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THE ECONOMIC SURVEY OF OOLLANNORE VILLAGE

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Oollannore is a typical village of Central Travancore, presenting an aspect of low rounded laterite hills divided by green winding valleys filled with paddy fields. Each house stands by itself in the typical West Coast style, with its own cultivated fields around it; and with the luxuriant growth of coconut palm and jack and tamarind trees, and crops of tapioca, yams and paddy, it presents at first sight a pleasant picture of rural prosperity. But the appearance is deceptive; poverty and debt haunt most of the houses in this green village; and with poverty, malnutrition, disease and in some cases drunkenness make life miserable for many humble households.

It was the need for helping these poor people that inspired a native of Oollannore, Mr. M. K. Varghese, to start a Rural Uplift Centre in the village. He realised that the first need of the village is a system of education related to agricultural life, and therefore his scheme for rural uplift has taken the shape of a Vernacular Middle School with a rural bias, in which agriculture and cottage industries, taught in a thoroughly practical way, form the major part of the syllabus. The school was started in May 1935 on six acres of ground given by Mr. Varghese, and was named the Spencer Hatch Rural Reconstruction Institute. It soon grew to considerable dimensions, and now there are 250 pupils, of whom one third are girls. There is a staff of thirteen teachers, including a headmaster with an agricultural degree, a weaving master, a domestic science teacher, a teacher of carpentry, and a doctor who, besides teaching hygiene and first aid in the school, runs the village dispensary. The six acres of ground have been turned into school gardens tilled by the boys; there are also weaving sheds, poultry, beehives, cattle, and a kitchen where the girls are taught to cook.

But the work of the staff is not confined to teaching children; the school has become a centre of rural uplift for the whole village, with the teachers as its workers. Farmers' classes and women's meetings are held at the week-ends, and the advice and practical help of the staff are always available for all. In June 1937 the generosity of a Canadian friend made it possible to start a dispensary—of great importance since previously the nearest medical help was seven miles away. Recently also the experiment was started of a co-operative buying society, through which the teachers of the school are buying their stores and cloth; and although the villagers as a whole are rather disillusioned about co-operative societies and chary of joining it, it is promising to be a success.

The workers in the Institute soon realised the necessity of obtaining accurate information about village conditions if they were to direct their activities into the most effective channels, and decided to organise a survey. I was approached to conduct the survey; and realising the significance of the work that was being done by the Rural Reconstruction Institute, I readily consented to help them in any way I could.

The Questionnaire

The Questionnaire to be used in the survey was drawn up after studying those used by Dr. P. J. Thomas in his village surveys and by Dr. Spencer Hatch in the surveys undertaken by the students of his Rural Uplift Training Schools. A composite questionnaire was drawn up and submitted to those on the spot, and after they had made some modifications suited to local conditions we had it printed on foolscap sheets. It looked a formidable document but the underlying principles were quite simple. We aimed first at ascertaining annual income by studying what persons comprised the household and what their occupations were; what incomes were earned in specifically paid occupations; what was the amount of land held, what crops were grown, what portion was sold and what the profit—we also estimated the value of the portion consumed; subsidiary industries and the profit from them. The second part was concerned with expenditure and in this we ascertained taxes; daily amount spent on food for the family (annual estimates were of course out of the question); annual expenditure on such items as clothing, sandals, household utensils, house rent, servants, doctor's bills, school fees, and so on. Incidentally we inquired into the kind of food consumed, and whether diet had recently changed. The next part of the questionnaire

was concerned with indebtedness and savings; the type as well as amount of loan raised, the rate of interest, the purpose for which borrowing had taken place. The other subjects dealt with were literacy; housing; sanitation; and the general health and social condition of the family.

Methods

Obviously such a questionnaire could not be answered in ten minutes, and would require prolonged and patient questioning by the investigator. There are five hundred houses in the village, and to investigate them all in this exhaustive manner would have been impossible; so the sample method was adopted, and we decided to survey sixty houses. Actually 62 were surveyed, and these constitute a fair sample of the whole village.

For the purpose of conducting the survey three days of the Onam Holidays were available, so we decided to have twenty volunteer investigators, so that each could undertake the survey of one house every morning. At first it was thought that students from the Economics classes of the local Colleges could be used; but eventually we decided to ask persons actually residing in and familiar with the neighbourhood to undertake the work. As a nucleus we had the twelve teachers of the Rural Reconstruction Institute, and to these we added some teachers from other local schools, a deacon of the Syrian Church, a P.W.D. surveyor, a young High School teacher with a Cambridge Economics degree whose superior intellectual training proved simply invaluable, and the Headmistress of a Girls' High School who acted as my interpreter. The surprising thing is that we achieved any results at all with material so untrained, but all the investigators were enthusiastic, patient, willing to learn, and most persevering.

Carrying out the Survey

Before we began on the actual house-to-house visiting, we did our best to interest the villagers and make them willing to co-operate with us in the survey. This proved easier than I had anticipated; in other inquiries I had sometimes found the villagers reluctant to give information as they feared it was only a preliminary to higher taxation. But the workers of the Rural Reconstruction Institute had won the confidence of the villagers, and they were most eager to give information and appeared to be concealing nothing. In fact, our investigators were most popular and were welcomed with tender coconuts and other refreshments

wherever they went. One old gentleman, indeed, went so far as to visit our headquarters to *complain* that he had been overlooked and to demand that he be surveyed at once. He had a lot of grievances which the survey gave him the opportunity of airing.

We held a public meeting in the school room on the evening before the survey began, to explain its purpose and appeal for the co-operation of the villagers. The entire village attended, and we took the opportunity to lecture on rural uplift as well. So popular was the meeting that we had to hold another the next evening; and the third evening I had a meeting for the women only—to which all the men came to see what I was going to say to their wives.

The mornings were devoted to the actual investigations. Our P.W.D. surveyor had prepared a large map of the village; this we divided into ten sections containing roughly the same number of houses in each, and chose at random six houses in each section. Two investigators were put in charge of each. We had reckoned that each house would take some three hours to survey, and each surveyor was supposed to work separately; but in fact the villagers were so eager to answer questions that it was possible to do two houses in a morning and the investigators worked in couples. This all added to the sociability of the survey and made it easier. There is however a possibility that the survey was not truly random in so far as the investigators chose houses personally known to them or which presented interesting features such as a weaving loom, or deliberately picked out very poor houses in order to get sensational results; but my impression is that the principle of sampling was sufficiently appreciated by them for the bias, if any, to be small.* As I went the round of the village with my interpreter, supervising the work of the investigators, all seemed to be going more or less according to plan.

Results

Before giving the statistical results of the survey, it must be admitted that it is impossible to concede any high degree of accuracy to the figures given. In the first place, our investigators were untrained; secondly the villagers were for the most part un-

* The most serious bias is likely to occur in the figures for literacy, since it is likely that the investigators, most of whom were teachers, were inclined to visit those houses in which their pupils resided, in the presumption they could expect help from them in the answering of questions.

educated if not actually illiterate, and could not be expected to give accurate figures. This is particularly true in all estimates of profits derived from agriculture; it was exceedingly difficult to get any statement of costs, of size of crops grown or of amounts realised in the market, and all that could be done was to extract a rough estimate. The figures relating to expenditure on food also give room for wide inaccuracy; we had perforce to take an estimate of daily expenditure and multiply it by 365, and it is clear that a small miscalculation or misstatement in the original figure will lead to a big error in the final result. Finally deliberate misstatement was always possible, particularly in the figures relating to indebtedness, in which we hardly expected accuracy. But the figures on the whole must represent some approach to the truth, and they are given for what they are worth.

Average income per family	Rs. 116 13 0
Average expenditure per family	Rs. 144 13 0
Average indebtedness per family	Rs. 125 10 0
Average holding	3 acres 75 cents.

Amount of livestock in 62 houses

Cattle (cows and buffaloes)	128
Poultry	133
Goats and sheep	34

Cottage industries and annual income from them:

Goldwork		Rs. 120 0 0
Coir making	(1)	Rs. 36 0 0
	(2)	Rs. 30 0 0
Weaving	(1)	Rs. 51 12 0
	(2)	Rs. 78 0 0
	(3)	Rs. 45 2 0
	(4)	Rs. 78 7 0
Oil mill		Rs. 10 0 0
Bullock cart		Rs. 70 0 0
Carpentry and basket making		Rs. 20 0 0

Literacy:

Males over 8	79%
Females over 8	56%
Total	68%

Besides the statistically measurable results relating to income, expenditure and indebtedness, we collected a great deal of in-

formation not susceptible to arithmetical treatment; and after the surveying was done the investigators held a discussion meeting at which our general observations and conclusions were agreed on, and resolutions passed on the most promising lines of rural uplift that seemed opened up by our increased knowledge. These observations and conclusions are probably far more sound than the statistical part of our work, for all its spurious air of accuracy!

(1) Farming is unscientific. There were some 41 manure pits among the 62 houses, it is true, but what manuring is done is unscientific. Rotations of crops is not understood; tapioca, though paying at present, is excessively grown and is exhausting the soil, and will eventually lead to the ruin of the farmer. There is vast scope here for improvement.

(2) Spare time is hardly used, though every villager has plenty. Those households which have taken up some cottage industry or other have markedly increased their income and show a distinctly higher standard of living than their neighbours.

(3) Malnutrition. In the absence of expert medical investigation it was difficult to say to what extent there is malnutrition in the village; but it was observable that diet has changed of recent years through the introduction of more tapioca, and that the younger generation seem to be less healthy and sturdy than the older people, and that many of the children were sickly looking and had bad coughs.

(4) Absence of medical aid. The nearest doctor and dispensary were at Chenganoor, 7 miles away, and most of the villagers got no medical aid of any kind. (This has now been remedied, as has been described).

(5) Housing. While most of the houses provided adequate shelter from rain and sun, they were dark and ill-ventilated. The absence of fresh air at night probably helps to account for the prevalence of bad coughs among the women and children, since normally they sleep inside the house and the men on the verandahs.

The house of the "untouchables" are very bad indeed, mere hovels.

Sanitation is conspicuous by its absence. The whole village does not boast of a single latrine.

(6) Indebtedness and saving. Debts had been incurred very largely for the purpose of buying land; there seems to be

a land hunger among the village people. The chitty system makes borrowing easy; money borrowed at 12% for the purchase of land yields perhaps 3% on the purchase price. Clearly the ease of borrowing combined with this land hunger is driving the price of land up beyond its true economic value.

A smaller number of loans were taken up for marriage expenses.

The investigators made an attempt to account for the marked discrepancy between the income and expenditure figures; and we came to the following conclusion on this matter. First, we decided that the method of computing annual expenditure on food by multiplying daily expenditure by 365 was very inaccurate. The figures given us were probably correct for that time, which was harvest time and a period of abundance and feasting; but it was more than likely that on many days of the year the poor people simply starved. Secondly, there may have been some sources of income which fell outside our inquiry, such as the sale of eggs, milk and fruit. It was noticeable that even those who had cattle and poultry seldom seemed to consume eggs and milk themselves; but any inquiries about income derived from the sale of these commodities elicited only the vaguest answers. A great deal of dissaving is taking place also in the form of the sale of jewels, though here again it is impossible to collect accurate figures. But even when all these things are taken into account, we concluded that the village must be getting more and more indebted—far more than is indicated by the figures. Indebtedness constitutes one of the major problems of this village as of so many others.

Another general conclusion at which we arrived was that the village was becoming overpopulated. Clearly this was only a hasty conclusion, as far more detailed studies of population growth compared with agricultural statistics over a period of time would be necessary to arrive at any sound conclusion; but we based our impression on the size and structure of the families, the deterioration of diet, and the shortage of fresh land which could be opened up for agriculture. In view of the vast scope for agricultural improvement on the land already in cultivation, however, restriction of population was not even discussed.

A RURAL UPLIFT PROGRAMME

We drew up our programme of rural uplift work on the basis of these observations and conclusions. The two great levers for uplifting the village are education and co-operation, each useless

without the other. First and foremost came education. "A literate village in ten years" was our first slogan, but we realised that simple literacy was not enough; the villager must be educated into village life and not away from it. By education for village life we implied first education in better farming; the farmers should be taught better methods such as proper manuring, better feeding of cattle, proper cattle and poultry farming and breeding, greater variety of crops. Cashew nut growing should be encouraged. Side by side with better farming should come better living. Houses could be improved; they should be cleaner and better ventilated, and the latrine system of sanitation should be introduced. Diet can be greatly improved by the introduction of fruit and vegetables, eggs and milk; and the villagers should be taught to use unpolished rice instead of mill rice.

There is vast scope for the development of cottage industries, including (1) weaving, (2) coir spinning, (3) bee keeping, (4) poultry keeping and (5) kitchen gardening. It must be observed that all these industries can be carried out by women as well as men, so that the women can add appreciably to the family income in their spare time.

The ordinary type of primary education is not enough to bring about better farming and better living; a vocational bias must be given to education. The Spencer Hatch Institute, with its school gardens, its carpentry and weaving sheds, its poultry and bees, its cookery classes for girls, is certainly moving along the right lines.

Co-operation is the other great lever of village uplift. But it must be more constructive than the type that has been prevalent, which in many cases has merely degenerated into a cheaper form of borrowing. There is great scope for co-operative selling, along the lines developed at Marthandam, of such products as eggs, coir, pineapples, coconuts, pepper, honey and cloth. A Co-operative selling society can obtain a good price for a good article, and thus can provide the most important incentive for better farming. There is also great scope for co-operative buying, of provisions, cloth and agricultural implements. Co-operation can also be used for the financing of cottage industries; a scheme was proposed and found much favour by which the co-operative society should purchase the raw materials for such industries as weaving; and these, and not sums of money, should be given to the weavers, the co-operative society afterwards collecting and selling the finished produce and dividing the profit among the members according to the work done.

All were agreed that something must be done to relieve the pressing burden of debt; it might be partly solved by the creditors taking shares in the co-operative societies and thus providing the debtors with the means to pay off interest and principal alike.

With this final constructive suggestion the meeting of the investigators came to a close, and we dispersed to our homes feeling we had achieved a solid piece of work.

Conclusion

Were we justified in this feeling of satisfaction? Had our survey real value beyond providing all who took part in it with four most interesting and even entertaining days? I have already criticised the accuracy of our statistical results and admitted that they are almost entirely unreliable, and it may well be asked whether this degree of inaccuracy does not vitiate the entire survey.

But if our figures were not accurate they were at least interesting from a comparative point of view. The errors in them are likely to be in more or less the same direction, so that the figures represent at least the distribution of income, expenditure and indebtedness throughout the village. And the instantaneous picture we obtained of village conditions, where statistical accuracy is irrelevent was true, clear and vivid. Even investigators who had lived all their lives in the place confessed that never before had they known so much about their own village or understood its problems so well. To the workers of the Rural Uplift Institute the value of the survey was simply immeasurable. The continual discussions among the investigators were most interesting and stimulating, and one investigator (my own student, alas!) remarked that she had learnt more real Economics in three days at Oollannore than in three years at college. The detailed information provided by the survey outlined the problems of the village for the workers far more clearly than had even been possible in the day-to-day work of teaching and demonstrating. At the same time the actual conducting of the survey gave endless opportunities for propaganda, in which my interpreter and I joined heartily. Conversations like this took place:

"Is there a manure pit in this house?"

"No—why should there be?"

Explanation is offered.

"Oh, I must have one." Or:

"How many literate females in this house ?"

"None; the boys go to school but what use is learning to a *girl ?* "

Eloquence (translated) from myself.

"Then I will send her to-morrow."

And what is more, we saw to it that she did.

It is our considered conclusion, therefore, that the time was well spent, and the results most valuable, to Oollannore itself if indeed not to a wider world; and our conclusion also that similar survey may be made in other places with very fruitful results. It is indeed essential for workers on any scheme of rural uplift to survey their field of work either before or very soon after they begin to work, and to these the experience of the workers at Oollannore may prove of value.

INDIAN FINANCES IN DEPRESSION

By

P. J. Thomas,

University Professor of Economics.

The depression has materially affected the public finances all over the world. In the case of countries which greatly depend on export trade, the effect on finances was disastrous. Although India's dependence on export trade is comparatively small, her debtor position and the fact that her exports are almost exclusively primary products created great difficulties for her, and for a time the finances of the Central Government as well as of the Provinces were in a sad plight. But, thanks to the prompt action boldly taken by the various Governments, financial equilibrium was soon restored and Indian finances recovered from the effects of the depression. In the years 1933 and 1934, India was one of the few countries in the world with a balanced budget. It may therefore be useful to recount the experiences of India in this respect.

1. Decline in Trade and Revenues.

Between October 1929 and December 1931, the price of many of India's staples fell by 40%. The Calcutta Index Number (base 1914) which stood at 143 in October 1929 fell to 87 by June 1932. This heavy slump had most baneful effects on external trade and exchange. The export trade of India in the ten years ending 1929-30 amounted to an annual average value of Rs. 326 crores, but by 1932-33 it had fallen to Rs. 136 crores—hardly two-fifths of the former average. The extent of the fall will be clear when we remember that even the pre-war average (ten years ending 1914) was Rs. 195 crores. The import trade also fell from Rs. 243 crores (average of ten years ending 1929-30) to Rs. 132 crores in 1932-33. Imports would have shrunk further had it not been for the additional purchasing power created by the export of gold in copious quantities from 1931.

This tremendous decline in foreign trade completely upset the revenue position of Government. After the War, about two-thirds of the Central Government's revenues came from customs, a source which depends directly on external trade. Import

duties produced the bulk of the customs revenue and the imports which paid the largest revenue were sugar and cotton goods. The amounts of sugar and cotton goods imported had a rapid decline after 1928, partly no doubt because of the country's dwindling purchasing power, but chiefly on account of the great increase in home production which resulted from the State's protective policy and the strong 'swadeshi' spirit among the people. The import duty on sugar which brought in Rs. 10·63 crores in 1930-31 produced hardly Rs. 5 crores in 1933-34; the revenue from duties on cotton goods also fell greatly owing to the rapid fall in imports. The income-tax revenue registered a sudden decline, as was but natural, seeing that the profits of companies assessed to income-tax fell from Rs. 53 crores (average of five years ending March 1930) to Rs. 29 crores in 1932-33. Perhaps the most pitiable record is that of the non-tax revenues, especially those from the commercial departments. The following table is self-explanatory:—

Non-tax Revenue of the Central Government
(In crores of Rupees)

Items.	1923-24	1929-30	1933-34
Net revenue from Commercial Departments (chiefly Railways).	8.97	5.24	.56
Net revenue from opium.	1.66	2.55	.88
Net revenue from currency and mint.	2.14	2.00	.74
Interest receipts.	3.16	4.40	1.63
Extraordinary receipts.	2.60	1.89	.36
Other revenues.	2.72	3.38	2.72
Provincial contributions.	9.20	—	—
Total.	30.45	19.46	6·89

The position of the Railways was the most disappointing factor. After the separation of the railway budget in 1924, the railway finances improved for a time and the contribution to the general revenues was maintained at an annual average of about Rs. 6 crores till the depression deepened. The following table shows the position of the state owned railways before and after 1929:—

RAILWAY FINANCES 1924-25 TO 1935-36.

Year.	Net[1] traffic receipts.	Net revenue	Interest charges.	Surplus[2] deficits.	Contribution to general revenues.	Net Surplus[3] transferred to reserve.
			(In Crores of Rupees)			
1924-25	38·13	37·06	23·90	13·16	6·78	6·38
1925-26	35·28	34·09	24·81	9·28	5·49	3·79
1926-27	34·64	33·37	25·87	7·50	6·01	1·49
1927-28	38·99	38·12	27·27	10·85	6·28	4·57
1928-29	37·51	37·14	29·33	7·81	5·23	2·58
1929-30	34·52	34·50	30·46	4·04	6·12	-2·08
1930-31	27·64	27·53	32·72	-5·19	5·74	-10·93
1931-32	23·86	23·87	33·07	-9·20	-	-4·95
1932-33	21·58	22·68	32·91	-10·23	-	-
1933-34	23·57	24·62	32·58	-5·06	-	-
1934-35	26·21	26·74	31·80	-4·24	-	-
1935-36	29·07	29·79	31·69	-1·90	-	-

Thus in the years 1924-25 to 1929-30 the Railways contributed nearly Rs. 36 crores to general revenues. In 1930-31 the slump affected railway earnings and the contribution was paid entirely from the Railway Reserve Fund. In 1931-32 the gloom deepened and in spite of emergency retrenchment measures deficits continued from year to year and the railway budget was only balanced by drawing repeatedly on the Reserve Fund and, after that was exhausted, on the Depreciation Fund.

2. The Financial Crisis, 1931.

With revenues rapidly declining and expenditure remaining high, the position of the Government of India became unenviable. Conditions were not too bright even before the slump began. The years 1927-28 and 1928-29 had closed with deficits amounting to Rs. 2.21 crores and Rs. 1.06 crores respectively. The year 1929-30 closed with a small surplus owing to certain windfalls. In 1930, prices suddenly fell, trade declined and the revenue collections dwindled, as mentioned above. The revised estimates for 1930-31 disclosed a fall of revenue to the extent of Rs. 13.56 crores, of

1. Net traffic receipts mean the difference between gross traffic receipts and working expenses including depreciation.

2. Surplus is the balance of net revenue after the payment of interest charges. Deficit is any amount by which net revenue falls short of interest charges.

3. Net surplus represents the balance left after payment of the contributions to general revenues.

which 12.10 crores was under customs, income-tax and other principal heads of revenue. The year 1930-31 finally closed with a deficit of Rs. 11½ crores. Revenues continued to fall and it was feared that the following year would close with a deficit of Rs. 19½ crores.

This situation was not brought about solely by the trade depression. There were important aggravating factors like the economic boycott, frequent hartals and so forth. These political disturbances weakened confidence in India as a field for investment both at home and abroad and led to a decline in the price of Indian securities and to a steady export of capital from the country. This meant increased expenditure on loans, and the Government of India was forced to take measures to protect its position. High money rates prevailed and this increased the difficulties of traders. The rapid decline in the price of Government securities disclosed the true state of public credit. The 3½% India sterling stock which stood at 69 in 1929 declined to 60 by April 1931. By September, 1931 it had fallen to 43½.

The world economic situation went from bad to worse. On 21st September, 1931 the British Government announced its decision to abandon the gold standard. This created a great sensation not only in Britain but in India as well. The Government of India took immediate action by issuing an ordinance to relieve itself from its obligation under the Currency Act of 1927 to sell gold or sterling, and the three days, 22nd to 24th September, were declared public holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act. On 24th September, the decision to link the rupee to sterling at the existing ratio was announced, and a new ordinance was issued cancelling the earlier ordinance and limiting the sale of sterling by the Government to certain definite purposes. No difficulty was felt when the banks re-opened on 25th September, and the temporary restrictions placed on foreign exchange transactions were soon removed.

A good deal of criticism has been raised against the Government's decision to link the rupee to sterling. Three alternative courses were open to the Government of India in September 1931; namely, (1) to remain on gold either at the old or a lower parity, (2) to leave the rupee to find its own level and (3) to link the rupee to sterling at the existing or a lower ratio. Considering the uncertainties of the world situation and the heavy obligations that the Government had to meet in England, partly under home charges and partly under repayment of debt, the Governnment found it difficult to adopt any other course than linking the rupee

to sterling. This was considered to be the least risky course and with good reason. Not only India but most of the countries whose dealings with England played a large part in their financial operations decided to link their currencies to sterling. Nor have the results been disappointing. The sterling area soon recovered much sooner from the effects of depression than the gold bloc, and within a few years it enjoyed a large measure of prosperity.

3. How Financial Equilibrium was Restored.

The Government of India handled the crisis energetically. An emergency budget was placed before the Assembly on 29th September 1931. The Government's two principal lines of action for improving the financial position were: (1) retrenchment and (2) increased taxation.

A retrenchment campaign had already been launched. Early in the year, some small economies amounting to Rs. 2.73 lakhs were carried out straightaway and in March 1931 a Retrenchment Committee was appointed to work with the aid of various Sub-committees. These sub-committees scrutinised both civil and military charges, in a searching manner and the Government carried out 90% of the economies recommended. As a result, the Defence budget was cut down from Rs. 52 crores in 1931-32 to Rs. 47.40 crores in 1932-33. But the situation required still more drastic action, and in the emergency budget Sir George Schuster announced a cut of 10% in the pay of all Government servants receiving more than Rs. 40 a month. The Viceroy imposed upon himself a cut of 20% and the Members of his Council surrendered 15% of their salaries. The cut was to last till March 1933. The saving that resulted was only Rs. 1½ crores for the sixteen months from December 1931 to March 1933; but it was necessary that Government servants should make a sacrifice at a time of such serious national emergency. The uniform cut on all salaries above Rs. 40 a month was regressive, but the Finance Member justified this on the ground that the fall of prices had not reduced the cost of living appreciably, except for the subordinate ranks of Government servants.

An increase of taxation was found necessary at an early stage. In the budget for 1931-32, the customs duties on liquors, sugar, silver bullion, betel-nut, spices and cinema films were increased at varying rates and surcharges ranging from 2½% to 10% were placed on the general tariff. The 10% and the 30% schedules with the surcharges now became 12½% and 40% schedules respectively. A surcharge of 5% was imposed on cotton piecegoods which

previously came under the 15% schedule so that they now had to pay 20% in all. The special duties on kerosene were raised by 9 pies per gallon and those on motor-spirits by 2 annas per gallon. On sugar, pending the protection proposals, the duty was raised by Re. 1-4-0 per cwt. on all grades. It was expected by these measures to obtain an additional yield of Rs. 9.82 crores under customs. Changes were also made in the income-tax rates. Rates on incomes below Rs. 5,000 were raised by 4 pies and those on sums between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 40,000 by 5 to 7 pies. On incomes between Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 1 lakh the rate was increased from 19 pies to 25 pies. On incomes above Rs. 1 lakh the rate was to be 26 pies. Changes were also made in the super-tax rates. An increase of Rs. 5 crores was expected under income-tax and super-tax as the result of these changes.

In the emergency budget presented in September 1931, a general surcharge of 25% on the existing rates was announced, and this was to apply to all import duties and excise duties including salt and to income-tax and super-tax. In addition the exemption limit for income-tax was lowered from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,000 of income in a financial year; the rate of tax imposed on incomes of Rs. 1,000 or more upto Rs. 2000 was 4 pies in the rupee. The import duties on various articles were also specially raised. The duty on artificial silk piecegoods was raised from 20% to 40% and that on silk yarn from 10% to 15%. The duty on brown sugar was raised from Rs. 6-12-0 to Rs. 7—4—0 per cwt., following the Tariff Board's recommendations. The duties on boots and shoes were also raised. On camphor and electric bulbs the rate was raised from 20 to 40%. In regard to these articles, the general surcharge was to be in addition to the increased duty. The surcharges imposed by the ordinary and the emergency budgets of 1931, raised the level of the general revenue tariff from 15% to 25%. This gave some justification for placing duties on certain articles hitherto free. Accordingly a new duty of 10% was put on the imports of machinery and dyes and a duty of ½ anna per lb. on raw cotton. Mainly with a view to covering the deficit in the working of the Postal Department, the rates of inland postage were also raised.

The increase of taxation raised a storm of protest in the country. Business classes, both European and Indian, opposed it on the ground that it crippled trade and industry.[4] The Finance

4. For the views of Bombay Millowners and others see **Times of India**, October 5, 1931.

Member, they said, was balancing the Government budget by unbalancing the budget of the business concerns. The European Association at Madras stoutly opposed the Government's proposals and passed a resolution that 'the surcharges on customs duties would be disastrous to the trade and commerce of the country, and so far from providing the increased revenues anticipated are calculated effectively to decrease them by diminishing the sources of taxation.'[5] As much as 70% of the deficit was to be met by increased taxation and only 30% by retrenchment. Attention was also drawn to the growth of Central (especially defence) expenditure since 1914.[6] The Finance Member, in defending his policy in the Assembly, pointed out that the increased import duties would encourage Indian industry. This was not regarded as a convincing plea at the time, but future events showed that, while import trade was hit by the heavy duties, internal production did receive an unexpected fillip.

While the Government of India was reluctant to cut down expenditure from revenue, it made a drastic cut in its capital expenditure and this reduced the country's purchasing power. During the three years ending with 1929-30, the capital outlay on Railways and the provincial expenditure on civil works amounted to about Rs. 50 crores. After 1930-31 all such expenditure was rapidly curtailed. Capital expenditure on the Railways nearly disappeared for a time, and even the provincial expenditure on civil works (charged to revenue) was reduced by one-half. In a country where the Government is the largest single employer, a reduction of public works expenditure from an annual total of Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 12 crores was bound to have a very adverse effect on purchasing power. In most European countries, public works expenditure was increased during the depression, with a view to maintaining purchasing power and adding to economic equipment at a low cost; and in most cases this meant unbalanced budgets. But the Government of India pursued an old-fashioned 'sound' financial policy, and considered a balanced budget as its prime objective.[7]

It must be admitted that the Government's rigidly orthodox policy enabled it to restore financial equilibrium and to raise India's credit to a high level among the nations. A solid barrier

5. See "The Hindu", October 24, 1931.
6. See also Madras Chamber of Commerce Report (1931), p. 22.
7. P. J. Thomas, "India in the World Depression" in **The Economic Journal**, September, 1935.

was erected against what the Finance Member called the 'slippery slope' of inflation. Many of the countries which went on spending money recklessly and kept their budgets deliberately unbalanced came to grief afterwards. The immediate result of the policy was unfavourable, but in the end it helped India to weather the storm successfully.

In spite of the energetic measures mentioned above, it was not possible to balance the budget for 1931-32; however, the threatened deficit of Rs. 19½ crores was reduced to Rs. 11.75 crores. The emergency measures had their full effect in the following year, 1932-33, which closed with a surplus of Rs. 1.55 crores. It must be remembered that in each of these years liberal provision (nearly Rs. 7 crores) was made for the reduction and avoidance of debt, and therefore so far as the budgetary income and expenditure were concerned, the Government not only paid its way even in the years 1931-32 and 1932-33 taken together, but also provided a net amount of Rs. 3½ crores for the reduction of debt. As there was a further fall in the revenue under customs duties in 1933-34, it was decided to provide only Rs. 3 crores for reduction and avoidance of debt. However, the Government was helped by an increase in salt revenue resulting from the abolition of the salt credit system and by a comparatively tranquil political atmosphere.

Thus the financial crisis passed away and although the heavy taxation discouraged business and unbalanced the budgets of private individuals, the Government's budget closed with comfortable surpluses in the years after 1932-33, years when the most powerful nations in the world were struggling with unbalanced budgets. The result was a great rise in public credit which enabled the Government to carry out successful conversion operations and reduce the burden of the public debt. The Government's floating debt fell from Rs. 84 crores in September 1931 to Rs. 35 crores in 1933, and the gold and sterling backing of the rupee currency rose from 40% in 1931 to 60% in 1933. No wonder that the 3½% sterling paper, which stood at about 43 in September 1931, rose to 89 by March 1933, and 98 by January 1935.

