SPEECHES OF

SACHIVOTTAMA
SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., LL-D.,

DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE

Vol. I.

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BROADCAST TALK ON TRAVANCORE

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar gave the following broadcast talk on Travancore from Bombay Radio on the 27th September 1936.]

27TH SEPTEMBER 1936.

Isolated by the towering mass of the Western Ghats, hidden away in a confusion of bays and creeks, hills, dense forests and groves of cocoanut palm and situate in the southernmost corner of India, Travancore has not, till recently, attracted the attention that it deserves by reason of its wonderful and varied scenery and its cultural and political individuality; but thanks to the energetic and progressive policy of the present Ruler, attention is being more and more focussed on the State and increasing numbers of tourists testify to its appeal.

There is not much difference in area between Baroda and Travancore, but Travancore has more than double the population of Baroda and about 50 per cent. more by way of population than either Kashmir or Gwalior, and yet the average annual revenue of Gwalior, Kashmir, Baroda and Travancore are roughly the same. Mysore is about 25 per cent. more populous than Travancore and its revenue 40 per cent. more. Comparing these figures, it is easily perceived that the subjects of Travancore are much more lightly taxed than those of many of the other great Indian States.

G.P.T. LINO. 2431. 1,000. 7-7-1941.

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The great density of the population of Travancore will be appreciated by realising that out of 7,700 sq. miles, about half the area is covered by forests or backwater. The congestion of population, it has been argued, is a handicap; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the people are traditionally industrious, and have a great aptitude for arts and crafts and are, from the highest to the lowest, very simple in their habits. In spite of the present depression, the various industries connected with cocoanut are still one of the main sources of agricultural wealth, but other crops of an important character are pepper and ginger, arecanut, jack-fruit and tapioca as well as pineapple and other fruits the possibilities of which have to be adequately explored. There is also a great future for sugarcane. Travancore is one of the most important units on the Indian Continent in the matter of rubber and tea production. Various cottage industries have, for centuries, obtained a firm foothold in the country and cotton weaving and coir making, wood and ivory carving, screwpine work and carpentry are well known for their artistic excellence throughout the world, and during recent years, the enterprising fisher community has, under the far-sighted supervision of philanthropic agencies, developed the lace industry which has acquired a name for delicacy and durability. The kaolin deposits of Travancore are some of the finest in existence, and it is hoped that the making of china-clay and

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porcelain products will soon be one of the recognised and prosperous industries.

The forest resources comprise big blocks of timber trees like teak, blackwood and ebony, and sandalwood and cardamom are some of the varieties of indigenous products of the country. In addition, there is an almost unlimited extent of soft-wood and reeds that can yield an abundance of pulp whose uses in the matter of the manufacture of paper and cardboard and various other modern industrial products like artificial silk are being widely recognised. From the hilly nature of the country and the dense vegetation that encompasses it and the very heavy rainfall, the arable area is confined to terraces along the valleys, some irrigated portions in the south and the reclamations from the backwaters in the north. The forests, in fact, cover a third of the whole area.

One of the special features of the country is the series of wide backwaters which form the cheapest possible route for traffic from Cochin to Trivandrum. There are navigable canals along the entire littoral and innumerable streams and rivers flowing westward to the sea. Properly dredged and deepened, these waterways will be many times cheaper than any rail or road transport, especially for heavy traffic and if motor tugs are introduced, Travancore need not suffer from comparison with any modern State in the matter

of transport facilities. Even at present, out of the total trade, 26 per cent. is carried by sea and 45 per cent. by backwater.

The fisheries of Travancore are already an item of considerable importance and the export of fish and fish products amounts in value to about 25 lakhs, and a well directed extension of the existing programme for the education of fishermen and the spread of co-operation amongst them can easily lead to the rapid expansion of the industry. Poultry-farming and especially bee-keeping in the State have attracted outside attention and Marthandam which carries on an intensive programme of rural reconstruction is one of the recognised centres of all-India importance.

So far, I have been dealing with the question of the natural resources of the State; but what might have been an obstacle to industrial progress is the fact that, although there are big deposits of monozite, ilmenite and graphite and certain other minerals, there is little or no coal and mineral oil obtainable within the State. There is, however, ample compensation for this disadvantage in the existence of a number of sources of easily available hydro-electric power; and the Pallivasal Hydro-electric Scheme initiated by the present Maharaja, which will be in full operation before long is expected to result in the inauguration of industrial projects like bleaching, paper and rubber factories and of a number of textile and other industries, big and

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small, which would become paying propositions if cheap power became available.

It is well known that Travancore is a participant in the Cochin Harbour Scheme and has other ports of her own; and the future of Travancore is, in fact, bound up with its trade and commerce the total value of which is over 16 crores per year. It must not be forgotten that judging by recorded history, for over 2000 years some of the ports in Travancore have had dealings with commercial nations of the East and the West, beginning with China to whom she perhaps owes some of her architectural practices and fishing appurtenances and coming down to the great European trading corporations with one of whom, the English East India Company, she entered into an unshaken political alliance over a hundred and fifty years ago.

Far outweighing even the value of the natural resources of the country, imposing as they are, are the character and the potentialities of the people of the land. Thanks to a century old system of liberal State encouragement, and owing to the fact that the State spends over 20 per cent. of its revenues on education, and thanks also to the non-existence of the *purdah* system and the absolute equality of status between men and women in the political, social and educational spheres, Travancore admittedly stands in the forefront in the matter not only of men's but of women's education. The State possesses eight colleges affiliated to the

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Madras University. Not less than 13 per cent. of the population are attending schools in Travancore and there is a school for every two square miles in the State. These figures are so much higher than those of any part of British India that there is really no comparison between the progress of education in Travancore and even progressive Indian Provinces.

The spread of literacy in the country will be best realised when it is pointed out that there are nearly 120 periodicals and newspapers published within the State in English and Malayalam.

The rapid growth of education and the desire of girls as well as boys to attain economic independence have, however, led to a phenomenal increase in middle class unemployment both amongst men and women, and recent social legislation in the State has led, by inevitable processes, to a fragmentation of holdings. The result is that, much more acutely than in almost any part of British India, there is prevalent a keen economic struggle and competition amongst the educated group. Travancore may not have suffered from famine, but on the other hand, it is not a land of capitalists but of peasant proprietors, small industrialists and tradesmen who have been very hard hit by the present agricultural depression and set-back in the export trade in cocoanut products as well as in pepper and other spices and the slump in rubber.

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What is needed to enable Travancore to make the utmost use of her opportunities is an overhauling of the system of education and a carefully designed economic planning which will, without reproducing the evil effects of the factory system, industrialise the State and not only give secondary occupations to the families of land-holders and agriculturists but also open fresh and useful careers to the middle class unemployed. His Highness the present Maharaja who belongs to one of the oldest Ruling Houses in India does not propose to rest on his historic laurels but has determined to put Travancore in its proper place on the Indian map, and he has the great advantage of ruling over a people who possess great cultural and artistic traditions, whose intellectual standards are very high and whose enterprise is proverbial. The subjects of Travancore are to be found occupying good positions in various spheres all over India and in many other countries.

Travancore instituted a Legislative Council nearly fifty years ago and His Highness initiated four years ago a Bicameral Legislature in which both men and women take part and which possesses a very large budgetary control and extensive powers of discussion and interpellations. The franchise has recently been lowered and adjusted so as to enable all communities to be represented in the Legislature. He has also instituted a Public Service Commission to deal with the question of

recruitment to the Public Services with a view to equalising opportunities for all aspirants. Fortunately, the standards of education are so high in the State that this can be done without lowering efficiency.

The tradition of religious toleration is one of the glories of the State, and Muslims and Christians belonging to dozens of sects have found uninterrupted hospitality and encouragement during many centuries, and it would be true to say that there is no part of India and very few parts of the world where there are more temples, churches and other places of worship to the square mile than in Travancore.

The credit of the State is very high in the money market as was evidenced by the striking success of the recent loan of fifty lakhs for hydro-electric purposes which was subscribed more than five times over in a few minutes after the opening of the subscription list. Apart from productive assets, the State possesses ample reserves in the shape of fluid securities. It is noticeable that a very small amount (less than five per cent. of the revenues) is taken by His Highness and His Family for their privy purse.

But man does not live by bread alone, and I cannot conclude without adverting to the creditable literary and poetical output in Malayalam which is a very apt instrument for the expression of

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humour and irony as well as of graver moods and without referring to the widespread musical talent in fostering which the members of the Royal Family have, for generations, taken an active personal part, one Maharaja (Swathi Thirunal) being, in fact, a renowned poet and composer respected wherever music is honoured in the south of India. By starting the Palace and State Art Galleries, by the help given to the rediscovery and preservation of old frescoes and other art treasures of the past and by their trained appreciation of music, the present Ruler and his mother have begun what it is hoped will be a true cultural renaissance.

SPEECH AT THE SECRETARIAT ON THE OCCASION OF TAKING CHARGE AS DEWAN

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar took charge of the Dewanship of Travancore on the morning of the 8th October 1936.

The *Neet* or Commission over the Sign Manual appointing him Dewan was read to him at Kaudiar Palace and then at Chokkatta Mandapam, in the Fort Palace according to the Travancore custom.

Later, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar arrived at the Huzur Secretariat. He was received at the entrance by Rao Bahadur Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, Chief Secretary to Government and led to the Dewan's room. Dr. Kunjan Pillai on behalf of the Secretariat welcomed the new Dewan.

He said: "The news, Sir, of your appointment was received with universal joy throughout the State. The Press acclaimed it with approbation and the people received it with genuine satisfaction. Travancore feels proud and honoured to be under the guidance of a statesman of such great experience and she should congratulate herself and also congratulate you on the appointment you have now accepted.

"Your relation with Travancore is well nigh a quarter of a century old and after the accession of the present Maharaja to the *gadi* you were intimately connected with His Highness as his Legal and Constitutional Adviser, in which capacity you rendered services to the State which will be remembered with gratitude by all loyal subjects. In several fields of activity Travancore holds the front rank among the States and Provinces in India, particularly in the field of education. But, Travancore still lags behind in certain other activities such as commerce and industries. It is

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highly gratifying that you have realised the pressing needs of this country as was evidenced from your broadcast speech on Travancore.

"It is our earnest hope and our sincere prayer that before you lay down the reins of office you would be enabled to implement your ideas about unemployment relief and the improvement of the economic condition of the people.

"At this juncture when India is on the threshold of momentous reforms and Indian India and British India are likely to be merged into a common body, sooner or later, we require a statesman of your capacity, experience and foresight to help and guide us and enable Travancore to occupy her position in New India. The task that is now before you is not easy, but I may assure you on behalf of my colleagues and myself, that in the execution of that task you can depend on the loyal and whole-hearted co-operation of the people of Travancore."]

Replying, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said as follosw :—

8TH OCTOBER 1936.

Dr. Kunjan Pillai and friends,—It has given me most genuine pleasure to receive the welcome that on behalf of your colleagues and subordinates and yourself you have extended to me so generously and so felicitously. You have spoken of the confidence placed in me by the Maharaja; you have adverted to what you have called the sacrifices made by me. I trust that the State will not consider or reflect for a moment on any such sacrifices, for I hold that it was my simple and elementary duty to His Highness. Therefore, when at

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this juncture His Highness called upon me to shoulder the responsibility as his chief executive officer I accepted the offer with readiness and willingness.

The problems facing Travancore are many and important. We have social, economic, federal and constitutional questions before us and in tackling them the best results could be achieved only if the whole country acted in unison. And for that the whole-hearted, co-ordinated and unanimous support of all the communities and all classes of the country is a *sine qua non.*

I may tell you at once that during the last 30 or 35 years, I have been a hard worker myself. I am afraid I shall sometimes be a hard taskmaster. But I do know, from my experience, of the ability and adaptability of the people of Travancore, and I am confident that they will rise equal to the occasion.

I have held throughout my official career that almost on a level with corruption and injustice, delay is detrimental to the public interests and it has been my ideal never to allow the delay of files.

In the confident hope that I shall deserve the confidence and maintain the trust of persons belonging to all communities and in the hope that I shall justify the confidence reposed in me by His Highness the Maharaja I have accepted this appointment in the spirit in which it was offered.

———

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE AT THE VICTORIA JUBILEE TOWN HALL, TRIVANDRUM

[On the evening of the 9th October 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address of welcome on behalf of the people of Travancore at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, Trivandrum. The address which was read by Dr. K. T. Mathew, referred to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's long and intimate connection with Travancore and assured him that in solving the diverse problems of the State, he would have the full and hearty co-operation of His Highness the Maharaja's subjects.]

The Dewan made the following reply :—

9TH OCTOBER 1936.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—To Mr. Mathew, my old friend and to the organisers of this meeting my fervent thanks are due. I am saying this not in a spirit of conventional reply to a conventional address. I may assure you that I am speaking from the fulness of my heart when I say that I am overwhelmed with the spontaneity of the welcome which has been accorded to me by all classes and communities in the State. You, Sir, in the address which you have read on behalf of the organisers of this meeting have adverted to what you have been pleased to term my past achievements and services. Neither now nor on any future occasion shall I recall those past services and the work which it

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has been my privilege or rather my opportunity to do. The past can well look after itself and I regard my past services, such as they are, as only giving me that equipment and that outlook which, I trust, will be beneficial for the purpose of carrying out the ideals of His Highness the Maharaja. Therefore, Sir, while I appreciate the warmth of your statements, I do not propose to deal with what I have been able to do elsewhere.

What I propose to tell you to-day, the few remarks which I wish you will permit me to make, will relate to the future. His Highness honoured me some weeks ago by asking me to be his Minister, at this juncture. There are many reasons which made it imperative on me to accede to the demand made by His Highness. My personal loyalty to His Highness and his Royal House and my devotion and attachment to the State made it a simple and elementary duty for me to accept the responsibility which I have been called upon to shoulder. And I trust I shall not get any special credit for it.

You have referred to the ideals of His Highness. I have watched His Highness grow up from boyhood to youth, and from youth to early manhood. I have seen the unfolding of his sentiments and aspirations and I have watched his ideals growing from more to more and from greater to greater.

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I can assure you, from intimate personal acquaintance and knowledge gained at close quarters in difficult and trying situations, that His Highness has only one object before him, and that is the creation of harmony and cohesion within the State and the promotion of the prestige and reputation of the State in the eyes of India and of the world. Internal prosperity and that harmony between all classes and communities without which plans for bringing about prosperity could not be adequately and securely implemented, and external glory—these are his ideals. And, if, at the end of my term of office, it could be said of me that I translated a fraction of those ideals into action, that as in the past, so in the future, I did not allow any bias in favour of or against any class or community to influence my works, that I strove to make for the economic and social betterment of the State, and that I discharged the trust that had been reposed in me even to a small extent, then would be the occasion to deserve your tribute. But, at present, I trust, people will withhold judgment.

The address has referred to many things. It has referred to the problem of Federation confronting Travancore. But no less urgent and not less important than those problems are the internal problems of the State. In order to play your part worthily, adequately and fittingly in this State you must act as one man. Otherwise, like a house divided against itself, we shall not be able to pull

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our weight and advance our cause as strongly as we might.

My lips are sealed with regard to certain matters of controversy, but I would not be acting in the right spirit if I did not refer to them. I do not propose to indulge in a historic retrospect, but I hope the time will come when it will be realised that there have been misconceptions and a great deal of misunderstanding. I do not wish to say more than that on this occasion, but this I will say that at no time could it be said of me that I was ever communal in favour of or against any community. But, that again is a matter to be decided by you, and I would not ask you to accept my views. In political and social matters the spirit of compromise is essential so that harmony may prevail. Let us work in that spirit.

So far as Travancore is concerned, educational and economic problems are the most urgent. We are a highly educated people, but our very education has brought in its wake certain complications and embarrassments. We have to deal with them. I am very fortunate in succeeding Sir Mahomed Habibullah, an old and valued friend of mine whose tact and statesmanship have solved many difficulties and enabled me to start my work with much headway made. I owe a great deal to the work of conciliation that Sir Mahomed Habibullah endeavoured to initiate. And, my friends, I hold very strongly that,

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if there is one thing more essential than another in the very difficult and invidious task of administration, it is continuity and steadiness, and I hope that it will be given to me to pursue them in the course of my office. And I also hope that at the end of the term of my office it will be said of me that in making no appointment or in granting no concession or privilege was I influenced in the least by any recommendation either from anyone related to me or connected with me by ties of friendship or otherwise, and that no consideration except loyalty to His Highness the Maharaja and efficiency ever affected me in the administration of the State.

There is another matter which you will pardon me for referring to. As I said elsewhere, I hold very strongly the view, born of personal experience, that next only to corruption and injustice, delay in the disposal of business is detrimental in every respect to public interests and injurious to the common wealth. I trust that it will be given to me to avoid that delay in the disposal of business and that it will be avoided in all the departments under my control.

Think of the work ahead of us. I have known people in Europe asking where Travancore was. Even a Cabinet Minister did so. They do not know that there is a fairly big State known as Travancore, and that it has a full sized city called Trivandrum.

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People have asked me whether Travancore has a High Court and an organized public service. His Highness the Maharaja has made it a point to dispel the ignorance about Travancore and to make known to the world at large that here is a State evolved in education and fit to take its place among the great entities constituting the units of the Empire. And that task of enlightenment, that task of acting as the spear-point to drive home to the world at large the meaning and the significance of the State, its culture and its individuality, is one devolving on you and me and every one else. It must be discharged.

Reference has been made to Federation. What does it mean? It means the union of many disparate and diversified entities for common benefit. At the same time, it means the assertion and the vindication of the special virtues and special contributions of every entity.

Before all of us lies the imperative and urgent duty of doing each one's little bit to solve the social and economic and political problems which are pressing on every side, so that no community may feel injured and all communities may feel equally privileged and equally happy. These are the tasks before us. What a task and how little have most of us equipped ourselves for it! It has pleased His Highness the Maharaja to ask me to seek your

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co-operation in that work. May I not, therefore, appeal on this occasion to every class and community and every individual in the State to test me, try me and give me that co-operation and judge me by the results? If I fail, if I flag in the race, I shall not be sorry to meet condemnation. But, now, I want your sympathy, help and fellow-feeling and co-operation.

REPLY TO WELCOME ADDRESS PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE BRAHMINS OF TRIVANDRUM.

[On the morning of the 17th October 1936, the 57th birthday of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, a deputation of Brahmins, led by Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar, Retired High Court Judge, presented Sir Ramaswami Aiyar with *Poornakumbham* and a welcome address, on behalf of the Brahmins of Trivandrum.]

Replying to the address Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said :

17TH OCTOBER 1936.

Mr. Sesha Aiyar, and my respected friends,— Let me at the commencement tender you my heartfelt thanks for the felicitations and the good wishes that have been extended to me on this occasion of my birthday. As you, Sir, observed in terms as apposite and happy as timely, you have also taken this opportunity to advert to my taking up the executive governance of this State and to the confidence reposed in me by His Highness the Maharaja, to whom my grateful thanks are due and whose trust, I hope, I shall deserve. Elsewhere, Sir, and on different occasions it has fallen to me to advert to the ideals which will animate me, the things that have to be done and those programmes and policies which as a loyal Minister of His Highness it is my duty to carry into practice.

You have referred to His Highness the Maharaja and his ideals and aspirations. You have also rightly spoken of the way in which, with a self-sacrifice and a devotion to the country's cause rare at all times, and rarer in people of his station,

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he has pursued one aim and one object, namely, the amelioration, the progress and the glory of the people whom Providence has placed under his charge. That charge has been delegated to me for a little while, but I do not propose to speak to you now on what I shall be able to do. That, time will show. If, however, as I said on another occasion, when I hand over the stewardship of the State, you will again assemble as you have done to-day and tell me that my stewardship has been adequately, faithfully and loyally discharged, then will be the time for compliments and retrospect.

Mr. Sesha Aiyar, you referred, at the close of your most suggestive speech, to the ideals of our community. I hold it to be one of our priceless privileges that we have inherited the tradition that is ours. Alone in the history of the world, our community has stood for lowliness, study and service as its guiding ideals. The Brahmin adopted poverty as his badge, enlightenment as his watchword and study as his preoccupation. He adopted illumination as the goal to which his path must lead him. If the Brahmin was, according to the social polity of the past, placed at the apex of the social pyramid, it was because he stood for the things of the spirit and the things of the mind, and not for the things of the outer world or for physical prowess and earthly glory which have been the ideal of other nations and communities.

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Moreover, there is one aspect of our faith and our religion which I feel it incumbent on me to advert to. What else is our faith but the embodiment and the consummation of tolerance and catholicity? What is it but the summing up of all forms of philosophic faith? What is it but the translation into practice of the possibility of all creeds and philosophies living side by side and in mutual comprehension, although the immediate objects of devotion may be different, and even the ultimate ideals apparently divergent? We have absorbed Buddhism; we have evolved Jainism and Sikhism; we have made it possible for men of the most conflicting spiritual ideals to work together for common ends and for the glory of humanity. That tolerance, that spirit of live and let live, that spirit of all-embracing unity is our contribution to the history of the world. This is why when Egypt has become a thing of memories, when Crete is forgotten, when Greece is no more, when the great civilisation and complicated religion of Mexico is a matter for archæologists, we are still a living entity.

But, Mr. Sesha Aiyar and friends, a spiritual crisis may overtake our community, as it is overtaking many parts of the earth. We must, therefore demonstrate a living faith in our religion. We must demonstrate a spirit of service and of self-sacrifice. We must demonstrate the possibility of

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giving up everything for that which we hold dear and we must not be found wanting. Until we evoke this spirit we shall not be worthy of our religion. What I wish to emphasise is the spirit of Indian culture. The Parsis came to India. They were friendless and homeless, and were cast adrift. To them the message of the Guzerat king came and he said, "Come and live amongst us, develop yourselves, and realise yourselves." And the Parsi community is what it is to-day on account of the hospitality of that Hindu king. Successive faiths have come amongst us and have received our welcome and hospitality. But there is a tendency in recent times towards narrowness. Look at what is happening in Bombay day to day. You find the crudity of conflict and acute tension born of difficulties of mutual appreciation and comprehension. If we are to be true to our faith, we should give an example of complete tolerance, realising that it does not in essence matter whether a man follows one *avatar* or another. Our faith is great enough, strong enough, tolerant enough, comprehensive enough, to regard and respect and treat as brothers bent on the same quest the followers of the Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, Jesus Christ, Mahomed, and others to whom truth has been revealed in various forms.

For each time, to each country, a special message comes. If we believe in our philosophy,

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if we know what is the best for us, we shall know also that our faith speaks of the Supreme as revealing Himself differently to men of different epochs and countries and of different stages of growth and culture. Many are the ways of approach but the end is the same. So realising, so feeling, so living shall we not give an example to-day, as we did in the distant past? We who have made even agnosticism a possible form of philosophic outlook, shall we not testify to a vision in which whatever individual message of the inner spirit a man may follow, he will be tolerant of every other message so that out of the entirety of the spiritual endeavours, aspirations and yearnings of mankind a flame may be lit which could be held high like a torch to lead us to the citadel of human ideals towards which humanity is painfully groping its upward way? Unless we thus justify ourselves we shall have no right to exist. We must by our adaptability to changed circumstances and our readiness to shed excrescences and abide by the essentials, renovate the life of the country. There is no use of retiring into a cell. There are two ways of approaching the religious problem. One is the way of the hermit and the other the way of the vigorous, potent, dominant worker. The latter is the way that to-day demands. Shall we not prove equal to the occasion? If we do not, we shall fail and deserve to fail. We shall be annihilated as we

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shall have lost our individuality, our specific personality. If we do, we may possibly resuscitate the Vedic ideals to which you so feelingly referred.

I conclude by thanking you once again for the kindness, generosity and sympathy with which you have welcomed me, your friend and brother.

REPLY TO THE MEMORANDUM PRESENTED BY THE JOINT POLITICAL CONGRESS

[A deputation of the All-Travancore Joint Political Congress, consisting of Messrs. T. M. Varghese, V. K. Velayudhan, P. J. Sebastian, P. K. Ahmad Kunju, K. Kunju Panikkar, M. G. Matthew, K. T. Thomas, E. P. Varghese and M. S. Anirudhan, waited on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, on the 28th October 1936 and presented him with a memorandum of grievances.]

Dealing with the points raised in the memorandum, the Dewan said :

28TH OCTOBER 1936.

Gentlemen,—I am glad that you have come here at a very early stage of my tenure of the chief executive office of the State, and placed before me your memorandum of grievances. You have very accurately said that you do not come in a spirit of conventional courtesy. Let me assure you that I appreciate the spirit underlying that statement and my response is in the same spirit. As you know, I have myself had the advantage or the disadvantage of having been in active politics, and I realise that in political controversies strong and emphatic statements may have to be made for the purpose of focussing attention on the points at issue. I believe that it is from that point of view and in order to elucidate the points which you have so much at heart that you have compiled this memorandum. Just as you have not started with what may be called formal or conventional methods of address I shall adopt a similar procedure of

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not replying in a conventional fashion. Nevertheless, my thanks are due to you for having given me an opportunity to place certain matters beyond doubt or controversy.

In the first place, there is one outstanding aspect of your representation which I should like to place before you for your earnest and anxious consideration. You have been good enough to promise to me that your document will be published simultaneously with the reply I am giving. Therefore it is that in the remarks I am making to you face to face, I shall permit myself a certain latitude and frankness which I feel sure, you will appreciate, as I fully appreciate the latitude which you have permitted to yourselves in this memorandum.

The first observation that I wish to offer is that many of the publications in the course of this controversy and many writings in the Press are capable of giving rise to the impression to those who are unaware of the conditions of life and the undoubtedly high standards of administration here that this State is, so to say, under a medieval system of Government. Isolated statements of the absence of the liberty of Press and person and oppression by the officials have gained much publicity. It may be remembered in this connection that there are not many States in India where public meetings can be or are held.

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In Travancore and some other States there are few if any restrictions but in most of the States in India there is nothing like the liberty that is enjoyed here. There are over 100 journals and newspapers circulating in this State and in most of the States there are hardly any, and Travancore journalism is not characterised by any want of outspokenness. Liberty of the person and property is as secure here as in any part of British India and on the whole the liberty of the Press is in practice greater than in British India.

