

The Behar Herald.

Bankipur, Saturday, July 13, 1918.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAS ACCORDED sanction to the employment, when considered necessary and within the limits prescribed, of non-officials as District Assistant Recruiting Officers, on rates of pay to be fixed by Local Governments, subject to a maximum of Rs. 200 per mensem. This sanction will have retrospective effect in the case of such non-officials as have already been appointed by Local Governments. Non-officials so appointed will be entitled to travelling and other allowances in accordance with the Civil Service Regulations, and for this purpose they will be treated as officers of the 2nd class as defined in Article 1002, Civil Service Regulations.

ANENT THE GRIEVANCES OF OFFICERS. GRANTED temporary commissions in the medical service the Government of India have issued a long statement. The principal complaint was that candidates for these commissions were definitely promised the rank of captain after serving one year and that the promise has not been kept. This statement is declared to be absolutely without foundation. Government assert that when it was first decided to engage temporary medical officers the terms of employment were fixed with reference to officers proceeding overseas with expeditionary forces. These terms provided for pay at the rate of £1-4-0 a day with the temporary rank of lieutenant and they remain unaltered in respect of officers originally engaged under these conditions. They are, moreover, identical with the terms granted by the Secretary of State to officers engaged in England for duty in the I. M. S. It was subsequently decided to grant temporary commissions to medical men who were unable to undertake duty overseas. Such officers were to be given, *inter alia*, pay at the rate of Rs. 350 per month plus charger allowance on the usual terms and the temporary rank of lieutenant. That is, the same terms as permanent lieutenants. For those who undertook the liability of serving abroad it was decided that while in India they should receive the same pay and allowances as permanent members of the service and while out of India £1-4-0 per day. The effect of this arrangement was that while in this country and not receiving charger allowance the temporary officer who had undertaken to serve overseas would be paid Rs. 420 per month or exactly the same as a permanent officer in similar circumstances. No promise, it is stated, has ever been given that temporary officers would be accorded higher rank than that of lieutenant. In January last, measures were notified by which both temporary and permanent lieutenants appointed prior to the 1st January 1917 were made eligible for promotion to the rank of captain after one year's service. The reasons for differentiating between temporary officers engaged before and after the date named are not known in India, but on the representations of the Government of India the Secretary of State has agreed that temporary lieutenants who are favourably reported on shall be promoted to the rank of captain after twelve months' service irrespective of the date of their appointment. Those granted permanent commissions by nomination shall, if already holding the rank of captain or after twelve months' service, be granted the pay and temporary rank of captain for the duration of the war. Officers appointed permanently or after the 1st January 1917 and who have to complete three years' service before attaining the

substantive rank of captain will be permitted to rank for substantive promotion any commissioned mobilised service rendered during the war. The effect of these measures is that temporary officers of the I. M. S. will be under the same rules as regards promotion as similar officers of the R. A. M. C.

EVER SINCE THE NEW PROVINCE WAS created it has been the policy of the Government to prevent students from other provinces from being admitted to schools in this province. Section 57 of the Bihar and Orissa Education Code published in 1915 requires that "a pupil coming from a school in other Province or State wishing to join directly or indirectly a Government or aided school in Bihar and Orissa shall, besides his transfer certificate (1) a statement of the satisfaction of the Headmaster of the school of introduction to this Province or State in the Province or State from which he comes." The above restrictions have been considered sufficient and a conference of Inspectors recently held at Ranchi has resolved that transfer certificates from schools in other provinces shall not be accepted unless countersigned by an educational officer, at least of the rank of District Inspector and that similar countersignatures should be required on at least one of the hands of introduction prescribed by article 57 of the Code. The above rules speak for themselves. The object of the authorities to restrict the influx of students from adjoining provinces, particularly Bengal and the United Provinces from which students at present come. No earthly reason can be found for this narrow policy. It places unnecessary hardships on new immigrants to this province. Sometime ago Mr. McLean formerly Inspector of Schools of Patna Division introduced a similar rule on his own authority that transfer certificates of students coming from other Provinces should not be accepted unless countersigned by Inspectors of Schools. As there is no regulation in other Provinces compelling the Inspectors to countersign such certificates they generally refused to do so. Mr. McLean had therefore to withdraw his circular. But now the same regulation has been revived in a modified form all over the Province. These things are being done through semi-secret agencies and official conclaves and official circulars. Is there nobody to protest against this insidious policy?

MEDICAL RELIEF IN INDIA.

Efforts have of late been made to improve the provision for medical relief in this country, but it must be confessed that the rate of progress in this respect is still remarkably slow. The statistics relating to public health in 1915, issued the other day by the Department of Statistics, bear testimony to this statement. It is not the case that the war alone is responsible for the remarkably slow progress that is being made, for in the pre-war period the provision for medical relief was not annually increased at any appreciable more rapid rate. In 1915, there were altogether 2,995 regular, modern hospitals to meet the requirements of 250 million people. That, it will be admitted, is hardly sufficient. The number of hospitals in 1915 did not, it must be noticed, represent any very great increase on the numbers for the previous years. In 1914, the number was 2,856; in 1913, it was 2,814; in 1912, it was 2,750; in 1911, the number was 2,722, while in 1910, the number was 2,685. These figures are enough to

show that the rate of expansion in these years which, it must be said, constitute a period in which some attention has been paid to the question of medical relief, has been between 30 and 60 a year. In the decades ending 1880, 1890 and 1900, we note the rate of expansion was roughly 550 per decade, the number of hospitals in those years having respectively been 1,212 and 1,736 and 2,313. This means that the rate of expansion in the earlier periods has also been at the rate of about 50 odd per annum. That is to say, with all the efforts of the public in the Councils, where annually a good number of resolutions bearing on the subject is made, as well as outside it, to get increased provision for medical relief, no substantial improvement has been effected. We are told that three causes are responsible for this slow progress. The Surveyor-General states there is great indifference on the part of the people. There may be some argument in the early part of the last century, but to advance this as a cause for the slow progress in the number of medical institutions now is to overlook the great progress which has been effected in the outlook of the public in sympathy with the progress in education and improvement of communications and in other directions. Any indifference on the part of the people is due partly to the difficulties which we ourselves of the provision for relief as we perhaps to sentimental ground which can be in no time and with little difficulty if the classes took the trouble to do so. That this is so is evident from the fact that travelling dispensaries, wherever they exist, have proved to be a success, even in their tours in the innermost parts of the country. It is also evident in the steadily increasing number of persons who resort to hospitals for surgical operations. Surely, these facts show that if it is made known to the people that treatment in hospitals is available with no great difficulty and that it would be efficacious, there need be no apprehensions as to their taking advantage of the provisions made. The real difficulties are as admitted, lack of men and lack of money; and for these none but the Government can effectively provide the solution. The facilities for treatment to the public are so inadequate and so difficult of access that the percentage of outdoor patients to the total population was only 13.5 in 1915. But so far Government have not found it possible to increase the expenditure in this matter at a greater rate than they have done. In 1915, the expenditure from Government funds was Rs. 63.10 lakhs; in 1914, it was Rs. 61.96 lakhs; in 1913, Rs. 55.30 lakhs; in 1912, Rs. 49.25 lakhs; in 1911, Rs. 46.53; in 1910 Rs. 43.03; in 1900, Rs. 27.76; in 1890, Rs. 20.73 and in 1880, Rs. 19.03 lakhs. It will be noticed from this that in the decade commencing 1910, Government have been increasing their expenditure at the rate of from Rs 2 and odd to 4 and odd lakhs annually. In the previous decades, the rate was indeed far less, being but less than a lakh; but it must be remembered that the earlier decades were years of adversity consequent on famine, scarcity and exchange difficulty and any comparison with the figures of those years with the subsequent period of prosperity to hold up the latter to advantage is unjust. Again, it must be remembered that increase in the amount in expenditure does not necessarily show a corresponding increase in the facilities for medical relief ordered. The rapid rise in prices in the last decade must to some substantial extent have neutralised the effect of the increased monetary grants. We have to hold then that the rate of increase in expenditure on medical relief and in medical education to train up men should be considerably increased in the

coming years, if the needs of the population are to be satisfied in any degree in the course of say, half a century. We trust greater attention will therefore be paid to this question in future.

PLAGUE AND A SUGGESTION TO THE UNIVERSITY.