It is but fair to state that this result was greatly due to the export of gold in copious quantities. In prosperous times, the yellow metal flowed freely into the country, and the peasant invested his savings in it. When hard days dawned again, he has had to part with some of it. The abandonment of the gold standard by India put a premium on gold, and enabled the coun-

try to sell its gold at a profit. In this way, much gold flowed out week after week, and an amount valued at Rs. 270 crores had left the country by February 1936. This huge figure appears disquieting at first sight, but we have to remember that it was not gold from the reserve of the Central Bank or the Government but barren metal which had been lying either in idle hoards or in the wardrobes of women. The gold exports enabled the Government to obtain sterling in London for its needs, and thus not only to meet its dues in London, but to strengthen its reserves there. They have also enhanced the credit of India and have enabled the Government to borrow at low rates of interest and to carry out conversion operations effectively and profitably. The export of gold helped greatly in maintaining the currency, and it came in good time to compensate for the drying-up of the purchasing power resulting from the catastrophic fall in prices. Many of our politicians and even economists were uneasy about these gold exports, but some of their arguments used were tinged with a crude mercantilism. Between 1922 and 1931, India's net imports of gold came to about 43 million ounces; of this about two-thirds went back. But the gold that left the country was converted into mobile purchasing power by the people. Gold, in Francis Bacon's words "is like muck, not good except it be spread". The Indian ryot invested his savings in gold, and those reserves are intended for use in lean times. When the lean times arrived in 1932, the hoards were turned to profitable use and they kept up the country's purchasing power. But for this opening of hoards, the Indian people would certainly have suffered more intensely as a result of the world depression.

4. Effects of Protection on Revenues.

The fall in the central revenue from 1930 was no doubt due chiefly to the price slump, but other aggravating factors have also been in operation chiefly in regard to customs duties. An important factor which has lately affected the customs revenue is the rapid growth of Industrial production in India which has resulted from the policy of discriminating protection adopted by the Government of India in 1923. Increased home production meant a falling off of imports and a reduction in customs revenues. Not only the specifically protective tariff but also the high revenue tariff have encouraged home production in recent years. Matches are an example of this. In 1921-22, India imported a large part of its matches and the customs revenue from matches was Rs. 1.03 crores. With the help of the revenue tariff the Indian match industry made rapid strides and by 1928-29 the im-

ports had largely declined and the customs receipts fallen to Rs. 24 lakhs. In that year the tariff was made protective and since then imports have nearly disappeared, and with it also the customs revenue from imported matches.

The growth of cotton manufactures has also been rapid in recent years. In 1900 about 80% of the cotton piecegoods (i.e. cotton cloth made in mills) consumed in India came from outside (almost entirely from Great Britain). By 1913, the proportion of imports had fallen to 73%. During the War there was a decline in imports and the Indian mill production made rapid strides. However, upto 1929 about half the amount consumed annually still came from outside. Since then Indian mill production made rapid progress owing partly to protective tariff, partly to the swadeshi spirit in the country, and partly also to the fall in the spending power of the masses which made imported goods from Britain too dear. Even in 1929-30, 44% of the total amount of cotton piecegoods consumed in India came from outside, but by 1933-34 the proportion had fallen to 20½%. This may be seen clearly in the following table:—

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON PIECE-GOODS IN INDIA
(MILLION YARDS).

Year.	Total imports.	Mill production in India.	Total.	Percentage of imports.
1904-05	2,288	678	2,966	77·1
1913-14	3,159	1,164	4,323	73·1
1918-19	1,097	1,451	2,548	43·0
1921-22	1,080	1,732	2,812	38·4
1929-30	1,882	2,419	4,301	43·7
1930-31	882	2,561	3,443	25·6
1931-32	753	2,990	3,743	20·1
1932-33	1,193	3,170	4,363	27·3
1933-34	761	2,945	3,706	20·5
1934-35	944	3,397	4,341	21·7
1935-36	947	3,571	4,518	21·0

We have seen that owing to financial necessities the duty on cotton fabrics was raised from 7½% to 11% in 1921, and that in 1926 the countervailing excise duty was abolished. In 1930-31, under similar pressure, the duty on cotton piecegoods was raised from 11% to 15%, with an additional 5% on non-British goods and the supplementary budget imposed a surcharge of 25% on these rates. Thus protection was given to the Indian cotton mill industry, although as a temporary measure. Owing to the depreciation of the yen after 1931, the *ad valorem* duty on cotton

piecegoods of non-British manufacture was raised from 31¼% (including surcharge) to 50%, subject to a minimum specific duty of 5¼ annas per lb. on plaingrey goods. Owing to the further depreciation of the yen, the duty on non-British cotton goods was further raised from 50% to 75% and the specific duty from 5¼ annas to 6½ annas per lb. The protection thus granted to the Indian industry has been very effective; imports have fallen and in spite of the large increases in the customs rates the total revenue from imported cotton goods has steadily declined. It fell from Rs. 7.7 crores in 1924-25 to Rs. 4.46 crores in 1933-34; and was about Rs. 35 crores in 1937-38.

Even more striking has been the progress of sugar production in India and the decline in the customs revenue under that head. As late as 1925-26, hardly one-tenth of the sugar consumed in the country came from Indian mills; but in 1934-35 India produced as much as 74% of the total Indian consumption. Since then, production continued to increase and to-day India is nearly self-sufficient in the matter of sugar. Such a rapid increase was only made possible by a policy of protection. The effect of this can be seen in the rapid decline in the revenue from sugar duties. In 1930-31, sugar imports brought in Rs. 10·68 crores; but by 1936-37 it fell to Rs. 44 lakhs. It has thus become an insignificant item of revenue.

The following table gives the total production of sugar in India (excluding Kandasari), total imports, total consumption, and total revenue received from imports:—

PRODUCTION OF WHITE SUGAR

Year.	Total production in India (tons)	Import (excluding molasses) (tons)	Total available consumption. (tons)	Total revenue from sugar imports. (crores of Rs.)
1925-26	91,399	723,000	814,399	6·48
1926-27	121,026	826,900	947,926	7·01
1927-28	119,739	725,800	845,539	6·51
1928-29	99,088	868,800	967,888	7·77
1929-30	110,918	939,600	1,050,518	8·70
1930-31	151,650	901,200	1,052,850	10·79
1931-32	228,120	516,100	744,220	8·10
1932-33	370,283	369,500	739,783	6·84
1933-34	515,059	261,300	776,359	4·72
1934-35	620,000	222,900	842,900	3·81
1935-36	926,800	201,200	1,015,000	3·24
1936-37		23,000	1,059,000	·44

The same story is told by the iron and steel industry. Before the War hardly any steel goods were made in India, and annually between 1909 and 1913, the value of the average annual imports in the years 1908-9 to 1912-13 amounted to Rs. 11·15 crores. During the War years, the imports fell, but they rose again after the war to Rs. 21 crores (average of the five years 1918-19 to 1922-23). The subsequent progress of the Indian Iron and Steel Industry has been rapid. The production of pig-iron increased from about 340,000 tons in 1921-22 to 1,343,000 tons in 1934-35. Finished steel increased from about 120,000 tons to 627,000 tons during the same period. Imports have declined and in spite of high tariffs the revenue from the duties on iron and steel has been falling. From Rs. 2.62 crores in 1928-29 it fell to Rs. 1.45 crores in 1930-31 and Rs. 60 lakhs in 1936-37.

From 1930 Japan made a strong bid for the Indian market and large quantities of low-priced Japanese articles flooded the country to the detriment of local industry. To counteract this the Safeguarding of Industries Act was passed in 1933, empowering the Government to impose by notification such duties as it deemed fit on foreign imports the prices of which were so abnormally low as to endanger the existence of any Indian industry. Under this Act the Government put high specific duties on various articles and thus gave increasing protection to Indian industries.

5. New Taxes.

Thus several items of imports which hitherto produced large revenues under customs have declined very rapidly in recent years. This tendency is bound to continue, as India has launched on a policy of protection. Evidently protection is a double-edged sword: if it is successful the customs revenue will be lost and if it is not the consumer will have to bear the burden. Many Indian industries have prospered under protection and India is thereby becoming more and more self-sufficient in regard to ordinary finished goods like cotton textiles, sugar, iron, steel, and cement. But from the point of view of the customs revenue the result has been very unfavourable. Not only the customs revenue but also the revenue from the Railways and other Government commercial agencies have been adversely affected by the change.

Faced with such a situation, the Government of India had to develop other sources of revenue and the choice naturally fell on

excise. When increased local production leads to a decline in customs revenue, it is only natural to try to make up for the loss of revenue by taxing the local produce. Thus in 1934 an excise duty of Re. 1-5-0 per cwt. was imposed on factory-made sugar. At the same time an excise duty was imposed on matches also. It ranged from Rupee 1 to Rupees 2 per gross of boxes. Both these proposals created some opposition in the Assembly, but as each of them subserved certain popular subsidiary purposes, their success was assured. In the case of the sugar excise, provision was made by legislation for fixing a minimum price for sugar-cane with reference to the price of the finished product. Thus the cane-grower will also benefit by the protection offered to the industry. Further, a small part of the sugar duty is distributed among the Provinces for the purpose of assisting the organisation and operation of co-operative societies among the cane-growers so as to help them to secure fair prices, or for other purposes directed to the same end. As for the match excise duty, it was part of a plan for assisting Bengal as we shall see presently.

Other measures taken in 1934 for strengthening the Government's revenue position were an increase in the import duty on raw tobacco and a modification of the import duty on cigarettes with a view to placing a justifiable burden on the manufacture of cigarettes from imported tobacco and adjusting properly the relation between the import duty on raw leaf and the import duty on the finished article. These duties were expected to produce a revenue of about Rs. 30 lakhs. The duty on silver was reduced from 7½ annas to 5 annas per lb. This was partly a measure of co-operation with the United States. The surcharges on customs, income-tax and salt remained, but the export duty on raw hides was removed, and this involved a loss of Rs. 5 lakhs.

By these measures it was expected to balance the budget for 1934-35 and to produce a small surplus of Rs. 10 lakhs, but owing to an improvement chiefly in customs and excise, the actual surplus turned out to be Rs. 4·95 crores. Out of this, Sir James Grigg allotted Rs. 2.91 crores in the budget for 1935-36 for the following purposes:—(1) Grants to Provinces for schemes of economic development and improvement of rural areas (Rs. 1.13 lakhs); (2) development in tribal areas of the North-West Frontier (Rs. 25 lakhs); (3) development of broadcasting (Rs. 20 lakhs); (4) Civil aviations (Rs. 93 lakhs); and (5) special contributicn to the Government of India's reserve in the Road Development Fund (Rs. 40 lakhs). To these were added further grants in the budget for 1936-37 for schemes of agricultural research, etc. (see later). This

new system of making grants to the provinces for rural development schemes was markable in two ways; first it is a distinct departure from the policy of leaving the Provinces entirely to their own resources; secondly it was a recognition of the fact that the financial prosperity even of the Government of India depends largely on the prosperity of the agriculturist.

Thus the finances of the Government of India improved in spite of the restoration of the pay-cut and the fall in interest receipts. In the budget for 1935-36, the Finance Member was able to reduce the income-tax on incomes below Rs. 2,000. He also cut down the surcharge on income-tax from one-fourth to one-sixth, abolished the export duty on raw skins and reduced the import duty on silver, as well as the corresponding excise duty, from 5 annas to 2 annas per ounce. In the budget for 1936-37, the tax on incomes below Rs. 2,000 was totally abolished, the surcharge on income-tax was halved (thus leaving only a third of the original surcharge), and the weight allowed on a one-anna letter was increased from half a tola to one tola.

The year 1935 witnessed a substantial improvement in the financial position of the Government of India. With the help of the copious gold exports the Government was able to make large purchases of sterling and thus strengthen the currency reserves in London. This also enabled the Government to reduce its borrowing rates in respect of both loans and treasury bills. On the loans raised the redemption yield did not exceed 3.16% and the nominal rate of interest was 3%, a rate which had not been attempted for 38 years. The interest on post office cash certificates was also reduced to 3% which is the lowest rate ever adopted since those certificates were first issued in 1917. The rate of interest on treasury bills also fell correspondingly. This strong financial position strengthened gilt-edged securities. It was no wonder that the 3½% sterling paper reached par early in 1936.

In view of this solid improvement, the Government was able to establish the Reserve Bank. The Reserve Bank Act was passed by the Assembly in March 1934 and the Bank began to function from April 1, 1935. It is a share-holders' bank, with a majority of elected members on the directorate. Subscriptions to the share capital were invited in March 1935 and, except in one or two provinces, the applications were far in excess of the quotas fixed so that the shares had to be allotted by drawing lots. On April 1, 1935 the Bank opened its Issue Department and took over the

management of the Currency from the Government of India. The assets of the Gold Standard Reserve were transferred to the Bank and were combined with the assets of the Currency Department. On July 1, 1935, the Banking Department was opened and the scheduled banks deposited the required percentage of their demand and time liabilities. On the same date, the Clearing House was transferred from the Imperial Bank to the Reserve Bank. In future the Reserve Bank will be responsible not only for the regulation of the currency but also for supplying the Secretary of State with sterling for his London requirements. This will obviate the need for the Secretary of State maintaining a larger balance in London than is necessary for his day-to-day transactions with the Bank of England and will thereby lead to convenience and economy. Thus India has at last established a Central Bank to manage and co-ordinate the currency and credit systems of the country.

6. Provincial Finances in Depression

The financial position of the Provincial Governments deteriorated during the economic crisis. Most of their revenues, in particular, the liquor excise, stamps and registration fees, were affected by the slump. Liberal remissions of land revenue had to be given owing to the prevailing condition of agricultural distress all over the country. Apart from the salary cut, efforts were also made everywhere to reduce expenditure, but time was needed for them to become effective. In some Provinces emergency taxation was raised, but such taxation was unpopular owing to the prevailing slump. In the Provinces also, financial difficulties were aggravated by the civil disobedience movement; excise in all provinces, and land revenue in some, were thus affected by it. Earthquakes, floods and other unusual occurrences also added to the distress. Of the Provinces, Bombay and the United Provinces perhaps stood the depression best owing to the rapid expansion of industry in them since 1930. In Madras, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, the budgets have been balanced in spite of the severe agricultural distress. Bengal, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa were the worst hit by the depression. The comparative economic position of the Provinces may be inferred to some extent from the following table showing the change in value of the agricultural production of the different Provinces (about ten of the principal crops have been included in this computation).[8]

8. Review of the Trade of India 1933-34 p. 10.

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

Provinces.	1928-29. Value in lakhs of Rs.	1932-33. Value in lakhs of Rs.	Change in Value in lakhs of Rs.	Percentage decrease from 1928-29.
Madras ..	1,80,78	99,33	-81,45	-45·0
Bombay ..	1,20,52	83,86	-36,66	-30·4
Bengal ..	2,32,59	90,54	-1,42,05	-61·1
United Provinces ..	1,40,52	91,01	-49,51	-35·2
Punjab ..	76,78	48,53	-28,25	-36·8
Burma ..	63,38	29,45	-33,93	-53·5
Bihar & Orissa ..	1,35,17	56,55	-78,62	-58·2
Central Provinces ..	68,77	35,40	-33,37	-48·5
Total ..	10,18,51	5,34,67	-4,83,84	-47·5

It may be seen from the above that the percentage of decline in the value of agricultural produce was lowest in Bombay and the U.P. The position of these two Provinces will appear even more favourable if industrial production is taken into account. Sugar and cotton piecegoods are two of the chief industries that have recently prospered under the protective tariff. The United Provinces is the principal centre of the sugar industry while Bombay leads in the cotton mill industry. However, both Bombay and the United Provinces had to grapple with various difficulties. Owing chiefly to unwise capital expenditure in previous years the finances of Bombay were not satisfactory even before 1929. When the depression began there was a sudden shrinkage of revenue chiefly under excise, forests and stamps, and the budgets for 1930-31 and 1931-32 closed with rather large deficits. The Government resorted to retrenchment as well as increased taxation. A searching scrutiny of the financial administration was carried out by Sir F. Gauntlett and large economies were effected in the cost of general administration. The additional taxation included a tax on electric current used for domestic purposes, an enhancement of the court fees and an increase of stamp duties by an amendment of the Stamp Act. A tax was also levied on tobacco coming into the City of Bombay. As a result of these measures the budget was balanced from 1931-32.

Another factor which affected Bombay's financial position adversely was the diversion of trade from Bombay to the ports of the Kathiawar States which resulted in a fall in Bombay's trade. While the import trade of the rest of India was falling rapidly, the

imports into the Kathiawar ports increased greatly, due apparently to the fact that some of those States are entitled under their treaties with the Paramount Power to keep the whole of the import duties themselves, even if the imported articles should represent more than the quantities consumed within their borders. There was a heated discussion on this subject in the Assembly in the budget session of 1934.

The difficulties of the United Provinces were aggravated by the Civil disobedience movement. The grant of special land revenue remissions seriously reduced the revenues of the Provinces. Energetic action was taken by the Government to reduce expenditure and increase revenue. The principal measure of additional taxation was the enhancement of registration fees, stamp duties, court fees and the annual licence fees on private motor vehicles. As a result of these measures the budget was balanced.

The effects of the general economic depression were most severe in Bengal, chiefly because of the tremendous slump in the price of jute and rice, which are the principal crops of the Province.[9] While revenue under excise, stamps, forest and registration fees was shrinking rapidly, increased expenditure had to be undertaken for dealing with the terrorist movement and relieving sufferers from floods and other abnormal occurrences. From 1930-31 the annual budget closed with a deficit of about Rs. 2 crores on an average and the debt of the Province went on accumulating. Some measures of retrenchment were indeed carried out, but the additional expenditure on police and jails swallowed up these economies. The revenue of the Province after 1931-32 fell below the level even that of 1921-22, and the progress in the nation-building services was very slow. The Government of Bengal imposed additional taxation which increased its revenue by Rs. 24½ lakhs. But various circumstances prevented any large measure of additional taxation, and the Provincial Government continued to complain bitterly about the injustice of the Meston Settlement.

Bihar and Orissa was one of the poorer Provinces of India. Although in population it came next to Bengal, the United Provinces and Madras, its revenue was only about Rs. 5 crores. With 75% more people than Bombay, this Province had only half the

9. Budget Statements for 1932-33 (Mr. A. Marr) and 1933-34 (Mr. J. A. Woodhead).

revenue of the Western Presidency. In 1931-32, its revenue fell by about half a crore, but the expenditure remained high and there was a deficit of about Rs. 80 lakhs. Certain economies were then put through, and conditions improved in the next year. The Government reformed the excise system by substituting the auction for the sliding scale. In January 1934, the difficulties of the Province were increased by the severe earth-quake which inflicted serious loss on the Government and the people.

Financial conditions in Assam and in the North-West Frontier Province were also bad. Serious floods in Assam and the terrible Quetta earthquake in the Frontier Province aggravated their difficulties.

7. Succour to the Provinces

As has already been explained, the Central Government, left the Provinces to shift for themselves from 1921 and even to make grants to them was regarded as contrary to the principles underlying the Act of 1919. The entreaties, grumblings and protests of the Provinces had little effect on the Central Government and no change took place except that the Provincial contributions were remitted. But when during the depression the provincial Governments piled up deficits year after year, the Government of India reconsidered the position, and, having regard to the fact that as the banker to the Provinces it kept their balances and provided funds to meet their capital expenditure and deficits, it was decided to succour the Provinces in their need. The Government of India was itself in financial difficulties for some years from 1930, but when its finances improved, inaction could no longer be justified. In the meantime the Bengal representatives at the Round Table Conference had been carrying on a very effective propaganda for assistance to Bengal and the need for some special help was recognised in the White Paper. In these circumstances, the Government of India found that action could not be delayed any longer.

The claim put forward by Bengal was that the export duty on jute should be made a provincial source of revenue. The Taxation Enquiry Committee considered the question of giving a share of this revenue to the provinces but rejected it. Jute being a monopoly of India the incidence of the export duty was believed to be on the foreigner and this was used as an argument against handing over the export revenues to the provinces producing jute. At the Round Table Conference, Sir P. C. Mitter criticised this view on

the ground that jute had ceased to be a monopoly and that even if it were, there was no special reason why it should be a Federal head of revenue.[10] Various theoretical objections were urged against giving the Provinces a share in customs duties, but in view of the chronic deficits in Bengal it was considered advisable to enhance its revenue, and a share in the jute export duty was found to be the least objectionable means of doing it. This decision was first announced in the White Paper and when the Government of India had agreed, provision was made accordingly in the budgets for 1934-35. The total proceeds of the export duty on jute amounted to Rs. 3·80 crores; of this, one-half was handed over to the jute-growing provinces after deducting Rs. 1 lakh to cover the cost of collection. Of this Bengal obtained Rs. 1,67 lakhs, Bihar and Orissa Rs. 12½ lakhs and Assam Rs. 9½ lakhs.[11] To make up for the consequent loss to the Central revenues an excise duty on matches was levied, as mentioned above.

Bihar and Orissa was in need of further assistance owing to the serious damage done by the earthquake. Immediate relief to the sufferers had been given by the Provincial Government and private organisations, but the rebuilding of Government offices and towns was too large a matter to be undertaken without help from the Government of India. The damage to Government buildings was estimated at Rs. 1 crore, and the loss of property by local bodies in Bihar—roads, bridges, schools, dispensaries, etc., was estimated at another crore. Extensive damage was incurred by private individuals also: houses and shops and factories were wrecked and wide expanses of agricultural land were rendered unfit for cultivation. The Government of India recognised its duty to aid the Province in this time of great need. Fortunately there was an estimated surplus of Rs. 1·29 crores for the year 1933-34 and it was proposed in the budget for 1934-35 to transfer it to a special fund from which assistance might be given to the Provinces, especially to Bihar. The Government undertook to bear the whole cost of restoring the property and finances of the local bodies and took measures at its own cost for dealing with the sugar-cane crop. It also offered to bear half the cost of restoring Government buildings and other public works, providing the funds by raising a loan.[12]

10 Report Round Table Conference (Session II, 1931), 1932, pp. 1315-16.
11. Budget Statement, 1934-35 pp. 25-28.
12. *Ibid*, pp. 28-30.

In the budget for 1935-36 a more avowed and comprehensive scheme of grants was put forward by Sir James Grigg. The help rendered to the Provinces in 1934-35 was due to exceptional circumstances, and Sir George Schuster took pains to make it clear that the help to Bengal was provisional and that the grant made to Bihar and Orissa was due to the dire calamity that had befallen that Province. But Sir James Grigg took a long step forward and made grants to all Provinces for rural development, the improvement of the co-operative movement, road-making in backward areas and other definitely provincial (and transferred) subjects. In the budget for 1936-37, Sir James carried this policy further and made additional grants to the Provinces from the Rural Development Fund for financing schemes of agricultural and animal husbandry research, malaria control, improvement of the small-scale woollen industry and the development of broadcasting.

The justification for this course was that, owing to the financial stringency resulting from the depression, most Provinces had been obliged to put off urgently needed schemes of rural improvement. Two conditions were imposed on the utilisation of the grants: namely, (1) that the grant must be spent on schemes approved by the Government of India and calculated to improve the economic position of the people, and (2) that it should only be devoted to schemes which the Provincial Government would not otherwise have been able to undertake in the immediate future. The grants for rural improvement were distributed in proportion to the rural population of each Province. They would not lapse if not spent within the financial year.

The special needs of backward areas were not neglected. In the budget for 1935-36 a grant of Rs. 40 lakhs was made to the reserve of the Road Development Fund (a fund intended for road works of special importance, particularly in needy parts of the country), and in the distribution of this grant Assam, as 'the most necessitous of all the Provinces', was generously treated. A further sum of Rs. 25 lakhs was also set aside for schemes of road development in the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province. This policy was continued in the budget of 1936-37. Central aid was also needed to set the new Provinces of Sind and Orissa on their feet. To begin with, a sum of Rs. 45 lakhs was allotted to a special fund for assisting those two Provinces to meet their expenditure on the adaptation of old, and the provision of new official buildings. As Sind already possessed a considerable

part of the buildings required, Orissa was given a larger share (Rs. 27½ lakhs). In addition to this they have also been promised subventions for supplementing their revenues. The rebuilding of Quetta has also been taken up by the Central Government. Besides spending about Rs. 80 lakhs in 1935-36 for relief, temporary housing and salvage, plans for the rebuilding of Quetta at a cost of about Rs. 7 crores were also taken up by the Government. This expenditure will be spread over seven or eight years and the annual outlay will be about a crore.

Thus, in the exceptional circumstances of the economic crisis the Government of India recognised the propriety of making grants to the Provinces for special purposes and distributed such grants partly according to needs and partly according to population. It was feared by some that these grants might degenerate into the old 'doles', but the Finance Member took special care to avoid undue interference in matters which were primarily of provincial concern.[13] But it is well to recognise that the Government of India which found the money and which is interested in certain specific lines of development, should also have some control over the choice of schemes, and the mode in which they are to be carried out. Such supervision is in the best interests of the people of India, and this is borne out by the experience of even full-fledged federations.

In the budgets for 1937-38 and 1938-39, the Government of India were not able to make grants for rural development, because the separation of Burma involved a loss of revenue and on top of it the Government had to make various contributions to the Provinces under the Niemeyer Order in Council. Further, with the dawn of Provincial Autonomy (1st April 1937), Provinces have assumed a new financial status. But the two grants made previously for rural development have been drawn upon by the Provinces and much useful work has been going on since 1936 all over British India as a result. The grant has been used for the provision of rural water supply, village communications, public health and rural welfare work of all kinds. Money has also been spent on agriculture, animal husbandry, industrial schemes, fruit growing and consolidation of holdings. The Provinces owe this largely to the rural enthusiasm of the Viceroy (Lord Linlithgow) and the social fervour of the Finance Member (Sir James Grigg).

13. Budget for 1936-37.

SOME SALIENT FEATURES OF INDO-JAPANESE TRADE

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Introduction.

In the business and commercial world to-day Japanese competition has become a topic of absorbing interest. Judged by the literature that has appeared on the subject and the discussions that have followed, this competition must indeed be a formidable factor in international commerce. And yet what do the figures show? The percentage of Japanese exports to total world trade for the recent years is given below.

Japanese Trade-Exports

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Percentage of world trade.	2·93	2·67	2·89	2·82	3·13	3·3	3·74	3·70

Even in her best years, therefore, Japan's share in world trade was small; at any rate, it hardly bears comparison with that of either the United Kingdom or the United States of America.[1] So when people complain of Japanese competition it cannot be about the actual quantitative proportions of Japanese trade.[2] They are thinking rather of the progress the country has made now in relation to her own position some years back, say, in the pre-war period. And they are undoubtedly having in mind the devices and methods by which this advance was achieved. Probably, they are also looking into a future that would be ushered by the same course of events working even more vigorously than in the past.

There can be no doubt that within the comparatively short interval of less than twenty years, Japan has made great strides in economic development. Her foreign trade is now several times

1. The share of each of these countries even in the worst years of the depression was above ten per cent.

2. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialisation and its effect on the West*, p. 28.

larger than that of the pre-war period. The value of exports increased from 591 millions of yen in 1914 to 2,499 millions of yen in 1935. The history of her expansion in trade reads like a romance. Even during a period of intense depression as that through which we have been passing recently and in which there was a great shrinkage in world trade, Japan was able not only to keep up her earlier progress but also to quicken the pace. The quantum of her exports increased as follows.

	Exports (quantum)
1929	100
1930	88.3
1931	91
1932	107.6
1933	119.0
1934	140.6
1935	159.6
1936	174.2

There was therefore an increase approximately of 75 per cent in the quantum of her exports in the period 1929-1936 when the quantum of world trade fell considerably. Japan may not even to-day hold anything like a substantial proportion of the trade that passes between the nations of the world, but her rise to the present position, modest as it is, has been sudden and spectacular. Hence the attention which she has received and the publicity which she has given rise to.

But there is something more than this. The ways by which she has come into the present position have been of at least equal significance and have attracted the greatest notice. The 'great and increasing severity' of Japanese competition resolves itself in ultimate analysis into a matter of the low, sometimes incredibly low, prices quoted for her wares. At one moment it may be the subsidy from Government sources, at another it may be the undue depreciation of the yen. Or the reference may be to more fundamental factors of Japanese efficiency, the genius she possesses for organisation which extends from the purchase of raw materials to the ultimate sale of the finished products. And always it is open to the foreigner who is inclined to look askance at things Japanese to point to the low wages which her labourers are paid. Whatever the explanation, the thing is obvious that Japanese articles are priced low and that this to a very large extent is the cause of their

increased sales. They may be of inferior quality but they are cheap and it is on the back of these cheap prices that the country has been carrying on its vast expansion of business.

There is just one other factor to which we might allude at this stage and it is that the rising tide of Japanese trade came at a time when the world trade was at a rather low ebb. Owing to the operation of certain long-term factors the old countries of the West have been thrown into a difficult position. It is not possible here to more than hint at some of these factors. In the first place, there was little permanence in the old international division of labour with its broad specialisation between agriculture and industry. There was nothing in the changes associated with the Industrial Revolution to justify its continued existence. On the other hand, the very extension of those conditions over a wider area was bound to undermine it. The further changes in industry and agriculture that took place after this period only accelerated this process. And lately political factors have been giving a momentum to the forces started by economic factors. The result is the confused phenomena that the world presents to-day. The Depression which set in towards the close of 1929 does not represent so much the downward trend of the familiar trade cycle as the transition from one international order to another. Many of the troubles of the long-established industries of the West are therefore due to the working over a long period of time of some of these deep-seated forces; but these troubles have been accentuated or thrown into bold relief by the emergence of Japan as an industrial rival. Japanese competition is but a facet of Eastern Industrialisation, none the less its bold and agressive features have thrown it into great prominence. Thus it is the time and the manner, more than the matter, of Japanese competition that secures for it so much of attention and makes of it the 'menace' that it seems to be in the public eye. In the nineteenth century the United States of America made perhaps much more substantial progress in the world market and it was not her lot to monopolise so much of attention. But in those days there was not such unsettlement in international economic affairs, and the trade between nations was expanding at a rapid rate.

