scout?

CHAPTER V

THE CITIZEN'S DUTY TO HIMSELF.

(1) A Strong Healthy Body.

We have seen the necessity for co-operation and love of our fellow human beings. Nowhere is this spirit of co-operation and love of our brethren better seen or shown than in the care every one of us takes and the steps he takes to make himself and all his family as healthy and strong as possible. If one part of our body suffers, the whole body suffers; in the same way if one part of the 'body social' or society suffers, or keeps its neighbourhood dirty and unhealthy, all society feels its effects in one way or another, especially in the spread of malaria and contagious diseases like plague, cholera and influenza.

So important is this subject of Hygiene, that no scheme of education can be complete without the Elements of Hygiene and Physical Exercise being compulsory in every school—Primary or Secondary. Good schools teach or ought to teach Physiology, Hygiene and Nature Study.

It would be beyond the scope of this little book to enter into any details about sanitation and hygiene, because good books on the subject are available. Yet no book on citizenship can be complete without a chapter—however short—on the laws of health. Let us sum up the laws of health as briefly as possible.

1. The first and most important law of health is: Have as much fresh air, especially open air, as possible; work, play and have as much physical

exercise as you can bear in the fresh air and sunlight, preferably in an open space.

'Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
The wise for cure on exercise depend;
God never made his work for man to mend.'

It is good to learn Swedish drill or the Sandow or Muller Systems or any good system of physical exercise, including exercises to strengthen the lungs, arms, legs, trunk and the abdomen. Our Indian exercises like 'Dund,' 'Baithak,' Club-swinging etc., are excellent. Or learn some games, and enjoy cycling, riding or swimming. Swimming is the most perfect exercise in the world for all—men,women and children. The exhilarating effect of the cool water, the vigorous exercise, the fun and frolic among friends with nothing but water below and God and his heavens above—all this is like Paradise on earth. This paradise is realised especially when we enjoy fresh air after being confined to our bed-room for some time.

See the wretch that long has tost,
On the thorny bed of pain,
Again repair his vigour lost,
And walk and run again.
The meanest flow'ret of the vale,
The simplest note that swells the gale,
The common air, the earth, the skies,
To him are opening Paradise.

—*Gray.*

2. Take plain, simple, wholesome food. Milk is the most perfect food known. Oatmeal porridge, Force, half-boiled eggs, fruit, buttered toast, and things like that, are easily digestible. A proper combination of starch, proteids, fats and oils, etc., should be made. We in India seem to take too much starch —we eat too much wheat in the Punjab and too much rice in Madras, Bombay and Bengal. Starch by itself is not nourishing enough. It must be mixed with

proteids. Eggs, fish, fowl, meat, cheese, milk, cream, pulses, nuts, etc., are nourishing, and so is wheat. It is quite possible to make an excellent combination out of vegetarian products only—say rice, potatoes (with the skin), wheat, oatmeal, milk, cream, butter, cheese, sour milk,* pulses, nuts, fresh and dried fruits and vegetables.

3. Chew your food slowly, and let it mix well with the saliva. As we say 'Eat your water and drink your food.' Don't eat too much. Drink plenty of boiled and filtered water between meals, not just before or just after a meal.

4. In order to chew the food properly, brush your teeth well, keep them clean, use them well and never let any particles of food remain inside after meals. Clean your teeth after every meal, or at least in the morning and at night before going to bed. If pus comes out of the gums, or if there is anything wrong, consult a dentist at once. If there is a dental clinic attached to the school, all the better. See the dentist periodically. As a rule Indians have much better teeth than Europeans, probably because of their simple habits, simple food, fewer meals, and their habit of gargling, and cleaning their teeth.

5. Keep the bowels and digestive system clean and regular.

6. Lead a regular life. Take all your meals at regular intervals. Don't eat between meals.

7. Be neat and tidy. Never wear dirty clothes. Be clean in your thoughts, words and deeds. Cleanliness is next to godliness. Clean clothes and cleanliness of person will arouse a sense of self-respect. Self-respect will lead to self-confidence, and a proper sense of self-confidence is the key to success in life.

8. Keep yourself well-occupied. It is good to have some leisure and make proper use of it; but

---

* Known as *'Lasi'* in the Punjab.

never have too much leisure unless you know what to do with it. Doing nothing is doing ill. Be at least in good company. Birds of a feather flock together. Never be in bad company, or you will learn bad habits.

> In work of labour or of skill,
> Let me be busy too;
> For Satan finds some mischief still
> For idle hands to do.

9. Take care of your eyes. They are too precious to be neglected. While reading, let the light come from behind; while writing, let it come from the left. Avoid books or news-papers printed in too small a type. Avoid reading when you are on the move, for instance, when you are walking or riding in a moving vehicle. Too much glare from the sun is bad for the eyes. Wear spectacles if the glare is strong. Never read continuously for too many hours at a stretch without a break. Look away from the book sometimes at some distant object and begin reading again. Just as the muscles, wrists, arms, feet and legs become stronger by exercise, so in the same way do our teeth and eyes.

10. Be cheerful. Never sulk. Never despair. Do not trouble trouble till trouble troubles you. Seek cheerful company. A healthy cheerful mother has healthy, cheerful children. Have as much fun as you can. As a poet says:—

> 'Laugh and the world laughs with you
> Weep, and you weep alone,'

Another English poet—John Masefield—says:

> 'Laugh and be merry, remember, better the world with a song.
> Better the world with a blow in the teeth of a wrong.
> Laugh, for the time is brief, a thread the length of a span.
> Laugh and be proud to belong to the old proud pageant of man.'

CHAPTER VI

THE CITIZEN'S DUTY TO HIMSELF—*(Contd.)*

(2) A Strong Healthy Mind.

The Roman Ideal—How to Exercise the Brain—'Two sides to every problem'—A Persian story—Idol worship—An Analogy—The Great Religions of the World—What they Teach.

We have seen how important it is to have co-operation, law and order, love for one's country and all mankind, and a healthy strong body. But in addition to a strong healthy body we must have a strong healthy mind. The motto of the ancient Romans was right: 'A sound mind in a sound body.' We can do well in the world by having a healthy body. We can do better if we have a healthy mind. A strong man may be a fool. On the other hand a clever weak man with an intellect as sharp as a needle, will do much more for himself and his people or country than the strongest man on earth if he is a fool. A fool and fortune are soon parted.

The mind, like the body, needs both exercise and rest. There is such a thing as mental gymnastics. Whenever we read, write or study intelligently, observe carefully, listen attentively or think deeply over a problem, we are giving some exercise to our brain.

The more we exercise the brain, the better it will be. As far as possible we must think only of the subject in hand and nothing else. To do this we have to exercise our will-power and exert ourselves with all our strength. We must think deeply and clearly,

decide quickly, and act promptly. 'Thought without action is an evil and so is action without thought,' says a great writer.

How to give exercise to the brain is an important question. There are many ways of doing this. Try to find out things for yourself. Try to ask the 'why' and the 'wherefore' of questions or statements. 'Why' and 'how' are important questions to ask. Put them to yourselves, your elders, your teachers, your books. Use your own brains. Think your own thoughts. Don't merely borrow or steal other people's ideas. Don't think second-hand. Try to think first hand. One original idea of your own is worth a dozen ideas of others. Other people's ideas may or may not suit you. Don't be led by the nose—even by books and newspapers. Read or hear other people's opinions, respect them, but judge for yourself. The teachers who make you think, who just guide, encourage, inspire you and then leave you to solve your own problems in your own way, are good teachers. Those who tell you everything beforehand—perhaps out of sheer kindness or want of training—and do not let you discover anything for yourself, are not training you in the habit of thinking, deciding and acting for yourself.

But this is not a simple matter. Thinking, deciding and acting for oneself is not easy. No fool can think for himself. If he does, he will do himself more harm than good. There is no bigger fool in the world than a man who is an obstinate, ignorant fool—and does not know it. He is proud of his ignorance, laughs at knowledge, is obstinate in his stupidity and takes a leap in the dark.

Practically there are two sides to every problem of life. There is no rose without a thorn, no joy without sorrow. There are two sides to a shield, we say. You know the story of the two knights. They saw the same shield from two different ends. One said it

was a golden shield: the other said it was a silver one. They argued. They quarrelled. They fought. They bled. As they lay bleeding to death, they looked up. There lay the shield! It had gold on one side and silver on the other! Both were right—and wrong too.

There is a nice little Persian story which tells us about six blind men who went to observe what an elephant was like. One touched his body on one side and shouted. 'Oh, I know. An elephant is just like a wall.' Another, who had just felt the tusk of the elephant, exclaimed 'No. It is not in the least like a wall. It is like a thick, but pointed spear.' The third man happened to get hold of its trunk and shouted that the elephant was exactly like a big snake. The fourth blind man somehow came near the knee of the elephant, and thought it was like the trunk of a tree! The fifth touched the ear and called the elephant a fan, the sixth felt his tail and called it a rope!

'The Fifth, who chanced to touch the ear
Said: E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
Deny the fact who can,
This marvel of an Elephant
Is very like a fan!

The sixth no sooner had begun.
About the beast to grope,
Than, seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within his scope,
"I see," quoth he, "the Elephant
Is very like a rope!"

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong.
Though each was partly in the right
And all were in the wrong!'

Truth has many sides and none of us can always see all of them at once. We see truth only in little bits, not truth itself—truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. All the greater reason why we

should be broad-minded and tolerant of each other's views, politics, religion and so on. All religions try to lead us to God by different paths. The goal is the same, only the roads are different.

Once upon a time a small boy looked scornfully at an idol and said to his teacher: 'Why should people worship such an ugly and lifeless object as this'? In reply the teacher said: Suppose that a very small girl is separated from a very beautiful mother for a very long time. She tries to think of her mother, but cannot; tries to picture her face and features but cannot. The only thing left to her is imagination. She tries to imagine. She tries to draw her mother on a piece of paper. It is very bad drawing, but she thinks it excellent. She tries to make a little statue out of clay or wax. The statue, too, is too imperfect, too ugly to do justice to so beautiful a mother. But the child loves her drawing and her idol, because they represent, or she thinks they represent, her dear mother. She kisses, caresses, and fondles those images. Suppose that the mother comes suddenly to the child and sees her kissing, embracing, and loving her mother's picture and statue, however imperfect. Will she be pleased or displeased? She certainly will be pleased to see so much devotion and love even for those ugly representations of herself. She will say: 'If my child has so much respect and love for those lifeless, ugly things supposed to represent me, how much more respect and love must she have for the real thing'? For this very reason many great religions of the world worship God through Nature. The pretty flowers, the crescent moon, the twinkling stars, the dazzling sun, the mighty ocean—are not these suitable symbols of God? What can more fitly give the ordinary man-in-the-street an idea of the might of the Almighty than the mighty ocean, so vast in extent that one can see nothing but the sea and the sky and the sky and the sea, with almost unfathomable depths

below and limitless space above? What can be a fitter emblem of the Creator than the Sun, the giver of life to all? Without the sun there would be no plants, no fruits, no vegetation. What wonder then that some religions worship God through fire and water! 'Through Nature to Nature's Godhead' is the idea. As Milton says:—

> 'These are thy glorious works, parent of good,
> Almighty, Thine this universal frame, thus wondrous fair,
> Thyself how wondrous then!'

All religions, Sikhism, Hinduism, Muhammadanism and Christianity give us a good moral code. In reality they are the same. The five important precepts of the Buddhist Moral Code are—not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, and not to give way to drunkenness. The six important virtues, according to Buddhism, are charity, purity, patience, courage, contemplation and knowledge. How similar this is to Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity! Zoroaster, performing his miracles, based his religion upon purity consisting of pure thoughts, pure words, and pure or good deeds. Read a little about the life of these great prophets. Such reading is most beneficial. Think of the life of Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, Muhammad, Guru Nanak! How similar is their code of morals! Think over the words of Jesus! Do you remember his *Sermon on the Mount*? How beautiful, how sublime it is, if people would just practise what is preached therein!

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION OR CULTURE AND SELF-CULTURE.

Culture—Self-Culture—Spoon-feeding *vs.* Self-help in Games, Sports and Education—Conclusion.

What do we Mean by Culture?

'Reading is to the mind, what exercise is to the body, as by the one health is preserved, strengthened, and invigorated; by the other, virtue, which is the health of the mind, is kept alive, cherished and confirmed.'

—*Steele.*

'My days among the Dead are past;
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old,
My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

With them I take delight in weal
And seek relief in woe;
And while I understand and feel
How much to them I owe,
My cheeks have often been bedew'd
With tears of thoughtful gratitude.'

—*Southey.*

Our Chapter on the mind and mental efficiency takes us now to the process by which we or our teachers can improve our mind. This takes us to the problem of educating ourselves.

Since the days of the Great War of 1914, we have heard so much about the German military civilization, German ideals of 'Kultur' and State-controlled education, about the sacrificing of the individual to the State, as humorously shown by Jerome in his *'Three Men on the Bummel,'* that the very word 'Kultur' has an evil sound. This is rather unfortunate

and unjust, for the fact remains that it is just the one word we want to use for that much-abused word 'Education.'

The Dictionary defines, or rather describes 'Culture'* as 'training or discipline by which man's moral and intellectual nature is elevated; or the result of such training; or enlightenment, civilization or refinement.'

Culture, then, is 'tilling or ploughing, dressing, sowing and reaping.' Tilling what? The mind, the body, and the soul, of course. By culture we mean all that is happiest, prettiest, noblest and best in the education of a given individual of a given nation, class or community. The word education is too vague and leads to word jugglery and word-fights. Culture emphasises the difference between the real education and mere instruction. No apology for the word is necessary. Hasn't the great Tagore written on *'The Centre of Indian Culture,'* and started his 'Shantiniketan' and International University at Bolpur,† for the benefit of those who want to study India's Arts, Sciences, Languages and Culture, at India's feet?

When people say 'Mr. John Jones is an educated man—he has passed his B.A. examination,' somehow we feel puzzled as to what sort of a man Mr. Jones might be. He may be a clever man, for all we know; or he may be a knave, or a fool or both at once. But when somebody calls him a 'cultured' man, our respect and reverence for him go up very high indeed. We can at once picture in our mind's eye a courteous, refined man with a refined taste and refined manners; a man who has great expressive power, but uses it tactfully and wisely, showing that quick and cultured intellect can exist side by side

---

* 'From Latin "Cultura" ("Colo," cultum, to till.),

† 'Vishvabharati.'

with good manners, virtue, accomplishments, mental discipline, good humour and good fellowship.

To be really educated or thoroughly cultured, one has to cultivate and till, or rather 'dig, dress, sow, water and reap' some at least of the following.

1. A refined and able taste in writing and reading, and ability to think one's own thoughts about what is read or written so that one may be able to criticise, appreciate or enjoy a book, a poem, an article, or anything written. As Locke says:—

> 'Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; it is thinking makes what we read ours. We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; unless we chew them over again, they will not give us strength and nourishment.'

Ruskin emphasises accuracy in language, words and pronunciations in *Sesame and Lilies*:—

> 'You may read all the books in the British Museum, and remain an "illiterate," uneducated person; but if you read ten pages of a good book with real accuracy, you are for evermore in some measure an educated person.'

2. A refined taste for conversation and conversational etiquette. We shall talk more about this and about character and personality in the chapter on *The Citizen as a Gentleman.*

3. Some of the essential subjects which go to make up a 'liberal education;' for example Language and Literature, Drawing and Painting, History and Geography, Science and Mathematics, Music and Singing, English or any Second Language, Nature study and Hygiene.

4. At least two or more accomplishments like Music, Singing, Gardening, Needlework, Cookery, Cricket, Hockey, Tennis, Billiards, Badminton, Riding, Shooting, and other games and pastimes. Scouting, Military Drill, training in the University

Training Corps, all belong to the same class. Many of these accomplishments teach us how to spend our leisure 'nobly,' as Aristotle says. There are thousands of people who do not know what to do with themselves in their spare time. A hobby or accomplishment is 'the very thing for such people.'

5. Character and Personality. There is no limit to knowledge, virtue, mental and physical education and culture. Yet there is certainly a reasonable minimum recognised by all right-thinking, cultured people. Attempts to make this minimum a rigid, hard-and-fast, definable quantity, have usually failed. When all is said and done, the fact remains that words like 'Culture,' 'Learning,' 'Wisdom' and 'Stupidity,' all suggest a relative notion. A boy of the fifth class is clever, wise and cultured in the eyes of a boy of the third class: a student of the B.A. class is an intellectual giant in comparison with one who has just joined College. Knowledge and book-learning are the most variable parts of culture. The really constant though immeasurable factors are refinement, taste, conversational and writing ability, character and breeding. These will grow with the 'cultured' man's growth, strengthen with his strength and die only in his death.

Self-Culture.

In the first part of this chapter we talked more about the result of culture than about the process of culture. Out of the numerous methods of education, two stand out distinctly; the spoon-feeding method, and the self-help method, or, as the latter should be called, 'the self-cultural method.'

The time will come when we shall change our ideas about 'teachers' and 'teaching,' and recognise the fact that 'the best teacher is one who teaches the least,' as a lecturer in England at a conference on the New Ideals in Education once said. Guidance is

necessary from a teacher, spoon-feeding is not. School-masters will not always be at the elbow of the student to help him in the game of life. School and College life are, after all, of short duration. *It is the training and the mental gymnastics given; the habit of grappling with difficulties and conquering them, the development of self-help, self-respect, originality, self-confidence, honesty, patience and perseverance;—it is all these that count, and remain a cultured man's life-long possessions, 'till death do them part.'*

Supposing for example that you are a cricketer, a footballer, or a tennis player, how will you try to learn these games from your coach or teacher? Can you afford to be spoon-fed? Can you afford always to sit still watching the performance—however brilliant—of your teacher without yourself taking an active part in the game? While playing a cricket or a football match will you shout to your teacher: 'Oh, please Sir, come and play this nasty leg-break for me?' Or, 'I don't like the look of that big half-back. Won't you dribble the ball past him so that I may score a goal'? The leg-break takes your wicket before you have stopped shouting. The big half-back charges you and you lie sprawling on the ground before your overkind teacher may rush to your rescue.

You laugh at this and so does your teacher. You see the absurdity of the spoon-feeding idea in games. And yet that is just what ninety-eight per cent of us are always doing in the great big game of life. Our teachers, our parents, our uncles and aunts, our elder brothers and sisters, our servants and nurses, all take a grim delight in doing things for us, making us far more helpless than ever we were before. If they only knew, how sorry they would be for checking initiative, chilling enthusiasm, crushing personality and originality of thought, and killing all habits of self-help, industry, and deep, unaided thinking out of one's own problems? Few teachers or parents

have the patience to wait; few give children a chance to be let alone, to succeed off their own bat, or fail gloriously in the attempt.

After all, real education is self-education; real culture is self-culture. The teacher, the parent or the elder brother is, or ought to be, a useful, kind-hearted, affectionate guide and inspirer, but not a 'teacher' in the usual sense of being a spoon-feeder. He must leave the students, to a certain extent, to develop on their own lines, so that if once put on the right track, they can carry on their own process of education or culture according to their own tastes and genius, after they have finished their School or College days. Just because they were poor, just because they had to look the world in the face fair and square, just because they tucked up their sleeves and worked hard many of the greatest men of the world have been made, as mentioned by Smiles in his *'Self-help.'* These men and women literally held their fortune in the hollow of their hand, and defied Fortune by saying:—

'Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel with smile or frown,
With thy wild wheel we go not up or down.
Our hoard is little, but our hearts are great.
Smile and we smile the lords of many lands;
Frown and we smile, the lords of our own hands;
For man is man and master of his fate.'

—*Tennyson.*

We must never forget those hackneyed, but important proverbs about patience and perseverance overcoming mountains, about necessity being the mother of invention, about charity beginning but not ending at home, about taking care of the pence today so that the pounds may take care of themselves tomorrow, about honesty being the best policy, about practice making us perfect, and so on. Although some proverbs are only partly true, still most of them are very suggestive and useful if we get the best out of them by deeds, not words. A good

practical thought should be turned into action. As a great writer says: 'Thought without action is an evil, and so is action without thought.'

Self-culture, then, is based on self-help; self-help will probably beget self-confidence; self-confidence will lead to self-respect, and allow the individual to develop on his or her own lines. This at last will lead to development of originality, individuality, cleverness, expressive power, in short to the unfolding of personality. The greatest quality is self-help. Do everything you can by yourself. Do not depend on your teachers; do not bother your professors. They can guide, encourage, inspire. They need not teach. Knowing is not doing. Do the thing yourself, and do it well. Do not hesitate; fools do that. If you want to learn swimming—that best of physical exercises and excellent cure of many diseases, plunge in. Don't stand looking, and dreaming, and wishing, and sighing, and shivering on the shore. Begin at once. It is never too late to learn anything under the sun. You learn walking by walking, you learn swimming by plunging into the water. You can begin tennis by practising against a wall, cricket by practising with a few friends, football and hockey by gaining control over a ball even by yourself, billiards by practising alone. In intellectual games like Draughts, Chess and Billiards ideas play such an important part, that even books on the subject would be very useful. But whether in studies or pastimes and sports, begin to-day and 'carry on' sticking to the last. There should be no such word as 'To-morrow' in your dictionary, for

> 'To-morrow is a period nowhere to be found,
> Unless, perchance, in the fool's calendar:
> Wisdom disclaims the word, nor holds society
> With those who use it.'
>
> —*Cotton.*

Let us then conclude this chapter by saying that education or culture does not consist so much in

pouring facts and figures and things into the brain as in *drawing* things *out* of the brain. A good teacher tries to draw out or develop the natural abilities and tastes of his pupil so that the pupil can fill his or her place in the world in a becoming manner. Real education is self-education, real culture is self-culture. The habit of reading good books, separating the grain from the chaff, the habit of struggling with difficulties and conquering them, the habit of thinking over what is read and acting on what is thought and determined, above all, the constant training in self-effort and mental discipline are the roads leading to culture and success in life. So many men have become great by these means. Why not you?

'Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And parting, leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time.'

For,

'We have not wings, we cannot soar;
But we have feet to scale and climb
By slow degrees, by more and more,
The cloudy summits of our time.

The heights by great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upwards in the night.'

—*Longfellow.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE CITIZEN AS A GENTLEMAN.

In the preceding chapter we have told you what an important thing education is. It is our duty to study and think for ourselves. We cannot be good citizens unless we have the ability to think for ourselves. We cannot think for ourselves without studying the conditions of our country, its place in the Empire and the world. This will take us to most of the chapters devoted to the Government of our country and its place in the Empire. Before we can plunge into this difficult subject, let us see what a good citizen or gentleman should be like. Every citizen must try to be a *lady* or a *gentleman.* A gentleman is usually known by his manners, his person, his company, his good qualities of head and heart, and character.

It is a true saying that 'Manners Maketh Man.' Good manners are a hall-mark of good breeding and good society. Occasionally one may come across some accomplished villains. But man being a bundle of habits, and habit being a second nature or 'ten times nature,' surely we cannot help judging a person from his ways, habits and manners.

Consideration for others is the basis of all good manners. Selfishness is a great enemy of good manners. A well-mannered gentleman does not merely think of himself, his own needs, interests or pleasures. He keeps his eye on other people too, meets their wants, thinks of their convenience, their interest, their stand-point, their pleasures. In a tram, a bus or train he behaves himself and does not occupy more room than necessary. He has too much self-respect to cringe and flatter. He is too honest to tell

lies, too charitable to talk slander, too frank and brave to play the hypocrite or coward. He is not quarrelsome, or too argumentative in society, does not contradict people point-blank, tries not to hurt people's feelings, does not start controversial topics about religion or politics in society and does not lose his temper when they are introduced in a manner he does not agree with. He respects his equals and superiors, is kind and courteous, though firm, towards his inferiors, sincerely and generously sympathetic towards the afflicted and miserable, and compassionate towards the 'backward,' the ignorant, or the absurd. Above all, he is neat in his person, clean in his mind, polite in his conversation, cheerful in temper, graceful in his ways, punctual in keeping appointments, straightforward in his dealings, solid in character. If he undertakes a job, he will try his best to do it, and to do it well. He may not be brilliant in conversation, but he has too much common sense and self-control to talk too much, or talk beside the point, or talk of himself without a cause, or of things he knows nothing about. He remembers a good turn gratefully; he forgives and forgets injuries generously. He does not keep talking about the injuries or misfortunes he has suffered. He is never a bore. He does not monopolise the conversation. In short, a gentleman is one who is courteous, refined, charitable, generous, punctual, tactful, cheerful, truthful, frank, firm, brave, forgiving, unselfish, modest in victory and smiling or laughing (for he has got the saving grace of a sense of humour) in defeat or misfortune.