As I said at a public meeting the other day, the one thing that His Highness is anxious about is that the legitimate place and status of Travancore *vis-a-vis* British India and other Indian States as one of the most progressive units should be recognised and vindicated, and this policy I shall endeavour to carry out. I would appeal to you, and I am not putting it as a favour that I am asking, but it is an appeal to you as patriotic citizens of Travancore, however strong your feelings might be, however emphatically you may have to express those feelings, they should be expressed in such a manner as to make it abundantly clear that you still feel, as I know you cannot but feel, that this State is on the whole run with the sole view of advancing the best interests of the people of the State. In His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, young as he is, we have a Sovereign who is

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the embodiment of abiding solicitude and love for his country and his people. I have known him for a number of years; and at all times he has been anxious to leave the impress of his personality on the history of the country, and to make it possible for people to say that he always acted in its highest interests. This aspect you have rightly appreciated when at the end of the address—you have asked me to communicate to His Highness—as I shall do very willingly and gladly—your sentiments of loyalty. But this aspect must not be allowed to be obscured in the excitement of political polemics.

You have spoken of the liberty of the Press. I assure you that to-day in British India there is not a more abundant liberty of the Press than you have here, and I hope you will keep in mind the recent British Indian legislation which was necessitated by circumstances which are familiar to you. In no Indian State does the Press enjoy more or even as many facilities as here. In this controversy please remember that when you make statements about the suppression of the Press, you make it appear that oppression is common here. As to rights of person and property they are fully safeguarded here both by law and by practice, and those rights are upheld by a judiciary of which no part of India need be ashamed. Remember what is being done elsewhere. Look at the number of political prisoners elsewhere. Is there one political

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prisoner here? You may put forward your grievances as strongly as you wish. You may criticise the Head of the Administration for his policy and his acts, and you can bring to light any shortcomings in the administration. But I hope the impression will not be given to the world outside that there is any form of tyranny or oppression here, or that the administration is essentially faulty. As to religious toleration, you say, "This highly arbitrary procedure cuts at the very root of religious freedom in a manner unheard of in any civilised country and runs counter to all known policy of religious toleration." Just think for a moment what interpretation people are likely to put on such a statement. Remember that we are living in a country where religious differences are likely to be acute and to lead to calamitous results, and remember that for nearly 1,000 years Travancore has furnished a unique example to the world of religious toleration and hospitality to all creeds and forms of faith.

Contrast this with what is happening almost everywhere in the world except perhaps in England. Compare Travancore not only with other States but with most European and American countries, and then you will see that it is not just to mention Travancore and religious intolerance in the same breath. Remember that we are living in a world where even His Majesty the King of England is

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under the constitution bound to uphold a particular faith, namely, the Protestant creed.

There seems to be a feeling that possibly the recent electoral reforms may be whittled down or altered under my advice. As to this I can affirm that I am a very firm believer in the principles of continuity of administration, and that it will be my object to advise His Highness that the policy which has been adumbrated—which as you say has been well received—will be continued and the new measures implemented in the spirit in which they were initiated by my predecessor, a spirit which I may say is in conformity with the intentions that were expressed and reiterated by His Highness, and with what was contemplated as early as 1932 and carried out.

Some time after all this controversy dies down, when we shall all be working together, I hope to place before the world abundant and conclusive proof of what I have asserted, but it is not my purpose just now to start any discussion as to the past but to look to the future. Once again I want to make it perfectly clear that it is not the intention of His Highness' Government to depart from the spirit underlying the electoral scheme formulated by my friend and predecessor, Sir Mahomed Habibullah, who has been working at this task with

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a single-minded devotion; nor is it the idea of His Highness' Government to go back on the policy that has been decided upon.

I shall now deal with the several paragraphs of your memorandum seriatim.

The first point in your memorandum is about what is termed 'Silent Persecutions.' You have referred to a certain amount of feeling that has been engendered in the public service and in institutions like panchayats and municipalities in which the claims of certain people have been ignored and overlooked on the ground that some members of their communities were engaged in political agitation. You say that this outlook has been extended even to the granting of agricultural loans. As you know, everywhere, if one party is or is supposed to be against Government, the attitude and outlook of officials and even of non-officials is likely to be characterised by a certain prejudice and the proceedings of the legislative bodies in India furnish parallels to your statements, but it is impossible for me to give a general answer to a general statement like that. I may, however, say that if an instance or a group of instances is brought to my notice where injustice has been perpetrated in the manner alleged, I shall not hesitate to set things right. I cannot say any more than that. Then you say that some Government officers adopt a policy of taking "vengeance" on the communities

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that pleaded for their rights. I want to make it abundantly clear that it cannot be the policy of Government to take "vengeance" on any person or on any community. The term "vengeance" is appropriate only to a case where a crime against society is committed, and vengeance may be and is called for where there is manifest disloyalty to His Highness. In that case no quarter and no misplaced mercy can be shown. Activities subversive of the established system of society, disloyalty to His Highness the Maharaja, attributing motives to His Highness—for such things there can be no excuse. But it is the legitimate right of every community and every man to criticise any officer of Government, or to vindicate their legal rights and put forward their political or social or economic aspirations.

Then you refer to the C.I.D. You have referred to a trespass into Mr. E. J. John's house. You must have seen the statement by Mr. E. John Philippose on it and you must have known that this act of official indiscretion was dealt with immediately and to the satisfaction of the person affected by it, namely, Mr. E. J. Philippose himself. I am sure you will admit that the C.I.D. has a useful function to perform. Having been the head of the C.I.D. in the neighbouring Province for five and a half years, I know the limits of C.I.D. work and its limitations as well as its value. Anything like

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officious interference with private rights, oppression or tyranny, if brought to the notice of Government will be dealt with appropriately. At the same time, I want you to remember that the lot of the policeman is very hard and he has to do thankless but often necessary work. If the policeman transcends his limits he can be punished but after all, the tone of the Police is set by the public and by the impact of public opinion.

Next you refer to caste monopoly in the Secretariat. With regard to that, there is an obvious mistake in your statement that there is not one Secretary or Assistant Secretary belonging to the Christian, Ezhava or Muslim community. Just now, Mr. Gainneos has been appointed Assistant Secretary and Mr. Thommen, a Secretary, is still in service. You say, "It creates an impression that these communities do not deserve the confidence of the Government ....." You will remember that there is Mr. Chacko who is my Private Secretary. I noted with amusement that there was some impression that he has been posted at Bhaktivilas to supervise the garden there or my kitchen, and that for all official work Mr. Panikkar was utilised. The real fact of the matter is that a great part of my work is done at Bhaktivilas, and it is true to say that Mr. Chacko necessarily goes through papers belonging to every Department. You will see, therefore, that there is no

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question of the alleged want of confidence in the Christian community, just as there is no want of confidence in the Nayar community as is shown by the appointment of Mr. Panikkar as another Private Secretary. I may just point out to you one important matter of difference between the Secretariat here and the Secretariat in British India. In Delhi, for instance, an officer becomes a Secretary to Government at about the end of his official career so that the promotion that he can aspire to is to become the Governor of a Province or a member of the Council. On the other hand, here, the Secretary looks forward to go out to a District as Peishkar. Therefore, when you look at these appointments from the point of view of communal representation, you have to take the Secretariat and the Districts together. You know Mr. Chandy was recently appointed as Peishkar. If you take the Secretariat and the District appointments together the real facts will emerge that there has been no injustice. But in regard to the question of communal representation generally, I am sure you must have read the communiqués on the matter. You know that certain modes of ensuring communal representation have been devised for initial recruitment. In the case of promotions, the system cannot be worked mathematically. You will remember that, in Madras, after 15 years of persistent work in this direction by the parties in power

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there are still many interpellations in the Legislative Council asserting that inequalities still exist. You will, therefore, appreciate that this scheme can be worked out only in course of time. All that I can say is that the policy of equal opportunities to the efficient men of all communities indicated in the appointment of the Public Service Commissioner and the Government communiqués, will be kept in view. Efficiency must be the prime consideration. Fortunately for Travancore, unlike other places where insistence on efficiency may mean the exclusion of certain communities, on account of the high level of education here, efficient men are available in most, if not all, communities. I may just point out, without making too much of it, that, in the Medical Department, for instance, the number of Christians exceeds what may be called the population average. The same can be said of the other branches also. I do not for a moment suggest thereby that these communities have nothing to urge on the matter, but my point is that the principle of affording equal opportunities to all classes of His Highness' subjects will always be borne in mind. You say, "Despite the fact that the appointment of the Public Service Commissioner was made more than a year" ago, it has not led to any tangible result. The appointment of a Public Service Commissioner can by itself lead to no definite or immediate results. He has framed some

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rules. They have been scrutinised and passed. Some examinations have been held. It will certainly take a little time for all this to create tangible effect in the public service. The policy, however, has been laid down and will be followed, and, moreover, my aim will be not only to bring about equality of opportunity to all communities and classes but to strike at individual or personal bias by setting my face against recommendations and the exercise of influence through friends or relations or politically or socially influential people.

You say that the order with regard to the acting appointments has ultimately ended in a "direction to confirm all hands with an acting service of one year prior to the operation of the rules." That is not an accurate statement. No such order has been issued by the Government. The rule says that only acting hands with a total acting service of not less than three years will be given exemption from the operation of the rules.

With regard to the recruitment of Munsiffs, the policy is to consult the Judicial Department. That is the principle laid down in the Government of India also. And efficiency will be the prevailing consideration. It must be remembered that, after all, when a lawyer is recruited as a Judge, it is his practice and his acumen as a lawyer that form the basis of such recruitment and the best judges of

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these are the litigant public. In professional, technical and scientific posts like those of lawyers, judges, engineers and doctors communal considerations are in the nature of things subordinate to efficiency, and the patient and the client know this very well and act on this principle. Here again so far as Travancore goes, fortunately, there are men of efficiency in all the communities, and the High Court and the Government will not forget this.

In regard to the "alleged attempts to wreck the electoral reforms," I have already made some remarks on that matter. I have heard with great satisfaction that an attempt is being made to arrive at an understanding between the various communities in the matter of seats at the ensuing elections. Nothing can be better than such an adjustment between the communities if it will lead to a permanent concordat and result in a conjoint endeavour to work together for the good of the country.

In regard to the question of freedom of worship, I must say that the case has been overstated. I shall give you certain figures. In the period between 1816 and 1820, there were established 301 churches in the State. The number went up to 2,827 in 1931. In 1936, it is 3,007. 180 new churches have been brought into existence in these five years. Between 1921 and 1934, 501 were sanctioned and 249 were actually erected. In other words,

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in recent years churches have been built in Travancore at the rate of three per month—a record for a State with an area of less than 8,000 square miles and a record which negatives all suggestion of restriction. Some applications were rejected but the grounds for rejection have been always stated. I may also say that during these years several applications for the erection of mosques and temples have been rejected. I can quite understand the increasing need for places of worship for an enterprising community. But at the same time I do not think facts and figures justify your statement, "The later Proclamations and their administration by the caste Hindu officers in the State have now made it almost impossible to secure the necessary Government sanction for the creation of churches and mosques." I am getting figures of churches for the whole of India and for the whole of the Madras Presidency. I do not think — I do not want to dogmatise—that there can be as many churches in the whole of the Madras Presidency as there are in Travancore. No attempts are being made to prevent the lawful exercise of the right to worship. But I understand that, in regard to each and every one of these applications for churches, mosques or temples, reasons are given for the rejecting of such applications. If in any case you find that there is any illegal or unjust attempt to prevent the construction of places of worship,

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it is open to you to complain, and necessary action will be taken.

The figures I have quoted show that, after His Highness came to the throne 180 new churches have been erected . Ever since I assumed office during the last 20 days I think I must have sanctioned at least 4 new churches. As to religious propaganda, the negation of freedom of worship and religious intolerance, let me make a few observations. To-day, there is a tendency, all the world over and in India also, on the part of some people to use religion as a means of securing political weightage. I daresay you appreciate the disastrous result of such an effort. You have all seen what is happening in Bombay, and what has been happening elsewhere when religious or sectarian animosities are roused. Fortunately, in Travancore, the various communities have been living in comparative mutual harmony. Therefore, the aim of the administrator—here I am speaking as an administrator—is to see that there is freedom of religious worship and propaganda consistent with public safety. We are passing through very difficult times. In the villages and towns, the slightest provocation may create infinite trouble. When you have one set of people out to convert others to their faith, there will naturally be another set to resist such conversion. We are getting Sikhs and Sikh congregations, and Arya Samajists and Arya Samaj

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congregations conducting their propaganda. There is increasing activity on the part of nearly all religious persuasions in the direction of prosely-tisation, some endeavouring to convert Hindus or others and some anxious to convert members of other denominations, belonging to the same faith. There is an increasing desire on the part of the Hindus to take steps for retaining their co-religion-ists within their fold. Personally, although I firmly believe in my religious philosophy, I hold in reverence all great religious teachers, Krishna and Sankara and Ramanuja, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus Christ and Muhammad, all of whom have delivered divine messages which, unfortunately as the happenings all over the world show, many of us are unable or unwilling to interpret or practise aright. My religion according to my reading of it stands for absolute toleration of divergent creeds; but facts must be faced, and the preaching of different faiths so as to avoid possibilities of con-flict is a matter calling for the exercise of rare quali-ties. In a petition which came to me the other day regarding a recent controversy I read this observa-tion: "What possible objection is there to ending a religious procession in front of a school so long as the procession does not enter the school?" That is an argument which may lead to very calamitous results. I can assure you that all reasonable faci-lities in the matter of erection of churches, mos-ques and temples will be allowed; and the reasons

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which have till now actuated Government in preventing such erection are generally speaking reasons of public health or reasons of proximity to other places of worship, or similar grounds which operate on Government whose duty it is to see that no communal or sectarian troubles or disturbances or misunderstandings take place which may produce unlooked for and disastrous results.

Regarding the restriction on the creation of cemeteries, I have looked into the matter. I find that the Statutory Revision Committee has gone into the question. I shall examine their report on Section 182 of the T.P.C. with the care it deserves. There again the paramount consideration will be public interests, health and convenience. You know, the legal maxim *Solus populi suprema lex*

Then, coming to prohibitory orders, you have referred to the very root of religious freedom being affected, and you suggest some kind of partiality or bias. Let me say with all the solemnity that the subject demands, that the professors of no religion will, or can, be allowed to attack any other religion or its tenets or practices. Government will not show any distinction between one faith and another, and if cases are brought to the notice of Government, of abusive attacks such as you have alleged on Christian missions or the Christian faith, severe notice will be taken of them and similarly severe notice will be taken of Christian propagandists or

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Muslim or Sikh preachers attacking in like manner the Hindu faith. The policy of this Government has been sternly to discourage such forms of activity, and there will be no invidious distinctions.

Then you speak of Hindu Mission workers publishing certain pamphlets to which you advert. I may tell you that this kind of trouble is not peculiar to Travancore. You can know the controversy in the Punjab between the Ahmadiyas and the other Muslim groups. I am glad that in this State there is no such acute trouble. But if any scurrilous or objectionable pamphlets or other publications are brought to the notice of Government, action will be taken to deal with them under the law. I hold very very strongly that the exhibition of religious intolerance by means of speeches or writings is one of the most serious of our perils.

Then you speak about the recent order relating to school buildings and places of worship. Various representations had been made to my predecessor, and they have been renewed just now. The whole subject is under consideration, and for that reason, I do not propose to say more on the subject now. A decision will be come to soon on the matter with due regard to two considerations, the first being the prevention of possible danger from the inculcation of religious doctrines in places where it is not expedient to introduce sectarian teaching having regard to the special circumstances of this

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country and the present situation and the principle of religious neutrality, and the second the consideration of vested rights and equities, if any, arising out of the special circumstances of particular localities or communities. These points have to be carefully looked into. Whatever be the decision, you may take it that it will not be arrived at with a view to encouraging one faith or discouraging another faith.

In regard to official interference in elections, you know that this again is a matter in which it is very difficult to say anything definite unless specific allegations are brought forward. You will remember the recent discussion in the Legislative Assembly in which it was suggested that official pressure was being used to influence elections in a particular province. It will be made perfectly clear by circulars and orders that no executive officer should allow himself to transcend the limits of his jurisdiction and endeavour to interfere with elections, and any infraction of the rule will be severely dealt with if proved. More than that I cannot say. More than that no Government can undertake.

You say that electoral officers must go to every village to enable the voters to prefer their claims and complaints. Whether that is possible or not I cannot say, but steps will, of course, be taken to see that the registration of voters is made as convenient as possible.

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Regarding the freedom of the Press, I have gone through the British Indian, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore legislation on this matter. Our law is not by any means as strong as the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1935, amending the Act of 1931. It must be admitted that there have been abuses of the freedom of the Press in Travancore. And you must also remember that in spite of this legislation there are 120 actively functioning newspapers and journals in Travancore. Our enactment is exactly on the same lines as those in Mysore and Cochin and much less drastic than the one in British India or the one in Mysore. Up to a certain point, your argument is quite valid, namely, that the Press here is not quite free now as it was before. But whether the Press is to be given more freedom will depend upon the Press itself. If the Press and the people who, after all, create and maintain public opinion will discourage vendettas and scurrility and the stirring up of communal prejudices and passions, the need for such legislation may soon disappear. There must be, and I hope there will shortly arise, a healthy and mutually beneficial relationship between journalism and public life.

The problem of agricultural indebtedness is a very difficult question. You will have to remember that there are very few rich men or capitalists in Travancore, and that capital is shy all over India

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and not less shy here. In these circumstances, in the interests of the credit even of the agriculturists of the country, care must be taken not to enact any measure which is too sweeping or drastic. In the conditions of to-day the agriculturist does need adequate protection against ruinous claims and claims which, owing to the general depression, he is unable to meet. At the same time, conciliation which means a scaling down must also bring some relief to the creditor who is in most cases willing to reduce his demands considerably if he can get something down, and if some regard is paid to his point of view also and the demands on him. Uuless we are going to consider both sides of the question and find out a solution which will be fair to both parties, we shall not be serving the permanent interests of the country and stimulate its trade and commerce and effect the necessary industrialisation. Therefore, I cannot give you an offhand answer.

I have not yet had time to go through the Improvements Valuation Bill and, therefore, cannot say anything on it.

With regard to the question of temple entry I may tell you that the matter is engaging the anxious attention of His Highness and his Government. They have to reconcile many view-points, and time will show what is being contemplated. I do not want to say anything more now.

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In regard to the appointment of a committee for the revision of the State Manual, that is entirely the State's function. I do not think a non-official committee will be of any use for the purpose you indicate. But what you have said about making an accurate and impartial survey will be borne in mind.

You say that the public service is "an engine of oppression." I have recently had the advantage of travelling all over India to see the working of the Secretariat in practically every Province and for many years I have closely watched the work turned out all over the country by officers in various departments, and I know the position and difficulties of the public servants who generally speaking are very hard working, loyal and conscientious, and often poorly paid. From my little experience I am satisfied that the officials and clerks here do not compare unfavourably with those anywhere else. Moreover, you must remember that the public services are representative of practically every grade of society of many countries, and I shall be slow to attribute malignant or biassed motives to them unless specific proof is forthcoming. If it is so, then, of course, the duty of Government is clear. The two things that must be fought against—in this I am translating the opinion of His Highness—are delay and corruption.

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Finally you advert to Mr. Kesavan's release. What I wish to say is that Mr. Kesavan is not a political prisoner in the ordinary sense. He has been convicted by the High Court for certain seditious utterances, and after reading the judgments and weighing the reasoning of the High Court I can only say that I agree with the conclusion that Mr. Kesavan has transcended the limits of the law. This does not, of course, preclude the exercise by His Highness of his prerogative of clemency, but I have noted there has not been any petition for mercy from Mr. Kesavan before me—nor was any presented to Sir Mahomed Habibullah—nor has any statement been made by Mr. Kesavan himself expressing regret and undertaking that he would not repeat the conduct which has led to his incarceration. In these circumstances, at the present moment, all that I can say is that I shall place your memorandum before His Highness along with the memorial which you placed before Sir Mahomed.

I think I have practically dealt with all the points of your Memorandum. I shall gladly convey to His Highness your expression of a deep sense of loyalty to His Highness. I hope it will be possible for the three communities you represent to co-operate with the rest of us in the task which confronts all of us alike—the task of improving the conditions of life in every sphere within this State and upholding the prestige of Travancore and its status.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE PUBLIC OF ADUR

[On his way to Alwaye to lay the foundation stone of the Sri Chitra Mills, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address of welcome by the public of Adur, on the 4th November 1936.

The address which was read by Mr. E. V. Krishna Pillai, stated that the people of Kunnattur taluk were grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for appointing Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar as the Dewan of Travancore and paid a tribute to his untiring efforts to advance the interests of the State in all directions.]

Replying to the address, the Dewan said :

4TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Mr. Krishna Pillai and friends,—I was aware, Mr. Krishna Pillai, of your talents as a dramatist and as a poet, and I think that the exuberance of language displayed in the address to which I have listened with interest, is one more proof of your literary talents. In this address you have said things which are far too flattering. In the first place, you have stated that I have brought dismay to the ranks of officialdom in the State. If I did so, I should consider myself as having failed in my mission. My object, my ideal, is not to produce dismay but to take every one with me, both official and non-official.

You, sir, are a publicist. You know that in the translation of ideals into actualities, the work of the official is as urgent as that of the non-official. Therefore, let us strive in the future to see that

Reply to the Address presented by the Public of Adur

the distinction between official and non-official is a thing of the past.

Let officials remember—I trust they will and I know they will—that they are public servants in every sense of the word, that they are placed in positions of authority for the purpose of translating into action the ideals of the people. Theirs is not a position of superiority and of vantage from where they could exercise their powers and authority, for the purpose of enforcing their own importance. They exist for regimenting the activities of the people. But, unless the non-officials feel that they are also officials in one sense and that upon them devolves the duty of not merely criticising but of helping the day to day administration of the State and unless their cordial co-operation is forthcoming readily, progress is not possible.

You have spoken of my ideals, but let me assure you that the one reason why I have come amongst you to-day is because there is a person whose ideals and whose aspirations for his country are all-embracing and beneficial. He, our young Maharaja, lives for his people. He wants to be known as the greatest of our public servants. To work out his mission and his ideals, we must help him. It is my proud privilege to be the translator of his ideals, and his chief executive. But those ideals, those aspirations and those dreams are His Highness' own. When he asked me to take up this

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office, it was my obvious, simple and elementary duty to accept it.

Now, you have referred to certain schemes for agricultural and industrial well-being. Remember that you have the greatest wealth of all, an intelligent population, educated according to the wise policies of your forefathers and ancestors. Adequately, therefore, to realise what is being done and what is being thought of for you, you are well-equipped. After all, though the natural resources of the country are great, it is the people that matter. You have the advantage of having a dense mass of highly educated, alert and wide-awake people. Make the utmost use of this factor and remember that to-day there is no difference between agriculture, industry and manufacture, that prosperity must be many-sided and that intellect and spirit and the world of matter are interconnected. It is necessary for us to organize, organize and organize. That is what I have to say. In that task of organization, if I help you to gather up your energies, if I help you to work together, I shall have done my duty. I thank you for your kindly sentiments and for the generosity of the expression of those sentiments.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE CITIZENS OF KOTTAYAM

[A civic reception was accorded to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, by the citizens of Kottayam on the 4th November 1936, on his way to Alwaye to lay the foundation stone of the Sri Chitra Mills. He was taken in procession from the Kodimata bridge to the C. M. S. College Hall where Mr. A. N. Panikkar welcomed him in handsome terms and described the importance of Kottayam as a great religious and educational centre.]

Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy, Retired Member of the Mysore Executive Council, read an address on behalf of the public, to which the Dewan made the following reply :

4TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee Mr. Chandy, Rev. Sirs and friends.—I am deeply touched not only by the words of friendly appreciation which, perhaps, are not unnatural from an old and respected friend like Mr. Chandy, but also words which in their expression of great expectation have aroused in me a feeling of some trepidation lest I should be found wanting in the success of my endeavour to fulfil those expectations.

Friends, the first speaker, with legitimate pride dwelt on the glorious traditions of this place, of its importance from the historic point of view, of its contributions to the history of the country, educational and religious, and its possibilities from many points of view. And Mr. Chandy who followed him also spoke in the same strain. He too, dwelt upon your past and also upon your future. Let us for a moment reflect upon your past. What

Reply to the Address presented by the Citizens of Kottayam

does it mean and signify? Does it not signify a commingling of cultures, separate but ultimately harmonious, united endeavour and the fusion of activities towards common ends? As it has been in the past so let it be in the future.

It has been claimed for you that you are the seat of the propagation of the Christian faith. It has been claimed for you that you were the nucleus, the original place from which English education spread throughout South India. It has been claimed for you that you have, in this place and in its environs, notable monuments and traditions of other faiths, other cultures and other religions, including my own. On this occasion, however, I do not propose to dilate upon all that. But, I shall say this, and I shall be wanting in my duty if I said less. You, Mr. Chandy, have rightly emphasised that this place is one of the centres of missionary activities. It is because I am a fervent Hindu and believe in my traditions, philosophy and faith, that I honour the professors of the Christian faith for what they are and for what they do. I have often said to my co-religionists that the spiritual fervour of the Christian missionaries, their burning devotion to what they consider to be fundamental, and even more than that, their very practical efforts to translate such devotion into social and educational work, may be shared by our spiritual leaders and the professors of the Hindu religion.

Reply to the Address presented by the Citizens of Kottayam

Friends, you have spoken of what I have done elsewhere. On another occasion I have asked you not to think of that, not to speak of that. True, I have had some experience of administration in British India. I have been fortunate enough to be called for consultation by many of the States in India at one time or other. But this is the first occasion on which I am in actual charge of the administration of an Indian State and my past experience may, therefore, not be so all sufficient as you in your kindness think it would be.

A few hours ago I was the recipient of a very generously worded address from the people of Adur. I then said, and I repeat it now, that more than the magnificent and unique resources of this State and more than its various cultures and the implications of those cultures, are two features that are particularly noteworthy. The first and the foremost is the personality and the qualities of the Sovereign. My friends, I have some experience of Indian States. I have known the personages who rule them, from the extreme north to the extreme south. I assure you that of no one who is charged with the destinies of his fellow countrymen can it be said with as much justice as it can be said of our Maharaja that he lives for his people and is entirely devoted to their cause. It is no small matter that you have by your side, supervising your activities and overseeing your efforts and endeavours, one who has no private ends to serve and who has only one

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thing to dream of and to yearn for, namely, the advancement of the greatness and the prestige of his State, the creation of harmony and prosperity within its borders and the enhancement of its glory.

The second thing in which you are fortunate is the fact that you have received, as the resultant of the fusion of many cultures and the far-seeing policy of successive Rulers, a widespread education. After all, ultimately, in every State, in every polity, it is not wealth and military greatness or even manufactures, trade and commerce that count so much as the people. You are an alert and an intelligent and wide-awake people. You have great potentialities, greater than what many other countries have.