Whenever we hear of the 'menace' of Japanese trade expansion, it is also well that we remember two additional things. In the first place her import trade has been keeping pace with her exports. From 595 millions of yen in 1914, the value of her imports mounted up to 2,472 millions of yen in 1935. In 1929, her

share under imports in world trade was 2.8 per cent; in 1936, it stood at 3·65 per cent. This is an inevitable sequence to her growth in export trade. It is well known that Japan is dependent to a very large extent on foreign raw materials for the feeding of her export industries. If a verdict on Japan's entry and conduct in world commerce is sought, let not only the Indian millowner or the Lancashire manufacturer be consulted but also the cotton grower of America and India and the gatherer of wool in Australia. The other point worth mentioning is that a not inconsiderable proportion of Japanese exports has been made possible only by the tapping of new demands which would otherwise have lain dormant and ineffective. This is a matter on which that country deserves our congratulations and the thanks of the ill-clad and ill-fed consumers of Asia and Africa.

If in the above review some elements in the Japanese problem (assuming there is one) have been stressed, it is because they are apt to be forgotten by the public. The sudden and spectacular rise of Japanese competition has blinded many to its true scope and nature; we want only to emphasize that while it has created many eddies in an already disturbed surface, it has not gone so deep as is sometimes imagined. Again while that competition has sometimes been grossly aggressive and even unfair, it has also been not without its good points.

The features that we have been outlining above are capable of being brought out well in a picture of Indo-Japanese trade. This trade reproduces in a restricted sphere all the main characteristics of the wider trade expansion of Japan. It has had its humble beginnings in the nineteenth century; it grew steadily in the first decade of the twentieth, and during and after the war showed the most rapid expansion which was not only kept up but also accelerated during the period of the Depression.

The Beginnings of Indo-Japanese Trade

Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the trade between Japan and India was extremely meagre. This was only to be expected. Japan was opened without reserve to foreigners only in 1860 and for some years afterwards, the people were busying themselves with the very basis of the industrial structure. In the 19th century, Japan's commercial relations were largely with the advanced countries of the West, with the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., with France and Germany. Most of her exports were made up of raw and unfinished products, such as raw silk, copper

ore and tea. Most of her imports consisted of manufactured goods —cotton and woollen tissues, iron and steel manufactures, scientific instruments and machinery. In these circumstances, there was not much opportunity for trade between India and Japan to develop. In no year in the period 1870 to 1896 did the share of Japan in the total value of imports into India exceed ·6 per cent! The imports from Japan consisted of small quantities of copper, coal, matches, camphor, pottery, silk goods, etc. Cotton goods which were to loom large in the picture in later years were entirely absent from the list. Indeed for well over one and a half decades, cotton twist and yarn was the principal commodity of export from this country to Japan. The importance of the Japanese market for Indian yarn in these years can be judged from the following figures.

Export of Cotton yarn to Japan

(In thousand lbs.)

Year.	Total export of yarn from India (a)	Export to Japan. (b)	Percentage of (b) to (a).
1879-80	25,862	1,814	7
1880-81	26,901	2,143	8
1881-82	30,786	2,921	9·5
1882-83	45,378	5,601	12
1883-84	49,877	6,247	12·5

In the quinquennium 1879-80 to 1883-84, about *ten* per cent. of the total quantity of yarn that left this country was destined for Japan. The three years from 1886-87 were the best ones for the trade. The Bombay Millowners' Association reviewing the year 1886 said that it was 'one of the most prosperous years for spinning and weaving ever experienced since the industry fairly took root in Bombay. A brisk local demand at remunerative prices has generally prevailed for the yarns and cloths produced by the mills and *our leading foreign markets, China and Japan* have also proved better customers than in any previous year.'[3] (Italics ours). Little could the millowners visualize the course of events that was to follow. For in less than a decade the export of yarn to Japan had almost vanished. A similar fate was to over-

3. Quoted in the Report on the Trade of British India for the year 1886-87.

take the trade with China also, although it took a longer time to work out its effects. Nor was this all. The tables were soon to turn against this country and the early years of the 20th century were to see the springing up of an import trade in yarn which later grew in volume and importance.

The phenomenal decline in the export of yarn, however, coincided with an equally phenomenal increase in the export of raw cotton. In 1890-91, the consignments to Japan of the latter commodity amounted to only about 78,000 cwts. or slightly more than *one* per cent of the total export from India. But the trade suddenly leapt into importance and in 1895-96, Japan had become next to Germany the most important market for Indian cotton, her share being 856,000 cwts. or 16 per cent of the total export from this country. From this time onwards it was to Japan rather than to Europe that the cotton grower of India began increasingly to look for the sale of his product. The account of the trade with Japan in the last century is thus easily told. The central fact in it is the decline in the export of yarn and the rise in the trade in raw cotton. These facts are highly significant and are summarised in the following table :—

Exports of cotton Yarn and Raw Cotton to Japan

(Value in lakhs of Rupees.)

Year	Total Export to Japan.	Export of cotton yarn.	Export of raw cotton.	Percentage of (b) to (a).	Percentage of (c) to (a).
	(a)	(b)	(c)		
1890-91	121	48·8	21·9	40	18
1891-92	129	25·4	99·7	20	77
1892-93	161	27·8	125·7	17	77·5
1893-94	140·4	22·2	109·4	15·7	77·5
1894-95	166·4	10	127·8	6	76
1895-96				1·6	87

The relative importance of the two commodities in the export trade was strikingly reversed in the period. From 1891-92, cotton began to assume preponderant importance in the trade, a position it has held to the present day.

The decline in the export of yarn and the increase in that of cotton was the result of an internal transformation that was taking place in Japan. The earlier imports of yarn into the country are easily explained. Japan was in these years a predominantly agricultural land; most of the industries for which she became famous afterwards were either not born or were struggling in their birth. Her cotton industry especially was in its extreme infancy. The first cotton mill was started in 1868 with the aid of experts from England.[4] More mills were set up thereafter, but the earlier ones were in financial difficulties and were struggling with all sorts of adverse conditions. The currency of the country was in a state of confusion, its internal value fluctuating widely.[5] There was a duty on the import of raw cotton, from abroad; and there was none on the import of foreign yarn.[6] However, it did not take a long time for the industry to escape from these early encumbrances. In 1894, the Government imposed duties on imports of cotton yarn and two years later removed those on imports of raw cotton. Currency had been stabilised by this time, and one great obstacle in the way of manufacturers was thus removed. The cotton industry derived substantial benefits from these measures. With the growth of the industry, imports of foreign yarn inevitably diminished in importance. But the effect on the import of the raw produce was just the opposite. From 69·5 million pounds in 1890, the latter increased to 207 million pounds in 1895. In the same period, imports of yarn fell from 42.6 million pounds to less than 20 million pounds. The large proportion of the arrivals of yarn, moreover, consisted of the better counts. It is no wonder that the export trade of India in this commodity dwindled to insignificant proportions in the last decade of the 19th century. There grew up instead the trade in the raw material for the production of which India has been noted from very early times. The short stapled cotton from this country conformed fully to the requirements of Japan in this period.

The trade between Japan and India in the 19th century was thus of small consequence. It was only from 1890 that the import trade became of any significance. The export trade throughout was restricted to almost one commodity; from 1875 to 1890 it was cotton yarn and later raw cotton. For an explanation of this state of affairs we looked to Japan rather than to India. The period

4. J. E. Orchard, Japan's Economic Position, p. 92.
5. Japan adopted gold standard only in 1895.
6. A. S. Pearse, Cotton Industry of Japan and China, p. 18.

between 1873 and 1893 witnessed a serious fall in the gold value of silver and in the rupee-sterling exchange. The consequences of this phenomenon on the finances and trade of India were so serious that the Government decided in 1893 to close the mints for the free coinage of silver. The rate of exchange between the rupee and the sterling was fixed at 16s. to the rupee, but it continued to fall for some years and stood at the low figure of $12\frac{13}{32}$d. in the beginning of 1895. The fluctuations of exchange both before and after the closing of the mints had important reactions on the foreign trade of the country. But to look for these influences on the Indo-Japanese trade of the period would be extremely futile. That trade was yet too small to be affected by the conditions and factors that governed or disturbed the total volume of the trade of India. It cannot, for instance, be seriously contended that the decline in the exports of cotton yarn to Japan had anything to do with the cessation of the free coinage of silver here. The explanation for that phenomenon has been rightly found in the growing importance of the cotton industry of Japan itself. Likewise, it would be idle to find any connection between the free trade policy that India was pursuing in this period and the trade with Japan. The fact is that the latter country was but a child in world commerce. Her industrial development was yet in its initial stages, and her trade relations were largely with the most advanced nations on whom she depended for this development. India was not of the latter category and the trade between the two countries was not large. With the development of Japan, it was bound to grow both in volume and variety.

Japanese Trade between 1896 and 1914

After the war with China in 1895, Japan made great strides in her economic development. The war indemnity came at an opportune moment to her industries; the acquisition of Korea, a result of the war, meant a large accession of economic strength to the country. The restoration of autonomy in tariff matters, again to be traced to that event, helped her to actively promote industrial development through a policy of protection. The impetus thus provided was re-inforced through the war with Russia in 1904-05 which also ended victoriously for Japan. The total value of exports from the country increased from 118 millions of yen in 1896 to 591 millions of yen in 1914. The increase in imports in the same period was from 166 millions of yen to 596 millions of yen.

The period was also on the whole a prosperous one for Indian trade. The 20th century everywhere opened with bright pros-

pects and good promises. The period between 1900 and 1914 was one of increased gold output and of rising prices. Robust optimism prevailed all over the world. In India, moveover, seasonal conditions were largely favourable and fluctuations in exchange no longer continued to thwart business. With rapid progress in Japan and the presence of factors in India conducive to healthy expansion of trade, it was only to be expected that the trade between the two countries would receive great encouragement and stimulus. From an average of only Rs. 46.7 lakhs in the five years 1894-95 to 1898-99, the value of the imports from Japan rose to Rs. 364 lakhs in 1909-10 to 1913-14. On the export side also, the progress was great. In 1894-95 to 1898-99, the value of the exports to Japan averaged Rs. 3,58 lakhs, while in 1909-10 to 1913-14, it amounted to about Rs. 16,85 lakhs. The share of the country in the total exports from India accordingly rose from 3.5 per cent in the former period to about 7.4 per cent in the latter.

The main features about the export trade can be easily summed up. In this period there was a very substantial balance of trade in favour of this country. This was wholly due to the large exports of cotton. Indeed while the import trade from Japan consists of a variety of articles, the export trade has always rested in the main on this single commodity. Between 1896-97 and 1913-14, the export of raw cotton increased from 1,498.6 thousand cwts valued at Rs. 376 lakhs in the former year to 4,818 thousand cwts. valued at Rs. 19,40 lakhs in the latter. In 1913-14, more than 85 per cent of the value of our total exports of merchandise to Japan was made up of cotton. It was on the Indian product that the Japanese cotton industry mainly relied for growth. The development of the industry was yet such that much of American cotton could not profitably be used. The only other article of some importance that went to Japan in this period was rice. The trade in this was subject to great vicissitudes since the import market in Japan was the prey of great fluctuations. Japan is a rice producing country herself, but her production in some years is good and in others bad. The exports of rice from India were governed by the exigencies of this situation in that country.

Turning to the import trade we find that although Japan steadily improved her position she was still far behind the United Kingdom. In the decade 1904-05 to 1913-14, about 64% of our total imports came from the latter source. The more important among the other contributors were Germany, Java, the U.S.A., Austria-Hungary and Belgium. In 1904-05, Japan was the twelfth

in rank, but by 1913-14 she had so far improved her position as to become the fourth.

The chief articles that came to India from Japan in this period were silk manufactures, cotton hosiery, copper, coal and matches. Silk tissues formed the biggest item in the import trade. In the post-war years cotton goods were to take this place, but the cotton industry of Japan was not as yet sufficiently developed and the position of the United Kingdom in the Indian market was almost impregnable. A study of the methods which Japan adopted to push forward the sale of silk goods in the pre-war period is not only interesting in itself but also highly instructive in that it was precisely by the same methods that she later on popularised her cotton goods in the Indian market.

A vast increase in the imports of silk piecegoods into India took place in this period. From an average of 10·8 million yards in 1895-96 to 1899-1900 they increased to 26 million yards in 1909-10 to 1913-14. Almost the whole of this increase was contributed by Japan. In 1895-96, that country was responsible for only six per cent of the total imports. In the following year her shipments more than trebled in quantity. In the five years ending 1908-09, more than 63% of the total imports was of Japanese origin; in the next quinquennium, the share had increased to 71.3 per cent. This may sound incredible, but it is essentially *Japanese* in achievement. We would find the story repeated in the case of a large number of commodities in the years of the war in the case of cotton manufactures in the post-war period and in the case of artificial silk in the more recent years. The advance made by Japan under silk piecegoods was at the expense of China and Britain on the one hand and of the Indian industry on the other. In 1891-92 to 1895-96, about 30 per cent of the total imports of this class of goods into India came from the latter. In 1904-05 to 1908-09, this share had fallen to slightly more than 3 per cent. The British silk industry itself was being steadily undermined in this period by foreign imports. Japanese competition, therefore, merely precipitated the result in the Indian market.

H. M. Lefroy, Imperial Silk Specialist and E. A. Ansorge of the Indian Civil Service carried out an extensive survey of the silk industry in India in 1915-16. Their report contains much interesting information about the nature of Japanese competition. Excepting in Madras and Bengal, neither of which took any appreciable amount of foreign goods in pure silk, they found Japan holding the sway in the Indian market. Where with the increase

in prosperity or change in fashion, an extension of demand had taken place, Japan was ready to exploit the situation. That country also succeeded in some cases in creating new and novel demands for its own goods.[7]

The reasons for this phenomenal success of Japan are simple. The most important of them was the cheapness of the goods supplied. The declared value of Japanese goods entering India was much less than that of other foreign goods, a fact easily proved from the Indian trade returns. That these goods were actually offered in the market at prices at which in most cases neither the Indian nor the other foreign goods could well have competed, is clearly brought out in the report of the two experts mentioned above. Thus, white embossed satin silk of French origin was priced fifty per cent higher than similar stuff from Japan. Japanese handkerchiefs of silk could be purchased in the bazaar for 3 annas each. Japanese silks were not only cheap but were offered in a wide variety of forms. This was certainly an additional point in their favour.

Underlying all these factors was the energy, skill and enterprise of the Japanese manufacturers in pushing the sale of their goods. The market is carefully studied, every change in fashion or taste minutely observed and supply changed or varied accordingly. Lefroy and Ansorge speak of Japanese agents paying regular visits to the silk merchants of important centres and ascertaining from them the particular varieties of cloth most in demand and even the particular styles and patterns most suited to the public taste. The popularity of Japanese goods in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces was due not so much to their cheapness as to their superior finish, brilliant and gaudy surface, all of which carried a strong appeal to the people of the province. The energy and attention of the Japanese manufacturers extended even to the smallest details of the trade. Thus all the silk goods coming from Japan to India were carefully packed in tin-lined cases. A Government stamp specifying the weight of articles was also printed on them. The results that attended Japanese efforts in the silk trade were to lead them on in later years to the path of success in the cotton trade as well.

7. It is possible that cotton goods were replaced in some cases by silk goods.

It is not possible in the short space of this paper to deal separately with each commodity of import from Japan. But some attention might as well be given to the trade in an article which though it does not loom large in the import trade of the country, still is important as giving a clue to the success of Japanese competition in this market. The reference is to the import of matches. The demand for this article in India in this period was almost exclusively met by imports from abroad. A large number of countries participated in the trade. The United Kingdom had been in the nineteenth century the most important contributor. Gradually she lost the market to Japan, Norway and Sweden and Belgium. The arrivals from Japan began to assume significance only from the closing years of the last century. But once the country gained a footing in the market, progress was rapid. For a decade till 1904-05, Japan was the leading importer. Then there was the severe competition from the amalgamated factories in Sweden, but even then Japan did extremely well. In 1912-13, out of more than 15 millions gross of match boxes imported, about 7.3 millions gross came from Japan, in 1913-14 her share was even greater. About this time the United Kingdom was almost fading out of the picture. The popularity of Japanese matches in the market consisted in their extreme cheapness. British matches were decidedly of superior quality, but they also carried higher prices and hence were not bought widely. Referring to this, the writer of the Review of the Trade of India remarks: "This is one more illustration of the desire of the Indian to obtain what he wants at the lowest possible price. British matches are good, and Japanese matches are ordinarily of very inferior quality, but they are cheap, and as the Indian is content with a poor quality at a low price, these matches are occupying the market to the exclusion of the more highly priced matches." We have here almost touched upon the key to the success of Japanese competition in the Indian market. Between 1908 and 1913, Swedish sulphur matches were sold at 13 annas to 14 annas 6 pies per gross, while Japanese ones were offered at 10 to 11 annas. Not only in matches but in cotton goods and a host of others, Japan has been winning the contest mainly on the strength of the low prices quoted by her.

Indo-Japanese Trade in the War Period

Till the Great War, Japan counted for very little in world commerce or for that matter in the trade with India. Silk piece-goods was the most important commodity that she sent to this country. Undoubtedly, she held a substantial share of the trade

in cotton hosiery, matches, coal and copper, but these articles occupied always a very minor place in our import trade. Some quantities of pottery, glass and glassware, hardware and cutlery, apparel, etc., also came from Japan, but only a very small part of our import demand in them was met by that country. In regard to cotton goods which have held the first rank in the import list, Japan was then hardly in the picture. With the Great War however there was a striking change in the position. The war meant the withdrawal, in some cases complete and in others partial, of the European countries from the markets of the rest of the world. This was Japan's opportunity and she utilised it to the full. She could now send vastly increased exports to countries in Asia, Africa and America. Her imports also showed a great rise because larger quantities of raw materials had to be bought to meet the demands of the export industries. The advance under imports was, however, much less than that under exports; the result was that from 1915 to 1918, the country enjoyed a favourable balance of trade in merchandise, a phenomenon so rare in Japanese history. So far as the Indian section of the trade is concerned, there had been a substantial balance in favour of this country before the period of the war. This balance narrowed down to smaller and smaller dimensions as the war progressed until in 1918-19, it definitely swung against this country. In the pre-war year, 1913-14, the value of imports from Japan amounted to Rs. 4,78 lakhs or 2.6% of the total imports into India; by 1918-19, the value had gone up to Rs. 33,52 lakhs, or about 19.8% of the total. The figures relating to value must of course be treated with caution, for the war period was one of high prices everywhere. But it will be soon shown that a substantial increase in the quantities of many imports took place in these years.

The increase in the export trade from this country to Japan tells a much less striking tale. Exports rose from Rs. 22,67 lakhs in 1913-14 to only Rs. 34,10 lakhs in 1917-18, from which it declined to Rs. 29,14 lakhs in 1918-19. As usual, raw cotton remained the mainstay of the trade. Indeed on an examination of the export trade to Japan from 1900 to the present day, it will be seen that its course is determined almost exclusively by the movements thither in this one single commodity. Thus the recession in the exports in 1918-19 compared to 1917-18 was caused by the vastly reduced shipments of cotton. The export in the former year was 5,188 thousand cwts. valued at Rs. 3077 lakhs and in the latter 2,798 thousand cwts. valued at Rs. 23,37 lakhs. During the war there was a great increase in the activity of the cotton textile industry

in Japan and this meant increased consumption of the raw product. In the circumstances in which the country was placed, reliance had necessarily to be placed on foreign sources to meet this purpose. It was from India and the United States of America that the country drew her supplies. The consumption of American cotton increased in the period, but the former country retained the dominant position, as is seen from the following figures:

Imports of Raw Cotton into Japan
(In millions of lbs.)

Year	*From India.*	*From U.S.A.*	*Total Imports.*
1914	546	169	778
1915	555	208	802
1916	590	234	889
1917	586	240	899
1918	454	293	847

(From the relevant issues of *The Financial and Economic Annual of Japan.*)

The tendency revealed here, namely, the increasing popularity of American cotton was already disquieting to the Indian grower of the raw product.

Let us now turn to the more fascinating study of the import trade. Japan was forging new links in the chain of her trade with India. It was about this period that cotton goods entered into the trade. They threw into background the trade in silk piecegoods which had occupied the stage in the pre-war period.[8] They rapidly acquired such hold in the market that in less than a few years they could challenge not only the home industry here but also the long-established industry of Lancashire. Their appearance in the Indian Trade Returns and subsequent growth are more than dramatic. In 1911-12, the total imports of cotton piecegoods into India amounted to 2,438 million yards and arrivals from Japan were only slightly more than half a million. In 1913-14, Japan's contribution was only 9 million yards to a total of 3,197 million yards. The United Kingdom held an absolutely monopolistic position in the import market in this period, her share amounting to as much as 98 per cent. The position in the years of the war is seen from the following figures.

8. It was only from 1916-17 that cotton goods replaced silk goods at the head of the list.

Imports of Cotton Piecegoods, including Fencs into India

(Quantity in millions of yards.)

Year.	*From U. K.*	*From Japan.*	*Total Imports.*
1913-14	3,104	8·9	3,197
1914-15	2,378	16	2,445·6
1915-16	2,049	39	2,148
1916-17	1,786	100	1,933·5
1917-18	1,429·6	94·6	1,555·5
1918-19	867	238	1,120

The decline in the total imports was almost wholly due to the heavily reduced shipments from the United Kingdom. The gap in consumption thus created was filled by enlarged production in India and increased imports from abroad. The production in India increased from an average of 1,105.5 million yards in 1909-10 to 1913-14, to 1,441.5 million yards in 1915-16 and stood at 1,614 million yards in 1917-18. From 1915-16 Japan redoubled her efforts to exploit the situation in the Indian market. In that year, she sent about 39 million yards; in 1916-17 her shipments amounted about 100 million yards or 5·2 per cent of the total imports. In 1918-19, the arrivals went up to 238 million yards or 21 per cent of the total. The advance made by Japan in the piece-goods trade was mostly in grey goods. In the five years ending 1913-14, the United Kingdom was responsible for about 98.8 per cent of the total quantity of grey goods imported, while Japan accounted for only a negligible 0·2 per cent of the total. From 1914-15 the relative share of Britain steadily went down and that of Japan steadily rose until, in 1918-19, the former amounted to about 64 per cent and the latter slightly more than 35 per cent of the total. In 1919-20, competition from the United Kingdom revived and her share reached 87 per cent of the total, while Japan's fell to about 12 per cent, a fact which shows that the latter's position in the Indian market was yet not sufficiently firm or strong but was based on the temporary withdrawal of the European rival. During the war period it is worth noting that the cotton industry of Japan made remarkable progress. Comparing the years 1914 and 1919 we find that the number of looms in the country in the latter year increased by 75 per cent., the consumption of yarn increased by about 55 per cent and the output of goods by about 62 per cent. Surely there was sufficient warning in this for the future for the Indian mill-owner and the Lancashire manufacturer.

The War witnessed large increases also in the imports of cotton yarn and hosiery from Japan. In the pre-war years, Japan's

share in the former was small, almost insignificant. But it was yarn from that country that drove away the Indian commodity from China in this period.[9] During the war-time that competition was extended to the Indian market itself. While in the quinquennium ending 1913-14, the share of Japan in the total imports of yarn was only about 1 per cent and that the United Kingdom about 90 per cent, the respective shares were 13.6 per cent and 83 per cent in 1916-17 and 22 per cent and 77 per cent in 1917-18. In 1918-19, the relative positions were even reversed, with Japan's share as high as 72 per cent and the United Kingdom's only about 25 per cent.

Regarding cotton hosiery, it might be stated that Japan had taken the lead in sending it to India from about 1904-05. Vests and pants, socks and stockings and gloves were the chief items produced and exported from that country. There had been a striking increase in the imports of these into India in the pre-war period. While in 1896-7 our total imports were valued at only about Rs. 19·6 lakhs, they amounted to Rs. 119·7 lakhs in 1913-14. The biggest contribution to this increase was made by Japan. During the war, the hold was further strengthened and in 1914-15 to 1918-19 out of an average total imports valued at Rs. 94 lakhs, the share of Japan amounted to Rs. 83 lakhs. The secret of the popularity of Japanese knitted goods lay in their cheapness which was the result of cheaper labour, lower cost of production of the yarn used and a lower rate of freight compared to those of European countries.

When the war broke out, the commodity exchanges of Japan were thrown into confusion, there were also difficulties of getting foreign exchange and there was a scarcity of shipping. These obstacles were very great in the beginning but continued in a less severe form throughout the war period. In spite of them, we have seen that Japan expanded her foreign trade business. We have referred to cotton manufactures because it was in this line that the biggest advance was made and because from this time they formed the most important item in the import trade. But instances of increased business in many trades can be multiplied and these form a striking illustration of the wonderful quickness and ease

9. The disturbance in exchange caused by the closing of the mints in India to the free coinage of silver was partly responsible for this. The set-back caused by this factor was, however, temporary, prices in China having before long adjusted themselves to the fall in the gold value of silver. The really serious factor was the competition of Japanese yarn.

with which Japan adapts herself to changing conditions of the time. *The underlying cause of Japanese success is efficiency born of organization, but the proximate factor in each case is her agility and alertness and wakefulness.* Here are a few facts which testify to her ability to *turn all the short-term circumstances of a period to her own account.* In 1913-14, Rs. 101.5 lakhs worth of chemicals was imported into India. The shares of the United Kingdom, of Germany, of Italy and of Japan in this total were 75 per cent, 12.4 per cent and 5 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively. In 1918-19, the value of the total imports was Rs. 249 lakhs. The share of the United Kingdom was now slightly more than 63 per cent and that of Japan more than 24 cent. Again, in 1913-14 the total imports of glass and glassware were valued at Rs. 194.5 lakhs; imports from Japan amounted to Rs. 15.8 lakhs. In 1918-19 the former stood at Rs. 125 lakhs and the latter at Rs. 82.8 lakhs (66 per cent of the total value of imports). To analyse this advance in slightly greater detail, before the War, Austria-Hungary had been a large supplier of bangles and beads and false pearls, Germany of bottles and phials, lamps, glass, and Belgium of sheet and plate glass. When the supplies were cut off during the war, Japan could step in rapidly to fill the gap. Between 1914-15 and 1918-19, the value of the bangles that came from Japan increased from Rs. 1.9 lakhs in the former year to Rs. 24·5 lakhs in the latter. The value of funnels, globes and glass parts of lamps brought from Japan likewise rose from Rs. 3.5 lakhs to Rs. 16.5 lakhs. Or to take another category of goods, the share of Japan in the imports of hardware into India was hardly one per cent in the pre-war year, but it increased to about 29 per cent in 1918-19. The value of the total imports into India for these two years was Rs. 395 lakhs and Rs. 321 lakhs respectively.

The large advance made by Japan in the import of matches in the pre-war period has already been mentioned. In the years of the war, this advance was further consolidated and enhanced. Indeed Japan now held an almost monopolistic position in the trade. Imports from Sweden and Norway heavily declined, while those from the United Kingdom almost disappeared and the small consignments from the Straits Settlements were mostly Japanese manufactured matches. In this period, the price advantage increased in Japanese favour owing to (1) comparatively cheap freights, (2) the existence of a Japanese league of manufacturers and shippers and (3) the formation of a regular service sailing from Japan to Calcutta via Rangoon. It might be added here that

while match sticks were produced in sufficient quantities in Japan, the country was, on the breaking out of the war, almost completely dependent on imported chemical materials like phosphorus, potassium chlorate and potassium bichromate that are essential for the manufacture of matches. It is also worthwhile mentioning that in India a simple and easy manufacturing industry could not get started during a period of such splendid opportunity as the war presented. It is a tragic comment on the industrial genius of its people that the successful starting of the match industry had to wait on the imposition of a revenue duty which was later found to be too high even for protective purposes.[10] In Japan, on the other hand, before the War, many industries were in a very early stage of development, some were dormant and a few even non-existent, but all were galvanized into activity when the opportunity came with results that we have seen.

When peace came and competition from European countries revived, Japan was bound for a few years to lose part of the prizes of the game. But the experience gained during the War certainly stood her in good stead and in the post-war period after a few initial reverses we find her again forging ahead.

10. In March 1921, a duty of 12 annas per gross was imposed which was raised to Rs. 1-8-0 in March, 1922. This meant an ad valorem duty varying between 100 and 200 per cent. The Tariff Board which enquired into the match industry in 1928 said: "Owing to the action of the Government of India in imposing a revenue duty of Rs. 1-8-0 per gross, the match industry.. is now equipped for a production exceeding the country's demand." (p. 71).

THE CIVIL SERVICE

By

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The Civil Service is so called in order to distinguish it from the military and judicial services. There is evidence to show that some form of civil service prevailed in ancient Egypt. Ancient Athens did not possess a professional civil service on account of its extreme democratic theory that A was as good as B for public service. Offices were for the most part elective. Sometimes the system of election was combined with the system of lot. Republican Rome, too, like Athens, had no civil service. But Imperial Rome was obliged to engage the services of special classes of administrators.

In the modern State there is a great need for civil servants of various kinds. The causes which are responsible for this need are the industrial revolution which has brought about far-reaching social changes, rapid growth of colonisation and commercial enterprise, the State undertaking poor relief on a large scale, customs and excise, the postal monopoly, etc. In short, the new conception of the social service State, as against the 18th century conception of the police State, means multiplication of State activities. The State to-day extends its authority even into the minutest details of life. Not long ago the Health Department in England passed an order to the effect that a person should have his hands absolutely clean before milking the cow.

Among the various Civil Services of the world, the Civil Service in England easily occupies the most prominent place. It is the result of a gradual evolution and is the envy of the world. In the words of H. Finer, it combines technical efficiency with humane serviceability as no other Civil Service does. Graham Wallas writes: "the creation of this Service was the one great political invention in nineteenth century England."

In its origin and development, the British Civil Service is the necessary counterpart of the amateurishness of the British Cabinet Government. A. L. Lowell remarks: "Of all the existing political traditions in England, the least known to the public and yet one of those most deserving attention is that which governs the

relation between the expert and the layman." The layman is the Parliamentary head, while the expert is the civil servant. In many cases the parliamentary head does not have the necessary professional or technical qualifications for the headship of his department. He is an amateur and can rightly be described as a casual labourer. The skilled labourer is the civil servant. It is he who attends to the day-to-day work of the department, while his parliamentary chief is concerned with major questions of policy.

Of Disraeli it is said that while forming a Ministry, he offered the Board of Trade to a man who wanted instead the Local Government Board, as he was better acquainted with municipal affairs than with commerce. "It does not matter," said Disraeli, "I suppose you know as much about trade as ....., the First Lord of the Admiralty, knows about ships." In 1917 when Sir Edward Carson was made First Lord of the Admiralty he confessed that his only qualification for the post was that he was "absolutely at sea."

This amateurishness does not necessarily mean mediocrity. Ministers are appointed to certain posts not simply because of their personal aptitudes, but also because of their party standing. Much of the time of the chief ministers is given to Cabinet, Parliamentary, party, social and other activities. They do not usually remain in office very long owing to the uncertainties of elections. At times they are shifted from one office to another. In view of these circumstances at a very early time in the evolution of cabinet government, the need was felt for giving ministers the assistance of a permanent expert subordinate service. While ministers are concerned with matters of policy, civil servants are concerned with detailed questions.

