

TRAVANCORE

Information & Listener

A TRAVANCORE WATERWAY



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Contents

Vol. VII.

AUGUST 1947

No 12

	Page
This issue carries the historic Message of His Highness the Maharaja to his beloved people on the reassumption of independence by the State	
1. MARCH OF EVENTS	7
A Great and Gracious Message—Popular Acclamation—The State Congress—The Franchise Committee—Food, Fish and Fruit—National Centenary.	
2. "MAN BORN TO BE KING"—By HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA	12
By S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar	
3. INDEPENDENT TRAVANCORE—By Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar	16
By S. V. Ramamurthi	
4. WORK OF THE RICE STUDY GROUP AT TRIVANDRUM—By Sir S. V. Ramamurthi	39
5. INDEPENDENCE OF TRAVANCORE—By A. K. Pillai, Bar-at-Law	42
6. VILLAGE UPLIFT IN TRAVANCORE—By S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar	46
7. ADVANTAGES OF INDEPENDENCE—By K. G. Kunjukrishna Pillai	49
8. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN TRAVANCORE—By K. Parameswara Menon	54

	Page
9. UDAYANAPURAM MURAL PAINTINGS	58
10. PARAMOUNTCY AND INDEPENDENCE—By Dewan Bahadur A. Venugopal	64
11. KATHAKALI—THE STATE'S CLASSICAL BALLET—By N. K. Venkateswaran	67
12. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR AS I KNOW HIM—By Mohan Lall	71
13. NEEDED A NEW APPROACH—By S. Krishna Aiyar Ex-M. L. A.	72
14. THE STATE'S STAND—AN ANALYSIS	75
15. WHAT OTHERS SAY—Independent Travancore—A Courageous Decision—Sir C. P. Holds His Own—A South Indian Fertiliser Factory—H. H. the Maharaja's Message—Golden Tradition	77
16. RADIO PROGRAMME FOR AUGUST 1947	85
PICTURES :	
COVER—A Travancore Waterway. Travancore Women Police—Tangassery—A Canal Scene at Alleppey—A Market Scene in North Travancore—The Udayanapuram Mural Paintings—An "Old time" Travancore Lady (A Lino-cut by Mr. L. M. Sen)—Kathakali at Bombay (After a painting by Mr. K. H. Ara)	



Vol. VII

AUGUST 1947

No. 12

Information &
Listener

TO MY BELOVED PEOPLE

ON this epoch-making day, His Britannic Majesty has assented to the Indian Independence Bill by the provisions whereof this ancient State of ours is enabled to recover its traditional and historic independence. On and from the 15th August 1947, the close and friendly alliance that has subsisted for over a century and a half between the British Crown and Travancore will be formally terminated by reason of the renunciation by His Majesty of his suzerainty in respect of the Indian States. The mutual rights and obligations arising out of treaties, agreements, and undertakings entered into between the successive Rulers of Travancore and the British Crown and its representatives will also lapse and from that date, Travancore will reassume its independence and sovereignty in full measure. On this

The above most gracious message was broadcasted by His Highness the Maharaja from the Trivandrum Station at 8.45 p. m. on Friday the 18th July 1947.

solemn and historic occasion, I extend, on behalf of myself and my people, to His Majesty our thanks for the helpful cooperation and mutual service that have marked the relationship of the two countries during many decades and have withstood many trials, including the supreme tests afforded during two great wars.

The State of Travancore is a priceless heritage and my ancestors and myself have endeavoured to discharge our sacred trust with the sole purpose of labouring for the material and moral progress of its people.

It has been and will be my intention to associate my people with me in the tasks of Government. The material and human resources of this State are abundant. Its people are highly educated and possess intellectual, agricultural and industrial aptitudes of a high order. All the elements necessary for a happy and prosperous national existence are present, and I feel confident that, with the blessings of Providence and the cooperation of my people, Travancore will realise its destiny as a sovereign State working in close collaboration with the rest of India in all matters of common concern. At this auspicious moment, I call upon all my beloved people to rejoice with me and to join me in dedicating ourselves to build anew and in fuller amplitude the fabric of a great Travancore.

March of Events.

A Great and Gracious Message

THOUSANDS listened-in, enraptured and thrilled, to the most fitting and gracious Message of His Highness the Maharaja embodying a historic turn in the destiny of the State. Nothing ever happened of greater import or promise in all the three thousand years of her history and rarely before was it given to any ruler of the State thus to 'cross the Rubicon' with a more confident courage or a nobler vision, with a greater appreciation of the abiding good of the country and the people.

The deep love that forms the dominant note of the Message spoke no less directly in the voice—the all-transcending love of people that ever expresses itself in manifold shape in the selfless life of the great Ruler.

The 'heritage' is luminous, inspiring and exceptional, and the pride of His Highness in this treasure of the ages and the genius of his ancestors, His Highness's passionate desire to safeguard and enrich it, only yield to his self-evident oneness with his people. "The State of Travancore is a priceless heritage," said His Highness, and the hearts of thousands surged in unison with the feeling that patriotism seldom showed itself in a more handsome complexion or spoke with a purer appeal. Thousands felt their own love of country reborn and renewed.

In the great and shining galaxy of kings few have regarded their duties as a 'sacred trust' and fewer still have really laboured for 'the material and moral progress of their people,' and so it is that even

in this State, where kingship has ever been traditionally distinguished by rare merit, our Beloved Maharaja has set an example all his own and eminently worthy of emulation for all time and in any country ruled by kings or by the people themselves.

The King Emperor affixed his Assent to the Indian Independence Bill at 4 p. m. on Friday the 18th July 1947 and His Highness the Maharaja gave the radio Message at 8.45 p. m., reaffirming his courageous and far-sighted decision that the State would reassume her independence and sovereignty in full measure on the lapse of British Paramountcy at mid night on the 14th August 1947. It is undoubtedly one of the most historic and unselfish documents in history, one that enshrined an unparalleled act of voluntary renunciation of imperial sway in the annals of mankind.

The Message of His Highness was not only one of thanksgiving at the unique and resplendent juncture but was no less historic or glorious in content and ideology for the State.

"It has been and will be," said His Highness, "my intention to associate my people with me in the tasks of Government." The voice is that of the Maharaja, the thought that of the people. It was the first citizen of the State speaking, and it is needless to add that this pregnant declaration is reassurance from His Highness the Maharaja himself if reassurance were needed from one of His Highness's stature and spiritual loftiness, that the independence of the State will not only promote the well-being and prosperity of the people

and preserve its undefiled excellences but will be built up on the bedrock of their personal and collective liberty.

"I feel confident that, with the blessing of Providence and the co-operation of my people, Travancore will realise its destiny, as a sovereign State working in close collaboration with the rest of India in all matters of common concern." From the dawn of history the lamp of freedom has rarely grown dim and never been extinguished in this State. It has also been the usage and tradition of Travancore so to use her freedom, and independence as to add to the freedom, independence and glory of India as a whole. It has been repeatedly stated that arrangements are indispensable with the rest of India in matters relating to defence, foreign affairs and communications.

So under the beneficent care of God, the State is opening a new chapter in the epic story of her life and everyone prays and rejoices that as time unfolds its gifts will increase the happiness of His Highness the Maharaja and his people.

Popular Acclamation

IT was on the 11th June 1947 at a Press Conference that the Dewan Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, announced in a distinguished and memorable speech His Highness the Maharaja's decision that the State would reassume her independent status in terms of H. M. G.'s statements on the subject on the termination of Paramountcy on August 15. This pre-eminent announcement directly evoked rejoicing throughout the State. Against the paramount issue the various communities in the State have displayed a rather unwonted unanimity of feeling and intellectual discernment. Few thinking Travancoreans any longer question the venture,

the wisdom or the vision of the choice; the choice between joining the Indian Constituent Assembly, when there are two sovereign constituent assemblies for India, and reassuming the independent status which the State had uniformly enjoyed through uncounted centuries prior to her alliance with the British Crown.

As days go on, the tide of opinion in favour of complete autonomy and freedom has been steadily rising. Bhaktivilas, the Dewan's official residence in the city, has been flooded with the popular acclamation expressed in messages, letters, speeches, statements, resolutions passed at hundreds of meetings, and, too, serious offers of service in the good cause. The Office of *The Travancore Information and Listener* has been 'bombed' with articles of every description in support of the courageous stand and it must mean years if we should try to accommodate them. Indeed, the announcement has fired the imagination of the people and almost all alike feel the thrill of a new status come into their own life.

The State Congress

IT is rather to be regretted that the lonely State Congress is still going on, dependent on external inspiration, turning a blind eye on the realities of the situation, instead of joining the vast bulk of their countrymen in the general elation and jubilance. In the new era that has dawned on this great sub-continent everyone realises that there is little scope for sterile opposition or personal politics and that the future of the State as that of the rest of India will primarily depend on co-operative and co-ordinated effort designed to accomplish common ends. Till a few days ago, every little precautionary ban on 'civil liberties' intended to safeguard the even

tenor of life in the State was lifted, but the freedom of assembly and expression of opinion, right or left, thus unconditionally released was almost immediately misused.

There is a significant passage in an absorbingly important speech by the Dewan published in this issue, to which we would invite special attention. The passage is this, though for fuller appreciation one must read the speech itself:

"I have already stated on more than one platform that there is just at present the sitting of the Franchise Committee for the purpose of discussing the franchise for this new reform based on adult suffrage for the Lower House and functional and facultative representation for the Upper House. The Great High Command of the Congress and all other people, who have poured in tremendous amount of criticism over Travancore's functional representation for her Upper House, have now consented to functional representation for their Upper House. Our reforms will come into operation in the course of some months and they are based on adult suffrage for the lower house and they are based on the doctrine that the will of the Legislature will be carried out automatically by the Executive and that His Highness and the Dewan advising His Highness will only intervene in serious cases, as the Congress High Command is now intervening in serious cases, for instance, overruling handloom deliveries, changing ministers, etc., as in Madras. The Congress in Madras finds that it cannot run the daily government and it has to be pulled up every other day. I do not see why His Highness or His Highness's constitutional advisers should not have

that opportunity for checking occasional mistakes or rashness on the part of the Legislature. Now, subject to that the powers of the Legislature are absolute. But what is being spread about this? It is a useless reform!"

It is difficult to imagine that in the face of such categorical statements broad-based on the fundamental principles of democracy a querulous attitude could be persisted in and the pudding sought to be condemned before it is at all tasted.

The Dewan has repeatedly invited the State Congress to co-operate with the Scheme and fight the elections if they still choose to do so on the issue of joining the Indian Constituent Assembly. It is clear as daylight that independence should inevitably lead to greater solidarity and prosperity no less than to the extension of individual and civic rights in the State. But the invitation remains unanswered.

The Franchise Committee

THE Franchise Committee appointed in connection with the new constitutional set-up are pursuing their labours with the utmost expedition. An adult census for the adult suffrage which forms the most striking and basic feature of the new constitution is rapidly making headway. Hundreds of persons are now being interviewed by the Committee for formulation of proposals relating to franchise and delimitation. To expedite the processes of this complex task the Committee is now working in groups and a tour of the State to hear evidence is in progress.

Food, Fish and Fruit

THE Grow More Food Campaign has made substantial addition to the State's food resources. In one year, 1121 (1945-46), 867 acres of public wasteland

and 2,172 of private ownership were brought under tillage. In the same year, 12,636 packets of vegetable seeds, manures worth Rs. 556,700 and iron and steel, for making or repairing agricultural implements, worth Rs. 30,540, were distributed to ryots at specially reduced prices. There was also a considerable output of minor irrigation works. Provision of lift-irrigation based on electric power is converting a large extent of paddy-fields from one crop to two.

Government are watching with interest the growth of the Cocoanut Nursery Stations opened at Kazhakuttam and Vaikom in collaboration with the Indian Central Cocoanut Committee. Great importance is also attached to the experiment now being conducted for the cultivation of temperate fruits in the High Ranges of the State.

Sri Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, requesting His Highness the Maharaja to inaugurate the memorial festival, paid a moving tribute to the illustrious Maharaja who had his brief life of 34 years (1813-1847) filled with beauty and grief. In a striking passage in the speech, the Dewan referred to the singular circumstance that the Centenary of a great Maharaja who had suffered more than any other ruler of the State from the pinpricks and impediments of paramountcy and whose last years were consequently embittered by frustration had fittingly and happily synchronised with the termination of that paramountcy and the ushering in of a new era of sovereign and independent status for Travancore.

Brimful of loving reverence, was His Highness the Maharaja's address (please see page following) inaugurating the festival, an address that with a few happy strokes vividly presented to the audience the unfading lineaments of one "born to be king" but who not only ruled but made all life his domain and whose compositions have passed into the musical folklore of South India.

The memory of Sri Swati Tirunal is a national possession. His fame and patronage were known far and wide. There were always scholars and artists from China, Persia, Malaya, Turkey, Japan, Nepal and other countries, adorning and seeking encouragement at his court. He was at home in many languages, to mention some, Sanskrit, Persian, Telugu, Marathi, Hindustani. A passionate devotee of his family God, Sri Padmanabha, for whom his adoration frequently broke out in immortal flowers of melody, his catholocity and warm human sympathy yet knew no bounds.

A National Centenary

HIS Highness the Maharaja inaugurated the Sri Swati Tirunal Centenary Celebrations at the Swati Tirunal Academy of Music at Trivandrum on the afternoon of the 25th July 1947. The meeting was held in a fine shamiana on the premises of the Academy and was attended by a large and select audience from various parts of the State and outside places. There was a great gathering of famed musicians assembled to honour the occasion and pay tribute to the memory of the gifted Maharaja, of whom a lifelike portrait in oil colour occupying a prominent seat in the flowing pavilion, touched the scene with reminiscent sweetness. Her Highness the Maharani, His Highness the Elaya Raja and other members of the Royal Family, the Resident, Lieut. Col. Edwards and Mrs. Edwards were present.



MAHARAJA SRI SWATI TIRUNAL

The Swati Tirunal Academy of Music was founded eleven years ago for the study of the classic literature of music written by the illustrious ruler and is today the foremost singing University of the South. It largely owes its origin and growth to Her Highness the Maharani, a true descendant of the master, whose proficiency in the art and deep interest in the aesthetic potentialities of life have earned for Her Highness a high and merited place in the cultural life of India.

This great national festival of the State honours a name and work fit to raise and illumine, for all time.

Attempt on the Dewan

THE most craven, brutish and disgraceful attempt on the Dewan as he was leaving the shamiana after the first

concert of the Festival, so touchingly and ineffably innocent and unsuspecting, as indeed was the whole gathering immersed in the rare felicities of the occasion, most fortunately failed of its heinous aim, on account, so one likes to think, of the vastness of the intended crime in contrast with the vastness of the merit inhering in the person at whom it was so foully aimed. With thousands of others we thank Almighty God for the escape so providentially ordained.

The unspeakable seriousness of the offence can perhaps be measured by the deep and universal abhorrence it has at once and spontaneously evoked. While a detailed account will appear in the September *Travancore Information and Listener* we pray that the great soul may by the merciful blessing of God be restored fully and most speedily.

“MAN BORN TO BE KING.”

INAUGURATING THE SRI SWATI TIRUNAL
CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS AT TRIVANDRUM
ON THE 25TH JULY 1947, HIS HIGHNESS THE
MAHARAJA SPOKE AS FOLLOWS :

Your Highnesses, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

IT was with a sense of dutiful pride and pleasure that I accepted your invitation to inaugurate this festival. Maharaja Swati Tirunal is one of the most illustrious of my ancestors and although a century has elapsed since his demise, the glory of his name and work is not only undimmed but has acquired a new and larger halo. Today, Swati Tirunal is not just a memory but a vital element in the sphere of devotional and musical lore. He was, so to say,—“The man born to be King” and acclaimed as *Garbhasriman*. Richly endowed, and instinct with ripe culture as he was, his versatile gifts made him, even in his short life, the cynosure of all eyes.

On this occasion however, we are gathered to celebrate—not the Ruler—but the Royal Author of Music which will live as long as Carnatic Music lives. It is hardly necessary for me to say how both myself and my Government have felt it a sacred duty to preserve in print and secure wide popular currency to the varied musical legacy Maharaja Swati Tirunal has left behind. In his time and in the days immediately following, his music was rendered on appropriate occasions by contemporaries and their following and in temple festivals and social concerts they were in vogue vocally and instrumentally. But the passage of time led to neglect and text

and notation, both suffered unnoticed and even the authorship was sometimes forgotten. Let us therefore remember with gratitude that in His Late Highness's time pioneer work was done to print and rescue a good number of his compositions. May I also dutifully acknowledge the personal interest and understanding zeal with which my dear mother has, during the last ten years, laboured to restore and revivify the music of the great composer? It is not a small satisfaction to be able to say today that with the efforts of scholars like the late Dr. Muthia Bhagavathar and Rajyasevanirata Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer, the Swati Tirunal Academy has become a recognised institution for the study of classical music and the songs of the divinely inspired bards, Swati Tirunal and Tyagaraja, Dikshatar and Sama Sastri, are today carried to the attentive ear, wherever Carnatic Music is sung, through a gifted and distinguished galaxy of South Indian singers.

This Festival itself is planned for a gathering in Trivandrum, for the next one week, of some of the most notable personalities in Carnatic Music, vocal and instrumental, and I hope and pray that the programme of music, so thoughtfully arranged by the organisers of the Swati Tirunal Centenary Celebrations, may be the starting point of a fresh revival of the spacious days of art and beauty and of music, the most universal of the Fine Arts.

It is with very great pleasure that I inaugurate this Festival.

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INDEPENDENT TRAVANCORE*

By

Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

I am very glad to be able to meet in such a representative gathering very specially the members of the mercantile community of Travancore and leading businessmen, planters, bankers, importers and exporters. I propose, with your permission, Ladies and Gentlemen, to speak to you today in as practical and business-like a manner as possible on the problems, economic, financial and political—that are confronting the country at large, the Indian States in particular and even more particularly the Travancore State.

Before I do so, however, it is a matter for sincere satisfaction—and I wish to record that satisfaction in as unambiguous and unequivocal a manner as possible—it is, I say, a matter for sincere satisfaction that every point that has been hitherto made by the Indian States in this controversy that has been going on throughout the country—every point has been accepted and conceded by the British Parliament. I am not here chuckling over anything. I am not here rejoicing over any victory, but I submit that it is a great thing that after submission of the draft Bill by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten to the leaders of the Congress Party, to the leaders of the Muslim League Party and to His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, who are all summoned to Delhi, presumably—I am not in the secrets of Lord Mountbatten today—for the purpose of showing to them the draft Bill, the draft Bill has been presented to the British Parliament; and copies of that Bill which

have been published today indicate the consent of the Congress High Command, the consent of the Muslim League and the consent of the Indian States to propositions now put forward in that first reading of Parliament's Indian Independence Bill.

Let me analyse those aspects. I am reading from today's newspapers which contain a tremendous amount of interesting matter and I shall have to refer to a great deal of that matter in the course of my remarks. I trust that in view of the opposition and the stream of derision and vilification that has attended all efforts on the part of the States to explain their viewpoints, this great and representative assembly will give me some of their time and much of their patience.

Lapse of Suzerainty

Let us analyse Section 7, sub-section 2 (b) of the Bill presented to Parliament yesterday. "The suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses." That is, the King Emperor will have ceased on the midnight of August 14 to exist as such in the case of India. The suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses and, with it, all treaties and all agreements in force at the time of the passing of this Act, between His Majesty and the Rulers of the Indian States. It will be remembered that there was what was called the Butler Committee which is constantly quoted by my dear and intimate friend, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya as well as by the 'highlights' of the Congress—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel. They said, "Paramountcy is paramount and you accepted it. You are a slavish lot. What are you doing now?"

* Dewan's address to a representative gathering of businessmen and industrialists at Trivandrum on the 5th July 1947.

The position is this. The British Government with that instinct for tradition and that instinct and genius for compromise, which have characterised them individually, collectively and as a governmental machine, said very little expressly but said a great deal impliedly and meant more and gave more and more hints. They started the doctrine that treaties were not to be construed as treaties. You cannot look into the language and construe a treaty. A treaty means not only a treaty but custom that has inhered to a treaty, usage that has grown up alongside the treaty and sufferance:—what was not objected to must be taken to be consented to. If a particular Ruler was weak, if he was badly advised, if he kept quiet, if he had a stroke of paralysis, or if he had a long bout of illness and did not answer a particular reference from the Government of India, he "suffered" and that sufferance gave right to certain rights. That was the construction with regard to those treaties. I am glad to say that today Parliament has recognised the difficulty of analysing and differentiating treaty, usage, custom and sufferance. What does it say? "With the lapse of treaties and agreements in force, all functions exercisable by His Majesty with respect to Indian States are obligations." His Majesty the King Emperor gives up both his right and duty to protect the Indian States, and the treaties between the Indian States and the King Emperor and his predecessor, the East India Company, were entered into, whether on account of nervous potentates or some timorous rulers or their timorous Dewans, they were entered into for protecting the States against internal and external enemies. And therefore treaty rights began to be built up. The treaty rights were insisted on and the reason was the King Emperor, through his representative

—the Crown Representative or the Viceroy—promised protection to the Indian States. Therefore, they demanded obedience and conformity to the Resident's statements and assertions. That was protested against very strongly by many Rulers and now that protection is withdrawn. We shall no longer have any right to ask the British to protect us.

Protection : In Practice

Here I will pause for a moment and give you an anecdote to show what that protection actually meant in practice. It was in the year 1795 that Tippu Sultan was ravaging the West Coast of India. There was a Ruler of Travancore who got somewhat unduly nervous. He rushed up to the British Government and asked for troops to help him against a possible invasion by Tippu Sultan. Those troops were given on certain onerous conditions. The troops of Travancore, the troops of Hyderabad and the troops of British East India Company fought Tippu Sultan at Seringapatam. Tippu Sultan was killed in 1799. Again a nervous ruler, fearing that following Tippu Sultan there might be others like him, was advised by the Dewan—I consider very badly—to enter into a treaty with the British Government in 1805, six years after the death of Tippu Sultan. And what were the terms of the treaty? The British Government said that they would protect Travancore. How were they to protect her? By keeping a regiment in Quilon and another regiment in Trivandrum. Travancore had never been conquered, although Mr. Thanu Pillai says it was and will be and although my friend Mr. Varghese says it was or will be. Although Travancoreans outside the State say that Travancore has always been conquered and it is an insignificant power, no

Travancorean inside Travancore has fortunately said so. That treaty was meant to protect Travancore and the British Government agreed to keep one regiment in Quilon and another regiment in Trivandrum. That was in 1805. There was peace reigning in the land. In 1821, within 16 years of the signing of the treaty, the British Government removed the regiments from Quilon and Trivandrum, but insisted on our paying the 8 lakhs of rupees which were paid for the protection so that from 1821 to 1947, for a non-existent army brought into being for the purpose of protecting Travancore against a possible Tippu Sultan we have paid 1,000 odd lakhs of rupees. I trust that the British Government will repay some portion of it.