The ideal citizen tries to perform all his work as well as he possibly can. If he is a school-boy he works well at home and at school, obeys his parents and his teachers, helps his school in games, in studies, in debates, in the Boy Scout movement or any other activities of the school. This means co-operation with the existing authorities. If he is at College, he carries

on the same policy in a better and a higher form, sinking self and playing for the honour of his College. He tries to get the best out of the College and the professors by taking part in the various activities of College life and fighting for the reputation of the College in studies, games, debates, the literary union, and so on. If he is a teacher, he is loyal to the institution; if a professor he carries out all his duties faithfully. Thus co-operation, discipline, obedience to lawful authorities and loyalty and faithfulness to our colleagues and superiors lie at the basis of all citizenship. Whoever performs all these tasks well, looks after his health, looks after his family, looks after his education, character, and the well-being of his village or town or country and Government, is a true citizen.

But to do our duty in any of these and other walks of life, one must have character. The ultimate aim of all education reduced to its lowest terms will be intelligence, skill and character. 'The crown and glory of life is character' says Samuel Smiles. The one great thing in life before becoming anything else is to be a gentleman. Who is a gentleman? The answer to this question is so very well given by Cardinal Newman that it will be good for us to quote him in full:—

'Hence it is that it is almost a definition of a gentleman to say he is one who never inflicts pain. He is mainly occupied in merely removing the obstacles which hinder the free and unembarrassed action of those about him; and he concurs with their movements rather than takes the initiative himself. The true gentleman in like manner carefully avoids whatever may cause a jar or a jolt in the minds of those with whom he is cast; all clashing of opinion, or collision of feeling, all restraint, or suspicion, or gloom, or resentment; his great concern being to make every one at their ease and at home. He has his eyes on all his company; he is tender towards

the bashful, gentle towards the distant, and merciful towards the absurd; he can recollect to whom he is speaking; he guards against unseasonable allusions, or topics which may irritate; he is seldom prominent in conversation, and never wearisome. He makes light of favours while he does them and seems to be receiving when he is conferring. He never speaks of himself except when compelled, never defends himself by a mere retort, he has no ears for slander or gossip, is scrupulous in imputing motives to those who interfere with him, and interprets everything for the best. He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage, never mistakes personalities or sharp sayings for arguments, or insinuates evil which he dare not say out. From a long-sighted prudence, he observes the maxim of the ancient sage, that we should ever conduct ourselves towards our enemy as if he were one day to be our friend. He has too much good sense to be affronted at insults, he is too well employed to remember injuries, and too indolent to bear malice. He is patient, forbearing, and resigned, on philosophical principles; he submits to pain, because it is inevitable, to bereavement because it is irreparable, and to death because it is his destiny. If he engages in controversy of any kind, his disciplined intellect preserves him from the blundering discourtesy of better, perhaps, but less educated minds; who, like blunt weapons, tear and hack instead of cutting clean, who mistake the point in argument, waste their strength on trifles, misconceive their adversary, and leave the question more involved than they find it. He may be right or wrong in his opinion but he is too clear-headed to be unjust; he is as simple as he is forcible, and as brief as he is decisive. Nowhere shall we find greater candour, consideration, indulgence; he throws himself into the minds of his opponents, he accounts for their mistakes. He knows the weakness of human

reason as well as its strength, its province and its limits. If he be an unbeliever, he will be too profound and large-minded to ridicule religion or to act against it; he is too wise to be a dogmatist or fanatic in his infidelity. He respects piety and devotion. He is a friend of religious toleration, and that, not only because his philosophy has taught him to look on all forms of faith with an impartial eye, but also from the gentleness and effeminacy of feeling, which is the attendant on civilization.'*

* From Cardinal Newman's well-known work *'The Idea of a University.'*

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

AND

HOW THE CITIZEN CAN HELP THE STATE.

What do we mean by Government?—Principles underlying State Activity—Individualism—Three Channels of Government—Co-operation of the people necessary—How the citizen can help the State—Times of stress or danger.

WE are all familiar with the word 'Government' and yet very few of us know its real meaning. Most of us are frightened at the very mention of it and it arouses in us thoughts of fear and force. This fear of ours is, however, based on ignorance, for, rightly understood, government is a great power for good. It keeps the framework of society together and gives it strength and vigour. It is the golden cord that binds men together in a lasting union. Without it men could not live in groups, nor enjoy the benefits of civilization. It makes human association possible, and by binding man to man stimulates social intercourse and enriches human life and makes civilization and prosperity possible.

But what exactly is Government? It is a body that exists in every community, it is an organization without which society cannot function. Its most essential characteristic is that 'it gives commands, general and particular, to members of the community governed.' It issues directions making people 'do or abstain from doing a certain act or class of acts.' Disobedience to these directions leads to the infliction of punishment.

Government, then, is a body that issues commands and punishes those who disobey those commands. By

its commands it regulates the relations between man and man, and through the fear of punishment it restrains the wicked from wrong-doing and makes peaceful life possible. In a word, by restraining each man from interfering with others it not only makes freedom possible, but secures it and enlarges its bounds.

But is government merely 'a restraining, repressing, punishing power'? If it were, it would indeed be a bugbear. There would be nothing lovable about it. Fortunately its activities are not merely negative but positive; it not only restrains people from evil-doing but itself does a lot of active good.

The activities of a state are of three kinds. One is called the Individualistic, the second is Paternal and the third Socialistic. Every government worthy of the name must fulfil at least the first of these. Individualism refers to the rights and liberties of an individual. The principle of individualism says that 'Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.'* According to this principle of mutual non-interference government should secure the *personal safety* as well as the *personal liberty* of the citizen. It must punish wrong-doers—those who deprive others of their personal freedom like robbers or murderers—or injure them or their reputation as so many bad tempered hooligans or slanderers do. Thus government protects the rights of property and inheritance and enforces agreements between sane adults. But the principle of Individualism does not go far enough in a modern well-developed state.

The second principle known as 'Paternal' reminds us of the word Pater, meaning father. The State takes the place of a father over his family. The State is to the citizens what the father is to his family. These paternal rights require that the government

* Herbert Spencer.

should not only protect each citizen from the interference of others but should also protect him from his own folly and ignorance. Man is very often his own worst enemy. He may need as much protection against himself as against others. The gambler or the drunkard needs protection in his own interest. The Punjab Government by preventing the alienation of land to non-agriculturists has protected the peasant from the folly of his own extravagance. All laws relating to money-lending and factories are of a paternal character. The humane treatment of the insane and the prevention of cruelty to animals are also extensions of the same principle of paternalism. The restrictions imposed on parents and guardians in the interest of minors rest on the same basis.

The third and last principle of governmental activity is known as 'Socialistic.' It is the most comprehensive of the three and stands for the fullest development of each individual's natural gifts and for the 'perfecting of a people's life.' It aims at giving equal opportunities for development to all and at bringing out the best that is in each. It is under the impulse of this principle that education has spread to all classes, and the condition of the working classes has improved. It is this principle that has made old-age pensions possible in England and that has led to insurance of labourers against accident, sickness and unemployment. Wisely enforced this principle is the only right principle of governmental action for it looks to the well-being, not of a few, but of all. It is, indeed, the highest principle of governmental action both from the social and the moral standpoint. It is the logical extension of the paternal principle. Our government in India, though not blindly wedded to any of these principles in practice, follows a combination of the paternal and socialistic principles. In doing so it has but followed the age-long traditions of India.

When government does something to help the people directly, it is popularly said to discharge paternal functions because then its activities resemble those exercised by a father over his children. To us in this country there is nothing new in the paternal conception of government, for in India the Raja has always appeared to the poor people in the role of a beneficent father. In this country we are accustomed to look up to the government for help and guidance; in fact our dependence on government is so great that we have lost to some extent the virtue of self-help. Government, then, is an organization that not only governs but serves; it is a body whose object is not so much to rule as to minister to the humblest needs of the humblest man. Though seemingly a master it is in reality a servant.

Every modern government, whatever its form, exercises its powers through three different channels. It makes laws through its Legislative Councils, it interprets them through its judges and it enforces them through its (executive) officials. The legislature, the judiciary and the executive are the three principal limbs of the government. Then, again, the areas of modern states being large, governments create subordinate bodies with inferior powers. These subordinate bodies, which in India we call Provincial governments, District and Taluka Boards, and Municipalities and Port Trusts may be looked upon as the subsidiary limbs of the government. Through them government serves the people as it would not otherwise be able to do. They are the arms with which it scatters through the length and breadth of the country the seeds of its beneficent activity.

Government, as has been pointed out, is supposed to be a beneficent body. It exists solely for the good of the governed. But if its activity is to bear the fullest fruit and result in the highest good, it must have the sympathy and support of the people on its

side. Without the co-operation of the people government cannot achieve much. Not only should people co-operate with the rulers but their co-operation must be active, willing, whole-hearted, thorough. Just as the family, the members of which refuse to co-operate and help one another, comes, sooner or later, to grief, so the community where the people go one way and the rulers another, is well on the way to ruin. Nothing hinders national progress so much as the refusal of the people to co-operate with their government. Absence of co-operation between the rulers and the ruled is the most deadly disease that could infect a country. Hearty, sincere co-operation of the people with the government, and of the government with the people is, therefore, the first essential of national prosperity.

It is the bounden duty of every citizen to give all possible assistance to the government. Sheer gratitude demands it. Does not government, which protects us in the possession and enjoyment of our property and which establishes the reign of right in place of the reign of might, deserve our support? Is not government which promotes our material and moral prosperity through its educational, medical and other beneficent institutions entitled to all the help we can render it? Undoubtedly it is. There is, however, another reason why we must give our best to the government. It is that government usually, is *of* us, and is not something external to us. Its efficiency means our welfare, its inefficiency means our misery. There is a natural relation between the governors and the governed. Good government is impossible without good citizens and good citizens cannot exist except under a good government. Hence the absolute necessity of mutual goodwill between the citizen and the State.

The question naturally arises how exactly the citizen can help the state. There are various ways in

which this can be done. No government in the world is all-knowing and all-powerful. The best of human organizations is incomplete and imperfect. The citizen, therefore, can supplement the activities of the state just at the points where they are inadequate. He can assist the police in tracing crime and preserving law and order. He can, as a member of a Scout association, help in the control of traffic and the maintenance of order at fairs. He can sometimes give to the police clues regarding thefts and dacoities. He can help the government in stamping out bribery and corruption, evils so widely prevalent in our country. He can render assistance in checking the unlawful distillation of liquor in our villages. He can appear as a witness in cases both civil and criminal, and thus help the government in doing justice between man and man. He can render service as an assessor (a sort of juror) and if possessed of knowledge and leisure can work as an honorary magistrate. Further he can help local authorities in preventing or doing away with disease. He can help in preventing cruelty to children and animals by reporting to the authorities such cases of brutality as come under his notice. He can give help to fire brigades in putting out fires which break out so frequently in big cities. He can also help in the proper carrying out, in his neighbourhood, of official instructions regarding vaccination against small-pox and inoculation against plague.

Even this long catalogue of what the citizen can do for the State does not exhaust his powers of doing good to his country. If he is an ideal citizen he can have aims in matters of social service much higher than this. If he is a lawyer he can defend the poor who would otherwise go undefended, and encourage the settlement of disputes by private arbitration. If he is a doctor he can, as a labour of love, devote a part of his time and energy to the tending of those

whom state hospitals cannot reach. If he is a teacher he can spend a part of his leisure in educating adults. If he is interested in rural reconstruction he can push forward as vigorously as he may the co-operation movement among the villagers.

This much about the activities of the citizen in normal times. In a time of national crisis, such as war, every citizen who is worthy of the name should volunteer for whatever service he is fit. He should go to the front or help in recruitment and publicity or work in the munition factories. War is indeed the sternest test of the loyalty of the citizen to his state. Nothing brings home more pointedly the necessity of loyal co-operation between the subject and the state than a national war. Such a war brings about the complete harmony between the government and the governed which if established in peace would make of this earth a true heaven.

PART II.

ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER X

THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT.

Introduction to the Machinery of Government—Constitutions—Rigid, Flexible, Unitary, Federal—Indian Constitution—Our Duty as Citizens.

IN the preceding chapters we have seen the importance of co-operation, (law and order) at home, at school, in the village, in the City. We have seen that our first duty is to take care of ourselves, our family and our neighbours so that we can make ourselves strong, healthy and clean physically, morally, and mentally. We have seen that to be good citizens we must be loyal and faithful to our equals and superiors and try to learn how to serve the people and the Government.

But if we want to help the machinery of Government in any way so that we may be able to do our bit in sharing our duties and serving our fellow-citizens, we must first understand what that machinery is. This brings us to the next part of our subject—the Government of India and its relation to England, the Empire and the world.

'Government,' as we have seen, refers to the power which has the authority to rule over a given state or community. It has sovereign powers over all. Its decrees or laws cannot be disobeyed. They must be obeyed. If not, there is the executive body behind the Government—the police, the law-courts, the army, the navy, etc.—which sees to it that the laws are carried out. The Government is not like the League of Nations which has no army, no navy, no police, to back it or punish a power which disobeys the orders.

A state, to be a state, must have sovereign powers, unless at some future date the League of Nations does become a living force and becomes a world state with sovereign powers over the existing states.

A 'Government' or 'Constitution' of a country may be of two kinds—rigid or flexible. A rigid constitution cannot be changed easily. It requires special machinery to make any changes in the Government. For example, countries like Switzerland and the United States of America have rigid constitutions. They cannot be changed without special machinery.

A flexible Government, on the other hand, has a constitution which can be easily changed. For example, England has a flexible constitution. Its machinery of Government can be easily changed by the ordinary process of legislation. All that it is necessary to do is to bring in a Bill in Parliament. If Parliament passes that Bill and the king puts his signature to it, the Bill becomes an Act of Parliament. Thus it was that at one stroke the powers of the House of Lords were curtailed by the 'Parliament Act' of 1911, by which if a Bill passes in the House of Commons on three separate occasions, it becomes law whether the Lords like it or not.

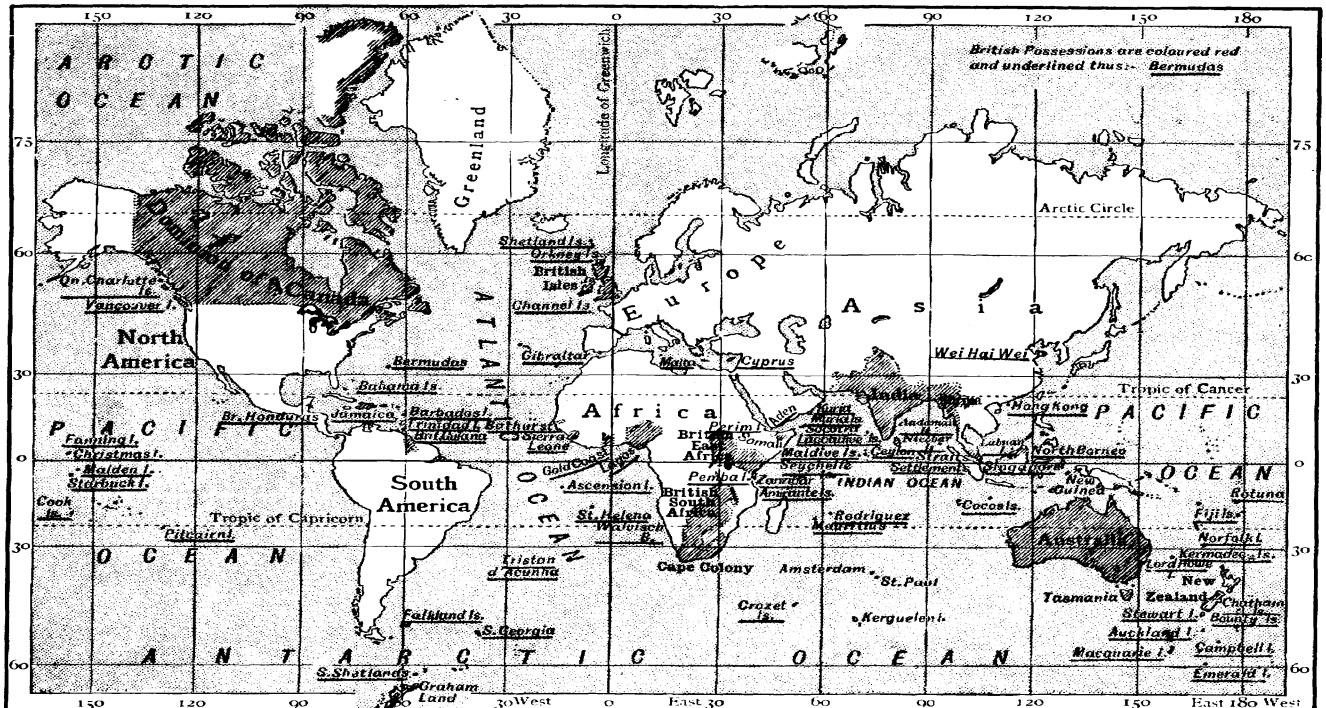
According to Aristotle, constitutions are of three kinds—monarchy, aristocracy and polity (or democracy). Monarchy is the rule of one man, Aristocracy of a few (of the best), and Polity is the rule of the many. But these are the good forms of Government. There are bad forms also. If the Monarch, instead of ruling in the interest of the people, rules in his own selfish interest, his government is not called a Monarchy but a Tyranny. If the few are by no means the best and rule in their own interest, their Government is not called an Aristocracy but an Oligarchy. If the many rule in their own selfish interest at the expense of other classes of people, the government ought to be called

neither a polity, nor democracy, but a Mobocracy or Anarchy.

There are two more classes of constitutions, *unitary* and *federal*. A country like England, France, Belgium, or Holland has a unitary Government. It is the Government of one state only. Switzerland, the United States of America, Australia and Germany, on the other hand, are composed of many small states. Their supreme Government is the Government over the Government of all those small states. Such united states or constitutions form a federal state.

Thus the English constitution is unitary on the one hand and flexible on the other. The Indian constitution is neither very rigid nor very flexible. With one stroke of the pen the British Parliament can give Swaraj to India. Surely this is the characteristic of a flexible constitution. But then it is easy to understand that Parliament would not be in too great a hurry to give Swaraj to India or to make too many hasty changes in the Indian constitution. The constitution cannot be changed ever so slightly by the Indian Government in India. At certain periods, say about ten years, the Parliament revises the Indian constitution if a change is considered desirable. We are just arriving at the stage when we hope to get some new reforms made in our constitution. We must do our best to impress the British public by taking an interest in civic affairs. We must take an intelligent interest in politics—not to be *led by the nose* by some newspapers. We must vote for the right man in the right place—not some friend of our own, just because he is *our friend* or belongs to *our* community. We must put aside all those narrow-minded prejudices about caste, creed, or religion which divide man from man. It would not do to demand new reforms and not work the old ones. Let us deserve and then desire.

THE WORLD, SHOWING THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1911



Walker & Boutall sc.

Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Bombay & Calcutta

CHAPTER XI

THE BRITISH EMPIRE OR COMMONWEALTH.

Why study England and the Empire?—Duty of England to India—The Commonwealth as described by Sir John Seeley and Daniel Webster—Its vastness, extent and variations of climate, people, products etc.—The justification of the Commonwealth—Constitutions—General. Constitutions of Canada, Commonwealth of Australia, Union of South Africa.

WE say 'Charity begins at home.' It is a good proverb, very useful as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. Like many other proverbs it only expresses half the truth. If charity *begins* at home, it does not *end* there. If our first duty is towards our own country it does not end there. We must certainly try to be good *Indian* Citizens. But then we are ruled by England.

Now there *is* such a thing as the duty of a master towards his servants. No servant likes a brutal master who is fond of using the whip. Even a servant needs to be treated with kindness and consideration or he gives us notice to leave and goes to serve a better master. Even a dog, if ill-treated or starved, sometimes leaves a bad master for a better one. But the relationship between a country like England, and an old country with a great past like India, cannot be exactly described as the sort of relationship that exists between a master and a menial servant. England should therefore understand her duty and responsibility to India and make her youth and general public realise what they owe to India, how to know India, how to love India. No people can govern a country without knowing it well, without coming in intimate touch with the people, their history, their traditions, their

religion, their art and civilization, their ideas and aspirations, in a sympathetic way. Firmness and force are certainly required to rule, but not half as much as tact, sympathy, sincerity, honesty of purpose, kindness of heart, and a genuine sense of justice.

But, then, it is not the purpose of this little book to make English citizens in England. It rather aims at making Indian citizens in India. What concerns us here in this chapter is to learn something about the British Empire, for, in a way, we are the citizens of the Empire, and ought to know something about it. Knowledge makes people understand each other. Ignorance leads to misunderstanding.

'We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind. If we are asked what the English population is, it does not occur to us to reckon in the population of Canada and Australia. We constantly betray by our modes of speech that we do not reckon our colonies as really belonging to us.'

'Excluding certain small possessions, which are chiefly of the nature of naval or military stations, it consists besides the United Kingdom of four great groups of territory, inhabited either chiefly or to a large extent by Englishmen and subject to the Crown, and a fifth great territory also subject to the Crown and ruled by English officials, but inhabited by a completely foreign race. The first four are the Dominion of Canada, the West Indian Islands, among which I include some territories on the Continent of Central and Southern America, the mass of South African possessions of which Cape Colony is the most considerable, and fourthly the Australian group, to which, simply for convenience, I must here add New Zealand. The dependency is India.'

This is the way in which Sir John Seeley describes the Empire in his delightful and readable book: *'The Expansion of England.'* An excellent general

description is also given by a famous American speaker and writer—Daniel Webster—who refers to it as 'a power to which Rome in the height of her glory was not to be compared—a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with its possessions and military posts—whose morning drum beat, following the Sun, and keeping company with the hours circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of its material airs.'

The British Empire—or rather the *British Commonwealth,* is very vast. It is said that the Sun never sets on it, for if it sets at one place, it shines as brightly as ever at another. It shines in Australia or New Zealand, for example, when it sets in England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland. Just look at the map of the Empire upon a good map of the world, and read a good description from a book on Geography or Historical Geography. Just think of Australia, Canada, India. Australia is the largest island in the world. It is more a Continent than a Country. So is Canada—a continent within a continent. And India, as Seeley says, certainly resembles a continent like Europe, with its variety of people, variety of ways, customs, beliefs and religions. In bulk, too, it resembles Europe, for is it not as large as Europe without Russia? In short, the land area of the Commonwealth is nearly one-fourth of the total area of the globe.

If the first feature of the Commonwealth that strikes us is its vastness, the second is its heterogeneity or varieties of climate, people, products, industries, plants and animals. India itself has every variety of climate and rainfall from the heat of Madras and the Runn of Cutch to the rainfall of Cherapunji and the cold of the snow-clad summits of the Himalayas. The British Isles have an oceanic and, comparatively speaking, a temperate climate; Canada and South Africa have a continental climate. Malta is warm, New Zealand warmer, Australia still warmer,

while parts of India and Africa are burning hot under a blazing Sun. England is dry*, Wales rainy, the South-west coast of Ireland perhaps rainier still, and Scotland, the rainiest part of the British Isles.

With a few exceptions the following statements of Sir Charles Lucas are true. 'It hardly needs telling that the self-governing dominions are for the most part in the temperate zones, the Crown Colonies and dependencies for the most part in the tropics. In other words, in the temperate zones are the lands which the English, with or without other European races, have peopled, while the lands where the English do not settle so much as trade and rule, are the tropical regions.'