The amateurishness of the British government is a great advantage. It makes possible a working alliance between the expert and the layman, which is indispensable to the satisfactory functioning of democracy. The minister brings to his task a fresh mind free from preconceived notions and bureaucratic inhibitions, while the civil servant brings expert technical knowledge. A combination of the two results in good government. As has been aptly described, the permanent civil servant is the minister's other self or his permanent self. The relation between the two may roughly be compared to the relation between the judge and the jury or the relation between the Justice of the Peace and the Clerk. The Judge represents the professional and the jury the lay element. Likewise, the Justice of the Peace is a gentleman and the clerk is a man who knows the law.

The English practice does not obtain in many of the European countries. Even in the U.S.A. the tendency is to require that ministers should have professional qualifications for their posts. Thus a "dirt farmer" is preferred to others for the ministry of agriculture. The English theory is that for highly professional departments such as the War Department and Admiralty it is a distinct advantage to have civilians as head. When an expert supervises the work of experts, there is almost always bound to be friction and disagreement. Experts like to keep things running in a set groove; and to shake them out of it we require the fresh and vigorous mind of an outsider.

The British Civil Service is a collection of experts. Unlike the Indian Civil Service, it includes charwomen, industrial workers, postmen, clerks, shorthand typists, specialists, inspectors, executive officers and administrators. Used in this broad sense, the British Civil Service consists of about 495,000 people. In India the term 'civil service' is used in a restricted sense—to mean those at the top of the executive and administrative services, about 1,000 in number. They correspond to the administrative class of England.

The British Civil Service, in its present improved form, is a direct outcome of the improvements made in the Indian Civil Service in the middle of the nineteenth century by men like Macaulay. Macaulay in India and his brother-in-law, Trevelyan, in England laid the foundations of an efficient Civil Service by introducing the system of competitive examination. Prior to their time the system of patronage was rampant. Thus, we are told that a Scottish Director of the Board of Directors found posts under the East India Company in India for most of his 19 children. In his capacity as President of the Board of Control, Dundas sent out a great many Scotsmen to India. As late as 1858 John Bright said that "England's foreign policy was nothing more than a gigantic system of outdoor relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain."

Patronage did not give place to competitive examination without a struggle. Competition was first introduced into India and later on passed to England. The first step was to limit patronage by a qualifying examination and by a thorough training at Haileybury. In 1853 when the East India Company's Charter came before Parliament for revision, Macaulay secured the complete abolition of the patronage system. He said "It seems to me that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence or a more varied experience than this: that men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries almost always

keep to the end of their lives the start which they have gained." Macaulay did not favour any technical or professional training for admission into the Civil Service. He insisted on mental alertness and capacity tested by competitive examination. Technique, he said, could be acquired later. What he wanted was a liberal rather than a specialised education.

Civil servants as a rule are recruited at an early age because of the pliability and receptiveness to new ideas of youth. The Civil Service Commission in England consists of three members, directly appointed by the Crown by an Order-in-Council. This means in practice appointment by the Cabinet after consultation with the highest authorities in the Treasury. It is free from outside and especially political influence. Its decisions are never questioned. It is considered to be the guardian of honest efficiency. It does ardous work. In 1935 it filled nearly 23,000 posts.

The methods used in recruiting candidates for the Civil Service are usually written examination and interview. For recruitment to certain departments, the competition is "open" while for others it is "limited." Even to-day to the Foreign and Diplomatic service of England only limited competition is allowed. Selection is still confined to a social caste. The *viva voce* test which was established in England in 1917 is given a prominent place in all competitive examinations. While 300 marks out a total of 1800 were assigned to it in England up to 1937, to-day the *viva voce* is allotted 300 out of a total of 1300 marks. H. Finer considers the proportion to be too high and believes may lead to abuses.

Admission to the Indian Civil Service is largely by means of competitive examination. Simultaneous examinations have been held in England and India since 1922. A certain number of vacancies are filled up in India by nomination with a view to redressing communal inequalities. Recently the Secretary of State for India was allowed to recruit directly European candidates holding good Honours degrees without their having to go through competitive examination. This practice may lead to patronage. After selection the successful candidates are required to undergo a year's probation in England during which period they are to study some special subjects and some of a general character—subjects such as codes and acts, Indian history, vernacular, riding and hygiene. At the end of the period of probation there is an examination. During the probationary period each British candidate receives £300 and the Indian candidate £ 350 a year.

Government pays the candidates passage to India. Further examinations are held in India at the end of six months by the departments concerned.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Lee Commission (1924), by the year 1939 the Civil Service is expected to be half British and half Indian, including appointment of Indians to the 'listed' posts which have been transferred from the Superior Services to the Provincial Services. The pace towards Indianisation has not been rapid considering the fact that the first Indian to be recruited to the Service was as long ago as 1864.

The I.C.S. does not come under any Indian Government—Provincial or National. The Secretary of State makes regulations prescribing the age and qualifications of candidates. He appoints the successful candidates and assigns the provinces. He makes rules regarding pay, pension, leave, retirement, and conditions of service. He has ultimate decision in all disciplinary cases. Civilians appeal to him for the redress of grievances, as he is the protector of their rights—both present and prospective. He does not, however, interfere in questions affecting promotion. The I.C.S. is undoubtedly a more sheltered service than the British Civil Service.

As regards pay, allowances, leave privileges, etc., the Indian Civil Servant is much better off than the British Civil Servant. The maximum pay for administrative heads in England (about 40 of them) is £ 3,000 a year, although many of them can easily command £10,000 a year in the city. The tributes recently paid to Sir Maurice Hankey are eloquent testimony to the type of men that the British Civil Service is able to secure on a comparatively low salary. The modern Indian Collector receives a maximum of Rs. 2,650 per month including overseas pay. But there are a number of posts 'above the time scale'—divisional, financial and judicial Commissionerships, provincial Chief Secretary, Secretaries to Government of India, etc., the salaries for which posts range from £2,700 to £3,600 a year. In a great many provinces the post of Governor is open to Civil Servants, although a change in this direction is very desirable. The Madras Civil Servants are given a higher maximum since there are no Commissionerships in this Province. A Civil Servant, early in his career, can become a judicial officer climbing up to the High Court. He can become a member of the Board of Revenue, which is the final revenue court of appeal, or become a financial commissioner. A considerable number of special posts are open to him such as audit, customs, posts and tele-

graphs, political department, tariff board, membership on the public service commission, etc.

Overseas pay after the first four years of service can be turned into sterling at the rate of 10 rupees to the pound. A liberal pension is provided for at the time of retirement. The Indian Civil Servant can retire before time and draw proportionate pension.

Women are not admitted to the Indian Civil Service, whereas there is nothing to bar them in England to several branches of the British Civil Service. Where admitted, they usually get the same start as men but smaller increments and smaller maximums.

The chief difference between the British and Indian Civil Service lies in the nature of the work performed. Though a collection of experts, the British Civil Service does not determine the political policy of the country. That is done by the ministry of the day. The Permanent Under-Secretary and his assistants give all the necessary advice and suggestion, but they do not dictate. Specialists are not consulted directly by the ministers. A weak minister may easily be led by the Civil Servant. But a strong man can always have his way.

The I.C.S. has occupied an entirely different place. As Governors in most provinces, as members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, the Civil Servants have exercised a decisive influence in the framing and executing of policy. But since the Montagu-Chelmsford days, and especially since the coming of provincial autonomy, this power has been considerably curtailed. Speaking of the modern Indian Civil Servant, Sir E. Blunt rightly says: "Where his predecessor took action, he must ask for orders; where his predecessor gave orders, he must advise." "The civilian who used to serve by ruling, must learn to rule by serving." It is not too much to hope that in the not long distant future what policy-making power the I.C.S. still possesses will disappear. Its chief function will be to advise and administer. Practice of sound parliamentary government requires that ministers should decide the policy, while officials should carry it out faithfully whether they agree with it or not.

While the British Civil Servant spends most of his time at the desk in the midst of files and folios, his counterpart in India has a very varied life. As a district officer he spends three to four months in the year in camping, establishing contacts with the people. He is a collector of revenue as well as a district magistrate. He is "the Government on the spot." He is the Sarkar.

Under him there are the sub-divisional officer, the deputy collector, the tashildar, etc. He tries revenue and criminal cases. He hears appeals from magistrates with second and third class powers.

The Civil Service both in England and India is attacked as being bureaucratic. This charge is probably more true of India than of England. Ramsay Muir believes that the British Civil Service is a bureaucracy which takes shelter behind cabinet responsibility in the matter of legislation, administration, finance and patronage. Lord Hewart attacks the "subsidiary" or "delegated" legislation given to the departments of government. But his charge is an indictment of parliamentary procedure rather than of the Civil Service. The influence which the Civil Service wields is the result of its expert knowledge.

When the Indian politician attacks the Civil Service in this country as being bureaucratic, he means that the rule exercised by it is irresponsible and impersonal. There is considerable truth in this charge, despite the fact that the tradition of the Civil Service from its inception has been to establish personal contacts with the common people. On account of the social distance between the Civil Servant and the average citizen and the large number of intermediaries between the two, the contact between the two is not as close and fruitful as one would like it to be. The anomalies of the Indian constitution make irresponsible rule inevitable. But with constitutional development irresponsibility is bound to disappear.

The Indian Civil Service is adopting the British standards of impartiality and anonymity in the performance of public service. In a completely democratic country, it is not the business of the Civil Service to ask questions or raise objections. It is to carry out loyally whatever is committed to it. It is a welcome sign of the times that there has been complete harmony between Civil Servants and Congress Ministries. Eloquent testimonies have been paid to the loyalty and impartiality of the rank and file of the I.C.S. In Germany, by way of contrast, one notes that the civil service is expected to promote the cause of Nazism.

The British system, as seen already, emphasises general education, whereas the French and American systems stress special training. While uniform examinations are held in England, Germany and the U.S.A. for the various branches of the Civil Service, France possess no single examining body. Each department lays down its own qualifications and makes its own recruitments.

Unlike the German Civil Service, the British Civil Service confers responsibility upon its servants at a very early age. It combines force with urbanity. The latter quality is lacking in the German system, thus making it altogether bureaucratic.

Promotion from one grade to another is usually by means of seniority and merit, although both of them are open to abuse. No system has yet been devised by means of which the right man and the right man alone will always be promoted.

The Civil Service is not a profit-making concern; and the State is supposed to be an ideal employer. But in practice it is not always so. In the U.S.A. it is common for Civil Servants to be on the look out for better pay outside. Even in England where better class of men and women enter the Civil Service and the turnover is small, the salaries are not always adequate.

Continental countries lay down codes regulating in detail the conduct of public servants. Australia and South Africa also do the same. But Anglo-Saxon countries as a whole do not have such detailed codes, although they have such restrictions as the Officials Secrets Act.

Whether Civil Servants can ally themselves with professional and industrial groups outside and even go on a strike is a moot question. Some countries disallow such alliance altogether and some allow it, while some are silent. The question is particularly important in the case of lower grades of public servants. Some years ago Calvin Coolidge, as Governor of Massachussets, took a firm stand that policemen had no right to go on a strike. Since the General Strike of 1926 restrictions have been placed in England on the right of public servants joining trade unions. Arbitration Courts and Whitley Councils are set up to adjust disputes. Industrial workers, however, are allowed to join trade unions.

One further question in dealing with the Civil Servant is his liability in the performance of his public duties. The Anglo-Saxon doctrine, in the name of the Rule of Law, makes him exclusively responsible for his official acts, although Australia in recent years has dissented from this doctrine. In the continental countries of Europe the State accepts liability. Public servants are tried in special administrative courts. Contrary to expectation, these courts are far from lenient. What is more, they take into account the administrative side of the question in dispute and have often given good judgment. It seems probable that the continental, rather than the Anglo-Saxon practice, will come to prevail in time to come.

LOCALISATION OF COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By

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Bombay came to occupy the front position in the Indian cotton textile industry since its inception on account of the combination of a number of factors. There were several enterprising businessmen who had the capital and organising ability to run a large-scale industry successfully, and its fairly moist climate admirably suited the requirements of cotton mills. Being the centre of trade in raw cotton, it had been in an excellent position to have a steady supply of the material of all qualities. For a very long time the prosperity of the industry depended upon the large exports of cotton yarn to China and other far eastern countries and being a seaport town it was in a favourable position in regard to transport charges. It is the terminus of a network of railways running through the length and breadth of the country, and until recently the freight charges on railways were cheaper over long distances from ports than between internal places and this placed it in an advantageous position in catering to the internal markets also. All these contributed to make this city the leader of the industry in India, and when once it was firmly established, there was a continuous supply of skilled labour which gave it an advantage over other centres started later.

But during the present century and specially after the Great War, Bombay lost much of its predominence, and the industry tended to disperse towards the cotton growing areas in the country. In the Bombay Presidency itself Ahmedabad emerged as a serious rival to Bombay. However, even to-day none of these centres individually have a larger share in the total production of yarn and piecegoods than Bombay, and Bombay Presidency contributes the largest share in the production. In the following sections it is proposed to study the gradual shift of the industry from Bombay to Ahmedabad and other parts of India. For this purpose the figures of production are grouped under four heads, namely, (1) Bombay Island, (2) Ahmedabad, (3) Rest of Bombay Presidency, (4) Rest of India. The production will be analysed with reference to (1) the total quantity of yarn according to the different counts and (2) the total quantity of piecegoods.

PRODUCTION OF YARN.

The following table gives the share of the different centres in the total production of yarn.

TABLE I-A.

Period.	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Rest of Bombay.	Rest of India.
1901–04	57	8	8	27
1911–14	52	10	8	30
1919–22	50	12	8	30
1922–25	46	13	8	33
1925–28	40	14	8	38
1928–31	29	17	8	46
1931–34	30	17	8	45
1934–37	27	16	8	49

From the column of the total production in Table I in the Appendix of all counts we find that during the decade 1904-14, there was an increase in total production, and during the next ten years, it was almost steady. After 1925, there was again an increase in production which received further stimulus after 1931. In the period 1901-04, Bombay Presidency contributed nearly 73% to the total production of which the respective shares of Bombay and Ahmedabad were 57 and 8. By the pre-war triennium the share of Bombay Presidency came down to 70, Bombay's share having fallen to 52 while Ahmedabad recorded a slight increase to 10. This was due to the fact that the rate of increase in Bombay was less than that in Ahmedabad and rest of India. But during succeeding years whereas Ahmedabad and Rest of India began to increase their production rapidly, Bombay recorded a fall which was very slow between 1914 and 1921 and very rapid during the succeeding decade. This resulted in the reduction of Bombay's share from 52 in the previous period to 29 at the end of 1931 associated with Ahmedabad's improvement from 10 to 17 and rest of India's from 30 to 46. Immediately after the civil disobedience movement of 1930 Bombay increased its production and very slightly its share in the total as well. But after 1933, the former tendency asserted itself and it lost its share. From the beginning of the century Ahmedabad has been increasing its production and share from year to year. But since 1935 there has been a reverse tendency here also and it has been losing both in the quantity of production and its share. Throughout the whole period mills in different muffusil centres have been increasing their production and their share of the grand total.

The following table gives the shares in the production of yarnof different counts :—

Percentage share in the production of different counts of yarn.

1 Bombay, 2 Ahmedabad, 3 Rest of Bombay Presidency, 4 Rest of India.

Period.	Counts 1–20.				Counts 21–30.				Counts 31–40.				Counts above 40.			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1901–04	59	3	6	32	46	26	14	14	21	57	7	15				
1911–14	56	3	6	35	46	24	11	19	20	60	10	10				
1919–22	54	6	8	32	46	23	8	23	31	38	12	19				
1922–25	47	8	9	36	45	21	7	27	36	28	5	31				
1925–28	41	9	8	42	40	21	7	32	33	29	11	27				
1928–31	29	10	9	52	29	23	8	40	29	32	9	30				
1931–34	28	11	8	53	33	21	8	38	37	29	5	29	34	45	6	15
1934–37	24	12	8	56	30	16	10	44	32	28	4	36	33	44	3	20

Note.—Share of different centres in counts above 40 is not given for earlier years as the total quantity produced in those years was very small.

Turning our attention to the details of production of different varieties, we find that at the beginning of the century Bombay occupied the first place in the production of coarse yarn of less than 20 counts as also of counts 20-30, and Ahmedabad was leading in finer counts above 30. But at that time the total production of the latter quality was insignificant. Shares of Bombay and Rest of India were highest in counts 1-20 with 20-30 and above 30 following in order; but in the case of Ahmedabad the order was in the reverse direction, its share being least in coarse counts and highest in finer varieties. For nearly 30 years from 1901-31 the total production of coarse yarn was almost steady with only slight variations from period to period. But during the whole period, the production and share of Bombay fell slowly from 59 to 54 up to 1922 and very rapidly from 54 to 29 afterwards. A good slice of this was secured by the Rest of India and the balance by Ahmedabad. Though the absolute quantity gained by Ahmedabad is very little, its share trebled during this period from 3 to 10 compared with the increase of 60% of Rest of India (from 32 to 52) because the total production of Ahmedabad in the beginning was little. Even the increased production after 1931 was mainly taken up by mills in muffassil centres. In fact Bombay after 1933, and Ahmedabad after 1935 recorded a fall in the total production at a time when other centres were still expanding their production. At the end of the whole period the share of Rest of India increased to 56, of Ahmedabad to 12 whereas that of Bombay fell down to 24. In medium counts 20-30, all centres increased their production during the two decades 1901-1922; and Bombay kept up its share whereas Rest of Bombay Presidency including Ahmedabad lost to the Rest of India, as their rate of increase was less than that of the other two centres. But during the next decade whereas Ahmedabad was just able to maintain its share at 21% Rest of India improved very rapidly at the expense of Bombay which recorded a drop in the absolute quantity also. After 1931 whereas Bombay rallied and at least maintained its position, Ahmedabad's production decreased and thus Rest of India's share increased at the expense of Ahmedabad. Thus by the end of the period, shares of Bombay and Ahmedabad have fallen to 30 and 16 respectively whereas share of rest of India increased to 44. In finer counts the changes were not so very regular. As has already been pointed out, the total production (specially of counts above 49) was very little, and Ahmedabad was responsible for the larger part of it. Serious efforts for the production of these varieties were made only after 1925. During the pre-War period Ahmedabad was contributing nearly 60% to the

production of yarn counts 30-40, compared with 20 of Bombay and 10 of Rest of India. But later when Bombay and Rest of India rapidly increased their production Ahmedabad was slower. Bombay outstripped Ahmedabad in 1923 and since then it has been leading in this section except for two years 1928-30 when it was handicapped by labour troubles. Of late though Bombay and Ahmedabad have still been producing more yarn of this variety than before, their share has come down on account of the fact that Rest of India is taking greater strides. Thus by 1934-37, whereas Bombay's share stood at 32%, Ahmedabad's was 28% and Rest of India's 37%. In finer yarns above 40, Ahmedabad stands first with 44%, Bombay second with 33% with the Rest of India following with 20%. Thus we find that during the period under consideration, Bombay lost very heavily in coarse and medium yarns which was partly made up by increased production of finer yarns. Ahmedabad increased its share in coarse yarn but lost in medium and finer varieties though in the latter the quantity produced is larger than at the beginning. Rest of India takes the greatest share in coarse yarn with the medium and finer varieties following in order. Bombay's order changed into the reverse direction as compared with its original position.

The above facts can very easily be explained. A very large part of Bombay's production of coarse yarn was formerly intended for export to China and other Far Eastern countries. When that trade was lost, that centre was seriously hit. Though about that time there was increased demand for this variety in the internal markets, mills in the different regions were better situated to meet these requirements than Bombay. Ahmedabad gained a part of this internal demand, the lion's share of which was captured by Rest of India. In medium counts also mills in Rest of India were at a great advantage than Bombay and Ahmedabad and hence they increased more rapidly than these two centres. But in finer counts Bombay and Ahmedabad are still better placed and the future prosperity of these centres depends upon their ability to maintain at least their present position in all these lines. It will be noticed that even in these latter lines mills in some centres like Coimbatore and Calcutta are forging ahead, but the competition is not keenly felt as the market for those varities is much wider. But when it reaches a saturation level, which is likely in the nearest future, the older centres will feel the brunt of attack even in these lines. One important point to be noticed is that though Bombay

has been losing its ground steadily from the beginning, the most severe blow was dealt to this centre after the post-war boom period. The factors responsible for this will be discussed towards the end.

PRODUCTION OF PIECEGOODS

The following table gives the share of the different centres in the total production of piecegoods as well as in chief varieties, namely, dhoties, shirting and coloured goods.

Percentage share of the different centres in the production of piecegoods.

Period.	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Rest of Bombay Presidency	Rest of India.
1901-04	54	19	9	18
1911-14	53	21	8	18
1919-22	53	23	7	17
1922-25	50	23	8	19
1925-28	47	24	7	22
1928-31	35	28	8	29
1931-34	37	28	6	29
1934-37	33	28	6	33

Year.	*Dhoties*				*Shirting*				*Coloured goods*			
	Bombay	Ahmedabad	Rest of Bombay Presidency.	Rest of India.	Bombay	Ahmedabad	Rest of Bombay Presidency.	Rest of India.	Bombay.	Ahmedabad	Rest of Bombay Presidency.	Rest of India.
1901-04	18	58	8	16	68	11	11	10	65	—	—	35
1911-14	20	52	9	19	68	15	7	10	72	4	8	16
1919-22	25	47	11	17	60	23	7	10	74	7	6	13
1922-25	24	43	11	21	62	21	5	12	67	11	7	15
1925-28	25	41	9	25	61	18	4	17	58	20	8	14
1928-31	22	40	8	31	46	28	4	22	41	25	11	23
1931-34	29	33	6	32	51	22	5	22	35	35	8	22
1934-37	28	28	6	38	43	23	4	30	28	39	8	25

From Table II in the Appendix we find that in contrast to yarn the total production of piecegoods increased rapidly during the period 1901-22. Bombay made good her loss in export trade in yarn by converting it into piecegoods for internal markets. Between 1901 and 1914 all the centres increased their production at nearly the same rate and their respective shares did not vary very much. The shares of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Rest of India in 1919-22 were 53, 23 and 17 respectively compared with 54, 19 and 18 at the beginning. After 1922 whereas Ahmedabad and Rest of India increased their production at a rapid rate, Bombay lagged behind. In fact, the production in 1928-29 was very low on account of the prolonged strikes and this brought down its share during the period to a very low figure of 35, increasing the share of Ahmedabad to 28 and Rest of India to 29. Bombay rallied at the expense of Rest of Bombay Presidency in the subsequent triennium and though in the final triennium its production was larger than in the previous period its share came down due to greater increase in Rest of India. During the decade ending with 1937, Ahmedabad was just maintaining its relative share at 28. Thus at the end of the period, Bombay's share came down to 33, Ahmedabad's increased to 28 and Rest of India's to 33. These changes have to a great extent taken place in the decade after 1922.

At the beginning of the century the total production of piecegoods was very little, and most of it was confined to dhoties and shirting. Throughout the period all the three sections increased rapidly; with coloured goods leading after the war period and dhoties after 1931. During this latter period coloured goods came back to the 3rd place. After the War shirting maintained the 2nd place. Up to 1928 the increase in the rate of production of dhoties was greater in Bombay and Rest of India which increased their shares to 25 bringing down Ahmedabad's share from 58 to 41. During the succeeding trennium, Ahmedabad just maintained its share and Rest of India gained at the expense of Bombay which suffered on account of strikes. Subsequently Bombay and Rest of India improved their position by increased production whereas Ahmedabad lost its share by now taking full advantage of the increased demand. Up to the end of the period 1931-34, Ahmedabad occupied the first place in the production of dhoties. But in 1934-38 its share came down to 28, whereas Bombay's share came up to 28, and Rest of India's to 38. In shirting before the War Bombay was increasing its production as fast as the others and the shares of these three centres, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Rest

of India, stood at 60, 23 and 10 respectively. Immediately after the war Ahmedabad increased the production in this line at a faster rate than the other centres, thereby increasing its share. But after 1922, Rest of India took great strides in this section and gained at the expense of both Bombay and Ahmedabad. But even to-day Bombay stands first with a high figure of 43% compared with 23% of Ahmedabad and 30% of Rest of India. In this section also all centres have recorded improvement though at varying rates. Ahmedabad had no importance in coloured goods section up to 1922; Bombay was supreme in this section with a share of 74% compared with 7 for Ahmedabad and 13 for Rest of India. Between 1922-28, Ahmedabad increased production more rapidly than Bombay and Rest of India, increasing its share to 20 and bringing down that of Bombay to 58. 1928-31 was again the worst period for Bombay when its production and share reached very low levels. During the succeeding six years whereas Ahmedabad increased production very rapidly and Rest of India more slowly, Bombay actually contracted its total output. Ahmedabad equalled Bombay in 1931-34 and outstripped it in the succeeding period, when their respective shares had come to 28 and 39 compared with 25 for Rest of India. Now Bombay is most important for shirting, and Ahmedabad for coloured goods and they share the honours in dhoties.

CONCLUSION

Capital and power are the basic factors necessary for starting the cotton textile industry in any region, and when these two are assured, the distribution of the industry will be determined by the costs of production and transport charges for raw materials and finished goods in the different centres. In the beginning of the century, Bombay and Calcutta had entrepreneurs for promoting large-scale industries, and as the latter centre was specialising in jute and plantations, Bombay had a free hand in the development of the cotton industry. It was in and near cotton growing areas also. As has already been pointed out transport charges also were in favour of Bombay at that time. Concentration of the industry in that centre led to supply of skilled labour and economies of large-scale production which strengthened its position in the industry. Though some time later it lost a very large part of its export trade in coarse yarn it made good this loss by increased production of piecegoods for the internal market. But later when industrial consciousness increased in the country, entrepreneurs grew up in different parts and began to exploit the advantages of nearness to raw material

and markets. Ahmedabad took the lead in this matter, and the managing agents there brought the industry to a flourishing condition by confining to smaller units and by paying greater attention to the work in the mill as well as markets. Small mills began to grow up even in the interior to cater to the needs of the surrounding areas. Thus gradually nearness to raw material and markets tended to become the dominating factor in the concentration of industry. At the same time these muffusil centres could economise in costs of production on account of cheaper wages for labour, cheaper rents and taxes, etc. This was counterbalanced for sometime by the greater skill of labourers in established centres. But all these factors could work very slowly and could not for a long time materially affect the premier producing centre, which had the great advantage of having trained people in the industry.

After the post-war boom period, Bombay suffered from several disadvantages. The capitalists had not the foresight to write down capital and create strong reserves to fall back upon during evil days. On the other hand, they multiplied the capital and spent the money in fabulous dividends and other ways. Labour received only a very small part of these profits. About the same time the revision of railway rates to a more equitable basis according to the distance traversed, weakened its position in the distant internal markets. Also higher rents, taxes, water rates and other municipal services, etc. made it difficult to hold its ground against new rivals. On account of these facts, when a set back occurred in the industry, the management tried to reduce its expenses by a cut in the wages. This resulted in a series of labour troubles of greater or less intensity, which culminated in the general strike of 1928-29. This shook the foundations of the industry in that centre, and Ahmedabad and other muffusil centres took very great advantage of these difficulties. When once the trade was diverted, it became very difficult for Bombay to recover the lost ground. In subsequent years it tried to maintain its position by paying greater attention to the production of finer counts of yarn. In this respect it had the advantage of being a port town, because a very large part of the cotton required for this purpose is imported from foreign countries. Of late even in this section other centres like Ahmedabad, Coimbatore, Calcutta, etc., are rapidly increasing their production. But still the market for these products is wide enough and the intensity of competition is not likely to be felt for some time more. But when the production reaches the saturation level, further expansion of the industry in muffusil centres is bound to affect the older ones.

It must be noted that Ahmedabad has progressed very rapidly after the war and seems to have reached the saturation level in production. In fact during the past two years it has been showing the same tendencies which Bombay exhibited about the war period, and its total production is showing a downward trend. This may be a temporary phase, but still there does not seem to be any scope for further expansion in that city. The present strength of Bombay and Ahmedabad lies in the production of finer varieties. Another important factor to be noticed is that the Punjab which is a big cotton growing area even of fine varieties, has not made any progress in this industry. If a number of mills are started there, it is bound to have serious repurcussions on the older centres.

Turning our attention to piecegoods we find that Bombay has lost its trade in bleached and coloured goods on account of higher water taxes, and that it has partly made good this loss by the increased production of dhoties. Ahmedabad switched on to coloured goods where it has some advantages. But it should be noted that the shares of these two centres in piecegoods is much greater than that in yarn because a number of up country mills are producing yarn only for supplying to the handlooms. This tendency is noticeable to a larger extent in U. P. and Madras. If these centres also begin to produce piecegoods, either Bombay and Ahmedabad will lose part of their markets or the increased production of mill made goods will drive out handloom products. But the public opinion at present is strongly in favour of the encouragement of cottage industries, and any factors which tend to prove detrimental to them will not be allowed to develop unchecked. If in addition to these provinces, Punjab and Bengal which are the largest markets for the products of Bombay and Ahmedabad also enter this industry there will be further glut in the market. Of course these contingencies are all hypothetical and may not materialise very quickly. But still it is necessary to be aware of the possibilities.

It may be asserted that the potential demand in the country is very great and if the purchasing power of the masses is increased it can consume a far larger supply. In this connection some important facts have got to be remembered. During the past eight years Indian mills rapidly increased their production with the aid of high revenue and protective duties. Several other factors, namely, national movement, greater demand for coarse products on account of the fall in the purchasing power of the masses, etc., also aided the expansion of mill production. Though the foreign imports

have fallen very low, the total quantity of piecegoods available for consumption has reached record levels. Unfortunately our country has got a very large surplus of raw cotton for which it must find a market in the foreign countries. Japan and England have been using this factor as a lever in bargaining for larger imports of their manufactures. Japan is given a quota of about 400 millions of yards (including imports to Burma) and England is bargaining for a higher figure. In the interest of the cotton growers, Government is forced to accept foreign imports though the indigenous industry is fast developing to a position of self-sufficiency. In addition to this, large imports of foreign artificial silk goods and the attempts to start that industry even in our country point out to a curtailment rather than expansion of the demand for cotton goods. We have to set off these several facts against any possible increase in demand.

Thus we find that the future of Bombay and Ahmedabad depends upon their ability to stand the competition in finer qualities and special lines of production. The general trend of the industry points out to a greater dispersion throughout the different parts of the country.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.

Production of yarn in millions of lbs.

	1901 — 1904	1911 — 1914	1919 — 1922	1922 — 1925	1925 — 1928	1928 — 1931	1931 — 1934	1934 — 1937
Bombay	326	349	336	315	309	229	293	282
Ahmedabad	45	68	79	86	107	130	162	169
Rest of Bombay Presidency	46	52	53	55	61	65	74	77
Rest of India	159	196	195	224	291	358	437	510
Grand Total	576	665	663	680	768	782	966	1038

TABLE II.