But what is wanted to-day in a competitive world or rather, as I am painfully forced to observe, in a combative world, is that you should find your own place in that world and maintain it. And for that, you want discipline and organization. These are the only two elements that are needed to make this State an ideal one. You require discipline for purposes of acting together, for forgetting small things in view of larger ones and for realizing that you should be one-pointed in your efforts. You require organization because, in this world, organization means a great deal and means more day after day.

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Tomorrow I shall have occasion to deal at some length with what I conceive to be the industrial possibilities of the State. I shall, in all probability, sketch the programme of immediate work in that direction. I do not propose to anticipate my remarks on that matter. But there are one or two matters on which I might permit myself to speak to you for a minute or two. After having heard the speeches this evening, I feel almost assured of the great possibility here, to an extent greater perhaps than in most other places in India, of translating into practice our ideals—the fusion of cultures and of different elements into one, the creation of a great harmony transcending small political and social differences and united striving for the great and excellent things of the world. I hope the citizens of Kottayam will give an example of that great harmony.

I shall endeavour to translate the ideals and aspirations of my Master, our Sovereign, into practice. Those ideals are, firstly, the granting of complete equality of opportunity to every individual in the State and secondly, seeing to it that Travancore is better known outside this small part of the world, than it now is. These ideals recognise inevitable differences in outlook, but they do not recognise any inevitability of fissiparous endeavour.

Equality of opportunity will be given not only in official matters but in what are more important

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and more lasting, agricultural, industrial and commercial matters. After all, politics is only a means to an end, and that end is economic self-sufficiency and economic prosperity. To achieve these, politics is essential; legislatures are essential; official work is essential; and what is much more than all these, co-operation between officials and non-officials is essential. What we are working for through all these is to enable Travancore to transcend the immediate difficulties of agricultural and economic depression. Let us all work together for that.

As I hinted just a while ago, Travancore to-day is not as much known to the rest of the world as it ought to be. Very few know of its natural beauties. I have travelled extensively in the world. There is nothing like what you are able to see here, excepting perhaps in the Fiords of Norway. More than this natural beauty, Travancore has its characteristic culture and its own contribution to make to the world. It is these that must be known outside. I know His Highness has been endeavouring with might and main to make Travancore known. He is anxious that Travancore should be put on the map of the world. You and I must help His Highness to do that.

Many things have been adverted to in the address in regard to the possibilities of this State. Reference has been made to agricultural indebtedness. That is a terrible problem. But it has to

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be met in a spirit of reconciliation of the different interests.

Economic growth is a very important problem. We cannot afford to be mainly agricultural. As you will hear tomorrow, I am not a believer in the factory system. Our economic prosperity is bound up with the development of cottage industries. You are now in the midst of a great electrical development, and with the supply of cheap power for the various industries, Kottayam will have to play an important part in the immediate future.

You have referred to Federation and Federal problems. They are engaging the attention of His Highness, and will necessarily engage the attention of His Highness's advisers. Fortified by the stimulus and the inspiration of one like His Highness the Maharaja, fortified by the belief that we have an extremely well-educated and intelligent people who will, with readiness and alacrity, respond to the appeal of co-operation and joint economic, social and political endeavour, fortified by the blessings of all communities alike and the knowledge of the possibilities ahead of us, let us all voyage towards that goal of which we all dream and to which we aspire.

SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF THE SRI CHITRA BLEACH MILLS AT ALWAYE

[On the morning of the 5th November 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, laid the foundation stone of Sir Victor Sassoon's Sri Chitra Bleach Mills at Alwaye, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering from Cochin and Travancore.

Mr. Stone of the Mills welcoming on behalf of the management those present paid a tribute to Sir Ramaswami Aiyar's keen interest in the industrialisation of Travancore and referred to the possibilities of developing the rayon industry in the State.]

In laying the foundation stone, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar observed as follows :—

5TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Mr. and Mrs. Stone, ladies and gentlemen,—My first and most pleasant duty on this auspicious occasion is to thank you, Mr. Stone, for the words of welcome you have given expression to and for the very kindly sentiments that have marked the speech you have just delivered. As you have pointed out in the speech, whose felicity of expression and generosity of sentiment I was deeply touched by, to-day is a very auspicious occasion. Although, when the first discussion took place with regard to the fixing up of the day for this function it was not appreciated that this day marked exactly the fifth anniversary of the Investiture of His Highness Sri Chitra Tirunal, yet it was perhaps in the fitness of things that, providentially, the day that was fixed coincided with that anniversary. Let us

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hope that such providential ordering of the beginning of this venture will be an earnest of similar providential help not only in this venture but in the industrial development and in the economic prosperity of the State of Travancore. Rightly, Mr. Stone, have you laid emphasis upon the lively, continuous and strenuous interest manifested by Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Maharani, in regard to the future welfare of their State. When the history of modern Travancore comes to be written, and written with a full appreciation of what has passed behind the scenes as well as what has been seen outside, then I make bold to say that His Highness Sri Chitra Tirunal will go down as an embodiment of the ideals of his people even as Martanda Varma is now accounted to be.

Take your own venture, Mr. Stone. You know, and I know, how, when Sir Victor Sassoon came down to India, His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani interviewed him in Delhi and pressed upon him the necessity of giving a turn to the industrial possibilities of this State and persuaded him to take the steps of which we have seen this morning the beginning of the culmination. Their Highnesses were not content with one interview. Over and over again they pressed this point of view upon him, and such work as I have done was mainly at the instance, at the suggestion and with the inspiration of Their Highnesses.

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Now, my friends, you may not be aware of the genesis of this undertaking. Mr. Stone was too modest to describe his own work in this connection. I shall lift the veil. Sir Victor Sassoon, as you know, belongs to one of the great industrial and economically great families of the world. His ventures have spread all over the world; and to-day, his work is well-known in Bombay and China. Not very long ago, for reasons which I shall not dwell upon just now, he transferred his activities, partially at all events, from India to China; and I think I am correct in saying that he is trying to establish a Sassoon State within Shanghai.

It was the endeavour of Their Highnesses to divert the activities of Sir Victor Sassoon, his financial and economic aptitude and genius, from China to Travancore. Whether they have succeeded, time will show. But I can say this. From the first to the last, in my discussions with Sir Victor Sassoon, and I have known him for years, and in the discussions of Their Highnesses with him, he laid down what I conceive to be the right industrial policy. He is not a believer in factory industry and in factory life. He thinks that the congregation of humanity in huge factories is not an unmixed blessing especially for a country like India whose traditions, aptitudes and possibilities lie rather in the direction of cottage industries. From the point of view of the health of the people, from the point of view of the avoidance of the

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manifold problems arising from the interaction of capital and labour, from the point of view of avoiding the creation of slums and industrial cities with their disadvantages which are as conspicuous as their advantages, Sir Victor Sassoon holds that the proper way in which the industrial awakening and the industrial development of the country might be fostered is not by factory production concentrated in a few centres, but by stimulating the industrial aptitude and exploiting the industrial possibilities throughout the country parts. That is what you, Mr. Stone, have very legitimately and very accurately summarised in your speech which I am now paraphrasing.

With that point of view strongly before him, Sir Victor Sassoon approached this problem. And I must say in tribute to him that it was good of him to have acceded to what fell from Their Highnesses and to have so readily thought of diverting his energies, his finances and his talents to take advantage of the industrial awakening in Travancore.

In that which I have just now outlined, the work that Mr. Stone did was very great. He encouraged flagging energies; he instilled hope where there was doubt. By means of his very vigorous personality and his argument, he made possible what at one time was considered well nigh impossible. I feel it my duty on this occasion to pay a tribute to the unflagging enthusiasm with which Mr. Stone

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has directed his labours which have resulted in what has been started to-day.

Mr. Stone, you have rightly referred to my friend Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas. I know he was employed as your shadow, always to be behind you to see that you did your duty. I am glad that you have found it possible to say that he has been of considerable assistance to you in bringing this scheme into fruition.

Now, my friends, I have performed a very gratifying task. I have declared this corner stone well and truly laid. What is this corner stone going to be the symbol and the embodiment of? My friends, at the risk of boring you, I shall take this occasion to outline what I may call the industrial policy of the Travancore State.

Let us consider the possibilities of Travancore *vis-a-vis* other industrial units in India and elsewhere. Industrial development in other countries generally coincides with the development of the coal industry, of the iron industry and of the textile industry. In fact, it may be said that what may be called the coal and iron age, the age that started with the growth of great industrial centres like Manchester about a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago, witnessed the harnessing of the energies of the people to develop those two resources. Later on began the phenomenal growth of the textile industry, the history of which I shall not enter

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into now. Iron, coal and cotton were the foundation, the fundamentals of industrial growth in the middle of the last century.

Now, Travancore has no coal resources. Travancore has very little of iron resources. The climate of Travancore and the lie of the land in Travancore are not such as to stimulate the production of cotton on any large scale. It might, therefore, appear that a great industrial development is very difficult for Travancore to achieve. But a little reflection will enable us to see that such a statement is absolutely unjustifiable. Travancore possesses in abundance what in recent years has been fast replacing coal and iron. Travancore possesses what has been described in America as white coal. Her resources of river and stream advantageously placed, enable Travancore, at comparatively small cost, to develop electrical power. The first of such hydro-electric enterprises, I hope it will be the first link in a chain, is the one that has been initiated at Pallivasal. We hope to see the finishing of it, the fruition of it, shortly. It will bring to your cities and your towns, to your villages and your cottages, cheap power in an abundant measure. And, as you all know, cheap power is the beginning of industrial growth.

Side by side with the development of cheap power, you have, in Travancore, illimitable forest resources. Mr. Stone, you have, in your address,

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rightly indicated the future of the textile possibilities of Travancore. Rayon or artificial silk which is fast displacing cotton textiles has great possibilities in Travancore. Italy and Japan have made rapid strides in the manufacture of artificial silk. The soft-woods of your jungles, the bamboos and the reeds of your country, afford enough material for a brisk and active rayon industry. Mr. Stone, it gave me the utmost pleasure to find you discarding convention on this occasion. You did not, as is generally done on such occasions, qualify your remarks by so many conditional clauses. You have burnt your boats. You are going to give a real stimulus to the rayon industry in Travancore. And, what does it mean? The forest resources of Travancore will be utilised for the purpose of providing an adequate substitute for the cotton textiles which have made England and the United States and Germany prosperous. That is one possibility.

The mineral possibilities of Travancore are great. So far, they have been only insufficiently exploited. Mr. Stone referred to china-clay. Kaolin and china-clay, of a quality practically unparalleled anywhere else in the East, even including China, exist in an abundant measure in Travancore. Therefore, clay, whose use and whose potentialities were unsuspected till recently, is another great asset of this country. And the supply of clay for the textile mills all over India will be, I hope, one of the features of Travancore very shortly.

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In addition to the forest and the mineral resources, there is one thing which is greater, which is more substantial and more valuable to the country, and that is the people of the country. We have, in this country, the advantage of having an alert and an intelligent people who easily adapt themselves and who are able to assimilate new ideals and new ideas, a people who have been well educated under the wise and discerning policy of His Highness' predecessors. With such a population, there is nothing that you cannot achieve. Only, you require discipline and organization.

A couple of days ago, a newspaper criticised me, I must say, rather mildly, for introducing foreign capital and foreign enterprise into Travancore. I shall follow your example, Mr. Stone, and not content myself with the language of convention. I shall speak straight out. I grant that there is something legitimate in that criticism. If the introduction into the country of foreign capital, foreign initiative and enterprise are likely to strangle the industrial possibilities of the country, if they are likely to establish a monopoly from which the country can hardly escape, then I grant that foreign capital and enterprise would be an unmitigated nuisance, a mischief and a portent. If, on the other hand, local capital is shy, if it stands in need of being educated as to its potentialities, if it has to be educated in order to come into industrial projects, why then, I ask, avoid foreign capital and foreign enterprise? Why avoid

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the possibility of foreign enterprise coming in and educating us into an appreciation of the realities of the situation and of the potentialities of the State? It is from that point of view that Their Highnesses have approached this question. Remember what Japan did. How did she build up her army? How did she build up her navy? How did she start this very rayon industry and many other industries which are now threatening the whole world? Japan has progressed so fast that every country in the world is now trying to protect itself against Japan, Japan which sixty or seventy years ago was regarded as an infant in industrial matters. What did Japan do? She did not disdain foreign assistance. On the other hand, she obtained foreign *entrepreneurs;* she invited leaders of great industries and learnt from them. She then learnt to stand on her own legs. So shall we do. And, my answer to the criticism which has appeared is this. So long as India is not able industrially to stand on her own legs, we shall welcome, welcome with open arms, assistance from any quarter and every quarter, assistance not given with a sinister motive, but given, as Sir Victor Sassoon is giving us, with laudable desire to help the country of his adoption, to enable the people of this land ultimately to stand on their own legs so that, after some years, this country will be partners with Sir Victor Sassoon, and he will not be a master but a co-sharer. That is the idea. If that idea is rightly appreciated,

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I think the criticism that has been levelled at me will be valued rightly.

My friends, closely allied to the possibility of cheap power is the system of transport in the country. Very recently, the Government of Travancore have indicated their policy in this matter. I hold that the function of every Government, I think I ought to make it absolutely public, is to provide the people their primal and fundamental needs. What are those needs? They are the supply, and the adequate supply, of water and light, proper drainage facilities, facilities for trade and commerce and an efficient system of transport, transport which is not a monopoly in a few hands, but transport which is managed, canalized and controlled by the State so that, unlike what is happening in America and even in Europe, it would not be possible for one organization or one corporation, to deflect trade into particular channels, discourage some lines of business and encourage some others. Transport is certainly a primal need. That is why the Government of Travancore have made up their mind to establish certain modes of control and supervision of the system of traffic in the country, without handicapping or throwing obstacles in the way of private enterprise. The reconciliation of these two interests is a matter yet to be considered. All that I shall say on this occasion is that transport is a primal need, and that it being a primal need,

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it is the function of the State to satisfy this need of the people.

With regard to industries, the less they are actively and commercially managed by the State, the better for the State. We officials attend our office, do our work, deal with a certain number of files and come home very tired. You cannot expect any one of us to have that push, that enterprise, that commercial aptitude and that physical and mental willingness to do that lively, continuous and unceasing propaganda and advertising which is so indispensable for success in industry, trade and commerce, in this competitive world. Therefore if a State or a Government undertake any commercial enterprise, sooner or later, they will suffer for it. The object of Government should be to show to the people the possibilities of industries and trade, to give them demonstrations, to start model factories and after the people have learnt to stand on their own legs, to step aside leaving it to the people to develop them as real national assets. That ought to be the function of the State in industrial matters. It is that policy that should guide the Travancore State in its approach towards its industrial and commercial problems. That policy, rightly pursued, with the resources I have indicated, is bound to bring Travancore to the forefront. Let us hope that, in the fullness of time, Providence will help us and it will be possible for us to translate into practice, the ideals of His

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Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani and that it will be possible for Travancore to become industrially self-sufficient, nay, industrially dynamic and progressive, without sacrificing the comforts and amenities which life in your villages brings you. Your villages are idyllic. Why destroy those features of the village? Bring cheap power to every cottage. Enable every cottager to work for the amelioration not only of his own lot but for the progress of the State. Thus shall we solve the industrial problem of Travancore. In so doing, you will not only become self-sufficient but will also be stimulating the rest of India.

Now, Mr. Stone, with that hope, with that dazzling prospect, I thank you for having initiated this experiment which is fraught with great consequences for the future of this State, and for the welcome you have accorded to me. The sentiments you have given expression to, I shall gladly convey to Their Highnesses, and I am sure they will be pleased.

My friends, let us all realise that politics, as I said yesterday, is after all a means to an end. There is something bigger, something more vital than politics. That is the regeneration of the country. Let us all work together for that, and let us hope that success will attend our efforts.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE ADVAITASRAMAM SANSKRIT SCHOOL, ALWAYE

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address of welcome (in Sanskrit) by the staff and students of the Advaitasramam Sanskrit School of the S. N. D. P. Yogam, Alwaye, on the occasion of his visit to the institution on the 5th November 1936. The Dewan was received by Mr. M. Govindan, Retired Judge and Manager of the School, and others.]

Replying to the address Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said :

5TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Mr. Govindan and my friends,—For a few minutes I had intended to reply to the Sanskrit address so felicitously written and so well read by you, in the same language. But I shall answer you in English, as you have raised certain questions and have made certain requests in regard to which what I shall say may need more publicity than would be secured by my using the Sanskrit language in which the address is couched, and which unhappily is not so well-known and so familiar as it was at one time, though it may become so with the aid of such institutions as yours.

At the outset let me congratulate those responsible for the organization of this institution on the happy idea that has animated them. You have adverted to the teachings of Sri Narayana Guru and have indicated that this institution was founded directly by him. Not many days ago it fell to me to speak of the messages that holy men in different climes and on different occasions have been the

Reply to the Address presented by the Advaitasramam Sanskrit School, Alwaye

conveyers of from the Great Powers that rule the Universe. Throughout the ages and in all countries the divine voice has made itself heard. That voice has been heard in different accents. Varying emphasis has been laid on many aspects of life and man's aspirations. But humanity has never wanted help and guidance in times of stress and need. In this country especially, we have been fortunate that, from time to time, from the earliest of the recorded ages, men, holy men, dedicated men, strenuous men, have arisen for the purpose of imparting various messages suited to the times and the conditions of our land. Amongst those men I count your Guru. It was necessary for the vindication of the self-respect of a great community that they should realize their possibilities, that they should not feel small by the side of their fellow-men and that they should aim at the rehabilitation of their self-esteem. It was for the purpose of emphasising the oneness of humanity that your Guru preached, and he was amongst those who have helped to create the atmosphere of modern India. An institution founded by him would and ought to elicit the sympathy and respect of all, and I assure you that I shall not be found wanting in them.

Sanskrit learning has a great and memorable past. Sanskrit is not a dead language in the sense in which Greek and Latin are dead languages. It is still alive amongst us. It is part of our religion, part of our culture and of our humanity. But it

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behoves us to renovate that language and that culture, rebuild old thoughts and reshape and remodel our dreams and aspirations so as to be of help to us. Let me hope your institution and analogous institutions will not content themselves with merely repeating and memorising what has been said, but will be the spear-points of new endeavours and the renovators of the culture of India so that on the old foundations a new structure may arise with spires pointing to that city on high towards which all our dreams converge.

My friends, you have spoken of your immediate ideas and your object to make this institution more useful than before. To that request and to those demands my best and earnest attention will be given.

Let me conclude, as I began, with thanking you for the honour you have paid me and for enabling me to see at first hand the working of this institution which owes its origin to the organising genius and the all-embracing catholicity of your Guru for whom I have profound respect.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, ALWAYE

[The President and members of the Municipal Council, Alwaye, presented Sir C. P Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, with a welcome address on the morning of the 5th November 1936. The address referred to the importance of Alwaye as a sanatorium and made mention of several local needs.]

The Dewan made the following reply :—

5TH NOVEMBER 1936. *Mr. President and Councillors of the Alwaye Municipality and friends,*—It is my first duty to acknowledge with thanks the kindness that has underlain the presentation of this address and the language that you have used to express your sentiments. I wish, Mr. President, I were really as young as the photograph which you have put at the head of the address. An advance copy of the address not having been supplied to me, I was not aware of the circumstance that you conceived of me as so full of youth, health and energy as I was when this photograph was taken. Nevertheless, I may assure you that such energies as I have at my disposal will be utilised ungrudgingly and without any reserve for the purpose of serving His Highness the Maharaja and his State.

I have this advantage, Mr. President, that I have worked for a number of years on a municipal body. My first entry into public life was through an extremely hotly contested election to the Corporation of Madras. I was thus enabled to take part in the delights and sometimes the tribulations of municipal life for a certain number of years

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until other, and perhaps less important, duties took me away from the complexities of the Corporation in which I served on the Taxation and Education Standing Committees. I am fully aware that local self-government is not attended with that *eclat,* prestige and acclamation which membership in other bodies brings in its train. Nevertheless, it is perfectly true to say that only to the extent to which municipal and local institutions develop and organise themselves on healthy lines, will the ultimate good of the State be subserved. Voluntary work, unpaid, honorary, strenuous, continuous, organised local work is the foundation of a State's prosperity, as the village is the fundamental unit of our life. What the officials can do, what legislators can do, what the police can do in preserving order, what the members of the Assembly can do in drawing attention to the grievances and demands of the people—these are important things in their own way. But, above and beyond the work of the courts and the police, of Dewans and of legislatures, is the work of beautifying your surroundings, of imparting to the people around you right ideas of sanitation and well-being, of making it possible, by a well-directed campaign dealing with nutrition and hygienic problems, for the poorest not to be lacking in elementary needs, of seeing to it that proper medical and nursing aid is forthcoming to them and that those amenities and comforts which in other countries are available in such abundant

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measure are brought to the homes of all the people of our State. Therefore, it is with great hopefulness that I look upon the progress of municipal institutions, and I hope it will be said of your Municipality that you will be an example and a stimulus to others.

You are going to be much more important than you are. You refer to your town as the Kasi of the South. You possess a sanatorium, but you are also likely to possess a busy hive of industry in the near future. The electrical development, which the State has in contemplation, will bring your State into the lime-light in more than one sense. You have adverted to the function in which I participated a few minutes ago. That is only the beginning of a great campaign. But, as I said there, I hope this city will not be converted from a sanatorium into a slum-ridden factory town. I look to the Municipality for preventing that. Those terrible conglomerations of humanity, ill-housed, with very few comforts and very few advantages, who are toiling and sweating in the purlieus of Bombay and Calcutta, Manchester and Liverpool, and even in London, will, I hope, with vigilance on the part of your Municipality, be prevented from spreading amongst you. I trust you will preserve your sanatorium as a beautiful resort for seekers after health and peace, notwithstanding the developments which you legitimately and rightly hope for.

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My friends, I do not propose to bandy compliments. You have referred to my work in the past, to the expectations you have formed of my future. I have always said, and I shall continue saying, that those expectations may or may not be realised; but I shall strive my best to justify the choice made by His Highness the Maharaja. I do not wish to say more.

You have imitated the scorpion by putting the sting at the tail-end of your address. After congratulating me and having referred to the great past and the great future of this place, you have adverted to certain specific demands. I propose to deal with those demands and not to shirk them. With great acumen you have realised that I am a lawyer and, therefore, have put legal demands first. You have put forward a demand for shifting the District Court from Parur to Alwaye. As you know I was for some years in charge of the Judicial portfolio in the Madras Presidency. One thing I have always noticed is that, whenever there was a question of the shifting of a court from one locality to another, there always happened a scuffle or duel between two sets of legal practitioners. And I am certain that the active, vigilant Bar at Parur will come up before me very shortly after they have heard this demand and put forward their particular point of view. But all that I wish to say on this occasion is this. I realise that you are a growing town, and that in many ways you

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will be a centre of much activity in the future. And that factor will not be lost sight of by me in dealing with this question. I cannot give you an off-hand answer. I must say that my study with regard to the possibilities of the introduction of a District Court here has not yet been completed. I shall go into the matter.

So far as your strictly municipal demands are concerned, take it from me, I shall enquire into them with that sympathy which you have a right to expect from the head of the Administration who will be watching with interset the well-being of your place and of other places similarly situated, which it will be my lasting desire to foster and tc stimulate.

Let me thank you, in conclusion, for your address and let me thank also the citizens of Alwaye, represented by the Municipality, for the spontaneity and the generosity of their welcome.

REPLY TO ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE INDIAN PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION, KOTTAYAM

[On his return from Alwaye to Trivandrum on the 5th November 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address by the Indian Planters' Association of Kerala at the Y. M. C. A., Kottayam.

The address dealt with the various problems confronting the Indian planters of Travancore, such as Ceylonese competition in the matter of copra and the free import of rubber from Burma, and prayed for the allocation of a seat in the Legislature for a representative of the Indian planters.]

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar made the following reply:

5TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Members of the Indian Planters' Association of Kerala, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply gratified to receive this address presented on behalf of the Indian planting interests of Kerala. Before I proceed further, I think you will not take it amiss, if I ask the members of this Association very earnestly to extend their membership further, to close up their ranks, and to make their organisation much more widespread and representative so that when they come forward with their demand that in the distribution of seats in the Legislature their claims should be considered, it may be said that their Association is fully and comprehensively representative of every Indian planting interest in the State. If they do that, I have no doubt that His Highness' Government will be glad to devise measures to see that the big interests which they represent have an adequate voice in the Legislature

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of the State. The matter has already been engaging the attention of His Highness' Government, and I am glad to inform you that persons representing the European planting interests have also come and told me that they are not approaching this probelm in a spirit of aloofness or want of sympathy and that they would feel only too glad to co-operate in such a manner that Indian interests and European interests are on the whole adequately represented.

My friends, you have, in your address, traversed a very wide field. To expect me to give cut and dry answers to it at this juncture would be unreasonable, and I know you are reasonable men. But, I do not believe in being merely formal or conventional on these occasions. Whatever can be done, I shall indicate straightaway.

In the first place, I realize—very few people have had more opportunities than I to realize that—what this tremendous agricultural and economic depression means to the world at large. Even at the risk of dwelling for a moment on my own work, let me remind you that a few years ago I was one of the representatives of India to the World Economic Conference to consider this question of economic and agricultural depression. That conference was much more reprsentative of the world than most other conferences. Representatives from Russia, Turkey, the United States of America, not to speak of England, France, Germany, Italy and other great nations of the world, met there, and each

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representative referred to the plight of his country. A conspectus of the position that was revealed on that occasion made it clear that this depression was world-wide and was most comprehensive, painfully so in its effects, and that, as between industry and commerce on the one hand and agriculture on the other, agriculture was hit harder. If that was so in the case of comparatively wealthy countries like those of the West, countries which carry on agricultural operations on a large organised scale, and to whom agriculture is practically an industry, what could be said of India and conditions in India? Therefore, when I say that I realize fully and appreciate all the implications of this depression, I hope you will understand my attitude in the matter.

Now, there is a great deal of discussion about competition from Ceylon. There has been a great deal of hasty thinking and writing in Ceylon and elsewhere on the position in Travancore. I do not propose to follow the example of those people who have been distributing adjectives and adverbs rather thoughtlessly, but if Ceylon has been doing well, let us remember what the root causes of that comparative prosperity are. In the first place, the cocoanut industry in Ceylon is not a backyard or domestic industry. It is not confined to fragmented holdings which are ill-adapted to great competitive endeavours without which success in the economic world of to-day is difficult. The world has shrunk a great deal. Where formerly you

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could be sure of your market they are growing their own products now. In the markets of your own country you do not know from where invasion may come. It may be Burma in one commodity, Ceylon in another. Practically every country in the world has started a system of self-sufficiency with the result that many countries which formerly were freely importing agricultural products from outside are now thinking of developing their own food and industrial products within their territorial or imperial possessions. France and the United States of America are cases in point.