'Within this immense range of area and of climate,' adds Sir Charles, 'are to be found all the products of the world. We associate Canada more especially with corn, Australia more especially with wool, South Africa with gold. The West Coast of Africa sends, among other products, palm-oil for soap and candles; there are the sugar-producing colonies, the West Indian Islands and British Guiana, Natal, Mauritius, Fiji. The Malay Peninsula is the richest tin-bearing region of the world; Assam and Ceylon send tea; Trinidad and Grenada send cocoa; rubber and cotton come in increasing quantities from many tropical possessions. The Empire is a great storehouse of necessaries and of luxuries, the component parts supplementing one another in what they produce and send; and when the dependencies are not directly productive, they are valuable indirectly, Gibraltar to keep the waterway open and the transport safe, Hongkong as a centre for transit trade almost unrivalled on the face of the earth. One view, then, which may be taken of the British Empire is that it is a gigantic

* About 23″ of annual rainfall.

wholesale business under British management, conspicuous for the number of its departments. The English have not specialised in any particular climate or in any particular product. The business is co-operative and profit-sharing, and some of the managers are permanently in residence beyond the seas.'

Here, in this co-operation between diverse (or entirely different) people, lies according to Sir Charles Lucas, the justification of the Empire. Each part of the Empire is supposed to gain in number, products, industries, commerce, safety or strength. All are supposed to work for the common good of the whole.

If there is a diversity of climate and products, there is also a great diversity in the size of the different parts, in the habits and occupations of the people, their industries, the kind of plants and foodstuffs they grow, the kind of animals they use, tame, keep or kill.

Thus Bermuda is small enough to be one-seventh part of the Isle of Wight. Canada is as large as Europe. Just think of Gibraltar, Malta and Hongkong on the one hand; then think of Australia, India, South Africa! Then think of the races! Think of the people of the Bermuda Island. Then think of the descendants of the French and the English Canadians who now live side by side. Compare these with the Dutch and English in South Africa or the Maoris and the white people of New Zealand who both take part in public life side by side. Compare these with the native races of the West Indian Islands, Ceylon, Africa, and India! What a change! Why go far? Just think of India alone. What a variety of people with a variety of languages, customs, castes and subcastes! Here you see the short, brave, fierce Gurkhas; there you see the tall, sturdy, handsome Sikhs. Now you come across a dark cooly from Madras; then you come across a fair, worldly-wise Brahmin from Maharashtra or Bengal, a fair strong Hindu or Mohammadan from

Kashmir or the Punjab, or a fair adaptable Parsi from Bombay, or Gujerat. Anything from great leaders, statesmen, professors and teachers to beggars, fakirs, fortune-tellers and fortune-hunting frauds you can get in India alone, let alone the Empire or Commonwealth.

Nor is this all. The different parts of the Empire differ not only in the extent of territory, in the customs, manners, education and religious ideas of the people, but in their government also. In quoting Sir Charles Lucas we mentioned how the Crown Colonies and other colonial possessions differ from self-governing colonies. The latter forms a homogeneous group. Let us, therefore, take a glance at the constitutions of the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

First of all, it should be noted, that all these colonies have borrowed some of the traditions of the English constitution. They all have two Chambers or Houses and they all have what is known as Responsible Government. Responsible Government usually means Party Government, as already explained in the general chapter on 'Machinery of Government' (Chapter X). But one difference we must naturally expect. We do not expect Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa individually to have kings of their own. A Governor-General is at the head of the Executive, and represents, like the Viceroy of India, our King-Emperor. Again, these new countries could not easily have a House of Lords exactly like that of England. Noble families do not spring up like mushrooms in a day. Then, again, most of these constitutions (especially Canada, Australia and South Africa) are not Unitary but Federal Governments. In a Federal Government many different units or parts of a country come together and form a Union. Germany, Switzerland, U.S.A., Australia, Canada, South Africa are examples of Federation. All these different units want their representatives in either or both the Houses.

Consequently some plan must be adopted to represent all these units in the two Houses so that the conflicting claims of different units can be well considered.

Another characteristic of such federations is that they are generally *written* constitutions and rather *rigid*. Otherwise where is the guarantee for these various units to preserve their rights and relations with each other? Suppose that for some special purpose, say of self-defence, certain parts of a country form a federation. They make certain conditions to become one. Surely they would not like these conditions to be broken in any way. It would be easy for a flexible constitution to break these conditions. Hence Federal Constitutions are generally written and rigid.

The Dominion of Canada is a strongly bound confederation. The Federal Government consists of the King, represented by the Governor-General, the Senate, and the House of Commons, or the Lower House. Legislative power is vested in the King and a Parliament of the two Houses. The Senate consists (1927) of ninety-six members, appointed for life by the Crown. Each province sends a certain number, Quebec having the majority. The House of Commons, that is the Lower House, is elected by the people, Quebec always being represented by sixty-five members and the other provinces in proportion to their population. The executive is vested in the Governor-General assisted by a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature. The Cabinet is known as the 'King's Privy Council of Canada.' Every province has a Lieutenant-Governor, and a legislature of a single chamber and an executive responsible thereto. Some matters are left purely in the hands of the Federal Parliament and some in the hands of the Provincial Legislatures, the rest belong to the Federal Government. The States are distinctly subordinate to the Federal Government, a feature in which the Canadian constitution differs from that of Australia.

Australia contains six states—New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South and Western Australia. Its Constitution is modelled upon that of the United States rather than that of Canada. It is entirely a democratic body.

A Governor-General represents the British Crown, and the legislative power is vested in him, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate consists of thirty-six members, each State sending six. This principle of equality is unchangeable, so that the federal nature of the constitution is more emphasised. It is far more democratic than the Senate of Canada. The House of Representatives contains twice as many members as the Senate. It is dissolved every three years. Disputes between the two Houses are settled by joint sittings or sometimes by simultaneous dissolution. The Executive is vested in the Governor-General and a Cabinet. The seven members of the Cabinet control the various administrative departments. State rights are carefully guarded. It will be an interesting study to watch the Cabinet system and Federalism work together.

There were, in New Zealand, in its early years, six distinct settlements. The Constitution Act of 1852 created them into Provinces with elective Councils, under one Colonial Legislature. In 1876 this system was abolished. The General Assembly is composed of the Governor, the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, but his salary is paid by the Colony. The Legislative Council consists of forty-five members, appointed for seven years by the Governor-in-Council. The House of Representatives consists of eighty members chosen by the electors. The members of both the Houses are paid. Legislation is subject to disallowance by the Crown, though that power is seldom exercised. Executive administration is conducted on

the principle of Responsible or Parliamentary Government like that of England.

The Union of South Africa was created by the South African Act of 1909. It comprised Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. The main provisions of the Constitution are given below.

The Executive Government is vested in the Governor-General who holds office during the King's pleasure. The Governor-General can dismiss ministers and dissolve Parliament. He is advised by an Executive Council, whose members he nominates.

The Legislative power is vested in a Parliament consisting of the Sovereign, a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate consists of forty members, eight representatives from each province and eight nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council. A senator must be a British Subject, of European descent. The house of Assembly consists of one hundred and twenty-one elected members. This number may be raised to one hundred and fifty if the population is increased. Parliament must meet every year, and is ultimately subject to the British Parliament. The King has the power to disallow any law within a year. There exists a Supreme Court of Judicature for South Africa. 'The South African Union is a Union not a Federation.' The Constitution is Unitary not Federal.

'Such is the British Empire of to-day: an elaborate mosaic wherein, side by side with the Empire of India, Dominion, Commonwealth, Self-governing Colony, Crown Colony, Chartered Company, Protectorate, Sphere of Influence, adds each its lustre to the pavement which is ever being trod by fresh generations of our race as they pass to and fro.'

—*H. E. Egerton.*

CHAPTER XII

THE PARLIAMENT, THE CABINET AND THE CROWN.

The Cabinet—House of Commons—House of Lords—Prime Minister —King-in-Parliament—His Influence—The Symbolic and Unifying Function of the Crown.

WHETHER we talk about England, France, Germany, Switzerland, the United States of America or any other Sovereign state, we find that the countries have two Governments—the Central and the Local Government. India has, on account of its dependent position, two central Governments—one in England as carried on by the Secretary of State for India, his Council, the India Office and the King-in-Parliament, and the other in India as exercised by the Viceroy, his Executive Council, and so on.

In this book we are not greatly concerned with the way in which England is governed or the Parliament works, although the subject is very interesting and important. Our destiny is bound up with England and we must learn as much about England, her brilliant history, her glorious literature, her social, political and educational institutions as possible. But this goes beyond the scope of this little book and can be easily found in other books. Suffice it to say that England has a constitutional monarchy. It is a common saying in England that the king reigns but does not govern. Another saying is that *the king can do no wrong.* This means that it is the ministers who are responsible, not the king.

Each of the ministers is given a special department to work. For example, there is the Minister of Educa-

tion who is responsible for education and educational institutions with the assistance of the Board of Education. The Minister of Finance is called the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Minister for Foreign Affairs looks after the foreign policy of England. There is the Secretary of State for India assisted by his Council and the India Office in charge of Indian affairs. There is the Colonial Secretary looking after the colonies, and so on.

The Executive power is in the hands of the Cabinet. There is the Inner and the Outer Cabinet. The Inner Cabinet consists of the most important members of the ministry. Each minister is responsible for his own department. In addition to this individual responsibility of cabinet ministers there is a joint and collective responsibility. If the Government is defeated on any important question and if any one minister has to resign, the whole cabinet resigns in a body. The meetings of the Cabinet are secret.

If the Cabinet governs and is the Executive body, the Parliament makes laws and is the Legislative body. It consists of two Chambers or Houses. The Upper House is the House of Lords. The Lower House is the House of Commons. It consists of 700 members. It has got real power to make laws. The House of Lords has very little power, especially since the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911. A Bill, to become law, is passed first by the House of Commons and then by the House of Lords. If the House of Lords refuses to pass a Bill sent up by the House of Commons on three separate occasions, the Bill becomes law, without further reference to the House of Lords. The Ministers are chosen from that party in the House of Commons which has a majority. The Prime Minister is usually the head of the political party in power. It is he, not the King, who presides at Cabinet meetings. This has been the custom ever since the days of George I and Sir Robert Walpole who was practically the first Prime

Minister of England without being called a Prime Minister.

But although Parliament is the most powerful part of the Government, we must not forget that India and the Colonies pay deep respect and homage to the Sovereign. We all know how greatly Queen Victoria was respected and loved in India. In India and the Colonies, at any rate, the King is the unifying agency. He is the symbol of authority, the symbol of power. Every British subject bears and owes allegiance to him. Any breach of allegiance is treason against the King. In war times 'For King and Country' is the cry. The King is really a kind of permanent Minister, who visits institutions, confers titles, and thus has a right to encourage, persuade, dissuade, patronise and pardon. He is the expert adviser whom the Ministers are bound to consult. Ministers may come and Ministers may go, but the King goes on for ever. It is a familiar saying in England: 'The King is dead. Long live the King.' No sooner is one reign over than another is supposed to have begun. As Masterman puts it, 'The sovereign has never formally lost the constitutional right to dismiss his Ministers, but the right has not been exercised since the time of George III, and is very unlikely to be exercised again.' Yet Lord Melbourne 'was dismissed in 1834 at his own suggestion.' Palmerston, too, was dismissed for his persistence in carrying out his policy without consulting Queen Victoria. The important right to be consulted is admirably summed up in the Memorandum drawn up by the Prince Consort in 1850 on behalf of the Queen:

'The Queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to such a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister.

Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by her constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and foreign Ministers before important decisions are taken based upon their intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time; and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off.'

Gladstone, in his *Gleanings*, sums up the influence of the Crown over the Ministers in the following way:—

'Although the admirable arrangements of the constitution have now completely shielded the sovereign from personal responsibility, they have left ample scope for the exercise of a direct and personal influence in the whole work of government. The amount of that influence must greatly vary according to character, to capacity, to experience in affairs, to tact in the application of a pressure which never is to be carried to extremes, to patience in keeping up the continuity of a multitudinous supervision, and lastly, to close presence at the seat of Government; for in many of the necessary operations time is the most essential of all elements and the most scarce. Subject to the range of these variations, the sovereign, as compared with her Ministers, has, because she is the sovereign, the advantages of long experience, wide survey, elevated position, and entire disconnection from the bias of party. Further, personal and domestic relations with the ruling families abroad give openings, in delicate cases, for saying more, and saying it at once more gently and more efficaciously than could be ventured in the more formal correspondence and ruder contacts of governments.'

'There is not a doubt that the aggregate of direct influence normally exercised by the sovereign upon the

counsels and proceedings of his Ministers is considerable in amount, tends to permanence and solidity in action, and confers much benefit on the country without in the smallest degree relieving the advisers of the crown from their individual responsibility.'

Thus the King is the natural head of the Empire. If his constitutional rights are few, his social rights are many and his personal influence great. He can carry out a unified policy at home and abroad. King Edward VII by his peaceful policy, kept peace in Europe. He was called Edward the peace-maker. His Majesty King George V also is very influential. His visit to India is still remembered well. Our present Prince of Wales is also very popular. He has been the best of ambassadors. He has toured round most parts of the Empire including Australia, Canada and India, and won the hearts of all by his smiling face, sporting nature and pleasant personality. He is at present serving his period of apprenticeship, now at the University, now in the army, then in the navy, and then again visiting, touring and travelling. This is good preparation for becoming a King. To rule the Empire is not an easy task. King George V is a very hard-worked official. What a lot of things he did during the Great War! We no longer belong to the age when a King regarded war as a plaything as did Edward III, Richard I or Henry V; or when a King tried to marry as many wives as he could, as did Henry VIII, who, if he got tired of a wife, found excuses to say 'Off with her head,' as says the Queen of Hearts so often in '*Alice in Wonderland*.' As Masterman puts it: 'It is as the servant of the nation that our sovereign now claims our loyalty and respect.' As a mark of their loyalty and devotion to their King the English people after a meeting, concert or theatrical or musical performance, usually stand bare-headed and sing the National Anthem 'God save the King.' Surely you

all know how to sing it; don't you? Here is the first stanza of it:

God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King.
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the King!

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND HIS COUNCIL.

The Secretary of State for India—The India Council—The Man-on-the-spot Theory—The India Office—The Relation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India—Reserved and Transferred Subjects—The High Commissioner for India.

ONE of the five chief Secretaries of the King is the Secretary of State for India. He controls and guides the administration of India with the help of a Council. His salary (£5,000 a year) is paid out of British revenue. The Secretary of State is assisted by two Under-Secretaries. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary sits in Parliament, but in the House other than the one in which the Secretary of State for India sits. If the Secretary is a member of the House of Commons, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary is a member of the House of Lords, and *vice-versa*. The other Under-Secretary is a permanent one, and remains in Office in spite of changes in the Ministry. This ensures a unified, consistent policy with regard to India.

Thus, in both the Houses there is at least one member who keeps himself in touch with India and her problems. But Parliament can make any changes in the constitution, can curtail the powers or salary of the Secretary of State and his Council, just as it likes. Parliament exercises a lot of control over laws passed in India by the Central and Local Legislatures. The Secretary of State is responsible to Parliament. Thus the ultimate sovereignty on Indian matters rests with the King-in-Parliament. It was Parliament which passed the Regulating Act (1773), Pitt's India Bill (1784), and the Government of India Act (1919), making so many changes in the Indian Constitution.

In spite of these *limits* the Secretary of State for India has many other powers. It is he alone who

is in charge of Indian affairs. In Parliament he is supposed to be the expert. He speaks in Parliament and the Cabinet on all Indian problems, answers questions on India, lays down the policy of the Government, and wields much influence. He is responsible to Parliament for any official act done by him. All laws about India come to him to be approved. The questions of peace or war, big enterprises in the matter of irrigation canals, railways, the creation of new appointments (of over a certain salary), loans to Indian states, pensions, grants to Local Governments or for religious or charitable purposes; mining arrangements; additional military expenditure;—all these come to him for sanction. The Viceroy, and the Governors of Provinces, receive their orders from him. If an order or an important communication is to be sent to India, it must receive his signature first, and similarly all communications from India are sent to him.

There is a great deal of difference between the way in which the Indian affairs are managed and the way in which Colonial affairs are managed. The Colonial Secretary is not assisted by a Colonial Council, but the Secretary of State for India is. The king governs India on the advice of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Thus too much power is not given to one man, and a committee of experts on Indian affairs can very well give advice on important matters to the Secretary, and through him to the king. The Council must have not less than eight, and not more than twelve members. These members hold office during good behaviour and are appointed by the Secretary of State for India. Formerly they were appointed for seven years, now for five. Half the number of these members of the Council are supposed to know India well. They are not made members unless they have lived in India for at least ten years

before the day of appointment. If they have been absent for more than five years from India, they cannot be appointed. They are paid £1,200 a year. The Indian members taken from India are paid an overseas allowance of £600 a year in addition to their salary of £1,200 a year. The Indian members are given this advantage because they go to England from a long distance. For the same reason Englishmen get allowances when they come out to India. These salaries of members of the Council used to be paid from Indian revenues. Now they are paid out of the British revenues.

At least once a month a meeting of the Council must be held. The Secretary of State presides. He can nominate a Vice-President to represent him when he is absent. He has the power to dismiss the Vice-President. Other meetings are also called by the Secretary of State whenever he thinks fit. A majority of the Council is necessary before any decision can be arrived at on matters under discussion. For example, suppose that a certain Civil or Military officer is to be dismissed. The matter is brought before the Council first and then decided. All rules regarding the I.C.S. examination are put before the Council.

Thus we see that the Council has a few substantial powers, although on most questions it is only an advisory body. But even then it is to be remembered that however clever the Secretary of State may be as an English statesman, still he need not necessarily be an expert on Indian affairs. Probably he has never set his foot on Indian soil, so naturally he likes to consult his Council of experts and follow their advice whenever he can conveniently do so.

But why select a man who has never been to India, as the Secretary of State for India? Well, it is the concern of the Prime Minister. Most of the Government of England is carried on by clever common-sense amateurs through the help of experts. Lloyd George

was not a general, yet he proved himself to be one of the most successful war-ministers England has ever had.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the real Government of India must be in India itself. Sir Valentine Chirol in his well-known book *'The Indian Unrest,'* advocates the theory in favour of 'the man on the spot.' The Viceroy and his Council are the people on the spot. They know what is happening. They see what is done or what is not done. They feel the atmosphere and understand political opinion. In short, they know the public feeling. On all matters where the representatives of the people and the Government are at one, the Indian Government ought to carry the point. This is actually recommended in the Report of the Joint Committee. As Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford also recommended: 'It must, we think, be laid down broadly that in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, Parliament must be prepared to forego the exercise of its own power of control and that this process must continue with the development of responsible government in the provinces and eventually in the Government of India.'

While talking about the relation between the Secretary of State and his Council, we must note the fact that in cases of emergency and in confidential matters he is not bound to follow the advice of his Council. On all questions of war and peace, foreign policy and such like, he is not bound to consult his Council. But, in certain special matters the Council is given real powers, as for example:

(a) The power over the spending of Indian revenues;

(b) The power to make any changes in the salary, furlough, and rules regarding the pensions in India.

(c) Power to make selections of Indians for posts in the Imperial Services.

(d) Right of making temporary appointments to the Executive Council of the Viceroy.

We have already said that the Secretary of State changes with the Government and is responsible to Parliament. For this reason he has to know his facts and figures well, for at any moment he may be called upon to answer some awkward question on Indian politics or finance. Such questions can be put in either House, and the Secretary of State's position is not an enviable one at such times. He has to answer—or try to answer—the questions asked, explain, or justify, or try to justify, the Government policy with regard to India. What a difficult thing to do! He has to think of his chief and his party; he has to think of the opposition. He has to look to the interests of the British public and those Britishers who have been enterprising enough to go so far away from home, to India. He has to look after the foreign policy so far as India is concerned. Above all, he has to look after the conflicting interests of the teeming millions of India.

Besides answering these questions the Secretary of State has to make up a careful statement of accounts regarding money received and spent and to lay that statement before Parliament to discuss. He makes a report upon the '*Material and Moral Progress of India*,' which is published as a Blue Book, and is read by many people in India.

The India Office is a large building situated at Westminster, not very far from the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey. There sit the two Under-Secretaries (Permanent and Parliamentary), the Accountant General and a large number of other officials, great and small, in their respective rooms or offices. Many students of historical research on Indian History go there because the India Office keeps a large collection of documents and records

under the charge of a very clever man who can help the students.

There is another important official in England who deserves mention—The High Commissioner for India.

Before the reforms given to India by the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State used to perform the administrative as well as what are called *agency* functions, such as raising loans, buying stores for India, looking after Indian trade, etc. But when the salary of the Secretary of State began to be paid from British revenue, a new post—the High Commissionership for India—was created to look after the agency work. He is responsible for the Indian students in England, with the help of an Adviser for Indian students. A large house is maintained in London* where Indian students may stay for a few weeks before they know what to do and where to settle down. This house has a Library, all kinds of indoor games, newspapers, a reading-room and a society called the Northbrook Society, all on the premises, so that they may pass their time happily and feel quite at home. Social functions are often held there to which the Adviser to Indian Students and other ladies and gentlemen are invited. There is also an Indian Students' Union and Hostel managed by the Y.M.C.A. in London.

The House of Commons as well as the House of Lords are such big bodies that they cannot possibly settle quickly many of the problems which arise regarding India. So a *Standing Joint-Committee* is appointed at the commencement of every session. It contains an equal number of members from both the Houses. It collects information and opinions on matters relating to India, and discusses and deliberates on Indian problems. Thus its function is not executive, but advisory, and its opinions are very valuable when its recommendations are laid before Parliament.

* 21, Cromwell Road, London.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VICEROY AND HIS COUNCIL.

The Viceroy—His powers—His Relations with the Council—The composition, functions and powers of the Executive Council.

THE Secretary of State for India cannot carry out all the details of Indian administration such a long way off. Therefore, he depends necessarily upon some 'man on the spot' to be the executive head of the Government of India to represent the King-Emperor.

This 'man on the spot' is the Viceroy. As his name indicates (Lat. *Vice*, in place of, and *Rex*, a King) he stands in the place of the King-Emperor. He is the head of the executive in India. In his official capacity, as the representative of the King-Emperor he receives the homage of the ruling princes of India. Regarding his relationship with the Secretary of State for India, we may say that much depends upon the personality of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It depends upon what is called 'the personal equation' between the two. If the Viceroy is a very clever, firm and strong personality and knows India well, he wields more power than a weaker Viceroy would do. His salary is Rs. 2,56,000 a year, which comes to over Rs. 21,300 a month.

The practice usually has been to send out those men as Viceroys who have perhaps never been in India before. Some people do not approve of this. They do not see why a man who does not know India well from a first hand knowledge of the country, should be made the Viceroy. They would rather have an expert who knows all the details of Indian Administration. But we have already explained the English method of Government by amateurs. The Viceroy comes with

an open mind on Indian questions. If he were a man who has already had a long stay in India his likes and dislikes would have been formed. He would then have come with partialities and prejudices. As it is he is not likely to come out to India as a friend or foe of any person, party or policy. He is always selected from a very high or noble family, is given some title before he comes out to India, and is sure to have distinguished himself as a successful, clever and common-sense politician. He can thus command the respect of all in India, even of our great ruling chiefs, as an impartial judge, a successful politician, a British nobleman and the representative of His Majesty.

The Viceroy is appointed for five years by the king on the advice of the Prime Minister. He has the right of extending pardon or mercy to offenders. He can make an inquiry about the Indian states and, in extreme cases, even depose a ruling prince. Before any law can pass in India, his sanction must be given. In a general way he exercises control over all Provincial Governments. Before taking any final step on a very important matter, he has to submit the matter to the Secretary of State, whose orders he has to obey. The Secretary of State usually only supervises the work of the Viceroy, and the two work in harmony. But if they cannot agree, the Viceroy has to yield and obey, or offer his resignation. As ruler of India he is called the Governor-General, and nobody can touch him—not even the High Courts—for any action done by him in his official capacity.