Production of piecegoods in millions of yds.

	1901 — 1904	1911 — 1914	1919 — 1922	1922 — 1925	1925 — 1928	1928 — 1931	1931 — 1934	1934 — 1937
Bombay	293	619	874	836	1046	798	1083	1139
Ahmedabad	102	259	372	413	510	643	853	990
Rest of Bombay Presidency	47	87	125	132	152	175	193	213
Rest of India	99	208	280	318	482	675	906	1171
Grand Total	541	1173	1651	1699	2190	2291	3035	3513

A NATIONAL HEALTH POLICY

Scheme for the Improvement of Medical Inspection of Pupils, in Schools and Colleges.

By

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N.B. The small letter within the brackets refer to the full list of references.

"Youths of the nation are the trustees of posterity."—Disraeli.

History—As long ago as 1877, New York City had 134 salaried medical inspectors, under the Board of Health. In 1783, France started the first scheme of medical inspection of schools, and gave the school medical service a legal status in 1887. Between 1830-1860, *Sweden* appointed medical officers, attached to the regular staffs of public secondary schools. In 1883, Germany engaged "school doctors" in the ratio of one doctor to 4 towns, and began to care for the boys' health, in a systematic manner, and has reached the present high level of perfection. In 1907, England passed the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, when every school was insisted upon "to provide for the medical inspection of school children and to systematically ascertain the most important features of their physical condition". There have been International Congresses on school-hygiene in the years 1904, 1907 and 1910, when the westerners realised that "the boy of to-day will be the prop of the country to-morrow and also grow up into a real man" (1). And recently, stirred by the increased physical educational activities in other countries, notably in Germany and Italy, directed mainly to improve the physical fitness of their youths, England has passed a British Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, designed "to give effect to the Government's scheme for improving the health and physique of the Nation." In the words of the London "Spectator," the essential aim of this new Act is "to preserve and develop the physique, which has been built up by Medical Services, which are now available to anyone from before birth to the age of leaving school" (q).

2. The policy of following a systematic effort at bodily improvement by the introduction of physical examination and the

treatment of defects in schools and colleges, was regularly begun in India, only after the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19. Before 1919, however, there have been isolated and noble attempts by the school-masters individually to interest themselves in the health and welfare of the students. And in 1920, the Calcutta University started a scheme of medical inspection, and gave it a legal status by organising the Calcutta University Students' Welfare Committee. In Mysore, the scheme of medical inspection has practically ended in failure, due to lack of sympathy and encouragement on the part of the Government. A fuller history of this movement in India is given in the above Report—Volume XII.

3. Mrs. Annie Besant in 1914 or 1915 pioneered this scheme of medical examination of children in Madras. Then the Madras Government deputed two I.M.S. officers in 1917, to conduct medical inspection of school pupils and report thereon. This report is not published. My enquiries at the Surgeon-General's office, Madras, regarding this report have proved futile.

4. *Regulations* requiring the systematic examination of *Elementary* school pupils in Madras, were introduced by a Government Order in 1920 (a). This was revised by another G.O. in 1925 (b), and made applicable to the *High* schools. The object of this G.O. was "to ascertain the general physical condition of the pupil." Elaborate and careful instructions, regarding medical inspection of secondary schools and pupils, were issued by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, in his Proceedings, dated 22-9-25 (c). The Director in his circular, dated 22-9-27 (d) fixed the scale of fees for the medical inspection of each pupil, at the present rate of As. 12 for first inspection and As. 6 for repeat inspection, although the examination is the same. The Director further in his circular of 26-9-31 (e) restricted the number of pupils to be examined by each doctor to the maximum of 2,000. The medical inspection of school pupils, that was initiated under such auspicious circumstances by the late Rajah of Panagal, functioned for one year only and was abandoned in 1928 (?), for varying and various reasons; and thus much valuable knowledge of diseases and defects among the rising generation of children, a Nation's primary asset, has been *lost.*

5. There were two Conferences on school medical inspection held at Madras, in the years 1927 (?) and 1932. But these had failed to attract the due attention at the hands of the Public and

the Government. The Director of Public Instruction in his letter, dated 8-4-32 (f), in proposing a school medical inspectors' conference (when the scheme was defunct) expressed his pleasure that the intention was "to bring together the medical inspectors of schools from various parts of the Presidency and give them an opportunity to discuss problems, local and general, that have risen in the actual working and suggest ways and means of making the scheme more effective and really useful to the pupils and parents concerned."

6. The *Reasons* for the failure of the medical inspection scheme are—

(i) Scepticism and indifference on the part of parents;

(ii) Boyishness and rebelliousness of the pupils, to get examined by a doctor;

(iii) This medical inspection being looked upon as " jobbery," with all its significance lost;

(iv) Lack of facilities to treat the defectives;

(v) Lack of interest and enthusiasm on the part of Medical officers, due to poor remuneration;

(vi) Apathy and indifference of the Educational authorities towards making this scheme a success;

(vii) Ignorance of the school-teachers in regard to the pupils' health;

(viii) The general and poor *outlook* of the Public and the Government, with regard to their children and the future citizen—health being nobody's concern, unless they actually fall ill; and

(ix) Failure to cause reports of medical inspection to be published and made available to the Public.

In this connection, I had volunteered my humble services, to draft a consolidated report on the last 10 years' medical inspection statistics, regarding the College students, which have been turned down by the University of Madras and also by the Director of Public Instruction.

7. The *policy* of the Educational authorities regarding the medical inspection has been varying according to the attitudes and moods of the various officers at the time. At present, it is not receiving due attention at the hands of the authorities. The belated

inspection of the College students is, however, an admission of the necessity of looking after the health of the University students. To quote the report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1919, the function of a University is that it must be "in a position to assure the public that the students to whom it awards its Degrees, have received their training under conditions, favourable to health and character, as well as to intellectual attainments." How much more important is this function and responsibility, when considering the tender-aged pupils, it is needless to comment. The Medical inspection of Colleges is dealt with separately, vide para 38 *infra.*

8. The *aim* of medical inspection is the "true welfare of every child studied and not the mere collection of data for statistical purposes. This inspection will materialise in improved health and vigorous mentality of the individual child; and the collection of the data will be useful not only to the psychologist but also serve the cause of Public Health, in preventing infantile mortality". (1) Every child must be put to mental and physical tests, once a year. And for this, two experts, a psychiatrist and a doctor are necessary. In the words of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, England, this medical inspection is "but a means to an end. The discovery of physical and mental defects among the school children is of importance only in so far as it is remedied or is of assistance in the understanding and the prevention of disease." Giving the child a bottle of medicine or a pair of glasses is *not* treatment, while he studies under unfavourable conditions, like—

(1) Bad food; (2) Bad exercises of child's body; (3) Lack of *rest;* (4) Lack of cleanliness; (5) Lack of proper clothing and protection of body—the fundamental necessities of a healthy life.

Therefore, in other words, this medical inspection of school children is to provide the "cheap ounce of prevention to spare the adoption of the costly pound of cure."

9. *Functions.*—This scheme of medical inspection includes—

(i) A detailed examination of the pupils from head to foot and offering the best medical advice—medical and sanitary supervision of all pupils;

(ii) Hygiene instructions to pupils, which affect the healthy physical development of the pupils;

(iii) Lectures on Hygiene and Physiology, which is having a revival and renewed importance at the hands of the Government, at this moment;

(iv) Instruction in Physical exercises—which include Hygiene, Physical training, Temperance, and management of Open-air schools, etc.,;

and (v) Athletic control.

10. *Teachers' role.*—In this scheme of medical inspection, the teacher's role and knowledge about the physical condition of the pupils are very important. The training of teachers for the detection of signs of communicable diseases and of gross defects by the school doctor should be an important item in the field of Elementary education. In America and European countries the teachers' role is considered to be the "keystone" of medical inspection. His vocation is one of active participation in the life of the pupil; and can, therefore, most effectively spot out all the physical and mental defects of the pupils, under his care Therefore, the teacher, the doctor, and the physical director must all work together in a team-spirit, in this scheme of medical inspection—which is part of elementary educational scheme—which in turn is but a part of the bigger Child Welfare Scheme.

Recommendations.

11. *Principles.*—Therefore, to institute and maintain a scheme of medical inspection of the school children, which is of paramount value to the Nation, on a sound basis and to be of everlasting benefit to the country, as a National Health Policy, the following recommendations are submitted:—

1. A regular and periodical examination of the pupils is a necessity;
2. From the moment a pupil is admitted into a school till the date of joining an appointment in any establishment, or of entering a profession or trade, all health records must be entered on one and the same record, from year to year;

and 3. Physical culture exercise classes should be systematically conducted.

12. The *administration* to bring into effect, the above 3 desired principles, may be broadly divided into—

i. School Medical Service;

ii. "Follow-up" officers and After-care treatment; and

iii. Voluntary Children's Care Committees—voluntary organisations, to enhance the physical well-being of children.

In this plan of action, there should be a definite co-ordination of all organisations, so that from birth to adolescence, there will be an unbroked chain of medical supervision.

13. *Acts and Laws.*—The following laws and regulations as in England and foreign countries, must be enacted:—

1. Daylight Saving Act.
2. Cleansing of Persons Act.
3. Education (Administration Provisions) Act, (a) to make medical inspection of all pupils compulsory; and, (b) parents to be prosecuted for neglect of their children's health, and also failure to get them examined, on the lines of Sections, 87 and 89 of the Education Act of 1921, England.

and, 4. *Indian Physical Training Act,* on the model of British Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, with the *definite object* of improving physical fitness and physical well-being.

14. *A School Medical Service* on a permanent basis, with full-time paid doctors, with the right of private practice without prejudicial to their official duties must be created on the lines of the School Medical Service, Board of Education, England, and that suggested and partially worked out scheme of the Calcutta University Students' Welfare Committee(m). The establishment of a school medical service may be constituted as follows—(Appendix B.)

1. Chief Medical Officer to the Minister of Education, similar to the post of Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, England.

To work under him—

2. Four sectional officers—after-care officers to carry on "follow-up" work.
3. Medical examiners for every group of 6,000 pupils—Number 500.
4. One clerk and tabulator, to carry office work.
5. One steno-typist and peons.

15. *Duties.*—This school medical service is to serve for the whole Presidency school-children. The *duties* of the Chief Medi-

cal Officer, the school medical service, and of other members of the staff could be easily defined later on. So also further detailed instructions to medical officers, conducting medical inspection could be given when the work is started. With the co-operation of school headmasters, the medical examiner with the group of 6,000 pupils, entrusted to him, and studying in the locality-schools, can carry on the work most efficiently. A *schema* of the representation and responsibility of the School Medical Service is appended.—(Appendix C.).

16. *Qualifications of the medical officers.*—The medical examiner or officer must be a medical graduate of the Madras University, or, a L.M.P. diplomate of 3 years' standing. He must be pledged to consider the children's health his primary concern and not make this school medical service a stepping stone to his private practice. His service to the group of 6,000 pupils in the locality must be available, any time, day or night, *freely.*

17. *Psychiatrist.*—It is not possible at the present stage to have a psychiatrist for every group of 6,000 pupils. But, training in child psychology and instructions to diligently carry the "intelligent" and mental tests, could be given to every "trained teacher"—at all the Training schools. The subject of "child psychology" should be made a compulsory course of study for a Teachers' Training Certificate—on a *definite objective* to improve the intelligence of the school-children, by studying the extent of school-retardation.

18. *Pre-School Period.*—The physical needs of the child are met by—

1. Midwives and Health visitors;
2. Provision for instruction to mothers—maternity centres.
3. Centres to look after growing children;
4. Primary and Elementary Schools, when the child comes under the supervision of the medical officer;

and 5. Children's Care Committees.

19. *Entrant infants.*—When the infants commence education at the age of 5 or 6 years, Medical supervision is necessary

(1) to *prevent* admission of physically unfit children;
(2) to *ensure* prompt treatment of physical defects;
(3) to *avoid* the spread of infectious diseases; and,
(4) to *create* and develop healthy habits and living.

"Follow-up" Policy

20. *After-care treatment.*—With the regular and detailed examination of the pupils from head to foot, and the detection of defects, we proceed to the next step, the *organisation of treatment,* a follow-up policy and an after-care treatment of the defectives, both mental and physical. This involves—

(i) the scheme of medical inspection and diagnosis, as stated in the earlier paras;

(ii) Reference of the defectives to a family or hospital doctor;

(iii) Establishment of a school clinic (medical, surgical, and ophthalmic) on a modest scale, one clinic for every group of 6,000 pupils, under the medical examiner's charge in the locality;

(iv) Arrangement with hospitals for the free treatment of school children;

(v) Supply of glasses at reduced rates;

(vi) Remedial centres for physical deformity;

(vii) Special schools for the blind, deaf and dumb, debilitated and feeble-minded; and,

(viii) Practical teaching of mother-craft to girls.

21. The duties of the *"After-Care" Officer* are that they follow up 4 groups of cases :—

1. "Students who appear to suffer on account of general neglect or sheer ignorance of the laws of health;
2. "Students suffering from constitutional diseases;
3. "Students who place themselves entirely in the hands of the After-Care officers, for special advice and treatment; and,
4. "Students, who require special examination for diagnosis and treatment."—(m).

22. *Organisation of a school clinic* for the group of 6,000 pupils in the locality, should be in the following directions:—

A. Inspection clinic.

B. Minor ailment clinic.

C. Dental, aural, and ophthalmic clinic.

D. Skin clinic.

E. School-section dispensary, where medicines could be supplied at nominal cost or free to the poor.

Care—Committees

23. This "follow-up" work is to be carried further into the body-politic of the Nation by—

1. Care-Committees—Child Welfare Committee—(Appendix D.).
2. Out-of-school children committee, to note the behaviour of the pupils.
3. Tuberculosis Committee.

and, 4. Lecturing Committees, to do health propaganda work.

The functions of these Committees could be defined and they made to work in an honorary capacity, in due course, and their activities co-ordinated with associations, like the National Health Association of South India and the Red Cross Society.

24. The *equipment and appliances,* necessary outfit of a medical examiner, are fully outlined in the proceedings of the Director of Public Instructions (c). In addition to these appliances, the Chief Medical Officer should be supplied with

(1) Anthropometric apparatus, and,

(2) A Spirometer (Wet type) to record the vital capacity of lungs of pupils, as a measure of physical fitness.

The medical examiners will be responsible for the safe custody of these appliances.

25. The *Medical inspection schedule forms.*—The present medical inspection schedule forms, need revision in the light of London County Council inspection forms and instructions, and also that suggested by the Inter-University Board, India. (1931). These latter medical inspection forms throw a flood of light on the various factors to be reckoned with, in building up the physique of the students. By adopting this change, we would be falling in line with International activities regarding the same.

26. *Office and Correspondence*: *Residence.*—The office of the Chief Medical Officer could be located in a Government building, rent-free. As regards the mufassal medical examiners, the local Governmental, District Board, or Municipal buildings could be utilised for their offices. The Correspondence and statistical work

could be carried on by the offices of the Government, District Board, Municipal, or Private schools, as the group of 6,000 pupils come under.

27. *Economy* that can be effected. (i)—Costly furniture is unnecessary; (ii)—The equipment and appliance should be bought in the open market and not at the Government Stores, as the rates are cheaper outside, for the same and best quality of apparatus. This would result in lesser expenditure; and (iii)—The services of local midwives, Nurses, and Health visitors, of the Child Welfare Scheme could be availed of by the local medical officers; and, therefore, no extra expense need be incurred on this account, at present. By these means, expenses could be reduced to minimum.

28. *Physical exercises and control* by the School Medical Service: The medical officers' duties regarding the physical exercises of the scholars must not be overlooked. A syllabus of graduated exercises, on the lines of German instructions, insistence of minimum physical development, and performance of the exercises should all be chalked out; and the medical officer should have the "right" to modify this standard in special cases.

Finances of the Scheme.

29. In the above paras, I have detailed a scheme of Medical examination, to serve the whole Presidency, with the aim and functions; and how it could be worked out on modern lines, following the International activities, with the *definite objective* of improving the National manhood, health, and physical well-being. India is to have a National army, a Federal army for defence purposes of her shores; and in this struggle, when a war is thrust on India inevitably, her sons should not be found to be inferior to that of any other youths in any country. Therefore, I propose the following budget—to make this scheme of School Medical Service—a part of National Health Policy, not only self-contained but also advantageous to a Peoples' Government from all points of view.

Revenue	..	Rs. 6,86,345-8-0.
Expenditure	..	Rs. 6,06,150-0-0.
1st Year's Surplus	..	Rs. 80,195-8-0.
Subsequent Year's surplus		Rs. 1,55,445-8-0.

30. *Statistics of Scholars* (Appendix E.).—The statistics for the calculation of the budget figures for this scheme have been

taken from the annual report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for the year, 1935-36, Volume I. There are in this Presidency 50,633 High, Middle, & Primary Schools (excluding "Special schools"), catering to the needs of 31,22,389 scholars—both male and female—(Appendix E-ii). These schools are distributed among the various Educational institutions—(Appendix E-iii). The distribution of scholars amongst the various managements are shown in Appendix E-iv.—Government, District Board, Municipal, and Private (aided and non-aided) schools.

According to the Director's report, the number of Municipalities either not levying education cess or are providing free compulsory education is 76—(Appendix E-i). On an average the Municipalities spend nearly 6·3% or $\frac{1}{16}$ of the total expenditure; and therefore, for their services, exemption to the $\frac{1}{16}$ extent must be made—(Appendix E-v).

The number of scheduled castes scholars in the Presidency is 375,201, requiring exemption (Appendix E-vi).

31. *Revenue*: *Medical fees*—(*Appendix A-i*).—The following modest scale of fees *per year* may be adopted:—

1. A flat rate of As. 8 per annum for each High & Middle school pupil.
2. Another rate of As. 4 per annum for each Primary school pupil.

The details of fees collected from all scholars and the necessary exemptions to be made for the Municipalities-services and the Scheduled castes, who are too poor to pay any fees, are worked out in Appendix A-i. The net Revenue has been estimated to be Rs. 6,86,345-8-0 or 6·9 lakhs nearly.

32. *Expenditure*: (*Appendix A-ii*).—The functions and duties of the School Medical Service have been dealt with exhaustively in the earlier paras, 14 to 26, which is to serve the needs of 31 lakhs of school children in the whole Presidency—hospitalization for special treatment of school children, installation of school clinic, etc. The establishment charges for the necessary staffs (Appendix B)—have all been taken into account. The net expenditure has been estimated to be Rs. 530,900 (recurring) plus Rs. 75,250 (non-recurring). The total amounts to Rs. 6,06,150-0-0.

33. *Agency and Credit.*—The agency for the collection of the medical fees should be the Government, District Board, Munici-

pal, or Private school Headmasters. They should collect the money from the pupils and credit the amount to the Government treasury—a School Medical Service account. The salaries of the establishment staffs would be distributed by the Chief Medical Officer, on the Government's authorisation, on the 1st of every month. The accounts to be audited like any other Government departments.

34. *Utilisation of Surplus.*—By this beneficial scheme of a Health policy, there is a surplus of Rs. 80,000 & odd, for the first year from the date of inception; and Rs. 1,55,445-8-0 for subsequent years, as no amount would be spent on equipment and appliances (Non-recurring). This surplus should be utilised for *free feeding* of the necessitous poor scholars, and other ameliorative conditions to improve the physical well-being of the Nation. But on *no* account or for any extraneous considerations, should this surplus be appropriated for any extra-school children's activities.

35. *Budget Note.* (*Appendix F*).—A short note on my budget proposals is necessary, with regard to revenue figures and the expenditure items. How I have come to the conclusion with regard to the efficient working of the scheme and a thorough examination of the pupils, is detailed in the Appendix F.

36. The *Advantages* of this proposed Scheme are—

1. It contributes to the Nation's health and wealth, by the maintenance of the high level of health, and physical well-being;
2. It raises the man-power of the Nation;
3. It is self-contained, practicable, and an economic proposition;
4. It solves the problem of Rural medical relief on a systematic scale and in an efficient manner. Therefore, it acts as an *auxillary body* to the Public Health Department. By co-ordinating the activities of these two agencies, expenditure on Public Health could be economised;
5. It generates in the minds of the public, a higher ideal of of citizenship, unity, and National service;
6. It solves the unemployment problem; and lastly;
7. It brings the Government into direct contact with the masses—the rural population—the backbone of India.

37. *Criticisms* that might be levelled against this beneficial scheme are—

(a) The pitch is tuned too high: Nothing is of greater importance to the Nation, when considering the health of the Nation;

(b) Medical examiners' pay is low: The scale of pay proposed Rs. 60 per month is modest and meets all the needs and wants of an honorary and willing service to the welfare of the people. It is on the same level of pay as that of the Rural Medical Practitioners. No doctor can grudge this permanent income, in these days of economic struggle for existence.

and, (c) Objections from the School-managers, in the form of (1) unwilling to levy the modest "medical fees" for a year, and (2) willing to have and exercise control over the school medical service in the locality, on a sense of prestige.

It is highly desirable that the District Boards, Municipalities, and Private Managing bodies should not interfere with this honorary School Medical Service. Work would be efficient and thorough, free from outside influences and prejudices. The higher moral value and the greater importance of the health of the Nation must over-ride all considerations and objections, in pushing forward this scheme to a success.

38. *Medical Inspection of College students.*—Following up the report of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19), and realising the need to look after the health of the young citizens in the College classes, and of the paramount importance of military training to College students due to Skeen Committee's report, the Madras University passed a regulation in 1927, by which the medical inspection of College students was made compulsory, in all affiliated and constituent Colleges, with the following instruction—"all that is required of the certificate is that the student is in sound health and if there is any defect, the same should be noted by the medical officer, together with suggested treatment"—(h). But beyond this instruction, the University has not taken any steps to improve the health and to make the scheme a live one. The reports of the doctors of the many Colleges are merely "filed."

The present medical inspection schedule forms require modification and improvement in the light of the Instructions to the

Medical Officers, conducting medical inspection, issued by the Inter-University Board India (1931).

39. To make the present scheme of medical inspection working in the Colleges *a live one*, I have offered few suggestions to the Vice-Chancellor in a memorandum and also with the idea of improving physical fitness of the University students, as a whole. This letter is under consideration of the University at present. Hope with the active sympathys of the present Vice-Chancellor, the health problem of the University students will receive an active and practical consideration immediately. My annual report on the Presidency College students would throw a good deal of insight into the diseases and defects of the present younger generation, which are sapping their vitality. This was reviewed by the Hon. Minister of Health, Madras, in the course of a lecture on 19-10-37 ("Hindu" of 19-10-37).

40. *Physical Education.*—Closely connected with and included in the scheme of medical inspection is the "Physical Education" exercises and activities, vide para 28 *supra*. And to draw the attention of the public and the authorities, I have read a paper on the "Trends in Physical education and School-hygiene in South India"—at the Tanjore Educational Conference (May, 1937) a complete article of which has appeared in the special educational issue of the "South Indian Teacher"—October, 1937. I have already submitted general proposals and notes to the Ministers of Public Health and Education, Madras—

(i) To improve the physical fitness of youths, which is admittedly low, and,

(ii) To raise the general level of the health of the masses. (Appendix G.).

I hope my notes may be of some value to the Educational authorities, at this present juncture.

41. With regard to physical education and its reorganisation, so that it may be brought to be appreciated and introduced into the community, I am submitting a few suggestions, in the Annexure on Physical education—Part II.

42. *Conclusion.*—To sum up, my humble scheme of a School Medical Service is practicable, self-contained, and an economic proposition, when the physical health and well-being is slowly and steadily deteriorating—as it provides for the complete examination of every pupil in the Presidency; a re-examination every year;

health examinations, assignments to physical activities and adjustment of school programme in accordance with physical capacity; certificates as to physical fitness for games; free medical service at any hour of day or night; preventive inoculations and vaccinations; hospitalization for students and pupils; emergency service of all kinds; consultation with a psychiatrist, to study emotional problems of children; and the most important problem of chalking out a *Diet Chart,* suited to the economic conditions of the Indians (I am at present attempting one, a satisfactory diet for As. 2½ a day); and frequent health conferences to bring into contact parents, students, children, and teachers, so as to stimulate community hygiene, health behaviour and habits.

43. As regards the physical education and exercises, the objective must be to improve the physical fitness and raise the man-power of India—a view advocated by the Skeen Committee Report on Military training—to suit Indian talents, sentiments, and outlook, and thus bring this scheme of physical education into the body-politic of the country.

44. All these above programmes of a National Health Policy are meant to serve only one purpose, and that is to translate into action Disraeli's pregnant and historic remark, that "the Youths of the Nation are the Trustees of Posterity." And the Congress and other Provincial Autonomous Governments in India are in a position to do real service to the masses, so that Posterity would thank them and feel grateful for their unstinted efforts.

March, 1938.

LIST OF REFERENCES

(*a*) G.O. No. 208—Home (Educational), dated 12-2-20.

(*b*) G.O. No. 641—Law (Educational), dated 29-4-25.

(*c*) Director of Public Instruction—Proceedings—R.O.C. No. 934-D/25, dated 22-9-25.

(*d*) do. —Circular—R.O.C. No. 685-D/27, dated 22-9-27.

(*e*) do. —Circular—R.O.C. No. 113-F/31, dated 26-9-31.

(*f*) do. —Letter—R.O.C. No. 133—F/32, dated 8-4-32.

(*g*) do. —Annual report on Education in the Madras Presidency, 1935-36, Volume I.

(*h*) Registrar, University of Madras—Letter—No. 5643, dated 16-5-27.

(*i*) Madras University Regulation, Chapter No. XXXVI, Sec. 2.

(*j*) Instructions to Medical Officers, Inter-University Board, India (1931).

(*k*) Mysore University Medical Inspection Report (1927-28).

(*l*) Calcutta University Commission Report, 1917-19, Vol. XII.

(*m*) Calcutta University Students' Welfare Committee Reports (1928 & 1930).

(*n*) American World Federation of Education Conferences—Health section reports.

(*o*) Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, England.

(*p*) My letters and notes on physical education to the Hon. Ministers of Health & Education, Madras (Appendix G).

(*q*) London "Spectator"—of 1-10—37.

APPENDIX A-i—BUDGET STATEMENT—REVENUE

Medical Fees—Rate:

As. 8 per annum for each High and Middle school pupil.

As. 4 per annum for each Primary school pupil and unrecognised institutions.

I.	Strength of scholars in High and Middle schools ..		212,506		
	Fees to be collected from them: 212,506/2 ..	Rs.	106,253		
II.	Strength of scholars in Primary schools: (male and female) ..		2,869,329		
	Fees to be collected from them: 2,869,329/4 ..	Rs.	717,332	4	0
III.	Strength of scholars in unrecognised institutions ..		40,554		
	Fees to be collected from them: 40,554/4 ..	Rs.	10,138	8	0
(A)	Total fees to be collected (Sum of I, II & III) ..	Rs.	833,723	12	0

Deductions due to Exemptions—

	(1) For Municipalities free services. 6·3% or 1/16 of the total expenditure (App. E-v) ..	Rs.	52,107	12	0
	(2) For scheduled castes, at the rate of As. 4 per head, for 375,201 scholars (App. E-vi) ..	Rs.	95,270	8	0
(B)	Total deductions [Sum of (1) & (2)] ..	Rs.	147,378	4	0
	Net Revenue: (A)—(B) ..	Rs.	686,345	8	0

APPENDIX A-ii—BUDGET– EXPENDITURE

Recurring—

I.	Establishment Charges (App. B) ..	Rs.	483,900	0	0
II.	Allotment to hospitals for the special treatment of children	„	5,000	0	0
III.	Supply of drugs, first aid, etc., to school clinics, at the rate of Rs. 50 for each clinic, for 500 clinics ..	„	25,000	0	0
IV.	Repairs to appliances, supplied to the medical officers, as part of equipment ..	„	1,000	0	0
V.	Printing schedule forms ..	„	5,000	0	0
VI.	Stationery supply ..	„	1,000	0	0
VII.	Incidental and contingent expenses—Extra activities ..	„	10,000	0	0
	Total ..	„	530,900	0	0

Non-recurring—

1.	Outlay on equipment and supply of appliance, at the rate of Rs. 150 per doctor, for 500 doctors	..	„	75,000	0 0
2.	One type-writer for the Chief Medical Officer	..	„	250	0 0
	Total expenditure	..	„	601,150	0 0

N.B.—To this may be added an extra expenditure of another Rs. 500 for the supply of anthropometric apparatus and a spirometer to the Chief Medical Officer.

Balance of Budget.

Revenue	..	Rs.	686,345	8 0
Expenditure	..	„	601,150	0 0
Surplus (for the 1st year)	..	„	80,195	8 0
Surplus (for the subsequent years, including the non-recurring charges)	..	„	155,445	8 0

N.B.—With this definite surplus of 0·8 to 1·56 lakhs of Rupees per year, Government can create a "Heaven".

APPENDIX B

Proposed Establishment of the School Medical Service

			Monthly salary Rs.
1.	Chief Medical Officer	..	200
	Allowance	..	50
2.	Four After-care officers, at the rate of Rs. 120 per officer	..	480
3.	Medical Officers (500), at the rate of Rs. 60 per officer	..	30,000
4.	One clerk and tabulator	..	35
5.	One steno-typist	..	30
6.	Two peons on Rs. 15 each	..	30
7.	Contingencies for all the 500 medical officers, at the rate of Rs. 2 per head	..	1,000
8.	Travelling allowance for the rural medical officers, who travel beyond 2-3 miles per day to complete their work, for 12 days in a month—provision for 350 rural medical officers, for touring 12 days at the rate of Rs. 2 per day	..	8,400
9.	Propaganda purposes	..	100
	Total monthly expenditure	Rs. ..	40,325

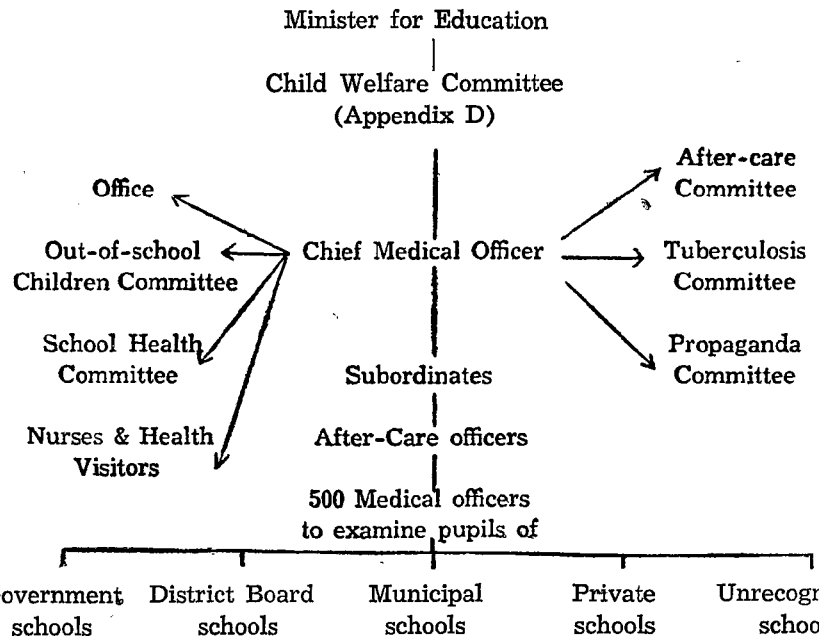
For 12 months: Rs. $40,325 \times 12 = $ Rs. 483,900.