In view of these circumstances, the cocoanut planter of Travancore has to make up his mind to take the necessary steps to cope with the new situation. I may assure you that Government are thinking over this problem. You are perfectly right when, in your address, you commend this matter to Government for early action, but let me tell you that such early action is not dependent on the Government of Travancore alone. It is dependent on the Government of India, the negotiations that have taken place and that will take place between the Government of India and Ceylon, and the pressure you are able to bring to bear upon the Government of India. But, more than all these factors, it is dependent upon the way in which you organise yourselves.

As I was remarking to one of my acquaintances this morning, it is with great justification that His

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Excellency Lord Linlithgow has been speaking at such great length and laying so much emphasis on the malnutrition of the people of India. It is true that in Travancore malnutrition of the people is not so marked as in some other parts of India, thanks to the generosity and the bounty of nature, but there are many directions in which, even in that respect, reform and even complete overhauling is necessary here. But, side by side with the malnutrition of the people, I have been noticing malnutrition of your cocoanut trees also. I must say that, compared with those elsewhere, say in Ceylon, they are really half-starved. Why? It is really because of the feature which I adverted to, namely, that the small owners of fragmented holdings are not able or have not been enabled to combine with a view to improving the quality of the crop by manuring the trees properly and keeping such of them as are healthy and removing such as are unhealthy and useless.

Recently I was put on a Government Committee and had to travel in that connection all over India, including the Punjab and the United Provinces. In those places, in every one of the houses they need cocoanuts on certain occasions. What do they do? They have just one or two half-dried specimens kept in a corner. It would be a perfectly legitimate remark to make that the markets for cocoanuts are largely in India itself. In places

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like Rajaputana, the Punjab and the United Provinces, the possibilities are very great. I am sure that, with adequate organisation and propaganda, people in the north can be educated to love your cocoanuts and the products of the cocoanut palm. If only you will organize, there is a market ready for you there. If European food products like Mellin's Food made mostly from our arrowroot can become a household necessity by reason of advertisement, why should you despair? And here, speaking on behalf of Government, I might say that side by side with your efforts in this direction Government would not be found wanting in suitable efforts on their part. But what I would advise you to do is not to rely solely upon the Government for the marketing of your cocoanuts. Select your own men. Choose some one who has got some fire in him, some energy and some enthusiasm. If, after having got such a person, you want Government help, take it from me that Government will not be unsympathetic. You must organize yourselves and advertise, and make arrangements to sell your crop at the proper time and in the proper market. If you do that, you have a future. Hereafter, other countries will not import as much as they did in the past. International jealousies and international hatreds are growing day after day. If you are thinking of any market in France or Germany or America you will probably be disappointed. But we have a market in our own country, India.

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Work for that; work for keeping that market to yourselves. It is the duty of the Government to initiate negotiations in regard to the competition from Ceylon, but there is at least as much work devolving upon you, in the direction I have indicated. In regard to rubber from Burma, the matter will be considered by me as soon as I possibly can. I am glad that you appreciate the efforts made by the Travancore Government to help the rubber planters.

You have in your address stressed, and very rightly too, that Travancore is an agricultural country. True, but as I have said elsewhere, the problem of Travancore is essentially an economic and social one. That economic problem will never be properly and adequately solved unless you industrialize your agriculture and also start a definite programme of cottage industries allied to agriculture. You do not need many factories here. I am a great disbeliever of the typical factory system. You have got all the materials for a widely interlinked system of cottage industries which will furnish subsidiary occupation to the agriculturist. The time has gone all over the world, when it was thought that agriculture by itself would be paying. It has been found in England, France and Germany that the poor agriculturist must supplement his earnings from agriculture by something else.

Look at the way the other nations have moved in this matter. What do they do in Switzerland,

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for instance? Watch-making, you will be surprised to know, is a cottage industry there. They have got there cheap power. Each villager makes some one little part of the watch. The watch-maker's agent goes round the villages once in a fortnight or once in a month, collects all the parts that are thus made in the cottages, and takes them to Geneva or some other place where they are assembled into watches. You may not, in Travancore, do that now or for another generation. I am only mentioning it for the purpose of showing that by carefully regulated work it will be possible to make our people more prosperous. In other words, I am only anxious to impress upon you that agriculture alone will not be sufficient for us. Certainly, agriculture is the backbone of the country and it needs encouragement, and this has been realized even by manufacturing and industrial countries like England and Germany; but agriculture must be supplemented by suitable cottage industries allied to agriculture. It is a matter which you will have to keep in the forefront of your programme.

You have spoken of cardamom. Till now I have been under the impression that there has not been much enthusiasm evinced by the people of Travancore in the matter, and that, in reality, it was not for want of any encouragement of local enterprise from the Government that the position is what it is, but because other persons from outside were ready to take up cardamom cultivation while

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the people of the country were not keen about it. If I am wrong, if conditions have changed, believe me when I say that His Highness the Maharaja is only too anxious to afford encouragement to his own subjects. He will not indent on outsiders for any purpose save for reasons of absolute necessity or where special qualifications that are not locally available are required. I assure you that His Highness' idea is primarily to benefit his own people, and I am sure that His Highness' Government will try to translate His Highness' ideas into practice.

With regard to the scheme of debt redemption, I hope you will not expect me to deal with it at length now. I have that Bill before me, and presently it will go before the Assembly. There are in that Bill, I frankly admit, certain ideas which are novel to me. I am accustomed to agricultural relief bills and debt redemption schemes elsewhere and also agricultural relief in certain countries of Europe and America. Your Bill is more comprehensive than almost any other I have come across. I am studying it and I am sure you will not expect me to say more on this occasion. But the time will come when I shall have to deal with it at length. It is my intention to express the policy of the Government as often as possible in the Assembly and in the Council and to take every opportunity to do so. But, when I have assured you that the problem of agricultural indebtedness, which robs the agriculturist of initiative and deprives him of all

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the incentive to work, is always present in the minds of His Highness the Maharaja and of His Highness' Government, I have said all that I wish to say at this juncture.

I have already adverted to the question of the representation of the Indian planting interests in the Legislature. I am in entire sympathy with the feeling that Indian interests should be adequately represented in the Legislature. But I must add that we owe a great deal to the initiative and pioneering enterprise of the European planter. When he came here, the people of the country were not alive to the possibilities in this direction. He came here and invested large capital and started industries which are among the most valuable and vital assets of this State. Our debts to them is, therefore, great. As I said this morning, our feeling must be that outside help should be welcomed with open arms. Such help is welcome and will be utilised for the purpose, and only for the purpose of enabling the people of the country to stand on their own legs. It will be welcomed in that spirit, and I am sure such help will be responded to in that spirit.

I thank you for your address and for the welcome which you have accorded to me, and I wish you all prosperity.

REPLY TO THE MEMORANDUM PRESENTED BY THE DEPUTATION OF BANKERS, MONEY-LENDERS, MERCHANTS AND JENMIES, IN CONNECTION WITH THE AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

[On the 7th November 1936, a deputation of bankers, money-lenders, merchants and landlords of Travancore, led by Mr. Malloor K. Govinda Pillai, waited on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, and presented a memorandum praying that Government might drop the Agriculturists' Relief Bill, the second reading of which had been over, as it had several objectionable features from the point of view of the interests that the deputation represented.]

Replying to the memorandum, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said :

7TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Friends,—I am very glad indeed to have received this deputation and to have listened to the arguments presented by you which, I take it, represent the aspects which you wish to emphasise very strongly, speaking with the outlook of those who are responsible to a larger or smaller extent for the present credit system of the country. Now, I propose a little later in the course of my remarks to tell you something regarding my own views and ideas on what I consider to be the proper method of approach to this very difficult question. But there are certain matters which have arisen out of your remarks, which it is incumbent upon me to deal with at the start.

In the first place, I would ask you to remember the position as it has developed to-day. The

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Travancore Government appointed a committee for the purpose of dealing with this matter. That committee reported and, based more or less on the report of that committee, Government initiated legislation for the purpose of what you might call debt redemption or relief to agriculturists. I came on the scene at a time when the first and second reading of that Bill had been finished and certain amendments carried, which have taken the Bill much farther than the original intention of Government or what spokesmen on behalf of Government were prepared to accept on the floor of the House. Now, therefore, when you are addressing these remarks to me, I am sure you will realise that I have to deal with a somewhat difficult situation. The Bill is down for the third reading on the 16th of this month and it is for His Highness' Government to consider what is the best line to take with reference to the Bill. I have heard both sides marshal their facts and argue their case. There are certain basic facts on which, I think, there need be no misunderstanding. In the first place, let me assure you that I lay the greatest possible stress upon the maintenance in full strength of the credit system of this country. So much stress do I lay upon it that I foresee very little possibility of agricultural and industrial expansion unless that credit is organised and utilised in the best interests of the State. Now, feeling like that, I

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want you to realise that I am not approaching this problem in any harsh or unsympathetic spirit.

As I said in reply to an address presented to me at Kottayam by the Indian Planters' Association, I have had some opportunity to study this question from what may be called the international point of view. About three years ago, the Government of India did me the honour of nominating me as one of the three delegates of India to the World Economic Conference held in London where the question of agricultural and industrial depression throughout the world was under consideration. That conference was, perhaps, the most representative conference the world has seen, because not only the nations who were members of the League attended but also others who were at that time not members, including Turkey, Russia, the United States and Brazil. One thing emerged from that conference, namely, that all over the world the question of agricultural depression was a primal factor. Manufacture and commerce, too, had received a setback which was accelerated by the policy of Governments in regard to their exchange and currency transactions. But beyond and above the poignancy of the industrial and manufacturing situation, was the intensity of the agricultural depression. Agriculture had been neglected and the great industrial countries of the world had taken exclusively to manufacture and commerce with the result

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that when a great conflict like the World War came, they were found to be absolutely incapable of feeding themselves even for a few days. That was why all over the world schemes were started to relieve the agriculturists of their burdens. The United States did it; England herself did it by the Small Holdings Act and the allotment system; and in India various Provinces have started such schemes.

Now, when I came here and assumed the office which I have the honour to hold, it was my first duty to look into this Bill, and I was struck by the fact that it was more comprehensive than any other that I had seen. I have studied the Punjab legislation, the Central Provinces legislation and the Madras legislation. And I think it would be correct to say that this Bill is wider in scope than any legislation that I have studied. I am also aware of the fact which you pointed out, that in many parts of India there is a definite class of people termed the Sowcars or money-lenders, who have had a history of their own and against whom, just as against the Jews in Europe, a certain amount of feeling has been worked up. Legislation has been started elsewhere more or less with a view to fettering or curbing the activities of this money-lending class. Sometimes such legislation has tended to be class legislation in favour of one community as against another. Fortunately for you

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in Travancore you do not have, according to such evidence as is before me, any purely money-lending or Sowcar class. However, advocates on the other side have told me, that the place of the money-lender is largely supplied here by a few families and the small banks, and that although on the face of the transaction it may appear that the rates of interest that are charged or the terms that are offered are not harsh, nevertheless, when analysed, it will be found that the banks of Travancore and the particular families are no better, if not worse, than the money-lending and the Sowcar class in Northern India. That has been the argument placed before me on behalf of the other side. I am only mentioning it for the purpose of showing that this is the point of view of certain persons.

I quite realise that the task of Government is difficult, but Government will not shirk the task of examining the Bill most carefully with a view to reconciling the various interests concerned. Government are particularly anxious that the agriculturist should not feel that the burden is so heavy upon him that there is no incentive to toil and no stimulus to labour. It would be an evil day when the small agriculturist feels that his future is so dismal and dark that it is hardly worth his while to toil in the field and that his burden of debt is so terrible and crushing that, without its being lifted

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to a certain extent, his self-respect will not be restored and his incentive to work will not come back to him. This is the modern policy so different from the policy of *laissez-faire*. The Governments of the world are now trying to enter into the life of the people and to organise and regiment their transactions. Therefore, my first remark, which I hope you will take in the spirit in which I put it before you, is that agriculturists, deserving agriculturists, whose burden of debt is so crushing that debt deprvies them of all stimulus to agricultural activities, will have to be helped.

How is legislation for the purpose of that protection to be initiated? You have pointed out certain features of this Bill which you have singled out for comment. You have stated that the Bill is very comprehensive, that in the definition of the word "agriculturist", well-to-do men are included as well as the poor and that the Bill is so drafted that there is nobody, who, following other occupations, may not yet claim its benefit. To these arguments Government cannot be deaf. They will have to consider these arguments with the care that they deserve. You have also stated that this Bill is not experimental and is not intended to operate in certain specific localities so as to see what good can be done by it, how the particular agency newly brought into being will work, and shape itself and whether it will paralyse the Judicial system of the country.

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On the other hand, as you have pointed out, the Bill contemplates the immediate inauguration of an agency which has been untried as yet. That argument will be considered and due weight will be given to it. You have also referred to the retrospectivity of certain of the provisions, and provisions relating to scaling down of interest from the year 1105. You will realise that the aim of Government will necessarily be not to create the impression that they are on the side of the rich and the influential because such an impression will inevitably lead to widespread resentment and will ultimately be detrimental even to those whom you represent. At the same time Government cannot abdicate their responsibility in the matter. They cannot jeopardise credit in this country and from that point of view, the argument you have urged will be considered with the utmost care.

I shall conclude this part of my remarks by saying that Government will not ignore the points that you have so elaborately marshalled. Government realise that there are two sides to the question, especially after the amendments that have been carried in the Select Committee. You have been candid enough to say that the Bill as it was originally introduced, was fairly innocuous. I am very glad to have that assurance from you because you will realise that it is an impossible task for the Government to retrace their steps. If you say

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"Drop the Bill by using the reserve powers of the Government", my answer would be "No". An official committee was appointed, that committee reported, public opinion was focussed on the report of the committee and a Bill was introduced. Up to the Select Committee stage that Bill seems to have had a fairly smooth passage. Therefore, I would ask you to delete or, at all events, not to press that portion of your prayer in which you say that Government must drop the Bill. If you press your point, my answer would be an emphatic "No." (Mr. Malloor Govinda Pillai as the spokesman of the deputation at this stage withdrew the request for the dropping of the Bill). That having been said, the next point is as to how this Bill is to be remoulded and reshaped so as to satisfy all interests. To that question, Government will pay their most anxious attention and the utmost *bona fides* will be brought to bear on the matter. All that I am endeavouring to point out is that from your own point of view, as businessmen, bankers, merchants and lenders of money, you ought not to give the impression to the agriculturist and to the debtor that you ignore his existence and wish to wipe him out. Therefore, I would ask you in all your agitation, and in all writings and speeches to realise this and speak from this point of view. If you do that, Government will, on their part, realise that you fulfil a most useful function in the State.

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There is another subject I must refer to, which although it has not arisen directly, deserves mention. You have said that if this Bill has to be worked, it will have to be worked with the aid of the Land Mortgage Bank. You have been good enough to promise support to a scheme to enlarge the scope of that Bank. You have quoted the remarks of Government in regard to the future of that scheme but remember this that what is lacking in Travancore not only from the point of view of agriculture but from the point of view of financing your exports and stimulating your great and growing trade, is a central banking and financial authority which will co-operate with the banking and treasury facilities of the State, reinforce credit in the State and actively, though prudently, stimulate industrial growth and be at the back of your internal and export trade and enable, for instance, the Land Mortgage Bank to issue debentures, finance it and see that agriculture and exports are fecilitated. Therefore, I would ask the people of this State to ponder over the financial situation not only from the agricultural point of view but from the point of view of the industries and trade in which we are all interested. In what I am saying, let it not be understood for a moment that I am hostile to any organisation operating in the State. It is our desire to co-operate with all the existing organisations to create a big financial apex organisation

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so that the Land Mortgage Bank will derive assistance not from Government to which every one instinctively turns for help at present but from that institution. That organisation will issue debentures and see that they are adequately secured and at the same time see that its credit does not become too frozen. On another occasion and more comprehensively I shall have to deal with that scheme. But my point of view is that unless you enlarge the credit of the country, you will not be able to solve the problem of peace between the lender and the borrower.

In conclusion let me say this. In any agitation that you get up, in anything that you write, please do not give the impression that you are against the debtor class or the agriculturist class. Even if some of the statements that have been made before me are correct, there is no point in repeating them.

I am gratified to hear from you that the rubber position and the cocoanut position are improving. It is all the more gratifying to me because the day before yesterday I heard a very dismal story to the contrary.

I trust I have made my meaning clear to you. Government will have necessarily to walk cautiously in the matter. The second reading of the Bill is over and it means that the policy of the Bill is

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adopted. The policy of the Bill is there. Without appearing to be autocratic or arbitrary, Government cannot undo what has been done and resolved upon. Try to reconcile the fundamental ideas of the Bill, namely, the relief of the class that needs help with the maintenance of the credit and prosperity of the State. That is a matter in which careful handling is necessary. I know you are publicists and bankers of responsibility and experience, and I know your efforts will not be directed towards making the position of Government more difficult than it is.

REPLY TO THE MEMORANDUM PRESENTED BY THE NAYAR VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

[A deputation of the Nayar Vigilance Committee consisting of Messrs M. K. Govinda Pillai, R. K. Krishna Pillai, A. Thanu Pillai, A S Damodaran Asan, K. Kunjukrishna Pillai and Putupalli S. Krishna Pillai waited on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, on the 7th November 1936 and presented a memorandum outlining their position with regard to the franchise and electoral reforms which had been announced by Government.]

Explaining the position of Government, the Dewan said :

7TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Gentlemen,—I have given this memorandum of yours the deep consideration which it surely deserves. I first propose to address to you a few general remarks, not that I think that you are not aware of the things that I am going to say, but because it is necessary to stress certain aspects of the matter which, in my judgment, have to be kept in view. Before I give any detailed reply, I want to speak to you as a friend quite frankly and with candour.

In the first place, I would ask you to remember that you and I inherit a great tradition, a characteristic philosophy of life in which is included a special reverence for continuity side by side with a genius for adaptability. In addition to that, you, the members of the Nayar community are heirs to a

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special military tradition the tradition of the *Nayaka*, the leader of troops. What does that tradition involve and imply. According to my judgment—please do not think that I am preaching to you—it comprises fervent loyalty to your Sovereign and the recognition of discipline as one of the fundamentals of life. I hope that in anything that may happen as a result of my meeting this deputation or as a result of any action that Government may take, you will not forget, you will not lose sight of the fact that you must stand by your Ruler always and that it is confidently expected of you that you will so stand undeterred by tendentious criticism and absolutely ignoring all appeals to pursue a policy of aloofness or non-co-operation which is foreign to the genius of our race. I am making this statement in view of certain things that have appeared in the papers. On the 4th of this month, there appeared a sub-leader in a Madras newspaper under the heading "Communal Problem in Travancore" and in the last evening's issue of that paper there appeared an anonymous contribution signed 'Travancorean,' suggesting things that no person should publish without taking full and open responsibility for his statement and his insinuation. I invite your attention to those publications for the purpose of showing exactly what kind of critical atmosphere surrounds you. On page 4 of the "Madras Mail," dated the 5th of November, in the third column, under the heading

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"Terrible Social Injustice" appears a long statement regarding temple entry. The point that I wish to make is that no one seems to pay attention to what is an obvious fact, namely, that social injustice is not confined to Travancore but prevades India. In fact it is in Travancore alone that social injustice is sought to be combated seriously unlike in any part of British India or in any other Indian State, as probably time will show. But looking at this article in the newspaper, people outside may think that there is something particularly rotten in Travancore, something terrible happening here. The anonymous passage is headed "Friction Between Two Main Communities." According to the annonymous correspondent "this friction is enhanced by the behaviour of certain officials who favour their communities in matters affecting public funds. Nothing can be more calculated to breed hatred than to have a just demand refused and to see the same granted to some relation or friend of the officer whose claims are based merely on his affinity." I thought such personal charges would not be published anonymously by great newspapers. If there is any truth in the statements that have been made, names and details should be given so that His Highness' Government could take action against the officer, whoever that officer might be. A campaign is on foot to which your community might give a conclusive and decisive answer by making such criticism impossible and unthinkable. Let it not be said that the

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process of communal squabbling succeeded in diverting the attention of the people from more important matters.

So far as the electoral reforms are concerned, the position is as follows: His Highness made an announcement at his Investiture; and a communique was issued in 1932. That communique gave rise to some agitation with which you are perfectly familiar. In 1933, another communique was issued. I think the language of that communique may be usefully adverted to. It stated that "*after seeing the working of the new Constitution for some time* Government were willing and ready to examine the system with a view to producing, if possible, a more satisfactory settlement of the problems involved which are necessarily complicated in nature."

From the beginning it was settled that certain communities needed special treatment; such communities were the Ezhavas, the Latin Christians and the Muslims. What particular kind of representation should be given to them, what particular assistance should be afforded in order to enable them to pull their weight, whether a system of nomination should be resorted to or any particular system of election, all these questions were carefully gone into. In furtherance of the original idea some orders were passed; but those orders produced considerable agitation and certain communities or

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sections of them practised what was called the *Nivartanam* policy—the policy of standing aside from the elections to manifest their disapproval. The elections went on and at the end of the period contemplated by the 1933 communique and in pursuance of the promise, which was originally given, to reconsider the whole question, further steps were taken. And you know the history of the Press Communique of 1935, and what has happened subsequently to that, namely, the appointment of the Franchise Commissioner and the final Government Proceedings. Just as in 1931–32 certain arrangements were made in the belief that they would produce a satisfactory and equitable arrangement affording adequate representation to the various communities, so likewise, in 1935–36 certain arrangements have been made, and you are dissatisfied with them as your memorandum shows. I want you to realise that Government, irrespective of the agitation, have sought to do justice to the communities which needed help.

So, now, you will also realise that Government having enunciated a policy and passed certain proceedings which were founded on *bona fide* investigation will necessarily have to allow the amended scheme to be worked and watch its working before attempting any change even though an important community like yours may consider that this scheme has not paid adequate attention to your claims and your position. It is gratifying that in spite

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of your disappointment you do not seek to obtain any special advantages for your community as such and do not think of pursuing any hasty political policy. There was a time when some Brahmins in Madras thought that they would put forward a claim for separate electorates or for reservation of seats. But some of us, although we knew that with a widened franchise and large electorates the position of the Brahmins would inevitably be affected seriously, declined to ask for special privileges, and I fully believe that time will show that we were right. I feel equally certain that the path of wisdom in your case is to work this scheme in the spirit that has throughout animated those responsible for it and that, if you do so, you will not regret the step in the long run. Now, the idea underlying all these reforms was and still continues to be that, as far as possible, some system must be devised whereby communities, although they may differ and differ profoundly at this moment, may come together a little later, and willingly give up all reservations and all ideas of separateness and work together for the good of the country. I want you to put yourselves in the place of Government at this moment. As you know, the position is this. A scheme was introduced. That scheme met with criticism, and criticism is always more articulate than support. The whole matter was again examined. Mr. E. Subrahmanya Aiyar was appointed Franchise Commissioner, and he submitted a report. Acting

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on that report Government have passed orders. I am appealing to you, just as other communities were appealed to in 1932, to co-operate with Government in this matter. If you think that any injustice will be caused to your community, do not rush to conclusions or be led into hasty action. Wait and work the scheme; give all possible co-operation and help. Do not abstain from election directly or indirectly. Do not strain your energies to demonstrate that under the present arrangement you cannot get adequate representation in the Legislature. Get as many seats as you can, and if it is found after the scheme has been given a fair trial that your community is unfairly handicapped and does not get equal and legitimate opportunity for self-expression in pursuance of accepted principles of political representation, I assure you that His Highness' Government will not be the agency to perpetrate any kind of injustice. If such injustice is shown I hope all the communities will join together in righting it. I noticed, by the way, that there is some talk of compromise between the communities.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN: We have rejected it.

DEWAN: These are many general observations. There are, of course, certain matters on which two opinions are possible. For instance, there is the question of the single non-transferable vote. As to this, as in the case of the question of

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proportional representation, two opinions are always possible. All that I can say is that Government have adopted a particular policy, and for the time that policy holds the field. Similarly, there are general doctrines indicated in the memorandum as to which differences of opinion are understandable.

Assuming for a moment that your demands are acceded to completely, what would it mean except that the present scheme should be scrapped in essence? What would that mean in its turn, except the recrudescence of all that has been happening? Let us take it, let us assume, that the single non-transferable vote and the present system of the grouping of constituencies, will handicap your community and will throw obstacles in your way. Even then I assure you that in the long run you will find that the policy of waiting, of allowing the scheme to be worked to its logical conclusion, of trying it, of demonstrating by actual wear where the shoe pinches is the best way to deal with the present decision.

With regard to your suggestion to increase the number of elected seats by 7, you will realise that the Communique has promised seats by nomination to the communities which do not find it possible to get their due representation. It is now an admitted fact that the two communities that are generally considered to be predominant are the

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Syrian Christians and the Nayars. Most other communities want or demand some kind of help or protection from Government. If the number of elected seats is increased, it means the diminishing to that extent of the number of nominated seats; and to some extent such communities as require protection and to whom representation by nomination has been promised, will find it impossible to secure representation in the Legislature. There are about 16 lakhs of Hindus excluding Nayars, Ezhavas and Vellalas who cannot get seats by election. That is the difficulty.

With regard to the formation of the constituencies, I have had the matter carefully looked into. I find that the existing constituencies were grouped, and seats were assigned, on the basis of certain figures. I shall read out to you the figures, and the principle that has been followed.

Tovala + Agastisvaram	1+1 = 2
Kalkulam + Vilavankod	2+1 = 3
Neyyattinkara + Trivandrum taluk.	2+1 = 3
Trivandrum town	1 = 1
Nedumangad + Chirayinkil	1+2 = 3
Quilon + Kottarakara	2+1 = 3

Originally, Kunnattur *cum* Pattanapuram was a single constituency and Shencotta, another. The population of Shencotta was just above 40,000 while the quota is 51/43, *i. e.*, 1·2 lakhs roughly. The population of Kunnattur *cum* Pattanapuram

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was nearly 2 lakhs, *i. e.*, much above the quota. Hence the change was effected as follows:—

Pattanapuram + Shencotta	= 1
Mavelikara + Kunnattur	1+1 = 2

The aggregate of all these taluks together, which was originally 3, is maintained.