There is hardly any town or any considerable village in Bihar which is free from the epidemic of plague. The panic it causes and the bereavements and shocks it brings to the doors of many are matters of common knowledge and experience. The municipal and local bodies, with their slow step and tardy methods, have not been able to combat it out with any amount of success, far less to root it out from the land altogether. This fell disease breaks out annually towards the close of the winter and disappears when the summer sets in. The plague months do not vary much from year to year. Unluckily for the candidates for the Matriculation, Intermediate and Degrees Examinations they synchronise with the period of time allowed to them for their preparation. Wailings over the dying and the dead are heard in almost every other household, and they bring on a natural nervousness which is fatal to serious and strenuous pursuit of studies. The poor examinee keeps flying with his satchel of books from one place to another, and, before he succeeds in finding out a safe retreat, his examination knocks at his door and he submits to it too ill prepared to render a good account of himself. This is not certainly the worst feature of the thing. The student sometimes sustains a personal loss in the death of a relation and this so completely unnerves him that he decides keeping away from the examination and by so doing wrecks once for all the hopes of his family. Behar has now been favoured with a University of her own and it is expected that her needs and requirements will be the determining factor in the decisions that the University comes to. If the examinations be arranged to be held in February, candidates will have done their work of preparation before the epidemic assumes a virulent form and will, besides, be able to avert the painful necessity for hard labour in the dog-days of the year, labour which is neither very fruitful nor hygienic. This change in the dates of the examinations will, doubtless, give rise to some dislocation of ordinary business at schools and colleges, but it will not seriously interfere with the general routine followed therein. The Test Examinations will have to be held a bit earlier with a view to allow sufficient time to the candidates for preparation and the schools and colleges closed on the completion of the University Examinations for combined plague and summer vacation. Though this will appear to be alarmingly long, yet there will be, as a matter of fact, nothing abnormal about it except that the summer-recess will take effect in continuation of the plague-vacation which is allowed, year after year, in many schools and colleges when the epidemic takes a strong hold. It is believed in some quarters that the panic arising from the out-break of plague is one of the many circumstances responsible for the low percentage of successes at the final examinations. Should the University authorities take a sympathetic view of the affair, we dare say that the few difficulties with which they will be confronted in working out the proposed scheme, will not be found to be of an altogether insurmountable character.

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INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

REPORT OF THE VICEROY AND SECRETARY OF STATE.

Part I of the Report deals with the material upon which the proposals are based. The Report first sets forth "recent events in India" in the course of which the announcement of August 20, 1917, is characterised as "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history." It "pledges the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people." Further the announcement is said to mark "the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one. Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government, but have given her people an increasing share in the administration of the country and increasing opportunities of influencing and criticising the Government." The last stage of the old system which "began with the reforms of 1909," is reviewed in order to see how the old familiar ways would no longer suffice for the well-being of the country and why the change should take the form set forth in the words of August 20." The Morley-Minto reforms are then discussed and the work of the Decentralisation Committee reviewed. In connection with the latter the report says:

All we need say is that, if we mean to give the provinces a real measure of constitutional liberty of action now, measures of decentralisation far beyond those conceived by the authors of the report will certainly be necessary.

The effect of the Royal Visit to India and Lord Crewe's interpretation of the despatch of August 1911 and his repudiation of future expansion on the lines of colonial self-government are dealt with. The effect of the delayed publication of the report of the Public Service Commission is commented upon and the 1915 resolution on the growth of municipal boards is said to be "on the right lines generally."

The pressure of Indian politicians to increase the pace of progress is commented upon and the objections to measures regarded as "repressive" examined, as well as the effect of the Arms Act and the exclusion of Indians from the Volunteer forces, also the position of Asiatics in the Dominions. The Indian zeal for social reform, the efforts to Legislative Councils on the subject, the efforts to obtain compulsory primary education and proposals for more universities are all touched upon; also the "growing desire to improve the status of India over the Empire." The effect of the war is described of which it is said that:

"Whatever qualifications may be needed in the case of particular classes, the people of India as a whole are in genuine sympathy with the cause which the Allies represent. The reasons of the entry of Britain into the war appealed to the educated classes and they have never faltered in their allegiance. However much they may find fault with the Government, they are true in their loyalty to the British Crown."

At the same time there are some hard words in connection with the revolutionary movement. After reference to the Komagata Maru riots and the Defence of India Act, the report considers "the attitude of Indian political leaders in the first stages of the war was worthy of all praise." But it is recognized that latterly a change has taken place. "In the light of subsequent events we are

(Continued on page 4)

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FINANCE DEPARTMENT. Second Indian War Loan.

The whole of the cash subscriptions received will be given to His Majesty's Government for the prosecution of the War as part of India's £ 100 million contribution.

ISSUE OF

- 5½ per cent. Income-tax War Bonds, 1921 Repayable on the 15th September 1921 at Rs. 100 per cent.
- 5½ per cent. Income-tax War Bonds 1923 Repayable on the 15th September 1923 at Rs. 100 per cent.
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Special Rights: War Bonds 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1928 will be accepted at par during the currency of the Bonds as the equivalent of cash for the purpose of subscription to any future long term loan issued by the Government of India, whatever rate of interest is attached to such issue.

Interest of War Bonds 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1928 will be income-tax-free but will be taken into account in determining the rate at which the tax levied on other income and will be liable to super-tax.

Form of Securities: War Bonds will be issued in the form of (a) Inscribed Stock Certificates, or (b) Promissory Notes. These will subsequently, if desired, be exchanged, free of cost, for Bearer Bonds when the latter are available.

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constrained to wonder whether a bolder policy from the outset of the war, and a franker inviting of India's co-operation in all forms of war effort might not have done much to steady men's minds." The change in their attitude nowhere more clearly appears than in the difference between the tone of the Congress of 1915 and that of 1916.

NEW SENSE OF SELF-ESTEEM.

"But," says the report, "for the real and lasting effects of the war on India's destiny we should look neither to the generous help of the Princes, nor to the loyalty of the people as a whole, nor to the misguided activities of revolutionary gangs, nor yet to the attitude of the political leaders. They must be sought deeper. We think, in two main directions. First, particular notice is given to India's new sense of self, particularly in the words of Sir Satyendra Sit to the Prince of profound pride that she has not been a Surveyor and other portions of the British Empire. She has stood shoulder to shoulder with the rest of their sores trial."

Further, the struggle between liberty and despotism, a fight for the right of small nations and for the right of all people to rule their own destinies. At the fact that in Europe is repeatedly called the side of liberty, and in India that Britain cannot deny to the people. Pluck that for which she is herself fighting in the fight for India's blood and treasure.

CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE AND POLITICAL POWER.

From this point the Report goes on to examine the growth of the system of government in India and the conditions that have tended to produce the developments that have taken place. In the second chapter the relaxation of the system in 1858 by which Parliament examined the conduct of Indian affairs by the East India Company is regretted and the suggestion of revival in some form of this machinery is put forward. In the third chapter the reform of the Legislative Councils is discussed and it is said that the Councils now wholly lack the savour of responsibility. "We are agreed that our first object must be to invest them with it. They must have real work to do; and they must have real people to call them to account for their doing of it." The Morley-Minto schemes are reviewed in the third chapter and their failure discussed; as well as the present electoral system, which is held to have "great defects." It is after those points have been dealt with that the Report arrives at the conclusion that "the old structure does not admit of development." The existing structure is further examined in the next chapter and the effect of the proposals are examined. This brings the report to "the conditions of the problem" which is one of the most important chapters in the front part of the book.

INTEREST IN POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

The question is often asked—what ratio of the people really ask for greater political power? There is a core of earnest men who believe sincerely and strive for political progress; around them a ring of less educated people to whom a phrase or a sentiment appeals; and an outside fringe of those who have been described as "attracted by curiosity to this new thing or who find diversion in attacking a big and very solemn government as urchins might take a perilous joy in casting toy darts at an elephant." On the other hand is an enormous country population, for the most part poor, ignorant, non-politically minded and unused to any system of elections,—immersed indeed in the struggle for existence. Among them are a few great landlords and a larger

number of yeoman farmers. They are not ill-fitted to play a part in affairs but with few exceptions they have not yet done so. But what is perhaps more important to appreciate than the mere content of political life in India is its rate of growth. No one who has observed Indian life during even the past five years can doubt that the growth is rapid and is real. It is beginning to affect the large landholders: here and there are signs of its beginning to affect even the villages. But recent events and above all the war have given it a new earnestness and a more practical character. Men are coming to realise more clearly that India's political future is not to be won merely by fine phrases: and that it depends on the capacity of her people themselves to face difficulties and to dispose of them. For a long time many Indian leaders were content to criticise; they have now begun to construct; and because construction is a matter in which the Government can so greatly help or hinder they are more than ever anxious to take a share in the Government itself.