N.B.—Furniture is not included, as this could be managed with the existing office furniture.

APPENDIX C.

Schema of School Medical Service

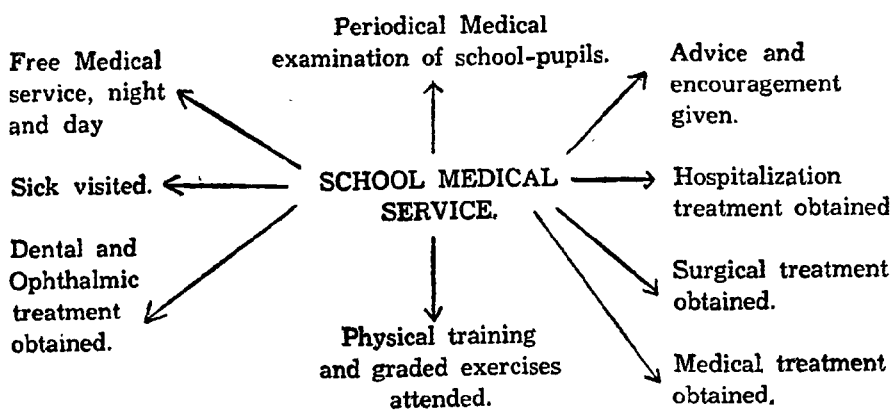
(i) Control



N.B.—1. To get the quota of 6,000 pupils for each medical officer, in the locality, the schools may be arranged accordingly, so that the work could be carried most thoroughly and efficiently.

2. On due notice, the services of the local nurses, midwives, or Health Visitors could be availed of by the medical officers, at the time of medical examination, if necessary.

(ii) Points of Contact



N.B :—This separate scheme of School Medical Service of doctors is intended for insuring the health of children. By inaugurating this scheme of school-doctors, expenditure on Public Health could be considerably reduced within five years, and also, one would have built a healthier and fitter generation.

APPENDIX D

Child Welfare Committee

The constitution of the Child Welfare Committee, a voluntary organisation, directing the policy of the whole School Medical Service :—

1. Minister of Health—President.
2. Minister of Education—Vice-President.
3. Director of Public Instruction.
4. Director of Public Health.
5. The Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras.
6. The Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.
7. The Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University.
8. Director of Physical Education (Adviser), Government of Madras.
9. Health Officer, Corporation of Madras.
10. Chief Medical Officer, School Medical Service.
11. Deputy Directoress of Public Health, Madras.
12. Members of Legislatures—2 co-opted members:
    (i) From Legislative Assembly—1
    (ii) From Legislative Council—1
13. Ad hoc committee members, if and when necessary, limited to experts only—(Temporary members).

The duties and functions of this Committee could be defined later on. The Chief Medical Officer, School Medical Service, who is in charge of the whole scheme and its efficient working will be the *Secretary* to this Committee.

13-15 members will constitute this Committee.

APPENDIX E

Statistics, culled from the Director of Public Instruction's Report, 1935-36. The figures of scholars taken and worked out are for the year 1936..

APPENDIX E-i —

No. of Municipalities not levying Education cess	..	41
No. of Municipalities providing compulsory education	..	28
No. of Taluqs providing compulsory education	..	7

APPENDIX E-ii

Strength of scholars in Schools

Male & Female.		No. of institutions.	No. of scholars.
High & Middle schools	..	675	2,12,506
Primary Schools	..	48,767	28,69,329
Unrecognised institutions	..	1,191	40,554
Total No.	..	50,633	31,22,389

N.B.—"Special schools" are excluded.

APPENDIX E-iii

Distribution of Educational Institutions—Schools.

Male & Female.	Govt.	Dist. Board.	Municipal.	Private.
High & Middle ..	36	217	54	368
Primary ..	1,580	18,880	1,488	28,010
Total No. ..	1,616	19,097	1,542	28,378

APPENDIX E-iv

Management.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Scholars. (Male & Female.)
Government ..	1,616	85,183
District Board ..	19,097	11,42,446
Municipal ..	1,542	2,17,646
Private ..	28,378	16,38,023

APPENDIX E-v

Expenditure from Municipal Funds—in Rupees

Scholars.	Expenditure from Municipal funds.	Total Expenditure.
Male ..	15,06,275	2,84,07,908
Female ..	6,62,295	60,85,371
Total amount ..	21,68,570	3,44,93,279

Ratio of Municipal expenditure to Total Expenditure :
1 : 16 or 6·25 or 6·3%.

Therefore, amount of Municipal funds expenditure :
Rs. 8,33,723-12-0/16 = Rs. 52,107-12-0.

This amount is to be deducted from the total revenue for the services rendered by the Municipalities, regarding free compulsory education.

APPENDIX E-vi

Number of Scheduled Castes.

Male & Female.	No. of scheduled castes.
High & Middle schools ..	11,762
Primary schools ..	3,63,439
Total No. ..	3,75,201

N.B.—These statistics regarding the High, Middle, and Primary schools have been extracted, with the object of working out the scheme and allotting the number of pupils to each of the 500 Medical Officers, living in the locality concerned.

APPENDIX F

Budget note explanation.

A short note of explanation on my budget proposals is necessary. The Municipalities are doing immense service for the cause of free compulsory education; and therefore, it would be ridiculous to ask the children or the Municipality to pay the medical fees. The Municipalities are meeting 6·3% of the total expenditure, for all the schools; and therefore, to this extent they must be exempted from all medical fees. When the Scheduled castes are getting the benefit of free education, it would be wrong to levy this small amount of medical fees, on principle, apart from their poverty. Therefore, these pupils must be exempted from medical fees.

2. As regards the expenditure, from my experience for the last 10 years of medical examination of pupils, I have calculated the number of pupils to be examined by each doctor, most efficiently and thoroughly.

On an average, it takes 10 to 12 minutes to examine a boy. Therefore, for 1 hour, 6 boys can be examined. For 5 working hours of the school per day, 30 pupils can be examined. Usually, a school works for 200 days in a year. And therefore, $30 \times 200 = 6{,}000$ pupils can be examined by one doctor.

No. of scholars in the whole Presidency: 31,22,389 or 31 lakhs nearly.

No. of doctors required: 31 lakhs/6,000 = 516, or 500 doctors will do.

3. With the 500 medical officers, 4 after-care officers, and the Chief Medical Officer—all conducting medical examination of pupils, work can be very efficient.

APPENDIX G.

Suggestions to improve physical fitness and low level of general health—submitted to the Hon. Ministers of Public Health and Education, Madras, in August, 1937:—

1. A *change* in the present policy and outlook of the Educational and Medical authorities, towards the health-building activities, is necessary.
2. The scheme of medical inspection of school-children should be revived and made permanent.
3. All children and students must be made to undergo physical training and exercises (as suits their individual capacity) to build physique, as an *objective* to live healthily not only for the present but also for the future.
4. A Bill on the lines of the British Physical Training and Recreation Act should be introduced.
5. Health essentials in printed forms should be supplied free to every child, so that he and his parents may keep contact with the school or College and the community.
6. A *Tuberculosis-survey* of College and school pupils should be carried out, by means of the simple Von Pirquet or PPD test. This is least expensive, most economical, and fairly accurate test.

7. A *special census report* of the College students' and school-pupils' mortality should be published, along with other mortality reports.
8. The activities of the Provincial Health Propaganda Board should be increased, for the *definite purpose* of improving the physical fitness of South Indians, which is admittedly below par.
9. An economic enquiry into the expenditure and living wages, in connection with the Nutrition and diet problems should be conducted, on the lines of the Labour report of the Bombay Government.
10. A Public Health Act to enforce the supply of *pure* food-stuffs to children—(e.g., Milk-supply—purity determined in terms of bacterial count, rather than by lactometer), Cigarettes, Bread, Coffee, Tea, Lozenges, Betel-nuts, etc.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA *

By

R. KRISHNAMURTHY, M.A.

For a clear understanding of the problem of unemployment and giving definiteness to our notions, it would be well to define the word unemployment and to make a distinction between the unemployed and the unemployables and total employment and short-time employment. A man can be said to be unmployed if he fails to secure a job even though he is willing to work. Some are without work simply because of the slump in industrial activity; they can be taken back if and when business recovers—these are unemployed. Others are unemployables who are unfitted for work by the War or by their age or the lack of skill. The unemployed and the unemployables have become a problem to the Government. As days pass and depression increases in weight and volume, the chances of getting jobs for the unemployed become as remote and limited as the chances of getting employment for the unemployables. So the unemployed are becoming and have become unemployables.

A classification of the nature of unemployment may be as follows: Technological causes lead to technological unemployment, seasonal variations lead to seasonal unemployment and cyclical movements cause cyclical unemployment. One therefore has to keep this three-fold distinction in mind if one is to suggest any remedies. Finally, one has got to remember the distinction between normal unemployment and unemployment during depression or abnormal unemployment.

The Problem of Unemployment in India.

(1)

The problem of unemployment is not new or peculiar to India. Both in Hindu and Muhammadan periods, there were several famines, and Governments took steps to give food to the hungry millions either by actually distributing foodstuffs or by providing them with work paying in kind or cash. Since the Crown took over India from the East India Company, there were terrible famines which swept over the whole of India and the Government rightly

* Summary of a report submitted as Research student in Economics, 1933-35.

took upon their shoulders the responsibility of taking ameliorative measures in the famine-stricken areas. At the present time, on account of the economic depression, conditions resembling those of the famine times are prevailing in India. The Committee that was appointed by the Government of Travancore in April 1931 to investigate and report on the causes of the recent economic depression came to the unanimous conclusion that there was at the time what might be termed cash famine as opposed to food famine. Whereas in the famine times of the 19th century, there was a scarcity of foodstuffs on account of the failure of crops and lack of transport, to-day the lack of purchasing power and not scarcity of food stuffs, is the main problem.

In Western countries a balance has been sought between agriculture and manufacturing industries, and we may say that there is a universal swing towards the development of national industries. The prices of the industrial products according to Sir Arthur Salter have fallen by 20% whereas the prices of agricultural products have fallen by 50%. This disparity in price-levels, has its terrible consequences on a predominantly agricultural country like India and has reduced the people to dire poverty.

It should be noted also that unemployment in the Western countries is more industrial than otherwise. That is to say, most of these unemployed are thrown out of employment on account of economy measures or retrenchment measures effected by the factories in which they are employed. When industry recovers and begins to thrive, there is a probability that these temporarily unemployed will be taken back and therefore it is only a short-time industrial unemployment. On the other hand, in India where there is less of industry and more of agriculture, there is bound to be unemployment among agricultural labour classes, owing to the change in the relative economic condition of the farmers. In addition to agricultural unemployment, we have industrial unemployment middle class unemployment or educated unemployment which is even more acute than in Western countries. The problem therefore in India is more complex than in Western countries.

(2)

In India we do not have employment exchanges or Bureaus to know the exact number of workers out of employment and therefore we are unable to know where we stand. On the other hand, in Western countries, there are employment exchanges both state and private organisations—which supply statistics to the Governments to enable them to take remedial measures. No doubt

we have labour unions in India as in Western countries, but they do not serve the purpose of employment exchanges even to a limited extent. In America there is the state-recognised Federation of Labour which publishes monthly the numbers that have been thrown out of employment. In Germany there is the national institution of Employment Exchanges and unemployment insurance which not only supplies information about labour conditions but also insures them against unemployment.

Of the 33,523,423 agricultural labourers including males and females in the whole of India, only 2,043,204 have subsidiary occupations. In Madras, which is more agricultural than other provinces in India, there are 4,256,642 agricultural labourers and only 2,48,861 have subsidiary occupations. It needs no proof that even in normal times most of the agricultural labourers have only seasonal employment, that is to say, they are employed only at the time of planting and harvest. Thus for nearly six months in a year, these agricultural labourers have no employment. Roughly, only 6% have subsidiary occupations. We assume therefore that this six per cent of 33,523,423 agricultural labourers are fully employed. Thus we see that nearly 30 millions of agricultural labourers have no work for six months in the year and therefore have practically been forced to be idle. The problem in India is therefore a problem of the under-employment of 30 millions of the rural population.

Next, we shall review the position of the industrial unemployed. In India, according to the Census Report, 1931, 15,361,935 are employed directly or indirectly in industry. Industry as used in the Census Report is a wide term as it connotes major and minor industries and cottage industries including textiles, dress, toilet, wood, food industries, building industries, metals, chemicals, hides and skins, etc. Of those engaged in industries in India, we are concerned with those who work for wages and not with the owners or proprietors of such industries. Besides those employed in industries of India, there were 710,271 people employed in railways in 1932-33. It should be noted that some of the major industries like cotton, jute and steel have been localised in different parts of India. To have an idea of the handicrafts men, we may note that there are more than 4 million working as goldsmiths, blacksmiths silversmiths, etc., in the whole of India of whom not less than 8 lakhs are, in the Madras Presidency leading a hand-to-mouth life even in normal times. Similarly there are other occupations which keep a large number of under-employed workers.

Thirdly, there are the educated unemployed. The problem of educated unemployment or the middle class unemployment has become very prominent in the eyes of the public. In the year 1931-32 in the whole of India there were 256,792 institutions imparting education to 12,766,537 pupils. This number includes all those receiving elementary, secondary and university education and the total expenditure on education in all the provinces in the same year amounted to Rs. 27,18,56,622, Madras spending Rs. 5,67,61,851. It should be noted that in the Madras Presidency there are ,only 12.6% literates. Most of those who receive elementary education however may not be included among the educated unemployed. We are more concerned with those receiving university education because it is here that the problem is acute. Be it noted also that those who have completed their secondary education and are qualified for the university education are competing keenly with those who have come out of the universities. In India in the year 1931-32, there were 18 universities with nearly 100,000 students reading for collegiate course, Calcutta University having nearly one-fourth of the total and Madras coming next with 16,540 students. Every year some 10,000 come out of the universities seeking jobs. There are others who have not completed their university education seeking employment and making the problem of unemployment more complicated. According to the Census Report of 1931, those who are included under the professions and liberal arts are only 2,310,131. Thus the supply of these educated people for the jobs is many times greater than the demand for them. The Unemployment Committees appointed in Madras, Baroda and Bombay have pointed out rightly the danger of too many seeking university education and pointed out that there was bound to be unemployment among them.

(3)

On account of the depression, many labourers who were employed in major industries were sent away. It is not possible to know how many labourers are unemployed in the major industries. We have information for one centre of the textile industry, which may throw light on the general position. On 28th June 1933 the Ahmedabad Labour Union took a census in Ahmedabad of cotton mill workers who were unemployed on that day. The object of the Inquiry was to ascertain the extent of unemployment with a view to deciding upon measures to combat it. The inquiry was the first of its kind to be undertaken by a labour organisation in India and is interesting on account of the information it supplies.

Out of 67,000 men including boys working in the mills of Ahmedabad 4911 were recorded as unemployed on that day. Out of 12,000 women only 357 were recorded as unemployed on that day as the majority refrained from registration and no analysis was therefore made. The Census contains interesting information concerning the unemployed men on such points as unemployment by occupation (weaving and spinning), length of service prior to unemployment, duration of unemployment, place of birth, age, religion and caste and causes of loss of employment. It is seen that weavers constituted 60 per cent of the total number of the unemployed equal to nearly 13 per cent of the total number of weavers employed in the industry. The high proportion of unemployment among workers with long service (12% of the total having served 15 years or more) is noticeable; this is said by the experienced workers to be due to jobbers engaging inexperienced men as the latter are willing to pay larger bribes. As regards the duration of unemployment, the majority of men had been unemployed for less than a year, approximately 658 only having been unemployed for more than a year. As regards age, 2724 (nearly 55.5%) were between ages of 20 and 30 and 915 (18.6%) were between 30 and 40, thus nearly three-fourths of the total men were between the ages of 20 and 40. The labour union has not so far taken any action to help the unemployed in general but it is reported that it contemplates the establishment of a labour exchange if adequate co-operation is forthcoming from the mill owners. (See *Labour Gazette*, Bombay, October 1933 for the whole of enquiry). To what extent Ahmedabad is representative of conditions in other industrial centres, it is not possible to say; but it is probable that investigation in other centres will give similar results.

In respect of railways the following information is available. In the Report on Indian Railways by the Railway Board for the year 1931-32 it was mentioned that the world depression in trade was more severely felt in India during the year 1931-32 than in the previous year with the result that there was a decline of Rs. 65 crores in exports and Rs. 39 crores in imports as compared with 1930-31, the total value of exports of merchandise from British India in 1931-32 being Rs. 161 crores and that of imports Rs. 126 crores. This was one of the chief factors for the decline in railway earnings for the year as compared with 1930-31, a year somewhat more prosperous. As the net receipts were not sufficient, the railways had to meet interest charges from the Reserve Fund and as the Reserve Fund was completely wiped out, they had to borrow a sum of Rs. 4¼ crores from the Depreciation Fund. The result of the low

earnings was the examination of every item of expenditure. Finally, all railways effected, wherever possible, reduction in train mileage both goods and passengers as well as shunting. Thus in the year 1931-32 the total number of people employed in all railways was (783,901 plus 15,466) 799,368 both on open line and construction and the expenditure on staff came to Rs. 39,69,53,154 whereas in the year 1933-34 the total number employed both on open line and construction was (677,781 plus 3781) 681,562 and the expenditure came only to Rs. 34,55,11,962. Thus nearly 120,000 people who were employed in railway service were sent away. The policy of the railways during the three years 1931-2 to 1934-5 had not only direct effects on those employed by them but also indirect effects on others employed in other industries which were supplying rolling stock and materials to the railways. The value of stores purchased by 1st class railways (including His Exalted Highness the Nizam and Jodhpur railways which are mainly the properties of Indian States) decreased from Rs. 23.75 crores in 1930-31 to Rs. 15.99 crores in 1931-32 amounting in all to a decrease of Rs. 7.76 crores of rupees. Of this, Rs. 4.93 crores were accounted for under 'imported materials' and Rs. 2.83 crores under 'indigenous materials.' This decrease is due to the economies effected by the railways. Be it noted that in the year 1930-31 the railways imported materials worth about 11½ crores of rupees and in the next year they reduced it by Rs. 4.93 crores. Those materials which come under 'rolling stock and materials' and are imported include tools and stores, permanent way, electric plant, building and station materials and fencing, bridge work, workshop machinery, engineering plant and other materials. Most of those can be had from the indigenous industries. No doubt the railways have cut down the import of rolling stock and materials in the year 1931-32 by nearly 35% whereas in the case of purchasing indigenous materials they cut down their expenditure by only 25%.

Most of the cottage industries have perished due to the foreign competition and some are in a dying condition. Mr. A. Loveday the author of the History and Economics of Indian Famines in his introduction on famines in India says that 'home industries or cottage industries of India have been struck by English competition, prices and often the standard of living have risen.' (P. 6). At present we may say that it is not British competition so much as Japanese competition that is harmful to our home industries. The few remaining dying home industries are not able to give work for many.

Remedies

The remedies proposed must necessarily vary from one class of unemployment to another. It is impossible to have one universal remedy for all types of unemployment. So far as the educated unemployed are concerned, it has been suggested—indeed it has become a regular slogan everywhere—that they should go back to the villages. The argument is that there are somewhere about 7 lakhs of villages which need their services and which could accommodate many of these educated people. While it may be conceded that the employment of some of them in agriculture and in other occupations in the villages is a good thing in itself and will have salutory effects on our national economy, the fact that agriculture is already overcrowded and is supporting far too many persons detracts from the value of the suggestion.

A remedy that has been suggested by some is to encourage people in India to emigrate to foreign lands. Times have changed and the few people that are in South Africa and Zanzibar and other places are legally compelled to go back to their original homes. As India is not a nation state, it is impossible to develop schemes of colonisation. Even militarist nation states like Japan and Italy are put to great difficulties when they are expanding the boundaries of their states by force.

The second remedy often proposed is the revival of certain dead home industries and encouragement of some dying industries. India has been famous from time immemorial for hand made goods. In India nearly 30 millions of agricultural labourers are keeping idle for nearly six months and only six per cent of the agricultural labourers have secondary occupations. If some of the cottage industries are revived, many of these agricultural labourers may take to these as subsidiary occupations when they are idle or unemployed. Mahatma Gandhi's spinning yarn by hand may be good for some of these agricultural labourers. There is already a movement set on foot by Mahatma Gandhi to revive the dead and dying cottage or home industries in India and the Village Industries Association has been started to carry on work to revive industries and demonstrate to the public the usefulness of such industries.

A third remedy proposed is the development and encouragement of major national industries. The wave of economic nationalism that has been passing over the West has its own effects on India. India is at present not self-sufficient. She exports raw materials and imports finished goods. By the starting of major

industries, India with its cheap labour can, not only capture its own market, but also foreign markets. India has one advantage over many of the Western countries, in that she is a market in herself for the finished goods. If India takes steps in this direction, it can give employment to many more.

Instead of asking educated unemployed to go back to the villages, it is better to recondition our education to the present day once needs. Bacon remarked 'Education should be not only luciferous (light bringing) but fructiferous (fruit bearing).' The present day education is neither luciferous nor fructiferous. A new orientation should be given to the system of education. Technical education should be also provided more adequately. Satish Chandra Ray in his book on the 'Economic Causes of Famines in India' defines technical education in the words of Prof. Perry thus: Technical education is defined by Prof. Perry as education in the scientific and artistic principles which govern the occupations in any industry. It is neither a science nor an art nor the teaching of a handicraft. It is that without which a master is an unskilful master, a workman is an unskilled workman, a clerk or a farmer an unskilled clerk or farmer." (p. 52). Really an immense improvement can be effected in minor branches of industry in India. There will not be so much of unemployment among educated classes. The province of Bengal is the first one to realise the gravity of the situation in the employment of educated classes and the pressure brought to bear on the Government by the Legislative Council members. The Government has approved a scheme of training for young educated men in Bengal. The scheme provides for the establishment in important centres of the province of facilities for training educated young men in cottage industries, the products of which have an extensive market. The immediate object is to give the unemployed young men an opportunity of intensive training in the new and improved processes of indigenous industries.

The scheme provides for the establishment of four demonstration parties in each of the following industries. (1) jute, woollen and textiles, (2) umbrella making, (3) brass and metal works, (4) preparation of knives and other cutlery articles, (5) pottery, (6) boots and shoes, (7) soap making. In addition the scheme provides for carrying out an industrial survey of the province and setting up of an advisory board in each district for the improvement of the existing small industries and the introduction of new industries.

Another remedy that has been proposed and accepted widely is the carrying out of public works on a large scale during times of depression when there are very many unemployed. The scheme of public works as a relief for unemployment has been recommended by the First Session of the International Labour Conference. The Eighth Conference also recommended this. This question was again referred to the Joint Committee on Economic Crisis. The public works proposed by those conferences are different from relief works such as those undertaken by the Government during the famine times in the 19th century. According to the programme mentioned above some national public works which are generally carried out every year should be postponed to depression times when they ought to be at once executed. Such kinds of public works have never been tried anywhere in India. India was the first country to carry out relief works during famine times. The Committee that was appointed by the Government of Travancore in 1931 to investigate and report on the causes of the present depression, after inquiry made the following recommendation. There should be established a statistical organisation equipped with the means of collecting data for particular purposes within the purview of the Economic Development Board and to carry out a large number of public works distributed throughout the State in the vicinity of the capital as well as rural districts such as railway extensions, water works, construction of bridges and repair and improvement of irrigation works. The Government of Kashmir also wanted to carry out some relief works in places where there is unemployment among agricultural classes. Rates of wages, it is understood, will be two-thirds of the rates prevailing in the Kashmir Public Works Department.

Coming to British India, there is a Famine Relief Fund with the Government of India and with the provinces. Whenever an emergency arises, relief works are carried out. Public Works as understood by the First International Labour Conference have never been tried anywhere in British India. On the other hand every year much is spent by every provincial Government on public works and there is a Public Works Department in every province.

Before we pass to the famine policy of the Governments in India, we shall see how much the Government of Madras spends on public works such as expenditure on irrigation, navigation, embankments and drainage works from their general budget.

Madras

	Expenditure on irrigation, navigation, embankments and drainage works. Rs.		Total Revenue Rs.	
1922-23	6,42,594	(only .05%)	12,60,76,818	(deficit 301683)
1926-27	76,69,776	(5%)	14,17,01,929	(surplus 10147804)
1927-28	1,06,04,478	(7½%)	14,98,12,780	(surplus 2 crores)
1930-31	93,55,350	5.2%)	17,89,68,633	(deficit 1 crore)
1931-32	1,04,51,365	(6½%)	16,24,47,176	(surplus 5 lakhs)

It may be noted from a study of this that before the year 1926-27 not even one per cent of the total expenditure of the Government of Madras has been devoted to public works. It is a pity that before that year the Government did not realise the importance of public works. It was only in the year 1926-27 nearly 5% of the total expenditure was allotted for spending on public works. The expenditure on public works such as irrigation, navigation, embankments and drainage works has varied between 55% and 8% of the total expenditure. It can be suggested here that the Madras Presidency may reserve 10% or 15% of the fund allotted for public works to be extended in times of depression when the need for public works is greater.

Famine Policy of the Governments in India :—A type of unemployment not usually met with in foreign countries has been the subject of careful study at the hands of the Government of India. India has always been liable to vicissitudes of the seasons, and famines had been a recurrent phenomena for many centuries. Famines had the effect of throwing up large masses of rural population out of their normal vocations. By means of a well planned scheme of relief works, the Government provided these workers with food and employment. With the experience acquired by Government during a considerable number of times the administrative machinery formed the plans and executed relief works was perfected, so that one type of unemployment at least, although very abnormal, was effectively met by the action of Government.

The following statement gives the amount of expenditure on famine relief from the yar 1922-23 up to 1931-32 by the Governments in India.

*Expenditure on Famine Relief.**

Year	*Total (Central and Provincial)*	*Madras*
1922-23	5,90,756	85,034
1923-24	7,04,902	16,675
1924-25	23,28,535	2,37,714
1926-27	15,49,722	1,878
1925-26	14,10,429	2,896
1927-28	19,17,890	6,517
1928-29	23,18,740	573
1929-30	48,93,056	182
1930-31	20,02,060	303
1931-32	16,39,304	72,540

The total expenditure on famine relief during the year 1922-23 and 1931-32 for the whole of India including the Central and the provincial Governments was about 2 crores of rupees for the ten years and on an average was 20 lakhs of rupees per year. But in the case of Madras, the expenditure on famine relief during the said period was Rs. 4,24,312 and on an average only Rs. 42,000.

The most important question in considering famine relief is how much of the total money spent is going in the shape of wages to the labourers. The total provincial expenditure on famines during the years 1922 to 1935 was about Rs. 4,94, 035. Of this total, the amount that went directly as wages to labourers employed in communications, irrigations and other works was about Rs. 41,994 which is only 8.4% of the total spent on famine relief. Two inferences may be drawn from this. (1) Only one-twelfth of the total expenditure has gone into the hands of the labourers who are affected by famine. It is really a small amout while the real object of the expenditure should be that a major portion of the amount spent should go in the shape of wages to the labourers. In the year 1927-28, the total provincial expenditure on famine relief is Rs. 19,16,891 and the amount that has gone to the labourers in the shape of wages is somewhere Rs. 35,000 and this forms only 2% of the total amount spent.

* Statistical Abstract of British India, 11th issue, pp. 318-9.

The year 1929-30 was a landmark in the history of the expenditure on famine relief because it was from that year onwards that a clear recognition of the value of spending a larger portion in the form of wages to workers was made. In the year 1929-30, the total provincial expenditure was Rs. 48,92,046 and the amount that has been spent on wages for labour was Rs. 17,34,961 and this is more than 35%. In the year 1931-32, the total provincial expenditure on famine relief was Rs. 16,18,405 of which Rs. 7,43,882 went in the shape of wages for labour and this forms nearly 45% of the total expenditure. This scientific way of spending is really an advance over the way of expenditures in previous years.

There seems to be increased resisting power against famines. The favourable factors seem to be (a) greater mobility of Indian labour, (b) hoarding habit, (c) increased irrigation, (d) co-operative credit movement and (e) organised famine code.

Before we conclude the study of the famines, we have to put in a word of comparison between those times and the present situation. It appears that in the course of the 19th century two of the problems presented by famine have been solved. Want of food has been overcome by improvements in the means of communication and the want of work has been met by providing temporary employment on relief works at the expense of the State. But there remains a third problem which statesmen and philanthropists are ambitious of solving and that is the absolute prevention of famine or to state the problem more accurately the prevention of periodic unemployment of a large proportion of the population. A little consideration will show that there are two ways in which the solution of this may be approached in India. The first is to free the agricultural industry from its dependence upon the chances of weather and the second is to diminish the number of people dependent upon agriculture. Upon this we may comment that to some extent we have freed agriculture from weather conditions whereas we are not able to do anything with the second namely the question of diminishing the number of people dependent on agriculture.

As was said above, there is poverty in plenty during the present depression whereas during the famines there was poverty in poverty. In regard to the first statement it seems to be more a question of distribution than of production, whereas in regard to the second it is a question chiefly of production and less of distribution. "The present condition of things" said Sir Charles Elliott,

Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, after a tour in affected areas, " may be described by saying that there is apparently food in the country and any one can feed himself for an anna a day but the usual agricultural labour by which the landless classes earn wages is mostly at a standstill and they have to resort to relief works to that amount."* If this be true, we can say that the agricultural labourer of the present day is placed in the same position as the agricultural labourers of the famine times with only a little difference. It is difference in degree and not in kind.

* Report of the Famine Commission, 1898, Chap. II, p. 29.

SHAKESPEARE IN MADRAS

BY

MR. V. SRINIVASAN, M.A., A.I.I.B.

I

"Shakespeare is not our poet, but the world's."
—Landor. *Sonnet on Browning*, l. 5.