Tiruvalla	3 = 3
Pattanamtitta	= 1
Ambalapuzha + Shertallai	2+2 = 4
Vaikam + Kottayam	1+2 = 3
Changanachery + Peermade	1+1 = 2
Parur + Alwaye + Kunnatnad	1+1+2 = 4
Minachil *cum* Deviculam *was before*	2
Todupuzha „ „	1
Muvattupuzha „ „	2
Muvattupuzha + Devicolam *is now*	2
Minachil + Todupuzha „	3

Greater attention was paid to the means of communication as well as the contiguity of taluks. An examination of the population of each constituency will show that care has been taken to maintain the quota as best as one can. (The margin will not exceed 15 per cent. for a single seat).

Reservation in coastal taluks: The distribution of the population is such that communities for whom seats are reserved, particularly the Ezhavas, inhabit the taluks where the Nayars abound. In most of these taluks, the Ezhavas outnumber

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the Nayars. In the circumstances, reservation can be had only in such taluks if reservation should be effectual. In the Northern Division, under the original scheme, the Nayars had no chance except in Shertallai. In the Central Division they were getting the seats which should on population basis go to Ezhavas. When the Ezhavas are given the chance of securing all the seats they are entitled to, the representation which the Nayars had will be reduced.

These facts, at all events, will show that the question has been looked into. It is just to satisfy myself about that, that I had the position analysed fully. After all, as many of you are lawyers, you will see that a review application is granted only if there has been a fundamental error of law or fact.

SPEECH AT THE TRAVANCORE HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE

[Presiding over the 14th Conference of the Travancore Humanitarian Society, held at Trivandrum on the 28th November 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar spoke as follows:—]

28TH NOVEMBER 1936.

President and Members of the Travancore Humanitarian Society, Ladies and Gentlemen,—At the outset, let me discharge the most pleasant duty of thanking the organisers of this meeting, for giving me once again the opportunity to be amongst them and to take part in these celebrations which serve both as a chronicle of past work and as a stimulus to future endeavour. I have been deeply touched by the specially kind references to me; and it has given me sincere and deep gratification to learn from one and all who preceded me their sense of deep responsiveness to the responsibility cast upon them by what has emanated from the Sovereign of the State, namely, the Temple Entry Proclamation. To him I shall convey the sentiments to which expression has been given, and I am sure he will be very pleased, indeed, to learn of the thoughts and the feelings that his actions have been able to evoke.

Friends of the Humanitarian Society, I have had occasion to read your report. I do not propose to recount the activities of the Society. Indeed the Secretary of the Society performed his duties in such a commendably brief and at the same time

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stimulating fashion, that I shall do very ill indeed in not following his example. But it appears to me that there are occasions when it is necessary to take stock of situation as they arise and develop.

As I came into this hall, I was wondering what exactly the state of the world at the present moment was. I was speculating especially on the state of things in India. And, to me it appeared that no comparison could be so apt and apposite as that of a ship on a storm-tossed sea. The march of world events, crises supervening crises, national ambition, international rivalries, economic antagonisms and social prejudices envelop and encompass us. And humanity, to my mind, seems to be like a ship laden with cargo, precious and non-precious, and sailing in a stormy sea, subjected to its breakers and buffeted hither and thither by the elements in their fury. What does the wise mariner do on such occasions? He keeps some of his cargo and throws overboard or jettisons the rest. So seems to me the plight of humanity to be. Just as the sailor, in the face of the storm, calculates what of the cargo he will take to his haven or port, and calculates also what of it is not essential to the charter-party and may be put aside and consigned to the elements, so, it appears to me, to-day humanity is faced with the difficult task of deciding what of the past should be retained and what should be thrown away, and of effecting a reconciliation between the past and the present by assimilating what

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is right and throwing away what is not healthy for us. I am a great believer, friends, in traditions, a great believer in our heritage. We are evolved from the past and we cannot forget or ignore our heritage and our traditions which, in the words of the poet, "are deep almost as life." Custom is a potent factor. Custom modifies and colours our lives. But there are occasions when outworn beliefs and obsolete customs which now hamper, but which at one time helped, society, may have to be thrown aside. It is always a difficult process to choose which to retain and which to throw away. Mistakes are bound to occur. But unless, individually and collectively, personally and nationally, we are able to imitate the example of that sailor on the seas, we shall founder in the storm or go into the deep.

Now, my friends, it may, perhaps, be said by some people that the East is the home of outworn traditions and old beliefs, whereas the West is progressive. Do not believe them. His Majesty the King is going to be crowned next year. If you take the trouble to study the ceremonies appertaining to the Coronation, you will find that a certain holy oil used by Edward the Confessor is preserved and that the King is to be anointed with that oil. You will find that the successor of the nobleman who had the right to carry the candle six hundred years ago, still goes to the Court of Claims for the purpose of asserting the right. You will find that

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the man who stands in the north-east corner of the Westminster Abbey is doing it because his ancestors stood in that corner seven hundred years ago. You will find that the man who lights the way when His Majesty goes to his bedchamber, after the ceremonies are over, is the successor of the man who did it for Ethelred the Ready or the Unready. Whether you go to the Vatican or to England, you find that customs and traditions have accumulated in them, the significance of the past being transmuted and translated into things of the present. That is a live factor there. So, likewise, is it in the East. Our daily life is built of many customs which we have inherited. To those who strive to set aside a custom, belief or practice, merely for the sake of novelty, I would say, "Pause, because you do not know what place in your culture and your heritage, that particular custom had." But, having paused and considered, there are moments when some customs and some practices have to be set aside, rejected and put in the background. It is in reconciling traditions to changes and in assimilating the ideals of the present without losing the precious things of the past, that the safety and the welfare of individual and national life consist. And, if a tribute were necessary—it is necessary in my humble opinion—for the great and lofty act of humanitarianism which has been inaugurated, that tribute is due to His Highness, because in his life he is an embodiment of the past. You see

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him going to the temple every morning and praying fervently in his *poojas*. But, side by side with that, he realises that there are new currents pulsating the world.

Friends, the world is shrinking. There is no difference between Kerala and Madras now. There is no difference between Madras and India. There is no difference between Madras and India. There is not only physical manifestations such as the electric telegraph, the wireless and broadcasting, that have brought the whole world together, but the impact of ideas of internationalism, not only in commerce, as it is ordinarily understood, but in the commerce of thought. As the great Roman said—*Homo sum humani nihil a me alienum puto*. He said that being a man, nothing human was foreign to him. That is becoming true more and more every-day. We cannot afford to neglect any current of thought or of opinion or of action taking place anywhere. Just as the little stone thrown into the pond sends out ripples wider and wider until they touch the shore, likewise every thought in every part of the world has its impact, its repercussions, and its response everywhere else.

So, it is up to us in India, first of all, to remember to be Indians, to be proud of our past, to reject imitations, not to be second-hand in any matter, to be true to ourselves, and secondly, to remember that we are part of the world.

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Friends, there are two ways of salvation. One is that of the man who expels from his environments and his surroundings everything that is sensual, of the man who seeks the individual *moksha* of the *Yogi*. The other is the path pursued by Lord Buddha and by some of our great *Avatars*, namely, going out into the world and working for the salvation of those labouring in the market-place and in the field. There, they laboured, suffered and travailed. The second mode is what is to-day apposite and appropriate. It is part of that system of what you might call collective work, which also has had its great exemplars amongst us, but in regard to which we derive more inspiration from the West. This, in fact, may be said to be the main difference between the East and the West. In the East, in its music, in its art, in its sciences, it is individualistic. In the West, it is organised, collective, congregational. To-day, we have to transmute our old ideals and work in that congregational spirit, if we want to recover our lost heritage. It is that point of view that should guide the efforts of societies like this Humanitarian Society. I congratulate the society on the ideals embodied in its report.

My friends, at the risk of being somewhat captious and critical, let me say this. There is no point in having too ambitious a programme. I would ask the Humanitarian Society, henceforth to focus their attention on one or two things. Take one or two things, and do them well. Do not

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say next year or the year after the next,, that you have done fairly well in ten things. Say, "We have done supremely well in two things." The field is so vast, the work is so great, urgent and imperative, that not one of us can do all the work. If we attempt it, at best we shall be able to do what is only second best. The world now has not got the time to be content with the second best. Therefore, I would ask you to choose two things, say child welfare and nursing, and do them well. One of the things which is very dear to me is nursing. An adequate system of nursing has not been developed in this country, and, I am surprised, even in this State. Take anything of the kind, animal welfare, relief of the distressed and of the destitute or the passing of a poor law and working it. The gradual dying-out of the joint family system, of the patriarchal system, has made it necessary for us to have a poor law. What did our ancestors do? What did the ancient Brahmanas do? What do the Upanishads say? The head of the family, after performing the *pooja,* went out into the street and looked east and west and south and north to find out the *Atithi,* the guest. He welcomed him to his house and gave him food. That patriarchal system, that joint family organisation got rid of the necessity for any poor law. But that is a thing of the past, of the fast-vanishing past, and on account of the various legislative and other activities, it has become a thing of the past in this part of the world also. If that be so, what have

we got to do? We have got to replace it by co-operative effort. We have to introduce poor laws, as in England, but free from the terrible failures and woeful defects which it had when first introduced there. We should introduce a poor law bereft of those tragic elements of patronage, which Dickens so fearlessly exposed. Agitate for legislation, and having agitated for it and got it, work the law, which is much more important than getting the law.

Or, take anything else. Let the Humanitarian Society, next year, produce a report of two pages, and say, "We have done these two things. We have to-day a body of ten or fifteen workers, men of great self-sacrifice, doing these things." What is wanted for that? My friend referred to money. I can tell you, my friends, that money is the last thing and the least thing that is required for work like this. There is ample testimony for my statement, and I shall place it before you. There is the wonderful work done by the great founder of the Ramakrishna Students' Home in Madras. It was started about thirty years ago by my revered friend, Ramaswami Aiyangar, now no more. He started it with Rs. 3. He tried to collect more; he could not get it. He went out into the Harijan colony and brought a Paraya boy and put him into his house, and made him go to school. From the three rupees and one Paraya boy, there has grown now an industrial and educational enterprise which is a model for all India. It now gets an income of Rs. 2,000 a month, all coming voluntarily.

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People send money from Malaya, from Singapore, from the Dutch East Indies, simply because they know the institution is functioning well. They know that there is behind the movement enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. I can give you another noble example. Dr. Besant had taken a vow that on the 31st December she should be an absolute pauper. Every year, she started with a bank balance of absolutely nothing. She did it for thirty years. And every year she spent between five and ten lakhs of rupees for charities. How did she do it? There is something in the world, I assure you, my friends, which responds to self-sacrifice, which responds to the ascetic ideal. Else, where is the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi?

If the Humanitarian Society, or any other institution of the kind, can produce a few men who will be devoted to their work, will be immersed in their preoccupation, men full of self-sacrifice, of the desire to give up everything for humanitarianism, money will be forthcoming. The need to-day is not for money, organisation or power; it is for men. It is men that are wanted in every direction. Let us hope that men and women will be forthcoming who will make this Humanitarian Society a centre of humanity and continuous and strenuous action.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE KANAN DEVAN HILLS CLUB, MUNNAR

[On the evening of the 13th December 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address by the Kanan Devan Hills Club, Munnar. The address expressed sentiments of loyalty to His Highness the Maharaja and gratification at the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation, and thanked the Dewan for the impetus he had given to the country's progress.]

Replying to the address Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said:

13TH DECEMBER 1936.

Mr. President and friends,—I am very glad to be amongst you, and I am specially glad to be in an Indian Club started and run, as this club is reported to have been started and run, as a self-sufficing and self-respecting institution which manages its own affairs, although it owes a great deal to the generosity and liberality of men who are represented by your president. Now a club is not a small thing. It represents what is invaluable to humanity. To be a true club-man and to have the true club-spirit is a splendid thing. The club-spirit is a team-spirit. In your chairman's very kind address, he referred to my interest in scouting. Yes, scouting, a club-man's life, these are all symbols and evidences of that team-spirit to which I have alluded and that team-spirit, the spirit of give and take, the spirit by which you realise your neighbour's wants and are solicitous not to thrust

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your personality upon him, is essential to us in this country.

I lay special emphasis on this for the reason which I shall presently detail and describe. Have you ever seen a number of school-boys walking out of an Indian school? They are apt not to walk uniformly and if three persons walk together, one would be walking in advance and two would be walking behind. They will not be walking together. You will find that in other countries it is not so. This habit of walking apart is symptomatic of something deeper. What India needs most to-day is discipline, the self-respect that is born of discipline and the vindication of that self-respect; and a club is a great institution for the inculcation of the right kind of discipline.

By discipline I do not mean the military dragooning of every body into an exact counterpart of everybody else. If you are a true club-man, you will find your neighbour in a chair but will not disturb him. You will play cards with him and not grow sulky when you lose, or triumph when you win. When you play billiards you will not always select your opponent so that you may defeat him. These are evidences of what I have been calling team-spirit, in other words, considerateness and consideration. These are vital, fundamental, human qualities, and a club is a great institution for developing and stimulating them. And

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that is why I regard the club as one of the institutions of the West which has to be fostered and kept alive in this country. I, therefore, congratulate you on having a live institution of this kind and your remarks make me feel sure that this club is being conducted on right lines.

I do not propose to deal at length with the address which has been so kindly presented to me. But it is my duty, as it is my valued privilege, to convey to His Highness the Maharaja, those sentiments of loyalty and duty which find expression in that address. I shall do so with the utmost pleasure. You have, in one of your sentences, adopted a rather more melancholy strain than I should think you are just entitled to. You started a paragraph by saying, "We, who are destined to earn our bread up here amongst these hills etc." I assure you that it is not such an unpleasant destiny to earn your bread up amongst the hills. I daresay that there are many of your compatriots in the plains sweating, toiling and moiling much more than you do, who will have a gentle remonstrance in their hearts when they read this sentence.

Now, you have spoken of a great act of liberation and emancipation for which His Highness has been responsible. You have given me too much credit for it. I have been instrumental in carrying out his design and purpose, and to that extent and to that extent alone do I deserve credit. And

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I am glad that you realise the whole credit really goes to His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani. I say with you that I regard this as one of the most dynamic steps taken in India in recent years. If the spirit underlying that step, the spirit of humanity, brotherhood and fellow-feeling towards every one, translate itself into action, transmute itself into that sympathy manifested not only in words and proclamations, but in deeds and self-sacrifice, then will His Highness feel really proud of his country and of what Providence has enabled him to do. Let it be given to us to be worthy of the Proclamation and what underlies and is symbolised by that Proclamation, namely, that instinct of humanitarianism and universal brotherhood for which the world is now yearning. Look at the world of to-day. It talks and dreams of aggrandisement, national, local and personal. It dreams of spirit, hatred, jealousies, rancour and antagonism. In the midst of such a distracted world comes this message, a precursor of peace and harmony in the future, if not for the whole world, at least for this blessed country.

Friends, I only wish to pause for a moment to thank you for what you have been very kindly saying about me. You spoke of me as an empire builder. Empire-builders are too many. But what is wanted in India is an empire of comprehension, an empire of toleration, an empire where white and

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brown, high and low, can work together for common ends. Let India in the future, as in the past, stand out as a torch-bearer. An institution like yours and the concord and unity that I see in this colony are emblematic. Let me hope and pray that the whole country may have that unity and harmony.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE CITIZENS OF MUNNAR, DEVICOLAM AND PALLIVASAL

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was the recipient of an address presented on behalf of the citizens of Munnar, Devicolam and Pallivasal at Munnar on the 13th December 1936.

The address referred to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's administrative acts, paid a tribute to his wide experience in the Councils of the Empire and wished that he might be enabled to steer Travancore into the haven of prosperity, happiness and contentment.]

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar made the following reply: —

13TH DECEMBER 1936.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Your welcome has been particularly gratifying to me because we are meeting to-day in an institution which typifies that conjoint effort directed to common ends in which the European pioneer and the Indian, work hand in hand. You have rightly said in your address, which I greatly value, that this place is one of the beauty spots of India. Yes, the High Ranges present many wonderful spots of unrivalled beauty. But I would regard them also as a nucleus of the energies of India devoted to the expansion and improvement of the resources of India, an expansion and an improvement in which all the communities domiciled in India or sojourning in India can play a part.

I know that there have been differences of opinion as to the function and the place of the European pioneer in the body politic of India. He would

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be blind and deaf who did not realise that there have been expressed many an opinion on that matter. But I have never concealed from myself the opinion, and I have never shrunk from expressing that opinion, that many, many parts of India owe a great deal indeed to the pioneering enterprise and zeal of the European planter and the European industrialist. We are a nation not oblivious of the benefits that have been conferred upon us. We shall not forget the services of these pioneers and industrialists. At the same time, India feels, and rightly feels, that the shaping of her agricultural, industrial and manufacturing future is, and should predominantly be, in the hands of her own children. And I may say that the European has, with that wisdom which characterises him in his political and industrial dealings, realised it, and that the way in which he has co-operated with the Indian in the achievement of that Indian ideal is beyond all praise. India's future is and should be in India's own hands but she should welcome help and offers of co-operation, especially from those who have, by their long training and aptitude, qualified themselves for those industrial and manufacturing activities in which we want their guidance, as they want our co-operation. Such offers have always been received from the best type of European pioneer and such offers will and must be welcome. That will be the policy of the

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Travancore Government, and will be, as it ought to be, the policy of India in general.

You here possess unrivalled resources. This particular tract of country is going to radiate energy and power to the rest of Travancore. You have indicated the industrial possibilities that may be in store for you. But I want you to realise that it is possible so to evolve your industries that industrialisation becomes a menace and a mischief, and not a salvation or a solace. I have seen enough of what the western world can suffer from in the way of industrialisation. I have seen black spots where amidst scenes of indescribable squalor the toiling worker finds hardly the light of day breaking in upon his dim vision. I have said it once before, and I say it again, that India would be acting very wrongly, if she did not so order her industries and manufactures as to obviate the evil effects of industrialisation.

This is why I have always been a strong advocate of industrialisation through white coal, through water power. It allows full scope, as in the small and prosperous countries of Europe like Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland, for the combination of industrialisation and cottage industries. Through a system of linked-up cottage industries alone should and can India come to her own. If she starts factory life on the western system, our people will suffer, and it will give rise not only

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to political and social but many other problems which are essentially alien to our genius, and that is why I have welcomed the inauguration of the Pallivasal Scheme. You yourselves know from the scheme run by the K.D.H.P. Company, the advantages of such industrialisation, done amidst cleanly surroundings, and that is why I am an advocate of the scheme and have in my own small way endeavoured elsewhere to bring into existence such schemes.

You have made reference in your address to one or two matters on which I shall dwell for a few moments. You have rightly said that the High Ranges deserve to be better known. I assure you that His Highness the Maharaja preserves very kindly memories of his visit here, and it is not revealing any official secret when I say that possibly His Highness' visits will be more frequent in the future than they have been in the past. I regard that as a great thing, because Travancore is essentially and fundamentally loyal. That is a factor and a view which none can ignore who travels through Travancore and comes across Travancoreans to whatever caste or creed or community they may belong. There is such a thing as personal contact and personal touch, and you are wonderfully blessed in Travancore in having as Sovereign one who feels for you and with you, who lives for his people and works for them. It is, therefore,

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a piece of essential good fortune for you to have more of his visits amongst you in the future than you have had in the past.

You have referred to me. I do not propose to reply to that portion of the address. I appreciate your kindness, and I appreciate your reference to what I have been able to do or have striven to do elsewhere. But, to every one of us, I think, each day is a day of trial, of self-analysis and self-examination. What happened yesterday should and must be forgotten, but what happens to-day is vital and dynamic, and I hope as days go on I shall be able to justify the confidence reposed in me by His Highness the Maharaja. He has called me to an office which, although it functions in a small kingdom of less than eight thousand square miles, is an office with great potentialities, because, as I have said elsewhere, nature has blessed this country in a two-fold manner. Its resources are illimitable, resources not only natural but human. I lay great stress on the latter fact. Nature can do a great deal for a country, but the men and women of a country are what constitute it. An intelligent, well-trained, highly educated, alert, watchful and self-respecting population is an asset which any country may be proud of. You have the makings of it. It is for Travancore that Travancore shall be worthy of her destinies. I thank you, my friends, for the kindness and spontaneity of your welcome, and I

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thank all those who have made my stay amongst you so pleasant. I must also thank those connected with the management of the Company for the way in which they have transformed this place into what in many ways is a model colony. The way in which they have striven to live amongst the people and make their lot one with the people is beyond all praise. They have shown themselves as true Indians, and we shall welcome them as Indians and give praise to them as Indians.

SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION ACCORDED BY THE CITIZENS OF MUVATTUPUZHA

[On the 14th December 1936, on his way from Munnar to Trivandrum, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was accorded a reception at Muvattupuzha by the people of that place.

Mr. M. Varkey welcomed the Dewan in a speech in the course of which he praised the industrial policy of the Government, and observed that the Temple Entry Proclamation had paved the way for the unity of the various communities in the State.]

Replying, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said :

14TH DECEMBER 1936.

Mr. Varkey, Mr. Muthuswami Aiyar, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has been a most pleasant as well as an extremely gratifying relief to listen to the kind compliments of Mr. Varkey and the poetic effusions of Mr. Muthuswami Aiyar, after the task that I have been engaged in to-day. It is a very far cry indeed from the examination of transformers and penstocks and tunnels and wading in water, to coming here in the midst of smiling paddy fields and seeing the welcome and happy expressions on the faces of the crowds which, without my deserving it to the extent to which I have obtained it, have always greeted me in the last few days. Let me assure you, my friends, that my heart is full not only of pleasure, it would be an affectation to say there is no pleasure in it, but of deep thankfulness and gratitude and humility. I feel that your expectations are pitched too high. I feel it

Speech at the Reception accorded by the Citizens of Muvattupuzha

may not be given to me to satisfy all those expectations. But this I may tell you with deep sincerity and fervour of conviction, that nothing on my part will be left undone to try and come up to those generous expectations, that after all no man can do more than his best, and that my best has been dedicated to the service of His Highness the Maharaja and his State.

You, sir, in the course of your too flattering speech, have dealt with the remarks made by one of my most valued friends, now unhappily no more, the late Mr. Montague. What happened there was a matter of logomachy, the exchange of ideas and criticisms, bearing upon a scheme which fructified in what has been called the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. Criticism and counter-criticism, unjust or otherwise is one thing, but the task on which you and I are now engaged is something vastly different and calls for the exercise of entirely different faculties, and capacities. The task in which you and I have to co-operate is the task of co-ordination, of building up and of reconstruction, of what you have called renaissance. That task needs co-operation, not only passive co-operation, but active, dynamic, sustained and helpful co-operation. It needs encouragement and support from above. Of that I am sure. It needs not only plaudits, but daily humdrum work on the part of every one who is called upon to fulfil that task.

Speech at the Reception accorded by the Citizens of Muvattupuzha

These meetings, these gladsome gatherings are wonderful things. They serve as a stimulus and an inspiration, but when, having left these halls and assemblies, we go back to our fields and our houses and our places of industry and manufacture we must realise what indeed is peaceful, organised and disciplined work. That is the work to which all of us have been called.

You spoke, sir, of Federation. Yes, Federation is an ideal worth striving for. But Federation is an instrument, an agency and an organ. With Federation India may become a united whole. She should become united in order that she may produce united work, guarantee prosperity and make the country admired and not be taken as a secondary producer, a hewer of wood and drawer of water. Federation is useful for that.

The transformation of India into what she should be, the light-bearer of the world, the leader in the path of progress, material as well as spiritual, that is what we should do. Why should I combine these things? Remember, my friends, when India was spiritually great, when she produced the things which matter, the things of the spirit and intellect, those speculative dreams and lofty ideals which we treasure and revere, India was materially splendid and great also. Life is a composite thing. Spiritual greatness, material and economic greatness, all these things go together. The efflorescence of

Speech at the Reception accorded by the Citizens of Muvattupuzha

men's spirit and endeavour takes different forms. One form is spiritual and the other form is material. There is no cleavage, no division. And, therefore, when you refer to the great and historic message of His Highness, it has also to be realised that it aims at producing union, cohesion and co-ordination in the Hindu community. His Highness has also produced the possibility of union among Hindus, Christians, Mohammedans and Buddhists. That is his contribution. Let us be worthy of it.

My part in it was that I was acting as the instrument or agency to carry out the idea and inspiration which originated and came from elsewhere. Let us not, therefore, think of me in that connection. Think of those great voices that come across the ages. The world is full of those voices. Sometimes, they are heard. But, often, humanity passes them by. His Highness has listened to those voices which were heard from on high and he has tried to translate them into daily action. That is what the Proclamation aims at. It induces the daily living up to the spirit of the message and that consolidation without which the message will be void. Remember the England of Queen Elizabeth, remember the France of Louis XIV, remember Russia of Peter the Great and India of Bhoja and Harsha. Remember that material and economic prosperity has always followed under spiritual illumination. I conclude by asking you to join with me in praying and wishing for the long life and prosperity of our Sovereign. Three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore!

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE NAMBUTIRIS OF TRAVANCORE

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address on behalf of the Nambutiri community of Travancore on the 15th December 1936, at Kumaranallur.

The address said that no other Dewan of Travancore had succeeded in capturing the imagination of the people and gaining their affections in such a short time as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, and added that the private temple of Kumaranallur, owned by the Nambutiris, was among the first to be thrown open to all classes of Hindus, following the lead given by His Highness the Maharaja by the Temple Entry Proclamation.]

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar replied as follows:—

15TH DECEMBER 1936.

Friends,—To those responsible for this great gathering, to the trustees and those charged with the management of the shrines and temples in the vicinity of which we are met to-day, and to my kind friends who have spoken as they have done and honoured me as they have done, my deepest and most heart-felt thanks are due. I feel this morning specially gratified and elated. To you, sir, who in that speech, to which I listened with pleasure and with profit, conveyed the happy news, that, in addition to the trustees and the managers of this ancient and famous endowment, others nearby have also followed your great and courageous lead, to you, sir, who in a most felicitously worded speech have compressed a great deal in such narrow compass, my debt is immense. You have indicated that your community counts for a great deal in

Reply to the address presented by the Nambutiris of Travancore

the polity of the State. I wish you had also stated that your community cannot be forgotten, cannot be ignored, so long as the name of Sankara is remembered and cherished.

We speak to-day of the shrinkage of the world on account of communications, the electric telegraph, the broadcast and the wireless, aeroplanes, motor boats, motor cars and railways. But remember what a young Nambutiri lad who died before he reached forty did so many ages ago. In those days, when communications were difficult, when the impact of mind on mind had to take place only through the spoken and the written word, from this land of ancient renown arose a person who magnetized India. Not many years ago, it was given to me to be present at Srinagar in Kashmir, when I saw memorials of his wonderful conquest of the north of India, a conquest not achieved by the force of arms, but one which justifies the potency of the spirit and the predominant influence of the intellect, Sankara, a daring thinker, a daring speculator, one who had realised the immanence of the universal spirit everywhere, was one of the pioneers of the human spirit, and as long as Travancore and Sankara cannot be thought of except in connection with and in unison with each other, your community need not be ashamed of itself or blush for itself.