INTERESTS OF THE RYOT.

It is just because the Indian ryot is inarticulate and has not been directly represented in our deliberations that we feel bound to emphasise the great claim he has upon our consideration. What matters most of all to the ryot are his relations with his landlord: but his fortunes are by no means to be disposed of by considering them solely from the stand-point of "agrarian legislation." Much of the activity of Government comes home to him eventually; and whatever helps him in his difficulties adds enormously to the happiness of the country as a whole. It is an imperative duty to assist and to protect him while he is learning to shoulder political responsibilities.

THE EDUCATED CLASSES.

It is one of the most difficult portions of our task to see the politically-minded class in their right relation to the rest of the country. Our obligations to them are plain for they are intellectually our children. They have imbibed ideas which we ourselves have set before them and we ought to reckon it to their credit. We must remember, too, that the educated Indian has come to the front by hard work; he has seized the education which we offered him because he first saw its advantages; and it is he who has advocated and worked for political progress. All this stands to his credit. For thirty years he has developed in his Congress and latterly in the Muslim League, free popular convocations which express his ideals. We owe him sympathy because he has conceived and pursued the idea of managing his own affairs, an aim which no Englishman can fail to respect. He has made a skilful, and on the whole a moderate, use of the opportunities which we have given him in the legislative councils of influencing Govern-

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Sciatica causes the most acute agony, making your life a burden but if you don't fight the disease, it will gradually get a firmer and firmer hold on you—and then? There is only one sure weapon that you can use in your fight—and that weapon is so simple to use, so sure, and so wonderful in its results that your only regret will be that you delayed so long before using it. That wonderful weapon is Little's Oriental Balm.

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ment and affecting the course of public business, and of recent years he has by speeches and in the press done much to spread the idea of a united and self-respecting India among thousands who had no such conception in their minds.

THEIR RELATIONS TO THE MASSES

The prospects of advance very greatly depend upon how far the educated Indian is in sympathy with and capable of fairly representing the illiterate masses. The old assumption that the interests of the ryot must be confided to official hands is strenuously denied by modern educated Indians. On the other hand it is argued from the limited spread of education, the endurance of caste exclusiveness and of usages sanctioned by caste, and in the records of some local bodies and councils, that the politically-minded classes stand somewhat apart from and in advance of the ordinary life of the country. We must admit that the educated Indian is a creation peculiarly of our own; and if we take the credit that is due to us for his strong points we must admit a similar liability for his weak ones. Let us note also in justice to him that the progressive Indian appears to realise the narrow basis of his position and is beginning to broaden it. In municipal and university work he has taken a useful and creditable share. We find him organising efforts not for political ends alone, but for various forms of public and social service. He has come forward and done valuable work in relieving famine and distress by floods, in keeping order at fairs, in helping pilgrims, and in promoting co-operative credit. Although his ventures in the fields of commerce have not been always fortunate, he is beginning to turn his attention more to the improvement of agriculture and industry. Above all he is active in promoting education and sanitation; and every increase in the number of educated people adds to his influence and authority.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF AN ADVANCE

After an examination of the caste problem the report declares that the announcement of August 20 was right and wise; and that the policy which it embodies is the only possible policy for India.

"We believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have given India cannot be prolonged without damage to her national life; that we have a richer gift for her people than any that we have yet bestowed on them; that nationhood within the Empire represents something better than anything India has hitherto attained; that the placid pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which such Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it, we are working for her highest good."

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS.

What are the conditions of success? "We have to call forth capacity and self-reliance in the place of helplessness; nationhood in place of caste or communal feeling. But we have great influences working with us in the spirit of liberty that is stirring in Asia as in the rest of the world, and the intense desire of educated Indians to prove that their long period of tutelage may be ended and that they may take their place in the forefront of the world as a self-governing part of the Empire."

POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE RYOT.

Let us begin with the ryot, because his is the most difficult case. The process will be an uphill one; it will take time and very probably advance can only come through previous failure. The rural voter will perhaps find himself cajoled or bought or coerced into voting in a way that does himself no good. But eventually it will dawn upon him, as it has done upon the agricultural classes else-

where, that because he has a vote he has the means of protecting himself and that if those who claim to represent him neglect his interests he can discard them. As his political education proceeds, he will come to apply the lesson learned in local affairs to the affairs of Government also. It will occur to him eventually that if landlords are oppressive and usurers grasping and subordinate officials corrupt he has at his command a better weapon than the *lathi* or the hatchet with which to redress his wrongs. He will gradually learn that though the Government is far off he can take a remote part in determining its action. But his rate of progress will always depend upon the measure of assistance which he receives; and we feel no doubt that in the course of time he will need all the help that can be given him by officials and non-officials alike, can be given him by officials and non-officials alike, can be given him by officials and non-officials alike.

The natural and inevitable result of the country areas are the cross-caste aristocracy. They are conservative like the rest of the country, but like him they also will learn the lesson of the past with changing times. Like the representatives of their class in other countries they will learn to fulfil the responsibilities of the position in a new way. We must give them a fair measure of representation, if they need it, but it may be that their political development will be disappointed.

For the smaller classes the task will be easier. They figure upon local and district boards; and they furnish a useful and independent contingent to the legislative bodies of the future. To the educated classes we would address a similar appeal. It is indeed plain that there is an immense work of education to be done throughout the countryside. Together with this there is a very real responsibility of utmost importance. We are justified in calling on the political leaders, in the work of education that they will undertake, to remember the effect on people not accustomed to weighing words of fiery and heated speeches. We call upon all those who claim to be leaders to condemn with us and to support us in dealing with methods of agitation which drive schoolboys to crime and lead to religious and agrarian disturbance.

An appeal follows for an end to religious animosities, in explanation why advance must be gradual and last of all an examination of the responsibility for foreign relations. Here it is said that:

This responsibility for India's defence is the ultimate burden which rests on the Government of India; and it is the last duty of all which can be committed to inexperienced or unskilful hands. So long as India depends for her internal and external security upon the army and navy of the United Kingdom, the measure of self-determination which she enjoys must be inevitably limited. We cannot think that Parliament would consent to the employment of British arms in support of a policy over which it had no control and of

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which it might disapprove. The defence of India is an Imperial question: and for this reason the Government of India must retain both the power and the means of discharging its responsibilities for the defence of the country and to the Empire as a whole.

**THE NEW PROPOSALS.
FOUR FORMULAE.**

Part II of the Report deals with the Proposals. It starts off by saying that "we have now gone as far as is possible upon the old lines. No further development is possible unless we are going to give the people of India some responsibility for their own government."

It deals frankly with the failure of the Indian educational system. It points out the character and contemplates that the main of Indian education should be in particular transferred to Indian hands. Progress to the Principal on the growth of electorates and the Surveyor of their exercise of their powers; and measures to be taken to help them become competent by acquiring such education as will enable them to judge of candidates for their votes and the business done in the councils.

Proceeding then to consider the principles on which the proposals should be based, the Report says:—"The functions of government can be arranged in an ascending scale of responsibility, ranging from those which concern the individual to those which affect the well-being of the State. This may be divided into three classes as follows:—
"There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence of outside control."

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

When we come to the provincial Governments the position is different. The realisation of responsible government means first, that the members of the executive government should be responsible to, because capable of being changed by, their constituents; and secondly that these constituents should exercise their power through the agency of their representatives in the assembly. The report forbids the immediate handing over of complete responsibility. We must proceed therefore by transferring responsibility for certain functions of government while reserving control over others. From this starting point we look for a steady approach to the transfer of complete responsibility. We may put our second formula thus:—

"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. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities."

We are not prepared, without experience to effect like changes in the Government of India. Nevertheless it is desirable to make the Indian Legislative Council more truly representative of Indian opinion and to give that opinion greater opportunities of acting on the Government. While, therefore, we cannot commend to Parliament a similiar and simultaneous advance both in the provinces and in the Government of India, we are led to the following proposition:—

"The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be

enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased."

IN ENGLAND.