The Viceroy or Governor-General is assisted in his work by certain members each of whom is given a special portfolio or department. These members form what is called the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

We all know the origin of the Council. It can be traced back to the days of Warren Hastings and the

Regulating Act (1773). Who does not remember that council of four which gave so much trouble to Warren Hastings? He had no right of veto. The majority in the Council was always against him, for Francis, Clavering and Monson did not agree with his measures. Lord Cornwallis got rid of this defect of the Regulating Act by obtaining for the Governor-General the power to over-ride the decisions of his Council. A Law Member was added in 1833, a Finance Member in 1861, and a member for the P.W.D. (Public Works Department) in 1874. Lord Curzon added a member for Commerce and Industry instead of the member for the Public Works Department, and more recently another member was added to take charge of the Department of Education.

The Council thus consists of one extraordinary member (the Commander-in-Chief) and six ordinary members. The number of members was formerly restricted to eight. The Government of India Act (1919) removed this limitation, and now there can be eight or more than eight members. The actual number is left to the discretion of the Viceroy, but three of the members must be Government servants of ten years' standing or over. One of them must be a qualified lawyer or barrister of ten years' standing. Lastly, at least three of the members of the Council must be Indians. Thus the Council is Indianised and a promise has been given to Indianise it still more. The salary of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council is Rs. 80,000 per year.

The Viceroy presides at the meetings of the Executive Council just as the Prime Minister presides over Cabinet meetings in England. The Viceroy nominates a Vice-President. The Governor-General, by virtue of his social status, commanding personality and experience of the world and men, commands the respect of the Council. Lord Curzon wielded great power over his Council

by his knowledge of Indian Administration and strong personality. And yet it was Lord Curzon who said:—'Never let it be forgotten that the Government of India is governed not by an individual but by a committee. No important act can be taken without the assent of a majority of that committee.' Sir William Hunter says: 'The Viceroy is the leading member of the Indian Government, but he is only one of the several members. Lord Mayo used to fight hard officially for his views and, as a matter of fact, he got more of his own way than most Governors-General have done. But he was essentially loyal to his colleagues and upon all points on which they beat him or on which he once yielded, he forthwith accepted the joint action of the Government as his own.'

The meetings of the Council are held about once a week. The Viceroy puts before them the matters to be discussed. The Secretary of the department which deals with questions under discussion is usually present to give information on any points that may arise. The decision is arrived at by the Council itself. As Sir George Anderson says in his book on 'British Administration in India': 'To-day, the Governor-General is bound to abide by the decision of the majority of his Council except on such matters as in his opinion concern "the safety, tranquillity, or interest of British India".'

CHAPTER XV

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

Decentralisation—Division into Provinces—Major and Minor Provinces—Regulation and Non-regulation Provinces.

INDIA is a very large country. It is more a continent than a country. Its people are many, its problems difficult. There are great differences, in climatic conditions, in language or languages, in religion or religions, in customs and habits. The natural way, therefore, to rule such a vast country is to divide it into different parts or provinces and to let each province solve its own problems in its own way. Thus, instead of the Central Government keeping all the power in its own hands, many matters (especially those relating to local or provincial affairs) are dealt with by the various local authorities. This is what is called the process of decentralisation.

To carry on effectively the Indian Administration, India is divided into the following fifteen provinces, each of which is termed a Local Government:—

(1) The Bengal Presidency;
(2) The Bombay Presidency;
(3) The Madras Presidency;
(4) The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh;
(5) The Punjab;
(6) Bihar and Orissa;
(7) Central Provinces and Berar;
(8) Burma;
(9) The North-West Frontier Province;
(10) Delhi;
(11) British Baluchistan;
(12) Ajmere Merwara;
(13) Coorg;
(14) Andaman Isles;
(15) Assam.

Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd.

INDIA : POLITICAL

BENGAL is a large province and very thickly populated. Its population is nearly 47,000,000. Bengali is the chief language spoken, the language in which Rabindranath Tagore has written so many of his famous works.

The density of population in Bengal is very great. Some parts of Lower Bengal can rival even England and Belgium in density. The fertility of the river valleys, the mining districts, the industries, and the presence of a big town and sea-port like Calcutta, which was the capital of India for such a long time, account for its density of population. The total area is just over 84,000 square miles. Other important towns are Dacca (with a modern university), Murshidabad (a historical place), Hugli, Darjeeling (a hilly health resort) and Chittagong.

The chief town of the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY is Bombay which has a fine harbour. It has many cotton factories and is a big University town with many schools and colleges. The population of the Presidency is nearly 20,000,000. The chief towns are Bombay, Poona (a historical place in Maratha History, with many Government offices), Ahmadabad (an industrial town with many mills), Surat (on the Tapti), Karachi, Hyderabad, Hubli, Dharvar, Belgaum, Ahmadnagar, Broach, Shikarpur, Sukkur and Mahabaleshwar (a hilly place where the Government goes in the hot months of April and May).

The chief town of the MADRAS PRESIDENCY is Madras. Like the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay, Madras is governed by a Governor, an Executive Council, Ministers and Legislative Council. The population of the Madras Presidency is nearly 43,000,000.

Unlike the people of other parts of India, most of the Madrasis are Dravidians. They were driven further and further south by the Aryan invaders from the north. The languages spoken are chiefly Tamil and

Telugu. In addition to the Hindus, there are about two million Christians and three million Muhammadans, amongst whom are the Moplas, well-known for their fighting, war-like and perhaps fanatical qualities.

THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH, THE PUNJAB, BURMA, AND BIHAR-ORISSA: The administration of all these is carried on by the Governor, Executive Council, Ministers, and a Legislative Council. The capital town of the United Provinces is Allahabad at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. The other important towns are Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares, Meerut, Aligarh, Agra, Muradabad, Bareilly and Saharanpur. The population of the Province is about 46,000,000.

The chief town of the Punjab is Lahore. Other important towns are Amritsar (the holy city of the Sikhs, with the Golden Temple, a big industrial town with cloth factories), Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullunder, Multan, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Simla, the summer capital of the Government of India.

The chief town of Burma is Rangoon. The population of Burma is a little over 13,000,000. Bihar and Orissa have a population of about 34,000,000. The chief town is Patna.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, ASSAM, THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND DELHI. Delhi with a population of nearly 400,000, is the famous capital of India containing such great relics of the past as the Kutb Minar, Asoka's Pillar, the 'Lal Bila' Humayun's tomb, the Jami' Masjid and other buildings. Delhi is governed by a Chief Commissioner, who is the agent of the Governor-General and appointed by and responsible to him. The North-West Frontier Province, which is of great military importance, has a Governor and a Legislative Council. The population of this Province including the Trans-Border Area is about 5,000,000, and its chief town is Peshawar.

The CENTRAL PROVINCES and ASSAM are each governed by a Governor, an Executive Council, Ministers and a Legislative Council. The population of the Central Provinces is nearly 14,000,000; that of Assam nearly 8,000,000. The capital of the Central Provinces is Nagpur; and that of Assam is Shillong.

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN, AJMERE-MERWARA, COORG, AND THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLES. These provinces have no Legislative or Executive Council, except Coorg which has a Legislative Council, under the Resident of Mysore. Ajmere Merwara is administered by the Political Department of the Government of India. Coorg and the Andamans are managed directly by the Government of India through the Home Department. The direct charge of the Andaman Isles is given to the Superintendent of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair.

There are two classes into which these Provinces are divided—Major and Minor or Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces. The MAJOR PROVINCES include Bengal, Bombay and Madras which are called Presidencies, and the other Provinces governed by a Governor-in-Council. The Presidency Governors have a high status, are appointed in England, get a higher pay than other Governors and can communicate directly with the Secretary of State for India. The Viceroy does not interfere much in their affairs. They have three ministers and four members of the Executive Council. The other Provinces generally have two ministers and two Executive Councillors. Their Governors are appointed by the King on the advice of the Viceroy. They are sometimes members of the I.C.S., and receive less pay than the Governors of Presidencies.

The MINOR PROVINCES are governed by Chief Commissioners. The Chief Commissioners and Agents are chosen by the Governor-General from among the members of the Indian Civil Service.

Besides the division of the Provinces into Major and the Minor Provinces, they have also been classified as Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces. Students of Indian History know how in the olden days of the East India Company regulations or laws were passed by Charters or Charter Acts, for example in 1813, 1833, etc. Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Agra were Regulation Provinces. Other Provinces, including Oudh, the Punjab and Sind were 'generally ruled in accordance with simple Codes, based on the spirit of the Regulations but modified to suit the circumstances of each special case.' These were called the Non-Regulation Provinces. The Administration proved quite effective. There is very little difference now between the Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces.

CHAPTER XVI

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT—*(Contd.)*.

Dyarchy—The Ministers—The Councils—Responsibility of Citizens —Provincial Legislatures.

Now we come to the question of *Dyarchy*. Provincial Government is divided into two parts. One part looks after the 'reserved subjects,' and is responsible to Parliament. The other part looks after the 'transferred subjects,' is managed by Indian Ministers, and is, more or less, under popular control. This division of Provincial Government into two halves is called Dyarchy, or the rule of two bodies.

Thus in Provincial Government we get both official and popular (or non-official) representation. Both sides are well represented. The official side is represented by the Governor and the Executive Council. They (the Governor and the Council) carry on the Government and are responsible to the Government of India and Parliament. But this official control is, to a certain extent, counterbalanced by the non-official or democratic side of the Government, which is responsible to the Provincial Legislature, and is managed by Indian Ministers. These Ministers are appointed from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. Their status is supposed to be the same as that of the Executive Councillors. They receive the same pay with the sanction of the Legislative Council. Only the transferred subjects are in their hands—Education, Public Health or Sanitation, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, Local Self-Government, etc.

Now suppose that the Ministers act against the wishes of the Legislative Council. What is going to happen? Although appointed by the Governor, the

salaries of Ministers are voted by the Council. So if the Minister does not satisfy them, the members of the Council can make it very difficult for him to keep his office. There is another way also. An unsatisfactory Minister can be dismissed by the Governor himself if the minister is not in agreement with the Legislative Council. On the other hand, suppose that the Minister disagrees with the Governor but is supported by the Legislative Council. What would happen then? Of course the Governor can nominate another Minister. But suppose that this new Minister also takes it into his head to disagree with the Governor. What is the Governor to do? Is he going to be hampered, thwarted or defeated by a Minister? Such deadlocks between the Minister and the Governor would paralyse the Government, unless the Governor were given the power to over-ride the decision of the Ministers in extreme cases of emergency. So, when the new minister disagrees with him and is supported by the Legislative Council, the Governor has the power to dissolve the latter; and until a new council comes into being, the Governor can administer the subject of that particular Minister himself.

Dyarchy, after all, is just a transitional form of Government. Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee criticises Dyarchy as follows*:—

'It depends for its success on two things: first, the willingness of the members in charge of the reserved departments to bring the Ministers into the inner circle of the Cabinet; second, the recognition by the Ministers that they are an integral part of Government. Where the Cabinet is not homogeneous there is a tendency for the departments to be run on different lines and principles. Dyarchy loses not only the great advantages of a ministry standing or falling together, but it lacks also that wholesome

* *Civics*, page 87, published by Longmans, Green & Co.

British convention that the defeat of a ministry on a major issue involves a fresh election. It is this alone which can make criticism fruitful and constructive, and banish obstructiveness from the Councils. Dyarchy illustrates the transitional nature of the present Reform Scheme, and, in common with all transitional schemes, has its special defects and dangers. The Provincial Council exercises the authority of a sovereign Parliament in the case of the transferred subjects. The Council may carry a resolution on any subject, reserved as well as transferred. But such resolutions are not binding on Government, though they must in all cases carry weight as the expression of the will of the elected representatives of the people. Another effective check is the new control over finance which has been granted to the provincial legislature. In the case of the reserved subjects it exercises similar powers, including control over finance and legislation, but temporarily its authority is limited by the discretionary power of the Governor in his capacity as executive head of the reserved departments.'

Just as in a regiment, although the orders issed are in the name of the C.O. or Commanding Officer, most of the details of the work are left to subordinate officials, in the same way the work of Provincial Administration is divided into different departments. Each member of the Executive Council, like each minister, is in sole charge of his department. Thus, in one way, there is separation between the two parts of the machinery of Dyarchy or between the reserved and transferred subjects or between the councillors and the ministers. But whenever anything very important is to be done, the two parts of the Dyarchy deliberate together, with the Governor in the chair. The majority in such a joint meeting carries the day, unless the Governor is obliged to exercise his emergency power to over-ride the decision of his Council. This he can do if he thinks that peace, law or order, the interest of the

Province or the interest of the State and its government are at stake. This part of the work of a Minister, his position, powers, and duties as a citizen are well and briefly described by Sir George Anderson, who says:—

'The position of a Minister is full of difficulty, but at the same time it is full of scope for the development of responsible government in India. He is responsible for his actions to the Legislative Council and therefore needs the support of a majority of its members. He thus holds a position similar in many respects to that of a Cabinet Minister in England who is responsible to Parliament. The Parliamentary Committee hoped that, without violating his sense of responsibility, the Minister would be given every possible assistance. In the first place there is the Governor, whose duty it is to point out to Ministers what he thinks is the right course and to warn them if he thinks that they are taking the wrong course. If after discussion, the difference of opinion between the Governor and a Minister is not removed, the Parliamentary Committee held that ordinarily the Minister should be allowed to carry out his ideas and to shoulder the responsibility for them. The Legislative Council, and ultimately the people, thus know the person who should receive censure or support. If the difference of opinion between the Governor and the Minister is considered by either to be of first-rate importance, the position is again quite clear. The Minister can resign if his advice is not accepted by the Governor; and the Governor can dismiss the Minister or veto his legislation if he feels that his policy is gravely at fault or is out of accord with the views of the legislative council. It will then be for the members of the legislative council and, in the long run, the electors at the next election, to decide between them. Ministers have the assistance of the advice and experience of the members of the Executive Council. For this purpose it is the Governor's duty to

grant opportunities for joint deliberation between the members of the Executive Council and the Ministers. Such deliberation should be of value to both parties. The Minister should be in a position to state public opinion on a given matter, and members should be able to supply the administrative experience. But, after deliberation, members have the deciding voice on questions connected with their work, and Ministers likewise make the decision on questions which come within their scope. Two principles thus lie at the root of this experiment. In the first place there is abundant opportunity for discussion and co-operation between Ministers and members; without it there must inevitably be friction and even failure. In the second place, the responsibility of Ministers to the Legislative Council is fixed as clearly as possible. Responsibility is the savour of popular government. The electors must remember that it is their duty as citizens to return the most suitable representatives to the Legislative Council; the members of a Legislative Council must remember that in making suggestions and criticism they may be called upon one day to become Ministers and to give practical effect to their opinions. And Ministers must remember that, in framing their return the most suitable representatives to the Legislative Council on its wisdom."*

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

History—Constitution and Working—Powers of the Local Legislature—Limitations—Bills.

Four different stages may be noted in the development of the Provincial Legislatures. *The Indian Councils Act of 1861* is the first decisive step which may be said to begin the Provincial Legislative Councils. It restored to the Governments of Madras

* *British Administration in India.* By Sir George Anderson, Chapter IV.

and Bombay the powers of legislation which the Act of 1833 had withdrawn. The next stage came with the *Indian Councils Act of 1892* which made a further advance. The growth of education and changes in the political situation brought about the *Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909* which formed the third stage in the development. It embodied an elective principle in the constitution of the Councils. Ten years later came the final stage—*the Reforms Act of 1919*—which gave wider powers to the Councils in legislative, administrative and financial matters. 'The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit.'*

The Reforms Act of 1919, among others, introduced many important changes in Provincial Legislature. The following may, however, be noted with advantage:—

(i) The number of members is largely increased;
(ii) The president is elected by the members;
(iii) Non-official members have a majority;
(iv) Election is direct and based on a broader franchise. An attempt has been made to secure adequate or proportionate representation for all interests, communities or classes;
(v) Much wider powers are given to the legislatures than before, the object being the ultimate realisation of responsible government.

Every Legislative Council is composed of the members of the Executive Council, elected and nominated members. The members are elected by the people and nominated by the Government. Of the nominated members some are officials and the rest non-officials.

* Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

The Governor himself is not a member but has the right of addressing the Council and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

Of the members of each Council, the Act has provided that not more than 20 per cent. shall be official members and at least 70 per cent. shall be elected members.' In addition to this, the governor of a province has the right to appoint one member in Assam and not more than two in other provinces having special knowledge or experience to help and advise him on a Bill before the Council.

The number of the members may be increased, but relative proportions must be kept. The total number of the members in the several councils at present is:—

Madras	127
Bombay	111
Bengal	139
United Provinces	123
Punjab	93
Bihar and Orissa	103
Central Provinces	68
Assam	53
Burma	101

The President is appointed by the Governor for the first four years and then elected by the members from among themselves. The normal duration of every Governor's Legislative Council is three years, but it may be dissolved earlier or its period extended for one year by the Governor. The members of the Legislative Assembly are called M.L.A.'s and the members of the Provincial Councils are styled M.L.C.'s.

So far women have not been elected, but the Bombay and Madras Councils have passed resolutions allowing them to become members if elected. A ruler or subject of any State also may be nominated as a member.

The Provincial Legislature of any province has the power:—

(1) to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the province;

(2) to repeal or alter any law made by any authority in British India other than that local legislature;

(3) to vote and withhold supplies;

(4) to make its own rules of procedure with the approval of the Governor;

(5) to elect its own president;

(6) to discuss the Budget;

(7) to move resolutions on matters of public interest;

(8) to ask for leave to move for an adjournment of the business of the Council to discuss a matter of urgent public importance.

The members have the right of putting questions and supplementary questions to the Government.

No Council can pass, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, any Acts affecting the public debt or revenue, the army, navy, foreign relations, or central subjects like Posts and Telegraphs.

"The local legislature of any province has not the power to make any law affecting any Act of Parliament."* The assent of the Governor is essential to all Bills, before they become Acts. The Governor may either give his assent or withhold his assent or return the Bill for reconsideration by the Council or reserve the Bill for the assent of the Governor-General. The Governor-General, in his turn, may reserve the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon. It then finally rests with His Majesty to allow or disallow such a Bill. As soon as the Bill is disallowed by His Majesty, it becomes null and void.

The powers of the Governor are wide and extraordinary in cases of emergency. When the Council

* The Government of India Act.

refuses to pass any Bill in the form recommended by the Governor, the Governor may certify that it is essential to pass such a Bill for the safety and tranquillity of the province, and for the discharge of his responsibility. The Bill is, then, even without the sanction of the Council, considered to have passed, and on the signature of the Governor becomes an Act of the local legislature. The Governor then has to send a copy of the Bill to the Governor-General for His Majesty's assent. It should also be noted that the Governor has the power to stop the progress of a Bill at any stage if it will, in his opinion, affect the safety and tranquillity of the province.

As regards the question of the budget or the estimated annual revenue and expenditure, the powers of the Governor are absolute in certain cases. The Council may assent to, or reduce the amount, or may refuse any demand or grant. But in the case of reserved subjects, if the Council rejects or modifies the allotment, the Governor may 'certify' it as 'necessary' and incur the expense.

After the 'three readings,' the Bill, if carried, is signed by the President and submitted to the Governor for approval. It then passes to the Governor-General and becomes law only after securing his sanction.

The actual number of Voters registered in each Province were :

	1920	1923
Madras	1,258,156	1,283,923
Bombay	548,419	630,478
Bengal	1,021,418	1,044,166
United Provinces	1,347,278	1,509,127
Punjab	505,361	627,513
Bihar and Orissa	327,564	338,507
Central Provinces	144,737	152,568
Assam	203,191	224,063

A Table showing the strength and composition of the Provincial Councils.

Province.	Nominated and ex-officio.			
	Elected.	Officials.	Non-officials.	Total.
Madras	98	23	6	127
Bombay	86	20	5	111
Bengal	113	20	6	139
United Provinces ...	100	18	5	123
Punjab	71	16	6	93
Bihar and Orissa ...	76	18	9	103
Central Provinces ...	53	10	5	68
Assam	39	9	5	53
Burma	78	15	8	101

Mad.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LEGISLATURE AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

Need of Permanent Legislative Machinery—The Legislature—Its Law-making Function—Procedure of Law-making—Bills—The five stages of a Bill—Other Functions of the Legislature—Influencing the Administration—Voting supplies—Bye-laws.

Of the three organs of government, the legislature, the judiciary and the executive, the legislature is not only by far the most important, but also the one that figures most in the mind of the ordinary citizen. In former times when the monarch himself made and administered laws and adjudged cases, the law-making functions of the government attracted little notice. Now-a-days, however, when personal rule is giving place to the rule of the people by the people, the law-making functions of the state have become very important.

The body entrusted with law-making is known by different names in different countries. Sometimes it is called the Parliament[1], sometimes the Chamber of Deputies[2], sometimes the Congress[3], sometimes the House of Representatives[4] and sometimes the Legislative Council[5] or the Legislative Assembly. But whatever the name, the legislature in every modern community, expresses the will of the community with regard to the conduct of its members, through the medium of general rules called laws, and fills 'a very large place amongst the activities of present day states.'

Law-making, then, is the first and foremost function of the Legislature. The major part of the law defining the rights and duties of the citizens derives its sanction from the legislature. In India, for example,

---

[1] As in England. [2] As in France. [3] As in U.S.A. [4] As in Switzerland or America. [5] As in India.

our laws derive their authority either from the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State or from the different Provincial Legislative Councils. The members of these bodies are in part chosen by voters and in part nominated by the government. The voters in our country form a comparatively small part of the total population. They are no more than 7·4 millions out of a population of 247 millions. Of those that are on the voting list, only about one-half exercise the right of voting at all, and unfortunately those who exercise it, do not do so with the necessary degree of thought and care. It will be long before the average citizen in India realises the value of the vote. But so long as he does not realise it and so long as the right to vote is restricted to a small fraction of the sane adults, our councils cannot be said to represent truly the collective will of the nation, nor can they be said to register popular opinion on laws as perfectly and accurately as the British Parliament or the American Congress. But imperfect as our councils are, they are no doubt a much better index of popular opinion than they were before 1920.

It has been said above that law-making is the first and most essential function of the legislature. But before we can have *law* we must have *bills*. Any proposal placed before the legislature with the object of making it a part of the law is called a 'bill.' This bill has to pass through many stages in the council and outside before it becomes law. It may be changed, rechanged and then changed again. A bill may, indeed, undergo so many amendments that it is sometimes changed out of all recognition. In England a bill becomes law only when it has received the assent of the King after passing the two Houses of Parliament. In our country, before a bill can become law, it must pass, in the case of Provinces, through the Provincial Councils and then receive the approval of the Governor, and in some cases of the Governor-General;

and in the case of the Government of India, it must pass through the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, and then receive the sanction of the Governor-General and in some cases of the Secretary of State-in-Council. The process of law-making in modern communities is complicated and cumbersome; it calls for the exercise of a vast amount of legal skill and debating power.

Bills are of three kinds: Public Bills, Private Bills and Private Members' Bills. A Public Bill is one which is initiated or introduced by a member of the government or the ministry. Most of the bills that pass through our councils are of this kind. A Private Bill is one which is introduced for the benefit of any particular person, company or locality. Plenty of such bills are presented to the British Parliament every session. A Private Member's Bill is one which owes its initiation to a non-official member of the Council. Such a bill has a chance of passing only if it has the support of a large and influential section of the house.

The life history of a successful bill in a provincial council may be divided into five stages,

(*i*) Its introduction into the Council (the first reading of the bill);

(*ii*) Its reference, after general discussion, to a Select Committee representing different shades of opinion on the subject;

(*iii*) Its clause-by-clause discussion in the full Council after its amendment by the Select Committee (*the second reading of the bill*);

(*iv*) Its consideration *as a whole,* by the Council, after its detailed examination and amendment by the same body (*the third or final reading of the bill);*

(*v*) Its approval by the executive, i.e., by the Governor, and in some cases Governor-General.

At the end of the fifth stage the bill becomes an Act which takes effect from the date notified by the government in the Government Gazette.

So much for the law-making function of the Legislature and the procedure by which bills become Acts. But the legislature, though primarily a law-making body, is not exclusively so. It has some other functions in addition to law-making. It is possible here to make only a brief reference to them.