THE first impetus to English education in India was given by Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, the celebrated soldier and administrator, who was the Governor of Madras between 1820 and 1827. In 1822, Munro instituted an enquiry into the education of the people and the outcome of it was the policy of promoting European culture in India which the Governor-General Lord William Cavendish—Bentinck announced in a famous resolution of his issued on March 7, 1835. That policy registered the victory of the Anglicists whom Macaulay had led and even the distemper of the Sepoy Mutiny was not allowed to disturb it. The funds appropriated to education under the Charter legislation of 1813 came to be devoted thenceforth solely to the spread of European knowledge and the process was accelerated when the Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were incorporated in the first year of the Mutiny (1857). Thus did it happen that the study of literature was the first response which India gave to the touch of the West.

Sir Thomas Munro was the wisest of all Anglo-Indian statesmen. He was fond of Shakespeare and is known to have sent to a Glasgow friend in 1787 a translation of the story of Shylock which he found in a Persian MS. which was published later on in Malone's edition of Shakespeare. His memory is kept green in Madras by a fine equestrian statute by Chantrey which bosoms high in tufted trees dominating the city.

Though nowadays native scholars hold chairs in Colleges and Universities, the persons who built up the Indian university tradition were all Europeans who sought to relate western ideals to the conditions obtaining in this country. The most distinguished of them all was the missionary teacher Dr. William Miller, the Principal of the Madras Christian College, whose services in the cause of higher education were, to quote Lord Napier's tribute in the House

of Lords, 'unsurpassed in India.' Dr. Miller published a booklet, *King John and the Secret of Success* in 1902 and followed it up next year with further studies of the great tragedies of Shakespeare which were subsequently brought together under the general title *Shakespeare's Chart of Life.* As, in his opinion, the works of the dramatist were intended to instruct and not merely to amuse, Dr. Miller stressed the moral doctrine which constituted the central theme of the plays. His work also viewed the plays in the light of Indian life and philosophy and the chapter headings were expressive of the theme: '*King Lear and Indian Politics,*' *Hamlet and the Waste of Life,*' '*Macbeth and the Ruin of Soul,*' '*Othello and the Crash of Character.*' The studies influenced the succeeding generation of students considerably. Dr. Miller was the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University in the opening years of the present century and the College over which he presided completed a century of service in 1937.

Miller's trail might be said to have been followed in recent years by Dr. J. H. Cousins, an old associate of the late A. E. in the Celtic Revivalist Movement in Ireland. Dr. Cousins wrote some years back two studies of King Richard the Second and strove to dispel the prevalent notion that Shakespeare intended that character to be a supine creature.

The study of Shakespeare and the other immortals forms an integral part of the curricula in the Universities in India and the present century has given us many scholars. Recitations from the dramas of Shakespeare are popular, while representations of the plays themselves are a feature not only of College Day celebrations but of amateur theatricals in most of the important towns. There has also been no dearth of annotated editions of the plays for the use of students. Those in the Minerva Series published by Messrs. Thompson and Co. and in the college Classics Series of Messrs. Srinivasavaradachari and Co. have been by reputed authors among whom are found the honoured names of Professor Michael Macmillan, Sir Mark Hunter and Mr. E. E. Kellett, Master of Leys School, Cambridge. The late Edward Dowden, *clarum et venerabile nomen,* thought well of these editions as they were all turned out with care and thoroughness.

Not less fruitful has been the work of Indians in the editing and interpreting of Shakespeare and they have not come from the ranks of the teaching profession alone. Two of the Bulletins of the Dacca University published by the Oxford University Press in

India relate to Shakespeare and are by Indians. One of them (No. 2), Dr. U. C. Nag's study of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1925) is devoted to an illustration of the idea of balance in plot making, while Mr. P. K. Guha's (No. 9) *On Two Problems in Shakespeare* (1926) treats of *Hamlet* and *Troilus and Cressida.* The most notable contribution in the sphere of interpreting Shakespeare's plays was made in Madras in respect of two of the tragedies by Mr. Rentala Venkata Subba Rau, the author of the remarkable *Kamala's Letters to her Husband.* In two large volumes, *Hamlet Unveiled* and *Othello Unveiled* each running to over seven hundred pages Mr. Rau endeavoured to reveal what he conceived to be the true picture of the magnificent tragedies and to place before the reader much that was striking and interesting. The tomes exhibit much painstaking scholarship and are unconventional in method, the plan being in the case of either play, to follow up an edition of the drama in full as in the *New Variorum* by an exposition of the beauties of the 'divine dramatist' with whose soul, to use his own language, the author placed himself *en rapport.* The sources too are discussed. *Hamlet Unveiled* is a reprint of Q1 and Q2 in modern text and *Othello Unveiled* contains J. E. Taylor's version of the Tale of the Moor in Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* with an account of the story of the Corsican Sampiero which is said to have inspired the murder scene. The author has also included in the latter volume a detailed consideration of the 'Double-Time Delusion' tracing it from the days of J. Wilson's 'astounding discovery' in 1849 and applying it to ten of the plays of Shakespeare. The *Unveileds* are altogether attempts on a grand scale and testify to the enthusiasm and assiduity of the author. The duration of action in *Othello* formed the subject of another study by Utuguru Venkata Gopala Rao of Berhampore.

Next in interest to Mr. R. V. Subba Rau's works is the dissertation appended by Mr. A. Perianayaga Chettiar of Trichinopoly to his verbatim translation of Shakespeare's *King John* and this tract dealt with the several points which had formed the subject of controversy among the commentators. Mention may be made also of *Spiritual Thoughts of Shakespeare* written by Sri Saravanavel Swami.

In 1914 Mr. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, a *Vakil* of Tinnevelly published a little book of Notes and Renderings of Shakespeare's sonnets and of a few other poems of love which, in the opinion of the author 'pointed to holy inspiration.'

These are some of the efforts that deserve mention as having been directed to an interpretation of the individual works of Shakespeare.

II

What Shakespeare was to India was discussed by Mr. R. J. Minney in an article that appeared in 1925 in the *Empire Review*. The discourse of Professor Charles J. Sisson now available as Shakespeare Association Pamphlet No. 12 was inspired by a performance which he witnessed in Western India. Apart from such stray monographs there are not many treatises in India on the subject of Shakespeare's reputation though he is very much in vogue. Mention is made more than once in Dr. R. K. Yajnik's *Indian Theatre* published recently by George Allen of an unpublished thesis of Mr. S. C. Gupta on the subject. And the Indian attitude towards the tragedies was the subject of a thesis approved by the Madras University for Doctorate in 1930.

A survey of Shakespeare's reputation in India involves an enquiry into the fortunes of the poet's plays and their stage history in each of the provinces of this great country and requires of those essaying it an adequate knowledge of the various vernaculars of the land, which few possess. This fact accounts for the absence of a comprehensive treatise on the subject of Shakespeare in India which is a desideratum. A book like those of Hereford and Thorndike in respect of the European and American reputation of Shakespeare or even like the efforts of Jusserand for France, of Cohn and Brandl for Germany, Erwin Walker's for Japan and more recently Vladeta Popovic for Serbia is yet to appear in India. The task is a stupendous one and the utmost that is feasible is perhaps a monograph in respect of each linguistic area by persons conversant with the progress of Shakespeare culture in their respective areas.

Of the works dealing with Shakespeare's mind and art mention may be made of *Shakespeare and the Problem of Evil* (1933) by Mr. M. Venkatanarasimha Subba Rau who was for many years a Syndic of the Madras University. An earlier work is *Mathanga Chulamani* by Vipulanandaswami published in 1926 by the famous academy, or the Madura Tamil Sangam. This was a work on dramaturgy and included studies of Shakespeare's dramas and of Dhanajaya's *Dasarupa*. As for character studies in Shakespeare there is an unique work called *Panniru Penmanigal* by Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, Professor Emeritus of the former S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly. Mr. Pillai has treated of twelve heroines in his

work which is the only one extant in Tamil on the subject which Anna Jameson and Lady Martin have made their own.

Professor V. K. Ayappan Pillai of the Madras Presidency College delivered a series of lectures in February 1929 on the history of Shakespeare criticism in England from the beginnings in the Elizabethan age to the year 1765 which saw the publication of Dr. Johnson's edition of Shakespeare preceded by a memorable preface. The lectures which were delivered under the auspices of the Madras University have since been published in book form by Messrs Blackie and Son and have elicited the approbation of *The Times* as being a reliable and trustworthy introduction to the study of the subject. Professor Pillai has promised to pursue the study of the subject further and to give us a survey of the period since 1765.

No outstanding biography of Shakespeare has appeared in India and much of the conjectural particulars of the poet's life find their way into the prefaces of students' manuals from standard English publications. In *Shakespeare Charitram* by P. M. Natesa Sastri we have however a little book of biography in Tamil and the opening book in the series of Shakespeare stories published by the *Vivekabodhini* office contains a brief memoir of the dramatist written by the late Mr. T. B. Krishnaswami, an officer of the Madras Educational Service. A notice of the poet's life was also prefixed by Mr. A. Madhaviah to his Tamil translation of *Othello*.

III

The opinion was recorded by Sir Henry Pottinger, a former Governor of Madras, in a minute dated June 6, 1851, that good and careful translation from English into the vernacular dialects must be the chief channel of instruction and of communication of modern knowledge to the great body of South Indian people. The secret of Shakespeare's popularity in India as perhaps elsewhere lies in that several translations of the *Tales* by the Lambs exist in the local languages. The earliest known Indian version of the *Tales* is by Pandit Muktarama Vidyagisa (1853) and other translations have appeared since then. K. Chidambara Vadyar turned the *Tales* into Malayalam in 1883 and Pandit M. C. Sadagopachariar of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly did them into Sanskrit prose (1904) while a translation of the *Tales* into Telugu was one of the several works of the redoubtable Kandukuri Veerasalingam, the father of modern Andhra Renascence. As for Tamil translations of Lamb, Dewan Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai's felicitous versions

are highly popular, a feature of them being his versification of some lines of Shakespeare not retained by the Lambs in the *Tales*. The Dewan Bahadur was for some time Sheriff of Madras and he was the founder of the Bavanandam Academy which has rendered meritorious services to the cause of Tamil scholarship in recent years.

The Christian Literature Society of Madras has issued little accounts of six of the plays from the pen of Mr. V. Visvanatha Pillai but these are not translations of Lamb. To this class belong too the books published by the *Vivekabodhini* office and the fourteen booklets issued by Messrs. C. Coomarasami Naidu and Sons in their series *Angila Natak Kathaikkotthu.*

Katharatnamangush, a recent production of Mr. P. N. Moosad of Olavakkot is a book of stories from the comedies in Malayalam and some parts have been rendered by the author into Dravidian metres.

IV

Before we proceed to notice the renderings and adaptations of the plays themselves something must be said of Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliar who recently retired from the office of a Judge in Madras, and who has contributed much for the resuscitation of the Tamil stage. Mr. Sambandam was long connected with the Suguna Vilasa Sabha, the leading amateur dramatic society in Madras, which has been instrumental in effecting several salutary reforms in the stagecraft of recent times. Mr. Sambandam's literary output includes adaptations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet, As You Like It, Henry IV, Cymbeline, Merchant of Venice* and *Macbeth* and his Sabha was the first to commence the practice of observing the Shakespeare Day in Madras, a practice which is now thirty years old. Mr. Sambandam holds strong views and recently gave his reminiscences of the Tamil stage in the pages of the *Swadesamitran Weekly.* All reference to Hymen was omitted in his adaptation of *As You Like It* as that character is deemed by several scholars to be an interpolation. Mr. Sambandam is a noted actor as well and the part of the Prince of Denmark in *Hamlet* was his metier. It was a part which had been played in the past by Kemble, Forbes-Robertson and Benson and by Sarah Bernhardt herself when she was fifty-two years old. Sambandam's view was that the hero in *Hamlet* was only upset and not actually mad; he only feigned to be so. The play is one in which an artiste had opportunities of showing his talents in full and Sambandam took pains for translating as well as he could the reflective verse of that superb tragedy,

achieving considerable success in the Nunnery Scene and in acting the 'To be or not to be' soliloquy. In his play the Ghost appears a second time and Hamlet follows it exhibiting fear and surprise. This had not the sanction of practice in England but was communicated to him by Edwin Booth and the innovation received the approbation of Mr. Arthur Davies the Principal of the Madras Law College and a good student of the plays from which he used to recite to large audiences. The playscene was appropriately utilised by Mr. Sambandam for pointing out the blemishes of the Tamil stage. In his *Reminiscences* Mr. Sambandam has stated that of all the adaptations that of *Cymbeline* alone has not been quite a success though his information was that it has been put on boards several times by the Subodhini Vilas Sabha in Colombo. The Suguna Vilasa Sabha gave many representations in Ceylon and Dr. Chinnatambi, one competent to judge, expressed the opinion that Mr. Sambandam did the part of Hamlet better than Sir Henry Irving.

To the activities of the Suguna Vilasa Sabha and to the other theatricals as well as to the recitals of Principal Davies and at the present day of Mr. Chenga Reddy and a few others of note and to the performances of the ventriloquist Kia belongs the credit for sustaining interest in Shakespeare in this peninsula in the present century.

V

Most of the renderings and adaptations listed below have failed to be known at all. Such publications are brought out in India in small presses on cheap paper and are either thrown away as so much waste paper or they lie moth-eaten in dusty shelves. The periodical review of outstanding books which is a later day development in the world of Indian journalism has however conduced to a better state of affairs and in the columns of the literary supplements of the leading dailies like *the Hindu* could now be followed the day to day developments in the world of letters.

LIST OF ADAPTATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS FROM SHAKESPEARE OTHER THAN THOSE MENTIONED ALREADY.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS. Anbil Venkatachariar's *Vibrama Vihasam* published during 1905-06 in the pages of a monthly magazine edited by T. K. Balasubhramania Iyer is a translation of this rollicking farce. An adaptation of the play was published in February 1934 by Singanalloor R. Sarangapani in two issues of the *Jayabharathi*, a Tamil newspaper appearing at Madras. Another

adaptation was made by a lady writer Visalakshi Ammal in 1911. An account of the plot has been prepared recently by Mr. K. Subramania Pillai a well-known Tamil scholar. He has prefixed a life of the dramatist to the story. Mr. Pillai was Tagore Lecturer at the Calcutta University and is now editing the magazine *Manimalai* at Tinnevelly.

TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA. S. Ramasami Iyengar's book *Sugunasugesar* (1899) which has for its sub-title 'Friendship and Love' is an early work. A drama based on this play has been written by T. V. Vaidyanatha Iyer with an introduction in English.

A MID-SUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. The only translation of this fantastic drama in *Naduvenirkanavu* in prose by Narayanasami Iyer (Tanjore, 1893).

ROMEO AND JULIET. A young man's tragedy like this appeals to many and we have at least four works in Tamil. (i) *Ramanajvalita* by P. S. Duraisami Iyengar staged by the Shashi Vilas Sabha (amateurs), Madras. Either not published at all or now out of print. (ii) P. V. Ramasami Raju's story of the play in Tamil. (iii) *Ramyanum Jolidayum* (1908) by Mailapur S. V. Srinivasa Iyer. (iv) *Ratnakaran* (1933) by A. R. Narayana Iyengar, a play.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE. A Tamil translation was produced by the Suguna Vilasa Sabha as early as 1905. The sombre frame work of tragic irony which characterises the play has impressed many and there are several adaptations. One is *Venis vartakan* by V. Venugopalachari (1874) while another work of the same title was published by S. V. Kallapiran Pillai in 1904 when he was Acting Tahsildar at Chingleput. The latter work was issued by Messrs. Thompson and Co., as No. 1, in their Dravidian Research Institute Series.

Ex Aurat Ki Chalaki, meaning 'a woman's cleverness' is the title of a Gujarathi work and another old version is *Bhanumathi Chitthavilasa* (1853).

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW. Vikatasundari, a romance written by Madurai Kandasami Pillai (1906) is based on this play while Sri Saila's *Neelivasikaram* (1912) is another adaptation.

Much interest was roused in this play when it was shown in the talkies of Madras two or three years ago and hundreds appreciated the farcical vein.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. No Tamil version worth mentioning appears to be extant. A good adaptation is said to exist in the Marathi language spoken in Western India.

AS YOU LIKE IT. Virumpiya vidame by Pandit Sangadi Mahalinga Natesa Sastri (1888) and *Aravindhan Kamalakshi* by K. Venkatarama Iyer (1912) may be mentioned.

Cp. also the Telugu play, *Padmavathi* (1927) by Cinta Narasimha Reddy.

TWELFTH NIGHT; OR, WHAT YOU WILL. A prose abstract, *Vayola Charitram* by S. M. Natesa Sastri was published in 1892 at Coimbatore. *Ambujavalli* or *Kandathum kathal* by Sri Saila was published at Srirangam in 1906. *Mrigathirushnika* a drama by S. Rengasami Iyer of Tiruppattur is based on this play (1911).

Cp. too Mr. D. Gopalakrishna Rao's *Viharalila* (1933) a Telugu play in four Acts which is an adaptation of this drama.

JULIUS CAESAR. This play was rendered into Tamil and published serially in 1932 with notes in the pages of the *Kalanilayam* a Tamil literary weekly published every Thursday at Purasawalkam, Madras under the editorship of Mr. E. Kumariah.

HAMLET, PRINCE OF DENMARK. This great 'tragedy of thought' is difficult to render into other languages. Mention could be made only of K. Venkatarama Iyer's *Hamlet Natakam* (1914) published at Kumbakonam.

There is a Malayalam version by Kunhikuttan Tampuran.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. A Telugu version was put on boards in 1905 by the Suguna Vilasa Sabha.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE. T. S. Duraiswami's *Isabella Charitram* (1912) is a story of the one figure which lights up this 'dark painful play.' Natesa Sastri's *Thannuyiraippolamannuyirai ninai* appeared in the pages of the *Janavinodhini* in 1893.

OTHELLO THE MOOR OF VENICE. This was put on boards by the Suguna Vilasa Sabha as early as 1905. There is a prose rendering by A. Madhaviah (1902) to which he added a life of Shakespeare. The same author has also written a translation, *Udhayalan enkira Korkaich Chingalavan* (1918). *Yuddhalolan* by Mr. P. S. Duraiswami Iyengar is an adaptation of the play. The

Kalanilayam (*op. cit.*) for 1935 contained renderings with notes and comments.

Cp. Telugu: *Kanakangi* (1926) a novel of about 1100 pages by Kakaraparti Satyanarayana.

Kanarese: *Surasena Charitre* (1910) by Basappa Sastri.

There is also a Bengali translation by Nandalal Bandhopadyay.

KING LEAR. There is a Malayalam translation of this passion tragedy by Dewan Bahadur A. Govinda Pillai. Vaduvur Doraiswami Iyengar's *Managayar Pagattu* (1917) is a Tamil adaptation.

MACBETH. There is a Tamil book *Magapathi.*

Cp. Telugu: *Pralayabhairavamu* (1923) by Mancala Venkata Punnayya Sarma.

Kanarese: *Prataparudradeva Nataka* (1895) in the series English Classics for Kanarese Readers.

TIMON OF ATHENS. P. V. Ramaswami's *Thayman Charitram.*

CYMBELINE. Sarasangi (1897) a play by Saralochana Chettiar is an adaptation. *Himarjuni* (1912) by V. Gopala Iyengar with a preface by K. G. Sesha Iyer, Judge of the Travancore High Court is another. Also *Hemavathi* (1919) by T. A. Subhramania Bharathi.

THE TEMPEST. Parsandamarutham by S. A. Tirumalaikolundhu Pillai (1913) is a prose rendering of the drama in the series English Literature for Tamil Minds published by Loganathan. A translation with notes and comments appeared in the *Kalanilayam* in 1933.

THE WINTER'S TALE. This last complete play of Shakespeare was translated by S. M. Natesa Sastri in his *Marikalak Kathai* (1888). *Machcharan* is an adaptation by K. Venkatarama Iyer. (Also T. A. Subhramania Bharathi's *Thangakkodi,* 1919).

Two wellknown Marathi versions are Sankara Moro Ranade's *Natak, Mohavilasit* (1881) and Mahajani's *Vitor Vilasit.*

Whether these efforts are quite successful is a moot point. But the task of approaching an eminent writer is a great task and the difficulties that beset the path of a Tamil translator of Shakespeare are real and many, since there is little in common between the

English and the Dravidian languages which have different peculiarities of idiom and syntax. Moreover poetry cannot be translated as old Johnson said though science and history can be and its beauties cannot be preserved in a language other than that in which it is first written. 'Translations cannot give what creation alone can give' and it is not surprising that one hundred years of English literary tradition in India has not produced a complete translation of Shakespeare into any of the languages of the country. As it is, the present writer has not been able to discover Tamil translations of many of the plays particularly the histories except *King John* and the Roman plays other than *Julius Caesar*. This is also true of *Titus Andronicus, Love's Labour's Lost, Much Ado About Nothing, All's Well that Ends Well, Troilus* and *Cressida* and *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. *The Rape of Lucrece* however has been adapted in a novel *Purudotthaman* published by Mr. N. Duraikkannan in 1931 which is quite a good effort. No one has however essayed in this country the task accomplished by the late Professor Shoyo Tsubouchi who is said to have translated all the works of Shakespeare into the Japanese language—an achievement unique in Asia.

VI

What has gone before is a broad indication of how India has reacted to the impact of Shakespeare. There is scarcely a mood which the dramatist has not touched. This 'myriad-minded'ness is the bond which ties all in loyalty to him. And nowhere is the philosophically minded Indian so much at home as with the great problem plays as anything with a moral appeals to him even as he is repelled by extravaganzas like *Love's Labour's Lost,* of which characteristically enough no Tamil translation exists. There is however justification for holding that it is the later day plays of Shakespeare, the so-called romances and tragi-comedies which are more in keeping with the Indian dramatic tradition. The classical drama of India is nothing if not moral in its theme and the old playwrights were reluctant to kill and to send the audience into tears by producing before them fictitious woes to add to those with which they were already encumbered in their lives. If it is remembered in addition to this, that the *deus ex-machina* of the romances is not alien to Indian drama, need we hesitate to assert that the later plays of Shakespeare are in keeping with the heritage of Hindustan?

The dramatist is not known to have travelled abroad or even sojourned on the continent as actors of his day appear to have done. But he should have been acquainted with the vast literature of

travel which bulk large in the Elizabethan age and in the now famous publications of the Hakluyt Society. This certainly accounts for the many Indian references in the dramas.*

VII

Note must be made before we close, of the view which has been gaining strength during the past few years that the proper Indian attitude towards English is to cultivate it as a language of international commerce. Such a view would naturally stress the desirability of studying specimens of the past one hundred and fifty years to the relative neglect of the literature of previous ages which would be studied by the specialist student of English literature and civilisation. It is too early to judge the effect of this view on old authors like the Bard of Avon but the divergence of opinion does exist and is bound to become more and more pronounced in the future. One or two books have already appeared which are reminiscent of the anti-Shakespeare literature associated with Rümelin and Benedix of nineteenth century Germany. Nevertheless there is no reason to be sceptic about the future reputation of Shakespeare; even Sgr. Mussolini's decrees except him. The universality of his genius makes it improbable that he would be less popular with the generations yet unborn. And as for his characters, some of them like Portia, Rosalind and Cleopatra are, by universal consent, strikingly modern even in comparison with the creations of so modern a writer as Thackeray. Shakespeare is not of an age but for all time." He lasts for ever with us; we cannot give up our Shakespeare."

* Indian references are found in the following passages in Shakespeare: *L.L.L.* IV, iii, 222; *C.E.* III. ii. 136; *A.M.N.D.* II, i, 22, 69, 124; III, ii, 375; *H. VI* (3), III, i, 63; *M.V.* I, iii, 19; III, ii, 272; *M.W.W.* I, iii, 79; *As You Like It.* III, ii, 93; *T.N.* III, ii, 96; II, v, 17; *All's Well*; *T.C.* I, i, 103; *O.* V, ii, 347; *T.* II, ii, 32; *H. VIII.* I, i, 18; IV, i, 44.

Shakespeare died in 1616 but even before his death an Indian had visited England (1614). Andrew Marvell (b. 1621) also refers to India, being an early writer of verse to do so in the seventeenth century:

"Thou by the Indian Ganges' side
Shouldst rubies find: I by the tide
Of Humber would complain."

—*To his Coy Mistress.*

"THE CARNATIC MUSIC COMPOSERS"

By

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(*Continued from Vol. X No. 1 Page 160*)

Gopala Krishna Bharathi

The illustrious author of the "Nandanar Charitra Kirtanas", is one of the best composers who have dedicated their creative genius to bring out the beauty of Carnatic Music through the medium of Tamil compositions. He seems to have lived about the beginning of the last century and detailed accounts of his life and works have been written. The following are really enlightening and critical studies:—"Gopalakrishna Bharathi" by Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyyar, Avl., in English and "Gopalakrishna Bharathi" by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer in Tamil. The former furnishes valuable biographical information and a critical study of his compositions. His services to Carnatic music are very well discussed and delineated . The author of the latter, having himself been acquainted with the great composer in his latter days, gives in an interesting style, firsthand information about the biography of Bharathi, the circumstances under which the masterpiece was composed, and also some rare pieces from Bharathi's other compositions.

Gopalakrishna Bharathi occupies a prominent place among the composers of Tamil Operas and Tamil Kirtanas. His genius as a play-wright is fully revealed through his "Nandanar Charitram." From the small story of Nanda found in the Periapuranam, Bharathi has evolved a beautiful drama enriching it from his originality with other interesting characters and employing expressive songs set to tunes admirably suited to the different situations. Bharathi has also done service in popularising and thereby saving from oblivion, the long forgotten musical form "Nondi-Chindu", one of the ancient Dravidian melodies besides introducing many other types like "Savayi, and "Lāvani" peculiar to the Mahratti music.

Unlike other music composers in Tamil, Bharathi to some extent, has the credit of having rescued music from the tyrannical grip of words, like his noted contemporary Thyagayya in Telugu.

His services lay not only in this direction of enriching and developing the lyrical side of music but equally in that of benefiting even those, untrained in music, by inculcating deep devotion and religious thoughts through the appealing medium of music.

With the exception of the *Nandanar Charitra Keertanas*, the other 'operas' and songs தனிக்கீர்த்தனைகள் seem to be fast disappearing into oblivion.

Anantha Bharathi

A contemporary of Gopala Krishna Bharathi, and the famous author of *The Bhāgavata Dasama Skanda Keertanas*, he was a Sri-Vaishnava Brahmin belonging to Umayalpuram near Nachiar Koil (S.I.R.). Equipped with rare abilities of a musician and composer, he composed the *Uttarakanda of the Ramayana* in keertana form in the wake of Arunachala Kavirayar's masterpiece which does not include the Uttarakanda. Later on he wrote *Srimad Bhagavata Dasama Skanda Keertanas* strictly following the commentary of Sridhara in the year 1889. He is also the author of *Desika Prabhavaprakasika* Kritis.

He has adopted the style of Arunachalakaviroyar but he has introduced in his works many technical and melodic compositions like Varnam, Svarajati and Ðaru, Kriti, etc. The works are all available in print but are not very popular.

Kavi Kunjara Bharathi (1810-1896)

The noted author of "The Skanda-purana Kirtanas", flourished in the beginning of the 19th Century and was a native of the Ramnad District. He has also contributed many beautiful 'padas' and 'kritis' dedicated to his family deity "Subrahmanya," which were very popular in his time. The Rajahs of Sivaganga and Ramnad patronised him. Though his 'Opera' exhibits the features of Arunachala Kavirayar's, yet it is characterised by a fresh vigour, elegancy and individuality. The Style is chaste and simple but yet vehement in sense and set to music of a high order.

In his 'padas', the best of his, one can easily recognise his scholarship in Sanskrit, Tamil and proficiency in music chastened by a deep-rooted piety. The 'Rasas' or sentiments are beautifully displayed by him. Really, the 'padas' couched in chaste Tamil, equal in greatness those of Kshetragna. His biography is given in detail in his 'works' which have been published by his grandson, Sri Kotiswara Iyer, a living composer, poet and musician endowed with original talents.

Kunraikkudi Krishnaiyyar

A contemporary of Kavi Kunjara Bharathi, he was a State vidwan in Ramnad District during the time of Muthu Ramalinga Sethupathi (1862-1873). He was a Sozhia brahmin of Kunrakkudi, having descended of a family of musicians. His brother was one Rama Bhagavatar, a composer of Tamil kritis.

Krishna Iyer is the author of many 'Varnas' and 'Kritis' in Tamil and Telugu. The Varnas, scholarly as they are, rank with standard ones. The 'Kritis' several of which were sung in praise of his patron, the Sethupathi and on the Zamindar of 'Seruvayal', are all of high technique and characterised by simplicity of style and musical excellence. Only few of them are in current practice. The Kāmbhoji varna in Jhampa Tala beginning with: Kamalakshi and the Kritis "neeve nannu paripalinchuta" in Kāmboji "Bhakthi Margamu" in Sarasangi, Adi and "Sri Parvati" in Sri raga, Khanda Ata tala are fine specimens of his compositions. The last mentioned Kriti in Khanda Ata tala resembles in construction, an Ata tala tala varna and commences like the same.

Veena Kuppayyar

The most distinguished of the disciples of Thyagayya, he was an expert musician and composer of the last century and was a native of Tiruvotriyur, a Saivite Shrine 6 miles north of Madras on the sea coast. He was such a creative artist that musicians of his time who heard his music, were greatly benefited. His contributions to South Indian music are both valuable and plenty. His youngest son, Thyagayyar, also distinguished himself as a Composer and rendered signal service by publishing his father's Kritis and Varnas in the work "Pallavi-Swara Kalpavalli". Some more details are furnished by Prof. Sambamoorthy in his book "Syama Sastri and other famous figures of South Indians Music." Kuppayyar's kritis reveal his musical skill in handling the ragas and adorning them with beautiful "Chitta Svaras." The Composer also displays, as an expert vaineeka, some graces of Veena playing, here and there. His Varnas, both in Ata and Adi, rank among the best ones of to-day. His creative genius is brought to light, clearly by his handling of 'Apūrva' Ragas like, Kapi-Jangala, Behag, Yamuna Kalyani, Hamir Kalyani, Hemavati, Jayanarayani and Nārāyanagowla (his forte).

Manambuchavadi Venkata Subbayyar

He was a direct disciple of the great Thyagayya and was a native of Manambuchavadi (Mahar-nonbu-chavadi) near Tan-

jore. An expert Vaineeka, well-versed in the art and theory of Music, he taught the theory of music to the celebrated musicians, Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer and Patnam Subramania Ayyar. "The Sangraha Chudamani" of Govindacharya was said to have been his text. Both the veterans of music mentioned above had the greatest regard for him. It may be said that the "Lakshanika Gānam" (लाक्षणिक गानम्) (music strictly adhering to the Science) which was the property of the last generation of musicians, the absence of which was deplored by the surviving audience of those days, was preserved mainly by the influence of this great man.