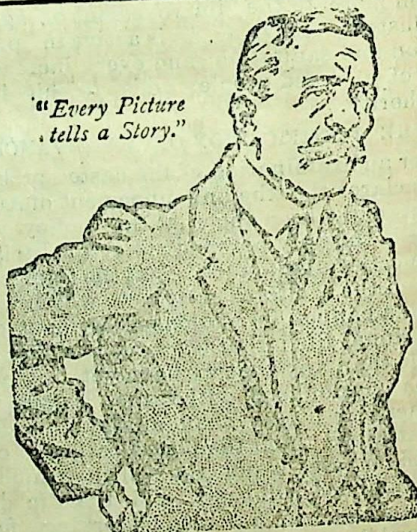
Further the partial control of the executive in the provinces by the legislature, and the increasing influence of the legislature upon the executive in the Government of India will make it necessary that the superior control over all Governments in India which is now exercised by the authorities at home must be in corresponding measure abated: for otherwise the executive Governments in India will be subjected to pressure from different sources which will wholly paralyse their liberty of action, and also the different pressures may be exercised in opposite directions. We may put this proposition briefly as follows:—

"In proportion as the foregoing changes take effect, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial Governments must be relaxed."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Report rejects the idea that, inasmuch as local self-government has not yet been made a reality in most parts of India, we should content ourselves with such reforms as will give it reality, and should await their result before attempting anything more ambitious. But every effort should be made in local bodies to extend the franchise, to arouse interest in elections and to develop local committees, so that education in citizenship may as far as possible be extended, and everywhere begin in a practical manner. If our proposals for changes on the higher levels are to be a success, there must be no hesitation or paltering about changes in local bodies. Responsible institutions

"Every Picture tells a Story."



How to Disperse URIC ACID DEPOSITS.

THE ill-effect of excess uric acid may not end with lumbago, sciatica and rheumatism, for uric acid is the general basis of stone deposits in kidneys and bladder. Little jagged uric acid crystals, very much like splinters of glass, cluster round the delicate kidney cells, and form gravel stones, which break through to the bladder, and often grow so large that an operation would seem almost unavoidable. But a kidney medicine should succeed in preventing and dispersing uric acid deposits. Doan's Backache Kidney Pills are a special kidney medicine. They induce kidney activity, cleanse the urinary channels, and disperse the uric acid poisons that inflame the body. To ensure the best results patient should also help by drinking plenty of milk, plenty of water, and taking only plain, wholesome food, with little, if any, alcoholic stimulants. Doan's Backache Kidney Pills are Rs. 2 per bottle; 6 for Rs. 10.8; obtainable from all dealers.

will not be stably-rooted until they become broad-based; and far-sighted Indian politicians will find no field into which their energies can be more profitably thrown than in developing the boroughs and communes of their country.

The Report then proceeds to summarise the recent Resolution of the Government of India on Local Self-Government, and says that "the proposals will constitute a basis on which those entrusted with the responsibility for such matters in the future can build; and we expect the reformed legislative councils to carry forward the work thus begun."

THE PROVINCES.

EXCLUSION OF BURMA AND N.-W. FRONTIER FROM THE SCHEME.

In defining the scope of the proposals regarding the Provinces, the Report says the "recommendations as to the provinces are confined to eight out of the nine provinces of British India which are furnished with legislative councils. These are Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam. We have not included Burma in our survey except in so far as, while that province remains part of the Indian polity as for military reasons it must, it is necessary to provide its representation in the Central Government. When our proposals are published there will be an opportunity for the Government and people of Burma to say how far they regard them as applicable to their case. There remain the frontier areas of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, and the smaller tracts of British India like Delhi, Coorg, and Ajmer-Merwara. For reasons in some if not all of these areas it would be well to associate with the personal administration of the Chief Commissioner some form of advisory council, adjusted in composition and function to local conditions in each case. Typically backward tracts are also to be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed provincial Governments and administered by the head of the province."

FINANCIAL PROPOSALS.

In Chapter VIII the Report deals fully with the proposals regarding the Provinces. It points out that the existing financial relations between the central and provincial Governments must be changed if the popular principle in Government is to have fair play in the provinces.

Complete separation of revenues is decided on. The Report says, "it would be ridiculous to introduce wide measures of administrative and legislative devolution and at the same time to retain a centralized system of finance."

ABOLITION OF DIVIDED HEADS.

We propose to retain the Indian and provincial heads as at present, but to add to the former income-tax and general stamps, and to the latter land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps. No heads will then remain divided.

For the purposes of famine relief it is suggested that the provincial settlements should make allowances based on each province's average liability to this calamity in the past; and it will be the duty of provincial Governments liable to famine not to dissipate this special provision, but to hold a sufficient portion of their resources in reserve against the lean years. We recognise that difficulties may arise because provincial Governments may fail to make sufficient provision, or because a severe famine may come upon them before they have had time to accumulate a sufficient provision with which to meet it. In such cases the Indian Government could never renounce responsibility.

NEED FOR MEETING THE RESULTANT DEFICIT IN THE INDIAN BUDGET.

When all sources of revenue have been completely distributed as we propose, there will be a large deficit in the Government of India's budget.

Starting with an estimate (based on the budget figures for 1917-18 subject to some adjustments) of the gross revenue of all provinces when all divided heads have been abolished, and deducting therefrom an estimate of the normal expenditure of all provinces, including provision for expenditure on famine relief and protective irrigation, we arrived at Rs. 1,564 lakhs as the gross provincial surplus. The deficit in the Government of India's budget was Rs. 1,363 lakhs. This left Rs. 201 lakhs or about 13 per cent. of the gross provincial surplus as the nett surplus available for contingencies. We would propose to assess the total amount from each province to the Government, and to add a percentage of the difference in that gross provincial revenue and the gross provincial expenditure. On the basis of the rates which we have taken this percentage would be 87. The contributions which the Government of India would form the first step in our plan would work out in practice can be explained from the following figures:—

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
Madras	4,91	1,01	79	3,75	2,18	32
Bombay	1,01	88	10	6,14	1,61	21
Bengal	79	69	10	7,69	3,59	6
U. Provinces	11,17	2,50	2,18	4,04	3,71	5
Punjab	8,64	6,03	1,40	4,12	1,50	3
Burma	7,69	3,59	45	4,12	3,71	5
Bihar & Orissa	4,04	3,59	45	1,71	1,50	3
C. Provinces	4,12	3,71	41	1,71	1,50	3
Assam	1,71	1,50	21	18	2,01	
Total	68,28	52,84	15,64	13,63	2,01	

(a) Province; (b) Gross provincial revenue; (c) Gross provincial surplus; (d) Contribution (87 per cent. of col. 4); (e) Contribution (87 per cent. of col. 4); (f) Nett provincial surplus.

N. B.—The Punjab figures in column (e) should be reduced and those in column (f) raised by 3½ lakhs in each case to allow for the continued compensation which the province is entitled to receive for the cession of a crore of its balances to the Government of India in 1914.

Some provinces even under this plan will bear a very much heavier proportion of the cost of the Indian Government than others, for it continues the disparity which is at present marked by the system of divided heads. It is not intended to be of a final nature; and when revenues develop and a revision takes place under normal conditions an opportunity will arise for smoothing out inequalities. We have already mentioned at the beginning of this part of our report that our proposals generally do not relate to the minor administrations. Their financial transactions are classified as All-Indian; and with them separate arrangements must continue.

THE POSSIBLE NEED FOR REVISION.

It is reasonable to expect that with the growth of provincial autonomy any inequality of burdens will be resented more strongly by the provinces on whom it falls; and it will be for the first periodic commission and for its successors after review of the situation then existing to determine whether some period should not be set by which the more heavily burdened provinces should be expected to find means of bringing up their financial resources to the common level of strength. We attach great weight to the proposition that if the the provinces are to be really self-government they ought to

adjust their expenditure—including therein their obligations to the common interests of India—according to their resources and not to draw indefinitely on more enterprising neighbours."

As a means of enlarging the taxing powers of local Governments certain subjects of taxing are to be scheduled as reserved for the provinces, and the residuary powers will remain in the hands of the Government of India.

PROVINCIAL BORROWING.

In order to avoid harmful competition provincial Governments must continue to do their borrowing through the Government of India, but if the Government of India finds itself unable to raise the money in any one year which a province requires, or if there is good reason to believe that a provincial project may be elicited by a particular India loan, the provincial Government may have recourse to the Indian market. The Surveyor-General of India to the approval of the Government of India to the method of borrowing, so as not to affect the rate of interest and the time of borrowing in the Post Office, with Indian loans, so as not to conflict.

LEGISLATION AND DEVOLOUTION.

The Government of India should be enabled to intervene in any matter for the protection and enforcement of the law. Provincial matters in respect of which the Government of India or for any two or more provinces; classes of legislation which may be adopted either a Decree or with modifications by any province which may wish to make use of it. Subject to these reservations we intend that within the field which may be marked off for provincial legislative control the sole legislative power shall rest with the provincial legislatures. In India where the central Government must retain large responsibilities, as for defence and law and order, a statutory limitation upon its legislative functions may be inexpedient. It may be better to leave it to be settled as a matter of constitutional practice that the central Government will not interfere in provincial matters unless the interests for which it is itself responsible are directly affected. The question of restraining the central Government from administrative interference in the provinces is more difficult.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES.