The legislature not only makes laws, but also exercises constant watch over the administration. It keeps the government efficient. It takes it to task for anything wrong in its activity. Our Councils, both provincial and central, freely and constantly criticise the conduct of the government, and thus keep it alert, up to the mark and fully conscious of its duties. The opportunities for such criticism are many. Members of the Council may put questions to the ministers and obtain information which may expose the weakness of the ministry. Asking questions is the easiest and commonest way of not only knowing what the administration is doing, but also of bringing to light the failings of the ministry or the party in power. Thousands of such questions are put every year in the different Legislative Councils of India. The practice of putting questions, says Lowell, 'provides a method of dragging before the House any act or omission by the departments of state, and of turning a searchlight upon every corner of the public service. . . '

Asking questions is not the only way to keep watch over the administration. There are at least four other methods of doing so. In the first place, the legislature may adopt a *resolution* 'calling upon the government *for specific administrative action*'; that is, it may ask the government to do a particular thing demanded in the public interest. Secondly it may bring up a

'*motion to adjourn* for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance.' This is done when there is a serious situation in the country resulting either from riots or dacoities or from the inauguration of an unpopular policy by the Government. In the third place the Government may be criticised by means of *a motion of want of confidence.* This is the extreme form which legislative criticism of the administration can take. Such a motion is brought forward only when there is acute or wide-spread dissatisfaction with the administration, and if it succeeds the ministry falls. Such motions have sometimes been brought forward in provincial Councils in India. Lastly, the administration may be criticised during the long *debates on the budget.* A nominal cut of one rupee may be proposed under a particular head, and the whole policy of the department may be criticised. It has become customary to use budget debates as an occasion for the ventilation of grievances. Of these debates Lowell says 'They are not, to any great extent, discussions of financial questions of what the nation, can, or cannot afford to do. They are a long series of criticisms upon the policy of the minister, and the conduct of the departments under their control.' From all this it would appear that a modern legislature is really 'the inquest of the nation.'

We have seen how the legislature makes laws and keeps the administration in check. There is one more function of very great importance that it performs. This is voting supplies for the needs of Government. The power of the purse is with the legislature. Where there are two chambers of the legislature the control over money is invariably with the lower or the popular chamber. In Great Britain the House of Commons has the final say in money matters. In India the control of the legislature over the expenditure of revenues, though considerably less than in Great Britain, is

fairly substantial. This control of the legislature over money rests on the principle that *he who pays the piper must call the tune*. It is a very healthy principle.

Before bringing this chapter to a close, a few words may be said about what are known as 'Bye-laws.' A bye-law is a regulation made by a local authority such as a District Board or a Municipal Committee or by a corporation such as a Railway Company. The rules of municipalities regarding compulsory education, house-tax, reporting of births and deaths are all in the nature of bye-laws. The regulations of the district and local boards regarding the protection of trees on the road side, and the grazing of cattle on the fields belonging to the board as well as their regulations for the imposing of certain taxes for local purposes, are examples of another set of bye-laws. In the same way, the railway regulations with regard to travelling without a ticket or the free allowance of luggage, the pulling of the alarm chain without sufficient reason, or the entering into compartments reserved for special classes, such as ladies, are all instances of bye-laws. The chief characteristic of bye-laws is that they derive their ultimate sanction not from the body which makes them, but from the Supreme Government which stands in a superior relation to that body. Bye-laws are valid only so long and inasmuch as they do not conflict with the laws of the higher authority. Suppose a District Board tried to levy a tax on incomes. Such a tax would be *ultra-vires (beyond the powers* of the district board) because it involves an encroachment on the authority of the Government of India, which alone has the right of levying Income-tax. Thus bye-laws are of a subordinate character, and they are permitted to be made because some delegation of power is necessary in order to avoid the evils that spring from over-centralization of Governmental functions.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

Constitution, Functions, and Powers of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

'England is proud of her record in India. The existing edifice of the Government of India is a monument to the courage and practice of those who have devised and worked it.'*

We have seen the difference between rigid and flexible constitutions. We have also seen the functions and powers of the legislatures in general. We have seen that the English constitution is very flexible because of the sovereignty or 'Omnipotence of Parliament.' On the other hand, countries like Switzerland have a rigid constitution. It is difficult to make any changes in the constitution there. A referendum, as it is called, is necessary. The referendum requires the consent of the people. Such legislatures with no power to make constitutional changes are called *'Non-sovereign Legislatures.'*

The Indian Legislature is a non-sovereign legislature. It cannot make any changes in the Indian constitution. Only the Parliament has a right to make such changes. The Indian legislature sits at Simla and Delhi, the capital of India. It consists of the Governor-General, and two chambers, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. A Bill is passed only when both the chambers pass it.

The Council of State is like an upper chamber, although it cannot be compared to the House of Lords. It has 60 members. Thirty-three of them are elected and twenty-seven are nominated by the Government. Of these 27, not more than 20 should be Government officials. A certain number of seats in the Council of State are assigned to different provinces. For example, Bombay Presidency gets six seats. Under

* Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

extraordinary circumstances the Governor-General may dissolve the Council of State or extend its duration, but the period assigned to it is five years. Every member of the Council is addressed as 'Honourable.' The Governor-General has power to appoint a President from among the members of the Council and others. He has the right of addressing the Council and can require the attendance of the members whenever he wants to address them. In case there is an equality of votes, the President has a casting vote.

The Legislative Assembly is composed of one hundred and forty members, nominated or elected. The number of non-elected members is forty, of whom twenty-six are officials. The elected members number one hundred. The number and proportion of the members are however, liable to variation. But at least five-sevenths of the members should be elected and of the rest one-third must be non-officials. The President of the Assembly is appointed by the Governor-General for four years from the first meeting and thereafter is elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General. A Deputy-President is also elected and approved by the Governor-General. He presides in the absence of the President. The President may resign his office himself or may be removed from the office by a vote of the Assembly and the consent of the Governor-General. The normal life-time of the Assembly is three years. The right of a casting vote is vested in the President. The members are called M.L.A.'s.

The Indian Legislature makes laws for all persons, for all courts and for all places in British India. It makes laws for all subjects of His Majesty and servants of the Crown within other parts of India. All Indian subjects within and without British India, all government officers, soldiers, airmen, and sailors of the Royal Indian Marine, are controlled by the Indian Legislature. It can repeal or alter any law

in force. But its powers are limited in the sense that it cannot make any law contrary to any Act of Parliament. Such a Law would be 'ultra vires' (beyond its power) and hence void. For some measures, such as those relating to public debts, etc., the previous sanction of the Governor-General is essential. The members have a right of interpellations, *i.e.*, of asking questions.

The Governor-General has in cases of emergencies, the extraordinary power of making Regulations and Ordinances for the maintenance of peace, order, and good Government of India.

Election and Franchise for the Legislative Assembly.

The usual method of election followed in both chambers is direct. There are two classes of constituencies—general and special. In *general* constituencies the voter

(*a*) must be a male of 21 or over,
(*b*) must be a British subject of sound mind,
(*c*) must not have been convicted of offences specified.

If a person is convicted of some offence punishable with six months' imprisonment, he is disqualified for five years.

Besides these general constituencies, there are *special* constituencies also, requiring special qualifications. A corporate body like a Chamber of Commerce or a University forms a special constituency. In this kind of franchise the voter must be a resident of that particular area, paying an annual land-revenue of at least Rs. 75/-, or he must be one who pays income-tax. There are also special seats for Commerce, Land-holders, Universities, etc., and to elect their men the voters have to belong to these special bodies.

No one is allowed to vote in more than one general constituency. But if any one is entitled to a vote in

Statement showing the Constitution of the Legislative Assembly (excluding the President)

	Nominated Members.			Elected Members.								Remarks.
	Officials	Non-officials	Total	General	Muslim	Sikh	Land-owners	Europeans	Indian Commerce	Total	Grand Total	
Govt. of India ...	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	* Including one technically nominated seat to be filled by nomination as the result of an election held in Berar.
Madras	2	2	4	10	3	...	1	1	1	16	20	
Bombay	2	4	6	7	4	...	1	2	2	16	22	
Bengal	2	3	5	6	6	...	1	3	1	17	22	
United Provinces ...	2	1	3	8	6	...	1	1	...	16	19	
Punjab	1	1	2	3	6	2	1	...	...	12	14	
Bihar and Orissa ...	1	1	2	8	3	...	1	...	...	12	14	
Central Provinces ...	1	...	1	4*	1	...	1	...	...	6	7	
Assam	1	...	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	4	5	
Burma	1	...	1	3	...	...	...	1	...	4	5	
Berar (C.P.) ...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
Ajmere	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
Total ...	25	15	40	51	30	2	7	9	4	103	143	

Statement showing the Constitution of the Council of State (excluding the President)

	Nominated Members			Elected Members					
	Officials	Non-officials	Total	General	Muslim	Sikh	European Commerce	Total	Grand Total
Government of India... ...	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	12
Madras	1	1	2	4	1	...	...	5	7
Bombay	1	1	2	3	2	...	1	6	8
Bengal	1	1	2	3	2	...	1	6	8
United Provinces	1	1	2	3	2	...	...	5	7
Punjab	1	2	3	1	1½	1	...	3½	6½
Bihar and Orissa	1	...	1	2½	1	...	...	3½	4½
Burma	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	2	2
Central Provinces	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	2
Assam	...	...	...	½	½	...	...	1	1
Delhi	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total ...	19	6	25	20	10	1	3	34	59

a general as well as a special constituency, he is allowed to vote in both the constituencies, and in this case what is called *plural voting*, is allowed.

Franchise for the Council of State.

For *special* seats the rules are the same as those framed for the Legislative Assembly. As regards the *general* constituency, a voter must be a resident in that general area, and an owner of a village or an Inamdar, Jagirdar or Sardar. Or he may be a person with an income of Rs. 30,000 a year, (or land assessment of Rs. 2,000 a year) and paying an income-tax on it. Or the voter must be a President or Vice-President of a Municipality or District Board. Or he must be a Fellow of a University.

In 1909 the Minto-Morley Reform Scheme recommended communal representation. Under the reforms following the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, this principle is accepted and even extended. In every Council a small number of seats are kept for Europeans and a larger number of seats for Muhammadans. The Muhammadan members are elected by Muhammadans. The Bombay Council keeps a few seats for the Mahrattas, the Madras Council for non-Brahmins, and the Punjab Council for the Sikhs. Some people like this principle of communal representation. Others dislike it and say that it emphasises communal differences and does not make Indians think of themselves as Indians first and Brahmin, Non-Brahmin, Sikh or Muhammadan afterwards.

In different Councils the size of the electoral areas is different. The size of the electoral area for the Council of State is kept large, that of the Legislative Assembly is smaller. The whole province of Madras, for example, forms one electoral area for the Council of State. The Muhammadans return one member, the non-Muhammadans four. On the other hand, the

electoral areas of the Legislative Assembly resemble the administrative divisions.

Thus the democratic principle of election and representation is recognised in India. It carries duties and responsibilities for the voter as well as the member. The voter has to see to it that he does not try to put a square peg in a round hole, but that he sends the right man in the right place. The member has to see to it that he truly represents the electors and does his work conscientiously and unselfishly. Voters should not be led away merely by fine speeches or fine writings. 'Is he honest? Is he able? Is he energetic, straightforward, well-informed, sincere'? These are the questions to ask and be satisfied about before voting for a man. In future women also may play an important part in citizenship when they get the right of voting and membership.

CHAPTER XVIII

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION.

Provinces—Divisions—Districts—Collector or Deputy Commissioner—Lambardar or Patel—Chowkidar—Zaildar—Tehsildar—Regimental Chain—Executive Chain—How the Citizen can help.

As has been mentioned already British India is divided into fifteen provinces. The Provinces are divided into *Divisions*, and each Division is broken up into Districts, which form the unit of administration.

According to the *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, 'The average size of a district is 4,430 square miles, or three-fourths the size of Yorkshire. Many are much bigger. Mymensingh District in Bengal holds more human souls than Switzerland. Vizagapatam District, in the Madras Presidency both in area and population exceeds Denmark. . . . The Commissioner of the Tirhut Division looks after far more people than the Government of Canada.'

Now if each of these districts is so very large that, generally speaking, it has an area of about five thousand square miles and a population of nearly a million people, naturally a good deal depends upon the way in which they are governed. The Districts make the Division, the Divisions, Provinces. Any faults of the District Officers are sure to have their effect upon District Administration. Most of the people have very little to do with the Central or Provincial Government. But they have a good deal of intercourse with some officers of the district. Most of us are concerned only with our local problems. The District Officers may help or hinder us in our work. If they are good, the locality will be well looked after, and be healthy, prosperous, contented and happy. If

they are inefficient, stupid, dishonest, or tyrannical, the place will not be well looked after, and the people will be discontented and perhaps unhappy.

Well, then, who are these men who can make or mar so much? At the head of them all is the District Officer known as the *Collector* in some Provinces or the *Deputy Commissioner* in others. Under him are *Assistant Collectors, or Assistant Commissioners, Deputy Collectors* and subordinate officers like Tehsildars, Zaildars, Lambardars or Patels, and so on. The District Officer usually belongs to the I.C.S., and so does the Assistant Commissioner. The E. A. C's, are not in the I.C.S., they are in the Provincial Service.

The Deputy Commissioner is the executive head of the whole district. He guides and controls the various local bodies including the Municipalities. He has the responsibility of *collecting* taxes and land revenue and is a First Class Magistrate. He has to look after the welfare of the agriculturists. He has full control over the Police and sees to it that there is no disorder in his district. We should have very little law and order in India, if we did not have good Police, good Collectors and a strong central executive government. It is one of the duties of the Collector to visit places and people and make a tour round his district so that he can study the people under him, know their wants and satisfy them.

In the different aspects of his work the Collector or Deputy Commissioner is helped by officers of various other departments, like the Assistant Collector or Deputy Collector, the Superintendent of Police, the Civil Surgeon, the Executive Engineer, the Inspector of Schools and similar people, besides the Tehsildar, the Zaildar, the Lambardar and others. Let us begin with the last and lowest official first so that we can work from the lowest unit, the

village, to the Zail (a collection of villages) and Tehsil (a collection of zails).

The Lambardar or Patel is the headman of the village. He is a very important man in the eyes of the villagers because they see him so often. What a Platoon Commander is to a Regiment, the Lambardar is to a village. He is responsible for practically everything that happens in the village. Orders from his superior pass through him. He is responsible for sending the land revenue to the treasury of the Tehsil at the right time. He notifies births and deaths within his area, looks after sanitation, maintains order, turns out bad or dangerous people, and, if necessary, reports to the police about any crimes or disputes in his village.

The Lambardar cannot possibly cope with all this work. He, too, needs assistants. The Chowkidar is his assistant. He keeps 'Chowki' at night, and looks after the safety of the village, when all the inhabitants are fast asleep.

Next comes the *Zaildar*. A group of ten to fifteen villages is called a Zail. The Zaildar is the headman of a Zail. He sees to it that all orders from his superiors are sent to the Lambardars and properly carried out by them. If he finds that a Lambardar neglects his work, fails to collect the land revenue in time, or does not report crimes or contagious diseases, it is the duty of the Zaildar to report him, for it is the Zaildar who is held primarily responsible for the welfare of the whole zail including its roads, primary education, famine relief works, and so on. If Government officers go on tour round his Zail, he goes round with them. One other duty is entrusted to him. He makes a list of all those people in his Zail who pay Income-Tax.

A still more important official is the Tehsildar. He looks after the Tehsil. The Tehsil is made up of a group of Zails, just as a Zail is composed of a group

of villages. Most of his functions are exactly similar to the functions of the Zaildar. What the Zaildar is to the Zail, the Tehsildar is to his Tehsil. But over and above these duties he has the following special duties also to perform:—

1. To take the land revenue sent to him by the village Lambardar and despatch it to the District treasury.
2. To report on the condition of the crops.
3. To make a report on the crops and send it to the Deputy Commissioner to serve as a guide for land revenue, its increase, decrease, etc.
4. To decide disputes about the ownership of land;
5. To certify land transfers;
6. To act as a Magistrate.

But, it may be asked, what is the use of all these people? Now it has to be remembered that one man cannot do everything. One man one job, is a good sound rule to remember in all organisations. Government is a very big organisation. It must give different departments to different men. Each has to know his job and mind it. This is what is called 'Division of Labour.' Thus it is that new posts, new departments, new public authorities, have often to be created to satisfy the educational, social, sanitary, commercial, industrial, scientific, agricultural, artistic or spiritual needs of the people. Organisation means a regular chain of departments and services. Just as in the Infantry there is a regimental chain of the Colonel Commandant, the Commanding Officer, Company Commanders, Platoon Commanders, Section Commanders and so on, in the same way there is such a thing as an executive chain of a province.

At the head of this chain is the *Governor,* who is

linked to the *Commissioner** of the Province. In a province like the Punjab, the Commissioner is linked to the *Deputy Commissioner,* the latter to the Tehsildar, the Tehsildar to the *Zaildar,* the Zaildar to the *Lambardar* who deals with the *villagers* himself. The Zaildar seems to exist only in the Punjab. Other provinces do not seem to have any such official. The Chowkidar in Madras is called Talari. In Bombay he is called Taral or Mahar. The executive chain in Bombay would be something like this: Governor of Bombay—Commissioner—Collector—Mamlatdar† — Patel—Villagers.

The strength of the chain, as we say, is in the weakest link. If any person shirks his responsibility and does his work badly, the whole system suffers. This shows why all people who hold any of these posts must co-operate with one another whole-heartedly and try their utmost to do their work to the best of their abilities. If a Chowkidar is a sleepy fellow who does not mind his work, the villagers will not be safe when they are fast asleep. If a Tehsildar as a magistrate accepts bribes and lets off offenders, there will be corruption, bribery, and disorder in the Tehsil. Not to do one's work honestly and to the best of one's ability means bad citizenship. All these officers must help, not hinder, one another. And all of us who are ordinary citizens must also try to help, not hinder, these officials when they want to do their duty. We must all do our duty. India expects every man to do his duty.

---

* A Division consists of 4 or 5 districts. It is under a Commissioner who superintends the work of the Collectors. The correspondence of the Collectors with the government goes through the Commissioner.

† A Mamlatdar looks after the Taluka. A Taluka consists of 100 to 200 villages. Village officers like the Patel, who collects the revenue, the Patwari who keeps accounts, and the Chowkidar, work in the villages.

CHAPTER XIX

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION—*(Contd.)*.

Local Self-Government in the Village—The Village Panchayats—The Co-operative Movement.

In the last chapter we have studied the duties of the various officials of the district. In this chapter we are not going to talk about these officials. It is not in our power to choose them. They are appointed from above and all we can do as citizens is to obey their orders and help them in their duties. These duties may be pleasant or unpleasant, but they have to be performed. But there are also other officials, especially in villages, whom we can choose for ourselves, and for whose work and conduct we are to some extent responsible. If they are found inefficient, selfish or dishonest or if they are square pegs in round holes, it is our own fault for selecting them. If they are the right men in the right place, we certainly have done well in choosing them.

Now let us see how we, as citizens, can help in the organization of the village.

Ours is a land of villages. Nine out of every ten persons in India live in hamlets with an average population of about 418. Whereas in England 21 per cent. of the people live in rural areas and in France 56 per cent, in India 89.8 per cent. dwell in villages. Against 2,313 towns and cities we have 685,622 villages. Mr. J. T. Martin in his Census Report of India for 1921, rightly says, 'The vast population of India is essentially agricultural and rural, town life being to the majority of the people unpopular and artificial.'

If the village is the real unit of social life in our country it is not difficult to understand why all far-sighted statesmen and thinkers among us should

continually emphasise the need of improving the village. Everybody, from the high government official to the common politician is agreed that unless we improve our village and lift it from its present state of lifelessness we cannot become strong and great. All programmes of national uplift must, therefore, begin with the village. Our village must become the centre of progress and enlightenment before we can hope to rise to the position of a first-rate power. That the level of life in the village must be raised before we can become a strong and happy nation is admitted by all. But how can we raise this level? The very magnitude of the task frightens many. To transform nearly seven lakhs of villages into active living bodies seems to be an almost impossible task. Fortunately, there is no reason for despair. The past traditions of our villages are all favourable to the development of a healthy and vigorous life.

Before suggesting how the general tone of life in the village may be raised it is necessary to say something about the village itself. The typical Indian village consists of an association of tillers, frequently bound together by ties of common descent and common faith. To these associations of kinsmen—tribal or religious brotherhoods—forming the kernel of every village, Sir Henry Maine gave the name of village communities. A village community, however, is not merely an associated group of tillers. In addition to those owning and tilling land there are those that cater for the various social and agricultural needs of the tillers. Among these are, the priest, the astrologer, the schoolmaster, the smith, the carpenter, the weaver, the potter, the washerman, the barber, the cowherd, the sweeper, the doctor or Hakim, the musician (Mirasi), the poet (Bhat), and the three invariable functionaries, the headman (Lambardar), the accountant (Patwari), and the watchman (Chowkidar). The tribal group of agriculturists may be compared to a

planet and all these functionaries to the various satellites of the planet. The main body of agriculturists with the functionaries—artisans and others by whom they are surrounded,—together form the village community. There is no blood tie between the chief body of villagers and their satellites. A village community then, viewed socially, is not a single brotherhood pursuing a single occupation, but a hierarchy of brotherhoods, layers upon layers of castes, each occupying a fixed and unchangeable position in the system of village life.

Custom and position rule life in the village community. Everybody, from the highest to the lowest, has his place in the social order permanently fixed, and there is little scope for the exercise of independence and enterprise. The village community, pure and simple, is an extremely conservative body, doing what has been done in the past and not attempting to do what their forefathers, in their wisdom, did not think it right to do. In spite of its evils and drawbacks it must be said that this extreme conservatism of the village community, this obstinate clinging to the customs and traditions of the forefathers, has saved our social life from disintegration. The village community has been the great preserver of our national inheritance. Notwithstanding the endless changes of time, notwithstanding the repeated changes of dynasties through hundreds of years, the village community has gone on pursuing its even course, and never departing much from the traditions of the past.

The village community is not only a group of castes placed one above the other, but was, till recently, a self-contained, self-sufficing economic unit. Practically all its economic needs, the need for food, for clothing, and shelter were met from within its boundaries. There was very little exchange between it and the outside world. A little salt, some brass-ware and silver was nearly all that was obtained from outside, and the

exports were no bigger than the imports. Each village was a little world in itself, a world more or less self-contained.

This self-sufficiency of the Indian village, which continued almost intact till the middle of the last century, has under modern influences, been showing a rapid tendency to disappear. Owing partly to the gradual mixing up of the different races and religious groups in the village, but mainly to the rapid development of the means of transport and communication and the replacement of barter by money economy, this ancient self-sufficiency of the village has largely disappeared. Individual action has, for sometime past, been taking the place of common action. Different, and sometimes clashing interests have developed, and the sense of unity and harmony which marked the village of old has vanished. The common grazing grounds, the joint ponds, tanks and wells, and the existence of the three time-honoured functionaries or officials, the Patwari, the Lambardar, and the Chowkidar, are almost the sole surviving relics of the once vigorous common and collective life of the village community.

But is there no possibility of a revival of the common and collective life of the village community? Must the village break up under the influence of our new civilization? Is town civilization going to take the place of village civilization? Some villages may break up, but there are no signs of a general impending desolation of the countryside. Villages will continue to play an important part in the life of our nation for a long time to come. Towns may expand at the cost of villages, but at no time are villages in our country likely to be reduced to the very subordinate position they occupy in England.

If villages are bound to continue playing an important part in the national economy of our country they must be strengthened and given fresh life. This

can best be done by two agencies, one as ancient as Indian civilization itself, and the other a product of the modern West and a gift of the English to India. The first is the Panchayat system and the second is the Co-operative movement. If they are worked on proper lines, and with the necessary amount of enthusiasm they are bound to revolutionise our villages and bring in an era of untold prosperity. A few words may now be said about each of these agencies.

The Panchayat or the village council of the elders has been from time immemorial 'the most characteristic feature of the government of a village community'* The word Panchayat literally means the Council of five. The original *Panchayat* may have consisted of five members, but 'the term has almost completely lost its numerical connotation.'* It now means only 'an association of people for doing administrative or judicial work.'