In Quitting

The position is this: that this obligation to protect the Travancore Government ceases. The British Government have yielded to the demands of the Congress Party to quit India and in the process of quitting India they are doing it somewhat hastily. They did not consult the States to whom they had extended protection. I am not quarrelling with them as to whether they can go away, giving up their protection or not—if the British want to go, if they want to quit India and will not even remember their treaties, let them go. I for one have made it clear that I shall not ask for Dominion Status on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja. I am prepared to be independent and stand "the peril of isolation"—I am quoting a favourite phrase which some of our friends use—because the people of Travancore are prepared no longer to seek protection from any one. They are prepared to protect themselves. If they are not, they do not deserve to live; they deserve to be anni-

hilated. Therefore, I for one do not quarrel, and shall not quarrel, if the British go away without saying a word to us to whom they had offered protection by the treaty of 1805. They did not consult us. The statement of February 3 was issued to a startled world without one day's previous consultation with His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore had paid crores of rupees for this war and crores of rupees for other purposes. He had sent 85,000 men from his State to the last war. He had sent a labour corps to build the Burma Road, but yet the first time His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore learnt of this announcement was from the newspapers along with you and me. But this is not the time when I should rake up all those matters. Suffice it to say that the British, without consulting their allies, have made up their minds to leave and have said they would leave. They say in this Act of Parliament which is coming into force shortly:—"All the obligations^w of His Majesty existing at that date on the midnight of the 14th August—towards Indian States or the Rulers thereof and all powers, rights, authority, jurisdiction, exercisable by His Majesty on that day in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage and sufferance or otherwise..." Therefore, it is, as I said, a most satisfactory feature that in the year of grace 1947, after having protected us in the manner indicated by me from 1821 to 1947, they are withdrawing their protection on the midnight of the 14th August 1947.

Only Provision

But that is by the way, I am glad to say that they go further.

"Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph

(c) of this sub-section, effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit, and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions

mark the words, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the Tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreement."

We have heard a great deal recently of the possibility that railways will be stopped. A very great statesman has said that there is a possibility of that. The *Hindu*, the foremost newspaper in the South of India, has stated so. "What does Sir Ramaswami Aiyar mean? Does he not contemplate the possibility of railways being stopped? My meek and humble answer to that is, there is a country called Ireland where the people of the North and the South are always at daggers drawn and Englishmen and women who have gathered here know more than myself of the conditions there. I have spent some of my days in the midst of the Sinn Fein at a beautiful spot where one of the leaders happened to be my host. Though the feelings of North and South Ireland had been very strained, we did not hear anything of the stopping of the railways between those parts of Ireland. We have not heard of the cessation of function in post offices of North and South Ireland. There was no difficulty for telegrams being sent from one part of Ireland to the other. But now it has been so stated in our case. Therefore, it is

some satisfaction that all the arrangements regarding customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs continue until they are denounced. I may say at once on behalf of His Highness that I have denounced the customs agreement so that it is no longer binding upon us.

Spate of Rumour

Before I go further, it is necessary for me to indicate that there is a subtle campaign now going on, a campaign of whispers insinuations, innuendoes and threats, vague but well defined, in our place. Last evening I received a very definite and rather panicky telephone message from Madras; it appears that His Highness the Maharaja was addressed by His Excellency Lord Mountbatten. It states that Lord Mountbatten suggested to His Highness that such a person as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar should not continue to defile Travancore and that his resignation must be immediately asked for. A similar thing was said 10 days ago about the Premier of Kashmir, that on the question of independence he resigned. A paper veraciously and emphatically stated about the Dewan there, that he had resigned and somebody else had been sent for to act on his behalf and that the latter would soon take charge and all the rest of it. The whole thing was a pure lie. There is a limit to all these things. I want to ask the Travancoreans, at all events, not to rely upon or to trust these rumours and tendentious ideas spread in the country. Now, on the other hand, I have heard equally panicky and I am certain equally unveracious things about a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs having been made available to my friend Mr. Varghese for propaganda and direct action. The name of the person who made available that money was mentioned to me. That happened the day before yesterday. I shall not now disclose his

name. Most probably you may have guessed it, I am sure, knowing Mr. T. M. Varghese as I do, knowing the other gentleman also as I do, who is a good friend of mine, that nothing would prevent him, if he thought that I was a traitor to his country, from giving 5 lakhs. He may give even 50 lakhs for this matter. Again, there is another class of rumour which you must discount. The third of the series is the "most poisonous" class of rumour and that is that Travancore is going to be starved into submission and that from tomorrow there will be no post office working in Travancore. There is also to be no telephone and so on and so forth. If that was the question regarding posts and telegraphs, it would be a small matter because, after all, as Napolean once said, if a letter did not bring an answer in two week's time, it would answer itself within that time as a general rule. The *Hindu* has suggested again that it is doubtful if Travancore and Hyderabad can survive till August: the Central Government has taken away all the rice from Sind and that it will be difficult for those States to get any rice. The Central Government had known all this before and so they had taken all the rice from the Sind area. A very good friend of mine, a prominent Muslim leader of Pakistan, who has come down here will bear me out as to whether all the rice has been taken away from that part of India, or whether it will be made available for Travancore. I do not want him to answer now, but he can answer privately. But what do you find in the papers? Statements that Travancore will

be starved are often featured in newspapers. I assure you today, Ladies and Gentlemen, that I have the highest authority to say that no other part of India will be better placed in regard to rice than Travancore. (*Hear, hear.*) I go further and say that many parts of India will get their supplies of rice only after the 15th August, after Travancore has had its rice supply. I can assure you of that, from the very highest authority. I am saying that in the presence of persons who will contradict me if I am wrong.

The Madras Scene

But before I leave that subject this afternoon, I may refer to another of the leading newspapers of South India, namely the *Indian Express*. In bold characters it has put INDIAN INDEPENDENCE on the facing sheet. It is a close adherent of the Congress High Command. The Madras Premier, Mr. Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar, flung a challenge to Travancore the other day and is reported to have said at the Srivilliputur Conference that the Provincial Government had placed their case before the Food Member of the Interim Government and they were sending their representative on July 5, i. e., today, to urge the Central Government that, if they could not help his Province, they should allow the Provincial Government to pursue an independent policy of their own regarding food. He has also said that his government desired to abolish informal rationing in rural parts and to fix higher prices for paddy from the next crop year. This he considered would induce land-owners to bring lands growing commercial crops

under paddy cultivation. He also expressed the idea that the problems facing the ministry were many, but it was impossible to tackle all of them simultaneously. If, without realising the complexity of the problem confronting the ministry, people continued to find fault with him or his government he was prepared to resign. Such are the utterances of the Madras Ministry, a ministry which was ushered into existence by the ministrations of the Congress High Command and after getting rid of the Prakasam ministry. In the end, it was stated by the Premier that people must realise all this and show patience. So after this, I do not want to say anything more. But I am sure that the plight of Travancore is not much worse than the plight of Madras, notwithstanding its steadfast allegiance to the fitful policies of the Congress High Command.

Enigmatic Reference

Coming to the statement of Lord Listowel, a very recent statement, it is rather unfortunate that such a statement has been now made. The British Government have expressed their desire to go away on the 14th August 1947. They say that they will give up their rights and their obligations as well as their treaty position. On the question of Indian States, Lord Listowel said "Only two States have so far declared for complete independence—Hyderabad and Travancore." Evidently Lord Listowel, the Secretary of State, does not keep himself in touch with the day-to-day developments in India. There is Kashmir which has declared its independence. It has an area of about 84,000 sq. miles and a population of over 4 million. Lord Listowel must change his Private Secretary for not being posted with correct information on Indian affairs. He said, "We hope they will join

up with one of the Constituent Assemblies." The same Lord Listowel stated three weeks ago that there was absolutely no harm in the States remaining independent. I do not know what has happened within this period. But the Associated Press message places only such facts before us. It sometimes, not very often, is guilty of slight suppression of essential facts and this is the news about the Indian States. That sentence was not reported in an earlier message. Today the report gives the following version :

"Quite a number have already joined, others will join shortly. These are the only two States out of 600. We could not make up our minds regarding these two States as we did not want to prejudice the choice of other States....."

I want my good friends to ponder over those words, the words of the Secretary of State for India, speaking at a Press Conference last evening. Let me read that. "We cannot make up our minds etc." I think this is a correct report. If it is not a correct report or a true transcript, my humble and fervent apologies are hereby conveyed to the Secretary of State. But I am proceeding on the assumption that the report is correct. Let me read it, because I am so puzzled, so full of consternation at these things, probably because I am not getting the correct perspective of that statement. "We cannot make up our minds regarding these two States as we do not want to prejudice the choice of the others." The Secretary of State was nervous lest other States might also declare independence and therefore he has kept back his pronouncement of opinion until other States joined! It is a most uncharitable construction. But I will read it and if there is any other construction, I am quite

willing that any member of the audience should correct me. I must still read it because my brain is puzzled over this matter." "We cannot make up our minds regarding these two States, (That is Travancore and Hyderabad), as we do not want to prejudice the choice of other States." Lest there should be any ambiguity, I shall read one more sentence which is still more puzzling. "We want to encourage them to join"—mark the words—"We do not want to encourage them not to join" (Laughter). The whole sentence must be read together, so that the complexity and the perfection of language and of ideas may be adequately appreciated. I am still labouring at that task. There

* "Adverting to Lord Listowel's speech at the Press Conference in London with reference to Travancore, I wish to emphasise on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, who has the overwhelming mass of public opinion behind him in the most highly educated State in South Asia, that Travancore cannot be forced to join a Dominion whose leaders have, at this critical juncture in world history, established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic."

"This step cannot but be followed by the establishment of Russian Embassies and Consulates all over India with results that need not be detailed. Within 50 miles of Travancore are the main centres of Communist influence in South India. The new diplomatic set-up will afford immense facilities for infiltration of Communist propaganda, money and violent activities which have already been notorious in Cochin and British Malabar. The step taken by the Interim Government is all the more strange in view of the past declarations of Congress leaders.

STATE'S SPECIAL TRADE POSITION

"Travancore's economic and commercial position is special to itself. Its main imports will be from Burma, Pakistan, the Middle East, England and America and will be of the order of twenty million pounds per year.

are only two States and—"We acnnot make up our minds regarding these two States as, etc.,

That is Lord Listowel. But I am informing* Lord Listowel from this far-off corner of India that there are very important reasons, reasons of a business character, from a purely practical point of view, which preclude us from joining the Union without safeguards or agreements or treaties, and that is what I am going to prove to you today.

Excellent Friends

Pardon me, Ladies and Gentlemen, for having made these prefatory observations which are perhaps more emotional

"Its imports from the Indian Dominion will be relatively very small. Its exports will be to the Indian Dominion and the Pakistan Dominion and England and America and will be of the order of twenty-seven million pounds per year.

"The balance of trade has been and will always be in favour of Travancore which can thus command dollar and sterling credit without difficulty. An independent fiscal and commercial policy is essential for Travancore although the State has offered to co-operate with the two Dominions and to enter into the most friendly treaty and other relations with them in regard not only to defence and communications but also such matters as public health, education and research.

The Independence of Travancore is essential for its existence and for the maintenance of those high standards of life, education and public health which are more easily realisable in this State than elsewhere in India.

"The recent statesmanlike utterances of Sardar Patel and the President of the All-India States People's Conference have partially realised these aspects and are in refreshing contrast to previous bellicose statements."

than befits this practical occasion. But I cannot possibly understand why a great country like England giving up its obligations and rights without inviting the other party to the contract should not speak unambiguously. I should have thought it right on their part to say, "Well, we do not care for you any longer. We have received tremendous help from you. But we want to trade with our opponents. You and I have been friends, too often, too consistently, but we are not very much concerned with that. We do not bother over that." That is in fact what they have done. But if they have done so, it is all right. But let it not lull us into a sense of false security, Ladies and Gentlemen, let my remark be not misunderstood and misconstrued. I have said a hundred times, and I say it again, that I honour the individual Englishman. Of course that means the Englishman, the Scotchman, the Irishman and the Welshman. I honour them individually. They are fine businessmen. I have done business administratively with many Englishmen, who were my subordinates as Secretaries in the various posts I have held. I have done business with them as my colleagues in Government. When the Mettur Scheme was started, when the Pykara Scheme was going on, when the Bhavani project was being worked out, when the Vizagapattam Harbour was started, when the negotiations for the Cochin Harbour were taking place, on all those occasions, my colleagues and subordinates were these gentlemen and I have individually done business with them. As friends, they are superb. But as a Government they are undependable. That is definitely my verdict after forty years of experience with Englishmen. I can enter into any business terms with them: they will not break their word. If they came into

business agreement, I know they will fulfil the terms of the agreement. But if they came into governmental position, if they are put into governmental position, they make themselves members of a party and these political parties and manoeuvres somehow overtake the British Government, and we have had experience of it. In 1917, in 1919, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1940, 1941, 1945 and 1946, at all these Conferences—I was a member at every one of these Conferences—they consulted their friends to start with and then finally made agreements with their enemies. That is a fact, but I am not going to say anything more. They are going. As a Government they are going. I am not going to ask the individual Englishmen to go. I want them. His Highness esteems their co-operation and their comradeship. I am now negotiating with some English interests for certain very big items of business which I shall presently indicate. If they extend their friendly co-operation and if the Government of England does not stand in the way, that co-operation will be welcome. If the British Government stand in their way, that co-operation will be sought elsewhere at any peril or risk. I wish to make that absolutely clear.

Independence of both Ruler and Subject

And now my friends, let me take you through certain figures before I go further. Some people have come to me and said, "You are arguing for Travancore's independence. Whose independence is that? Is it the Maharaja's independence, or the peoples' independence? Is it the peoples' independence or Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's independence?" As these questions have been put to me, I say they are perfectly legitimate and I will answer them before I go further. It is the independence of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and

his people. It is not the independence of an old man of 67, who has no place after independence is secured in Travancore. When the new constitution begins to work, he must be out of it because he will not fit into that picture. It is not therefore the independence of this man of 67, but the independence of His Highness the Maharaja and the people of Travancore. Will they jettison or prevent it? It is for Travancoreans to answer. It is for the business man to give a lead and guidance in that matter. I have already stated on more than one platform that there is just at present the sitting of the Franchise Committee for the purpose of discussing the franchise for this new reform based on adult suffrage for the Lower House and functional and facultative representation for the Upper House. The great High Command of the Congress and all other people, who have poured in tremendous amount of criticism over Travancore's functional representation for her Upper House, have now consented to functional representation for their Upper House. Our reforms will come into operation in the course of some months and they are based on adult suffrage for the Lower House and they are based on the doctrine that the will of the Legislature will be carried out automatically by the Executive and that His Highness and the Dewan advising His Highness will only intervene in serious cases, as the Congress High Command is now intervening in serious cases, for instance, overruling handloom deliveries, changing ministers, etc., as in Madras. The Congress in Madras finds that it cannot run the daily government and it has to be pulled up every other day. I do not see why His Highness or His Highness's constitutional advisers should not have that opportunity for checking occasional mistakes or rashness on the part of the Legislature. Now, subject to that,

the powers of the Legislature are absolute. But what is being spread about this? It is a useless reform! The people have rejected it; the Congress High Command has stated that the people of Travancore have rejected it; let us not talk about it.

Better Called worse

Not many days ago there appeared a report in the *Hindu*. I am sorry I have to refer to it definitely more than once and that was about the Udaipur reforms. The Udaipur reforms are the product of the intelligence and genius of Mr. K. M. Munshi, the constitutional adviser to the Constituent Assembly, one of the most informed persons in the Congress circles. That constitution proceeds on the basis that Sri Parameswarji Eklingji Maha Raj of Udaipur is the sovereign ruler. When I said that His Highness the Maharaja's predecessor Maha Raja Martanda Varma dedicated Travancore to his tutelary deity, Sri Padmanabha, and that his title was *Sri Padmanabha Dasa* and that this State was technically and in law the property of Sri Padmanabha, unlimited scorn was poured upon me. Here is a reactionary trotting out the divine right of kings! My friend Sir Alladi was very eloquent on this divine right of kings. Let us see what these Udaipur reforms, sponsored, drafted, promulgated and advocated by Mr. K. M. Munshi who is in touch with the inner circles, the innermost—I shall not quote Dante, because he referred to the other portions of the world, the hell and not the heavens—the arcana, of the High Command. What is the constitution for Udaipur? The sovereignty of the State, according to the first Section, vests in Sri Parameswarji Eklingji Maha Raj. That is the name of the family deity of the Ruler. Coming from the Congress, it is good law, good

doctrine, good constitution, it is good everything. But coming from Travancore, it is advocacy of the hated 'divine right of kings. "The Maharaja is the sole representative of Sri Padmaji...", it is not my words. It is Mr. K. M. Munshi's—and "He exercises all rights and authority which are or which appertain or are incidental to such sovereignty.' Then it goes on. "Fourteen people out of 56 are elected by the general electorate for the Lower House." And that is the constitution for Udaipur. Lest I should be thought to be exaggerating, honourable members who are present here may turn to the issue of the *Hindu* dated Monday, June 30, and look into this question of the Udaipur reforms and they will see that the divine right of kings, the right of the Maharaja, is preserved. Fourteen members are given seats in the general electorate out of the 56. Ten members are from among landholders; six are nominated and so on and so forth and fourteen members are the residual men. In the new reforms for Travancore, there are no nominated members. All are elected. In Travancore, in neither House is there a single nominated member. All are elected. But I am not a member of the Congress High Command; nor am I a constitutional adviser of that High Command. I leave the matter there.

Before I go further, I may refer to a letter I received from the Resident, Col. Edwards, dated 4th July. "The number of persons recruited from the State in the Indian Army during the last war is 81,304. The number of persons belonging to the Travancore State Forces who served during the last War is 4,309. Our contribution to the belligerent Forces is 7,805. About 75 to 80 thousand people were sent to build the Burma Road."

A Sample of News

I would mention one more matter. My friend Mr. Siva Rao, the Special Correspondent of the *Hindu* in New Delhi, has surprised us by the sudden report that Sir Mohammed Zafrullah, who was my colleague in various capacities and who is in England today, has been given two lakhs of rupees by the Travancore State. Why has he gone to England? He has gone there as the Legal Adviser of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. Mr. Siva Rao says that he is very much surprised to hear that I have given such a large amount on false grounds. I should have been very glad if he had gone as a representative of this State. It was only after he went to England that I knew that he had gone to England. I would have done whatever was possible if His Highness of Bhopal had really asked for such an amount. But in fact he knows His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore only too well. It was never asked, it was never given. But I did not even know that Sir Mohammed was going to England. The report is meant to imply that the Travancore Government and His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and myself are not above tricks which are not to the satisfaction of the Congress High Command though it doesn't say so. Human memories are short and imaginations are apt to run riot. But there must be a limit.

Now, apart from the manufacturing of these items of news, the other point is, why is Travancore so haughty and so arrogant in this national work? Why does it stand on its own feet? Why does it not go to the Congress High Command and ask for their advice? The Congress is responsible for any political awakening in the country. Let me tell you what has happened. I have

been to Delhi very often. I am personally acquainted with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Mahatma Gandhi and so many others. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and myself had been co-vice-presidents of the Home Rule League. I was the first person to meet Mahatma Gandhi on his return from South Africa. We had not differed on any fundamental policies. On May 1st, 1947, *i.e.*, when I last went to Delhi I got a telephone message. I went by air. I landed at Delhi at about 7 o'clock. It was on the same day that I received the telephone message from Sardar Vallabhai Patel, saying that he was writing a letter to me urgently. I shall read the letter :

" My dear Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar,

It is my nature to be a friend of the friendless. You have become so by choice and I shall be glad if you will come and have lunch with me tomorrow at 1 P. M. Hope you are doing very well."

My answer was this : Here is the letter :

" My dear Sardar Patel,

I appreciate your letter and the kindly thought underlying it. It however happens that the "friendless" person referred to has an engagement with a friend for lunch today and he cannot therefore avail himself of your generous invitation.

Hoping for better luck later on and renewing my thanks for the friendliness displayed by you, etc."

A Sensational Story

One more item and this is a very staggering one from the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay. Here is news that one thousand armoured vehicles have been despatched to Travancore. It is said that the entire depot was working late on Saturday and Sunday.

Enquiries reveal that the depot has acted according to instructions from the General Headquarters at Delhi. I asked my good friend Col. Edwards. Paramountcy is running away and the British Government withdrawing only on the 14th August. I have known Lord Auchinleck for 15 years and we are intimate friends. I should be surprised that my good friend has sent a trunk telephone to Bombay for the despatch of armoured vehicles to invade our unfortunate State, especially at a time when the British Government is supposed to be retreating. The Treaty of 1805 is still in force, and will continue to be in force until the midnight of the 14th August. This treaty is a treaty assuring assistance in times of need, *i.e.*, when we are attacked by anybody they will be helping us. But they are not to invade us. It is said that they have engaged one thousand motor vehicles to be rushed into Travancore for the invasion of this State. Now this is the kind of campaign with which I have to deal.

Wealth of a Country

Now I should deal with the business side. What is the wealth of a country ? I take it that it is its products, which are exportable, thereby producing some money, which can buy imports to satisfy its needs. What are the exports and imports of Travancore ? I have taken the figures and here I want my good friends of the Press to take a little more care. They may compress the previous portions of my statement, but they must publish these figures in their detailed form. Some of my friends may be nervous to have these defamatory statements in their papers. The figures that I am giving now should be sent out all over India so that there may not be any misunderstanding in the matter. What are the main imports of Travancore ?

Cashewnuts come first. Cashewnuts are imported into Travancore for the purpose of getting them ready for export. The Americans have developed a taste for cashewnut. Mr. P. S. George is here, the gentleman who is mainly concerned with the business. He came back from the United States a few days ago. He may resolve the situation. In 1938-39 we imported cashewnuts worth 34 lakhs of rupees; in 1939-40 the amount was 45 lakhs; the next year the amount rose to 1 crore and 45 lakhs. In 1945-46 it was 1 crore and 98 lakhs. The industry is developing because there is a great demand for cashewnut. It is not one of the necessities but it increases our national wealth.

The Rice Position

The most necessary commodity that we import is rice. Our import figures are also considerably increasing. In the year 1938-39 it was Rs. 1 crore, in 1939-40, 2 crores, in 1945-46 it has been 4 crores odd. It is due to the fact that we do not produce sufficient rice because of the great density of our population. We do not produce enough for our needs. Therefore, we had always been importing rice from Burma or some part of India such as Sind and the Punjab. It is clear that today the only parts of India which can export rice are Sind and the Punjab. Bengal has stated that its harvests are very poor and therefore it is a deficit area. So Sind and the Punjab are the only surplus areas at present. We get our rice from Sind and the Punjab and Burma. We do not need any rice from any part of the Indian Dominion

or Hindustan. I am mentioning this clearly because my good friends of the Congress threatened me, when I was in Delhi, with immediate starvation. Therefore, I arranged my meeting with my good friend Mr. Jinnah. I have been a very constant and very firm opponent of Pakistan. I consider that dangerous from the point of view of India, nationally and internationally. I tried my very best to fight against Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah knows it. But the Congress has made a present of Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah. They got shaken and lost their nerve and they consented to hand over Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah. I fought against Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. But Mr. Jinnah, by his courage and tremendous and conspicuous resoluteness, has won. I have told Mr. Jinnah about it and there are men here who will correct me if I am wrong. I told him, "We are threatened with starvation. Are you prepared to help us? Will you give us rice because you produce it. But I am not going to enter into an agreement with you alone. I am going to enter into mutual arrangements with Hindustan also when it comes into being." With that courage and magnanimity which distinguishes a true leader, Mr. Jinnah said, "You need not be afraid for your rice so long as Sind and the Punjab fall within the Pakistan area." I know that he will keep his promise. I trust him.