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL IN EIGHT PROVINCES.

Let us now explain how we contemplate in future that the executive Governments of the provinces shall be constituted. Our first proposition, therefore, is that in all these provinces single-headed administration must cease and be replaced by collective administration.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXECUTIVE.

Certain heads of business are retained under official and certain others made over to popular control. We may call these the 'reserved' and 'transferred' subjects respectively. It then follows that for the management of each of these two categories there must be some form of executive body, with a legislative organ in harmony with it, and if friction and disunion are to be avoided it is also highly desirable that the two parts of the executive should be harmonised.

THE "PROPOSALS."

"We propose therefore that in each province the Executive Government should consist of two parts. One part would comprise the head of the province and an Executive Council of two members. In all provinces the head of the Government would be known as Governor, though this common designation would not imply any equality of emoluments

or status, both of which would continue to be regulated by the existing distinction, which seem to us generally suitable. One of the two Executive Councilors would in practice be a European qualified by long official experience, and the other would be an Indian. It has been urged that the latter should be an elected member of the provincial legislative council. It is unreasonable that choice should be so limited. It should be open to the Governor to recommend whom he wishes. In making his nominations, the Governor should be free to take into consideration the names of persons who had won distinction whether in the legislative council or any other field. The Governor in Council would have charge of the reserved subjects. The other part of the Government would consist of one member or more than one member, according to the number and importance of the transferred subjects, chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the legislative council. They would be known as ministers. They would be members of the Executive Government but not members of the Executive Council; and they would be appointed for the life-time of the legislative council and if re-elected to that body would be re-eligible for appointment as members of the executive. As we have said, they would not hold office at the will of the legislature but at that of their constituents. We make no recommendation in regard to pay. This is a matter which may be disposed of subsequently."

RELATION OF THE GOVERNOR TO MINISTERS

The portfolios dealing with the transferred subjects would be committed to the ministers, and on these subjects the ministers together with the Governor would form the administration. On such subjects their decisions would be final, subject only to the Governor's advice and control. We reserve to him a power of control, because we regard him as generally responsible for his administration, but we should expect him to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequence of acquiescence would clearly be serious. We recommend that for the guidance of Governors in relation to their ministers and indeed on other matters also, an Instrument of Instructions be issued to them on appointment by the Secretary of State in Council.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO.

In some provinces where the Governor is himself an official and thoroughly familiar with the requirements of the province, the advice and assistance of one official colleague may suffice. But in other cases this will not be so. We propose therefore that the Government should appoint, if he chooses, one or two additional members without portfolio for purposes of consultation and advice. The additional members would still discharge the functions of and draw the pay attached to their substantive appointment.

WORKING OF THE EXECUTIVE.

As a general rule, the Government should deliberate as a whole, but there must be occasions upon which the Governor will prefer to discuss a particular question with that part of his government directly responsible. The actual decision on a transferred subject would be taken, after general discussion, by the Governor and his ministers; the action to be taken, on a reserved subject would be taken, after similar discussion, by the Governor and the other members of his Executive Council, who would arrive at their decision in the manner provided in the existing statute. The additional members if present, would take their share in the discussion, but would in no case take a part in the decision. At a meeting of the whole Government there would never be, in fact, any question of voting, for the decision would be left, as we have stated to that part of the Government responsible

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for the particular subject involved. But there are questions upon which the functions of the two portions of the Government will touch or overlap, such for instance as decisions on the budget or on many matters of administration. On these questions, in case of a difference of opinion between the ministers and the Executive Council it will be the Governor who decides.

ADVANTAGE AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE PLAN.

The arrangement admits of adjustment to the different provinces, because we contemplate that the number of transferred subjects and therefore the number of ministers, may vary in each province. It is our intention that the decision of the Government should be loyally defended by the entire Government, but that the ministers should feel responsibility for conforming to the wishes of their constituents. It is true that these two forces may pull different ways; but though the analogy is clearly not complete, there are occasions when members of a Government and indeed members of Parliament at home, have to choose between loyalty to the Government and to their own constituents. All the members of the composite executive will be chosen by the Governor, and his position in the administration will enable him to act as a strong unifying force. The habit of deliberating as a whole will also tend to preserve the unity of the Government, while the special responsibility of either part for the subjects committed to it will be recognised by the legislative council and the electorate.

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES.

The suggestion has been made to us that in some provinces it might be convenient, where the press of work is heavy, to appoint some members of the legislative council, not necessarily elected to positions analogous to that of a parliamentary Under-Secretary in Great Britain, for the purpose of assisting the members of the executive in their departmental duties and of representing them in the legislative council. We feel no doubt that the elaboration of the machinery which is inevitable in future will impose greater burdens on the members of the Government. We suggest therefore that it may be advisable and convenient to take power to make such appointments.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

COUNCILS TO HAVE DIRECTLY ELECTED MAJORITY.

There shall be in each province, an enlarged legislative council, differing in size and composition from province to province, with a substantial elected majority elected by direct election on a broad franchise, with such communal and special representation as may be necessary. An electoral survey of the entire country is beyond our powers at the present time. We propose that the work should be undertaken by a special committee, which should be appointed to deal with it as soon as possible. The committee should consist of a chairman chosen from outside India, two experienced officials and two Indians of high standing and repute. In each province one civilian officer and one Indian appointed by the provincial Government should join it and share in its labours. After the Committee's investigations the composition of the councils should be determined by the Secretary of State in Council, on the recommendation of the Government of India, in the form of regulations to be laid before Parliament.

THE SYSTEM OF ELECTION AND THE FRANCHISE.

We consider in the first place that the system of indirect elections should be swept away. Secondly we consider that the limitations of the franchise, which it is obviously desirable to make as broad as possible, should be determined rather

with reference to practical difficulties than to any a priori considerations as to the degree of education or amount of income which may be held to constitute a qualification.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

The most difficult question which arises in connexion with elected assemblies is whether communal electorates are to be maintained. The history of self-government among the nations who developed it and spread it through the world is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than the State itself. We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing system. Already communal representation has been proposed for the benefit of the community in Madras. At the same time, we are concerned that so far as the Mahomedans at all are concerned the present system must be speedily altered, even at the price of a certain amount of the realization of a communal representation for Mahomedans, in those hands of form a majority of the latter.

OTHER MINORITIES.

We have been prepared to extend the concession to other communities. In the general extension of the communal system, however, would only encourage still further demands and would in our deliberate opinion be fatal to that development of representation upon a national basis in which alone a system of responsible government can possibly be rooted. At the same time we feel that there is one community from whom it is inexpedient to withhold the concession. The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian Army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented. To the Sikhs, therefore, and to them alone, we propose to extend the system already adopted in the case of the Mahomedans.

For the representation of other minorities we should prefer nomination. Special electorates will no doubt be required for the representation of the planting and mining interests, for the chambers of commerce and possibly also for the universities; but we desire that the number of such electorates should be as restricted as possible, and that minority interests should, where necessary, be represented not by class or interest electorates but by nomination. But it should be a clear instruction to the committee that the nominated element in the legislative council is to be no larger than the exigencies of fair and adequate representation entail.

There may be cases in which nomination proves an unsuitable method of securing the representation of minorities. In such cases the committee should consider whether the needs of the case would be met by reserving to a particular community a certain number of seats in plural constituencies with a general electoral roll. We are inclined to look on such an arrangement as preferable to communal electorates.

OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

There seem to us good and sufficient reasons for not dispensing entirely with the official element in the legislative Councils. The exact number of official representatives will be a matter for the committee to consider. We advise, however, that the official element appointed by the Governor

Government or the provincial council for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province; and that after considering the evidence laid before them they should recommend for the approval of the Secretary of State the transferred list as they think desirable. On the other hand, if it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them with the sanction of the Secretary of State to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions for the future on the ministers' powers in respect of certain transferred subjects. The Government of India may, when hearing such applications, direct that the ministers' salaries, instead of any longer being treated as a reserved subject and therefore protected in the last resort by the Governor's order from interference, should be specifically voted each year by the legislative council; or failing such direction by the Government of India, it should be open to the councils at that time or subsequently to demand by resolution that such ministers' salaries should be so voted, and the Government of India should thereupon give effect to such request. The councils would have power to refuse to pass their salaries, and they would have to accept the consequences which constitutional convention attaches to such a vote.