There are two types of Panchayats, the Panchayat of the village, and the Panchayat of the caste. The Panchayat of the village had, till its very recent revival, almost disappeared, and its functions were performed partly by the Government itself and partly by the local nominees, (the Patwari, the Headman and the Watchman) of the Central Government. The Caste Panchayats, which are somewhat like the English *'Craft guilds'* of the Middle Ages, function vigorously even now. They are strongest among the lower classes such as fishermen, weavers and kahars. They settle disputes, they fix expenses for marriages and funerals, they punish departures from established social customs and discuss all sorts of questions concerning their relations among themselves and with the rest of the village. They are really the parliament of the caste as well as its magistrates. They punish with fines and excommunication. It seems that in ancient times we had village Panchayats only. When,

* John Matthai, *Village Government in British India.*

however, castes in their present form began to appear, the narrower sectional Panchayats of the caste began to overshadow the common Panchayats of the village. The great need of the present is a revival of the village Panchayat of olden times. The smaller caste Panchayats should be made to merge into the larger Panchayat of the village community. The whole should absorb the parts, and should so strengthen itself that it can undertake 'the management of private schools, the construction and repair of school buildings, tanks and wells, the distribution of water in lands under irrigation, the settlement of small disputes, the common enjoyment of grazing and wood-cutting in forests' and a host of other activities of a common character. In a word we must convert our village communities into what Lord Metcalfe called 'little republics,' and make them active little organs of social welfare.

A beginning has already been made in this direction. Several of our provinces have their *Village Panchayat Acts,* and a number of Panchayats has been organised under these Acts. These Panchayats have administrative, judicial and sanitary functions. Their total number in the Punjab on April 1st, 1926, was 300. Their work consisted chiefly of 'the disposal of petty criminal and civil cases.' Altogether 1,176 criminal and 5,292 civil cases were tried. The judicial work of these village tribunals was on the whole well done. But owing partly to 'local feuds and jealousies' though mainly to the lack of any 'special agency which might foster the growth of the movement by propaganda,' the progress of the movement has, so far, been disappointing. There is no reason, however, why Panchayats should not multiply and flourish. What they need is the active support of the educated non-official opinion, and the patient work of officials. The work of organizing Panchayats may well be entrusted to the officials of the co-opera-

tive department or to specially appointed officers under the district boards.

Much more promising than the Panchayat, as a means of village reconstruction, is the Co-operative movement. Co-operation is only another name for team work. It aims at educating the villagers in the art of joint work. It tells them that they should borrow together, buy together, sell together, produce together. Joint activity and collective enterprise are its very essence. In spirit the idea of co-operation is not different from the idea of the Panchayat. 'Conferring together for common village purposes,' is the root idea of both.

Started in 1904, the Co-operative movement has made striking progress, especially in the Punjab, Bombay and Madras. In 1914 there were 'over twelve thousand societies, with nearly six hundred thousand members, and with a working capital of over five crores of rupees.' To-day we have sixty-one thousand societies with nearly twenty-one lacs of members and a working capital of twenty crores.

The Punjab is considered the stronghold of the Co-operative movement, and this is due as much to the special conditions of the province as to the tireless energy and enthusiasm of the Registrars of co-operative societies who have held charge of the movement since it was started. In 1905 a beginning was made with 12 societies. By 1911 the number had grown to 1,000. To-day we have 15,000 societies, with a membership of four lacs and a quarter and a working capital of over nine crores. Of the 15,000 societies about 13,000 are Agricultural Credit Societies. Thus nearly one, out of every three of our villages, has a co-operative credit society commonly known as the 'Zemindara Bank.' These little village banks not only save the cultivator lacs of rupees every year by way of interest—their rates being very much lower than those charged by the village money-lender—but also

teach him to stand on his own legs, and to exercise rigid economy in his expenditure. The educative value of these institutions is very great. They develop among their members habits of thrift and self-reliance and they teach them the most valuable lesson that strength comes from union, and that united action is life, and scattered, isolated, effort is death.

The activities of the co-operative societies in our province are manifold. They lend for legitimate agricultural purposes at the usual rate of 12½ per cent. per annum. In some cases they lend even at 6¼ per cent per annum. They buy good seeds, agricultural implements, and manures and sell the same to their members practically at cost price. They sell the products of the fields at the market town (Mandis) without the intervention of the middleman and thus earn for the cultivator the profits that ordinarily go to the dealer in grain. They release from debt those who are heavily encumbered, and recently they have done most valuable work in several places in putting in big blocks the small plots of land which previously lay scattered. They have in some cases helped in improving the breed of cattle and in providing pure milk for the people. They have taught the villager to apply to agriculture the principles of sound business. They have checked litigation and inspired the villager with a love for reading and writing. They have tended to make people more sober and less extravagant than before. In a word, co-operation has achieved such marked success in its various phases that 'there is some reason to think that the continuity of aim and solidarity of feeling inherent in the movement may lead to a revival of the corporate village life which has been so much weakened by the disintegrating influences of modern life.' (P. N. Bannerjee, *A Study Of Indian Economics*).

This discussion on the village and its organization may be concluded with the prophecy that the masses of

India will achieve their civic freedom through the Panchayat and their economic salvation through co-operation—that unique gift of the British administrator in India.

CHAPTER XX

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW.

'Upholding the Law'—Police Administration—The Judge—Objects of Punishment—Right of Appeal.

We are all familiar with the existence of numerous Government departments and offices. The Government of a country is carried on by a huge machinery, of which the various offices are essential parts. The Tehsil, the Thana, the District courts are all parts of the administrative machinery with which we are quite familiar.

The most important duty of all Governments is to uphold or maintain the law of the land. Law can be briefly described as the orders of the supreme authority in the land. In other words, these are the commands of the power which *rules* in the land. It is obvious that unless these orders are obeyed, there will be confusion in the country. Take the case of the members of a family living together in one house. The father is the head of the family and he rules in the home. If his orders are not obeyed by his children and others under his protection, there will be no peace, no harmony and no order in that home. You can imagine how very unpleasant life in such a family would be. If such is the case in a single family you can easily understand how great would be the harm and chaos in the country if the people did not obey the orders of Government.

The purpose of the 'laws' of a country, therefore, is to keep order in the land by assigning to various officials their particular duties, and by also prescribing the punishments to be awarded for a failure to perform these duties. These laws also define the various offences that may be committed against the

people of the land, and provide punishments for such offences. Now there are many kinds of offences, and there are many kinds of punishments, and all these are summed up in the laws of the land.

It is sometimes supposed that these 'laws' limit the sphere of individual freedom. There can be no greater error than this, and unless it is rooted out of our minds, we can have no respect for the 'laws of the land,' which deserve the worship of citizens. This error has its roots in a wrong idea of 'liberty' and 'freedom.' Liberty does not mean freedom to do what we like—it means, on the other hand, wholesome restraint as a result of which we let others do what we like to do ourselves. Hence the law which forbids us to walk on the main road but orders us to walk on the footpath, does not curtail or restrict our liberty but enlarges its sphere. It saves us from the risk of being run over while it frees the motorists from needless worries.

Law, then, is the basis of a civilized society and the extent of its maintenance is the measure by which a nation's progress can be judged. The greater the respect for the laws of a land, the greater is the peace and prosperity therein, and the higher is the civic consciousness among the inhabitants. To uphold the law is the supreme duty of government. To inculcate respect for its laws, government has to make its authority feared, for as Stanley once said in the House of Commons, 'A government before it can be respected, must first be feared.' Hence it is that the true symbol of a judge is not that of a man with a pair of scales in both hands, but of one who has a pair of scales in the left hand, and a naked sword in the right concealed behind his back.

Thus alone can law be upheld. But before offenders against the law of the land can be punished, crime should be detected and traced. This is the duty of the Police force of a country.

THE POLICE.

The Policeman is a very familiar figure. We accept him as a part of our civic life. What are his functions and why is he employed by the government? The answer is: to maintain order, to detect crime, and to arrest offenders.

The word 'Police' is of recent origin. It did not become common until late in the last century. It belongs to the group of words Policy, Polity, Politics, and Politic. The Police has been defined as 'Such part of the Social organism as is considered immediately with the maintenance of good order, or the prevention or detection of crime.'

That the word 'Police' is of recent origin is because of the fact that the modern system of a regular police force has come into existence during the last fifty years or so. Before that each village had its own Chowkidar, who had certain powers of arrest and reporting, which the ordinary citizen did not possess. It is by virtue of similar powers that the police maintain order.

The Police force of a country is really the arms of the law of the land. The Police are the guardians of the public, they are the shield of the weak, the refuge of the unprotected. They recognise the equality of the rights of citizenship for all. They investigate all serious occurrences, and find out the nature, causes and effects of these. They further take steps to put a stop to such occurrences. In one word, therefore, we might say, the Police 'maintain order.'

Order, like law, is a very important word, and it is essential for us to understand its full significance before we proceed any further. More than three-fourths of our troubles arise from lack of order. Remove order, and you remove the very basis of the normal life of society. Since the Police maintain law and

order, the presence of a Police Force is essential in every civilised country.

At this point, it is necessary to point out the peculiar difficulties of the Police in India. The tendency to criticise the Police is very common in this land, and there is not much co-operation between the policeman on duty and the general public. This is most unfortunate. The policeman is regarded as the enemy of society, not its guardian. He has to carry on his investigation without much co-operation from the public, and so the detection of crime becomes exceedingly difficult, the more so when we take into consideration the fact that the average policeman is not a man of high training or attainments. Nor is the work, which he is called upon to do, of a simple nature. There are many kinds of crime—from the operation of the pickpocket to an organised dacoity—from an ordinary brawl to a cold-blooded murder—which he is called upon to investigate and bring the offenders to book.

No one can say that the policeman in India is perfect; far from it. He has to learn and unlearn a great deal, but in spite of his difficulties and shortcomings he does his work very well. He will do better, if he remembers the sound advice recently given by the Commissioner of the Calcutta Police Force to the men under him, 'it costs nothing to be polite'. The London Policeman can be pointed out as a model worthy of imitation all over the world. He is polite, cool, calm, resourceful, and helpful, with a high sense of responsibility. The Police in India are improving and can improve much more if public opinion supports the policeman as he is supported in England—if he is regarded as a friend and not an enemy. This support will educate the policeman, it will lift him up.

The Police have the power of arrest, and this may be immediate, if the nature of the offence be very

serious. Every police officer is bound to take due notice of all the complaints that he receives, and of anything that affects the general peace. Complaints have to be recorded by him, and disposed of on their merits. Thus alone can he protect the public.

THE JUDGE.

It has been pointed out above, that the duty of the Police is to detect crime, and to arrest the offenders. After such offenders have been arrested they have to be brought before the bar of Justice, there to show cause why they should not be punished for the offence against the law of the land.

When a suspected person is brought before a judge or before a magistrate, he is called 'the accused.' The judge or the Magistrate then proceeds to examine the two versions placed before him, *i.e.*, to examine both the 'prosecution' story as well as the 'defence' story. It is very rarely that the accused admits all that is reported against him, and most often he pleads not guilty. The duty of a judge is to see whether the accused is guilty or not. His decision is based upon the evidence brought before him by both the parties. If he finds the accused guilty, he awards him the punishment he deserves. Now it should be clearly understood that a judge is not a maker of laws, he is only an interpreter of the law. He may be wise, but not wiser than the law. He never makes new rules, he never enacts new laws. He applies the existing legal machinery to the cases brought before him for trial.

On many points, however, this ready-made code of law is not clear, or is capable of more than one interpretation, and the judge has then to use his discretion and decide the points at issue. These decisions get the force of law after some time, and are quoted as authorities later on. This shows that a judge ought

to be a man of sound learning, and of the highest character. He should be absolutely straightforward and honest. He should also be cautious and courteous. In order to inspire confidence he should rise above all prejudices and all low passions. He ought to presuppose nothing, prejudge nothing. Reason, instead, should govern all his actions. He should not be led away by the arguments and interpretations of the lawyers, but examine the pros and cons of the case and quite impartially give his verdict. In short a judge should act without fear of man but in fear of God. For those condemned, the judgment of the judge is like the command of God. He passes his judgement on God's creatures and makes his actions answerable to God.

Object of Punishment.

Is punishment merely an act of retribution? Is a criminal punished in order that the same injury should be inflicted on him as he has inflicted on his victim? Is it merely following the old law 'A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye?'

This is obviously wrong. We cannot punish the slanderer by slandering him. Two blacks never can make one white. Why does the schoolmaster inflict punishment? Is it because he has a craving for wielding the much-abused rod? No, his object is, and should be, to correct the child, to make the child work for his own benefit. He hopes thereby to reform the child who is slack, and also believes that punishment given to one will act as a deterrent to others.

The proper view of punishment, therefore, is not retribution but the reformation of the offender. It should be considered an expiation and a discipline.

Looked at from this point of view, our jails are our greatest problem. Justice, too, is never truly just,

except when its tendency is to humanize. At first there was a reaction against the old and barbarous forms of punishments—even thieves used to be hanged for petty thefts—but it is now fully recognised that dread of pain is as much an instinct with human beings as love of pleasure. To-day, therefore, the necessity of punishment is taken for granted. It is acknowledged to be an evil, but a necessary evil.

But a vast change is needed in the manner and the method of this punishment. It is believed, and rightly, that a more certain punishment is better than a more severe one. The evolution of a more rational system of punishment has more than a passing interest. Prison reform is the topic of the day. Philosophy, philanthropy and religion have joined hands against harsh, vindictive and cruel prison systems.

Can punishment alone put an end to crime? Punishment will and does hold crime in check, but only to a certain extent. There are many parents who use the rod too often, and very severely on the backs of their children, but few of these children turn out to be of the best type. The right thing is not to strike the child, but the defect in him.

A criminal should be studied as an individual and the causes of his perversity properly taken into consideration before punishment is inflicted. This punishment should be such as will purge his soul, and make his moral regeneration certain. It should not degrade, but on the contrary give a chance of redemption to a lost soul. Such a state of things is perhaps ideal and involves a great deal of time and expense. But the mind of all the civilized governments is being exercised by the problem. Imprisonment certainly is not the best punishment for all, nor is a fine its only helpmate. Would that the wit of man could devise some better and more effective form of punishment than the system of bolts and bars and darkened cells!

But the science of Criminology is yet in the making. Its prescriptions are character, nationality and climate, and as these do not admit of uniformity, the science cannot be an exact science. However, there is an international Prison Confederation, which started its work as early as 1872. Its object is stated to be to introduce greater humanity in the treatment of those who offend against social order, to lay stress on human fellowship; to insist that law while protecting society should not strike blindly at offenders. It aims at considering the age, sex, history, mental and physical condition of the offender, and then awarding him punishment best suited to bring him back to the bosom of society as a useful and honourable citizen.

The opening of the reformatories and the attempts to save young offenders all point in the same direction. But the case of grown-up offenders and of women in particular needs greater consideration. Until recently the prison system has been striking at the criminal, but not at the roots of the causes that have made him such. It is a very happy sign of the new humanitarian spirit that in our country also the question of prison reform is engaging the earnest attention of government, and the time is not far off when we shall cease to regard a criminal as a hopeless pariah and outcast, but by a rational and humane system of punishment give him a chance to become again a decent citizen.

Right of Appeal.

Have you ever been to the District Courts? There you find the courts of various magistrates who try cases, which by virtue of their powers they can try. Many are the accused persons brought before them, some in custody because they are suspected of having committed very serious crimes, for which

they cannot be allowed to remain on bail. Of these numerous accused persons many are every day being convicted and punished while quite a number of them are acquitted or discharged, as the charges against them are found to be baseless or not proved.

If one were to follow the procedure adopted in these courts, one would be surprised to find the facilities that are offered to the accused to defend himself. He has the right of 'cross-examining', 'further cross-examining' and of 're-examining' the witnesses concerned in his case, and these he can call to court at government expense. He can call as many defence witnesses as he likes, and if he is unable to pay their expenses, the government bears the cost. He has of course, the right to be represented by counsel.

All these technical points have been mentioned to show how very anxious the authorities are to secure justice. And to say after all this, that the magistrate may make an error of judgment, is only to affirm that he is human. But to ensure that such errors may be rectified and that no miscarriage of justice might take place by convicting the innocent, his orders are subject to appeal to a higher authority. In most cases these appeals go to the District and Sessions Judge, if they are against the orders of 1st Class Magistrates; or to some especially selected officer of the District if they are against the orders of the 2nd and 3rd Class Magistrates. The appeals in Revenue cases go to the Revenue Assistant and the Revenue Officer, *i.e.*, the Deputy Commissioner of the District. But this is not the end, and all important cases go right up to the High Court, and there they are explained and argued before the highest Judicial Tribunal of the Province. The Judges of the High Court are all men of very high character, vast legal learning and of that strictly judicial mind which is free from all bias; men whose one consuming passion is 'Justice.' Before such men, the case is given a thorough hear-

ing and the appeal disposed of on its merits. But the limit is not reached even here. There are some very important cases the appeal against which can go to the highest Judicial Tribunal of the British Empire. Before the Privy Council (or more strictly, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) the last stage is reached of all debatable and conflicting issues. You will agree that no greater rights of appeal in the interests of justice could exist in any civilized community. There may be defects here and there in the legal machinery of the government, but no one will deny that every attempt is made to secure 'Justice.'

CHAPTER XXI

Defence of the country—The Army—The Navy—The Air Force.

In order that a country may be considered worthy of being called civilised it is essential that within its borders there should be peace, and law and order should be strictly and impartially maintained. In Chapter XX, we have described the machinery provided by the government for this purpose, as also the part played by our judges, executive officers, and the police in maintaining law and order. No matter how highly civilised a country may be, there will always be found within it a certain number of black sheep who prey upon the weak, the innocent and the unwary. Just as a gardener has to be very careful in not allowing any weeds or parasites to grow, and destroy or mar the growth of his beautiful plants and flowers, similarly in human society it is the highest duty of the government to protect its people from the clutches of human parasites or those useless and wicked men who try to flourish at the expense of their fellow-men. But the business of the gardener is not confined to looking after the plants and flowers within the garden, he is also bound to see that no trespassers pluck his flowers or fruits or in any other way inflict an injury on the garden. In the same way the maintenance of law and order within the country is not the only business of the government. It is equally important that it should be able to prevent all foreign enemies from attacking it from without. For this purpose it is necessary that there should be an Army and Navy, and within recent times, an Air Force also. We shall try to show you how important it is that India should have a reliable and highly efficient Army, Navy and Air Force.

You are already aware of the fact that the geography of India, has, like that of other countries, profoundly influenced its history. Look at the map of India. In the North you have the great wall of the gigantic Himalayas, and on the other three sides you have the sea. Nature has tried to protect India from all sides but not completely, for on the north-west there are the well-known passes through which the invaders have penetrated into this land, the wealth, beauty and civilization of which have always been an irresistible attraction for foreigners. The Aryans, the Scythians, the Huns, the Greeks, the Tartars and the Muhammadans all invaded India through the north-west passes. The only other way to attack India is from the sea. For hundreds of years no invader came to India by the sea-route because in the olden days there were no good ships, the seas and oceans had not been charted and voyages were full of dreadful dangers and risks. It was only when science enabled men to build good ships and overcome other difficulties that in the 17th century the European nations, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English came to India by sea for purposes of trade. Science has made such rapid progress during the last hundred years that whereas formerly it took a ship from Europe several months to reach India, the voyage now takes a few days, and the art of navigation has become so perfect that all the old dangers of the sea have become almost a myth, and it is as safe to travel on the sea as on land. In future if any invader ever dares to attack India he will come only through the two possible routes: the north-west passes or the sea. Therefore it is the duty of our government to provide against any such attack by maintaining a strong, efficient and adequate Army and Navy.

There are some people who say that it is no longer necessary to keep standing armies and navies, and that the millions that are spent annually on them could

be more profitably used in promoting the welfare of the people in many other ways. This way of thinking is no doubt due to the fact that most of the world has become accustomed to a life of peace. For years and years there has been no war, and naturally men began to think that because all was well, all would be well, and therefore dreams were dreamt of a better order of things when war would be altogether eliminated from human society, and all the people of the world would live like brethren irrespective of race, caste, colour and creed. It is indeed a beautiful dream, nor is it an impossible dream as we have tried to show in the chapter on 'The League of Nations.' But human nature being what it is, one may safely say that for many years to come every country will have to make provision for war: cruel though war is, and horrible though its consequences are. This being so, it is obvious that in the present state of human society a standing army is a necessity. It is not possible to predict when a war may break out, and it is not possible to raise an army at a moment's notice. Since the Great War so many new inventions have been made in the science of warfare that the task of equipping and training an army is exceedingly difficult and requires enormous expenditure and years of preparation.

Formerly fighting was a very much simpler affair; but now engines and weapons of destruction have been invented which it was difficult even to dream about fifteen or sixteen years ago. Before the Great War how many people understood what 'Poison gas,' 'Sea-planes,' 'Torpedo boats,' 'Submarines,' and 'Tanks,' meant, and what havoc they could work in the hands of a cruel enemy? Now even an intelligent school-boy understands what these things are, and realises how dreadful war waged in the air, on land, on the sea and under it can be. Thus we come to the conclusion that extremely elaborate

and costly preparations for war have to be made by every country according to its needs and, until the League of Nations has succeeded in completely getting rid of war, no nation can afford to be caught napping in this respect. Let us now see how our Government keeps itself ready for all emergencies—internal trouble as well as foreign invasion.

In your history of India you must have read of times when anarchy and disorder were the order of the day, and when the people had frequently to pass through the terrible ordeal of an invasion and all its attendant horrors. Thanks to the strong arm of our government those dreadful days are now a thing of the past, and each one of us is able to live happily in the full enjoyment of his rights and without danger to his life and property, and without violence to his conscience or religious beliefs.

And yet occasions do arise when the passions of even peace-loving and easy-going men get so aroused that a grave danger to internal peace is threatened, and the Police Force, not always being able to cope with such emergencies, the aid of the military has to be called in. You must have heard of a few occasions, within your own experience when disturbances and lawlessness have broken out as the result of communal bitterness and class-hatred—which unfortunately have not yet died out—and tarnished the good name of some towns and cities. Mob violence can and does take many ugly forms, and murder, arson and plundering are sometimes resorted to. On such abnormal occasions the civil authorities have to call in the help of the military, and experience has shown that as soon as armoured cars, machine guns, cavalry, and armed patrols are seen going about in the affected town and its neighbourhood, confidence begins to be restored, and the moral effect of the parading of these forces of law and order is so great that in a short time passions die down and things resume a normal course

without the authorities being compelled to take extreme measures.

It is therefore extremely necessary for internal peace as well as for providing against the danger of a foreign invasion that our government should keep a strong army capable of being mobilised at a moment's notice. All over the country there are military cantonments, although the strongest of these must necessarily be situated near the vulnerable north-west. The Indian army consists of Indian sepoys, English soldiers, Cavalry and Artillery. There is a lot of talk about the Indianisation of the army. The number of soldiers has been reduced. Yet about Rs. 66 crores are spent every year on the upkeep and maintenance of the Indian Army. During the Great War the numbers in this Army increased and the expenditure also went up proportionately, but this was inevitable, as every portion of the Empire was in duty bound to do its utmost to help her in her hour of need. But after the close of the War the number of sepoys and soldiers as well as army expenses have been gradually reduced until in the opinion of the Military authorities any further reduction is not possible.