Now, my friends, a great deal has been said in favour of the Brahmin community. A great deal,

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too, has been said, thought and uttered against that community. But, as I said once before in a great gathering, let me take this opportunity of pointing out again the origin of the influence exerted by that community, its reasons and its justifications. Throughout the history of the world there have been many reasons for the exaltation and supremacy of particular families and communities. Some have rested their greatness upon the force of arms. Military clans and martial races have acquired some predominance in the affairs of nations and the history of the world. But it may be said with justifiable pride and legitimate exultation that, in this country alone was it possible for the topmost rungs of the social scale to be occupied by those whose profession was beggary, whose possessions were nil, who sought for nothing, who gave freely and who were respected because they gave freely. The teachers of the people, the spiritual instructors of the people, those whose heritage was lowliness of life and exaltation of mind, they were to be at the top of the social ladder. That is a tribute to the innate character of the Indian intellect. That is proof, if proof were needed, that, to the Indian, giving up and not acquiring is what essentially matters. Asceticism is what he requires; abnegation is what he exhorts. So it was centuries ago, so it is to-day as we see around us, and so may it be in the years to come.

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And, if the Brahmin community has not always kept its place and earned the respect which was due to it, what is the reason? The reason is that some of them, perchance, have forgotten their heritage, lost their justification and ignored the reason for their existence. Once you go from your place into the markets and the commerce of the world and enter into competition with others, you have no right to be treated any better than the others. To the extent to which you preserve your heritage and your tradition, to that extent you are entitled to certain rights and to a certain respect. I cannot be a Brahmin and a tradesman, and yet expect that as tradesman I must be treated as a Brahmin. I cannot become a lawyer or a judge and in relation to my fellow lawyers or judges expect to get special treatment, because I am a Brahmin. I cannot be an engineer or a doctor, and yet think that, because I am a Brahmin, I must be treated better than the others in my profession. The position of a Brahmin in the past has been due to certain special qualities which by a process of heredity and careful conservation he preserved and which were entitled to respect. To the extent to which in the future he conserves his spiritual focus and nucleus, to that extent he will command respect and maintain it. To the extent to which he falls away from that ancient ideal, to that extent he will come down and take his place along with

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the others. And that, I submit with humility and with confidence, is the meaning of the place of the Brahmin in the life of the earth.

My friends, the speeches made here enlarged upon that great and memorable act of His Highness the Maharaja. Rightly was the tribute paid to Her Highness the Maharani for the manner in which she has nurtured His Highness so as to hear those voices which I spoke of yesterday and which occur in the following lines of a very great poem relating to the life of Lord Buddha:—

"We are the voices of the wandering wind
That moan for rest and rest can never find;
Lo! as the wind is, such is human life
A moan, a sigh, a sob, a storm, a strife."

Through the air there come voices from on high, voices which are sometimes listened to, but which are often ignored in the hurly-burly of the world. Such voices bring messages of hope, they bring warnings and convey the prospect of union and harmony. Happy are they, whether they are Maharajas or the humble peasants and tillers of the soil, who hear those voices and guide their conduct in unison and harmony with them. It is, therefore, the good fortune of His Highness that the voice came to him, and he heard the voice and, having heard it, had the courage, determination and high resolve to translate it into action.

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Something was said of my part in it. I shall never weary of saying that my part was that of a very humble agent who carried into practice the idea which originated with His Highness and Her Highness. Yesterday or the day before, you might have seen a statement issued by Mahatma Gandhi. You will find in that statement that years and years ago, when Gandhiji came to Travancore, he had a discussion with Her Highness the Maharani and the little boy who afterwards became the Maharaja of Travancore. You will remember that Gandhiji states that even then this question was raised by him and answered by them. Now, I regard that statement as of great importance coming from a man who has striven according to his own light. Many of us differ from him. I differ from him. I, a very humble person as I am, have enjoyed his acquaintance for many years and I know him very well, but differ profoundly from him in many matters. But who can gainsay that he is a man who walks according to the light he sees? Remember, my friends, I am not saying this in a spirit of exultation or vanity, but remember that Gandhiji tried to introduce this reform in Ahmedabad and failed. He could not carry it out in his own city, and he says the ways of God are mysterious. What he has failed to do, what a great world-maker and a world-shaker like Gandhiji has failed to achieve His Highness the Maharaja has had the privilege of bringing to fruition. Why has he been able

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to do that? I shall tell you why. I regard that His Highness has been able to carry out this great reform in the manner in which he has carried it out, firstly because of the great Rani Parvati Bayi. In the year 1801 or thereabouts a Proclamation was issued, a gracious and wonderful Proclamation, far in advance of the thoughts of contemporary personages, whereby education was imparted to high and low, to everybody in this State, and a scheme was inaugurated to spread thoughts and ideas. It is that education super-imposed upon an age-long and hoary culture, that has made it possible for that modernisation of ideas and that combination of the old and the new, of which this Proclamation is the climax and the culmination.

As I said elsewhere, Travancore is rich in many things. It is rich in possibility and potentiality, but it is richest of all in the malleability, adaptability, subtlety and the keeness of intellect of its people, all due to widespread literacy. Without that, without that eager, resistless spirit of inquiry, and such research typified the days of Sankara, you could not have got the reception which His Highness the Maharaja has got in respect of this great reform. But, side by side with the spirit of inquiry, criticism and research, there is also needed for the use of the world to-day something different. You want practical, organised,

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guaranteed action, beneficent in outlook and determined in resolve; otherwise the Proclamation would be a mere piece of paper.

Why, as I said elsewhere, were certain classes called depressed? Why were they suppressed? They were depressed and suppressed mainly because of economic reasons. Poverty-stricken, with no hope for the morrow and despair the heritage of yesterday, they bent low at their task in the fields and at the markets, and there was no light brought to them. They were in the midst of disease, dirt and squalor and all that degrades mankind, with nothing that radiates hope and illuminates. Now there is a great opportunity. If a union of hearts is produced by temple entry, that union should be translated into action by alleviating the economic ills of these depressed and suppressed communities. Some people say, "Why should they be admitted to the temple? They do not wear clean clothes; they eat carrion." Why do they eat that? It is because of their poverty. You have not striven to raise them from that position. Therefore, the impetus produced by this Proclamation, the dynamic energy released by this Proclamation must be utilised by the people not merely in self-congratulations or in mutual congratulations, but in organised work for the purpose of showing that there is no difference, as in the sight of God there is no difference, between the high and the low so that

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it may be said of this country that it is the land of equals. I am not very keen, and he who knows the West would not be very keen, to have great conglomeration of wealth in a few hands. The capitalistic system is now rousing the hearts of many because at one end there are millions of pounds and at the other end squalor and misery. This country is a land of middle-class peasant proprietors, and it will be an evil day if it becomes a land of capitalists. In levelling up, let us also maintain the great heritage of Hinduism, that of high thinking and plain living.

My friends, forgive me if I am sermonising to you, but these thoughts have arisen from what has fallen from by friends' speeches. Let me assure them, and through them their community outside, that His Highness will be informed of those fervent sentiments of loyalty and devotion which have characterised this address, a loyalty and an enthusiasm which have manifested themselves not only on this paper but in an act which I regard as profoundly striking, namely the throwing open of this great private temple. What does it mean? It means a burning of pride; it means the jettisoning of wrong ideas. It was a great thinker who said:—

आत्मा त्वं गिरिजा मतिः परिजनाः प्राणाः शरीरं गृहं
पूजा ते विषयोपभोगरचना निद्रा समाधिस्थितिः ।

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सञ्चारः पदयोः प्रदक्षिणविधिः स्तोत्राणि सर्वा गिरः
यद्यत् कर्म करोमि तत्तदखिलं शम्भो तवाराधनम् ॥

It is in that spirit or "Whatever I do is dedicated to Thee, oh! great Giver of Peace," that these great Nambutiris who are responsible for the management and organisation of this institution have followed His Highness' example. It is profound and striking. It means that from the citadel of aristocracy and of power which give them their secular position, they have come down and have resolved to share the common life with the common men. It is not often in the history of humanity that a community gives up its privileges. It reminds me of what happened in Japan. In Japan the feudal system was entirely holding the power of the State in its own hands. The thunder of American guns awoke them, and with a magnanimity and devotion which made Japan one of the landmarks of humanity, Japan's feudal nobility said, "If, because of our rights, claims and demands, Japan will not progress, then we give up everything." In sign and symbol of that, a number of Japanese youths came before the ruler with daggers in their hands and each said that with him the feudal nobility should die and with that death should Japan rise. That was the extent of the devotion of the feudal nobility of Japan, and the result is that in an island raised in an infertile soil, and

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in an inhospitable climate, there has come up a nation which is now at the head of the economic and fiscal organisation of the world. It is that spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion, it is that spirit of abnegation that has made nations great. It is that spirit in a different way that has been displayed by the Nambutiris. All honour to them!

My friends, there is one sentence in this address which specially struck me and to which my attention has been drawn in another connection also, and that is the marvellous, unimaginable and miraculous way in which Nambutiri women sheltered from outside influences have woke up and taken their place in the polity of the country. With such men and with such women and with your traditions and with your powers and your privileges, all conserved and sanctioned with the spirit which I have indicated, there is no reason to be in despair of your future. But, I want you to do something more. Will the Nambutiri community realise that the popularisation of this idea, that the translation of this idea into action, into economic action, is as much a part of their duty as what they have now done? Let the others follow their example so that it may be said that the Travancore spirit really means something. Mahatma Gandhi has spoken of the Travancore spirit yesterday. Let the Travancore spirit mean that in India there will not be that difference between man and man which has handicapped India.

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Let it not, however, be by a process of levelling down. Too often for these reforms the danger is that somebody may want to drag another man from the top to his own level. That is a hopelessly sordid ideal. Let the endeavour be to pull everybody up. Let it be a process of not levelling down but levelling up, so that instead of men coming down from the heights they may ascend to the heights.

My friends, let me thank you sincerely for the warmth and spontaneity of your welcome.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON THE SCIENCE COLLEGE UNION DAY

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar presided over the celebration of the Union Day of His Highness the Maharaja's College of Science on the 18th December 1936.

The toast to His Highness the Maharaja was proposed by Miss Sara Poonnen, a lady student. Mr. S. Ramakrishna Aiyar, a former Professor, proposed the toast to the College and traced its development from its early days. Dr. K. L. Moudgill, Principal, who responded to the latter toast referred to the idea of a University for Kerala and appealed to the Government to provide the College with more spacious playgrounds.]

Delivering the presidential address, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said :

18TH DECEMBER 1936.

Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My feelings at this particular moment are somewhat mixed. On the one hand, Mr. Ramakrishna Aiyar has said so much and made us infer so much, and on the other hand, your Principal has been so frank in the outlining of his ideas, dreams and aspirations and has been so direct in his utterances, that I feel somewhat like a painter on a particular occasion. He was commissioned by an art-lover to paint a picture of Moses leading the Israelites after the deliverance. By nature he was rather lazy and disinclined to work. Days passed and weeks and months. Even art-lovers can have their patience

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exhausted and after repeated enquiries the patron insisted on looking at the picture. The artist was reluctant. Finally his unwillingness was overcome, mainly because, unless it was overcome, the money promised would not be forthcoming. Then, on a fateful day, the patron was led into a room and the screen was thrown aside. There was nothing on the wall. The person who had ordered the painting asked, "Where is Moses?" "Sir, he has crossed over," was the reply. "Where are the Egyptians?" "They are drowned," came the answer. And so it appeared to me that, flanked by Mr. Ramakrishna Aiyar's statement and by the enunciation of your Principal's ideals, I might assume the pose of that artist, and say the one has indicated what should be done, the other has outlined his dreams, and I say ditto and nothing in particular.

That is an easy way out of the difficult situation in which I find myself to-day. But I do not, however, propose to follow that facile method of escape. The question has been propounded of a University. Yes, the question cannot remain long in abeyance and the reason is not far to seek. Under the new constitution which will be on us pretty soon, the Madras University will be a part of the educational structure and organisation of that great provincial unit, a part and appendage of its Department of Education. How far that ideal can coexist with an affiliating institution, such as it is

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to-day, under the federal constitution of tomorrow or the day after, is a problem which is giving considerable anxiety and some dubiety to some of us, who are charged with the task of fashioning, so far as this State is concerned, the future of education and of other Departments of the State. I do not wish to put it more positively and more dogmatically than that the best and the most feasible solution would be to develop a University for Travancore. It may become necessary. It may become essential.

Now, I am speaking to you as a dreamer. What are the advantages and the disadvantages that could accrue from such a University coming into existence? If such a University were the replica of the existing institutions, were it designed to turn out men of exactly the same calibre and with the same frustrations as the present generation of graduates, I would say such a University, Travancore does not need. If, on the other hand, a University were to come into being, charged with the purpose and the mission of bringing into existence men who know their way about and can make things instead of think of things, men who can be reticent in the bigger sense and can dream dreams, dreams that are no less real because they are dreams and no less dreams because they are translated into the realities of the world, then such a University would be worth having. In such a

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University of the future this College will have to play a great part.

Some years ago, I was asked my advice by a gentleman who, abundantly blessed with this world's "goods", wanted to start a great educational organisation. I told him that in the conditions of to-day what India needed was a place where the eager and restless intellect and the speculative enterprise of Indians could be turned into account for the purpose of combining reality with ideals. What is the glory and the main characteristic of the Indian intellect? It is intuition. It is the faculty of dreaming things without perhaps a scientific knowledge of them. Let me give you an example. One of the things which must impress a person who flies in an aeroplane over the sea is the aspect that the sea presents. The waves appear to be mere ripples. They appear to be like so many stars studded upon the sea. At that height the motion of the waves is not seen. When first it was my good fortune to go up in a 'plane', I was reminded of certain lines of Kalidasa in his *Raghu Vamsa*. What he said was this:

वैदेहि पश्यामलयाब्धि भक्तं
मत्सेतुना फेनिलमम्बुराशिम् ।
छायापथेनेव शरत्प्रसन्न
आकच्छमाविष्कृतचारुतारम् ॥

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"Oh! Vaidehi! look at the sea stretched out underneath, broken in outline by the bridge that I have built, and the ripples seeming to be like the milky way among the stars that stud the horizon at night." To no one who has not actually travelled in the air would the appositeness, thoroughness and accuracy of the description come home. To the ancient seer and the poet, to the Indian mind, a scientific fact translated itself into imagery by reason and by virtue of his intuition. Now, that is a wonderful thing. Scientists will tell you that one half of the achievement of science lies in hard day-to-day work, the other half, the more valuable half, the more illuminating half is the result of just that intuition, that capacity to see the ultimate logic of all things. That is the heritage of the Indian mind, and, therefore, I disagree profoundly with those who say that the Indian is not so scientifically-minded as some of the more competitive and immediately practical minds in the rest of the world. They have their contributions to make, and I hold very strongly that we have our contributions to make too. In the realm of science, as in the other departments of life, I behold great possibilities. Even in science you know what national temperament and difference in national equipment constitute. You know that the Scandinavian genius in Physics has made characteristic efforts and produced characteristic results. You know what the Italian genius in electrical science

Presidential speech on the Science College Union Day

has accomplished. You also know what the American genius in practical science has made. Thus, the part of the Indian in the science of the future may also be individually characteristic, distinctive, but nevertheless significant. Therefore, I hold that, if a University were to come into being in Travancore, one of the fundamentals of that University would be its technological side, and for that side the College of Science is a vital element.

Why do I insist so much on the technological aspect? Let me go back from all these dreams to immediate practical points. This country of Travancore has an area of nearly 8,000 square miles. Of those 8,000 square miles, over 2,500 are taken up by backwater and forests and uninhabitable regions. In the balance is aggregated a population of five millions. You cannot, if you would, grow food enough for all your people here. You must buy your rice from outside, unless intensive agriculture and the results of research enable you to be self-sufficient in that respect. Thus, the problem of Travancore is the problem of food, keeping alive on the right standard of life a great population within a limited area. That can only be done, if science and what science can do for man are utilised to the full. If, for instance, you use the hard timber and the soft woods, of which your forests are full, for the multiform purposes they are put to in the world, if you make your own clothing, not out of cotton, because you cannot grow cotton,

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but out of a substitute for cotton, if you gorw your own food by intensive cultivation, you will have made the things that are essential for daily life out of the products of your own place. If not, you must produce enough to sell. The thing is obvious If you cannot produce your food and clothing, you must produce enough to sell in order to get those things. And for that purpose also science and the utilities of science are absolutely essential. In a sense and to a degree unparalleled perhaps elsewhere in India, you are driven back to this proposition, that unless you equip yourselves to fight with the competition of the world, you will be nowhere. This world, unfortunately, is a competitive world. The weakest go to the wall. The victor has very little sympathy for the vanquished. Therefore, Travancore must follow the example of other thickly populated regions of the world. Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Greece, these are our examples. Look at Holland. It has a very infertile soil, an uninhabitable climate, a large population, very little of natural resources and yet, by the aid of a dynamic will and scientific equipment, the Dutch have wrested the earth from the sea. They have created a school of agriculture and of horticulture which is the envy and the admiration of the world. They are not only self-sufficient in themselves but are a great exporting nation. Denmark is even more poor in everything that counts for material prosperity, and yet, by a system of co-operative

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enterprise, by a system of mutual trust and all-round organisation, Denmark to-day is probably the most prosperous part of Europe. Denmark, Holland and Sweden are the only happy places in Europe to-day. It is not England, it is not France, it is not Germany, nor is it Russia that is happy, contented and prosperous, but these small nations which have realised that science and the efforts and labours of scientists mean much and must be harnessed to the needs of daily life. Thus, therefore, it is up to Travancore to do the same and so to prosper.

I was very much interested to learn two things with regard to the efforts of your College, which seemed to me to be very hopeful features. One is the prosperity of co-operation here in your Stores and the other that, despite handicaps, you have been able to wrest triumphs from your rivals. That shows that the Science College can work in spite of obstacles and handicaps. It shows also that there is a great point in what your Principal has stated regarding your playground. I am afraid Dr. Moudgill was not quite aware of the risk that he ran in commenting upon the grounds of the Commandant of the Travancore State Forces. I am not, for a moment, referring to the physical aspect of it. The result of such a controversy may be open to doubt, but I was rather referring to the psychological and metaphysical aspect of that conflict. I was interested to observe that what

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Dr. Moudgill apparently indicated as the correct course was to go forth and annex a portion of the Commandant's compound. But joking apart, I think, you have a very good stand with regard to the playground. And such efforts as Government can put forth for the purpose of redressing your grievances will be made.

Now, there were references to internal problems relatings to the Science College with which I shall not deal. But I must advert to a reference, in that brilliantly written and well delivered speech of the lady who proposed the toast of His Highness the Maharaja. I wish to take this opportunity to felicitate you, madam, upon the diction as well as the delivery of the speech you made, and also upon the appositeness of the allusion to His Highness, as a young man, face to face with great problems. You all know the fable of David and Goliath. Young David had to encounter the great giant. The issue to the ordinary mind would not be in doubt. But armed with will, resistless in purpose David strove and conquered. To me it often appears that the recent wonderful work done by His Highness the Maharaja can well be compared with that struggle of David with Goliath. The Goliath of ignorance, the Goliath of embattled prejudices had to be encountered. And a young man was found, able, willing and well equipped for the purpose. Let us all congratulate ourselves,

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young men especially, upon what youth can achieve. And let me say that I shall carry to His Highness the message of loyalty and of felicitation with which this meeting has charged me.

And, now, before I sit down, let me say that to-day in the world a great conflict is raging between various ideas and ideals. We seem to be drifting into an age in which, as when mankind emerged upon this planet, great brute forces without compunction, are battling with each other, oblivious of the claims of humanity, of justice and of equity. Wherever you turn, science is harnessed to uses divorced from righteousness. To-day poison gases are rained down from the sky on unoffending civil populations. The so-called civilised nations have reduced themselves by a process of brutal retrogression to the level of the pristine monsters of the Palæolithic and Miocenic ages. In such a time science has a great responsibility. Science is and should be curative, ameliorative, not destructive. Let Indian science, let the contribution that India makes to science be of the former and not of the latter kind. So shall we justify our heritage, so shall we justify our traditions. My friends, I thank you for your welcome and for the opportunity that you have given to me to be amongst you.

REPLY TO THE NANJINAD RYOTS' ADDRESS

[An address of welcome, on behalf of the ryots of Nanjinad was presented to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, at Cape Comorin on the 25th December 1936. Mr. V. S. Arumukham Pillai read the address. Sir James Grigg, Finance Member to the Government of India and Lady Grigg were present on the occasion].

Replying to the address the Dewan said:

25TH DECEMBER 1936.

Citizens of Nanjinad, Sir James and Lady Grigg, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As was just now remarked, it is a very fortunate coincidence that on this occasion of my first official visit to this beautiful spot, we have with us eminent persons, eminent alike by virtue of their position and eminent by reason of their personal qualities. I am proud to claim Sir James and Lady Grigg as friends not only of Their Highnesses and of myself but of the State, and I consider it to be very auspicious indeed that Sir James is here amongst us to see for himself the life of the State, the possibilities of the State and the requirements of our position. Sir James, I am not going to ask favours of you. The Finance Member of the Government of India is accustomed to being asked many favours, and in his position and the position, financial and monetary, of the world to-day, even the Finance Member of the Government of India has sometimes to decline requests. But, I do not propose to put him to the painful ordeal of receiving a request or declining

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it. At the same time, there is no use of concealing from you, from myself or from Sir James, the fact that he is going to play a great part in the negotiations for Federation, and it is very lucky, indeed, that he is here seeing an Indian State and its working and realising its needs and its potentialities.

Mr. Arumukham Pillai, my very best thanks are due to the citizens of Nanjinad for the address which they have presented to me through you and for the very beautiful casket in which that address has been enshrined. You have made many references of a most flattering and embarrassing character, and I do not propose to deal at any length with what may be called the encomiastic portion of your address.

You have said, Mr. Arumukham Pillai, in the course of your address, that it is somewhat of a condescension on my part to have taken up my present office. I strongly demur to that suggestion and I decline to believe that to work out the destinies of a State with possibilities such as those that lie before Travancore, under the ægis of a Sovereign like yours and mine, is a small or an inglorious task. I regard the call that came to me from His Highness as a sacred trust, and I have considered it a very high honour, indeed, as high as any of the honours which in my life have fallen to my lot, if not the highest.

Now, my friends, you have referred to the question of Federation and other bigger problems.

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I have elsewhere said, and I wish to reiterate, that the ideal of Federation is a great one. It means or may mean the unity of India. It means the consolidation of the energies of India. It means a one-pointed effort towards the solution of the many questions and many problems that face India. But, as I have said repeatedly, Travancore will enter the Federation only on the basis of absolute equality and financial equity in relation to and *vis-a-vis* other units of the Federation. We shall, if we go into the Federation, go as an equal amongst equals, play our part, and I hope not an unworthy part, in working out the manifold problems which confront India and the world alike. I feel sure that the great statesmen who are presiding over the destinies of India will realise that, and realising it will play their part without any feeling of inferiority. We shall go into the Federation for the purpose of playing a not wholly insignificant part in a great confederation, not only of political but of spiritual energies.

We are fortunate in one respect, perhaps to an extent unknown in many other parts of India. Thanks to the liberal and enlightened policy of popular education which has been pursued for over a hundred years, we are in a position to play our part worthily in the bigger affairs of India. I would mention to my friends that there are over one hundred newspapers here. Too many newspapers are not always an unmixed blessing, either

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to the proprietors or to the public. (I am speaking in the presence of the Press and I do not know what my lot is going to be the day after tomorrow when this is published). Nevertheless, newspapers, I repeat, may not be an unmixed blessing, but they are certainly an index of the lively intellectual activity of the people, stimulated by a process of wisely directed education. It is only in that way I look at it. The fact remains that the people of Travancore are fully alive to the problems which face them and are, on account of the tolerant and liberal policy of many Maharajas culminating in the present Maharaja, able to express their opinions fully. I wonder in how many States this kind of address will be possible, especially the manner and the extent of the insistence upon grievances, which has characterised it. And, just as there are, as I have said, very few States or Provinces in India which allow that full liberty of discussion and that full play of the spirit of enquiry which are characteristic of Travancore, so likewise it has been the policy of the Government of Travancore during many, many years to associate with their work the people of the State. It was in 1888 that the first Legislative Council was started in Travancore, the first of its kind in any Indian State, and to-day you have two Houses of Legislature which exercise their functions with the utmost liberty. Here again it may be news to some of our visitors to realise that the Maharaja is himself not regarded as above

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criticism in the Press of Travancore which is no respector of persons.

You have referred to His Highness' officers and have spoken somewhat unceremoniously of the way in which Revenue and Forest Officers deal with you. You must realise that I have had some experience of offices and officials in the Madras Presidency, in the Central Government and also a limited experience of officials outside India in other countries. It is not in a spirit of boastfulness that I say that the officials of Travancore, either in respect of character or intelligence, yield to none of the officials I have come across in my life. During the short time that I have been associated with the active Government of this State and during the much longer period that I was advising His Highness as Legal and Constitutional Adviser, I have come across many officials and Heads of Departments, and I make bold to repeat the assertion for which I have just now made myself responsible. But, at the same time, I would make it perfectly clear that just as it is His Highness' desire to reward merit wherever he perceives it, it is equally his desire to prevent delays and put a check to corruption of all kinds. In translating that desire into action there would be no hesitation and no weakness either in rewarding merit or taking due account of delay, corruption or incompetence.

You have referred in passing to the Central Bank and to the industrial policy. What is meant

by the Central Bank? We are not starting any banks in competition with the existing institutions. The idea is to try and co-ordinate our financial facilities and collaborate with the existing institutions so as to make possible those things for which we are striving and thus to formulate an active industrial policy, an industrial policy not designed, as I have said more than once, to produce huge factory industries, but to link up and bring into fruition cottage industries and what may be called the characteristic industries of the State and to regulate our transport and power production. For that purpose financial facilities will be necessary, and we shall work in co-operation with the banks here and with the great organisations outside such as the Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank. We may require a certain focussing of effort and enterprise and that is what is meant by this banking policy.