Balance of Trade

The Middle East is a great market for tea. It is a great exporter of oil. I can go to those fields. Now what are the other imports?

Comparative statements of principal articles imported into Travancore during 1114, 1115, 1120 and 1121.

No. S.	Articles.	Value (B. Rs.)			
		1114 (1938-39)	1115 (1939-40)	1120 (1944-45)	1121 (1945-46)
1	Cashewnut	34,39,806	45,68,014	1,48,68,846	1,90,29,587
2	Rice	2,27,18,345	3,09,50,720	6,35,68,295	4,65,06,118
3	Paddy	16,68,860	16,07,494	53,25,750	6,78,200
4	Liquors	3,07,485	2,50,429	2,09,404	6,16,546
5	Provisions	2,53,194	4,11,630	13,20,898	13,90,240
6	Sugar	15,81,506	13,46,684	36,26,189	47,11,828
7	Spices	17,00,590	17,64,214	65,61,726	66,05,861
8	Tobacco	35,95,068	32,57,710	1,14,91,261	1,61,52,880
9	Textiles	1,20,42,150	91,69,924	3,05,71,028	3,99,31,134
10	Kerosene	50,37,252	47,92,830	53,52,864	49,10,158
11	Petrol	32,46,880	31,86,911	36,51,009	49,82,549
12	Metals and ores	15,54,511	12,53,646	60,87,707	1,38,15,431
13	Machinery	7,15,784	8,38,547	24,46,476	67,18,179
14	Instruments, apparatus etc.	28,81,712	31,03,459	42,03,578	60,69,809
15	Hardware	5,63,339	4,63,669	44,30,451	39,30,287
16	Other articles including treasure	1,50,36,002	2,60,85,768	11,95,43,446	13,06,96,783
	Total	7,63,42,484	9,30,51,649	28,32,58,921	30,67,45,593

NOTE:—Item 16 includes mainly grains other than rice and paddy, chemicals and medicines, mineral oils other than kerosene and petrol, vehicles, building and engineering materials etc.

The rise of imports during 1120 and 1121 is mainly due to high prices.

*Comparative statement of principal articles exported
from Travancore*

Serial No.	Articles.	Value. (B. Rs.)			
		1114	1115	1120	1121
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Betelnuts	17,60,122	12,33,475	68,58,405	64,25,199
2	Cardamoms	13,27,447	5,88,995	45,21,758	28,25,418
3	Cane Jaggery	3,71,864	3,77,037	7,650	12,56,430
4	Cashew-kernels	64,64,653	99,69,156	2,54,24,440	3,81,24,000
5	Cocoanut	11,12,925	10,29,132	32,44,055	84,16,560
6	Cocoanut oil	64,43,451	69,40,307	3,50,28,050	4,82,89,830
7	Coffee	1,49,356	75,107	13,62,350	2,01,390
8	Coir	1,78,46,019	2,12,30,184	4,03,00,685	6,33,71,742
9	Copra	39,98,849	27,85,597	61,50,049	1,44,31,543
10	Fish	20,92,470	24,59,638	1,20,76,018	1,27,79,250
11	Ginger	20,38,642	11,86,310	51,26,624	45,41,395
12	Hides and Skins	3,69,970	6,38,389	13,94,305	10,96,330
13	Palmyra jaggery	3,20,344	2,21,934	75	1,150
14	Lemon grass oil	6,84,658	7,68,304	36,33,260	1,01,75,460
15	Pepper	33,03,586	49,00,099	1,13,28,189	2,58,34,220
16	Punnac	8,84,326	6,43,770	20,34,198	20,30,003
17	Rubber	78,65,562	84,06,904	3,02,84,800	2,36,97,210
18	Sugar refined	4,33,072	5,43,704
19	Tamarind	2,03,216	92,599	6,20,100	15,17,715
20	Tea	2,08,87,817	2,24,93,935	4,05,75,911	4,36,10,491
21	Timber	9,90,514	15,66,850	51,85,994	60,66,625
22	Turmeric	2,98,525	3,58,182	1,98,490	5,11,415
23	Monazite	3,20,617	5,04,370	3,51,860	25,700
24	Ilmenite	31,30,857	27,34,597	44,06,650	31,07,913
25	Zircon	32,127	2,62,603	31,587	2,00,707
26	Sillimanite	9,250	4,705	...	1,010
27	All-other articles (including treasure)	1,24,60,337	66,12,535	7,98,58,012	6,91,32,935
	Total	9,58,00,576	11,16,66,753	34,90,53,465	38,10,41,641

If British India does not take some of these exports I know there are other parts of the world which are only too anxious to take them. If you go to any Hindu house in the Punjab, you will find the house-owner keeping one cocoanut in the corner of his house for the purpose of performing *pooja*.

A cocoanut is necessary as offering to the deity. But there is no sufficient supply of cocoanut in those parts. When they get a cocoanut they keep it in cold storage and bring it out for the *pooja*. Arrangements can be made for the export of cocoanut to the Punjab, Sind, N. W. Frontier

Province and other places so that we need not depend on British India. We need not depend on British Indian markets for the purchase of our rubber. There is going to be a boycott. But it may be a boycott to buy from us. I am a true and a great believer in commercial transactions between nation and nation. Therefore, these people who talk of boycott may remember that the trade balance is in our favour, that our imports from elsewhere are greater than from the Indian Dominion, that our exports to elsewhere may also be said to be greater than to the Indian Dominion.

Rubber

Now the question has been put forward with regard to the sale of rubber and the position of the rubber cultivator. The Government of India and this Government have entered into a general arrangement which was ratified only three or four weeks ago, by which legislation has been passed to prevent dumping of rubber at an uneconomic rate into India from Malaya and for developing rubber cultivation and the use of Indian rubber. But assuming for a moment that the Indian Dominion would not carry out that agreement, I assure the rubber cultivators that the Government of Travancore were prepared and are prepared to buy at a fair price all the rubber that is produced in the State. I want to make it clear without any possibility of ambiguity that the Government of Travancore are prepared today and now—should there be any difficulty in carrying out the rubber agreement which has been entered into between the Government of India and the Travancore Government—this Government are prepared to buy at a fair price from the cultivators and producers of rubber all the rubber they produce. The Government will take upon themselves the

responsibility of marketing and exporting that rubber.

Dollar and Sterling

I go further. This Government propose, for reasons which I shall endeavour to point out presently, to take charge of all foreign exchange operations as well. My friend, Mr. P. S. George, who has just returned from the U. S. A., startled me this morning when he said that in the last few years 75 million dollar credit accrued to India from cashewnut trade alone. In other words, American dollars to the extent of 75 million were taken advantage of by the Government of India by the process that has been pursued. The cashewnut factory working in Quilon exports cashewnut to America, sells them in terms of the dollar and that dollar goes into the dollar pool in London. That is translated into sterling and comes back to us as rupees, and Mr. P. S. George or somebody else gets those rupees and the Indian Government gets the advantage of the 75 million dollar credit. This has been going on year after year. We shall not do it hereafter. Similar is the case with coir. Rs. 250,000 worth of mineral sand goes either to England or America year by year and they do not complain of want of harbour facilities. They want monazite, ilmenite, zircon etc. Five to seven thousand tons of zircon have been exported from Koilthottam. Koilthottam is not a harbour in any sense of the word. But if you can give sand, ships will export it from Koilthottam. One often sees steamers there. The other day there was a steamer at Colachel for taking mineral sand, even after the monsoon had started. America wants ilmenite, zircon and monazite and sends ships for taking them. All this means that the dollar credit in New York which should be ours has been all these years

utilised in London. If we had adopted the method which is going to be adopted in a month from now, the people of Travancore would have got 75 million dollar credit ; foreign exchange and international trade would be at our feet, provided we know how to organise our international trade. That is what we propose to do. We do not propose to interfere with the freedom of contract. Hereafter the State will take over the credit. We will get the shipping documents and the export will be made on behalf of the Travancore Government. We will get a dollar credit, and having got the dollar credit we will purchase machinery. In other words, we will send coir to America ; we will send cashew-nut to America. We will tell them, "We have got dollar credit. Give us your machinery in exchange for our coir or cashewnut." That will become a question of barter, not even a question of exchange. That is what we propose to do.

We find that not only in respect of this particular thing alone ; Travancore imports petrol and if we impose an import duty on petrol, kerosene and rice we will get a net income of 4 crores. In respect of ilmenite, monazite and other minerals we will get another 4 crores by way of export duty. After the independence of Travancore becomes a *fait accompli*, we automatically become one of the most powerful countries in the world so far as dollar credit and sterling credit are concerned. We would get it automatically whether we like it or not.

Cleanliness and Textiles

Finally, I wish to say that England had many transactions with India and had many special transactions with Travancore. Formerly England supplied textiles. People

in this hall who have come with such white garments, men and women alike, would think that it is a fad not very common in other parts of the country. The people of Travancore bathe every day ; they believe in water ; and they also believe in washing their clothes. The net result of these combined habits is that they are handsome to look at and go about in white clothes. Formerly these white clothes came from Lancashire. On account of the boycott started by Mahatma Gandhi, Lancashire collapsed and today Lancashire is in a desperate plight. I want to make it definitely clear to England that if the Congress High Command starts economic boycott against Travancore, Travancore will buy rice from Sind and the Punjab and textiles from England, provided the latter sells textiles at a fair price. We shall not be dependent on the Bombay textile magnates. I want to impress this fact on the people.

Loss from 1865 Convention

If we import textiles from England, that will give us about $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores per year by way of import duty, so that I am considering whether it is necessary for us to have any other taxation. We really do not want much taxation. Travancore Government today has literally more money than it knows what to do with. The Government has built up its reserves. We borrowed some of the money at 3 per cent in order to buy machinery from England and America. On account of labour strikes, political preoccupations and other causes, we are not able to get that machinery. Today because of the working of the Inter-portal Trade Convention, which we entered into in 1865, and the Cochin Harbour Agreement which we entered into in 1921, we are debarred from getting more than 7 or 8 crores of total revenue per year.

Practically no other taxation will be necessary when we get our full import and export duties. This Government can give up income tax and super tax next year or the year after that. Practically it will be possible to give up income tax the year after. In 1865 the Government of India wanted free trade. That was the Gladstonian period when, on many platforms from London to Edinburgh, people went about tub-thumping and proclaiming the glories of free trade—glories which faded very soon. In pursuance of the Gladstonian doctrine of free trade, the Government of India approached the maritime States in 1865 and told them "You must not levy more than a certain portion of the import duty; you must not levy more duties than five per cent." The Paramount Power wrote letters; they made it clear that they would regard those States which did not come into line as unsocial, unphilanthropic and unhumanitarian. They prevented the levying of our export duties after 1865. Until 1865 the Travancore State had the right to levy import and export duties. No other State had those rights. The Cochin State does not have so much of sea coast. On account of the Interportal Convention of 1865 we get now Rs. 40,000 per year and we have given up our own right to levy import and export duties. In the year 1865 the total trade of Travancore was in the neighbourhood of 1½ to 2 crores. Rs. 40,000 out of that was not very small. But now our foreign trade is in the neighbourhood of 68 crores and we can easily get 8 to 9 crores out of that. Instead of that we get only Rs. 40,000. And that has been the case from 1865 and it will go on until the 14th August 1947.

Lease Signed with Blood

We have an agreement called the Periyar Lease of 1895. We have a river called the

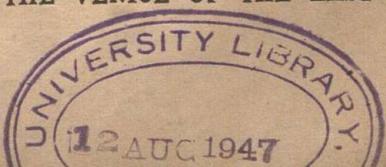
Periyar River. The Ramnad District was suffering from famine. So the British Government said that it is the right and duty of this State to enter into a treaty for giving water to the famine-stricken districts. Otherwise they said we would be unpatriotic, un-national and un-Hindu. So the Periyar Agreement was entered into. The river was dammed and it was diverted to British India. We were asked to enter into a treaty for the very short period of 999 years, and we were to be paid compensation for the waters that were being taken away. They are now getting Rs. 29 lakhs as income from irrigation cess alone and Ramnad is one of the richest parts of the country. And we are getting in return only Rs. 45,000 from 1895 onwards. That agreement I trust will also lapse. We do not want to deprive Ramnad of the waters of the Periyar. But surely a better bargain could be made. Now I can reveal that His Highness the the Maharaja was advised by his Dewan at the time, who had ambitions elsewhere. Before he signed that agreement, His Highness has placed on record, "I am signing this agreement with my blood." Notwithstanding all that has happened, we have stuck to our tradition of loyalty, our alliances, our treaties and our agreements.

Conjoint Action for Common Ends

Now the question is: If the English go in August, should we come under the yoke of anybody, however humanitarian, philanthropic or lofty-minded, without pausing and considering where our interests lie? We propose merely to do so. There has been wild talk about isolationism. There has been talk and discussion regarding our unneighbourly conduct, regarding our want of patriotism. It is not the object of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore to wage war. There have



A CANAL SCENE AT ALLEPPEY, THE VENICE OF THE EAST





TANGASSERY is a picturesque spot near Quilon. The Chinese, the Portuguese and the Dutch have left their imprints here. The walls of the old cemetery are the only evidences of the former glory of Tangassery. A lighthouse at Tangassery erected in 1902 as a warning against the treacherous reefs stands out as a landmark.

been wars enough that have been waged. There have been wars enough in the offing, already in a long-suffering world. It is not the object of the Maharaja of Travancore to start a war. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru abuses us and says. 'What is this little Travancore going to do? Does it want to have defensive alliances with foreign powers?' I ask, "If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his most talented and high-minded sister enter into relations with Russia, should we automatically become friends with Russia by coming into the Union? or should we pause and reflect and make up our minds after some kind of cogitation and ratiocination?" I submit that there is only one answer to that question. For the safety of India as a whole we shall pay our contribution; we are prepared to see that we will work with you harmoniously in many things, posts, telegraphs and communications. But we do not want ambassadors to be sent from Travancore. There are two ambassadors, one, Mr. Abdul Karim Sahib and the other, Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai. I do not want to send ambassadors all round the world. His Highness does not want that, I know. We have no such desires. But we have definitely the idea that we should be consulted in matters of defence and foreign relations and communications. I will go further. I have maintained that much more important and much more vital to the interests of the nation is public health. Wars know their boundaries. They have sea frontiers, land frontiers, and even air obstructions like the Himalayas. But malaria knows no frontiers and no territorial distinctions. Typhoid knows no natural frontiers. All India must therefore combine to face public health problems and solve them. All India must combine to solve its great educational and research problems. All India must

join together to solve the transit and transport problems for the purpose of transporting food and cloth and many other things that matter. In all these things, Travancore has expressed its desire, its fervent desire and its anxiety to work as one—not in a spirit of isolation to the rest of India—with the two Dominions of India, the Dominions which have mainly come into existence on account of the indefatigable efforts of the Congress. But to work in harmony, to work in co-operation, to work in conjunction is one thing. To be dragooned, to be frightened, to be threatened, to be bullied and to be calumniated is another. Are the people behind the Government of Travancore? Are the people behind His Highness the Maharaja in this work of self-preservation, self-vindication and self-determination, to use that much abused word? Are they with the Maharaja or are they not? If they are with the Maharaja, the cause is sacred and has to be fought for. If they are not with the Maharaja, the Maharaja would suffer, and the people would suffer. The die is cast. The alternative is with the people. I feel sure that the alternative that will be chosen will be an alternative which will redound to the glory, the renown of Travancore and to the peace, prosperity and progress of the world which is interknit and intertwined notwithstanding temporary frontiers of nationalities and countries. (Applause.)

Questions: Shipping Facilities

The Dewan then invited questions from those present. Mr. P. S. George (Quilon) wished to know what harbour and shipping facilities would be available for export trade if Travancore became independent. The Dewan replied that every effort will be made to improve the landing and shipping facilities at our ports. A sum of

Rs. 20 lakhs allotted for the improvement of the Alleppey port has already been handed over to the Landing and Shipping Committee. If they wanted not only Rs. 20 lakhs but even Rs. 50 lakhs that would have been available to them. I have worked on several landing and shipping committees in the past. I have gone further. You know what happened at Dover and other places during the war. There were temporary structures for loading and unloading vast quantities of food-stuffs, ammunition and other things. We have also begun to utilise some of those appliances in the case of Alleppey and Quilon harbours, so that pending permanent construction, we may have these temporary expedients. Negotiations are still pending. I am not in a position to give further details just at present. I am expecting some details shortly and then I may be able to make an announcement on that matter. But Mr. George may rest assured that it will be the duty as well as the responsibility of the State to see that proper port facilities are made available to the merchants of Travancore.

Mr. D. C. Joseph:—In view of the fact that British Indian imports are likely to be restricted, are the Government aware that there are proper facilities for harbours at Vizhinjom and Leepuram.

DEWAN:—I have myself seen Vizhinjom and Leepuram. My first partiality was for Leepuram. On account of the lie of the ocean and the natural surroundings, I have been advised to select Vizhinjom. That is why that place has been chosen.

Mr. P. S. George.—We are still in the era of control. You have referred to the plans that you have in mind for meeting the food and textile requirements. But there are industries like the cashewnut industry with which I have been associated

and which now depend to a very great extent on the quotas of materials being granted to this industry from time to time by the Government of India.

DEWAN:—That would not arise hereafter. After this State declares independence and does not come into any specific arrangements about quotas, those quotas will disappear. We will have to make our own arrangements. I am making arrangements for buying at least four ships immediately. Negotiations are under way for that purpose. Apart from that, we have the possibility of lifting those controls so that the quota will be what is given to the Travancore Government. This Government will decline to send ilmenite to America unless they give us something in return. It may be that for the first four or six months we may have to suffer. But we will succeed in the end. Men like Mr. George should help me.

M. P. S. George:—Early arrangements must be made for these things.

Our Right to Indian Nationality

Mr. D. C. Joseph:—I wish to know why Travancore students are denied admission in colleges in British India?

DEWAN:—I am glad that, that question has been put. Through the newspapers I see that there is a general move to that effect. There are men like Dr. John Mathai, Mr. K. P. S. Menon and so on. What is going to be done to all these men?

The Dewan added that there are quite a number of Travancoreans employed in British India and that the high percentage of education, the high level of intelligence and ability of the people of Travancore and their trustworthiness will continue to create a demand for their services in whatever spheres might be open to them. Some

of them like Dr. John Mathai, Mr. K. P. S. Menon and Sir N. R. Pillai cannot be easily displaced, while a good number have been entertained on definite contracts as a result of their passing competitive examinations and satisfying other tests. We might rest assured that Travancoreans will find employment worthy of their talents everywhere even after the declaration of independence and, what is more, that in any agreement to be entered into with the Indian Union, our right to Indian nationality will be duly safeguarded.

Continuing, the Dewan sounded a note of warning in regard to the oft-repeated cry of "Travancore for the Travancoreans," which might provoke retaliation of the kind now so much deplored.

Why We Don't Join C. A.

Mr. G. N. Tampi asked the question why if Travancore was willing to enter into negotiations with the Indian Dominion on matters of common interest such as trade, communications and defence, it should not go into the Constituent Assembly and discuss these matters there, as some other States have done.

In reply the Dewan said :—

I am glad that this question has been put. Why has not Travancore joined the Constituent Assembly? The reasons are the following: Firstly, Travancore's economic, trade, export and import position is very special, peculiar and *sui generis*. If we make it a condition precedent to our entry into the Constituent Assembly that they must yield on all these subjects before we go in there, we shall be accused of huckstering and of being bargainers in the market. The fact remains that the Union Powers Committee of the Constituent Assembly and its Finance Sub-Committee have included amongst the subjects set

apart for Central Finance, export and import duties, customs, excise, income tax, estate duties and all ancillary or incidental duties. In other words, we shall have to hand over, as soon as we enter the Union, $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores out of the 9 crores of our revenue. We get back a proportion based, let us say, on population and upon the taxation of India. I have sought to make it clear elsewhere that we shall lose about a crore and a half or two and on that matter the Congress has been perfectly frank. My good friend Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya speaking or writing the other day, said that Travancore should give up its customs because that would quite suffice for its defence. Today, the British Government is taking eight lakhs only for the purpose of defence. We are asked to pay one crore from the 15th August and that one crore, according to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, will be the amount of our customs. What we have said is, we must make our position clear. Our position is not like that of any other State in India. But in answer to this it is asked: "Why don't you talk about it in the Constituent Assembly?" I hope that my friends here will remember, human nature being what it is, that we are not all saints, that we are moving in a sub-lunar world amidst sin and suffering, obstacles and handicaps. And being very unsaintly, I may be permitted to say that many people are satisfied more with their neighbours' troubles than with their own happiness. We shall not be pleased with our happiness but if our neighbours suffer, there is a kind of general satisfaction. Now you go into the Constituent Assembly; you find three hundred members with none of these rights. You get up on your legs and say, "We have got these rights for the hundred years". "Granted," They will say, "But why should we make a difference between one State and another?" and the voting

will be against us in all possibility. Human nature being what it is, even when surrounded by the halo of sanctity, it is possible that human nature may assert itself and the voting may be against us and then it will be just like schoolboy tactics if we sulk and want to go out. I have made it clear and now I wish to reiterate that we shall not go into the Constituent Assembly. But there is absolutely no objection now, today or tomorrow, to enter into negotiations with the one Dominion and the other for the purpose of dealing with our special matters, and, if our special needs are satisfied, they will find

generous, and more than generous, co-operation with regard to their needs.

In answer to another question put by Mr. G. N. Tampi in regard to the contribution from the general revenue to the privy purse of the Ruler in Travancore as compared with that in other States, the Dewan stated that His Highness has been satisfied with a bare Rs. 15 lakhs out of Rs. 8½ crores of revenue and that about a half of these 15 lakhs has been devoted to charities. His Highness has always been opposed to any enhancement of his civil list in proportion to the large increase in the State revenue.



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SINGLE ISSUE—ANNAS SIX ONLY

Work of the Rice Study Group at Trivandrum

By SIR S. V. RAMAMURTHI

IT is a matter of satisfaction to the Indian Delegation that the proposal for the formation of a Rice Board in South East Asia has had the benefit of examination by the Member Nations of the Rice Study Group. An agenda for the Rice Conference which is to be called after the FAO Conference at Geneva in August has been approved by the Rice Study Group.