That Venkatasubbaiyyar was a composer of original songs was made known only through one "Lavani" Venkata Rao, a Marathi poet and composer and a disciple of his. The pieces "Narahari Hari Yani", "Mariada Kada", "Avaraguta" "Swamiki Sariye-varana vachu"; and a varna-"Karuninchumu" (Ragamalika) are all familiar to persons in and around Tanjore and especially the Kriti 'Mariada Kada' in Saraswati Raga is even finer than Thyagayya's in that Raga. In the "Devagandhari" Kriti (Swamiki sari) he pays his homage to his Guru. The Mudra employed by him in his Kritis is "Venkatesa" and this perhaps gave rise to the fact that some of his Kritis were ascribed to Patnam Subramania Ayyar as he has also used the same mudra.

Sadasiva Rao of Mysore

A disciple of Walajabad Venkataramana Bhagavatar, one of Thyagaraja's Sishyas, he was a Madhva brahmin of Arni (N.A.). He studied along with his Guru's son, Krishna Bhagavatar and after acquiring proficiency in the art of music, and composition, went to Mysore, during the reign of Krishna Raja Wodayar III, (1792-1868) who in recognition of his scholarship and musical attainments, made him a State Vidwan. Sadasiva Rao is famous for his Varnas and Kritis, which though very difficult in style and execution, are highly appreciated by connoisseurs in music. The 'Svara-Sahityas' adorning most of his Kritis are examples of splendid art and the mudra employed is 'Sadasiva'. A pada varna of his in Dhanyasi, Raga, Adi Tala (एमगुव बोधिचेरो...) is in praise of his Royal patron who is addressed in the 'Varna'. A few of his compositions are familiar in these parts.

Lavani Venkata Rao

A poet Composer (आशुकवि) during the reign of Sivaji of Tanjore (1855-1894), he was an expert in music and learned in Mahrati, Tamil and Telugu. He is the reputed author of the 72

Melakarta Ragamalika in Mahrati. He was a court poet and belonged to the Royal family. He was also a noted Composer of "Lavanis" (லாவணி), folk songs in Mahrathi and Tamil familiarly known in and around Tanjore. The theme of the songs are said to be highly philosophic in the underlying meaning. The melakarta Ragamalika he was asked to compose was an Erotic poem bearing the names of the 72 Melakartas according to the "Sangraha Chudamani" nomenclature. It was set to music in Sanskrit in 8 days by the late Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer and sung before a learned assembly of Vidwans. The Mahratti manuscript is now in the possession of Mr. P. S. Sundaram Iyer of Tanjore. Long after this was the publication of the "Sangraha Chudamani" Nomenclature by Singarachari and others. Lavani Venkata Rao seems to have died in 1882 (the Tamil year சார்வரி from a song in commemoration of his death).

(Information given by Mr. P. S. Sundaram Iyer of Tanjore a living Music Scholar).

Vedanayakam Pillai (1824-1889).

The author of the well-known "Sarva Samaya Samarasa Keertanas", he was a later contemporary of Gopalakrishna Bharathi. A Saiva-Vellala by birth, he embraced Christanity and called himself Samuel Vedanayakam. He was a man of high culture and learning. Well versed in English and Tamil, he was appointed as a Translator in the District Court of Trichy. In 1858, he was posted as District Munsif to Shiyali and in the same year transferred to Mayavaram. In addition to improving his knowledge of Tamil at the feet of Meenakshisundaram Pillai, he came into contact with many musicians of repute. He was specially attracted by Gopalakrishna Bharathi from whom he took lessons in music. Though he was not trained in music, he was capable of grasping music and at once reproducing it through the "Keertanas" composed by him. His compositions soon won popularity by their simple style and loftiness in meaning. Even his Tamil and Music tutors expressed their appreciation of their disciple's gift of composing.

As the name of the "Keertanas" indicates, the theme was most Universal, liberal and Non-Sectarian and set to simple and melodious music, they are effective vehicles for including devotion and teaching the most essential moral lessons.

Tiruvotriyur Thyagayyar.

The worthy son of Veena Kuppayyar of Tiruvotriyur, was a great Lakshana-Lakshya Vidwan. He settled in Muthialpet,

Madras, and contributed several "Varnas" and "Kritis", signed with the Mudra "Gopaladasa" after his father. He has published his compositions (about 108 Keertanas and several Tana varnas) in his work "Sankirtana Ratnāvali" in Telugu. He is also the reputed author of the "Pallavi Svara Kalpavalli," a most useful book containing about 14 Tana varnas composed by his father, 9 by himself and Pallavi-singing methods for 7 ragas. He is also the composer of the Ragamalika Keertana "Jaya Jaya Gokula Bala" of Narayāna Tīrtha set to different tunes. A Svara Sahitya Ragamalika in 16 ragas including the Ghana-Panchaka with beautiful "Svaraksharams," is composed by him. He died in 1917 and the descendants of the family are still living in Madras.

Tachur-Pedda Singaracharyulu.

He was an Andhra-Vaishnava Brahmin and a scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu and music. He and his younger brother Chinna Singaracharyulu, were disciples and cousins of Violinist Rangacharyulu of Chandaragiri, a pupil of Subbaraya Sastri.

The elder, was an expert violinst and composer of many Kritis, Padas and Javalis (which are all printed in the "Gayaka Siddhanjanam" written by him). The younger, was a good vocalist and later became an expert in violin. He helped his brother in the systematisation of music-teaching through a series of publications. The two brothers settled at Madras and started a Sabha of musicians with the help of Tiruvotriyur Thyagayyar. They were also patronised by the then Maharajah of Vizianagaram Ananda Gajapati Raja, and other Zamindars.

Pedda Singaracharyulu died in his 58th year (1892) and his descendants are now living in the city. His compositions are both in Sanskrit and Telugu and speak highly of his knowledge of the art of music. In fact the two brothers are responsible for the new impetus to music that was started, about 90 years ago by the Great Thyagayya.

Their contribution to music literature is not only valuable from the point of view of teaching-methods, but also of preserving the classical compositions of the great musicians of the past like the South Indian Trinity: Seshayyangar, Matrubhutayya and Pallavi Gopalayya.

Patnam Subramani Aiyer (1845-1902)

He is one of the best musicians and composers that flourished during the latter half of the last century. Belonging to Ashtasahasram sect among the Smartha Brahmins, his ancestors were

great musicians in the Tanjore State. Born at Tanjore and losing his parents early, he was brought up by his uncle, the famous Merattur Ganapati Sastri, a skilled musician and expert in Bharatha's Natya Sastra, who first taught him music. When he came to Madras, he found a good tutor in Sathanur Panchu Iyer with whose help he improved his art of music tremendously. He also acquired the art of composing Kritis early in his youth. (The Kriti "Inka Daya" in Chakravaka Raga was said to have been composed in his 20th year). An old veteran of music, Bikshandar Koil Subbarayar, happening to come to Madras, appreciated the matured talent of the young artist.

After staying for 12 years at Madras—hence his name—he went to Tiruvayar and settled there after marriage. He then sat at the feet Manambuchavadi Venkata Subbaiyyer, along with his powerful colleague, Mahavaidyanatha Iyer, to learn the theory of Music. Though his voice was said to be hard, he trained it to a wonderful perfection by untiring practice. His mastery of all the classical compositions of great musicians of the past, especially those of Thyagayya (in which he acquired a special fame), endowed him, in a great measure, with the skill for original composition. When his fame as a musician and composer spread in the country, he was patronised by several nobles, Rajahs and Zamindars.

Most of his compositions have been composed after his 30th year. Hence they are products of a mature art. They number in all about a hundred and comprise of many varieties i.e., Thana Varnas, Kritis in Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil, Javalis and Tillanas. Besides these he is said to have composed several Operatic works i.e., Kuchelacharitra, Ambarisha Charitra, Dhruva Charitra and Ajamela Charitra all of which seem to have been lost except some rare pieces from them which have been handed down to us through his disciples.[47] Though he had adopted the style of Thyagaraja most successfully in his Kritis, yet they have an individuality of their own. The ragas are finely handled and the 'variations', well arranged as they are, follow each other naturally. His Varnas are considered as standard ones and they disclose the skill of the master-artist. Many of them are now popular. All his compositions are dedicated to Sri Venkatesa and hence the mudra "Venkatesa". Though inspired by Thyagayya in the field of

47. Many were his disciples of whom Ramnad Srinivasa Iyengar is the most distinguished. One Guruswamy Bhagavatar, now living at Madras, also a disciple of his, gave the required information regarding his illustrious Guru.

Apoorva Ragas,[48] he displays an individually original style in handling them. He is said to have attempted to compose Kritis in all the 72 melakarta ragas, but his purpose was not fulfilled as he died soon, after finishing 5 of them, in the year 1902. His 'Tana Varnas' have been published by one of his disciples, C. Krishna Iyer as "Venkateswara tana varnas." Many of his Kritis are found in the publications of Singaracharyulu and K. V. Srinivasa Iyangar.

Ramaswami Sivan

The elder brother of the famous, Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer was a scholar in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu. He was well versed in the theory of music, though not possessing such a fine voice as his younger brother. At the request of some of his Saivite friends he composed the "Periapuranam" (of Sekkizhar) into Keertanas. Besides this he composed "Charitra Keertanas" on Manickavachagar, Markandeya, Prahlada and Sita Kalyanam all of them being valuable contributions to our music literature. In addition to this he is the author of many varnas one of which in Kamboji पङ्कजाक्षिपै "(Pankajākshi pai) shines with beautiful 'Svaraksharams'. His compositions bear the mudra "Guhadasa", and many of them are popular to-day.

Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer

Among the great musicians who flourished in the latter half of the 19th century, the name, Maha Vaidhyanatha Iyer is the most celebrated in South India. To-day there are many, who were fortunate enough to drink the nectar of his music. His biography together with its interesting anecdotes has been written by our Tamil Veteran Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer. Details, more than the following are therefore not necessary.

With a fair knowledge of music, he studied the theory of music under Manambuchavadi Venkata Subba Iyer. Gifted with original talents, he soon distinguished himself as an expert musician. He was invited by the then Rulers of Pudukkotah, Ramnad, Ettayapuram and Trivandrum and honoured duly. It was Subramanya Desikar, one of the pontifs of the Tiruvadurai Adeena Mutt, a patron of Arts and learning, who honoured him with the title "Maha" in the presence of a learned assembly of scholars and musicians at Kallidaikurichi.

48. Apoorva Ragas like, Kannada, Balahamsa, Sarasangi, Udayaravichandrika, Palamanjari, Malavi, Shanmukhapriya, etc.

It is needless to say that he was the centre of admiration for one and all at Tanjore. Krishna Sahib, the brother-in-law of king Sivaji was an ardent admirer of our musician. It was through his help that Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer got acess to the Mahrathi Mss. of the 72 melakartas. At the request of Krishna Sahib, the master-artist undertook to set the verses to music by employing the 72 melakarta Ragas in the particular places in the Sahitya. The 'Sahitya' however was re-written in Sanskrit and in praise of Lord Pranatharthi Hara who is invoked in the Sri Raga portion, and who is described as attended by 72 'damsels' representing the melakartas.

This monumental work was finished in 8 days and given public demonstration. It is now available in print. Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer has also composed several kritis in Sanskrit and Tamil, only a few of which are known now.

Ramnad Srinivasa Iyengar (*alias*) Poochi Iyengar

The most prominent of Patnam Subramania Iyer's disciples was born in Ramnad (2nd Avani, Prabhava Samvatsara) in the year 1860 A.D. As he showed evidence of musical talents early in his life, the Raja of Ramnad became interested in him and arranged for his training in music under the famous Patnam Subramania Aiyer. In a few years, he proved a worthy 'sishya' of a great master and attained proficiency in both the art of music and musical compositions from his Guru. Coming under the influence of Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer's music also, he improved his art and endowed with a fairly rich voice, he joined the front rank of musicians of his time.

He has composed a variety of compositions, Tana varnas, Kritis, Javalis and Tillanas, like his Guru. They are all brilliant compositions and will be remembered for ever.

They reveal the author's creative skill and richness of musical conception. Some of them even excel his Guru's in their fine construction and attractive melody types. Many of his compositions have been made popular now by his distinguished disciples, Salem Doraiswamy Iyengar and Ariakudi Ramanuja Iyengar. Iyengar died only 18 years ago in July 1919, but his 'kritis' live; fresh in their spirit and beauty.

Trivandrum Lakshmana Pillai

One of the best modern composers of Tamil Compositions he was born at Chalai, Trivandrum on 3rd May 1864, as the 2nd son of

Mr. M. Thiravium Pillai, an officer of the State. Born of a respectable family of Saivellas, he was educated even from his boyhood on pious lines, and he learnt the Devaram hymns. As he promised to develop special taste in music he was given the necessary training in both vocal and instrumental (veena) music. Further he had many opportunities to keep up his taste in music, for he often heard several local musicians and also once, Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer. Before he was 21, he attained a good knowledge of music and Tamil which soon developed his powers for composing original airs in Tamil. He began to compose in his 28th year and continued to do so till his 42nd year taking up the work again at 56.

His first compositions were admired by all and learnt by many. He would himsef elaborate the ragas to his disciples and then sing the songs. Many remarked that if they are played on instruments only without the "Sahitya" being sung, they could not be easily distinguished from those of Thyagaraja.

The author himself went and gave public entertainments and was duly honoured by the public as well as by His Highness, the ruler of Travancore, who took a special delight in his songs. The best of his songs were composed at Kottayam where he found himself in attractive environments which compelled him to write poems and songs. One Thanoo Saśtri, a Sanskrit scholar and musician, became his disciple and popularised his songs through his katha performances. Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer, a friend of his and noted author in music, also helped in popularising them. Also famous musicians like the late Sakarama Rao (Gottuvadyam), Violinist Govindaswamy Pillai and Konerirajapuram Vaidyanatha Iyer enjoyed the feast of his compositions. They are gradually getting popular in these parts now.

The editor of the "Public Opinion" of Trivandrum writes:— "Mr. Lakshmana Pillai as a composer has really solved the supposed impossibility of composing in any other language than Telugu by his soul-stirring songs in Tamil. He has also demonstrated his inimitable gifts as a composer and the wonderful flexiblity of his mother tongue, Tamil. In their felicity of diction, aptness of melody, uncommon originality of form and fecundity and variety of variations, his compositions rank with the best pieces of Thyagayya" They also bear marks of genuine inspiration and will ever remain to gladden the hearts of generations yet unborn"—Lakshmana Pillai is now past his 75th year and enthusiastic in publishing the fruits of his labours for the benefit of the music world. About 50 of his kritis have been printed in musical notation in the year 1933.

KOTISWARA IYER

The living grandson of Kavikunjara Bharathi and an expert composer, poet and musician was born in the village of "Nandanoor" in the Madura Dt. in the year 1869. He learnt the rudiments of music from his renowned grandfather and also pursued his English education up to B.A.

Even in his early days, by getting inspiration from his grand father and by coming into close contact with eminent musicians of his time, like Kundrakudi Krishna Iyer, Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer, Patnam Subramania Iyer, Konerirajapuram Vaidyanatha Iyer and Ramnad Srinivasa Iyengar, he attained good knowledge of music, along with ability to compose kritis and padas both in Sanskrit and Tamil which were appreciated by his colleagues. He also composed later Prabandhas[49] like his grandfather.

When he was 47 years old, (1916) he undertook the memorable task of composing kritis in the 72 melakarta-ragas. Endowed with original intellect and mastery of music he was able to dive deep into the mysteries of the Melakartas, and bring out their intrinsic beauties through his creations of art. He took nearly 15 years to finish the 36 Poorva (Suddha Madhyama) Melas, which were printed[50] along with his other kritis (seven in no.) in Janya Ragas. The remaining 36 (Prati-madhyama group) ragas are now under scrutiny and will be published shortly.

The kritis are all in Tamil, chaste and sweet, and dedicated to Lord Subramanya. The diction too resembles that of his grandfather in being simple yet classically grand. His musical style will be realised, on a close study, to be a happy combination of the choice features from the styles of the Trinity in South Indian Music. The kritis, highly lyrical in character, besides conforming to all the lakshanas of sahitya composition, shine by the chitta svaras which add an indispensable beauty to them. The name of each raga is skilfully introduced into the body of the Sahitya without vitiating the sense a little.

The service rendered by the composer to Carnatic music lies in that he has ably brought out the ' svarupa '—in flesh and blood—and the ' Bhava ' of the most obscure Melakarta Ragas which hitherto remained as unsingable scales, interesting only the students of the science of music. Now they have been made accessible to all

49. One of them is "India Mahatmyam" இந்திய மாஹாத்மியம்
50. The title of the book is "Kanda Gānāmudam".

musicians as well in the form of singable kritis. A mastery of the kritis, will surely enable, a student to elaborate the Ragas and handle svara and Pallavi singing in them. With regard to rhythm, the kritis are wonderfully harmonic and the "Talas' employed though most common, are rendered with fine "Eduppus" and "Nadais." Instances can be cited for the above fact.

In fact some of the modern scholars and musicians have unanimously paid their best encomiums on the composer in recognition of his abilities in original compositions and his attainments in the art of music.

Muthiah Bhagavatar

Renowned as a leading katha performer, who combines good story-telling with a high order of music, he also claims a worthy place among the composers of South India. Born of an illustrious family with a tradition of music and scholarship behind it, at Punalvelli (Srivilliputur Taluk) in Dec. 1871, he learnt the rudiments of music from his father Lingamaiyer and later at Harikesanallur from one Appakkudam Sastri.

Later on he came to the Tanjore Dt. and studied music under Sambasiva Iyer of Tiruvayar, the disciple of Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer. He began his regular profession as a musician when he was 17. He went to Travancore and evinced recognition from the Royal family. His broad acquaintance with the compositions of many of the great "Vaggeyakaras," with particular reference to their 'Lakshana,' made him a master of Lakshana and a composer of original compositions. As a linguist too, he was well fitted for the purpose.

His compositions are innumerable both in Sanskrit and Telugu and it was the impetus given to him by the Maharaja of Mysore that has enabled him to bring out kritis in abundance in which he displays his versatality in handling some rare ragas not handled by his predecessors. His 108 kritis on Goddess Chāmundeswari is a substantial contribution to our music literature. His compositions have an individuality of their own, vigorous, new and adorned with systematised variations. His compositions have been published recently.

"Papanasam" Sivan

This is a familiar name in the present day music world and well-known to real lovers of music. Discriminating critics and musicians have not failed to recognise the merit of Mr. Sivan as a

musician and to respect him. He is more widely known as a composer. His compositions have become popular, especially when there is now a growing demand for Tamil music.

Papanasam Sivan (as he is popularly known) *alias* Ramaswami Iyer was born in 1890 (Vikriti) at the village of Polaham in Nannilam Taluq (Tanjore Dt.) He lived for a longtime at Papanasam, travelled widely and visiting many places in South India, settled at Madras in 1930. He also took a degree in "Vyakarana" (Sanskrit Grammar) at the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Trivandrum. His sojourn at Trivandrum is the most important part of his life. Here it was that he was moulded into a musician and composer that he is. Here again it was that he came under the holy influence of Karamanai Neelakanta dasar[51] a saintly composer of devotional songs, many of whose songs he learnt and afterwards popularised them. It was through his inspiration that Sivan acquired skill in composing.

Sivan used to visit all our great shrines in South India during the annual festivals and do Bhajana. But he frequently went to Tiruvarur, Negapatam and Tiruvayar and sang many a kriti on the deities of the places. There are also several songs in praise of God Kapaleeswara at Mylapore, his favourite.

Papanasam Sivan has a worthy place in the host of Tamil composers studied in the previous pages. Eminent musicians of the previous generation used to hear his songs and admire them. Talented artists of to-day, likewise have a high estimation of his music and compositions.

Ariakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, Musiri Subramaniaiyer and Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer, the flourishing musicians of to-day have learnt many of his songs from him.

Sivan has established like his famous predecessors, Ghanam Krishna Iyer, Gopalakrishna Bharathi and other prominent Tamil composers, that the language of Tamil for 'Sahitya' is also best fitted for conveying the essence of music, even as other vernaculars. In the words of the eminent Sangita Vidwan of to-day, Mr. Tiger K. Varadachariar "Many a time have I listened with rapture to his soul stirring songs in Tamil and Sanskrit. I have been deeply impressed with the flawless technique and the elegant style of his musical output."

51. Karamanai Neelakanta Dasar is a prolific composer of Tamil songs and author of several works. The compositions, available in print, are clothed in simple and scholarly style and breathe the air of devotion and *vairāgya*.

APPENDIX I.

Types of Compositions.	Names of Compositions under each type.	Names of Famous Composers.
1. Melodic Compositions.	Kriti.	The Trinity, Svati Thirunal Gopalakrishna Bharathi, P. Sivan and others.
	Keertana.	Purandara Das, Thyagayya, Syama Sastri, Ramadoss. Svati Thirunal, Seshayyangar.
	Padam.	Kshetragna, Seenayya, Svati Thirunal, Ghanam Krishna Iyer, Kavi Kunjara Bharathi and others.
	Javali.	Dharmapuri Subbarayar, Poochi Iyengar.
	Daru.	Arunachala Kavi Rayar, Merattur Venkatarama Sastri.
2. Technical Compositions.	Geetam. { Lakshana / Ordinary.	Venkatamakhi / Purandara Das.
	Varnam.	Pydala Gurumoorthy Sastri. Svati Thirunal, Govinda Marar, Ramaswamy Dikshitar, Ponniah brothers, Patnam Subramania Iyer.
	Svarajati.	Syama Sastri, Ponniah, Merattur Venkatarama Sastri.
	Jatisvaram.	Ponniah brothers, Merattur Venkatarama Sastri.
	Ragamalika (including Mela Kartas).	Ramaswamy Dikshitar, Mudduswamy Dikshitar, Svati Thirunal, Venkatamakhi, Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer.
	Archaic Compositions like Sooladis, Prabandhas, Ttayas.	Purandara Dasa, Venkatamakhi, Svati Thirunal, Arunachala Kavirayar.
3. Operatic musical Compositions.	Sanskrit Operas.	Svati Thirunal, Jayadeva, Narayana Tirtha, Eravi Varman Thampi, and followers of Jayadeva.
	Melo Dramas or Natakas.	Arunachala Kavirayar, Gopalakrishna Bharathi, Kavi Kunjarar, Giriraja

Types of Compositions.	Names of Compositions under eacht type.	Names of Famous Composers.
		Kavi, Merattur Venkatarama Sastri.
	'Yaksha Ganas' and Kathakalis.	Giriraja Kavi, Merattur Venkatarama Sastri, Eravi Varman Thampi.
4. Compositions used in Congregational worship and sacred music.	Bhajana Songs.	Thalapakam Composers, Bhadrachala Ramadoss, Sadasiva Brahmendra Thyagaraja, Karamanai Neela Kanta Sivan, Vijiagopala and others.
	Sacred hymns.	The Saivite Saints, Manickavachagar, The Vaishnavite Saints, Arunagirinathar, Purandara Das, Kanakadoss, and others.

N.B.—Though 'Ragamalika' is purely melodic in nature it is included under "Technical" types as they abound in Chittasvaras, Muktāyi Svaras and Svaraksharams.

APPENDIX II.

Some of the prominent composers who wrote works in Sanskrit on the model of the "Gita-govinda" of Jayadeva—

1. Rama Kavi, the author of "Rāmāshtapadi" is the elder brother of Vancheswara Kavi, a descendant of the famous Govinda Dikshitar and belongs to the 19th Century. A gifted poet and composer, he set the whole Ramayana to music on the lines of Jayadeva whom he follows very closely. The work was first printed in Telugu Characters in Mysore and the author refers to Jayadeva in the opening stanza.

2. Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati, the 62nd Peetadhipati of the Kamakoti Mutt (1729-1789), is the author of "Sivashtapadi" or "Sivagiti-malika". The talented author shows his originality both in the matter of style and poetic imagination. Jayadeva is also referred to at the end of the work. The opening invocation to Sri Pranatharthi Hara, the presiding deity of Tiruvayar (Tanjore District) shows probably the work was written by Swamiji at that place.

3 .Sadasiva is the author of "Gita Sundaram" (printed at Vani Vilas Press). From the preface it is learnt that the author is one of the Court poets of Tulajendra, ruler of Tanjore and seems to have flourished in the 1st half of the 18th Century.

APPENDIX III.

I append herewith the following list of composers about whom only scanty information was available.

1. Pedda-Dasari in the time of the Nayak rule in Tanjore. A devotee of Lord Narasimha, and a composer of Padas in Telugu and Sanskrit.

2. Vijayagopala: composer of devotional Keertanas in Sanskrit and Telugu (17th Century) stamped with his own name.

3. Madura Kavi an elder contemporary of Kavikunjara Bharathi a native of 'Perunkarai' (Ramnad District) and composer of Padas and Kritis.

4. Ramananda Yatindra (18th Century) author of Gowri Raga Prabhanda.

5. Dharmapuri Subba Rayar and Pattabhiramayya: composers of Javalis noted for their delightful and catchy music with mudras 'Dharmapurisa and Tālavanesa".

6. Muthuthandavar and Marimutha Pillai, authors of several devotional Keertanas and Padas in praise of Sri Nataraja of Chidambaram.

7. Kuppuswami Aiyer; a contemporary of Syama Sastri, and composer of many Kritis with mudra "Varada Venkata".

8. Subbarama Iyer of Vaideesvaran Koil; author of beautiful padas in Tamil with the mudra "Muthukumara."

9. Subramanya Kavi of Gangapatnam: "Adhyatma Ramayana Keertanas in Telugu (Now in print).

10. Venkataramanayya, a scholar in Telugu and music. His compositions are terse in style as they abound in Jatis (hence his name Inupa Sanigelu (இரும்புக்கடலை) Venkataramanayya. Author of Several Kritis on Bodhendraswami of Govindapuram and on the first Swami of Marudanallur Mutt. Mudra Gopalakrishna. A later contemporary of Adipayya.

11. Dakshinamoorthy Iyer and Devudu Iyer of Karur, the composers of the popular "Garbhapuri-Keertanas" which are simple in style but fine in music.

12. Vasudevachar of Mysore a living Samasthana Vidwan of Mysore palace is an expert musician and composer. A disciple of Patnam Subramania Iyer. Composer of Kritis in Sanskrit Telugu and Canarese—in a variety of ragas. They possess an original vigour and charm. Sentiments, generally devotional and elevating. A rich contribution to music literature both from the point of view of music and sahitya.

APPENDIX IV.

List of books and articles referred to:—

1. Introduction to "Gana Vidya Sanjivini" of Mr. C. Tirumalayya Naidu by Mr. C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar.

2. Macdonnel's History of Sanskrit Literature.

3. Keith's

4. "Music of Hindusthan" by Fox H. Strangways.

5. Translation of the Ramayana of Valmiki by C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar.

6. The Tamilian Antiquary.

7. "Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints" by F. Kingsbury—Heritage of India Series.

8. "Hymns of the Alwars" by J. S. M. Hooper—Heritage of India Series.

9. "A history of Canarese Literature" by E. P. Price—Heritage of India Series.

10. "Asiatic Researches" Vol. iii, (1799).

11. In the footsteps of Jayadeva—Nanjaraja's Sangita Gangadhara by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D.

12. "The Gita Govinda—a Prosodic Study" by P. G. Gopalakrishna Iyer, M.A., (Oriental Research Journal, Madras).

13. "Sangeeta Sampradaya Pradarsini" of Subbarama Dikshitar of Ettayapuram Samasthanam.

14. "Travancore Music and Musicians" by T. Lakshmana Pillai.

15. "Gayaka Siddhanjanam" of Tachur Singaracharyulu.

16. "History of Tanjore Nayak rulers" by K. Sitaramayya.

17. "Karunamritha Sagaram" of Abraham Pandither.

18. "Syama Sastri and other famous figures of South Indian Music" by Prof. P. Sambamoorthy, B.A., B.L.

19. "Purandaradas" by Pandit Narasinga Rao of Christian College (Music Academy Journal, Vol. ii. no. 3).

20. The Travancore Manual, Vol. iii edited by V. Nagamayya.

21. "Thyagaraja" by Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A. B.L,, L.T.

23. "Ramaswami Dikshitar" by T. L. Venkatarama Iyer Avl., in the 'Kalaimagal' Vols.

24. "Muthuswami Dikshitar" by Dr. V. Raghavan—Sound and Shadow Vol. iii. 1933.

25. "The Sangita Kritis" of Svati Thirunal Maharaja edited by K. S. Sambasiva Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXIII Sri Chitrodaya Manjari, No. 2.

26. "The Musical Compositions of Svati Thirunal Maharaja" by K. Chidambara Vadyar, B.A.

27. "Malayala Bhasha Charitram" by K. V. Gopala Pillai.

28. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. No. 1.

29. "Ghanam Krishna Iyer" by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

30. "Gopala Krishna Bharathi" by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

31. "Gopala Krishna Bharathi" by M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer.

32. Mss. No. 11887. "Krishna Leela Tharangini" (O. M. L.).

33. "Ramadoss Charitram" by Panchagni Adi Narayana Sastrulu.

34. "Later Sangita Literature" by V. Raghavan, B.A., Hons. in the Journal of the Music Academy.

35. Archaeological Report of the Tiruppathi Devasthanam by S Subramanya Sastri.

36. Pudukkotah Manual.

37. "Aristocracy of South India" by Vadivelu Mudaliar.

38. "Kavi Jévitamulu" by Guruzada Sri Ramamoorthy Pantulu.

39. "Narayana Tirtha" by V. Prabhakara Sastri, (in the "Bharathi" 1925 Pt. 6).

40. "Sri Arunagirinatha" by Mr. N. S. Ramachandran, M.A., ("Sound and Shadow". Dec. 1933).

41. Arunagirinathar by Mr. N. Krishnamurthi in the *Hindu*, dated 11-11-1922.

42. Papanasam Sivan by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., (in the "Sound and Shadow", Aug. 1933).

43. "Maha Vaidyanatha Vijaya Sangraham" a prose biography by Ramaswamy Sivan.

44. "Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer" by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

45. "Kanda Ganamudam" by Sri N. Kotiswara Iyer.

REVIEW

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY FOR INDIAN STUDENTS. By C. S. Fox. Macmillans. Price 7/6.

The author of this book has thoroughly revised and enlarged the ' Class book of Physical Geography ' by Simmons and Stenhouse. The book is divided into three parts :—(1) Map making and astronomical geography, (2) Land and sea and (3) Climate.

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Part 2 dealing with land and sea—land forms—is easily the best part of the book, and the many Indian examples and illustrations given therein do supply a long-felt want. Many popular text books used in India have in them only foreign examples and illustrations, and every teacher of geography in the High School and the Intermediate classes will welcome this book.

Part 3 dealing with Climate does not come up to the standard of the previous part. It is felt that more attention should have been given to topics like cyclones, anticyclones, climatic types, etc. However, it must be mentioned that there is no other book of a similar size which gives as good an account of the conditions in India.

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