You have finally referred to the Temple-Entry Proclamation. All over India—in fact, all over the world—this very great step of His Highness has been acclaimed as a supreme act of liberation; as an act of levelling up, unprecedented in the history of India for many, many centuries. I do not wish to repeat what I have said elsewhere. Nevertheless, I wish to say this, that this Proclamation would be unavailing, would be profitless, if it did not mean a process of active levelling up. The object and meaning of this Proclamation is

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not that everyone should come down to a certain level, but that everybody should be lifted up to a certain level, lifted up in the eyes of God, lifted up in the eyes of man, economically, socially and otherwise. That is the programme before us. And this Proclamation is the first of a series of steps which will have to be followed up by economic uplift, social regeneration and those acts by which the average man will feel that he is equal to every other in opportunity. Human inequality is inevitable, but human opportunities should be equal and widespread. Unless you realise His Highness' ideal and live up to it, if all that happens is a slackening of effort because everybody is equal, then we shall have failed. If, on the other hand, it means the girding up of our loins and the following up of an active policy of all round regeneration, then His Highness will have been justified in the effort that has been made. That is all I desire to say on the general aspect of this question.

You have referred to local problems. I shall deal with them briefly. With regard to the policy of land assessment let me say at once that the Government of Travancore realise that in its actual working out, certain parts of the country have received less favourable treatment than certain others. Now, whenever a re-survey or re-settlement is referred to, the idea in the people's mind is that it is for increasing taxes or for getting more money out of the people. More money is

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doubtless needed for our many progressive schemes but the primary object of a re-settlement is not the procuring of more money. In Travancore, in my opinion, a re-survey and a re-settlement are absolutely essential for the purpose of redressing inequalities and obviating all traces of unequal incidence. Some parts of the State are over-taxed while some others are under-taxed. These matters have to be scrutinised and corrected and it will be my duty to advise His Highness, in course of time, to attempt a careful re-survey and re-settlement. I am making this statement to-day for the purpose of making it absolutely clear that a settlement is not for the purpose of somehow raising more taxes, but for the purpose of seeing to it that the pitch of assessment is more or less the same in every part of the country and is so directed and ordered that the burden of taxation is uniform. Until it takes place there will be certain inequalities which I ask you to bear with. I cannot say more than that. Crop experiments would be necessary with regard to the next settlement and many preliminary inquiries will be needed so as to produce an equitable distribution of burden. What will probably be done with the resources at the disposal of the State will be, perhaps, to select some areas and proceed step by step so that what Government may lose in one area may be counterbalanced by the gains in another area in order that, in the long run, Government revenue may not suffer. That is the policy which I have in mind and which I shall place before

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His Highness in due course. At the time of re-settlement the topic of the rate of grain-measure will also be considered.

Finally, I should like to tell you something with regard to the remission on the lands left fallow during the Kanni crop of 1111. Orders have been passed with regard to this matter. Thanks to the diligence of Mr. Arumukham Pillai and the insistence of the Nanjinad ryots, the question came up again before the State Council and on that occasion I gave an undertaking that this matter would be carefully enquired into. I can now tell you that His Highness has asked me to give some relief to Nanjinad, but what the extent of that relief will be and how soon that relief will be given are not matters which I can divulge. But fairly soon you will get some relief.

I have done. It is my duty finally to thank you most cordially for your enthusiasm, for the spontaneity and heartiness of your welcome and for the opportunity you have given to me to express my views. If I have not satisfied you all it is not my fault, for public finance has its limitations and the range of possibilities in the matter of State benevolence is restricted. To give relief from the burdens of taxation may mean the curtailment of the State's programme. Nevertheless, His Highness is quick to grant it where it is deemed necessary, and when relief comes I would ask you to

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thank His Highness whose solicitude and sympathy for every part of his territory are so great as to be touching in their comprehensiveness and in their depth. We are indeed fortunate in having a Sovereign and a Ruling House who live for their State to an extent and a degree I have rarely seen equalled anywhere. Let us hope and pray that His Highness may be long spared to reign over us.

REPLY TO THE PADMANABHAPURAM MUNICIPALITY'S ADDRESS

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, went through a crowded programme of engagements on the 25th, 26th and 27th December 1936 when he made a whirlwind tour of South Travancore. Padmanabhapuram, the ancient capital of Travancore and famous for the murals of its old Palace, was one of the places visited by the Dewan and he was presented with an address of welcome by the President and Members of the local Municipal Council.]

Replying to the address Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said :

26TH DECEMBER 1936.

President and Members of the Municipality of Padmanabhapuram and Friends,—It has given me particular pleasure to be greeted on behalf of the citizens of this ancient and historic town and to have received the symbol of your kindness, and your loyalty to our beloved Maharaja. It will be my duty, as it will be my great pleasure, to convey to His Highness your feelings of loyalty to his person and devotion to his Throne, expressed in such happy terms.

You have referred to various matters and especially to the historic importance and the significance of your town. But there is one thing which I shall place before you as symbolic not only of the history of this town and of the municipality but of the history of this country. Amongst the frescoes with which the old palace of Padmanabhapuram is adorned, there are two which specially come home to me and which I have no doubt will

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come home to the hearts of most of you as indicative of what India has been and may yet be. One of those frescoes is that of *Ardhanariswara*—the idea of the divine spirit uniting in itself the virile qualities and potent energies of man and the gentle attributes and the loving kindnesses of woman. So has it been with the history and psychology of India. It has been the good fortune and the prerogative of Indian civilisation not to delight in brute strength, not to rejoice in physical force alone and that splendour that calls for the power and might of warlike deeds, but to combine with its other excellences a spirit of pity, a spirit of compassion, of loving kindness and all that reaching out towards the infinite which has been the glory and the heritage of India. So likewise, there is another fresco amongst the paintings which adorn the walls of the ancient palace, representing *Vishnu* doing homage to *Siva*. We have been ever a tolerant race. Communities, religions, creeds and faiths which have, perchance, not won the right of hospitality elsewhere have come to us confident of welcome and full of trustworthiness. That trust has not been mislaid. So it has been in the past, and so may it be in the future.

You have referred, sir, in your address, to the Proclamation of His Highness in respect of temple entry. That Proclamation is viewed in one sense as a Proclamation by a Hindu monarch to his Hindu

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subjects for the purpose of renovating and regenerating the Hindu faith and Hindu practice. But it is something much more vital, fundamental and basic. It is the first of a series of steps for the purpose of enunciating a common humanity of mind, levelling up the depressed with those that are more fortunately placed and evolving that religion of humanity which transcends even our faith and brings and embraces within its fold the Hindu, the Mohammadan, the Christian, the Jew, the Parsi and everybody who lives for the blessings which Almighty God showers upon humanity provided humanity knows its destination. Therefore, when you speak of the Proclamation I think of it primarily no doubt as an ebullition and efflorescence of the Hindu spirit in which there are no exclusions, no preferences and no inequalities but oneness. That is the meaning and interpretation of the Proclamation and I, therefore, see in the combination of the various creeds and communities before me the symbol and exemplification of what I have been endeavouring to say.

My friends, you have spoken of myself. Consistently with what I have always said, I do not propose to reply to that part of the address. My only duty, as it is my right, is to tell you that so long as I am in this position, entrusted with the confidence of His Highness the Maharaja, it will be my duty to do my best for this ancient land,

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and I only ask that, whatever my shortcomings may be, it may not be imputed to me that I made any difference between man and man, race and race, community and community and religion and religion. That granted, everything is easy because, as I have always said, you have in this population alertness, intelligence, faculties and tradition. What more is wanted?

You have referred to your local needs. You know I am a great believer in electricity. I am looking forward, as much as you are, to being supplied with electricity not only for the purpose of electrically lighting all the streets but for industrial purposes which alone will make India take her rank with the great nations of the world. You have also spoken of examining your resources. Fortunately, we are seeing an upward tendency of price levels. Let us hope that this will continue. I have had some experience of municipalities and local bodies, and I know how very often they have to struggle against unpropitious circumstances. Believe me when I say that I am not wholly unsympathetic with your aspirations and ideas.

Let me conclude by thanking one and all of you, the President and Members of the Municipality and through them, the citizens of this place, for their kindness. I regard it as a sign of fervent and burning loyalty to His Highness which characterises

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this State. As you very rightly and most felicitously said, that loyalty is not a forced or artificial one; it is immanent, inborn and fermentative. Let us hope that that loyalty will lead this country to great achievements. For, after all, the achievements of humanity are not due to intellect alone nor due to material resources; it is due to the oppressed human spirit. Let that be our watchword, and let that be both our warning and stimulus. I thank you very much.

SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE DIAMOND JUBILEE CELEBRATION OF "THE TRAVANCORE TIMES"

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, presided over the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the "Travancore Times", Nagercoil, on the 26th December, 1936. The opportunity was availed of by the South Travancore Indian Christian community to present an address to the Dewan.

Mr. D. C. Joseph, Editor, "Travancore Times", recounted the history of the paper from 1896.]

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar spoke as follows :—

26TH DECEMBER 1936.

Mr. Joseph and Representatives of the South Travancore Christians,—We are met here to-day on the occasion of the Jubilee Celebrations of a paper whose history, whose achievements and the trials of whose management and editors have been placed before us with a wealth of detail and of illustration which have evoked sympathy as well as fellow-feeling. It is not a small thing for any venture and any enterprise to go through its period of troublesome infancy, its embarrassing nonage, the afflictions of its middle age and the possibilities of drooping which comes to one when past the age of fifty. Sixty years have passed by, Mr. Joseph, since your paper saw the light of day and it is no mean achievement to have held the torch aloft all these years.

Journalism has been pictured by its enemies as one of the more inglorious arts and occupations. It has been said by its critics that by virtue of the

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privilege of anonymity and by the opportunity that is given for a particular person to cease to be "I" and become "We" for the time being, a position of advantage is enjoyed by him. Power without responsibility, which is condemned in other spheres, it has been said, is the good fortune of the journalist, that he is not always conscious of it and that he sometimes misuses or abuses it. Such has been the verdict of the enemies and opponents of journalism.

On the other hand, be it remembered that, by common consent, journalism has been described as the fourth estate. What does that expression mean and connote? The Three Estates of the realm, with the Sovereign and monarch as apex are the governing factors of the Government of a country in the administration of its affairs. In the discharge of duties for the purpose of fulfilling the destinies of the country, journalism has been given the place of the fourth estate. In other words, journalism is pictured to be co-equal in power, influence and potentiality for good and for evil with the three estates which govern the realm. It has a great advantage and a great opportunity. It has a position of eminence. Glory be to the Press in general that the representatives of the Press have realised their responsibility and lived up to their stature. Why go further than the events of a few week ago? As I said in an interview I gave to the Press some

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time ago, during the recent British crisis, when one Sovereign succeeded another, the two things that filled men with surprise and amazement, respect and difference, were the reticence shown by British public men and the discipline displayed by the British Press. Amidst all the tornado of calumny and vulgar opposition and denunciation, the British Press kept itself under a dignified restraint and gave its verdicts tempered by human kindness. That was the distinguishing characteristic of British journalism widely contrasted as it was with the journalism of the Trans-Atlantic and Continental Press, during the same period. I read the American journals; I read the French and Italian journals. I knew what they said and I knew what the British Press didn't say. Although I am not an undiscriminating admirer of things that emanate from the West, I must say this, that in the matter of propriety, journalistic individuality and national decorum, England will go as an example to India. English journalism provides an example to Indian journalism, which, I hope, will always be kept in mind.

The function of journalism in India is a very difficult one. We are all passing through transitional times. Democracies are coming into being. The pangs of child birth are troublesome, those of the birth of a new order of society are more troublesome. At that time it is easy to be contumacious, it is easy to be malicious and to

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indulge in personal vendettas until the cries fill the air. Grave dangers confront the journalists, but great opportunities await them too, and it is to the glory and credit of a journal if it has preserved its sobriety and judgment without abdicating its independence, if, without showing that it has been the handmaid of power, it has dared to bring to light abuses with fair criticisms.

The position of a journalist is difficult at the best of times. Governments do not always realise that to the extent to which they react and respond to popular opinion they will be fulfilling their sense of justice. (And after all, how does popular opinion express itself except through journals?) Therefore, Governments are sometimes apt to be harsh and stiff towards journalists and exact standards which, perhaps, they do not exact from themselves. On the other hand, journalists are apt to attribute motives to them, speak of nefarious designs being hatched in the dark and flung upon a startled world, while all that has happened is an error of judgment. Now, in that state of things it is a great thing for you to have kept up your prestige for sixty years, to have claimed, as you have, independence and at the same time to have stood by the Government in times of difficulty and crisis. I congratulate you on the career which your journal has had.

You, Mr. Joseph have adverted with filial piety, which I admire and respect, to the career of your

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ancestors and their colleagues. You have stated that sixty years ago your father was chosen to be one of the few whose portraits adorned an important publication relating to journalists in the world. All glory and honour to pioneers such as he was!

I have known Mr. Joseph for some time, and I have always been struck by the candour with which he has spoken and with the desire that he has always evinced to seek to side with the Government. That is one thing. Governments are often wrong. In fact no man and no Government can be right unless he or they now and then do wrong. I am afraid it is not a phenomenon of such rare occurrence that we need discuss it. All that is needed in public life, all that is needed for a journalist, is to realise that, however convinced one is of the cogency of his own arguments, he will now and then think that his opponent has some case to put forward, that even Government can now and then do a right thing and that even public officials can be fair. If only journalists pursue their course, not with a desire merely to criticise or merely to flatter the powers-that-be, but with the inflexible determination to expose abuses, with an equally inflexible determination to give credit where credit is due, in short, an inflexible resolve to see both sides of the question, then will journalists achieve their destiny, and journalism deserve the title of being the fourth estate. It is because I feel in this way that I took the opportunity with

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gladness and alacrity to be present at the jubilee celebrations of a paper for whose traditions and for whose conduct I have great respect.

I now refer to the address which has been presented to me. In regard to it let me at first utter a word of reproach. In it, it has been said that I have done something wonderful, because three appointments have been given to the South Travancore Christians. I assure you that I have never thought of these gentlemen as South Travancore Christians. And you are doing less than justice yourselves, you, South Travancore Christians, if you think that these appointments were given to the recipients, because they belonged to the South Travancore Christian or the Christian community. It is the motto and it is the watchword of this Government, as indeed it should be the watchword of every other Government, that the man who deserves a place gets it. The fact that the gentlemen you have referred to belong to the South Travancore Christian community may be one of the influencing factors, but it is bound to be one of the less important factors. The fact that they profess the great religion of Christianity may be one of the factors, but it should not be the determining factor, and I, therefore, in congratulating the South Travancore Christians on the appointments that their community has secured, congratulate them on the advancement that their community has made, on the competency that that

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community has displayed and the efficiency which has been evolved out of the bosom of that community. That is the real point of congratulation.

You have also said, in the course of your address, that you are pleased in regard to a certain order that has been passed by the Government regarding churches and schools. I want every one to realise that it is not in a spirit of convention or of mere conformity that I do so, if I take this occasion to say in the most public manner possible that His Highness is constitutionally incapable of seeing any difference between any one of his subjects and another. In view of the possibility of a grievance suffered, or being suffered by one community, because His Highness thought that there was something to be said for the continuation of religious teaching in schools which had been founded in the belief that such teaching would be allowed in those schools, he came to the conclusion that the order should be given. All glory to him, because he, as I said, sees no difference between his own religion and any other religion! So far as the fundamentals are concerned, so far as the vindication of justice is concerned, the credit is not due to me but entirely to His Highness the Maharaja.

Now, you have spoken of the Temple Entry Proclamation. I do not know how often I have spoken on this subject. But I am speaking to-day

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to what is largely, if not predominantly, a Christian audience, and I wish to say a few words to the Christians. In the history of every religion there come movements from within of efflorescence, regeneration, renaissance. Mohammedanism had that when they evolved the wonderful philosophy of Sufism. Christianity in its progress through the various councils of the early Christian epoch had these ideals. I am not referring merely to the Protestant Reformation, I am not merely referring to the schisms in the church but to those movements which led to the foundation of the Franciscan Order, the Dominican Order, the Society of Jesus and the Oxford Movement of to-day. Every movement and every church labours within its own sphere and produces new offspring. In the same way, my religion has had this movement for many centuries. It has produced a Buddha; it has produced a Ramanuja; it has produced a Chaitanya; it has produced a Gauranga and Ramakrishna. From time to time there are internal movements in each religion with new response to world ideas and the forces that act upon religion. There is the yearning towards prefection. This is one of those occasions. His Highness the Maharaja came to the conclusion that the ideas and ideals which might have served earlier times are no longer suited to the conditions of to-day when world forces are in operation. He was in the true lineage of the great reformers

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of Hinduism, in the true line of succession of the great reformers of religion.

You have spoken of the Fatherhood of God and of the Brotherhood of Man as preached by Jesus Christ. The same idea came to our ancestors long ago. The human spirit in different climes has the same urges and the same reachings out. It has always been a difficult struggle for humanity between the baser elements and the better elements. A great English poet has said as follows:—

"We are children of splendour and flame,
Of shuddering also and tears;
Magnificent out of the dust we came,
And abject from the spheres."

In this land of nations, communities and religions, there was an element of baseness. Wise men see the baseness from time to time and strive to remove it. Occasions like this are to be regarded in that light. In this, there is nothing antagonistic to any other religion or creed. There is nothing that need separate or divide. What elevates one religion and one community should be stimulus, inspiration and guidance to another religion and another community. I regard this movement as the beginning of a great revival in India, each religion within itself trying to reform itself so that with the conjoint efforts of Indians, that great India of the future will be born,

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that India which will transcend religion and community and speak as a great spiritual and dynamic entity and be counted as something individual and essential in the comity of nations. It is in that spirit I regard this Proclamation; it is in that spirit that I regard His Highness' great work. I shall communicate to His Highness your sentiments of loyalty, and I am sure that he will value them. I thank you for the way in which you have received me and the patience with which you have heard me.

REPLY TO THE NAGERCOIL MUNICIPAL COUNCIL'S ADDRESS

[The President and Members of the Municipal Council, Nagercoil, presented Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, with an address on the 26th December 1936.]

Replying to the address, the Dewan said :

26TH DECEMBER 1936.

President and Members of the Municipal Council, Nagercoil, Ladies and Gentlemen,—One more occasion has arisen for the manifestation, in an abundant and welcome measure, of the sentiment of loyalty which animates the citizens and the inhabitants of the State and which is constantly evoked whenever the name of His Highness the Maharaja is mentioned. And the first duty that I shall perform is to convey to His Highness those expressions of your feelings towards him which are contained in the address of which I have been the recipient. You have, Mr. President, in the course of your remarks, dealt very gently, kindly and generously with me. You have besides, as is appropriate to the head of a local organisation, made perfectly clear to me as the head of the administration, what your needs are, and they are by no means few and unambitious. You have, at the same time, as I have said, dealt gently with me, in so far as you have not laid embarrassing emphasis upon them. I shall, however, deal with your demands in the course of my remarks.

You have placed in the forefront of your address certain remarks complimentary to me and

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indicative, I take it, not so much of an appreciation of the immediate past, but of anticipation and hopefulness in respect of the future. You have, Mr. President, spoken of the services I have rendered, or you think I have rendered, in the matter of dealing with that useful and much abused deity 'Red Tape'. Now, red tape can be used for many purposes. Red tape can be used for systematisation and regularisation and for making things formally and easily understood; but red tape can also be a hydra-headed monster enveloping the unfortunate victim until he sees nothing, because he is bound hand and foot and covered all over by that red tape. In any adjuration against red tape, let us, therefore remember the distinction between the two varieties of involution by red tape. No office can be conducted, no private business can be run, without a certain amount of what is called red-tapism. Conformity to precedents, carefulness not to transcend certain important and fundamental rules, these are also red-tapism. But red tape may also mean a reluctance to face broad issues, an anxiety to shelve questions, a readiness to say, "Sufficient unto the day are the problems thereof. Let tomorrow look after itself," or, at all events, something of that kind. In the latter sense red tape is, no doubt, a thing to be guarded against and avoided. If it can be said of me that I have not discouraged red tape of the former type but have stood against the enveloping, asphyxiating and stagnating red tape of the latter type, then surely am I entitled to some little credit,

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You have, Mr. President, also referred to what I may generally call economic planning. I do not propose at this juncture to deal with the wider aspects of it, because occasions have arisen when it has been my opportunity and privilege to envisage the future of this country from the economic and industrial points of view. I shall just confine myself to one or two sentences in regard to that all important matter. Travancore has certain advantages. She has certain monopolies and natural resources. But it would be imprudent if Travancore sought to compete with the competitive countries of the world in a field where she would not have a certain vantage. For instance, supposing we want to compete with Japan or America or England in regard to industrial enterprises which one or the other of those countries has made its own, we shall come out second rate, because in the world of commerce, industry and manufacture, the weakest go to the wall and very little quarter is shown to the vanquished. Therefore, my object and purpose have been so to design the economic future of this country as to enable us to take advantage of the monopolies of such things in regard to which we may stand competition from the rest of the world or that part of the world with which we are most concerned. Our resources in timber, woods, rubber, tea and minerals are, to some extent, unique. My idea, and I am translating into practice the idea of His Highness the Maharaja, is not to

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bring into being cities full of large and unwholesome factories, but to link up cottage industries by virtue of a widespread use of "white coal", namely, hydro-electric power, and thus make ourselves industrially efficient producers and not mere consumers, driving away, at the same time, all those horrors which the Western world is slowly growing out of, after a period of intense misery and pain.

Side by side with this larger economic planning is, speaking to a municipal audience, what I would call municipal planning. You have spoken, Mr. President, of your needs and your wants. You have dexterously and with, I dare not say cunning but, very clever absence of emphasis, made it clear that you expect some subvention in regard to your enterprises. Yes, you are right. A municipality, a self-reliant municipality, is entitled to get support from the State. To the exent to which you put forth your own resources, to the extent to which you would demonstrate that you can do things instead of speaking about things, to that extent Government will be called upon to help you. But I want you to realise that in this world where municipal planning has gone on apace in many countries, there are several directions in which municipalities have laboured hard to procure the amenities of citizenship and better their own financial and other prospects. I wish it were possible for you, Mr. President, to translate and circulate

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amongst the citizens of Nagercoil accounts of what has been done in some of the newer municipalities of England and of America.

I shall tell you something about the way in which municipalities have been working. One of the difficulties in Travancore is that pasture is very scarce for various reasons into which I need not enter. Municipal dairying is one of the first things that is engaging the attention of municipalities elsewhere. A supply of wholesome and pure milk to children is one of the prime duties of a municipality and if you start a dairying enterprise on the right lines, take it from me, it will not only be a humanitarian concern but a matter of immediate and considerable profit. And to the extent to which you are able to take a forward step in that direction Government, I assure you, would not be unsympathetic. There are other ways in which municipalities can augment their resources. You know of the way in which municipal building schemes have gone on elsewhere. If only you have patience and know how to design rightly and well—and your extensions are so well brought into existence—in course of time, by wise extensions, you might make for a better designed municipality, and at the same time by the levy of a tax or by taking advantage of the unearned increment as time goes on, augment your resources. Municipalities in this country have done a great deal in this direction.

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If such a well-designed and well-thought-out scheme is brought before the Government, Government will not be unsympathetic. I mention all this to you for the purpose of showing that within your own sphere and province it is possible to plan ahead for five or ten years, content with a small profit to start with but confident in the expectation that if your planning turns out well, you will have ample resources. That is the kind of planning you have to adhere to for the municipalities.

Let me not sermonise without giving you some kind of comfort. I have just signed certain documents relating to your water-supply, and I am looking forward to a widespread scheme coming into active and beneficent existence as soon as possible. I may also say that Government view with considerable satisfaction that the Nagercoil Municipality is really alive, an advantage which is not always noticeable in the case of all bodies, either municipal or otherwise.

But there is one matter which, speaking to this audience and through them to a wider audience, I cannot refrain from dwelling upon. There seems to be an impression that work in municipalities is second-rate work, that it is not valuable, formative or creative and that people putting questions and answering interpellations in the Legislative Councils and Assemblies alone are doing great work. Nothing can be farther from the truth than that, because it is out of the well-directed labours of

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local bodies and municipalities that the happiness of the State as a whole can be evolved. Unless like Chamberlain in Birmingham you can produce people who, oblivious of wider renown, will concentrate their energies on municipal problems, you cannot do much. Here, as in many other matters, what is wanted in the world is not money. What is wanted is missionary enterprise. I am speaking in the home or the adopted home of the Salvation Army. I have always felt that if we, the members of other religions, can follow their methods, their self-sacrifice, their organised efforts and attempts to improve the lot of their brethren, we shall be doing a great deal to others. It is because I feel that the philosophy of Hinduism is dear to me and that the cult of Hinduism is precious to me, that I am enabled to appreciate the wonderful work done by other religions. And I ask my countrymen to try and take a lesson from them, and this lesson can be taken not only in the field of religion, but also in the field of municipal administration. What is wanted to-day is a band of self-sacrificing men.

You have, in the course of your address referred to the need for a municipal reading room and library. I have noted that. You have referred to the Tuberculosis Hospital. The relevent papers are now with me and I am going into the whole question, and I hope in the course of a day

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or two, to gather enough material to come to a conclusion in this matter. I am sure you will not expect me to commit myself definitely in regard to it. The only thing that I want you to realise is that tuberculosis is a very widespread and dangerous ailment which it is necessary should be dealt with. This locality, on account of the dryness of the climate and other resources, has certain advantages. It is the duty of the Government to segregate and prevent the spread of tuberculosis by providing a separate hospital for this disease, and it is their duty at the same time not to produce any faction. The reconciliation of these opposite factors is not an easy thing, but the whole matter will be very carefully gone through and I ask you to accept that for the present. You have referred to the public home and the child welfare centre and I am sure you are looking into the matter very carefully.

I have dealt very summarily with your local problems, not because I do not consider them important, but because on an occasion like this, unless I can tell you something definite there is no point in indulging in platitudes. You have put forward certain things before me and I will consider them. I don't propose to say whether my answer will be favourable to you or unfavourable; it may be the one or the other. All that I can say is that the matter will receive immediate attention. I do

not wish to indulge in the somewhat facile talk of giving you something to hope for, and you know that hope deferred is supposed to produce sickness. I don't propose to make your hearts sick.