PERIODIC COMMISSION.

Ten years after the first meeting of the new councils established under the Statute a commission should be appointed to review the position. Criticism has been expressed in the past of the composition of Royal Commissions, and it is our intention that the commission which we suggest should be regarded as authoritative and should derive its authority from Parliament itself. The names of the commissioners therefore should be submitted by the Secretary of State to both Houses of Parliament for approval by resolution. The commissioners' mandate should be to consider whether by the end of the term of the legislature then in existence it would be possible to establish complete responsible government in any province or provinces, or how far it would be possible to approximate to it in others; to advise on the continued reservation of any departments for the transfer of which to popular control it has been proved to their satisfaction that the time had not yet come; to recommend the re-transfer of other matters to the control of the Governor in Council; and to make any recommendations for the improvement of responsible government or the improvement of the constitutional machinery which experience of the systems in operation may show to be desirable. The commission should investigate the progress made in admitting Indians into the higher ranks of the public service; examine the apportionment of the financial burden of India with a view to adjusting it more fairly between the provinces; examine the development of education among the people and the progress and working of local self-governing bodies. Lastly the commission should consider the working of the franchise and the constitution of electorates, including the important matter of the retention of communal representation. We propose therefore that the further course of constitutional development in the country, together with the other matters just enumerated, shall from time to time be similarly investigated at intervals of twelve years, a period which represents the life of four councils under the existing regulations. It is clearly desirable that periodic inquiries should take place at intervals that may prove too short rather than that encouragement should be given to agitation by undue delay. One of the most important duties of the commission will be to examine the

growth of capacity and responsibility in the electorates.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

We would abolish such statutory restrictions as now exist in respect of the appointment of Members of the Governor-General's Council. If it is desired to retain Parliamentary control over these matters, they might be embodied in statutory orders to be laid before Parliament. Further we propose to increase the Indian element in the Executive Council. The appointment of Indian members will be made in the future as in the past as a matter of practice by the Crown on the recommendation of the Secretary of State; and we suggest the appointment of a certain Indian Member as soon as may be.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The strength of the Indian Legislative Assembly in the future as a representative body of about 100 members, so as to be truly representative of British India. One-third should be elected; and that one-third should be elected by the Governor-General, of which third one-third should be non-officials representing minority interests. Some special representation should be made also for the large landlords. There is no difficulty about direct electorates for Muslims and also for Sikhs in the Punjab. There is no difficulty about direct electorates in the case of special constituencies. It is in respect of the general or residuary electorate, including therein the communal electorates for Muhammadans and Sikhs, that complexities present themselves. Our decided preference is for a system of direct electorates. The special committee to investigate questions of franchises and electorates would determine the electorates and constituencies for the Indian Legislative Assembly.

For reasons similar to those which we have given in the case of the provincial legislative councils we recommended that members of the Indian Legislative Assembly should not be designated "Honourable" but should be entitled to affix the letters M. L. A. to their names.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PROVINCES.

The suggestion we have made for the number of elected members was based on the calculation that the three presidencies would be represented by 11 members each—the United Provinces by 10, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa by 7 each, the Central Provinces by 5, Burma by 3 and Assam by 2. We also think that in view of the importance of the Delhi province as the Imperial enclave and the seat of the central Government, it should be represented by a member.

NOMINATED MEMBERS.

Nominations should not be made until the results of all the elections are known. The maximum number of nominated officials will be two-ninths of the whole, and it will rest with the Governor-General to determine whether he requires to appoint up to this maximum. The officials will, however, include the executive members of council, sitting not by appointment but ex-officio and also some representation from the provinces. It may therefore not be possible for secretaries to the Government of India to continue to sit in the assembly. We think it preferable to appoint members of the Assembly, not necessarily related nor even non-official, to positions analogous to those of parliamentary Under-Secretaries in England; and we advise that power be taken to make such appointments.

ments. Official members of the Assembly, other than members of the executive government should be allowed a free right of speech and vote, except when the Government desires that their support is necessary. We think that this change of procedure will effect the tone of discussions very beneficially. The President of the Legislative Assembly should be nominated by the Governor-General. For the present the President should be designated from among the official members.

EXTRAORDINARY LEGISLATION.

The Governor-General's power of making temporary ordinances for certain emergent purposes is retained.

THE MOST STATE.

"We do not particularly propose to substitute a complete bicameral system, to the Principal Secretary, which shall take its part in ordinary business and shall be the final legislative authority. The Council of Government will be composed of members, exclusive of the Governor-General, who would be President, with power to appoint or remove more than 25 will be formally take his place in the members of the executive council, and 4 would be officials nominated by the Governor-General. The Legislative Assembly eligible for nomination by the non-official members, 15 will be returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils, each of the Central Provinces and Assam which will return one member each. Elected members returned to the Council of State would vacate any seats they occupied on the provincial council or the Legislative Assembly. The remaining six elected members are intended to supplement the representation which the Muhammadans and the landed classes will otherwise secure: and also provide for the representation of chambers of commerce. Each of these three interests should, we suggest, return two members directly to the Council of State. We estimate that the composition of the Council of State should comprise at least six Muhammadans whether sitting by direct or indirect election or by the Governor-General's nomination. The regulations for elections to the four seats should be framed by the Governor-General in Council in such way as to enable him to decide, after consideration of the results of the indirect elections, from what part of India or possibly in what manner from India generally the seats should be filled."

QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIPS.

"The Governor-General in Council should make regulations as to the qualification of candidates for election to that body which will ensure that their status and position and record of services will give to the Council a senatorial character, and the quality usually regarded as appropriate to a revising chamber. We consider that the designation "Honourable" should be enjoyed by the members of the Council of State during their tenure of office. It is desirable that as is the case with second chambers elsewhere the lifetime of the Council of State should be longer than that of the Assembly; and assuming that the life of the latter will be three years we propose five years as the normal duration of each Council of State."

LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE—GOVERNMENT BILLS.

A Government Bill will ordinarily be introduced and carried through all the usual stages in the Legislative Assembly. It will then go in the ordinary course to the Council of State, and if there amended in any way which the Assembly is not

willing to accept, it will be submitted to a joint session of both Houses, by whose decision its ultimate fate will be decided. This will be the ordinary course of legislation. But it might well happen that amendments made by the Council of State were such as to be essential in the view of the Government if the purpose with which the Bill was originally introduced was to be achieved, and in this case the Governor-General in Council would certify that the amendments were essential to the interests of peace, order, or good government. The assembly would then not have power to reject or modify these amendments nor would they be open to revision in a joint session.

Cases may occur in which the Legislative Assembly refuses leave to the introduction of a Bill or throws out a Bill which the Government regarded as necessary. For such a contingency we would provide that if leave to introduce a Government Bill is refused, or if the Bill is thrown out at any stage, the Government should have the power, on the certificate of the Governor-General in Council that the Bill is essential to the interests of peace, or good government, to refer it *de novo* to the Council of State and if the Bill, after being taken in all its stages through the Council of State was passed by that body, it would become law without further reference to the Assembly. Further, there may be cases when the consideration of a measure by both chambers would take too long if the emergency which called for the measure is to be met. Such a contingency should rarely arise: but we advise that in case of emergency, so certified by the Governor-General in Council, it should be open to the Government to introduce a Bill in the Council of State, and upon its being passed there merely to report it to the Assembly.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS.

We come now to non-official members' Bills. They would be introduced in whichever of the two chambers the mover sat and, on being carried there, would be taken to the other chamber and carried through that. In the case of a difference of opinion between the two bodies the Bill would be submitted to a joint session of both, and would either be finally rejected or would be submitted for assent in the form in which it was there passed. It might, however, occur that a non-official members' Bill introduced from the Assembly, whether originally introduced there or not, in a form which the Government thought prejudicial to peace, order and good government. In this case also if the Governor-General in Council were prepared to give a certificate in the terms already stated, the Bill would go back to the Council of State and could only become law in the form there finally given to it.

THE OBJECTIVE.

In time to come, if and when the procedure by certification becomes unnecessary, the Council of State will become, as in other countries, a purely revising chamber, and differences between the two chambers will be adjusted by joint sessions.

POWERS OF DISSOLUTION, ASSENT, ETC.

The Governor-General should have power at any time to dissolve either Legislative Assembly or the Council of State or both these bodies. The Governor-General and the Secretary of State should retain their existing powers of assent, reservation and disallowance to all Acts of the Indian legislature. The present powers of the Governor-General in Council under section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1915 to make regulations proposed to him by local governments for the peace and good government of backward tracts of territory should also be preserved; with the modification that it will in future rest with the Head of the province concerned to propose such regulations to the Government of India.