Formerly there were three main divisions of the Army, one in each Presidency, each under a separate Commander-in-Chief. This system was found too complicated and not easily workable, and since 1893 the whole of the Indian Army has been placed under the Commander-in-Chief in India. The Governor-General-in-Council is the supreme authority in all matters, civil and military, but he only concerns himself with questions of high policy, and leaves the details of the administration of the military department to the Commander-in-Chief who is ex-officio an extraordinary member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

The Indian Army is always kept very efficient, and is considered one of the finest fighting units of the

Empire. During the Great War our soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder, in many theatres of war, with their comrades from other parts of the Empire, and everywhere covered themselves with glory. That we enjoy the blessings of peace, that life and property are perfectly safe, that India has during the last 150 years never been harassed by foreign invaders, is in great measure due to our gallant soldiers who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives in order that our motherland may enjoy the blessings of peace, and free from internal disorder or foreign aggression may continue to march forward on the road of progress and advancement. Why is the profession of a soldier in practically every land, considered very honourable? It is because a soldier serves his country in the truest sense, and in order to keep her free and happy offers the best a man can offer: his very life. We ought to be proud of our soldiers, and not grudge their presence in times of peace or in a spirit of ungrateful petty-mindedness refuse them a few comforts or conveniences. This is often done, as shown in the following lines:

'In times of danger and in time of war,
God and the soldier we alike adore;
But the war over, the wrong righted,
God is forgotten, and the soldier slighted.'

We should take more interest in military training in these days of the problems of the Indianisation of the Army and an Indian Sandhurst. The Government report* refers to this point. We Indians must go in for military education. There is the Prince of Wales' College at Dehra Dun and the King George's Military Schools at Jullundur and Jhelum in the Punjab. There is the U.T.C. (University Training Corps) for college students and the Territorials for those who can and would like to join up. We should all learn

* 'India in 1925-26,' 'a statement prepared for presentation to Parliament.'

how to defend our country or our health and home in times of stress. We must learn to respect a soldier and feel proud of him in the spirit of the well-known old song :

'There goes my soldier boy,
My pride, my only joy!
His regiment's out in fine array,
And the soldiers make a grand display
Of the uniform they wear.
Tramp, tramp, they march along,
Tramp, tramp, quite firm and strong,
They leave a name in History,
And that's why I'm so proud to see
That my own boy's marching there.'

You must have several times heard and read the expression 'Great Britain is the mistress of the seas.' Have you ever thought about it and tried to grasp its true significance? Let us explain it to you. Great Britain is the mistress of the seas because she has the strongest navy in the world. Our King Emperor rules over an Empire over which the sun never sets. Just think of the glory of India being considered 'the finest jewel in the British Crown,' and imagine to yourself the protection given to our country by the mighty British Navy. Every other European power failed to establish its dominion in India chiefly because of the unrivalled power and strength of the British Navy. We can, therefore, feel perfectly safe from any danger of a foreign invasion from the sea. And you will, no doubt, be surprised to learn that India contributes practically nothing to the Royal Navy, all the enormous expenditure on which is met by Great Britain herself. The Royal Navy has ships of various kinds: battleships, cruisers, torpedo-boats, and submarines and several thousand gallant men serve in various capacities on board these, and are as ready to shed their last drop of blood in the service of the Empire as members of His Majesty's Land Forces.

During the last few years further protection has been given to India, and her capacity to defend herself and punish her enemies has been considerably strengthened by the institution of the Air Force. Not long ago aeroplanes and airships were unknown, and whenever a daring scientist foresaw the coming of a time when men would be able to conquer the air and fly about like birds, he was ridiculed. And yet all these things have already become an accomplished fact and still more wonderful advances are foreshadowed in regard to the conquest of the air. During the Great War a great stimulus was given to the development of air-craft, and such a rapid advance has been made since then, that in almost every country an 'Air Force' has been established as an extremely helpful auxiliary to the Army. Air-craft of various kinds was employed on both sides with deadly effect during the Great War, and it is certain that in any future warfare the 'Air Force' will play an increasingly important part. For purposes of observation, watching the movements of the enemy, taking aerial photographs of the enemy country, and punishing him by dropping bombs on him, aircraft is bound to be useful, and of course, its great possibilities, in times of peace—in the field of transport, trade and commerce cannot be over-estimated.

In this chapter we have been talking so much of war, of armies, of navies, of air-craft and of the necessity of 'preparing for war if peace is desired,' that you may possibly carry away the impression that human society cannot do without these things under any circumstances. This is a mistaken idea.

In the chapter on 'The League of Nations' we have made it clear that mankind has become so tired of war and all its horrors—as witnessed in the Great War—that earnest attempts will continue to be made to get rid of war and to settle all quarrels between the various nations by peaceful arbitration. But this

desirable state of affairs will, obviously, take a long time, and meanwhile armies and navies, etc., will have to be kept. Serious attempts are being made by the nations to restrict armaments, and by mutual agreement to reduce the Army, the Navy, and the Air Forces. Much has already been accomplished, but much more remains to be done until the ideal of universal brotherhood becomes a fact. But what till then? Is there no danger of the people of the world becoming so used to armies and navies and air forces that a certain undesirable war mentality may develop which looks upon war as inevitable, which rejoices and glories in war and gives fighting the highest place in the good things of life? In other words are there no dangers of militarism arising out of our preparedness for war? Germany was saturated with this spirit of militarism before the War and the great struggle was no doubt, chiefly due to this spirit. Every German citizen had been trained, from his very childhood to look upon war as something glorious and so he developed a war-mentality which eventually plunged the world into a terrible struggle the like of which had never been seen before. But in spite of the fact that for a long time to come we cannot altogether get rid of war, the world has learnt such bitter lessons during the Great War that every nation will look upon it as an evil, and the establishment of the League of Nations and the conferences that are being held for the restriction of armaments are all sure signs that there is no serious danger of any nation developing or relapsing into a spirit of militarism.

CHAPTER XXII

PUBLIC FINANCE OR TAXATION.

Public Finance—What is a Tax?—Has Government the Right to tax? Why the Government Taxes us—Canons of Taxation :—(i) Justice—(ii) Economy—(iii) Clearness—(iv) Convenience—(v) Elasticity—(vi) Variety—(vii) Adequacy or Sufficiency—(viii) Conformity with Historical Tradition—Sources of Revenue in India—Direct Taxes—Indirect Taxes—Customs Houses—Tariffs—How are we Taxed in India?—Local Bodies as Taxing Authorities—Municipalities and District Boards in the Punjab.

A GOVERNMENT in order to carry on, must have the necessary amount of money. In modern highly organised societies the functions of government are many. The larger and more diverse the functions, the greater must be the expenditure and the ampler its resources. The subject of the expenditure and revenue of the government has become so important in recent years that it has developed into a separate and independent branch of study known as Public Finance. It deals with the incomings and outgoings of the State, 'with the revenues of government and the utilization of those revenues.'—(Carver).

Every modern government obtains its revenues from different sources of which taxation is the most important. In former times a good deal of the income of the State was derived from crown lands, from fines and penalties, and occasionally from free gifts. In India even to-day a considerable part of the income of the government comes from sources other than taxation. But there is no doubt that all over the world there is now-a-days a tendency to look upon taxation as the primary and indispensable source of

revenue for the State. It has been rightly said that 'in all civilised governments taxes have become the chief source of revenue, fees, assessments, fines, and penalties forming subsidiary sources.'—(Carver).

What is a tax? Bastable has defined it as 'a compulsory contribution of the wealth of a person or body of persons for the service of the public powers.' So a tax is 'compulsory'; it has to be paid, whether the payer is willing (to pay) or not. The amount of the tax, the time and method of its payment, and the persons called upon to pay are all determined by government. Secondly, 'a tax is a "contribution" '; it is something that the payer parts with or 'contributes,' and in parting with which he makes a sacrifice. Thirdly, a tax is a payment out of 'wealth' and as such it includes both services and goods. Thus compulsory military service or forced labour is as much a tax as the payment of money into the treasury on account of land revenue. Fourthly, 'all taxation is imposed on "persons" '. Taxation is an obligation or duty, and a duty can be imposed only on persons. Whether a tax is levied on goods, or on land or houses or on income it must ultimately be paid by persons. In the fifth place taxation is levied for the 'service' or use of the government. Every government has its wants and taxation is the chief means by which those wants are met. Lastly 'taxation is for the public powers.' By public powers are meant all kinds of government, central, provincial and local. They include district boards and municipalities quite as much as the provincial and central governments. In short, a tax is a compulsory payment to the government, local or central, for which the government does not undertake to give any direct and immediate return to the payer. Taxation should be distinguished, on the one hand from such income as the government gets from its own lands or mines or forests, and on the other, from rates, fees,

etc. Thus mining royalties, and the income from forests as well as railway rates, and school fees are quite distinct from taxation. Taxation is not a payment for any direct benefit received by the individual.

Has government the right to tax? There are some who say it hasn't. This view rests on the supposition that every man has a right to the earnings of his labour. It is commonly said that what a man has earned is his, wholly and entirely. This view is mistaken because no one earns anything, wholly and entirely by himself. And even if one were to earn anything without another's aid one would not be able to retain it without the help of the government. The truth is that we produce what we produce and enjoy what we enjoy because there is the strong arm of the government to protect us. Without government all would be chaos and no one could call anything his own. It is government and government alone that makes all wealth and ownership possible. Without government there would be no rights of property, there would be no 'mine' and 'thine.' In such circumstances might would be right. Government, then, which ensures to all the possession and enjoyment of wealth and raises men above the level of animals, has certainly a claim to a part of the wealth produced in society.

Government has the right to tax. But is it necessary for it to exercise that right? The answer is, yes. Government has many functions to perform and for these it requires money and services. It must keep peace within the borders of the country and protect the nation from outside attack. This is its most essential function. For this it must keep an efficient police-force, a sufficiently strong army and navy, and, in these days, an air-force also. It must, through its courts of law, dispense justice between man and man. It must construct and maintain roads

and bridges, for, without these intercommunication and commerce are impracticable. Roads are to the world of commerce what arteries are to the human system. Then again it must, in all modern civilized societies, look after the health and education of its subjects. For this it must have schools and colleges as well as asylums and hospitals. Finally, it must do all that makes for human progress and happiness. To promote the peasant's well-being it must build canals, encourage agricultural research and start co-operative societies. To stimulate commerce and industry it must have institutions for commercial education and technical training.

All this requires money. It should never be forgotten, however, that the money and services demanded by the government are demanded not for any selfish purposes of its own but for the well-being of the community as a whole. Government levies taxes solely in the interest of the people. It has no axe of its own to grind. If it is to properly perform its functions as the guardian and trustee of national well-being and as the promoter of national prosperity, it must have a purse long enough and full enough. And in a healthy society we need hardly grudge the government money which it takes only to give back in a different shape. Just as the sun by its myriad rays draws water to the clouds and then sends it back to the earth in refreshing showers of rain so the government collects taxes only to return them to the people in an endless variety of new and more fruitful forms. Every government needs money to carry on, and the chief means by which this money can be obtained is taxation.

The financier, though a practical man of affairs, is always guided in his efforts to devise a sound system of taxation by certain time-honoured methods known as the 'canons' or principles of taxation. No system of taxation can be called sound which fails to satisfy these canons, and the more completely these

canons are followed the more perfect will be the system of taxation. The main canons of taxation are:—

(i) Equity or Justice.—Justice is the first and most important canon of taxation. It means that the burden of taxation should be justly or fairly distributed over the different classes of people in the community. The poor should not be over-taxed, nor the rich under-taxed. Each should pay according to his ability or means. And as the ability of a man to pay increases faster than his income, the richer a man is, the higher should be the rate at which he is called upon to pay. In other words taxation should be *'progressive'* as opposed to *'proportional'* under which all incomes, small or great, are assessed at the same rate. Our Income Tax in India is a progressive tax.

(ii) Economy.—Economy is the second canon of taxation. It means first, that the cost of collection of the tax should be as small as possible, and secondly that the tax should be such that it does not injure the trade and industry of the country nor discourage the use of wholesome articles of consumption. Our Customs duties and Excise are excellent examples of economical taxes.

(iii) Certainty or Clearness.—There should be no arbitrariness or vagueness about the tax. Everything about it should be clear; the amount of the tax and the method and time of its payment. There should be no ambiguity about the *what,* the *how* and *when* of the tax. All our taxes satisfy this test.

(iv) Convenience.—The meaning of this canon is that the time and manner of the payment of the tax should be convenient to the payer. Our land revenue which is realised in two instalments (at the end of the Rabi and the Kharif) is a good example of the principle of convenience in taxation.

(v) Elasticity.—This is an important canon of taxation. It means that the tax system should be such that the government can expand or contract

revenues by slight adjustments of the rates of some of the taxes in the system. The tax system of the Government of India is elastic, because by changing the rates of the 'income-tax' and 'customs duties' the government can, without seriously disturbing the entire tax system, increase or decrease its total income.

(iv) Variety.—There should be a number of taxes in each system of taxation. If there are only one or two taxes in a country, some classes may escape taxation altogether while others are burdened heavily. If, however, there is a large number of them the distribution of the burden is likely to be more even. Thus there should be taxes on income, on property and on consumption. Variety makes for equity. Our system of taxation satisfies this test also.

(vii) Adequacy or sufficiency.—Taking one year with another the revenue should balance expenditure. The tax should be enough (adequate or sufficient) to make both ends meet.

(viii) Conformity with historical tradition.—Every tax system should, as far as possible, be in keeping with the ideas handed down from the past. We cannot wipe off the past however much we may wish to. It is often said that an old tax is no tax. The reason is that an old tax, being a part of the national tradition, and having become a part and parcel of the peoples' life, is not felt by them. Such is the case with our land-revenue.

Idealists have urged again and again that there should be only one kind of tax. Some say it should be a tax on income, others that it should be a tax on property, others still that it should be a tax on the various articles of consumption. There is one school of thinkers that regards all taxes, excepting the one on land, as immoral. Idealists, being one-sided, are more often wrong than right. The practical financier does not worry himself about the ideal system. He taxes income or property or goods as it suits him. Indeed

he taxes all these in different degrees. He is guided by past practice from which he does not want to depart suddenly. His two mottoes are 'pluck the goose with as little squealing as possible' and get something from everybody. He decides what to spend, and then tries to have what he wants by causing the least possible annoyance to the people, and by making every one share the burden to however small an extent.

The Indian financier is no exception to this rule. He makes all classes pay. He taxes the richer and middle classes through the income and the 'super-taxes.' He taxes the landowners through the land-revenue. He makes all classes pay by taxing, at the sea-ports, foreign goods such as cloth, watches, motor-cars, umbrellas, sugar and kerosene oil. By making liquor, opium and hemp artificially dear he kills two birds with one stone: he discourages the use of undesirable things, and at the same time gets money for the State. The canals and railways and post office, while they confer inestimable boons on the community, are a great source of revenue to the government. In all these diverse ways the financier gets money from the people, from every class of them. He favours no class, he spares none. Some know that they pay, others pay without knowing, but none are left untouched. But for him the villager would go ignorant, the diseased would remain unhealed, and national prosperity would languish.

From the preceding paragraphs it would be clear that the modern 'Finance Member,' pressed as he is by the constantly growing needs of his community, has to levy different kinds of taxes. For purposes of convenience these taxes may be classified as 'Direct' and 'Indirect.' A Direct tax is a tax the burden of which is expected to fall directly on persons who pay it. The best examples of this are the income tax, the land-revenue, the death-duties, and the taxes on profits. The income tax and the land-revenue we have

in our own country. Taxes on profits we had for a few years owing to the necessities of the last European War, and death-duties have been suggested by many as very suitable sources of revenue. The total yield of the two chief direct taxes in India, the income tax and the land-revenue, come to between 50 and 55 crores of rupees. An 'Indirect' tax is a tax the burden of which is expected to be shifted or transferred to others by those who first pay it. Here the payer of the tax does not shoulder the real burden of the tax. The bearer of the real burden is the consumer of the taxed goods, and not the man who seems to pay. The simplest and the best examples of indirect taxes are, the customs duties levied at the ports, the excise and such taxes as the *Chungi* and the terminal tax levied by our Municipalities. These indirect taxes amount in India to much more than the direct taxes. They generally do not cost much to collect, and they are not felt by those who really pay them. The big Bombay merchant who imports cloth from Manchester pays a duty of 11 per cent. on his cloth at the Customs House, but he recovers this from the shopkeeper who buys from him, and this shopkeeper in turn recovers it from his customers. The price that these customers —the final consumers—pay includes the tax levied at the Bombay Customs House. What is true of the customs duties is equally true of the Excise. The seller of wine pays a 'license-fee' to the government, and in addition purchases wine at a price very much above its cost of manufacture. All that he pays to the government he realises from the wine drinker by raising the price of the wine. Indirect taxes, then, are taxes imposed on articles of consumption and although they are paid to the government by the sellers of these articles they are really borne by the ultimate buyer.

What are 'Customs Houses' and 'Tariffs'? Customs Houses are offices either at the sea-ports as in the case of British India, or in the interior as in the

case of some of the Indian States, at which customs, that is, duties levied on goods coming to or leaving the country, are collected. These offices may rightly be called 'National *Chungi Khanas.*' Every Customs House is a big search office. Every package or box entering or leaving the country is carefully looked into at these houses and is not released till it has paid the duty fixed by the government. Customs Houses not only collect taxes, but also prevent the smuggling in or out of prohibited articles such as cocaine. They also keep a record of the values and quantities of the goods that pass through, and it is from their reports that we judge of the condition of our foreign trade.

'Tariffs' are lists of the duties or customs to be paid on imports and exports. They are revised from time to time according to the needs of the treasury and the public opinion of the country.

Tariffs are called 'Revenue' and 'Protective' according to the purpose they serve. When their object is merely to bring revenue to the government they are called Revenue Tariffs, but when they are so designed as to protect and promote national industries they are known as Protective Tariffs. Protective tariffs, wisely framed, lead to the growth of new industries in the country and development of old ones. We in India had, till recently, a purely revenue tariff; now-a-days, however, our tariff is mixed, being partly of a revenue and partly of a protective character. The duties on steel are, for example, protective in character while those on matches, sugar and textiles are half revenue, half protective. Protective duties promote industry, and industry promotes wealth.

Taxation, as we have seen, is not only necessary but also desirable. But there is such a thing as too much of a good thing. We need to raise money for peace and defence, but if we have more soldiers and policemen than are needed, there is waste. In judging whether a particular tax is needed or not we should

put ourselves one simple question. Would not the money obtained by the government from a particular tax be better spent if it remained with the people? If the answer is yes, the tax should not be levied; if it is no, it should be levied. The rule is not always easy to apply, but it is necessary to remember it, for, by no other means can we find whether the money obtained from us by the Government is really needed or not.

This general discussion leads us naturally to the enquiry, 'How are we being taxed in India'? In our country we have three taxing authorities, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments, and the local bodies such as District Boards, Municipalities, and Port Trusts. The taxing spheres of each of these bodies are clearly defined in order to prevent encroachments by others.

The biggest single taxing authority in India is the central government.* A part of the income of the central government is derived from what are called 'non-tax sources.' This income consists of profits from currency and investments and from various enter-

---

* In 1924-25 its total income of 138 crores of rupees was made up of:—

	Crores.
Customs	46
Taxes on income	16
Salt	7
Opium	4
Railways	37
Post and Telegraphs	1
Interest	3
Currency and Mint	3
Provincial contributions	9
Various other sources	12

Its expenditure of 132 crores was divided among the following heads:

	Crores.
Military services	60
Interest on capital spent on Railways	30
Interest on India's general debt	19
Civil administration	10
Collection of taxes	5
Civil works	2
Currency and Mint	1
Other items	5

prises of a commercial character such as Railways, Posts and Telegraphs. Taxes on articles of ordinary use which come under Customs and salt make up a large part of the revenues of the Government of India. Taxes on Income, which are the only direct taxes, form a paltry 16 crores out of a total revenue of 138 crores. A glance at the figures on the expenditure side shows that military expenditure absorbs a large proportion of the income of the government. It comes to 45 per cent. of the total expenditure. This percentage would become higher still if we were to include under military services that part of the Interest on India's general debt which consists of a payment on loans raised for military purposes.*

* An idea of what the government is doing for building up the health and prosperity of the people can be obtained only from a study of the budget of provincial governments. We shall take the budget of the Punjab Government for purposes of illustration. In 1924-25 the total ordinary revenue of the Punjab government amounted to 10.86 crores of rupees. The details are given below.

Ordinary Revenue (in crores rupees)		Ordinary expenditure (in crores of rupees).	
(i) Land Revenue ...	4·76	(i) Education ...	1·09
(ii) Irrigation ...	2·48	(ii) Medical Relief and Public Health ...	·46
(iii) Excise	1·19	(iii) Agriculture and Industries ...	·36
(iv) Judicial stamps ...	1·17	Total ...	1·91
(v) Forests ...	·37	(iv) General Administration ...	·99
(vi) Minor items ...	·89	(v) Justice ...	·54
		(vi) Jails ...	·31
		(vii) Police	1·12
		(viii) Irrigation —Interest on capital invested ...	1·09
		(ix) Buildings and Roads ...	·70
		(x) Cost of collecting the Revenue ...	·77
		(xi) Contribution to the central Government ...	1·75
		(xii) Miscellaneous items	·53
Total ...	10·86	Grand total ...	9·71

Local Bodies as Taxing Authorities.

Local bodies such as municipalities and district boards are the third and last type of taxing authorities in India. Their number in 1922-23 was 757 and 221 respectively, and their activities were almost wholly beneficent. The municipal income for the whole of India was nearly 14 crores, and was derived principally from taxation; all other sources taken together amounting to one-third of the total. Of the expenditure 15 per cent. was spent on the construction and repairs of roads and buildings, 14 per cent. on water supply, 8 per cent. on education and 6 per cent. on drainage. Since then the percentage of expenditure on education has considerably increased. The income of district boards amounted to over 11 crores, the most important item of revenue being the provincial rate, which consists of one anna per rupee of the land revenue. The principal objects of expenditure are education, medical relief and the maintenance of roads and bridges.

A few figures regarding Municipalities and district boards in the Punjab will give you an idea of the activities of these bodies in our own province. In 1925-26, the income of the 104 Municipalities in the Punjab was 1 crore and 43 lakhs, and that of the 29 district boards 1 crore and 90 lakhs. The sources of municipal income were Octroi or Terminal-tax, Rents, Water-rate, Fees, Government contribution, etc. Of the expenditure, 11 per cent. was spent on education, 8 per cent. on medical relief, 2 per cent. on public health including drainage, conservancy, etc., 10 per cent. on municipal works, and the rest on miscellaneous items. The total income of district boards amounting to rupees 1 crore and 40 lakhs was derived from the local rate (57 lakhs), Haisiyat tax (4 lakhs), Cattle trespass (2 lakhs), School fees (7 lakhs), Fairs (3 lakhs), Government contributions (78 lakhs), and

the rest from miscellaneous sources. The total expenditure was about 1 crore and 84 lakhs and 'of this over 50 per cent. was incurred in respect of Education, about 12.5 per cent. in respect of Medical and Public Health, and over 19 per cent. in respect of roads and other district works excluding medical and educational buildings.' These figures show that municipalities and district boards play an important part in the growth and prosperity of a nation, or a province, but unfortunately the funds at their disposal, especially those of the district boards, are often insufficient to achieve all that could be done.

CHAPTER XXIII

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL RELIEF.

What the Government does for Public Health—The I.M.S. and what it does—Director-General—Surgeon General—Assistant and Sub-Assistant Surgeons—The Medical Department—Rats and Plague—Mosquitoes and Malaria—How the Citizens can help.

In a previous chapter we have referred to the importance of health for each one of us. Let us see how far the State helps us in sanitation.

Our Government is doing much to improve sanitation and public health. Many hospitals have been built. The Indian Medical Service has been in existence a long time. Many good doctors and surgeons are engaged and big and up-to-date hospitals are run in many places. Yet the progress in sanitation has been slow. The masses are ignorant, indifferent, dirty. You cannot preach the gospel of clean clothes to people who are too poor to buy any clothes at all. You cannot very well teach them to feed themselves and their family scientifically when they are so helplessly poor that one often wonders how they manage to keep themselves alive. It is needless to preach the gospel of fresh air and exercise to people who are working as menial servants or factory hands shut up in a house or a kitchen or a factory for practically the whole day. Surely, after working all day long, these people can neither have time, nor energy, nor money enough either to play games or to indulge in any kind of recreation. Thus it is that on account of poverty, ignorance, the customs of the people, overcrowding in the cities and the defective system of drainage, Government has not been able to achieve as much as it might have done.