Looking at the recommendations made in committees on the improvement of rice production which is a crucial problem for the economic development of South East Asia, one finds that there is little that is new in regard to the methods proposed. We are all aware of the need to improve irrigation, provide good seed and chemical as well as organic manures, introduce mechanised methods of cultivation, eradicate pests and arrange the spread of new knowledge by demonstration and propaganda. That which the nations together can do is to accelerate the finding of new methods by concerted and comparative studies and even more to accelerate action by co-ordinated effort. The basic need then is to find a new mechanism. It is for this purpose that the Indian Delegation has proposed the formation of a Rice Board in South East Asia. Such a Board is needed, too, for common organisation and action in regard to stocks, prices and international distribution. Even more than a new mechanism, there is need for a new will. South East Asia is the part of Asia which has been most subject to European imperialism. Colonialism has left behind not only economic poverty but also a degradation of spirit. This spiritual degradation has sapped the will to improve and

live well. The basic remedy for poor production in South East Asia is freedom. There is no justification, political, economic or moral, why U. S. A. and U. K. should interpose themselves between producers and consumers of rice in South East Asia. There is need for U. S. A. and U. K. to quit rice in South East Asia.

The discussions by the Study Group have shown a range of opinion varying from that expressed by Burma to that held by India. On the former view, there is no need for a radical remedy, a little extension of the mechanism and the activity of the FAO is all that is needed. On the latter view, more pointed and energetic action is necessary if South East Asia is to rise above the low economic level of her life, where the people after a century or two of European tutelage have remained poor and become even poorer in spite of all the scientific advances by which the western world has enormously raised its level of living. I have no doubt that this range of opinion will be considerably narrowed down and a view approximating to that of India will be reached when all the rice producing countries of South East Asia who have not been invited by the FAO as members of the Rice Study Group attend the Rice Conference and are represented through popular Governments and speak through their own nationals.

Sir John Boyd-Orr, the Director-General of the FAO, has stated that unless a world food plan is made and executed, a third world-war is bound to come. An attempt to form an International Wheat Council

which can execute a world wheat plan has recently failed in London. The chances of success of a world rice plan are I fully believe brighter because of the rice position under which rice is produced and consumed in the main in a concentrated area of similar economic and social conditions and its problems lend themselves to being dealt with on all fronts by a single body.

I venture to hope therefore that the Governments of the European and American nations present here will, when they

receive the reports of their representatives, not seek to deny us the formation of the Rice Board for which I have been pleading and demanding in Washington and Trivandrum. I have also every hope that our views will receive sympathetic appreciation from Sir John Boyd-Orr, who has the capacity for combining the real and ideal which Britain at her best has been known to achieve.

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Independence of Travancore

By A. K. Pillai, Barrister-at-Law

I HAVE come with a view to studying the reactions of the different interests and sections in Travancore to the Independence Stand finally taken by the State. As early as May 20 last when the idea was still in a formative process I heartily welcomed the move and publicly expressed my firm conviction that in the given situation Independence would be to the lasting advantage of the people and must eventually prove a tremendous accession of strength to the State in its external relations.

Choice before States

The legal and the constitutional position is now made perfectly clear by the provisions of the India Independence Bill. The States will have automatically regained their sovereignty on the 15th of August when Paramountcy lapses and they will continue to remain independent unless the sovereignty so regained is by a voluntary act of accession or otherwise surrendered. The question of the moment is whether surrendering it or keeping it is more advantageous to Travancore. This choice is open only to a very few States, for in the case of the largest bulk of the Indian States, although law permits, the facts of geography, extent of the population and resources make a declaration of independence impracticable.

Travancore is in a definitely superior position in many material respects, to the other States in India; nay, even to such well-established Sovereign States as Greece, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Ireland and Finland, not to speak of Ceylon, Palestine, F. M. S., Syria and Iraq. Travancore is by no means a small State. It may perhaps be a surprise to many to know

that its population is nearly as big as that of Australia and four times bigger than that of New Zealand, to mention only two States which count among the influential members of U. N. O.

Sum of my Plea

By the declaration of Independence, Travancore will not be left in a state of isolation, any more than any of the other independent Sovereign States. The world has shrunk so much and the different units are brought so close to one another that interdependence is implicit in the modern conception of sovereign independence. Only independence bestows that freedom of action which is so essential a pre-condition of any free union.

It is that freedom and a sense of urgency for it, that constitute the compelling logic of Travancore's declaration of independence. Once freedom of action is accrued and so long as it is not irrevocably alienated, (as it must happen if we join the Indian Union straightforwardly), we shall be free to come to any arrangement with the rest of India including accession to a future Indian Union, a Commonwealth of Free States. Let us retain that invaluable freedom with a lively sense of its importance and cherish it, instead of writing it off in haste when we do not know even the outline or the shape of the Union in which some of us appear to be so anxious to merge. This in substance is and has always been my earnest plea with my fellow Travancoreans.

Phenomenal Act of Statesmanship

I feel sincerely thankful that the State has taken a decisive stand so manifestly

beneficial and conducive to the prosperity of the people and that too without any public agitation. The future generations will have abundant reason to be grateful to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for the bold and timely advice tendered to His Highness the Maharaja on this momentous step. I feel sure that I am articulating the sentiments of a considerable section of the present generation, without forgetting that there exists today unfortunately a wide gulf between them and the Dewan. But the past administration with its signal achievements and its equally signal errors is more than overshadowed by this one phenomenal act of statesmanship, the declaration of Independence.

Proposals

The declaration itself is yet to be made and when the proper time comes, it will, I dare say, be made with the grandeur and gravity which the historic occasion demands. I fondly hope, and it is my fervent and devout wish, that the State will with appropriate strides move forward towards the event which may well mark the beginning of a new era. Let me also hope that those strides will be attended with the same resolution and boldness of conception, as the declaration of Independence has been conceived and consummated. To be more specific and to make my meaning clearer, I beg to formulate two or three suggestions for the earnest consideration of His Highness's Government.

(i) The release of all the detenues and others now in prison convicted of political offences. I should submit with all earnestness that the release should be unconditional in order that the transcendental moral effect of the act may not suffer in the bargain.

(ii) The declaration of Independence, marking, as it will, a new era constitutionally and otherwise (and especially in view of the totally altered set-up in India as a whole), should have a distinctly liberal content. It will be in the fitness of things if the declaration is accompanied by an announcement about fresh constitutional changes, an announcement adequate and capable of dispelling any possible apprehensions there might be that the fuller sovereignty of the State would not mean any corresponding freedom for the people. The pace and the measure of the reforms may be appreciably advanced, in so striking a manner that in this respect as well, Travancore shall be duly acknowledged *the first among her equals*. It will then have not only left behind many of the States and the Provinces but may also make the Congress-sponsored and thrice-blessed Reforms of Udaipur look ridiculously meagre and miserable.

(iii) I do realise that between the announcement of any proposed reforms and their actual inauguration, the preparations must consume time. It is essential to provide for the gap if only because the State accustomed so long to having representative Assembly and Legislative Council will appear rather bald without them, and the lacuna cannot but become distinctly noticeable with the declaration of independence.

A Privy Council

The new era with its plenitude of sovereignty must wear the appropriate modern clothes. Having regard to all these weighty considerations, I would hazard a suggestion that the Sovereign of Independent Travancore might well have, as nearly as possible and practicable, a representative body, say, a small Privy Council

which can serve the purposes of an Interim Government with the Dewan as its President.

If found useful in its actual working it may perhaps be allowed to continue with new functions, as part of the future constitution. What is important at present is to recognise the need for some such an interim arrangement; the exact name, form and powers can then be determined.

Change in Tone

In conclusion, I wish to refer to the recent statement of Sardar Patel on the States. It is noteworthy that the familiar threats and warnings and attempts at intimidation are absent therefrom. And if this moderation is indicative of the present temper of the Congress High Command there is still some hope. If all that the Congress really desire is only the States' co-operation on the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, that co-operation being a matter of mutual advantage could easily be secured on a treaty basis. I cannot therefore understand why Sardar Patel should ask for *accession* instead of a treaty. Even Sardar's refreshingly sober language fails to carry conviction when he says "it is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in the *domestic* affairs of the States." But, we are accustomed to hear a bureaucratic Government using the same language in respect of a municipality.

The suspicion is heightened by Dr. Pattabhi's subsequent statement which,

again, is agreeably free from violence. But Dr. Pattabhi is quite definite that it will be impermissible for Travancore to enter into any agreement with Pakistan. This means that the Congress demands of the States an exclusive alliance with the Indian Union. And so far as Travancore is concerned this is manifestly an interference in "domestic affairs" because Travancore has to depend for her rice on territories forming part of Pakistan.

A Disturbing Factor

The recent order of the Government of India disallowing licence for a number of articles including motor lorries, motor cars, vans, cycles etc., unless they are imported *in parts* shows a dangerous tendency to restrict trade exclusively in favour of British Indian industries; for we know that parts of motor vehicles and cycles imported from abroad are assembled in India. But, Travancore, which has got to depend for cycles, motor cars, lorries etc., on outside markets, will be under similar restraints compelled to buy them exclusively from the Indian Union at the prices dictated by them. This will adversely affect the vital interests of the State. Travancore therefore cannot accept Sardar Patel's proposals unconditionally, for freedom of contract must vest with Travancore and her sovereign rights cannot be surrendered except to the extent she voluntarily parts with specific subjects on a strictly treaty basis.

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Village Uplift in Travancore

By S. VAIDYANATHA AIYAR,

Village Uplift Officer.

IT was in August 1925 that His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore first passed an enactment called the Village Panchayat Act for the purpose of reconstructing the rural areas of the State and stimulating the sense of responsibility of the average citizen by fostering and developing local self-government in the villages. In course of time this Act was found inadequate to meet the needs of the villages and therefore in November 1939, another enactment, viz., the Village Unions Act, was passed with a view to fostering and encouraging rural development in greater measure. Village Unions and Panchayats constituted under the above mentioned statutes have been functioning in several parts of the State, but after the termination of the Second World War and consequent on the return of a good number of demobilised personnel to the State, the problem of reconstructing village life to suit the tastes and requirements of the demobbed villagers become more pressing. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja therefore, in their budget proposals for 1122 M. E. (August 1946-1947), set apart one crore of rupees from the States' surplus to enable the interest from that amount being utilised for Village Uplift work under a long term plan. In view of the trend of discussion in the State Legislature on this matter, the Dewan announced that for the year 1122 Government would make available for village uplift a lump sum of Rs. 10 lakhs in addition to the interest of Rs. 3 lakhs which would be available from the investment of one crore of rupees already provided for in the budget. The amount was unanimously

voted upon by the Houses of the Legislature and Government sanctioned the Scheme being put into operation early in 1122 financed by a total allotment of Rs. 13 lakhs.

Advisory Board

To advise on the ways and means of implementing Government's intention, Government were pleased to constitute an Advisory Board consisting of 14 non-official members belonging to both Houses of the Legislature—part of whom were elected by the two Houses and the other part nominated by Government—and Heads of major Departments of the State. The Financial Secretary has been appointed Chairman of this Board and the Secretary to Government dealing with the Village Uplift portfolio is one of the official members of the Board. An officer has been appointed designated as the Village Uplift Officer whose duty it is to put into execution the various decisions taken by the Board with the help of an executive staff working under him. He has also been made a member of the Board and ex-officio Secretary to the Board.

Non-official Responsibility

In regard to the proceedings of the Village Uplift Advisory Board, the Dewan made it clear that "responsibility for the village uplift scheme will almost entirely rest on the non-officials who will lay down the policy and what they decide should be done will be freely, fully and wholeheartedly experimented upon. If they make mistakes, the country will suffer for those mistakes, but those mistakes will not

be the mistakes of the officials. In this committee, the officials are there only as advisers helping the non-officials round the corner, helping in the matter of the execution of the work which the committee asks them to do." Therefore whatever decisions are taken by the Board are, in practice, the decisions entirely of the non-official element on the Board.

Villages Selected for Uplift

The Board decided on concentrating uplift work on six villages in each of the three Revenue Divisions in the year 1122. In this connection it may be well to remember the fundamental difference between villages as they exist in British India and the villages in Travancore. The British Indian villages are fairly compact units in which the houses are clustered together, whereas in Travancore except in certain parts of South Travancore each house stands on its own "tree-planted and walled-in garden" and there is very little compactness about the village as a unit. Naturally, therefore the methods of approach in solving the problems of each village in Travancore are rather different from the methods that can be adopted in British India. As far as possible, for purposes of uplift work a village has been taken to mean a pakuthi, the smallest unit of revenue administration. In cases where the pakuthi is too large to be worked up properly, a few karas have been taken to form the area for uplift work. Roughly, an area of between five and ten square miles has been taken as the limit.

Grouping of Non-official Members

The non-official members on the Village Uplift Board have been grouped into three, each group with the Division Peishkar as Chairman functioning as the

Division Sub-Committee for each Revenue Division. The centres for each Division have been selected by the respective Division Sub-Committees from the coastal tracts, midland areas as well as the hilly regions of the State. In December 1946 one more centre was selected and included under the Scheme.

Village Committees

Pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Board, Village Committees have been formed in each of these uplift centres consisting of seven gentlemen and one lady, all non-officials. In most of the centres, a member of the Sri Mulam Assembly or Sri Chitra State Council living nearest that centre has been chosen as the President of the Village Committee. The function of these Village Committees is to find out the exact needs of each village and recommend to the Village Uplift Officer in the form of concrete proposals the various items of work to be undertaken. After the proposals are sanctioned it is the duty of the Village Committees to find out contractors for executing the works and to see that the sanctioned measures are properly carried out in the village. All payments are made by the Village Uplift Officer, direct to the parties. A sum of Rs. 250 has been allowed to each Committee for its own contingent expenses. Each Committee has a secretary who is given an honorarium and he has to keep the accounts and send up fortnightly reports to the Village Uplift Officer on the progress of works undertaken in each Village. These Village Committees which were constituted in the centres at public meetings held there are transitory in character. According to a resolution of the Village Uplift Board there is to be a statutory Village Union formed in each of

these centres before the close of the year 1122.

Priority Items

The proposals sent up by the Village Committees after a good deal of investigation and sifting consist in the main of opening up the village by means of a network of roads. It will be admitted on all hands that this item of improvement is a *sine qua non* to the betterment of living conditions in any village. Next in order of importance come minor irrigational facilities, the supply of potable water, items of sanitation and then items of work leading to educational and economic advancement. There is also the necessity to construct a village hall with a reading room and library which will be a common meeting place of the villagers. Based on these recommendations, the Village Uplift Department has been giving prominence to the means of communication such as roads, foot-paths, ferries, jetties etc.

Other Items

Next in importance is the sinking of wells, tanks and channels and establishment of markets. The construction of a Village Hall with office-room and library-room to serve as a common meeting place of the villagers has also been taken up in every centre. The lands required for the roads, village hall etc., are invariably given free of cost by the local public. For investigating and estimating and supervising these public works a separate staff of engineers has been appointed in the Village Uplift Department as Public Works Organisers. There are three of them now and three more will soon be appointed for the existing centres. For attending to the public health needs of the uplift centres a similar staff of 3 Public Health Organisers has been appointed in the Department. The public health activities in the uplift centres now comprise provision of sanitary latrines, of milk canteens for free distribution of milk to under-nourished children, and medical and

midwifery aid. One trained midwife is posted in each centre. A midwifery class is being opened for training 21 candidates in midwifery so that after training they may be appointed in fresh village uplift centres to be opened. Provision has also been made for the award of grants-in-aid to qualified medical men in the uplift centres.

Economic Betterment

For improving the economic side of the villages three officers of the Co-operative Department have been appointed as Organisers in the Village Uplift Department. The idea that some form of co-operative organisation will be the best under modern conditions to take up items of work which would conduce to the economic betterment of the village is being implemented and multi-purpose co-operative societies have been formed in most of the centres. Among the items of work that these societies propose to take up are the stocking and sale of chemical manures, organisation of cottage industries suited to each locality, marketing of the agricultural and industrial products, dairy farming etc.

Adult Education

For encouraging adult education in the uplift centres and for doing propaganda work generally, a Propaganda Officer with three Assistants has been appointed in the Uplift Department. Night schools, reading rooms and village libraries have been started in the centres. The expenditure on account of furniture, books, newspapers and periodicals for these institutions is met by Government. The local public also contribute their mite for this purpose. Two motor vans have been purchased for doing propaganda work in the villages with the aid of magic lanterns. A radio set will shortly be installed in each centre.

In the coming year it is proposed to extend the scheme of operations by selecting more centres for such intensive work.

ADVANTAGES OF INDEPENDENCE

By K. G. Kunjukrishna Pillai,
Advocate General

MANY and various are the advantages Travancore gains by becoming independent. I shall, however, confine my attention mainly to the economic and financial aspects. Recently, I had occasion to go about and to my surprise I found that there was such complete ignorance of the fundamental issues involved even in the minds of many well-educated and earnest citizens. This is an effort to dispel such ignorance. At the risk of repetition, let me assert that the first and foremost advantage is spiritual since it gives man his fullest stature. Nevertheless, the other advantages are of great importance and are entitled to serious consideration. I shall examine them one by one.

The Interportal Convention

One of the most disastrous things that the paramount power compelled Travancore to accept was the Interportal Convention of 1865. This was a tripartite agreement between British India, Cochin and Travancore. Under this agreement Travancore gave up its rights to import duties (1) on goods manufactured in British India or Cochin; (2) on goods already charged to import duties in British India and Cochin: and had to levy the same duty as in British India on goods directly imported into Travancore. As regards export duties, Clause 4 of the Convention limited the amount leviable by Travancore to 10 per cent on timber, Rs. 15 per candy of 500 English lbs. on pepper and betelnut, and 5 per cent on all other goods.

Travancore is a maritime State and it is well known that in a maritime State

customs duties are a developing source of revenue. Why then did Travancore find it expedient to limit this source of revenue and bind itself hand and foot for ever in this manner? It could not have been any consideration for the well-being and prosperity of the State. It was the compulsion of the mailed fist under silken gloves.

Grievous Consequence

The irreparable harm caused by this Convention to this State can be described in the words of a British Indian civilian who was some time the Dewan of Travancore, Dewan Raghaviah. He says, "We have never given up our right to levy export duties and we have already urged that the terms of the convention restricting our right to levy import duties on foreign goods have worked hard against the interest of the State and required an equitable revision. In the near future British India is bound to have recourse to a thorough revision of her tariff system and Travancore does not wish to do anything now that would stand in the way of her fiscal freedom and of her seeking such an alteration of the Interportal Convention as she would be, in fairness, entitled to." This note was written in 1922. At present the volume of our import trade is, on a modest estimate, at least four times of what it was in 1922. For what we lost under the Interportal Convention the British Government gave Travancore a fixed annual compensation of Rs. 40,000. Without the convention Travancore would have had, on the most conservative estimate, a revenue of not less than two crores of rupees under this head.

With the retraction of paramountcy the convention automatically lapses and we are entitled to treat it as such. If the claim that paramountcy descends to the Indian Union were conceded it follows that we cannot say that the Interportal Convention lapses. In such a contingency we have to go on negotiating with the Indian Union Goverment for a revision of the convention, which may or may not be agreed to. In case we achieved our independence we would be entitled to make our own provisions for the levey of import and export duties. Let it not, for a moment, be understood from this that the State would act unreasonably or without giving the closest attention to All-India problems. Nevertheless, we are entitled, and indeed in duty bound, to regain our freedom to levy such duties, and these, incidentally would form a major source of revenue for Travancore. For this purpose alone it seems worth while to fight for independence for Travancore.

The Cochin Harbour Agreement

Another inequitous imposition of paramountcy is the Cochin Harbour Agreement. The negotiations for the development of the Cochin Harbour began with an innocent inquiry in 1919 from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore, asking whether the improvement and development of the Cochin Harbour would materially affect the interests of Travancore. It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the prolonged discussions that followed. Suffice it to say that though the Travancore Government pointed out that it might to some extent affect the trade of Alleppey they raised no material objection to the scheme. The next step was to induce Travancore to share in the expenses. In the words of the then Resident, "it was

proposed to share expenses equally by the three parties, viz, the Madras Government, the Cochin Government and the Travancore Government, on the assumption that the Government of India will agree to divide the customs Revenue at Cochin in the same proportion. This fond hope was expressed in 1921, but was considerably modified to our disadvantage. The proposals were drawn up in the form of a certain number of clauses in 1922. There it was reiterated that the money for expenses should be found in equal shares and that from the date from which equal shares began to be contributed the customs revenue would be shared between the three parties. There was however a rider, namely, that the sharing of the customs revenue would be applied to all customs dues collected whether at Cochin or at any port within Travancore or Cochin. This apparently innocent suggestion meant that Travancore would have to put into the pool all the revenues it was deriving from all its ports, which even then came to over a lakh of rupees on imports alone, for the purposes of being divided between Cochin and the British Government in return for meeting one-third of the expenditure. Cochin lost nothing by the proposal because Cochin had no revenue from customs duties then excepting what was received through Cochin Harbour. A vigorous protest was made by the Government of Travancore and it was pointed out that the geographical position of the proposed harbour must make it impracticable for it to be developed without the co-operation of Travancore and that Travancore even if she did not make any contribution for the expenses of the Harbour Scheme equal to that of Cochin or British Government would still be entitled to adequate reimbursement from the customs revenue of the new Harbour in view of the

fact that Travancore produce would supply the bulk of the export from Cochin. It was also pointed out that Travancore was asked to surrender even her limited fiscal freedom under the Interportal Convention, after contributing an equal amount for expenses of the scheme. It was finally agreed in 1925 that Travancore would contribute one-third of the expenditure and would agree to share one-third of the revenues of the Cochin Harbour. But that revenue had to be calculated after pooling the import and export duties collected at any port on the backwaters in Travancore territory i. e., from Quilon to Munambam both inclusive. What did all this mean? It meant definitely, (1) that Travancore would not thereafter be able to develop her own ports; (2) that Travancore had to contribute one-third of the total expenses of the harbour; (3) that Travancore agreed to put into the Cochin Harbour collections all her income from export and import duties from Quilon to Cochin, which duties in 1104, 1105 and 1106 were respectively Rs. 174,688, 213,935 and 250,249, and (4) that the great bulk of our export trade had to be diverted to the Cochin Harbour.

A Staggering Loss

The amount of our losses under this agreement is something staggering to contemplate. Not content with these arrangements, a final agreement was arrived at between the three Governments which at present holds the field. By this arrangement, the sharing of profits was revised. The three Governments share equally the net-profits of the Harbour up to 63 lakhs. From 63 lakhs to 1 crore Travancore gets a lesser proportion and for amounts over 1 crore 80 per cent of the net revenue goes to British India and 12 per cent. to Cochin and 8 per cent to Travancore. When it is seen that the present revenue of the Cochin

Harbour is over 2 crores the inequity of this agreement should be clear even to the blind. Not from altruistic motives did the Travancore Government enter into these arrangements. It was a matter of compulsion pure and simple. Is it not time for us at least now, to throw overboard this agreement in the larger interests of the State. If we do so we stand to gain, at a modest estimate, over one crore of rupees yearly; with the additional advantages of being able to improve our own ports. The Travancore produce that is now being exported through the Cochin Harbour pays port dues at Cochin, in some cases, the sales tax of Cochin Government and income tax alike in this State and British India and England. If our produce is exported through our ports, even if our State increases its export duties to double of what it is now, the exporter freed of the duties in Cochin State and the Cochin Harbour will still gain 100 per cent in the transaction.