Now, my friends, I am glad you have referred to the Proclamation of His Highness. I have spoken so often about it that I do not wish to speak for long. But, whenever I see a gathering like this before me I feel that there are certain aspects of this matter which arise newly and freshly in my mind, because that is one of the characteristics of a great idea. The great idea is like a stone just one step before touching the water. When the stone touches the water there arise ripples and waves which manifest themselves in widening circles until they reach the ultimate shore. So it is with large ideas which come into the world from on high. I consider that His Highness, in issuing this great Proclamation, was obeying a call from on high. I have heard many criticisms and many encomiums. But there is one thing I wish to dwell upon for a few minutes. In one of our great Hindu scriptures, the Lord says:

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय
नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि ।

Just as a man casts aside worn-out clothing and takes to fresh and clean cloths, so the human soul clothes itself in new habiliments. That is the

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life-history of the human soul as indicated in the great hymn of Lord Sri Krishna. But it is more than that. As in individual human life, so in the case of institutions, creeds and religions outer vestures which sometimes are outworn, have to be put aside and new vestures worn, not otherwise will a religion continue in that appeal with which it came into the world, for of religions as of man can it be said that the voluntary process is at work. Just as in the case of man, so in the case of religions, when changing old and worn-out garments you must supply them with new garments. If you don't supply new garments they gather all the dirt and excrescences which take away from the glory of what is within. It has appeared to me that Hinduism from time to time has had the glory of realising this. It realised it when Buddha gave a message, when Ramanuja gave a message, when Chaitanya gave a message and when Ramakrishna gave a message. A message has been given now. That message is that Hinduism is not a prerogative and that worship of the Hindu Gods is not the privilege of a few, but that it is the prerogative and the possession of the many.

The path of humanity is like a spiral. It seems to go up and come down and then go up. The march of humanity is laborious and painful. But, from time to time, illumination came. Let us be worthy of it. It is because I feel that it is one of

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the most dynamic movements in this country of Hindu races that I like you to welcome this Proclamation and see that it is up to us to realise His Highness' ideal. Let me thank you most sincerely for the spontaneity of your welcome and your heartiness, kindness and sympathy towards me.

REPLY TO THE NAGERCOIL CLUB'S ADDRESS

[Replying to the address of welcome presented by the Nagercoil Club on the 27th December 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, spoke as follows.]

27TH DECEMBER 1936.

Members of the Nagercoil Club, Ladies and Gentlemen,— It is with great pleasure that I welcome the opportunity to visit a club founded under such august auspices, as is evident from your address, and visited by a Sovereign whose standards of constitutional monarchy and whose devoutness and piety have earned for him a unique and characteristic place in the history of Travancore and of India. I am very glad to see that you have recognised your obligations not only to cater for the intellectual and the physical delectation of your members but have, in order to enlighten your less fortunate brethren, started a reading room which, I am glad to hear from you, is doing useful work and is very popular. The popularity may be judged not only by the audience in front of me but the audience trying to get behind me.

You have spoken, of the library movement. I am a great believer in that movement. But I think that, in the years to come, the library movement will have to be supplemented or augmented in a way which I shall presently indicate to you. At the present moment, I consider that one of the most potent sources of popular education is broadcasting. Musical education, education in politics,

civics, agricultural and industrial ideas, all these things need wisely directed national guidance, and can be achieved most easily and expeditiously by a system of broadcasting. That system has proved its wonderful utility in some of the countries of the world. Russia has had to face a problem more or less like ours. She had a vast population full of enthusiasm, to a large extent full of intelligence, but to a certain extent illiterate and also unorganised. For the purpose of regimenting national forces in Russia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics started very early in its Governmental career a system of broadcasting, with the result that both in the matter of industrial work and agricultural, educational and cultural development, the people of Russia are making very rapid strides. You will be glad to learn that the Government of Travancore have been in touch with those who are organising radio broadcasting in India. They are taking steps to initiate a system of broadcasting, the idea being that in select localities, both urban and rural, there should be a chance of hearing and listening to good music and good lectures of select men who are experts in their own special subjects. Government will try not only to impart lessons, industrial, agricultural and manufacturing, but give that patriotic bias to the people, which is already seen in an abundant measure in the State.

But it needs organisation, development on the right lines, regimentation and to use a technical

Reply to the Nagercoil Club's Address

phrase, 'canalisation'. Just as in the case of irrigation, water running to waste is diverted to useful purposes, so patriotism, love for the country, the active desire to be of social help and to be a right citizen of the State, have to be canalised for the purpose of organisation. I consider the library movement, supported by a system of broadcasting, as a great educator. The Nagercoil Club will, in due course, have to play a great part in that. I congratulate you on the success of your enterprise and look forward with hope to the future and continuous prosperity of your Club.

REPLY TO THE NAGERCOIL CITIZENS' ADDRESS

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, was presented with an address by the citizens of Nagercoil on the 27th December 1936.

The address said that the ryots of Nanjinad were excessively taxed, suggested that some areas within the forest reserves might be thrown open for cultivation and requested the Government to undertake a water-supply scheme for Nagercoil.]

Replying to the address Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said :—

27TH DECEMBER 1936.

Citizens of Nagercoil, ladies and gentlemen,— During the last few days I have been the recipient of much kindness, great hospitality and abounding goodwill. I have also been the recipient of many addresses containing demands which have, in the opinion of those who are responsible for the addresses, to be dealt with immediately. It is to me a source of profound satisfaction that throughout my visit and throughout those addresses, there breathes a spirit of goodwill and of kindness. Stimulated by that goodwill, impelled to action by the inspiration of that kindness, it will be my endeavour to deal with the matters which you have put before the Government of His Highness the Maharaja. But before I deal with the particular matters which have formed the basis of your address, let me in the first place tell you that it will be with the greatest possible readiness and gladness that I shall convey to His Highness the Maharaja and the members of the

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Royal Family those pledges of devotion to the person and throne of His Highness and of goodwill to members of his family which have found expression in your address.

You have referred to many matters appertaining to me. Whenever I hear these things the predominant thought which crosses my mind is how generous the public usually are. For the time being there abound controversies, divergences of opinion, clashes of interests, but it is true to say that when the tumult and shouting die out and when the immediate difficulties of the momentary situation are dispelled, the public in any country and the public specially of our country are generous and forgiving to a fault and responsive to any good that might be done. It is that thought which always crosses my mind when I hear encomiums bestowed upon things attempted, which at the time they were attempted were subject to difference of opinion, but which the people, after a lapse of time, begin to appreciate. May it be possible for all of you to say when I lay down the reins of my office that taking the debit and the credit sides together and balancing the account, the credit overbalances the debit! More than that no man need ask, more than that no man should demand.

You have referred to the question of the Nanjinad ryot and cultivator and the settlement. With some acquaintance with the land problems in many parts of India I can tell you this, that the

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process of settlement is of necessity not only laborious but fraught with many difficulties. Generally speaking, whenever mention is made by Government of a resettlement there is a general chorus of disapproval. People take it for granted that resettlement, and resurvey which has to be a condition precedent to that resettlement, involve and must connote a raising of further taxes and more land revenue. Therefore, whenever the question arises of resettlement, I have always encountered more than a covert opposition. It is then a matter for gratification—although that gratification is subdued by the reason for it—that you evidently look forward, conscious of the justice of your cause, to the process of resettlement as likely to be to your advantage.

It is an easy task for an administrator to tell you pleasant things for the moment. But that is not my object and has not been my purpose. Nevertheless, to the ryots of Nanjinad I can say this, that the Government of Travancore and His Highness the Maharaja appreciate to the full that they have paid at least their fair share of revenue, if not a little more than their share, and that His Highness is very anxious indeed that his Government should engage as soon as possible in the task of levelling up and not levelling down. I want you, my friends, to realise that the tasks of Government to-day need finance on a large scale. We have many requirements; our programmes are heavy. The tasks

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ahead of us are multiform and for all of them the sinews of war are needed and cannot be dispensed with. It is, however, an elementary axiom of taxation that those must pay who can afford to pay and to the extent to which they can afford to pay. That maxim will be kept in mind by the Government, and as I said elsewhere in reply to an address presented to me at the Cape by the agriculturists of Nanjinad, it will be the object of the Government of Travancore very soon to embark on the experiment of resurvey and resettlement. The question of your grain measure to which reference has been made, in the course of your remarks, will be one of the main matters that will be dealt with, and the question of crop experiments will go side by side with this. It is my hope that to the extent to which the burden of those who can prove that they have been overtaxed can be lightened, to that extent there may be others who, perhaps, have been more fortunate than you and who may come to shoulder their burdens, so that the incidence of assessment may be equitably distributed, and it may be said that no one had a grievance that he was overtaxed. Very few people make a grievance of their being under-taxed. Thus, therefore, the first question that you have propounded in your address, namely, the question of settlement and of grain measure, will be dealt with expeditiously and I hope that relief will soon be forthcoming. In dealing with the question, however, I make bold to say that there are such things as preliminary settlements and

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cases of alleviation, which need not necessarily be delayed until the period of actual completion. Having said that, I end this portion of my remarks with the hope that your confidence may be justified when you, with your strenuous advocacy, will prove before the authorities that you have a just and legitimate cause, and that, likewise the judges, those responsible for the decision, will take account of your grievances and deal with them in a spirit not only of justice but of tempered generosity.

You have next dealt with the question of unemployment among the middle classes. Those of you who have read Dickens are probably aware of a character in one of his novels who was obsessed with the idea of King Charles and his execution, with the result that in the course of any remarks that he might make King Charles' head entered into the discussion. I am afraid like that character in Dickens, whenever I am confronted with the task of unemployment and agricultural distress, I am reminded of the spread of cottage industries through cheap electric power. Now, my friends, at the risk of reiteration, let me tell you what other countries less fortunately placed than ours have done in order to grapple with this problem. Let me refer for a moment to countries like Denmark, Holland and Switzerland. I am not referring to the great countries of Europe and America which are wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice, resourceful to an unbelievable extent and blessed by nature

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and by a generation of industrial workers. I am rather referring to countries which might be called the lower middle class countries of the world. Holland, with an infertile soil, the sea striking upon its dykes, was blessed only with one thing, namely, an industrious and diligent population. Denmark, purely agricultural and having neither coal nor iron resources, has through co-operation, and a system of cottage industries brought prosperity home. Switzerland, blessed only in water power and forest resources, as we are blessed also, has by a system of wisely directed cottage industries, making up by quality what she lacks in quantity, enabled her citizens to stand side by side with the advanced nations of the world. Just fancy a Swiss watch. Do you know that every part of the Swiss watch is the product of a cottage industry? How is it done? There is cheap water power available to every cottage in the country. A man goes round these cottages and distributes just the necessary materials for making an hair-spring or something of the kind. The little girls and boys after returning from school are harnessed to the work. It is in one sense a pastime and in another sense a bread-winning occupation, but what has led to prosperity in that country is really cottage industry. And to-day Switzerland is prosperous to the extent to which few other countries are prosperous. I am looking forward to something like that work in our land too.

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In your address, you have rather unwisely referred, if you will allow me to make that remark, to the denudation of the forests. I would ask you, on the other hand, to conserve your forest resources. The thing that matters to Travancore is not agriculture alone. You can never feed yourself by agriculture. You are five millions in seven thousand and five hundred square miles. Your hard wood resources and soft wood resources are going to be your wealth, the region of your prosperity. What has Sweden done? Sweden is infertile to an incredible extent. But Sweden is blessed in her forest resources. She utilised her forest products. She did not denude her forests, but utilised them. The soft woods of Sweden have led to the pulp industry of that country. The pulp is exported in the form of paper and materials for artificial silk, with the result that Sweden is one of the competitive forces in the manufacturing countries of the world of to-day. True, in order to serve your agricultural needs, you will have to improve your livestock and that, in order to give you pasture grounds, it may be necessary to give you a little more of forest areas. But I would regard it as a misfortune if Travancore neglected her forests. I look forward to the forests as a main source of wealth to Travancore, in order to enable Travancore to compete with the other nations of the world and the rest of India. You have in them an asset which you cannot afford to neglect, and I hope you will strive to augment and conserve them.

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You have also referred to the possibilities of tea and rubber. Here again let me tell you something. One of the ineradicable tendencies amongst us is to do just what your neighbour is doing. We compete with each other, bring down prices, leave absolutely no scope for profit, so that each man rejoices at first in his neighbour's ruin and lastly laments over his own. Now, my friends, in talking of tea and rubber, let us not do so. I am rather looking forward to South Travancore starting subsidiary branches of cultivation like sugarcane, for which you have great scope here. In India as a whole there is, perhaps, an over-stressing of sugar production to-day. The protective policy of the Government of India has increased the possibility of sugar manufactures making profit with the result that in the manner in which I have indicated, in Lucknow, Cawnpore, Lahore and all over Hyderabad there are innumerable sugar mills. There is over-production of sugar in the north of India. But in the south of India that is not the case. South India ought to be able to produce its own salt and sugar. For that you want rationalisation. You must negotiate with those who are working in Madras and Bombay, so that without ruinous and unfortunate competition you may pool your resources and enable South India to serve South Indian needs. Such a procedure is engaging the attention of His Highness' Government. I do not wish to say more than that at the moment.

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I fully sympathise with you in regard to your emphasis on paddy cultivation, the difficulty in regard to the marketing of rice and the necessity for subsidiary occupations. Nevertheless, before you embark upon any enterprise I would ask you to look beyond your own borders. Half the troubles in India that have arisen in the matter of subsidiary occupations or manufacturing and industrial operations are due to people not looking beyond their immediate village, town or State. The time has passed when you can grow your own produce and sell it without competition. You want to have a cashewnut industry. East Africa comes into competition. You want to start an iron industry. You are immediately competing with Sweden, England and the United States. France and Germany bought of you cocoanuts some time ago. But to-day ideals and theories of economic self-sufficiency are over-taking the world, taking their origin in Europe, in what is called their nationalisation. France, Germany and America say that they will not take any cocoanut from India. They want to develop their own colonies. These are phenomena which you cannot possibly ignore. In other words, you will encounter competition from all parts of the world. Therefore a comparatively small and poor State like Travancore should engage only in those enterprises where she has either got a monopoly or in some particular manner can hold her own against the rest of the world. It is possible only in a world which is Utopian. Very little generosity

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is shown in commerce and trade. And, therefore, there is no point in your thinking of that, and that is a lesson which I trust the citizens of Nanjinad will bear in mind.

You have spoken of the water-supply. Evidently the address was printed before you knew what the Government were likely to do in the matter. Very shortly you will receive the orders of the Government in regard to this matter which, I trust, will be characterised as equitable as well as just, and I hope that the water-supply for Nagercoil will not be long deferred.

You have finally referred to the recent Proclamation of which I have spoken, I do not know how often. I wish to say just one word about that. The power of formulæ is very great in this world. It has appeared to me that in many respects India is like an enchanted princess. A word has to be said and she is liberated. We think that we are divided; we think we belong to high or low castes. This is a formula which oppresses, enmeshes, envelops, hypnotises. It wanted somebody to utter a magic word. It wanted somebody to say, "You think that you are free; if you think yourself liberated, you are liberated." His Highness was willing to say that word and utter that formula. And this part of India is free and equal in religious matters. But that, according to His Highness' own conception, is just the first step. The next step is to make communal harmony so

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that it may be said of the State, that the Hindu rejoices for being a Hindu. The more devoted a Hindu is, the more generously he is appreciated by a Christian or a Mohammedan. That is the ideal which His Highness has tried to bring about. With that hope and with that confidence and expectation I shall convey to His Highness the Maharaja your sentiments. Let me thank you for the way in which you have listened to me. I am afraid I have sermonised and preached a little. I am afraid I was a little obstreperous in what I have said. I have always had your interests at heart. You may think over what I have said, rejecting unceremoniously anything that you think is inapplicable or inappropriate.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE SOUTH INDIAN SHORTHAND WRITERS' CONFERENCE

[Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, presided over the fifth session of the South Indian Shorthand Writers' Conference held at Trivandrum on the 29th December 1936.

Sadasya Tilaka T. K. Velu Pillai, the Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the President and the delegates.]

Addressing the conference Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said :—

27TH DECEMBER 1936.

Mr. Velu Pillai and Delegates to the Conference, —I was listening, with the admiration which always animates me whenever I read anything for which Mr. Velu Pillai is responsible, to his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, and for a moment I was rather taken aback by the accumulation of the woes and ills which he associated with the profession of shorthand writers. I think he started from a cold and came down to paralysis. I was frankly not aware that this was a perilous calling of that character. At the same time, I was also surprised while he referred to the scanty rewards of your calling in the world. It is perhaps true in South India. But I trust that the shorthand writers who are taking me down will be indulgent with me when I point out, not as a matter of emulation but merely as a historical fact, that shorthand writers have become marchionesses. Lady Reading

Presidential Address at the Fifth Session of the South Indian Shorthand Writers' Conference

was a shorthand writer herself. When I first met her she was stenographer to Lord Reading. I am not indicating that as a possible career to the ladies who are assembled before me, but I am only mentioning that the profession of shorthand writing has in other countries certain alleviations and possible prospects.

But joking apart, I feel very strongly that the position of shorthand writers has the inevitable accompaniment of journalistic, commercial and public life. Its requirements are great; as Mr. Velu Pillai said, it requires for a poorly paid occupation a combination of gifts and accomplishments which it is difficult to find in one person. It requires, as has been pointed out, a very fine command of language and also a very good hearing.

Let me give you a story. There was a public meeting in England, held some time ago, when people gathered together for the purpose of chronicling the achievements and belauding the virtues of a deceased Field-Marshal. In describing him, an impassioned speaker launched into half-poetic phraseology. He described him as a "battle-scarred veteran, the hero of a hundred fights." There were two sets of stenographers who took down what he said. One of them wrote, "a bottle-scarred veteran, the hero of a hundred fights," and another wrote "a battle-scarred veteran, the hero of a hundred flights." I am giving you these anecdotes

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for the purpose of indicating to you that a very well-meaning orator or a public man inclined to say what he considers is a most appropriate and apposite thing for a particular occasion, may find himself translated and mutilated beyond recognition by the well-meaning but not equally well-equipped stenographer. When I say this, let me not for a moment be understood as casting a stone at or on his profession. In point of absolute fact, what very often happens is that an orator or would-be orator launches forth on what he considers to be a great speech; in fact, what he does is to ejaculate half articulate and ill-designed sentences which do not hang together. Very few of us can view with equanimity a completely verbatim report of what we say. I, for one, feel an inevitable and invincible repugnance to reading in cold print or in type-script what I have stated. The fact is this. When addressing an audience, a speaker, especially a speaker on topical themes, has to attune himself to the mood and mind of the audience. For, the success of his own effort is largely dependent upon the magnetism which comes to him from the audience. It is not so much the man speaking to the audience but the audience transmitting its ideas to the person who re-transmits them to the audience. That would be found, if we analyse it, to be the ultimate secret of all speaking especially if that speaking is designed to produce any real effect.

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For, a person talks over the head of an audience if he does not attune his mind to the mind of the audience, and then his speech is likely to be unsuccessful. In order to achieve success, a speaker has naturally to put himself, as the saying goes, *en rapport* with the audience. He has to see the mood of the audience, has to see who is smiling *at* him, or who is smiling *with* him, because if a person is smiling *at* him, he is making himself ridiculous; if he is smiling *with* him, he is encouraged to proceed further. Therefore, from time to time, a public speaker has to see the audience and be guided by their moods, their impressions and their internal ideas, which are, by a mystery of nature, communicated to the speaker. But supposing all these intolerable repetitions, these hesitancies, these interruptions, these little jokes, which are not meant for reporting at full length, are put down on paper and you read the speech again the next day, you see an intolerable conglomeration of ill-assorted sentences, and naturally, the lawyer or the orator or the legislator gets very angry with the stenographer and says, "I spoke so well and here it is. I made such a fine speech, I made so many beautiful jokes and the man did not even understand me." The real fact of the matter is that you will find the speeches are better done by the stenographer than by the speaker himself. I can give you an instance.

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I have said once before, and I repeat it again, that some of the finest feats in stenography can be witnessed in Geneva. The League of Nations is a somewhat futile business. But at the same time it has done one service to humanity, and that is to produce the very best type of stenographers in the world. The reason is this. Everybody has to speak either in English or in French. The stenographers there have not only cultivated lightning speed, but their knowledge of what may be called the real essence of a speech is so great that when a person delivers a speech at eleven o' clock, between three and four the same afternoon a proof copy of the same comes to him; and, in nine cases out of ten, the speech as transcribed by the stenographer is many times better than the speech already delivered, the reason being that the stenographers there are a picked body of scholars capable of being highly competent in their own task. Incidentally, I may say that they are paid very highly, as highly as the Secretaries to the League, and the head of the stenographers there occupies a position equal to that of one of the Secretaries of the League of Nations. What I am endeavouring to point out is that the work of the stenographer is very often not merely that of a gramaphone—mere recording of the sounds made by the speaker—but the assimilation of what he has said, the transmutation of what he has said into understandable and clear

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language and the presentation of that material in a form which resembles what the orator wanted to say, but probably has failed to say. When I say that, you can easily realise how great the importance of the art is, how fully worthy of adequate recognition this science is, and how essential people should remember the importance of the calling.

My friend who proposed me to the chair on this occasion referred to my own experience. I may say this, that during at least thirty years of my life I have relied tremendously and to an enormous extent to which I wish to bear public testimony, upon the stenographer. As a lawyer, it was my practice in very heavy cases, such as the Besant trial, the great University case, and certain other State cases, which I had the honour to conduct, to indicate, practically to give a kind of precis of, what I was going to say. You will find in most cases of public speakers that they make very elaborate notes of what they are going to say: but very rarely does it happen that what they intended to say, they actually do say. As a matter of fact, it is not an uncommon spectacle to find people handing over advance copies of what they are going to say to the reporters; and people who attended the meetings would probably find that what they heard as said by the speaker bore no resemblance to the polished and clear-cut sentences in the report

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handed over to the reporter. As a lawyer, I depended upon the shorthand writer; as a legislator, I depended upon him; and as an administrator, I depend upon him. And I may say that without the shorthand writer very little business is possible now-a-days. As a matter of fact, not very long ago, in England and America the commercial career of a businessman was practically possible without the assistance of competent stenographers. But it is now well-recognised that business cannot be transacted efficiently without proper assistance in that direction. As to the judges, it is hardly necessary to state how much the judicial profession owes to the shorthand writer. As a matter of fact, law's delays which are proverbial in most countries of the world and which are not wholly unknown in this part of the world, would be even greater but for the shorthand writer. If, as a matter of fact, every judge had to take home all his papers and write his judgments every day, as in olden days, then I do not think that delays of ten or twelve years would be as rare as they happily are in many parts of the world now. Therefore, for a commercial career, for a journalistic career, for a judicial career, for the legislative and administrative careers, the art and practice of shorthand writing is a *sine qua non.*

Now, what are the requisites of a successful stenographer? The first, as has very rightly been

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said by Mr. Velu Pillai, is a good command of the language. An almost encyclopædic knowledge is necessary for the purpose, because to-day the stenographer may be taking down the speech or discourse of a learned man of science discussing abstract theories of sound or vibrations of light, to-morrow the details of a case in a court, the day after trying to keep track of the fulminations of a public orator in the open air, and so on and so forth. He has to know something of the terms used by the scientist, the lawyer, the politician and the administrator. Otherwise, he will not make himself understood. His transcript will be merely a farrago of ill-assorted materials.

Then again, in many cases the stenographer has to be the recipient as has been indicated in one of the papers, of matters of great secrecy and confidence. I may say this, that in my fairly long public career, I have had very few occasions on which trust has not been rightly and legitimately placed on the loyalty of the profession. You can well imagine the position of a stenographer to a Finance Minister or some person who is going to make a big announcement. The share and the money markets of the world are so constituted to-day that, if the truth regarding the budget or budget figures were known fifteen minutes before the actual presentation and promulgation of that speech, hundreds of thousands of rupees will change hands. As a matter of fact,

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some such thing happened in England as many might have heard. But there it was not the stenographer's fault, but a messenger's fault. When a transcript from the stenographer was going to the room of the Secretary of State, an enterprising man pounced upon the file and made a great deal of money and has now settled down in South America with the money he made. These instances show what tremendous responsibility is placed on the stenographer. And it is a great tribute that due to the ineradicable honesty and the fundamental *bona fides* of the profession, the confidence is so little misplaced. That is another requisite.

I now come to another point which was stressed by Mr. Velu Pillai. I feel that the public at large and the Governments do not fully realise the importance and significance of your profession in the matter of remuneration and prospects. I feel that very strongly. It was a Latin poet who said, describing the poetic profession, that they cultivated literature on a little oatmeal. I do not think it fair to ask the members of this great profession to cultivate shorthand writing on a little oatmeal or rice meal. It is not fair either to your rice meal or to the profession. I hope that you will be able to better your lot, but the one thing necessary for this purpose is to organize yourselves and make all your bodies not only representative, but powerful and articulate.

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It is a perfectly trite saying that it is only the crying child that gets the milk and, although the person who hears the cries professes himself to be dissatisfied with the crying child, nevertheless the crying child does get what it wants. That is true of many other individuals besides the crying child. It is only to the extent you act as one man and you are able to regiment your activities that you will be heard and alleviations will come to you.

It is noticed in your chairman's address that the Government of Madras have made certain concessions in your favour. In fact, I flatter myself that I spoke rather bitterly—I was then out of that Government, and so it was easy for me to speak bitterly—about the Government of Madras. I spoke on one or two matters at your Conference which I opened some years ago, and I am glad to see that the Government of Madras have relented and have given certain concessions to you. There is, however, much more than that to be done.

You must act as an all-India body; you must act as a powerful body; you must act as an articulate body. You have got this advantage, that the South Indian seems to have made this profession almost his own. Wherever you go, whether you go to the Punjab Legislative Council, or the offices of the newspapers in the eastern and western ends of this continent, you come across the Madrasee or the

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Malayali functioning as a reporter or as a sub-editor-cum-reporter or as a stenographer. You have got this advantage that we in the South have shown a certain amount of aptitude. It does happen, because the habit of speaking correct English is not so very common in the whole of India as in the South. The habit of speaking fairly correct English and the habit of good reporting have attained a certain amount of excellence in the south.

There is a complaint that the Southerner is apt to underbid others. Therefore, there is not only in this profession is stenography but in the general secretarial walks of life, a certain amount of jealousy of the Southerner and the Malayali; but this jealousy could be eradicated and your profession raised to a higher eminence and your remuneration and emoluments augmented, if only you act together, act, if I may say so, in a trade union spirit, not in the mere spirit of a huckster, but in the spirit of self-respect and confidence in your own importance. Apart from this, I trust that these various gatherings will enable you to act together and improve your prospects and also make yourselves a coherent and useful organization.

One of the glories of the English Bar is the fact that is is a wholly voluntary association, all men coming together for the purpose of setting the proper price on the profession and for giving

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proper place to the profession by insisting on certain standards and punishing black-legs and seeing to it that their importance is recognized throughout the world. That is how the English Bar, which is not a governmental institution but a purely voluntary body, is able to make its presence felt. So may it be with your organization, so that you may get what you want and also preserve high standards of professional competence and of all moral worth.

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SPEECHES OF

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Vol. I.

1936

TRIVANDRUM :
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS,
1942.