FISCAL LEGISLATION—EFFECT OF RESOLUTIONS.

Fiscal legislation will of course be subject to the procedure which we have recommended in respect of Government Bills. The budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions, whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State, will continue to be advisory in character. But they will, if carried, stand on record as the considered opinion of a body which is at all events more representative than the Legislative Council which it displaced.

PRIVY COUNCIL FOR INDIA.

After supporting the application of the procedure of standing committees as far as may be to both portions of the Indian legislature and the granting of the right generally to ask supplementary questions the Report goes on to propose an Indian Privy Council.

Appointments to the Privy Council should be made by the King-Emperor and for life, which would ensure that they would be valued as a high personal distinction. Officials and non-officials, both from British India and the Native States, would be eligible; but it would be necessary to confine appointments to those who had won real distinction, or had held or were holding the highest offices, such as Members of the Governments, Ruling Princes, Members of the Council of State and High Court Judges. Indian Privy Councillors should enjoy the title "Honourable" for life. The Privy Council's office would be to advise the Governor-General when he saw fit to consult it on questions of policy and administration.

Periodic Commissions are also recommended for investigating the working of the changes introduced into the provinces.

THE INDIA OFFICE.

PARLIAMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY TO BE REDUCED.

The Report proposes that in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, Parliament must be precluded from the exercise of its own power of control.

Even as regards reserved subjects, while there cannot be any abandonment by Parliament of ultimate powers of control, there should, be such delegation of financial and administrative authority as will leave the Government of India free, and enable them to leave the provincial Governments free. The proposals involve material alterations in the functions of the India Office; and in conformity with these we think that its organization should be reconsidered by a committee sitting in London for the purpose. We propose that such a committee should be appointed forthwith.

The report then proceeds to suggest that the Secretary State's salary, like that of all other Ministers, the Crown, should be defrayed from home revenues and voted annually by Parliament. This will settle any live questions of Indian administration to be discussed by the House of Commons in Committee of Supply. To meet the objection that this might result in matters of Indian administration being treated as party questions, it is proposed to appoint a Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Affairs. Such a select committee would, like other Select Committees, exercise its power by informing it from time to time upon Indian questions, and reporting to the House before the annual debate on the Indian estimates.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

As regards public services, it is announced that any racial barrier still exist in regulations for appointment to public services are to be abolished. In accordance with recruitment in England,

where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services should be established in India. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rates of increase, will be fixed for all these services. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage is to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts increasing annually by 1½ per cent. until the position is reviewed by a Commission. Rates of pay are to be re-considered with reference to the rise in the cost of living and the need for maintaining the standard of recruitment. Incremental time-scales will be introduced generally and increments to continue until the superior grade is attained. The maximum of ordinary pension is to be raised to Rs. 6,000 payable at the rate of 1s. 9d. to the month with special pensions for certain high appointments. Indian Civil Service annuities are to be contributory but contributions will continue to be fixed for all public services, but a cross allowance is to be granted to persons recruited in Europe or on account of qualifications in Europe and the converse principle to be applied to Indians employed in Europe. The number of commissions in the Indian Army to Indians is also strongly recommended.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the matter of the development of Industries, the report after dispelling Indian suspicions about the bona fides of the Government, observes in connection with the English theories as to the appropriate limits of the State's activity are inapplicable to India. "We believe that this is true in the case of Industries: and that if the resources of the country are to be developed the Government must take action." Without anticipating the results of the Industrial Commission, the report is in favour of the suggestion to increase substantially the scientific and technical services and their organization under a separate department. As regards fiscal policy, the only suggestion made is that any decision hereafter made should be taken with full appreciation of Indian public opinion and of the probable incidence of the burden of taxation upon the Indian masses. India will be adequately represented in the post-War Imperial Conference for consideration of the fiscal relation of all parts of the Empire.

The report also deals with the position of the non-official Anglo-Indian community, and the need for a better social understanding between Europeans and Indians, and the mutual obligations of both in this respect.

THE NATIVE STATES.

The proposals here made affect only British India; one-third of the area of India and one-fifth of its population are embraced in the Native States. These cannot remain unaffected by the changes in British India, and there is an increasing community of interest between the two parts. It is therefore proposed that the Chief's Conference shall become a permanent Council of Princes, which will ordinarily meet once a year, and that the Council shall appoint a small standing committee to deal with such questions as custom and usage. Disputes between States, or between States and the Government of India, will be referred to a Commission, consisting of an official of not less status than a High Court Judge and a nominee of either party, which will advise the Viceroy. Cases of misconduct by Ruling Chiefs will also be investigated by a Commission of five, including a High Court Judge and two Ruling Princes which will advise the Viceroy. All important States will be placed in direct communication with the Government of India, and provision is made for joint deliberation between the Council of State and the Council of Princes on matters of common interest.

Fixed Rates for sale of Kerosine oil for authorised retailers (Vide below.)

STANDARD OIL CO.

Name.	Price per tin (inclusive of tin)			Price per tin (in customer's own tin.)			Not sold in bottles.	Price per bottl. a. p.	
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.			
Snowflake (Chimney) ...	5	4	3	4	11	3	}	0	0
Chester (Girja) ...	5	3	3	4	10	3		0	0
Monkey (Bander) ...	4	14	6	4	5	6		0	0
Elephant (Hati) ...	3	14	9	3	5	9		2	3
Elephant (Hat) ...	0	0	0	3	5	9		2	3

ASIATIC PETROLEUM CO.

Swan (B. Surveyor) ...	2	12	6	2	3	6	}	1	6
Swan (B. Surveyor) ...	0	0	0	2	3	6		1	6
Rising Sun (S. Red.) ...	3	8	9	2	15	9		2	0
Rising Sun (S. Red.) ...	0	0	0	2	15	9	2	0	

INDO BURMA OIL CO.

Cock and Key ...	3	7	6	2	14	6	}	2	0
Cock and Key ...	0	0	0	2	9	6		1	9
Star Crescent ...	4	7	9	3	14	9		2	9

BURMA OIL CO.

Victoria (Red. Plus) ...	2	12	6	2	5	6	}	1	6
Victoria (Red. Plus) ...	0	0	0	2	3	6		1	6
Gold Mohur ...	3	8	9	2	15	9		2	0
Gold Mohur ...	0	0	0	2	15	9		2	6
Water-Lily ...	4	2	3	3	11	3		2	3
Fire-Fly ...	3	15	6	3	8	6			

(Sd.) J. REID,
Collector of Patna.

List of Authorised retailers who will sell at fixed rates specified above.

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1. Hafiz Nabi Bux of Simli | } | Thana Malsalami. |
| 2. Harnath Bania of Purah Darwaza | | Thana Chowk. |
| 3. Babu Lal of Begumpore | } | Thana Khajekalan. |
| 4. Himat Khan of Chowk | | Thana Alamgunge. |
| 5. Ghisu Mian of Khajekalan | | Thana Sultangunge. |
| 6. Syed Mohib Ali of Lodikatra | | Thana Pirbahor. |
| 7. Murtaza Hossain of Machharhatta | | Thana Bakergunge. |
| 8. Syed Irsad Hossain of Guzri | | New Capital. |
| 9. Mahabir of Minabazar | | |
| 10. Munshi Lal of Gulzarbagh | | |
| 11. Kishun Lal of Alamgunge | | |
| 12. Phulchattar Chowdhary of Pathal-ki-Masjid | | |
| 13. Radha Kishun of Mahendru | | |
| 14. Hingu Mian of Pirbahore | | |
| 15. Lalla Patwa of Moradpur | | |
| 16. Malik Suleman of Langertoli | | |
| 17. Hira Lal of Bakergunge | | |
| 18. Rooke & Co. of Patna Gaya Road | | |

(Sd.) J. REID,
Collector of Patna.

LOCAL & PROVINCIAL.

A SENSATIONAL incident illustrating how even the highest among Indians are not safe from being bullied and assaulted by Anglo-Indians and Europeans has been reported to us. We do not publish the names as both the parties concerned hold the highest position in society. It appears that a leading Barrister of Patna was travelling to Ranchi in a first class carriage. Somewhere on the way when he was sleeping in his pyjamas a very high European official entered the carriage. The sight of an Indian in pyjamas occupying one of the benches probably acted as the veritable red rag to the bull, and he at once made for the sleeping barrister and actually sat upon him. The Barrister happened to be a bit of a Tartar. He immediately cleared for action. His assailant who had not probably

counted upon this thereupon called in the Station Master of Asansol to eject the obnoxious Indian who immediately produced his card. The sight of the card had a sobering influence and apologies followed. The barrister, however, has, we learn, given notice of a suit for heavy damages.