The Periyar Lease

A third instance of the weight of paramountcy lying on the shoulders of the State is furnished by what is called the Periyar Lease. In 1886 the Secretary of State for India entered into an agreement with this State under which Travancore leased out about 8,000 acres of land plus all the waters therein and all timber and other trees growing thereon, and the right of fishing with power and liberty to construct and make all irrigation works, and other ancillary works thereto, with many other incidental rights; all taken together amounting to a cession of the territory for an amount of Rs. 40,000 a year for a term of 999 years. The waters from this track have transformed the arid lands of Madura and made them rich and populous. Not that we grudge the good. It was conceded by Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar in the course of

his argument before the Umpire in the Periyar Dispute that the Madras Government was easily making 6 per cent on the capital invested in this venture. The income the British Government gains from water cess alone is over 40 lakhs of rupees. Their claim to utilise this water for hydro-electric purposes and make another huge gain thereby was happily frustrated by the earnest efforts of our Dewan and by the decision of the Umpire. We lose on this transaction not only our due share of the profits earned by the Government of Madras but a great deal more in having prevented all this water from flowing through our lands and renewing and enriching them periodically. We are further prevented from making use of the water for any purpose whatsoever. In these days of hydro-electric schemes these waters would have been a source of incalculable revenue to the State.

Foreign Exchange

Apart from these, we are losing a great deal financially on account of our connection with and dependence on British India. It is well known that if we have to send money from Travancore to places outside India, it is now put through the Reserve Bank of India. They do not carry out the transaction free, but for consideration. On account of this foreign exchange alone a crore of rupees could be saved in Travancore if the business was handled by one or other of the Travancore Banks, as it is done in other parts of the world. Travancore gains absolutely nothing in putting its foreign exchange through the Reserve Bank of India. Again, if we had the right to have our coinage and currency in the fullest measure we would have been easily able to make above 50 lakhs a year.

To sum up, Travancore, because she was not independent, has been suffering

from the shackles of the Interportal Convention for over eighty years. She is groaning under the inequity of the Cochin Harbour Agreement, is being deprived of actual and potential resources in the Periyar area and of its legitimate sources of revenue derivable from foreign exchange, coinage and currency, not to speak of other matters.

Economic Independence

The cry for the independence of Travancore is first and foremost a cry of the spirit. It is nonetheless a cry for economic independence. It is equally a cry for commercial and industrial development, unfettered by the circumstances that are obtaining elsewhere in India. Which patriotic Travancorean can say that these claims are not absolutely just or are not necessary for the material, cultural and spiritual development of the State? Should we not, freed of blind passion and prejudice, view these grave questions in a spirit of detachment and at an intellectual level?

The Balance Sheet

Travancore's present revenues are over eight crores and in the next year it may be above nine crores. An independent Travancore can afford to give up a number of harassing and petty taxes, some of which, for instance, the duty on betelnuts, coffee and tea, or the duty on matches, are imposed by outside pressure. It can make up its revenues in the following manner:

It is well known now that the Government of India is making a huge profit on the import duty on petrol and other oils which are consumed in this State and therefore are paid for by the people of the State. An independent Travancore can easily levy an import duty on petrol and other oils and make well over 2 crores of rupees without

in the least increasing the existing duties. By way of income tax about a crore and a half will be available to the State. Even as it is income-tax rates are less than those in British India and it is highly likely that they may still further be reduced in the near future. By our export duties on tea, ilminite, rubber etc., even after some reduction on present rates the State can make over 2 crores. With forest and excise revenues and from the income from foreign exchange and currency an independent Travancore will be able to make 10 crores a year which would be amply sufficient for the next ten years for full and free development of the State. If we join the Union we lose from 5 to 6 crores of this amount since import and export duties, income tax and certain excise duties have already been set apart as central revenues to be collected and to be utilised by the Central Government. If you join the Union the Central Government may even vary these duties to our detriment. But apart from that with so much of our money going to the centre how can the State afford to go on with its post-war reconstruction schemes, its present commitments in education, public health and medicine, village uplift, public works and other extensive schemes. It may be said that the Central Government may hand back to the States a portion of the revenues so collected; but the portion so refunded will be on a population basis, that is, 6/400 of the total collection under the above heads. Looking into this year's Indian Finance Act, it will be seen that the income to the Central

Government from the above sources is about 192 crores. Putting it at 200 crores. what we will be entitled to get back will be 3 crores. These figures speak for themselves and should make us think furiously.

Hour of Destiny

I do not want in this talk to appeal either to sentiment or to the spirit of the Travancorean. I appeal to his cold reasoning: I appeal to his self-interest: I appeal for the convenience and comfort of himself and his succeeding generations. Nothing is lost either to Travancore or to the Indian Union by our keeping independent and working in harmony and close co-operation. Almost everything will be lost; the continued progress of the State and its economic and industrial development, the comfort and prosperity of the future generations, the opportunity for the exercise of talents and initiative of our children, all this will be lost, if we take a false step now.

Let every Travancorean, whatever his political opinions or his religious or social inclinations and convictions, ponder over these grave issues, and give a correct answer.

God grant, that in this hour of their destiny, the people of Travancore will have the vision and the wisdom to choose wisely and well, and rally round their Beloved Sovereign and His undaunted Dewan, to fight steadfast by their side, unmoved by threats and unallured by blandishments, and share in the glory that is to be.

Scientific Research in Travancore

By K. Paramaswara Menon, M. A., L. T.,
Secretary, Council of Research

Young University Deep in Research

IN the preamble to the Act establishing the University of Travancore in 1937, promotion of research in the various branches of applied science was declared to be one of the principal aims of the University. Rajyasevapravina Dr. K. L. Moudgil, then Director of Public Instruction, was immediately appointed Director of Research in the University and deputed to visit the various science institutes and laboratories in India. After his return, he prepared a scheme for the organisation of a Central Research Institute. This scheme was generally approved and the Central Research Institute was founded in August 1939. A Council of Research with the Dewan Vice-Chancellor as Chairman, the heads of University departments of studies in Science and Technology, a few representatives of Government and of the University as members, was also instituted to supervise the work of the Institute, to advise the University and the Government on any matter referred to it and generally to stimulate and co-ordinate scientific research in the State. It is significant that the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Government of India was created only in 1941.

The Central Research Institute comprised the following Divisions at the time of its inception:—

1. Applied Biology.
2. Applied Chemistry.
3. Preventive Medicine.
4. Observatory.

A separate Division for Statistics was added in 1944. In view of the growing importance of the mineral resources of the State and the necessity for their full utilisation a new Division for Mineral Survey and Research has just been created. The new Division will have as its first head Mr. T. R. M. Lawrie, a Senior Geologist in the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom.

Unfortunately for the Institute, World War II was declared within a few days of its foundation. It became impossible to obtain scientific equipment and even literature from abroad. And the overriding demands of the Defence Services led to a shortage of scientific man-power. In spite of these serious handicaps, the Institute has to its credit a sizable amount of good work achieved by the ingenuity and the team spirit of its staff and the enthusiasm and energy of its Director.

Search for Substitutes

Before describing the regular work of the Institute, it would be interesting to note some of the essential work done during the war years.

Like similar organisations elsewhere, the Institute was compelled to join the universal search for substitutes. In 1939 the price of high speed diesel oil rose, involving a strain on the budget of the State Transport Department which required large quantities of the oil. Laboratory experiments carried out in the Institute had shown that the cheaper light diesel oil could be distilled and the distillate used

as a substitute for high speed diesel in the buses. The work was soon taken upon on a semi-commercial scale and the Transport Department was enabled to run its fleet of diesel buses for nearly four years and also to avoid a serious loss. The distillates which did not possess the same efficiency as bus fuel were used as a substitute for kerosene oil.

Agar-agar, the dried extract of certain sea weeds required as a culture medium in bacteriological work, used to be imported from Japan. When supplies were cut off in 1942, a vigorous search for indigenous sea weeds was organised and the agar necessary for local requirements produced in the laboratories of the Institute. But for this material, the production of cholera vaccine during the cholera epidemics of 1941 & 43 would have been impossible.

The planting industry was faced with a serious problem when imports of formic acid used for coagulating rubber latex were stopped. The Institute was able to produce 'Sulpholex' which could be used as a substitute for formic acid.

Again, aluminium sulphate used for the purification of water in the Trivandrum Water Works was in short supply and after various trials it was found that a special grade of bitterns, recovered from salt pans, could be used satisfactorily in its place. These bitterns were in use for nearly two years till aluminium sulphate came back into the market.

Agricultural Research

Travancore being an agricultural country which does not produce enough food for its people, the Institute gives high priority to agricultural research in its programme. The ultimate aim is to make the 'good earth'

yield two pounds of food where it previously yielded only one. It is a complex problem and the solution depends on co-ordinated soil survey, pest-control and plant-breeding work.

The soil survey of the State (done in the Applied Chemistry Division of the Institute) gives rather depressing results. Travancore soils are generally poor in lime, phosphoric acid and nitrogen. Manures, organic or chemical, are required to remedy the deficiencies.

War on Plant Pests

Small plants as well as big trees cultivated by men are liable to attack by insect pests, ranging from invisible organisms to large-sized grubs and beetles and the loss is great or small, depending on the intensity of the attack. When bands of such invaders are reported from any place, the Entomological staff of the Institute rush to the scene, declaring a total war on the invaders.

Sometimes as in the cases of thrips and the bunchy-top disease, chemical weapons are used. During 1937-38 thrips wrought serious havoc on cardamoms, an important cash crop in the State, occupying 60,000 high-value acres in the High Ranges. A solution of nicotine sulphate was found effective; the remedy was so useful that one or two planters bought up the whole stock of nicotine sulphate in South India! Similarly, it was shown that 'gammexane' a new British insecticide could kill the notorious plantain aphis, the carrier of the organism causing the bunchy-top disease which in about three years had almost wiped out the graceful plantain trees from our State; this control measure is now adopted by the Department of Agriculture, besides the destruction of diseased trees.

Often the war is biological, *i.e.* the parasites of the pest are brought into action—an application of the doctrine of balance of power. When the most serious outbreak of the coconut leaf-rollerpest in living memory occurred in 1941, affecting about 100,000 acres of cocoanut plantains in central and north Travancore, the parasites were bred in the laboratory on a mass-scale and liberated all over the area and the attack brought under control.

Methods for the control of the Rice Swarming Caterpillar which causes a huge loss every year in the 150,000 acres of punja paddy fields in Kuttanad are under investigation.

These and other insects are a challenge to man and the war will have to be a long one.

Humble Tapioca

Tapioca has been for decades the poor man's food in Travancore, much like the potato in Ireland. Among the field crops of the State it now occupies the highest acreage (about 700,000 acres) but few persons gave much thought to this humble, ubiquitous plant till, about three years ago, the Institute took up breeding work on it, under a handsome donation made by the Dewan Vice-Chancellor. Varieties noted for their yield were collected from all parts of Travancore and grown in the Tapioca Farm at Trivandrum. Progressive eliminations were made and the best varieties finally selected for breeding work. The hybrids evolved easily give twice as much yield per acre as the parent plants. Experiments are also in progress to find out the minimum length of cuttings required for planting, the best method of planting (whether in pits, trenches or on mounds), the optimum dose of potash, the best time for its application and for harvesting. It is also proposed to evolve early-maturing varieties

and to increase the starch content of the tubers. It is a long-range project and the possibilities are immense.

Breeding work on paddy and sesamum is also in progress.

New Lamps for Old

Salt manufacture by solar evaporation is the oldest chemical industry in the State, dating back to very early times. It is also an important industry, with an annual production of 16 lakhs of maunds and an exportable surplus of 3 lakhs of maunds: (the consumption here is 13 lakhs of maunds.) Further the area under salt manufacture can be increased and the production doubled or trebled. The industry however suffered from two serious defects: the quality of salt produced left much to be desired and valuable by-products usable in other industries were wasted. Investigations in the laboratory and in the salt pans resulted in the discovery of a new method (now known as the University method) for the production of pure clean white salt and the recovery of by-products. The latter include gypsum (used for the production of medicinal plaster of paris and as a retarder in cement manufacture), potassium salts, magnesium chloride and magnesium sulphate. The success of the new method led to the establishment of the Model Salt Factory as a Government concern. The Factory now produces, on a commercial scale, salt of 99.4 per cent purity, the highest purity attained anywhere in India by the solar evaporation method, Epsom salts of 97.5 per cent purity and washed gypsum; work on other by-products is proceeding.

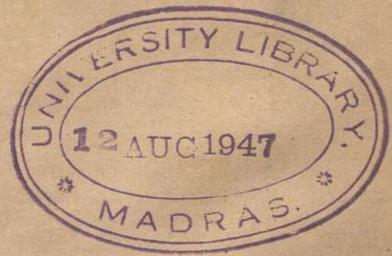
New Ways with Old Things

The coir industry is the largest industry in the State giving employment to about 150,000 people in the coastal taluks. The



A MARKET SCENE IN NORTH TRAVANCORE

Plentiful is Tapioca in Travancore. A considerable quantity of the produce finds its way into the market every day, the proceeds of which provide the cultivators with the means to buy other daily necessities of life.





TRAVANCORE WOMEN POLICE

The State's pioneer experiment in the enlistment of Women Police has been marked by unqualified success both in dealing with the problem of the woman delinquent and in the performance of the wider duties of citizenship.

cocoanut husks from which coir is made require 6 to 10 months for retting while jute is retted in a few days and the coir producer gets his capital 'frozen' (literally it is 'sunk' in saline waters) in the interval. After extensive investigations of the waters in retting grounds and various trials, it was found that the crushing of husks before soaking reduced the period of retting to about 45 days.

The pith of the cocoanut husk gets crushed out when the coir fibre is extracted and mounds of this unsightly, obnoxious waste product, are to be seen near the retting grounds all along the shores of the backwaters. Laboratory trials have shown that good insulating material can be produced from the pith.

Improving Nature

Sharks are caught in large numbers along the Travancore coast and considerable quantities of shark liver oil of therapeutic value (shark liver oil is reputed to contain 5000 to 10,000 international units of 'vitamin' A per gramme) are produced both for local consumption and for export. The Marine Biology Division was able to work out improved methods for the manufacture of the oil. One big trouble remained, however; shark liver oil soon turns rancid and loses its vitamins. Trials with various substances have led to the choice of a chemical substance, non-toxic and easily prepared, which will preserve the vitamin potency of the oil for fairly long periods. Oil stabilised by this method is now available in the Shark Liver Oil Factory, Trivandrum.

Wealth from the Deep

Fish forms an essential supplement to the poor tapioca or rice diet of a large section of the people, but curiously enough little was known about their habits and habitat. The Marine Biology Division has completed fundamental studies on a number of them. Attention was also drawn to the necessity for the introduction of deep-sea fishing, and the existence of rich fishing grounds (the Wadge Bank) near the State Coast. Experiments on the preservation and transport of fish in cold storage have yielded valuable

results. Further work on these and other allied lines is now being carried on in collaboration with the Government of India. Also a limited company with a large capital (the West Coast Fisheries Ltd.) has been formed for the exploitation of marine fisheries.

Friendship for Small Fry

Nor were the inland fisheries of the State comprising the backwaters, canals, and rivers, forgotten. Indiscriminate fishing and careless destruction of fingerlings had resulted in their depletion. Measures for the regulation of fishing implements, enforcement of closed seasons, prohibition of destructive methods like dynamiting and poisoning, for the protection of these valuable fishing grounds, were on the recommendation of the Division accepted by Government.

Finger in various Pies

Since the organisation of the Statistics Division it has been responsible for the design and analysis of the results of all agricultural experiments in the State. Such services have been rendered to other sections of the Institute, the Department of Agriculture and the Cocoanut Research Station of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research at Kayamkulam. It has also been advising the various Government departments on the proper compilation of the statistics relating to their activities.

The Greatest Service

Some of the work of the Central Research Institute has been described, though very briefly, in the preceding paragraphs. But the greatest service it does is the production of the trained research worker, for the teaching profession, industries and Government services. Young men (and women) working under the stimulating guidance of experienced teachers are trained to pursue independent lines of investigation. These research students have won for themselves and for the Institute a name and are in good demand and the Institute has been finding it difficult to retain the services of its own students—at times a not very enviable position.

The Udayanapuram Mural Paintings

Leadership in Art

TRAVANCORE has the unique honour of having been the first Indian State whose progressive Government have founded a permanent Art Gallery which contains a comprehensive collection of the finest examples of Indian Mural Painting for the enjoyment, education and artistic development of its people. In the *Sri Chitralayam* at Trivandrum is an admirably designed display of Buddhist and Hindu Mural Painting. Excellent and true copies of the famous frescoes from Ajanta, Bagh and Sittanavasal, Travancore and Cochin, Ceylon and Persia, are exhibited in this Art Gallery, in addition to a representative collection of Asian Painting.

Dr. Cousins, the first European connoisseur of Art to make a study of the Travancore Mural Paintings, observes:—"In the pictorial art of Kerala there are traces of Buddhist Painting that link the art of Kerala with that of Ajanta and Bagh. There is a remarkable power in these murals. Their technique and finish are excellent. Their atmosphere is always one of sanctity, they are eloquent with spiritual instruction. The secret of attractiveness of the murals lies in the vitality of their figures and in the variety of postures and gestures throbbing with exalted life." He adds that the Paintings show "a distinctiveness, compounded of skill in composition within a given space, of designed detail, of strength of line and of colour-schemes that satisfy the requirements of both symbolism and artistic effectiveness."

The old Palaces and Temples in Travancore contain the originals of the majority of the Travancore Mural Paintings exhibited

in the *Sri Chitralayam*. Those who visit these Sanctuaries of Art are moved by the sheer beauty of the Frescoes which with the exquisite wood-carvings form the most precious artistic heritage of Travancore. Asit Kumar Haldar, one of the foremost Artists of India, has, in his illuminating book *Art and Tradition*, expressed himself thus:—"Mural painting adorns its sister art architecture and it can be judged by its design and in its structural unity with its architectural environments. To understand Indian fresco it must be seen in the space which it occupies."

Poems and Melodies

The genius of the masters who executed the Travancore Mural paintings may be discerned in many a line and curve and in the wonderful delicacy of the welltoned vegetable colours used for painting on walls. The epic and lyric qualities of these graceful frescoes are firstrate. The mural paintings distinguished by forms that are poems and colours that are melodies are saturated with holy feelings, and noblest aspirations. In these frescoes Hindu Art holds itself to the essential dignity of the human soul without denying sensuous appeal and impresses upon the art connoisseur that the artists who conceived and executed these marvellous works of art were not ordinary mortals, but Titans of energy and creative genius. These wall paintings of old are full of the animation of life, and they convey much more than the art of paint and pencil. They captivate our minds, give joy to our eyes and provide us with that concentrated essence of artistic expression which makes it significant not only to the

mind but to the inner spirit as well. There is in these wall paintings a "timeless delight."

Testament of Life

The Travancore Mural Paintings exhibited in the State Art Gallery compel attention for they reveal the supreme artistic excellence of Mural Painting embellishing the temples and palaces of Travancore. These achievements of our ancestors set before us a wonderful example of the creative power of man and his lofty sense of sublime beauty and aesthetic grandeur. The centuries-old frescoes are wonderfully fresh and unmutilated. The various phases of the active religious imagination and coloured ceremonial life of India, find their powerful and charming expression in these Mural Paintings. The figures in the frescoes are done with great care and are of the greatest artistic excellence alike in conception and composition. The expression on their faces is dignified. The poses are natural, graceful and full of life. Deeply devotional and intensely humanistic, these Mural Paintings display 'the most beautiful union of painting with poetical mythology and genuine theory of music'.

The Glory of Hindu Art

The line-work of the master artists who painted the Travancore Frescoes bears comparison with that of the Masters of the Italian School of Painting of the Renaissance period. These frescoes illustrate a precise knowledge of the technique of line and colour. The artists have discarded all superfluities of colour and shade and by masterly strokes of marvellous flexibility have expressed in vivid colours what language itself can only imperfectly express. The male figures in the Travancore Frescoes are all heroic; the maidens are all lovely. The charming maidens in sweet attrac-

tive poses irradiate charm and bespeak purity and moral exaltation. The most sweeping and eloquent gestures are made use of by the talented artists to express physical and spiritual charms. These paintings possess a powerful rhythm which sets the heart-strings vibrating. They date from the ninth to the eighteenth century. The technique and finish of these frescoes are superb and they are saturated with spiritual instruction. The personalities in these wall paintings of old throb with exalted life.

The most wonderful state of efflorescence of Travancore Art and Culture is witnessed in these masterpieces of inspired art which impart to us vivid impressions of an ancient culture. They display a vigorous style and are rooted in Truth. They evoke fear and veneration. With arresting faithfulness and dominant realism which powerfully moves the spectator, human emotions, grave and gay, have been exquisitely portrayed in these noble frescoes which are remarkable for their excellent grouping, cosmic symbolism, impressive continuity, perfection of technique and composition. They exhibit a joyous and sumptuous exuberance of human fancy running riot. All that is noble in human faith and warm in human feeling has been recorded in these wall paintings which are the glory of Hindu Art. These frescoes indicate the loftiest of creative strivings, the communion with the Infinite, and the entry into the realm of spiritual bliss. They portray spiritual powers which control human destiny. In these works of Hindu Art the soul and the senses are addressed in one evocative harmony. No lover of art and aesthetics can afford to miss an examination of these frescoes.

Lovers of Life

Both as the highest form of artistic conception and technique and as historic-

ethnographical records the Travancore Mural Paintings are of enormous value. The great and distinctive art displayed in these paintings reveals a wonderful vitality and intensity of feeling, meditative charm, divine majesty, decorative delicacy, unique verisimilitude, subtle charm of colour, fine texture and marvellous draughtsmanship. The rich glowing beauty of the splendid colouring of the Travancore Frescoes is at once an object of wonder and envy to the modern artist. Works of unusual charm and beauty of colour have been executed by the painters of these murals, with red, blue, yellow and green paints and many intermediate tones. The talent for composition and intuitive power of expression displayed by the artists extort eloquent appreciation. The Mural Paintings indicate an intensive love of life, joyous vision, inspiring youthfulness and sublime beauty. For detailed finesse and rhythmic poise they are supreme.

Anonymous Masters

All the Travancore Frescoes are Hindu in subject. Those who painted these superb wall pictures were unknown craftsmen who cared not for fame. They inherited the traditions of their art from generation to generation. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the *Sri Chitralayam*, said:—"A word of tribute is due to the master craftsmen of the past whose names are unknown, because in their profound love for their work they failed to sign their names even on a panel. They laboured patiently and devoutly in order to bequeath to posterity remarkable specimens of mural paintings which evoke our admiration and reverence. The wealth of intrinsic values inherent in Kerala Art as revealed in the exquisite murals can never fail to

satisfy the tastes of each successive age and to supply it with virile incentives."