The I.M.S. or Indian Medical Service, used to be a purely Military Service. Even now its members are Commissioned Officers in the Army. Many Indians are now members of the I.M.S. recruited in England by competitive examination. Just as in the educational line we have the I.E.S. (or the Indian Education Service) and the Provincial Educational Service, in the same way in the Medical line there are two services: The I.M.S., and the Provincial Medical Service.

The Director General of the I.M.S. is at the head of the Medical Services. He works under the Government of India. In each province there is an officer who is called in some provinces a Surgeon-General and in others the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. Over District Hospitals is placed the Civil Surgeon. Many of the Sanitary and Medical functions of the Government are now being taken over by the District Boards, which build hospitals, etc., out of a portion of their revenue. Besides the Civil Surgeons there are Assistant-Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons working in smaller hospitals or dispensaries. The Medical Department is meant especially for curing diseases, and that is why the work includes hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, vaccination, general sanitation, etc. Special hospitals are opened for women, like the Hospital and Medical College for Women at Delhi. Many lady-doctors and nurses have been, and are being trained. Research Institutes at Kasauli (near Simla), at Parel (the plague laboratory in Bombay for India), and travelling dispensaries have been started. Rats are the main source of plague and all means are employed to kill them. Vaccination for children is encouraged and the Medical Services are trying their best to get rid of small-pox. Stagnant water multiplies the mosquitoes and is a great source of malaria. The Department of Health combats this and distributes quinine through

various channels. The officers of the Health Department try to be on the spot to find out the reasons why an epidemic like cholera breaks out, so that they can deal with it accordingly.

Much, however, depends upon us, the ordinary people and especially educated people. The best medical service in the world cannot do much if we do not learn, or do not obey the rules of hygiene and keep our person, our houses and surroundings in a dirty condition. Diseases love dirt. Cleanliness is next to godliness. Where fresh air and sunshine do not enter, disease and death do. Once again, then, we see the necessity of co-operating with the Government and the medical authorities in rooting out disease to the best of our abilities. We can assist the Government in its attempts to beat the triple alliance of the rat, the flea and the mosquito. We must be inoculated against plague and advise others to do the same. The fleas which make a home for themselves upon the body of the rats suffering from plague, carry plague germs on them. These germs often enter the body or blood of any person who may be bitten by an infected flea. Millions of people are weakened by fever, and about five millions die annually on account of it. The mosquito, like the fly and the plague flea, is an enemy of man. The mosquito carries malaria germs as the fleas carry plague germs. If malaria is very prevalent, we must take a few grains of quinine almost daily as a precaution, sleep under a mosquito net, kill the malaria mosquitoes or drive them out by burning incense, and cover our hands, feet and body while sleeping. Cisterns, wells, pools of water, should be covered up. The malarial mosquito loves stagnant, dirty pools of water. Therefore we must see that our surroundings are clean and dry. Dirty water and stagnant water should be spread over a wide area to dry up quickly or some crude or kerosene oil spread on it to kill the larvæ.

A good citizen can help others as well as himself, and any effort made to fight the diseases of plague, cholera, fever and small-pox is a benefit to the community.

Small-pox is a terrible disease in many parts of India. In the days of Goldsmith and Dr. Johnson small-pox prevailed in England too. But vaccination did wonders in England. The authorities in India keep a large staff of vaccinators in all provinces, who vaccinate men, women and children. The Bombay Presidency can boast of a big Vaccine Institute at Belgaum on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, not far from Miraj, which has a well-known missionary hospital under very good doctors and surgeons. Other provinces, too, have such institutes, *e.g.*, at Kasauli. We should, by example and precept, show to the people the great importance of vaccination, especially for children, and re-vaccination periodically, say every six, seven or eight years for all.

Above all, the general simple ideas about cleanliness, fresh air, exercise, simple wholesome food protected from flies and insects and good, pure, boiled, filtered and covered water for drinking purposes, should be spread. The cholera germs usually get into our system through the drinking water. Boil the water and kill the germs.

CHAPTER XXIV

FAMINE RELIEF.

Famines—Protective and Relief Works—How the Citizen can help.

India has been a very unfortunate country in certain ways. On the one hand plague, fever, cholera, small-pox and other diseases carry off thousands, on the other hand thousands die of starvation or malnutrition, especially during the famines which break out periodically in different parts of India.

India is essentially an agricultural country. A large mass of people live on the land and its products. The products may be good, bad or indifferent according to the timely or untimely fall of rain in right quantities. A good monsoon brings plenty, a bad monsoon spells famine.

But we must not have wrong notions about famines. Failure of the monsoon is not the only cause of famine. In some countries of the world a war, a disease or epidemic, destructive insects or locusts, floods, bad government, over-taxation or some extraordinary phenomena of nature like an earthquake are also responsible for famines. It does not follow, however, that every time there is some little failure of the monsoon there is sure to be a famine. Only when the misery is great and spread over a large area and among a large mass of people can we term the failure of crops a famine.

The principal cause of famine in India being a failure of the monsoons, steps are taken by the Government to start protective and relief works. Canals and other irrigation works, construction of new roads, railways, etc., come under the heading of protec-

tive works. Relief does not mean relief to all for nothing. People have a right to work. They have no right to live wholly on charity unless there is some special reason in some cases. If a person is too weak, too ill, or too old, or has some physical or mental defect, he certainly cannot do much work. Lists of such people are made up in the villages and a certain amount of grain is given to them, and food is given to children, for whom a relief kitchen is run by some responsible person. The children go daily to this kitchen for their meals.

Just as thrifty citizens during prosperous times try to lay by some money for a rainy day, in the same way it is in years of plenty that some money should be put aside for protective and relief works. Therefore a sum of about one and a half crores of rupees is, almost every year, laid by. Relief works are often started in the shape of irrigation canals, construction of roads or railways. These give a chance to many able-bodied people to work and get enough money to maintain themselves. Meanwhile, if it rains, the works are stopped for the time being and off they go to sow the crops. If some farmers are unable to buy seed or cattle, some money is advanced to them. In times of famine Government often suspends land revenue. Tanks are dug, roads are made. Agricultural Banks and Co-operative Credit Societies enable people to escape the money-lenders and get good credit by combining their resources. Forests are preserved, new ones are planted. The Department of Agriculture encourages a scientific study of agriculture and new agricultural methods. The Meteorological Department reports about the weather, and makes weather forecasts, especially in reference to rain. What more can the Government do?

Here, too, the good citizen can help a great deal. Many voluntary workers are needed in times of famine

to help their less fortunate countrymen. Here there is a good chance for real social service. Boy-Scouts, Girl-Guides, and social workers can all help in doing a good turn to others. Generally the approach of a famine is heralded by certain signs or 'danger signals' *e.g.*, too much activity in the grain trade, restlessness, increase of crime, cattle and sheep making unusual movements in quest of pasture, etc. If the right steps are taken as soon as these symptoms are observed, if the public co-operates with the Government and the different Social Service leagues in helping the people in the relief circles into which the country is divided, we shall be saved the horror of seeing starving people either selling or giving away their cows, oxen or even their own sons and daughters, because they cannot get fodder for their cattle or food for their children. In that case, great famines like the Orissa Famine of 1861, the Rajputana Famine of 1868, the Orissa Famine of 1873, and the horrible Southern India Famine of 1876 which lasted till 1878, will perhaps be things of the past, especially on account of our network of railways, irrigation works, and the quick transit of food from one place to another.

CHAPTER XXV

EDUCATION.

THE word "education' is derived from the Latin *e*, out; and *duco*, I lead. So to educate means to 'draw out.' Education is the process of developing a child's natural gifts and drawing out all that is best in him. You would like to call yourself educated and cultured, would you not? Of course, you would; but why? Because an uneducated man remains ignorant all his life; he knows little about the world. The book of knowledge is sealed to him, he cannot distinguish between right and wrong, does not properly understand his rights and duties and therefore can never make a good citizen. Education illuminates the mind; it enables us to hold our own in the world, and makes life worth living. Every one would like to be educated, but every one does not possess the means of acquiring education; therefore the people have to depend upon government for it. Just as it is the duty of every government to keep peace and order in the country, and to look after the health of the people, in the same way all modern civilised governments have now accepted it as their foremost duty to impart suitable education to their people to enable them to become good citizens. But before the British came to India it was not considered a part of the duty of government to educate the people. Let us relate to you the interesting story of education in India.

In the pre-British days a few Maktabs and Pathshalas, managed by private individuals, used to take in a few students who learnt just enough to be able to read and write a little and to do simple sums in arithmetic. There were very few highly educated and learned men, and even these were found only at the courts of the Kings or at great religious centres like Benares. Most of the people were quite illiterate. When the British first came to

India, there were so many wars and so much confusion and disorder in the country that no one could give any thought to the problem of education. Warren Hastings was the first to take an active interest in such matters, and inspired by his admiration for the literature of the East, he was anxious to revive ancient learning and make it flourish. He founded in 1782, the Calcutta Madrassa for Muhammadans—the first educational institution in India. Nine years later Government helped in establishing a Sanskrit College for the Hindus at Benares. For some years the policy was to encourage the study of oriental languages to the entire exclusion of all western learning. But when Christian Missionaries arrived in India, they started schools and colleges where the study of English was encouraged. Some Indians began to see the advantage of acquiring a good knowledge of English with a view to explore the vast storehouse of western learning, which had, hitherto, been a sealed book to them. Thanks to the reforming zeal of Raja Ram Mohan Roy—one of the greatest and noblest sons of India—and others of his way of thinking, the taste for western learning grew rapidly. A college was established in Calcutta, which afterwards grew into The Presidency College.

New and higher ideals of government were infused into the administration by great scholar-statesmen like Bentinck, Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone. It was recognised that one of the foremost duties of the government was to educate the people. The new movement was greatly strengthened by the efforts of these famous administrators, and the Elphinstone College at Bombay bears the name of one of these illustrious men. In the time of Lord William Bentinck there came to India, as Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, the great scholar and historian Macaulay. A great controversy soon began over the question as to whether government should concentrate on the promotion of Oriental learning or encourage

Western learning and culture. Macaulay wrote his famous and brilliant but one-sided 'Minute' ridiculing and condemning oriental learning. He won the day, the government changed its policy, and Western knowledge and Science began to be taught in English. Many educational institutions sprang up on the lines laid down by Macaulay, and the new learning was greatly stimulated when in 1844 Lord Hardinge made a regulation that no one who had not received English education should, as far as possible, be selected for government service, and that English should be adopted as the court language. The new system continued to flourish. In 1854, when Sir Charles Wood—the President of the Board of Control of the East India Company—sent his famous despatch to Lord Dalhousie enjoining upon the government of India the duty of spreading education among the masses, Departments of Public Instruction were set up in the provinces, and education from the lowest to the highest rung of the ladder encouraged. Private effort was to be assisted by grants-in-aid. Universities were established at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and later on in the United Provinces, and the Punjab, and the need for competent teachers was met by the setting up of Training Colleges. You will easily realise how rapid has been the progress of education in India, when we tell you that whereas in 1882 less than 7,500 candidates appeared in the matriculation examination at the universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the number in the Punjab University alone was about 20,000 in 1927. The total number of examinees in the Punjab—in the matriculation and higher examinations—has risen to over 26,000, and the indications are that this number will continue to increase.

The government must march with the times, and with the changing needs of the people the educational policy of Government also undergoes gradual change. Education Commissions are

appointed from time to time to go into the important question of education with reference to new circumstances and wants. As the result of the labours of such commissions, (*e.g.*, the Hunter Commission of 1882, the Commission of Enquiry appointed by Lord Curzon, and the Sadler Commission of 1917) the government modifies its educational policy in the best interests of the people.

There are at present many universities in India and new Universities are springing up. In the beginning, the universities were merely examining bodies, but it is now recognised that a University should undertake higher teaching work also; and this idea is gaining ground in every University in India. The head of the province is the Chancellor of the University. The Senate is the legislative body, the Syndicate, presided over by the Vice-Chancellor is the executive. There are several other bodies in the University. The 'Academic Council' deals with all academic matters of importance; the Arts, Science, Oriental, Law, Commerce and Agriculture Faculties advise the Syndicate on all questions relating to the courses of reading, changes in regulations, etc. The Boards of Studies, each consisting of a few experts in a particular subject, recommend text-books and suggest the appointment of examiners, etc. The principal officers of the University are: the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of University Instruction, the Registrar and the Joint Registrar. Each has his duties clearly defined.

Education being a 'transferred' subject, a Minister holds charge of the educational portfolio in every province. The Head of the Department is the Director of Public Instruction under whom works a large number of professors, lecturers, divisional inspectors, district inspectors and teachers. All schools recognised by the Education Department have to carry out the orders of the Director and follow the

policy laid down by him. There are three educational services: The Indian Educational, the Provincial Educational and the Subordinate Service. To the first two only very highly qualified men are appointed, and the vast majority of teachers belong to the Subordinate Service.

It appears at first sight as if there are many types of schools in India, but in fact there are only a few basic distinctions. Institutions may be divided according to the standard of education, into Primary, Middle or High. They may be classified on the basis of sex of the pupils, for co-education, despite a few exceptions, still seems to be an innovation; the basis of the religion of the conductors—according as they are Hindu, Moslem, Sikh and Christian; of the nature of control—whether Governmental, Local Board, or private—aided or unaided; the situation of the institution whether urban or rural, and so forth. These types differ, of course, in their equipment, efficiency, numerical strength, tone and discipline, but their curriculum is uniform. Whether a school is a girls' or boys' school, whether it is recognised or not, it must prepare candidates for the inevitable matriculation examination. There are, however, a few real exceptions that break off from the beaten path. For example, the Gurukula at Hardwar, with its strictly residential character, its students' vows of celibacy, and its emphasis on Vedic Culture, bears marks of a distinct individuality. Again, there is the Bolpur School flourishing under Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. With one teacher to every 8 boys, it follows methods and curricula that are anything but conventional.

Thus, though, generally speaking, there is little specialisation of schools from the curricular or method point of view, economic, social, and political considerations have steadily led to the crystallisation of a few distinct new types. The largest number belongs to

the technical or professional type; and these offer courses in medicine, engineering, law, commerce, forestry, agriculture, veterinary work, teachers' training and in technical and artistic industries. Other types interest themselves in the education of Europeans, chiefs and noblemen, and depressed and other backward classes. There are some reformatory schools, and schools for defectives, too.

In the Punjab notable progress has been made of recent years, but attention has been specially paid to the backward classes to remedy the unequal distribution of schools hitherto concentrated in urban areas. A more equitable distribution of grants to the rich and poor areas is now being attempted. In April 1918 was formulated a five-year programme for the advancement of vernacular education in the rural areas. The Punjab Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1919, has been a great stimulus to the education of boys below the age of eleven to whom it applies: and in 1925-26 as many as 42 municipal and urban areas and 451 District Board and rural areas were using voluntary compulsion. The counterpart of this new policy in the sphere of higher education has been the intermediate college; and during the last six or seven years, a network of about twenty such institutions—Government and private—has come into being all over the province.

In the midst of these earnest endeavours to educate the younger generation, the claims of the adults have not been lost sight of; and the latest figures show that there exist 3,208 adult schools with 85,422 pupils. While literacy has been progressing, the Government has not been neglecting the claims of vocational instruction. There are at present thirteen vocational institutions. Agriculture being the principal industry of the province, training in its processes is provided through the vernacular middle schools as part of general education. This idea has won the approval of some other provinces, where intensive training in separate agricul-

tural schools has been tried for some time past with doubtful results. For those who wish to specialise in the study of agriculture, there is a magnificent college of agriculture at Lyallpur.

Despite what has been achieved, much remains to be done, and the time for resting on our laurels is not yet. Several important problems require careful consideration, *e.g.*, the suitable training and payment of teachers, rural community work, the education of girls, etc., etc.

The problem of education is so vast, so absorbing and varied in interest that it will always engage the earnest attention of the government, and the time is not far off when the wish of His Majesty the King-Emperor expressed in reply to the address presented by the Calcutta University in 1912 will be fulfilled. 'It is my wish,' said His Majesty, 'that there may be spread over the land a net-work of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture, and all vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health.'

The following figures will show what progress has already been made in education. In 1925 the number of recognised educational institutions in India was 34,602, and the number of their scholars 610,933. The percentage of total scholars to the population was 6.47 in the case of males, and 1.31 in the case of females, thus giving a total of 3.96 for the whole population. In the census of 1921, the literate population of India was 72 per thousand (122 males and 18 females).

In the Punjab alone the total expenditure on education is over 2½ crores of rupees a year. On March 31st, 1926, the total number of scholars in the Punjab was, 1,062,816, *i.e.*, nearly double what it was five years before. The percentage of pupils to the total population was 5.13 as compared with 2.7 in 1921; and it was 8.44 for boys alone. The Punjab is making such rapid progress that it has been estimated that, at the present rate of advance, the entire school-going population will become literate within the next nine years.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from Government of India Act, 1919.

An act to make further provision with respect to the Government of India, 23rd December, 1919.

The Preamble.

Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire.

And whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken.

And whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples.

And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to these Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

[Now follows the Act itself which is too long to be printed here, but abridged extracts from which are given.]

The Secretary of State.

Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of State has and performs all such or the like powers and duties relating to the Government of India, and has all such or the like powers over all officers appointed or continued under this Act, as, if the Government of India Act, 1858, had not been passed, might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company.

The salary of the Secretary of State shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

The Council of India.

The Council of India shall consist of such number of members not less than *eight* and not more than *twelve* as the Secretary of State may determine.....
.....The Secretary of State may, for special reasons of public advantage, re-appoint for a further term of five years any member of the Council whose term of office has expired. In any such case the reasons for the re-appointment shall be set forth in a minute signed by the Secretary of State and laid before both Houses of Parliament. Save as aforesaid, a member of the Council shall not be capable of re-appointment.

Any member of the Council may, by writing signed by him, resign his office.....

Any member of the Council may be removed by His Majesty from his office on an address of both Houses of Parliament.

There shall be paid to each member of the Council of India the annual salary of twelve hundred pounds.

Provided that any member of the Council who has at the time of his appointment domiciled in India shall receive, in addition to the salary hereby provided, an annual subsistence allowance of six hundred pounds.

Such salaries and allowances may be paid out of the revenues of India or out of moneys provided by Parliament.

No member of the Council shall be capable of sitting or voting in Parliament.

The Council of India shall, under the direction of the Secretary of State, and subject to the provisions of this Act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India and the correspondence with India.

Powers of Council.

All powers required to be exercised by the Secretary of State in Council, and all powers of the Council of India, shall be exercised at meetings of the Council at which such number of members are present as may be prescribed by general directions of the Secretary of State.....but one such meeting shall be held in every month.

Procedure at Meetings.

At any meeting of the Council of India at which the Secretary of State is present, if there is a difference of opinion on any question, except a question with respect to which a majority of votes at a meeting is by this Act declared to be necessary, the determination of the Secretary of State shall be final.

In the case of equality of votes.....the person presiding at the meeting shall have a second or casting vote.

All acts done at a meeting of the Council in the absence of the Secretary of State shall require the approval in writing of the Secretary of State.

Relaxation of control of Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State in Council may notwithstanding anything in this Act, by rule regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control.....in such manner as may be necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1919.

Application of Revenues, etc.

The revenues of India shall be received for and in the name of His Majesty, and shall subject to the provisions of this Act, be applied for the purposes of the Government of India alone.

.....His Majesty may by order in Council make provision for the appointment of a High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom.....

The Secretary of State in Council may sue and be sued by the name of the Secretary of State in Council as a body corporate.

The Governor-General.

Subject to the provisions of this Act the Superintendence and control of the civil and military Government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, who is required to pay obedience to all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State.

The Governor-General of India is appointed by His Majesty by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual.

The (ordinary) members of the Governor-General's executive Council shall be appointed by His Majesty by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual.

The number of the (ordinary) members of the Council shall be such as His Majesty thinks fit to appoint.

Three at least of them must be persons who (at the time of their appointment) have been at least ten years in the service of the Crown of India, and one must be a barrister of England or Ireland, or a member of the Faculty of Advocates of Scotland, or a pleader of a High Court of not less than ten years standing.

Rank and Precedence of Commander-in-Chief.

If the Commander-in-Chief for the time being of His Majesty's forces in India is a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council he shall subject to the provisions of this Act, have rank and precedence in the Council next after Governor-General.

Procedure in case of difference of opinion.

If any difference of opinion arises on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Governor-General in Council shall be bound by the opinion and the decision of the majority of those present, and if they are equally divided, the Governor-General or other person presiding shall have a second or casting vote.

Provided that whenever any measure is proposed before the Governor-General in Council whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or of any part thereof are or may be, in the judgment of the Governor-General, essentially affected, and he is of opinion either that the measure proposed ought to be adopted and carried into execution, or that it ought to be suspended or rejected, and the majority present at the meeting of the Council dissent from that opinion, the Governor-General may on his own authority and responsibility, adopt, suspend or reject the measure, in whole or in part.

In every such case any two members of the dissentient majority may require that the adoption, suspension or rejection of the measure, and the fact of their dissent, be reported to the Secretary of State.....

Provision for absence of Governor-General from Council.

If the Governor-General is obliged to absent himself from any meeting of the Council, by indisposition or any other cause (and signifies his intended absence to the Council) the Vice-President,

or, if he is absent, the senior member other than the Commander-in-Chief present at the meeting, shall preside thereat, with like powers as the Governor-General would have had if present.

Whenever the Governor-General in Council declares that it is expedient that the Governor-General should visit any part of India unaccompanied by his Executive Council, the Governor-General in Council may, by order, authorise the Governor-General alone to exercise in his discretion, all or any of the powers which might be exercised by the Governor-General in Council at meetings of the Council.

The Secretary of State in Council may, by order suspend until further order all or any of the powers of the Governor-General under the last foregoing sub-section; and those powers shall accordingly be suspended as from the time of the receipt by the Governor-General of the order of the Secretary of State in Council.

War and Treaties.

The Governor-General in Council may not without the express order of the Secretary of State in Council in any case except where hostilities have been actually commenced or preparations for the commencement of hostilities have been actually made against the British Government in India or against any prince or state dependent thereon, or against any prince or state whose territories His Majesty is bound by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee, either declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any prince or state in India, or enter into any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any such prince or state.

In any such excepted case the Governor-General in Council may not declare war, or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war, against any other prince or state than such as is actually committing hostilities or making preparations as aforesaid, and may not make any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any prince or state except on the consideration of that prince or state actually engaging to assist His Majesty against such hostilities commenced or preparations made as aforesaid.

When the Governor-General in Council commences any hostilities or makes any treaty he shall forthwith communicate the same, with reasons therefor, to the Secretary of State.

Local Governments.

.....Every Local Government shall obey the orders of the Governor-General in Council, and keep him constantly and diligently informed of its proceedings.....

The authority of a Local Government is not superseded by the presence in its province of the Governor-General.

The Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, by order revoke or suspend, for such period as he may direct, the appointment of a Council for any or all of the Governor's provinces.....

The members of a Governor's Executive Council shall be appointed by His Majesty by a warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, and shall be of such number, not exceeding four, as the Secretary of State in Council directs.

One at least of them must be a person who at the time of his appointment has been for at least twelve years in the service of the Crown in India.

Every Governor of a Province shall appoint a member of his Executive Council to be Vice-President thereof.

If any difference of opinion arises on any question brought before a meeting of a Governor's Executive Council, the Governor-in-Council shall be bound by the opinion and decision of the majority of those present, and if they are equally divided the Governor or the person presiding shall have a second or casting vote.

Provided that whenever any measure is proposed before a Governor-in-Council whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of his province or of any part thereof, are or may be, in the judgment of the Governor, essentially affected, and he is of opinion either that the measure proposed ought to be adopted and carried into execution, or that it ought to be suspended or rejected, and the majority present at a meeting of the Council dissent from that opinion, the governor may, on his own authority and responsibility, by order in writing adopt, suspend or reject the measure in whole or in part.

In every such case the Governor and the members of the Council present at the meeting shall mutually exchange written communications.....stating the grounds of their respective opinions and the order of the Governor shall be signed by the Governor and by those members.

Nothing in this section shall empower a Governor to do anything which he could not lawfully have done with the concurrence of his Council.