A MEMORIAL has just been submitted to the Patna High Court by the Bar Association. Muzaffarpur, through the District Judge. Muzaffarpur, for a consideration of certain points in connection with the existing arrangements of holidays in the Mofussil Civil Courts in some of the districts of the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

The memorialists submit in the first place that Holi being a festival universally observed by all classes of the Hindu Community in these Provinces, the number of days allotted to it in the existing list of holidays is not at all commensurate with the importance of the festival; and they suggest that 3 days, one day before and one day after the actual day of the festival, should be allotted to it instead of 2 as at present. The next item in the existing list of holidays which the memorialists think should be readjusted is the Dassera vacation; and they suggest that in lieu of the existing arrangement of the Dassera vacation, the Doorga Puja Holidays be amalgamated with the Kali Puja, Bhadriddwitiya and Dwat Puja, Chhat and Chhatra Mela holidays, thus keeping the Court closed at a stretch for 41 days beginning from the 6th day after Mahalaya and continuing up to the 2nd day following the Kartik Purnima, both days inclusive. The memorialists submit that such an arrangement would not only give people connected with the courts the advantage of a long vacation in a good season of the year but would also have the advantage of including a number of short holidays coming between the Doorga Puja and the Chhatra Mela thereby facilitating continuous work in courts which is apt to be greatly hampered by the courts closing too often at short intervals during the period aforesaid under the existing arrangement of holidays. In accordance with the above suggestion the Mahalaya being excluded from the proposed long vacation, one day will have to be separately allotted to it as being an important festival of the Hindus. The memorialists point out that if the scheme of re-adjustment of the holidays on the lines indicated above be given effect to, the total number of Hindu holidays in the year now proposed would exceed the number of Hindu holidays in the present list by 3 days, viz 1 day extra being added to the Holi Holiday, 1 day being allotted to Mahalaya and 1 day to the proposed long vacation.

That as regards Mahomedan festivals, the memorialists submit that a great deal of inconvenience is at present caused to the Mahomedan litigants and practitioners on account of there being no holidays on the day preceding the Id Festival; the last day of Ramzan, as also on the day following the 10th day of Moharram Festival and suggest that the above 2 days be declared public holidays in all Mufassil Civil Courts. They also submit that no holiday is at present observed on account of Chehlum an important festival amongst the Mahomedans and suggest that the days of the said festival be declared a closed holiday in all Mofussil Civil Courts, and they mention in this connection that the Government of Bihar and Orissa declared Chehlum as a public holiday in the years 1913-15. That if the recasting of holidays on the lines indicated be for some reason or other not deemed feasible, the memorialists submit an alternative proposal viz (a) that the Holi holidays be increased by one day as suggested in paragraph 4 above in place of the Ananta Chaturdasi holiday and (b) the present Dassera vacation be made to commence from the day preceding the Mahalaya festival; the present list of holidays for the mofussil Civil Courts remaining unaltered in all other respects.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

WANTED.

1. Office—Financial and Municipal Department, Bihar and Orissa Secretariat.

2. Post vacant and pay—An assistant on Rs. 50/- per mensem.

3. Qualifications—An I. A. or I. Sc. passed or one with office experience.

4. Officer to whom application should be made—Under Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Financial and Municipal Departments

5. Last date for submitting application—31st July 1918

Copies of testimonials should be attached; they will not be returned. Applications from persons already in Government employ should be submitted through the head office concerned and should contain details of service and pay. Applicants not already in Government service should state their age. The selected candidate must either be a Bihari or domiciled in this Province and will not be allowed travelling allowance to join the appointment.

WANTED

1. Office—Financial and Municipal Departments, Bihar and Orissa Secretariat.

2. Post vacant and pay—Three assistants on Rs. 40/- each per mensem.

3. Qualifications—An I. A. or I. Sc. passed candidate or one with office experience.

4. Officer to whom application should be made—Under Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Financial and Municipal Departments.

5. Last date for submitting application—31st July 1918.

Copies of testimonials should be attached; they will not be returned. Applications from persons already in Government employ should be submitted through the head of the office concerned and should contain details of service and pay. Applicants not already in Government service should state their age. The selected candidate must either be a Bihari or domiciled in this Province and will not be allowed travelling allowance to join the appointment.

WANTED

WANTED for the office of the District and Sessions Judge Muzaffarpur a clerk with a good knowledge of shorthand. Initial pay Rs. 75/. Applications, stating age and qualifications will be received by the undersigned up to 31st July 1918. Selected applicants will be required to pass a practical test in shorthand.

29/6/18. DISTRICT AND SESSIONS JUDGE.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

NOTICE.

The public are hereby informed that owing to a fall in the level of the river Ganges, the Paleza Ghat station on the Bengal and North Western Railway will not be shifted from its present position and the alteration to trains on the Digha Ghat Branch will not, therefore, come into effect on and from the 2nd July 1918 as previously notified. The present arrangements will continue until further notice.

By order,
 the Principal Surveyor, M. PEARCE,
 Traffic Manager.
 Calcutta, Dated 4-7-1918.

HOPE FOR THE HOPELESS.

Matriculation—The most practical method of training introduced into our Special Matriculation Class to meet the Examinees' actual needs. Plucked candidates of other Universities as well as of Allahabad may be admitted.

Commercial Classes—In our long-standing Commercial Department for Short-hand, Typewriting, &c., a big department has been opened for Book keeping, Auditing, P. W. D. Fourth Grade Examination, as well as for the Local Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

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YOUNG AND OLD

necessarily have different points of view. Light-heartedness and enthusiasm are so natural to youth as judgment is to more mature years. But there are numbers of men and women who, neither old nor young but in the prime of life, sometimes feel they have not the zest and the capacity for work or enjoyment which they ought, normally, to experience. It is said, with a good deal of truth, that a man is as old as he feels and a woman as old as she looks. In each case it is largely a matter of health. Fortunately the majority do not as a rule suffer from exceptionally serious illness; yet minor ailments are distressingly common. Digestive disturbances, of one sort or another, occur from time to time with every one irrespective of age, sex or constitution. Nor is this very surprising. Even the healthiest individual now and then gets a little out of sorts. People of all ages therefore undoubtedly

OCCASIONALLY NEED

a little corrective medicine. Beecham's Pill will be found of the utmost value in all cases of disturbance of the stomach, liver and bowels, or poor appetite, discomfort after eating, acidity, heartburn, wind in the stomach, irregularity of the bowels, feverishness, depression of spirits, and want of tone—these indicate some functional irregularity which it is unwise and often dangerous to neglect. Composed of the finest and most gracefully selected ingredients, of vegetable origin and proved curative value, Beecham's Pills are an unsurpassed remedy for the relief and cure of derangements of the digestive organs. You will feel ever so much better and brighter after taking a dose or two of this excellent medicine. Many people feel themselves always "fit" and up to the mark solely by its use. You also certainly will benefit if you take

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Prepared only by

THOMAS BEECHAM, St. Helens Lancs.

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Sole Agents for India, Burma & Ceylon.

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NOTICE.

We beg to inform our kind constituents and the Public, that our Aerated Water Factory situated at No. 71 quarters near Freemasons Lodge Dinapur Cantt. is under Medical supervision. Our Waters are Manufactured with the greatest care and cleanliness, and with filtered Water, procured from the Station Hospital's well. Our rates are moderate.

We solicit the kind support of our Patron and to those who have not used our Waters. We respectfully solicit a trial. We supply the Station Hospital, Club Officers, and Gentlemen of Dinapur Cantt. as well as to the Club, Officers, Gentlemen &c., of Bankipore and Patna City.

Soda large	@	Rs. 0 9 0	per dozen
Soda small	"	" 0 6 0	"
Lemonade	"	" 0 14 0	"
Gingerade	"	" 1 0 0	"
Tonic	"	" 1 0 0	"
Coloured (all)	"	" 1 2 0	"

Dinapore, February 2nd 1902.

I have inspected the Soda Water Factory of Messrs Baluck Ram & Co., today and am satisfied that all the possible care is taken to ensure the Aerated Water being pure. The water is taken from tap specially laid on from the military works supply, the empty bottles are washed with permanent solution before being re-filled.

(Sd.) F. P. MAYNARD, MAJOR, I. M. S.

Civil Surgeon of Patna.
BALUCK RAM & Co.,

Bankipore Branch.
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 near the old Hospital building.