Imperishable Freshness

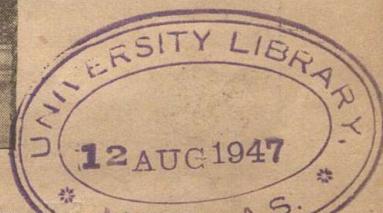
Most of the Travancore Murals continue to remain wonderfully fresh despite their age. Some of them indicate a harmonious union of Hindu conceptions and ideals with Buddhistic influence, both in demeanour and craft. The paintings are distinguished by boldness of outline and broad sweep of the brush. The wonderful spontaneous brush line, (a characteristic feature of early mediaeval mural painting in Europe) of the Kerala Frescoes is indicative of artistic perfection. These wall paintings are remarkable for their powerful rhythmic lines, rich warm tones, decorative design, dynamic quality and emotional depth.

The Udayanapuram Collection

Copies of mural paintings from the Udayanapuram temple, near Vaikkam, have recently been acquired for the *Sri Chitralayam*. These murals believed to have been painted during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the earlier half of the seventeenth century, are finest examples of mural art in Travancore. Ganapati, Siva and Parvati with Ganapati and Subramonia, *Venuganam* (Sri Krishna and the Gopies), Nataraja Dance, Sasta on Horseback, and Vishnu in *Santanagopalam*, are the outstanding of the Udayanapuram Murals. A mile and a half to the north of the famous temple at Vaikkam is the Udayanapuram temple dedicated to Sri Subramonia. The rediscovery of these and other old frescoes of Travancore is one of the achievements of the present era of enlightenment in the State which has added an invaluable chapter to the history and quality of Indian painting. Each of the Udayanapuram Murals is an independent

MURAL PAINTINGS
IN THE UDAYANA-
PURAM TEMPLE

GANAPATI being
worshipped by Nambu-
daries.



VENUGANAM

(Sri Krishna and Gopies)





SIVA AND PARVATI with Ganapati and Subramonia



SASTA ON HORSE BACK

artistic entity and a fine achievement of indigenous painting.

The distinguishing feature of the mural *Ganapati* is that it is one of the very few frescoes in Travancore in which contemporary life has been depicted in an arresting and realistic manner. The majority of Travancore murals deal with deific subjects. In this painting the dress, deportment and demeanour of the Nambuthiris, the highest class of Malabar Brahmins who are well-known for their piety and learning, have been portrayed with precise knowledge and rare skill by the artists who were thoroughly familiar with the tradition, culture and life of the Nambuthiris. This mural is therefore especially and intensely human in its appeal, apart from its admirable artistic excellence. The Nambuthiri priest seated in front of the image of *Ganapati* offering the *deeparadhana* (worship with lights) to the accompaniment of the bell and the chanting of Vedic prayers, the devotees standing with folded palms worshipping the deity, the Nambuthiri lady with the round cadjan umbrella and her servant maid with a bronze vessel on her head, have been drawn almost to perfection. In sharp contrast to the simple rendering of the costume of the human figures and the lack of ornaments in them, is the colourful drapery and elaborate ornamentation of the deity.

The marvellous line work of the creative artist is seen at its best in the mural *Siva and Parvati with Ganapati and Subramonia*. A culmination of linear harmonies, all the elements of the artist's genius for expressive lines and subdued colours have been fused in this picture which is at once simple and striking. *Sasta on Horseback* is a fine work of art remarkable for the excellence of its design and composition.

Nataraja (The Lord of the Dance) is the most striking of the Udayanapuram Murals. This painting ascribed to the 16th century is the symbolical ritual expression of continuous motion. It is one of the finest expressions of Indian Art and a powerful and awe-inspiring representation of the *tandava* Dance of Lord Siva. E. B. Havell says:— "One of the most inspired conceptions of Hindu art is that of Siva as the Universal Lord, or the Soul of the Universe manifesting itself in matter in his mystic dance of creation, symbolising the perfect joy which God feels in the creation which he makes, controls, destroys and renews at will. Siva performed this dance in the presence of all the Devas, to the accompaniment of the celestial drum which, like Vishnu's Conch shell trumpet, is the symbol of vibration of the creative force". This dance is depicted in the *Nataraja* Mural. The powerful symphony of the rich and graceful movement of the Divine Dancer produces a sublime effect upon the mind of the devotee and the spectator. The painting proper which is circular in shape has been so cunningly executed that the eye fails to grasp at first sight the marvels of exquisite craftsmanship. It intoxicates the senses of the spectator and plunges him into spiritual exaltation. The complexity of detail in this painting does not take away from the compelling dominance of the main figure in the design. Only a great thinker possessed of soaring imagination and overwhelming piety could have conceived and executed this work of art of supreme aesthetic grandeur. Remarkable for its striking colours, magnificent composition, harmony of form and design, flowing lines of exquisite beauty, and its delicacy and refinement, *Nataraja* is a masterpiece of mural art.

Venuganiam, (Krishna and Gopies) is excellent in technique and finish and

eloquent with spiritual instruction and uplifting sentiments. The figures in these frescoes are full of vitality and grace and they throb with exalted life. The sumptuousness of floral design and the depiction of birds and cattle in this mural indicate the skill of the master artists in painting nature. The colours in these frescoes are rich, resplendent and lovely, and the figures are dignified in posture and demeanour. A vast drama moves before our eyes on seeing this mural painting which is remarkable for its expressive and pleasing lines. The drapery and ornaments worn by the divine cowherd and Gopies are drawn with precision.

The craftsmanship discerned in the Udayanapuram Frescoes is remarkable. Their symbolic expression is arresting. There is a wealth of beauty, majesty and charm in the murals *Vishnu in Santana-gopalam*, and *Ganapati*. The artists who created these miracles of inspired art had an eye for feature and form and full mastery of technique to faithfully yet imaginatively represent them. In these paintings which are exquisite and full of powerful rhythm more is meant for the head and the heart than for the eye. Niceties of perspective and anatomic perfection did not bother the creative artists who executed these murals. These still pictures depict thrilling puranic stories in a manner which is more interesting, instructive and spectacular than a modern movie.

Remarkable for their superb pose, meditative repose, radiant expression and lavish embellishment, these paintings are unsurpassed in linear presentation, emotional fervour, consummate charm and contemplative mysticism. Their dignified beauty of

form and refinement are graceful. "What is most noteworthy among them is the vividness of their decoration, the soft colours reconciling the various parts of the composition and the bright colours of the garments, drapery etc., suggesting a richness and profusion of ornamentation." They tattoo themselves on memory's surface.

Some of the figures of maidens in these Murals resemble the *Apsaras*, divine damsels. The essentials of exquisite feminine charm as indicated in the ancient books have been observed in the sprightly figures with brows like the crescent moon, almond-shaped eyes, bosoms well shaped, rounded hips, slender waists, and elongated fingers. The elusive grace of women is most charmingly depicted in these frescoes. "Majesty and Power" distinguish the women in the Travancore Frescoes. The portraiture of women in these frescoes is exquisite, matchless and full of dignity. The poses are acclaimed as the acme of art. To see these murals which are at once spiritualised and spiritualising is to see poetry in motion and perceive a new world. "They are a flowering of the mind in form." The artists who painted these Frescoes were gifted with vivid visual imagination and talent for original design and composition.

Magic and Miracle

The sensitive and mobile curves of the hands and fingers in the various graceful poses which are typical of the Ajanta Style, speak to us, hold our mind, and stir our thoughts. The lines are drawn with utmost firmness and delicacy and they are full of languid grace. The Travancore Frescoes prove that "the line, the most primitive invention in the art-world, unconsciously gives us food for aesthetic culture, and as such



NATARAJA DANCE

(Mural Painting in the Udayanapuram Temple)





MAHAVISHNU in the story of "Santhanagopalam"
(Mural Painting in the Udayanapuram Temple)

will ever remain a method of expression of all artists."

Accomplished in execution, vivacious and varied in design, full of form and colour, and marvellous in perspective and grouping, the Travancore Murals possess both power and strength. They seem to move and speak. The unity of style evident in these paintings in stucco is marvellous. The long and subtle curves are drawn with supreme precision showing consummate skill and manual dexterity. The paintings are the best of their kind and their calligraphic and sweeping curves remind one of the finest achievements of Chinese and Japanese art. The artists who drew these frescoes possessed perfect command over pose and posture. The Hindu racial type has been glorified in these works of inspired art which indicate a harmonious union of art, poetry and music. The portraits of Gods and Goddesses witnessed in these Murals have been executed by master craftsmen strictly in accordance with the description of deities as given in the *Agamas* and *Tantras*. The artists who painted these frescoes were great devotees and profound scholars. Mural Art in Travancore is plastic and sculptural, both in respect of its characteristic technique of colouring and the extreme sensitiveness of its lines. There is no mannerism and monotony in these Frescoes which convey moods, sentiments and passion. The imaginative forces of creative art find their supreme expression in these wall paintings.

(K. P. P. TAMPY)

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Paramountcy and Independence

BY DEWAN BAHADUR A. VENUGOPAL, B. A., B. L., (Secunderabad)

I am Sir Oracle,
And when I ope' my lips, let no dog bark.
(*Merchant of Venice*)

Different Views

The question now agitating the minds of the leading Congressmen and their sympathisers is whether on the termination of Paramountcy, the Indian States should become independent or not. Incidentally, they have also discussed what Paramountcy is and what should happen to them on termination of British Paramountcy. Both Sir N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer have expressed their emphatic opinion that when British Paramountcy terminates it vests in the Governments of the respective States but say that this means the peoples of the States. On what authority they assert this is not mentioned, but would have us take it as axiomatic political truth. Sir N. G. Iyengar never was a lawyer and I believe that he never passed any law examination. No doubt, at the fag end of his service a grateful British Government got him the Dewanship of Kashmir but that does not entitle him to speak with any authority on the question of Paramountcy. In this connection Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is a much better authority because he is not only a brilliant lawyer but the Dewan of a progressive State. In public life one never heard of Sir N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar before now but we have known Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as one who took an active part in the public life of India in the life-time of Mrs. Besant. He conducted with her the Home Rule Movement and was the Editor of the "Madras Standard"

which was its chief organ. His opinion is therefore entitled to greater weight than that of one who spent his life among the dust-laden files of the Government of Madras.

Sovereignty of People

Paramountcy is not a branch of political science. If it can form part of any law at all it may be part of International Law though I feel that International Law governs two equally Sovereign and Independent States. It is generally acquired by one State over another by force, coercion or undue influence which the latter cannot resist. I do not think Sir Alladi ever had occasion to make a special study of International Law and his capacity to explain or expound it so far as Paramountcy is concerned is a matter of sincere doubt. He never had any occasion to serve any Indian State. Therefore, even he is less qualified to speak on this subject. Admitting that both these Madras knights are correct, when they say that when British Paramountcy lapses it vests in the peoples of the States what is the position then of the Sovereign Ruler of the Indian State? And how do they know that they prefer becoming practically part and parcel of India or Hindustan? After All, there is a large section of Christian and Mohammedan population in Travancore just as there is an overwhelming section of Hindus in the Hyderabad State. And the wishes of the people as a whole can only be known on a referendum.

An Illuminating Firman

The Firman issued by H. E. H. the Nizam justifies why the Indian States

should keep out of both Hindustan and Pakistan in a State where the people belong to these different faiths. It looks *prima facie* wise and statesmanlike that they should keep out of both the two Constituent Assemblies and enter into separate treaties with both Hindustan and Pakistan so that neither may feel that it has been unreasonably preferred. H. E. H. the Nizam is one of the most acute amongst Indian Rulers and his opinion is entitled to great respect and weight. He is being advised by Sir Walter Monckton, a constitutional lawyer of repute. His reasons for keeping out are cogent.

Untenable Objections

The objections urged by Mr. Gandhi and his followers do not bear examination. For instance, he is reported to have said that a declaration by an Indian State that it would join neither of the two Constituent Assemblies should be deemed to amount to a declaration of War. *War against whom?* Suppose Pakistan does not say that this amounts to a declaration of war and supports the claim of Travancore and Hyderabad to independent sovereign status, against whom is the declaration of War? And suppose Hindustan declares war treating the refusal of either or both to join either of the Constituent Assemblies as an unfriendly act sufficiently belligerent to declare a war, what will be the position if Pakistan decides to throw in its lot with either or both? Will there not be a war more devastating and ruinous than a Civil War? Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in a speech on the 13th of June 1947 (reported in *the Hindu* of the 16th June 1947) said that he had agreed with the Muslim League for the creation of a separate Sovereign Independent Pathan State and that he had also succeeded in getting the sanction of the Congress.

Contradictory Position

If the Pathans could have a Sovereign State, why not Hyderabad, Travancore or Mysore? And is Mr. Gandhi correct when he says that there could be only two divisions of India and no more while there is a sovereign Pathanistan in the offing? We have got two foreign powers with territories and Governments of their own, namely, the French in Chandranagore, Pondicherry, Karaikal and Mahe and we have the Portuguese in Goa, Diu and Daman. While France is likely to have friendly feelings towards the future Government or Governments of India Portugal has not yet shown any inclination to do so. Why does not Mr. Gandhi ask France and Portugal to surrender to us these small bits of territory? Is it because Mr. Gandhi feels that he cannot compel them either by violence or non-violence? One is surprised at the short-sightedness of the Mahatma when he charges Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar with agreeing to British suzerainty and refusing to accept the suzerainty of the Union of India. Does not Mr. Gandhi see that he would have two foreign European Nations like Portugal and France in India exercising their full sovereign powers rather than Hyderabad and Travancore? When Travancore at first was willing to join the Constituent Assembly, the creation of a single unified and unitary Government for the whole of India was contemplated, but things altered as time went on and today we think of a division of India into two sovereign portions.*

Picture Altered

The picture is completely altered, and this must necessarily give the right to the Indian States to alter their position in the

* The article was written before division was decided on.

light of changed circumstances. Everybody now feels that as time goes on India will feel that a union is necessary and we will revert to the policy of Asoka and Akbar. The present position is due to the fact that the British Government allowed the policy of "divide and rule" which the British Government followed. They played the Hindu and Muslim Communities one against the other as it suited them. Government on communal lines can never succeed. The heyday of the Moghul rule was in the days of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shahjahan, but with the coming of Aurangzeb to the Imperial throne, the dissolution of the Moghul Empire started, because he was a fanatical Muslim ruler, and the Moghul Empire crashed like a house of cards within a few years. Similarly, Haider conquered Mysore, and ruled over that State but his son Tippu who was more zealous in his ideas of religion lost it.

Future Position

I am no prophet but like every other true Indian feel certain that after experimenting with Hindustan and Pakistan for a few years, the Hindu and Muslim will join like the Jumna and the Ganges and then peace and prosperity for this country will come as in the glorious days of the first of the great Moghul Emperors. Let it not be forgotten that in those days nobody thought of filling of appointments by giving them to members of particular communities and culture was open to all communities alike. Nor were there political newspapers or Universities based on communal lines. The Emperor of Delhi was loyally treated as the Emperor alike of both Hindus and Muslims. There is a good deal of new talk about the Rulers of Indian States. I was born in Hyderabad

and am a Mulki. There are people in the State who can work out its political salvation. They do not want the help of Pattabhis or Ashok Kumars, or a Mrs. Asaf Ali. The very fact that the State Congress has to indent upon British Indian politicians to help their cause shows that they do not have the backing of the people of the State. Today if a referendum is taken in Hyderabad, I am sure that at least 90 to 95 per cent will vote against the State Congress. It is a well-known fact that a newspaper like the "Deccan Chronicle" has strong Congress tendencies though its views are not openly and expressly declared.

An Intriguing Attitude

There is one intriguing sentence in the Prayer Meeting Speech made by Mr. Gandhi on the 14th June 1947, as reported in the *Hindu* of the next day. He is supposed to have said that "He (Sir C. P.) preferred the suzerainty of the British but rejected the suzerainty of the union of the people of India." Does the Mahatma mean by this that on the cessation of the Paramountcy of the British, by joining the Constituent Assembly the Ruler recognizes the suzerainty of the union of the people of India? Which union does he refer to? Hindustan or Pakistan? This question by itself is sufficient to raise the deepest suspicions and apprehensions of Indian States to keep out of the "Indian Union", unless Gandhiji believes like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the total liquidation of Indian States. No doubt, Mr. Gandhi says that he is the subject of an Indian State (presumably Rajkot) but we know what the loyal and patriotic subjects of that tiny State did for its Ruler and Prime Minister.

Kathakali: The State's Classical Ballet

By N K. Venkateswaran

TO see *Kathakali*, the traditional play of Kerala, is like being in wonderland. It is so original, unique and quaint, so arresting and glamorous that it can never become too old to outlive its appeal.

Kerala, the home of the Malayalam-speaking people on the West Coast, consisting of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, is one of the most fascinating parts of India. While the country woos the eye with its green woodlands and merry streams, its tastes, usages and manners, its arts, letters and entertainments, are such as are found in no other part of the world. In this snug corner the reins of power and influence were held in ancient times by a very distinctive class of Brahmins called Nambudiries famed for their simplicity, wit and candour, their dainty living and classic love of a museum. The *Kathakali* owes its origin to these wonderfully refined people who even many centuries ago left few stones unturned to enhance the quality of their life.

The *Kathakali* was an exceptional flower that grew out of a rather rough time in Kerala. The arts were in their infancy. Order often fought losing battles against confusion. The myths and legends of Hinduism conformed to the contour of the age: the ultimate triumph of the gods, the underground machinations of the demons and their short-lived intervening glories. The *Kathakali* reflected the insecurities and hopes of the time. It gave artistic and awe-inspiring portrayal to the myths and

legends which echoed the prevailing hooliganism, and as in the myths and legends though evil often held the ring too long, the wrath of the gods, slow to stir, yet always got itself going sooner or later and redressed the balance, so the *Kathakali* provided the most potent educational arm of the age.

As in the mystery and miracle plays of medieval England, in the dramatic phantasies of *Kathakali*, good and evil wrangled in the tide of war, and it may at once be added there were also pretty little interludes of romantic love and adventurous chivalry.

It need not be supposed that the play-writers merely varnished the myths and legends for aural or visual display. On the other hand, they breathed new life into them and their original touches often excel in artistic insight, in creative imagination, in robust guffawing strokes of inventive fantasy.

Pantomimic in structure, the accoutrements, the vertical and horizontal drums vying with each other in a swinging output of sound imagery, the spiral rhythms issuing from the cymbals, form a most effective foil to the speechlessness of the players. Silence is enjoined partly in behalf of the make-up, which is elaborate and exquisite and in certain of the greater characters so fascinatingly whimsical that their first appearances on the stage by themselves would be enough compensation for tramping a hundred miles to see the

play. The fig is all over the characters. The head wears a crown with a broad or narrow difference from personage to personage. The forehead projects the tremor in the brain. The eyebrows leap with action, the eyes themselves carrying the necessary vicissitudes of expression. The rose has its proclamatory jutting. The cheeks hold the mirror to the emotional mosaic. The chin offers its eloquent design. The neck glistens with emblematic jewellery. The fingers point to the quality of the person. The ankles jingle to the intellectual profit of the audience. The female characters have their own particular gear, each according to rank, worth and conduct, the meek maiden having no need to express her pureness or beauty, or the fiendish woman, unless disguised to deceive or enthrall, to explain herself. Silence is enjoined lest harm befall this great allegorical gallery of human nature in its infinite variety, before which the reflective spectator is transported to regions of light and bliss. The gods and goddesses, the giants and giantesses, the kings and queens, that appear in *Kathakali* each gets his or her appropriate frame and visage. The face is the index of the mind, the person of the personality, and each character throws before him the shadow of his ulterior motives, or the reassuring gleam of his luminous intentions. It may almost be said that in the *Kathakali* dramatic system there is conceived a world in which men and women show themselves in themselves. They may be dumb but by no means uneloquent.

Even apart from this, the spoken word is only supplanted by an equally efficient instrument. The gamut of symbols, gestures and looks makes a great language inclusive of every little thought and feeling,

rich in lyrical expression, deep in tragic content, swift in narrative power. The fingers gracefully etch speaking pictures. The face puts forth dialogue, full of deeps and shoals, subtle ripples, sudden ruptures. The eyes echo the march of the story. The lips are silent, but not still and tell no end. The background singers provide musical notation for every step in the play.

The language of gestures common to men and animals is immemorial and universal. The finest culture sometimes shows itself in its prettiest shape in a single flash of eye or finger. The savage mind often expresses itself in stormy symbols. There are sweet notes in looks and smiles. The alphabet of the hands is common to all races. The tongue speaks, but in the etymology of the eyes there is such power as can alter the tenor of oral intercourse. There is perhaps no greater handicap in this matter of life than the illiteracy of crude manners and no greater felicity than the hypnotic status arising from their modulated sweetness.

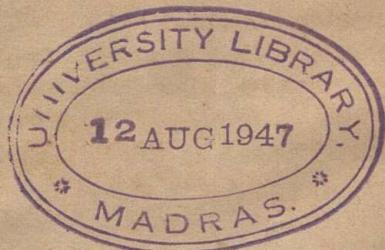
It is this pristine and crystal source of expression that is found developed in the *Kathakali* dramatic system. It is a direct instrument, unencumbered by grammar or syntactical idiosyncrasies. A story told in pictorial gestures possesses a psychological lure. In a matter of speech the subsidiary organ of the ear often usurps the place of the principal. In *Kathakali* we see the story with the eyes themselves, and not hear it, and if you know the story already the gestures lend it an arresting complexion. Gestures in fact need no school, but come as if they were themselves the soul and substance.

This picturesque language speaking in the face in ripples and bubbles, in lights



KATHAKALI AT BOMBAY.

(After a Painting, in oils, by Mr. K. H. ARA, Bombay.)





AN "OLD-TIME" TRAVANCORE LADY

—A Lino-cut by Mr. Lalit Mohan Sen, A. R. C. A. (Lond); Principal, Govt. School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow—

and shadows, in little transient fabrics of fingers and hands, in poses, nods and shakes of the head, in whole tremulous stirrings of the body, in glances, gleams and shades of the eye, is peculiar to *Kathakali* and seldom fails to cast a spell on the earnest spectator.

Ravana goes to woo Sita, a picture of bloom and light, a king in whom the mildness of majesty and personal loveliness mix and beckon. That stolen emblem of purity sits under the fabulous Asoka tree, its crimson clumps of flowers peeping with a thousand eyes. It is one of the most haunting scenes in the gallery of *Kathakali* stories.

Sita doesn't look or see. The Lord of Lanka embellished with all the graces shows himself a born emperor for the earth. He argues and expostulates, using every gentle art of persuasion and reason. She sits helpless, deep in her plight, inwardly trembling, unaware of the fire and sword that stand between her and her wooer. There is no speech: nor any colour-design. The background music plies at a low pitch. The drums roll in muffled sound and wistfully, and the scene slowly comes to resemble a sweet dream that unfolds in the soul in the depth of sleep in the stillness of the night.

The gifted actor is a wizard in *Kathakali*. At a juncture of opposite feelings each eye becomes a miracle mirroring either side. The face is a stage playing many parts, every emotion, however complex, being faithfully rendered. There is nothing in the world to surpass the battle scenes in *Kathakali* in point of realistic dignity and excellence. So it is that in this age when everything has undergone 'sea-change' since the *Kathakali* was first

enacted several hundred years ago at the ruling house of a small principality in Travancore, it has lost none of its old entralling fascination and now to all appearance is well on the highroad of fame.

There is a story that the image of Ramachandra in a temple on the precincts of which *Kharavadha* (the killing of Khara, Ravana's brother) was enacted broke into life at the precise moment and actually slew the *Rakshasa* in the same manner as he (Ramachandra) had slain him during his exile. The poor *Kathakali* actor who was playing the role was doing it with so challenging a touch as to awake the image and make it arise, and no *Kathakali* troupe would play the story again in the famous place! It is this kind of almost actual 'reliving' that forms the delight and wonder of *Kathakali*.

Perhaps, in nothing else is the splendour of *Kathakali* so beautifully disclosed as in its dance sequences. In fact, first and foremost the *Kathakali* is ballet. There is no stage. The audience squat on the ground. The curtain, and the canopy which hangs over the major characters at their debut, are held up by attendants. A stalwart metal oil-lamp with its broad artistic container at top puts out a conical pillar of flame. The drummers and singers keep to the rear inconspicuously except in their rhythmical function. Behind the curtain is a character coming to life. There is movement on the spot, movement near and aloof, sundered little symphonies coming together. It impels the wings of fancy. The drums softly weave little visions. The singers intone their introductory pieces. The steps jingle and rhyme and transform themselves into pictures of joy. You see with your mind's eye. The spire of flame catches up and begins to nod. The

curtain quickens to the tune of the character. The scene is set on springs. The fine spirit of the dance touches everything. The lamp merges in the movement. The curtain goes and the glorious figure is in the midst of the audience; no longer himself but art, the music of movement, the steps carolling, the hands spinning melodies, the eyes aglow with hues that nearly sing in the soul of the house. The actor is the play, putting forth every nuance of action and feeling, rendering every little ebb and flow in the story. He is wild: he is mild, and when he is wild there are bodeful thumps and strides in the wide, wide gamut of his dance, and when he is

mild he allures with all the charm of his meek maidenly personality. He storms; he soothes, in the stretches of his dance, and as the story advances, oft twinkles like a single star in the sky. Everything dances. The lamp dances. The drums dissolve in the dance and the spectators gathered into one spirit become one with the dance, dancing in their mind. And it is then that one realises that the expanding universe is one that dances and that the immortals seldom speak, nor sing, but dance.

(Swatantra)



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, as I know him.

By Mohan Lal,

Chief Counsellor, Jamkhandi State

My friend Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has served the Ruler and the Ruled of Travancore State with a rare devotion. He is always disposed to conciliate and not irritate public opinion. He combines in himself exceptional ability and strength of character. He is a man who will steadily pursue the right track, pointed out by wisdom, experience and commonsense. His exalted qualities, private as well as public, would be patent to any one who comes in his contact. He aims chiefly at being just and doing justly. He is too daring a person to be scared away by mere brain-born fancies.

Himself a statesman of international reputation, Sir C. P. has raised Travancore State to the pinnacle of glory. By his

patriotic services to the Country he shines like a star in the firmament of the Indian Sky. He is a very erudite scholar of Hindu philosophy and his brilliant speeches on varied topics of the day keep the audience spellbound. In these difficult times he has given a wise lead to the Indian Princes, enjoining upon them to conform their administration to modern standards and requirements. Those who have known him at close quarters can bear testimony to the fact that he has been a great asset to the cause of the country's freedom and progress.

India has reason to be proud of a son of his distinction who occupies a pride of place in the galaxy of his eminent contemporaries.

NEEDED A NEW APPROACH

By S. Krishna Aiyar, Ex-M. L. A.

Travancore has recently come to occupy a prominent place in the public eye, consequent on a statement made by the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, that the State intends declaring its independence from the 15th August. This seems to have perturbed Congress high circles in North India and their adherents in the South. As the war of words in press and platforms is still going on, a statement of the position from the angle of vision of a Travancorean might help to clear the atmosphere.

Area : 7,662 sq. miles.

Travancore

Population : 60,00,000

Revenue : 8½ crores.

In a Nutshell

Travancore was independent till it entered into treaty alliances with Britain. When the paramountcy created under these treaties is relinquished, the status quo, *i. e.*, independence, is automatically restored. It is the only legal and logical position.

Position after 15th August

The position of British India after transfer of power has been decided to be dominion status. Such dominion status cannot automatically attach itself to Indian States. Indian States may or may not care to join the future dominion of India or Pakistan. This is a matter for mutual adjustment.

Without entering into academic discussions, abstract theories and legal fictions, we have to recognise the position that the *de facto* Sovereign of Travancore is His Highness the Maharaja and that the Dewan is his minister.

A few proponents of North Indian high circles have indulged in threats of inciting civil disobedience, rebellion and revolution. Behind the State Government stands mustered a comfortable majority in favour of independence, thanks also to the automatic reaction from the threats and contemptuous tone of Congress utterances.

The rallying cry of the moment is: can self-respecting Travancore stand the arrogance, threats, contempt and domination of North India and their adherents from the South?

Congress Threats

Let us examine the statements made by Congress high circles.

(1) States that do not join the Union now, will be regarded as hostile. (2) Foreign countries who recognise the independence of Indian States will be regarded as unfriendly. Discerning Travancore can see that this is pure bluff. It is a threat of war and would scarcely be condoned by the United Nations, the preamble to whose charter was read over and over again yesterday over the Delhi radio. It is just the policy of Russia against its western neighbours. It hardly fits in with the non-violent principles of Mahatma Gandhi. The old adage comes to mind.

Oaths are but words, and words but wind.

Economic Boycott

This is another phase of the same bluff.

(a) More British Indian money (running into crores) has been invested in Travancore than Travancore money in British India.

(b) Trade is complimentary and both parties stand to lose by economic boycott, e. g. over 75 per cent of the trade of the Cochin Port is built on Travancore exports and imports. One cannot envisage even the distant possibility of a party cutting off his nose to spite his face.

(c) Travancore has quite a lot of articles for export e. g. tea, rubber, pepper, cashewnuts, arecanuts, coir mats and matting and coir yarn of which it has almost world monopoly. It can easily get more than sufficient dollar exchange to buy its import requirements.

(d) Food: No doubt Travancore produces only a third of its requirements of rice, but it has begun to produce ammonium sulphate, the main fertiliser for rice. It produces more tapioca and other varieties of root crops than it can consume. It produces fruits like mangoes, jacks, pineapples and millions of bunches of plantain and banana. It exports eggs and fish. It can easily develop fisheries along its long seaboard, and pisciculture in its extensive inland waters and rivers. Thus in the matter of food though not of rice, which is its staple food it is in a better position than many a province in India and many a country in Europe including Britain.

(e) Clothing: It has to import its clothing and if the Union of India refuses export of cotton it can easily import its cotton from Sind or Egypt and spin it in its own mills. India itself has become an importer of cotton textiles from Japan,

(f) Iron & Steel: Few countries in the world are self-sufficient. in these materials.

(g) Hydro-Electric Potential: There is enough to supply Travancore, its neighbouring States and the Madras Province, and more left over.

One should like to know from the proponents of economic boycott definite details of their proposition.

Economic Position of British India

People are getting nervous about the repercussions that might follow a possible collapse of British Indian economy in the near future. Scarcity of food, and housing has been increasing. Food control is near breaking point. The import position of food is getting worse. Murder, arson and general insecurity of person and property persist in large cities like Calcutta, Cawnpore, Bombay, Lahore and Amritsar. Production is down. Ante-diluvian economies are discouraging industry. Heavy taxation is numbing enterprise. The railway is wearing out. Replacement of run-down machinery is a problem. All prices are up by 15 points over 1946. Strikes are everywhere, even in Government services. Dollar resources are getting scantier. India has to find exchange for about a hundred crores of rupees annually for import of food. The standard of living is going down. Malnutrition might bring its attendant problems. The stock market has crashed. The investing public has lost confidence. Depression is in the air. Britain is unable to pay its debts to India and wants to withdraw before an economic collapse.

Practical Politics

Now let us come to brass-tacks. What does the Congress want? Does it want subordination or political amity coupled with satisfactory arrangements in respect of defence, foreign affairs and communications? The latter has already been promised by Travancore. But Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, for example, will not be content but wants a levy of customs duties by the Union itself. This is unreasonable. Travancore will never consent to another exercising

the right of levying taxes within Travancore. Travancore is offered or promised internal autonomy. This certainly excludes the right of another power to levy duties. In the matter of taxation including customs Travancore cannot follow the lines of British India for many reasons. It has undertaken large commitments towards education, industrialisation etc. It cannot afford to give up any portion of its revenue without detriment to its nation-building activities.

What else does the Congress Want?

Without threats and violent language why doesn't some representative of the Congress discuss all outstanding problems in a spirit of reason with Travancore? There are no differences that cannot be adjusted. It depends on the way of approach. You do not start negotiations at the point of the bayonet. Both Congress and Travancore must be satisfied with the substance, not the words or the forms. And I for one feel sure that a new approach will clear all misunderstandings.

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J.51

THE STATE'S STAND

AN ANALYSIS

Contributed

To the dispassionate looker-on of developments in Modern India, all the fight and acrimonious controversy ranging round the talk of an independent Travancore cannot but constitute a matter for wonder and amusement. He is bound to be shocked at times and amused alike at the possibilities suggested if this Independence should become a *fait accompli*. There are enthusiasts who see the doom of the State in this declaration and there are self-constituted judges and prophets who declare that this Independence cannot come to fruition, that it will be but a shadow and that the demand for it would at best be a cry in the wilderness. Threats are held out of subjugation by starvation and isolation by non-recognition and the enforcement of economic sanctions. It is perhaps needless to add to the heat by a fresh resume of the position but it is worth while examining how much of this ill-informed criticism is substantial.

That there is no legal or technical objection or obstacle to a State declaring its independence has been implicitly conceded by the Congress despite the unanimous resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. Mr. Shanker Rao Deo has stated that the Congress will accept the stand of Independence for Travancore if this claim is ratified by the people at a referendum. All the ingenious argument of persons like Sir Alladi, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Dr. Ambedkar come to nought. Arguing the case apparently for the Congress, these persons tried to show how the State had no right to anything savouring of independence but consistently with its recent actions, the Congress has again let down their spokesmen as they did their principles

by this latest statement of its General Secretary. No question of Paramountcy coming to the successor governments is raised. In the face of that unanimous resolution of the A. I. C. C. it is impossible to regard this latest speech as anything but an attempt to placate the State people and to make the Ruler appear wrong.

It would appear, therefore, that the chief opposition to the stand taken by the State is founded on reasons other than legal or technical. It is inconceivable as to what right the Congress or any extraneous body has to dictate to the States what they should do and what not. One can understand some States making it up with such totalitarian bodies, but when of late that organisation has exhibited such vacillation in their policy, such *volte-face* in many matters of fundamental concern to the Motherland, the States would surely be bartering their future if they come to terms with the Congress. It is not right to force others to be as inconsistent as they have been. Till yesterday or the day before Congress has been stern opponents of constituted authority and such opposition it is believed has been based on sincere grounds. If, therefore, today some persons feel they have a right cause and come into opposition to the Congress, the least the Congress can do is to concede those persons the right to differ from them. There should be sufficient generosity to agree to differ. Rights once enjoyed should not be forgotten and should not be denied to others.

Now what does Travancore propose to do with its Independence? It has been made perfectly clear that this State is willing to come to friendly, co-operative and willing

agreements with the Union Government on all matters of common interest like Defence, Communications, Food, Health, etc. It has also been stressed that Independent Travancore will not have unfriendly intentions against anyone. What more does the Union Government require? What salvation is attained by anyone by the fact of Travancore coming to these agreements as a unit inside the Union? What is lost by its remaining as an autonomous unit?

The real ground for this engineered propaganda against the State's stand is that the Congress feels that its prestige has been affected. Congress wanted that the Indian States should join the C. A. Travancore wisely saw the inherent dangers and disadvantages of such a blind adherence to the dictates of the Congress and chose to stay out. The Congress is put out. Was it not Acton who said power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely? We see this dictum exemplified and it looks as though it is not mere corruption but blindness to justice and fairplay.

Without having to go back to history, even at the present time Travancore enjoys a great measure of independence. Her Courts are supreme. The Resident has no right to interfere in a single item of internal administration and he functions merely as the channel of communication between the State and the Central Government. Arrangements regarding Food, Communications, Textiles etc.. are arrived at only with the Central Government, but there is just the formality of such references passing through the Resident. In the future India, the State will deal directly with the Central Government. What is there to object? What is the need for all the pious horror? Why this agitation and controversy! In point of fact there would be very little

change when the State declares its independence formally. It would be in the fitness of things if persons who talk and write on this matter halt a while in their stride and really think before they talk or write. Travancore's inherent right cannot be negatived because she is unable to see eye to eye with the principles professed by a clique.

That the majority of the people of the State is behind this stand cannot be doubted. There is opposition to every cause. Without that opposition the relative merits cannot be adjudged in any scheme of things. The only set of people who vocally oppose this stand is the State Congress but as an influence in shaping public opinion that body does not count. The politics of that organisation is yet to be lifted above the personal level and this is no secret. As a sincere, level-headed and impersonal body with real, practical and progressive ideas, the State Congress is yet to be. Their ideals are at present shaped by purely personal animosities and grievances and as a political entity the State Congress has not touched the masses. Apart from this body and a set of persons whose opinion is shaped by this organisation, there is no doubting the fact that the bulk of the State is behind the stand taken at present.

To sum up: Travancore has independence now even with Paramountcy. When that lapses, there is going to be no real change. The State has proclaimed its decision to assert that independence, but assert it not to the detriment of any other unit but in a comradely, co-operative and useful manner. She is not willing to be a subservient unit to a political body but is willing to share alike the duties and responsibilities as well as the privileges on a basis of equality and friendliness. Who can quarrel with this stand?

What Others Say

INDEPENDENT TRAVANCORE

NOT for the first time is it that we have to ask Congress to know its own mind and mind its own business. According to a news agency report, the announcement that Travancore had appointed a representative in Pakistan had provoked the Government of India to order a census of all Travancoreans employed under them "with a view to deciding what policy Government should adopt with regard to the Travancore State subjects." Not even Congress could want to make scapegoats of Travancoreans in the Government of India services, leaving Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer as the scapegoat. Any such policy, therefore, may presumably be ruled out. That their future lay outside Travancore was decided long ago by these Travancoreans and if the choice was put to them now of applying for naturalisation papers, if they have not already done so, there can be little doubt that they would legalise their position. It is not by denying Travancoreans service under the Government of India that Travancore can be forced to join the Indian Union. When Mr. De Valera proclaimed the Republic of Eire it did not deter the British Government from entertaining Irishmen in their service. During the war, despite the neutrality of Eire, many Irishmen volunteered for British army service and were accepted. It is true that there has not been any change in Mr. De Valera's policy but the British Government's policy of keeping the door

open should have commended itself to Congress statesmanship. Instead, we are told, Congress proposes to apply economic sanctions against Travancore. It would be understandable if, for instance, Congress in power were to decree that persons under the jurisdiction of the Government of India would forfeit all their citizenship rights if they elected to serve independent States. Such a provision would leave it to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and all the non-Travancoreans appointed as heads of departments to Travancore to decide their final allegiance. But it would also apply to the Nawab of Chattari who has resumed the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad.

The fact that Congress has very little to say about Hyderabad while Congress spokesmen are busy indulging in concerted propaganda against Travancore is not the most baffling aspect of Congress policy. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer hit the nail on the head and rammed it home when he asked : "If Pathanistan, with one-third of the population and less than one-third of the revenue of Travancore can be independent, is it a cardinal sin for Travancore to ask for the fulfilment of what British statesmen have said and undertaken?" The latter day move of the Congress Ministry in the N. W. F. Province for an independent Pathanistan has secured Mahatma Gandhi's blessings. Time was when the Mahatma was wont to declare that if Pakistan was an article of faith with Mr. Jinnah, the unity

of India was equally an article of faith with him. It was again on the eve of Lord Mountbatten's statement of the British Government's policy that the Mahatma was declaring that he would not yield Pakistan to force. Today, it is asserted that Pakistan has been yielded not to force, but to force of circumstances. Be that as it may, no Congressman can truthfully maintain that Congress has not sacrificed its principles for the sake of expediency. When Mahatma Gandhi and Congress, for whatever reasons of their own, endorse Dr. Khan Sahib's plea that the N.W. F. Province should not join Pakistan or Hindustan but should remain independent does it lie in the mouth of Congress to charge others with the Balkanisation of India? A foolish consistency, said Emerson, is the hobgoblin of little minds, but is it entirely unwarranted to demand of Congress some consistency of policy even if there be no consistency of principles?

The political separateness of Travancore, Cochin, and Madras did not stand in the way of a triphibian triumph of statesmanship when they developed the port of Cochin, sharing the liabilities and dividing the benefits. Is there anything to prevent such economic co-operation in the future? Already Travancore has entered into an agreement with the Government of India for joint research into the atomic energy resources of Travancore. *But if the Government of India are bent upon staging an economic war against Travancore it would be proof positive that it is not so much political or economic considerations that determine their policy as personal predilections.* After all, the railway runs from Madras to Trivandrum and can continue to do so even after Travancore has become independent. France and Germany, eternal enemies in Europe, have always had connecting railways. Is it the intention of the Government of India to disconnect the existing

railway? If trains can run between Hindustan and Pakistan we see no reason why they should not run likewise in the case of Travancore too. The argument has been adduced that such economic links dictate that Travancore should remain under the Government of India. Economic co-operation can function without political subjugation and if Travancore prefers to remain independent can Congress which has been declaring that it is not its policy to coerce any area to come into the Indian Union against its will, still maintain a hostile attitude? The right of Indian States to remain independent is no longer a matter for legal argument; the controversy has become political in character. What should count in the case of Travancore is whether Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's enunciation of State policy is against the wishes of the majority of Travancoreans. He has publicly affirmed: "I am not and shall not be afraid of a referendum." Congress, reportedly, is averse to the referendum in the N.W. F. Province; *if it is not prepared to take Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar at his word when he offers to abide by the verdict of a referendum, the least that it could do to prevent stultifying itself is to acknowledge the force of circumstances and not cry havoc on Travancore.*

The Pioneer—LUCKNOW

A COURAGEOUS DECISION

SIR C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore, has issued a statement to the Press which without any exaggeration must be described as momentous, far-reaching in its scope and wise. We have not been admirers of the Dewan and have, in fact, criticised him on several occasions on matters of policy. But the decision that the Ruler has arrived at on

the advice of the Dewan will be hailed with satisfaction by all true lovers of freedom, orderly progress and justice. That the States will become independent by August 15 is clear notwithstanding the surreptitious line of reasoning adopted by that spineless student of constitutional law, Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer had very little difficulty in dealing with the specious arguments advanced by the ex-Advocate General of Madras whose opinion is in flat contradiction to that advanced by those who have decided that paramountcy should revert to the States. The Dewan, however, has given expression to the definite view that Travancore will be independent but that such independence did not imply any hostility whatsoever to the two Dominions of India. Travancore like any sovereign State believes in interdependence and would therefore be willing to enter into association with other units for specific purposes. In recent weeks Congress politicians, President of the State Peoples' Conference and other such busy-bodies have been concentrating their attention not on promoting freedom but on reducing Indian India to servitude. The Constituent Assembly is according to these politicians to be the forum in which Indian States will be chastised and made to realise the sovereignty of the overlords of the North. Against such an infliction of tyranny any self-respecting State will rebel and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has voiced the feeling of many in South India who have been watching with regret the mournful progress registered by the vested interests of the North. It may surprise even Congressmen to find the Dewan's view on this particular issue being welcomed by the majority of his bitterest political opponents. It is not the support of an individual but the support of an ideology that

has induced us to place before the public the implications of the Dewan's statement.

What is to be the place of South India in the future politics of multi-national India? Have we not enough wisdom to manage the problems of life, of culture, of economics and of good neighbourliness? Are we not better fitted than the men of the North to determine our destiny? What has been their contribution to the solution of life's problems in the North? They have created a great gulf between Hindus and Muslims and have shown themselves to be thoroughly incapable of bringing about harmony among the various diverse units of this vast sub-continent. And having mismanaged affairs the Hindustan Union is talking in terms of a strong centre to indulge in reprisals against a possibly hostile Pakistan. We of the South have shown more wisdom and tolerance in our approach to the political problems of the world. Therefore, why should we be involved in quarrels between two neighbouring Unions, which is what we would be if the Congress politicians have their way? Can we not make our own soup without drawing on the sewage water of the stinking pools of Gujarat and Marwar? These are questions which surge to one's mind as one contemplates over the political, economic and cultural destiny of the common man. What is the function of the Constituent Assembly? The State Peoples' Conference seem to nurse ideas of disrupting States and abolishing all units which have an individual existence. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy did not exaggerate when he referred to the need for the citizens of Travancore to cogitate and decide whether they wished to cherish their freedom and independence or preferred to be submerged as an adjunct to a Dominion in a divided India or be a colony or dependency.

Substitute for Travancore, South India and what has been said with appropriateness of that State will be equally applicable to the various lingual groups that inhabit South India. Indian States have to think very seriously and furiously over this question of participation in a Union and in the Constituent Assembly. Judging from the trend of events, by the way in which the impulse for domination is expressing itself it must be pointed out that the States have got everything to lose by submergence and nothing to gain whatsoever. Conflicts which occur in the Union between the ruling groups and the dominating sections will have their repercussions in a unit which is part and parcel of the new Hindustan Union. States which have hitherto managed to preserve stability will be shaken to the roots by conflicts of gigantic and long continuing dimensions. Instead of the States being asylums of peace and progress they will be transformed into cockpits of divided loyalties and fierce warfare. We would in other words be importing into the South the very conflicts which in the North they have been unable to avoid. Besides, if Hindustan and Pakistan should in the next few years come into conflict with one another the States will be forced to take sides and not remain aloof. It is indeed a serious prospect and one which we should seek to avoid by insulating South India from the rest of India. The Dewan of Travancore has arrived at this conclusion by virtue of his grasp of the trend of events and of the way in which things are shaping. One of the unintended consequences of the Dewan's statement would be a reconsideration of the premises of political action in British India. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer is a distinguished leader of the Brahmin community. Between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins there has been and there

is a great conflict which can be resolved harmoniously only in the frame-work of a South Indian Unit. The general impression that non-Brahmins and minorities have of the Brahmin community is that it esteems alliance with the vested interests of the North more than its love of South India. The criticism that has been rightly voiced forth is that the North by skilful manipulation and with the aid of this community is attempting to reduce the South to servitude; quite naturally feelings of bitterness have increased and the Dravidian Nationality has despaired of ever settling this problem by the method of persuasion.

If the lead that has been given by the Dewan of Travancore on this particular issue is followed by the members of his community there may be—we do not maintain that it is easy—chances of a reasonable settlement being evolved between the two communities. Independence then of South India and of the South Indian States is the first essential condition. If the wise politicians of the Congress—the press acclaims them as wise men—recognise this fact then the door may be open for co-operation and an interdependent existence. Men who achieve their freedom esteem the virtues of interdependence better and give off their best willingly. Who knows what may not be the result of such a change in the angle of vision? A free South India and free South Indian States may willingly consent to enter into confederal relations with the Hindustan Union. The shadow of domination would have receded into the background and over this association will shine brightly the sunlight of co-operation and friendliness. Whatever might be the criticisms voiced forth against the Dewan of Travancore by the Press in South India one thing is clear that by his powerful advocacy of independence he has awakened the

slumbering Congress politicians. It is our hope that all citizens of South India, both of Indian India and of Dravidian India, will give thought to the issue raised by the Dewan in the Press Conference of yesterday. They will find that not only have they not utilised their time properly, they will have also realised what the essentials of freedom are. Once South India is free, the internal freedom in the States is bound to assume a healthier and richer content; the citizens of the Indian States will strive for increasing the prosperity and the glory of the States and not for enslaving them to powerful interests abroad.

The Liberator—Madras.

SIR C. P. HOLDS HIS OWN

TRAVANCORE'S Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, by his decision to declare the State's independence when British paramountcy lapses and to send an envoy to Pakistan, has infuriated the Congress to the point of derangement. Were it to be seized with such violent fits of rage before assuming power, we shudder to think what would happen when power is actually handed over to it in less than a couple of months hence. The neo-Congress rulers of Hindustan then, we can clearly imagine, would doubtless like to see Sir C. P.'s head on a charger. Meanwhile, they are planning how to bring this obstinate and impertinent Dewan to his knees.

Short of a formal declaration of war, what is the other alternative in the circumstances? How to make this arrogant man feel that by his ill-conceived intransigence he is merely hastening his own doom? Something must, therefore, be done to bring him to his senses. The blunt, rusty

weapon of the much-discredited economic measures which comes handy at the moment must be employed against him. They seem to hug the delusion that economic reprisals against the State would take all the conceit out of this swollen-headed Dewan. Apart from economic sanctions, there is another secret weapon which, they think, would produce the desired effect. There are thousands of Travancoreans in the Indian Dominion, many of them in the employ of different Governments and mercantile firms; they will be shouted down and hounded out wherever found, like General Smuts' compatriots in this country. The Congressmen fondly believe that the employment of these non-violent methods will dispense with the need for armed warfare involving much bloodshed, and thereby save the soul of the beacon light of the Congress, Mr. Gandhi.

In deciding upon the adoption of economic reprisal against Travancore the Congressmen have evidently reckoned without the vastness of the globe we live in. Nazi Germany in the heyday of her power with all her "sea wolves" could not prevent American war materials pouring into Europe. The Hindustan Dominion cannot physically bring a maritime State like Travancore under any effective blockade. Sir C. P. draws his strength from that knowledge. In his defiant reply to the New Delhi pep talks about reprisal, he said that only in the matter of food Travancore was not self-sufficient but with regard to other necessities of life she possessed a big exportable surplus. In view of the case, however, she has no cause whatever for alarm. As far as food is concerned, Pakistan, with which the State has already entered into alliance, we believe, might come to her rescue as a gesture of goodwill. As regards her exportable surplus commodities, she will find ready markets in

Pakistan, no less lucrative than other parts of the world. While the rest of the world is there to help Travancore Sir C. P. can do no better than to stick to his guns.

The Dwan—Delhi.

A SOUTH INDIAN FERTILISER FACTORY

THE Sulphate of Ammonia factory of the Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore, at Alwaye is in fact a panel of six large and distinctive factories. Each of these plants is larger in size than any single manufacturing unit we are used to in this country.

The first of these plants is the Producer-Gas plant, which converts 250 to 300 tons of wood into producer-gas. The process of producing ammonia by utilisation of wood for production of the Synthesis gases has been adopted in the Travancore factory. In fact, the original programme was to convert wood into charcoal for the water gas process. This idea however after careful consideration was changed to the process now adopted. The Report of the Fertiliser Mission, better known as the Growing Mission, was openly sceptical about the efficiency of the charcoal process, as all standard manufacturing units used only coke for gas production. Careful tests made under expert direction in the United States with Travancore wood yielded convincing results. The producer-gas plant was thereafter designed to use wood. The large quantities of wood required every day by the producer-gas plant are brought to the concrete slipway built on the Periyar river bank within the factory compound by barges from a loading station about 25 miles up the river and beyond Kaladi, which is practically the gateway to the Malayattur forests. The Producers, besides

yielding producer-gas, yield about 10 tons of wood-tar and 5 to 6 tons of ash per day as by-products. Experiments are being conducted in the laboratory of the Company on the economic extraction of phenol from wood-tar, on the tar itself as road-making material, and on the extraction of potassium salts from wood ash. The producer-gas is stored in a large gas holder, from which pipelines lead the gas to the hydrogen and nitrogen plants.

The Steam from Hydrogen Plant of the factory is stated to be the largest in the world. Information goes to show that at full capacity it can produce more hydrogen than what Britain produced for balloon barrage during the war. This plant is full of automatic gadgets. The opening of one valve and closing of another have to be done with a degree of precision that cannot presumably be entrusted to erring human hand. Actually, the whole factory is riddled with automatic controls and few people are about. The information as to what particular units are at work and what are not is indicated at control boards. Output and efficiency are recorded continuously on circular or straight graph sets moved by delicate clock-work arrangements. Automatic alarm bells and lights warn operatives when anything goes off its complicated gear.

The Nitrogen Plant which forms the next section is also equipped with all mechanical devices as in the case of the Hydrogen Plant. The nitrogen gas after cooling and purification is led off to another gas holder.

We now come to the nerve centre of the factory, the Synthesis Plant. This looks most complicated with its compressor units, its maze of pipelines, cooling towers, valves,

and instruments. The synthesis of the two gases is brought about by catalytic action at high pressure. A complex solution of formic acid, copper, and ammonia, plays a significant part in the purification of the synthesis gases before they go into the converter.

Next we have what is called the Sulphate section which is also unique in some ways. This consists of two different sections for sulphate production, one by using Sulphuric Acid, and the other by the "Mersberg reaction" wherein gypsum is used. The Sulphuric Acid plant has proved its efficiency already. It is a plant designed to manufacture about 100 tons of Sulphuric Acid per day. This is reported to be the largest Sulphuric Acid Plant in India so far, and has been deliberately designed for a larger output than is required for Sulphate manufacture, as there is a considerable demand for the acid in Travancore itself. The surplus acid will also be useful for the Superphosphate plants which are being erected at Ellur and at Kundara for a total production of 60,000 tons per annum.

Vast supplies of sulphur are heaped in the shed attached to the acid plant. On one side gypsum of about 85 per cent purity from near Trichinopoly is stored in this shed. The Company has secured a lease from Madras Government of 500 acres of gypsum-bearing land in Trichinopoly District whose output should be adequate to meet the factory's demands for several years. The acid plant employs the contact process for manufacture of Sulphuric Acid.

A brief description of some of the auxiliary works may now be given. The large water supply required by each of the component factories was one of the reasons for

situating the factory at the bank of Travancore's perennial river—Periyar. The Water Supply and filter beds are situate on the bank of the loop river, as distinguished from the main river, and the reason for this is that the water in the main river suffers from temporary salinity as often as the tide reverses. The loop river water has been found to remain unaffected by such tides. The water works has its own automatic chlorinating plant. The filter bed cleaning and flushing arrangements are completely modern. The water works are of the capacity to supply water to a town of one million people—on the usual basis of 15 gallons per head per day. There are no reservoirs large or small, and the entire water is supplied on the high-pressure principle. The same water works is used to supply water to the living quarters of the employees.

The factory obtains its electric power at 66 K.V. from the Pallivasal hydro-electric system and the transformer station situate within the factory near its subsidiary gateway steps down the current to the requisite voltage.

It is the first enterprise of its kind in which three Governments have a stake. The Travancore Government hold over 51 per cent of the share capital of Rs. 2.25 crores; the Government of Madras have invested Rs. 20 lakhs and the Government of Cochin Rs. 5 lakhs.

Sunday Hindu—Madras.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA'S MESSAGE

THE People of Travancore who listened to the broadcast of His Gracious Highness the Maharaja on Friday can never forget or efface the impression it has

created in their mind. It was a message of love, direct from the heart, short, crisp and sweet.

Travancore has been great, is great and will continue to be great. This State is a priceless heritage as His Highness so rightly claimed. His Highness is endeavouring to discharge his sacred trust with the sole purpose of hastening the material and moral progress of his beloved subjects. The material and human resources of the State are practically unbounded. Its people are highly educated and possess intellectual, agricultural and industrial aptitudes of a high order. All the elements necessary for a happy, prosperous national existence are there in an abundant measure.

To the State Congress, may we make an appeal? Whatever may have been their past differences with the Government, will they, in the light of the message of His Gracious Highness the Maharaja that "*it will be my intention to associate my people with me in the tasks of Government*" make a fresh approach to the problems facing them? Conditions have changed and are still fast changing. The Dewan is not likely to exercise his powers of veto. Due to the changed and changing circumstances, we presume, he would only be willing to delete that clause. That would take the State Congress not half way but three-

fourth way to the establishment of Responsible Government. Again, if the British Parliament could rush through the Indian Independence Bill in record time, could not the work of the Franchise Committee be also expedited?

At the invitation of the Viceroy, Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, has left for New Delhi. It is hoped that a new stage will be set up for the development of Travancore's aspirations. Our best days, in the words of Lord Listowel, are in front of us, because we are going to work in new ways and along new lines with other great nations in order that our collective resources might enable us to enjoy a full, happy and peaceful life.

Indian Thinker—Trivandrum

GOLDEN TRADITION

The State's independence is going to be no enemy of the freedom of any other part of India and she is going to be so independent that her independence can only add to the freedom and independence of India as a whole—such has been the custom and tradition of Travancore from the days of Kurukshetra, when the ruler of Travancore is said to have acted as the commissariat for both the contending armies.

From Swatantra—Madras



TRAVANCORE RADIO PROGRAMME

Programme for August 1947

(455.9 Metres 658 Kilocycles)

FRIDAY, 1ST AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Vandesada—Paras—Adi.

7-05 P. M.—Music Concert :—

Sangita Kalanidhi Ariakudi Ramanuja Aiyangar (Vocal).
Asthana Vidwan Papa K. S. Venkataramiah (Violin).
Asthana Vidwan Palghat Mani Aiyar (Mridangam).
Asthana Vidwan Palnai Subramania Pillai (Kenjira).

9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

SATURDAY, 2ND AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Vande deva—Begada—Rupakam.

7-05 P. M.—Veena by K. P. Sivanandam Pillai.

7-45 P. M.—Hindi music by Sangita Samrat Pandit Omkarnath Thakur and party.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

SUNDAY, 3RD AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Santatam—Bilahari—Chapu.

7-05 P. M.—Recorded Music :—Voice Variety.

7-30 P. M.—Ragam—Thanam—Pallavi.
Sangeetakalanidhi Tiger Varadachari.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

MONDAY, 4TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarumbhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Vandesada—Navarasakannada—Adi.

7-05 P. M.—*Nagaswaram*—Asthana Vidwan P. S. Veeruswamy Pillai
Needamangalam Meenkshisundaram Pillai (Taval).

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam.*

TUESDAY, 5TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Jalajanabha—Kedaragowla—Chapu.

7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on "Under the banner of Villagism"
by S. Rajagopal.

7-20 P. M.—*Music* by P. M. Venkitakrishnan and party.

8-05 P. M.—*Police Orchestra.*

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam.*

WEDNESDAY, 6TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Learn to Sing*—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions.

7-15 P. M.—*Play in Tamil.*

7-30 P. M.—*Music* by Salem Desikan and party.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam.*

THURSDAY, 7TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Jagadisasada—Natakurinji—Adi.

7-05 P. M.—Talks in Malayalam on "Great Lives"—Series—1st
talk "Socrates" by Kainkara Kumara Pillai.

7-20 P. M.—*Veena* by Saliyamangalam Sundaram Aiyar.

8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—Hindi Bhajan

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam.*

FRIDAY, 8TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Pahitarakshu—Jaganmohini.

7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—

Vidwan Sathur A. G. Subramaniam (Vocal).

T. N. Krishnan (Violin).

Martandapuram Mani Aiyar (Mridangam)

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

SATURDAY, 9TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Pahijagajjanani—Hamsanandi Adi.

7-05 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—D. K. Pattammal.

7-30 P. M.—*Music by S. Sundaram Aiyar*.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

SUNDAY, 10TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Deva Deva—Purvikalayani—Adi.

7-05 P. M.—*Veena* by D. Lalita Ravi Varma.

7-35 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—M. M. Dandapani Desikar.

7-45 P. M.—*Music by R. Hariharasubramani*.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

MONDAY, 11TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Pankajaksha—Todi—Rupakam

7-05 P. M.—*Gottuvadyam* by Mannargudi Savitri Ammal.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

TUESDAY, 12TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Smarajanaka—Behag ... Chapu.

7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on "World Aluminium Industry and
Travancore's place in it" by H. A. Estabrook.

7-20 P. M.—*Music by P. L. Subbalakshmi and party (selections
from Neelacanta Sivan)*.

8-05 P. M.—*Veena* by S. P. Krishna Aiyar.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions.
7-15 P. M.—Talk in English on "The working of the Aluminium Industry in Travancore" by S. S. Narayanan.
7-30 P. M.—Music by Savitri Ganesan and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam

THURSDAY, 14TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—*Sarojanabha—Chakravakam—Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on "Hindu legal tradition" by H. Ramakrishna Aiyar.
7-20 P. M.—*Veena duet* by Parameswara Aiyar and Padmanabhan.
8-15 P. M.—Talk in English on "The working of the Aluminium Industry in Travancore"—2nd talk—by S. S. Narayanan.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

FRIDAY, 15TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—*Paripahimamayi—Kalyani—Chapu*.
7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—
M. L. Vasanthakumari and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

SATURDAY 16TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—*Srikumara—Atana—Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—Talks in Tamil on "Carnatic Music"—Series—4th talk on "Apoorva Ragas"—அஞ்சிராகங்கள்.
7-20 P. M.—Music by C. A. Narayanan and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

SUNDAY, 17TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—*Chintayami—Bhairavi—Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—*Veena* by Ganasaraswati.
7-35 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—M. K. Thyagarajan.
7-50 P. M.—Music by C. Saraswati Amma and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

MONDAY, 18TH AUGUST 1947.

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Paramapurusha—*Vasanta*—*Adi*.

7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—

T. K. Radhakrishnan (Flute).

T. K. Ramachandran (Violin).

Martandapuram Mani Aiyar (Mridangam).

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

TUESDAY, 19TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.—
Mamavasada—*Kanada*—*Rupakam*.

7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on "Psycho-analysis" by
A. S. Narayana Pillai.

7-20 P. M.—*Music* by Srirangam R. Ranganathan and party.

8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—Clarinet.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing - Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions.

7-15 P. M.—*Music* by Palghat K. V. Narayanaswami and party.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

THURSDAY, 21ST AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Kamajanaka—*Gowla*—*Adi*.

7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on "Care for our Dumb Friends" by
Mrs. Papworth.

7-20 P. M.—*Veena* by R. Pitchumani Aiyar.

8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

FRIDAY, 22ND AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Kosalendra—*Madhyamavati*—*Adi*.

7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—

Vidwan Satur Krishna Aiyangar and party.

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

SATURDAY, 23RD AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Pahijagajjanani—*Vachaspati*—*Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—
7-20 P. M.—*Music* by Sarada Anantharaman and party.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

SUNDAY, 24TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Parvatinayaka—*Bowli*—*Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—Select ons from Ponniah Pillai.
7-50 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :
8-00 P. M.—*Music* by K. Lakshmi and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

MONDAY, 25TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Jaya Jaya—*Sahana*—*Triputa*.
7-05 P. M.—*Nagaswaram* by Angappa Pillai and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

TUESDAY, 26TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Kripayapalaya—*Charukesi*—*Chapu*.
7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on "Examinations—a new view" by
Dr. D. Jivanayakam.
7-20 P. M.—*Music* by Salem Chellam Aiyangar and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

WEDNESDAY, 27TH AUGUST 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions
7-15 P. M.—*Music* by Nagamma and Kamala.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

THURSDAY, 28TH AUGUST 1947 : (FIRST ONAM).

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Paramapurusham—*Lalitapanchamam*—*Jumpa*.
7-05 P. M.—*Ottan Thullal*.
7-35 P. M.—*Music* by S. Vaidyanathan and party.
8-05 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

FRIDAY, 29TH AUGUST 1947 : (THIRUONAM)

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Jayajayapadmanabha—*Manirangu*—*Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—*Kathakalakshepam* in Malayalam.
7-50 P. M.—Talk in Malayalam on "Ideals of Onam" by
P. Govinda Pillai.
8-05 P. M.—*Astapathi songs*.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

SATURDAY, 30TH AUGUST 1947 : (THIRD ONAM).

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Padmanabhapahi—*Hindolam*—*Adi*.
7-05 P. M.—Talk in Malayalam on "Patakam" by
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampi.
7-20 P. M.—*Patakam* by Atchuta Das.
7-45 P. M.—Play in Malayalam.
8-00 P. M.—*Kathakali songs*.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

SUNDAY, 31ST AUGUST 1947 : (FOURTH ONAM).

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition—
Janani pahi—*Sudhasaveri*—*Triputa*.
7-05 P. M.—Recitation in Malayalam.
7-20 P. M.—*Folk songs* in Malayalam.
7-35 P. M.—*Koladि*.
7-50 P. M.—*Bhajan*.
8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

Suggestions from listeners are welcome.

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जय मोहनराजवेष

(जय)

अनुपल्लवि

जय सकलामरपोष

जय समभुवनेश

(जय)

चरणम्

जय कृपाभरितापाङ्ग

जय कन्दर्पसुन्दराङ्ग

जय मौलिशोभितगङ्ग

जय दनुजालिभङ्ग

(जय)

११०० मणिरङ्गु — ताळ०० अनुप।

पल्लवि

जय जय पत्तमनाभानुजेश

जय मेंमनराजवेष

(जय)

अनुपल्लवि

जय सकलामरपोष

जय समभुवनेश

(जय)

चरणम्

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जय मेंमलिशेषालितगांग

जय दनुजालिभङ्ग

(जय)

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पल्लवि

जय जय पत्तमनापांग अनुजेश

जय जय मेंमनराजवेष

अनुपल्लवि

जय सकलामरपोष

जय समभुवनेश

(जय)

चरणम्

जय कंग्रुपापांगितापांक

जय कन्त्रूर्पपल्लवान्तरुपांक

जय मेंमलिशेषापांतकुपांक

जय त्रूपुरुजालिपांक

(जय)

(जय)

ஆரோவணம்: ஸரிமபநிஸ.

அவரோஹனம் : ஸ்திபமகரிஸ்.

(22-வது மேனத்தில் ஜன்யம்)

පල්ලයි

1. ; நி மா கரீ ஸா ; நி பா	;	நி ஸி ஸா	;	பமகரி ஸா
ஜ ய ஜ ய ப த்வம நா		பா - -	அு	ஜே - - - ஸ
2. ; ஸி மா கரீ ஸரி பமகரி ஸி ஸி	;	பா நி ஸி ஸா	;	பி, பபமகரி ஸா
ஜ ய ஜ ய ப - - - த்வம - நா -		பா - -	அு	ஜே - - - ஸ
3. ; பி, பமகரீ ஸரி மகரி ஸரி ஸ	நி பு நி ஸரி மபநி	ஸ் நி பமகா ஸ		
ஜ ய - ஜ ய ப - - - த்வம - நா -		பா - - -	அு -	ஜே - - - ஸ
1. , ஸரி மா ரி மா பா ; நி நி பா	;	மபநி பபநி	ஸா , நி பபமக	
- ஜ ய ஜ ய மோ ஹ - ன		பா - -	ஜ -	வே - - ஷ -
2. ஸி ஸரி மா ரி மா பா ; நி ம பா	;	ம பநி பபநி <u>ஸா ஸி ஸி</u>		
- - ஜ ய ஜ ய மோ ஹ - ன		பா - - -	ஜ - -	
		நி ஸி நி பா நி பமபமக		
		- - - வே - - - ஷ - -		

ମି ଶ୍ରୀ

(ଜୟ ଜୟ)

அனுபல்லவி

1. ; ப பா நி பா நீ ; ஸ்ரா ஸ்ரா	; # ; மக்	க்ரி ரீ ஸ்ரா ;
ஜ ய ஸ க லா ம ர	போ - -	- - - ஷ
2. ; ப பா நி பா நீ ; ஸ்ரா ஸ்ரா	; ப நி ஸ்ரி ப்ம்	காக்ரி ரீ ஸ்ரா
ஜ ய ஸ க லா ம ர	போ - - - - -	- - - - - ஷ
3. ; Do Do	; ப கிஸ்ரி ப்ம்	க்ரி ரீ ரீ ;
ஜ ய ஸ க லா ம ர	போ - - - - -	- - - ஷ
1. , ஸ்ரி ஸ்ரீ நீ பா நீ ;	ப நி ஸ்ரா ; பநி	ஸ்ரி பநி பபமக
- ஜ ய ஸ ம பு - வ	னே - - - - -	- - - - - ஸ
2. ரி ஸ நி ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரி ஸ்ரி பபா நீ	ப நி ஸ்ரா பநி <u>ஸ்ரா ஸ்ரி ஸ்</u>	
- - ஜ ய ஸ ம பு - - - - வ	னே - - - - -	
	ந் ஸ நி பா நி ப மா பமகக	
	- - - - -	ஸ

၂၆၈

(ୟମ୍ ଯମ୍)

1. ; பா பா ; பா பா | ; மா பா பா | மக கா ;
 ஜ ய க்ரு பா பா ரி தா பா - - - - - க்ரு

2. , ஸரி மரி ம பா , பா ஸி பா | ; மப னினி பம | பப மக க ரி
 - ஜ - ய க்ரு பா பா ரி தா பா - - - - - க்ரு

, ஸரி மா க ரி ஸா , ஸி நி பா | ; ஸி ஸரி ஸா | ரி ய மக ரி ஸ
 - ஜ ய கந் - த - - - ர்ப்பு ஸ - - - ந்து ரா - - - ந

ஜய மெளளி ஶோப்புத | ; குங் | கு
 ஜய துங்குஜாளி பங் | கு | ஜய ஜய

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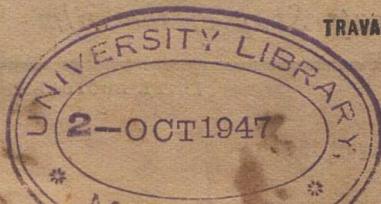
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