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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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S P E E C H

MALCOLM LEWIN, Esq.,

DELIVERED AT

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THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE COURT OF PROPRIETORS
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

ON

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1855.

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LONDON:

EDWARD STANFORD, 6, CHARING CROSS.

1856.

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Mr. Lewin.—In submitting the Motion, of which I have given notice, I shall not occupy the attention of the Court for a longer time than is absolutely necessary; as I cannot expect, from the nature of the subject, that Honourable Proprietors will lend me a very patient hearing. The terms of the motion go to the annihilation of the Court of Directors itself, and I may therefore admit that that is the object I have in view. It may be said that I have a feeling of hostility towards the Court of Directors, which undoubtedly I have to them as a body.—It may also be said that I am ungrateful. I deny it. I owe the Company nothing. I have served the Company, and I have received its money, and thus our accounts are balanced. I have not received more than I was entitled to; I am, therefore, a perfectly free agent. The motion states, “that in the opinion of this Court the present system of Indian Government is unsuitable for its purposes; that it assures neither efficiency, responsibility, nor redress; that under it the grossest abuses are permitted to exist unchecked throughout our Indian territories; that the sole medium of placing our Indian administration on an intelligible basis, is a perfect transfer to the Crown, by which the

jumble of two authorities (being as respects each other's powers unknown quantities), will be abated, and the needless expense of the Leadenhall-Street Establishment saved to the territorial revenues of India." I think it will be admitted that every Government is unsuitable for its purposes, which has never been applicable to its purposes. You pretend to govern India, but in what respect you do so, it would puzzle anybody to find out. It is true you initiate, but we know that the Board of Control over-rides you entirely. In point of fact you are not an independent body; one reason for which is, that you have not a body of men in your Court who are able to face the Government. Had the Proprietors appointed fit men for Directors,—men acquainted with Indian interests, the Court of Directors would then have formed such a Government for India as no Government at home could have hoped to equal, or dared to interfere with. But instead of that, what course have you pursued? You have elected men without reference to their qualifications, and the consequence is, that the Board of Control treats you with absolute contempt. I could refer you to many instances in proof of this. Not long ago an Honourable Proprietor, Mr. Brown, brought forward a motion, having for its object a grant of compensation to certain parties, on account of some abortive steam communication scheme in Calcutta: both the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors were in favour of the proposal, and it was agreed between them that a sum of £5000 should be awarded as compensation. What was the

result? The recommendation of the Court went up to the Board of Control, and that Board immediately said "we will not allow you to give more than £500." Such contemptuous treatment of this Court plainly proves that both the Directors and the Proprietors have entirely lost all voice and power in the Government of India. And here I must observe, that my objections to the system of government do not apply to the Court of Directors more than to the Board of Control. They are in my view *participes criminis*. One orders, the other obeys; so that the Court of Directors has become the mere tool of the Board of Control, and is without the power of exercising any degree of independence, or of facing and opposing on any occasion the views of the Government. The question then is, whether such a body ought any longer to exist? You are called upon to consider the Court of Directors as the Government of India. But in what way did Lord Derby, when Prime Minister, speak of that Court? I hold in my hand a pamphlet, written by a gentleman named Dickinson, an excellent work, which every Member of this Court ought to have in his possession. It analyses our Indian Government, our revenue, our ryotwar system, our judicial system, our finance and public works, and our political system. Quoting Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, when the question relative to the two powers,—the one in Cannon Row, and the other in Leadenhall Street, came last before Parliament, it states—"In the Board of Control, practically speaking, the whole administration of the

affairs of India rests." That is the truth. Lord Ellenborough, on a subsequent occasion, said,—"The President of the Board of Control can now overrule the Directors," that "they can do no more than express an opinion," and that "they have, in fact, no authority." He said that "with a Court of Directors at one end of the system, and a President of the Board of Control, with a large body of intelligent clerks at the other," he could not say how the government was conducted; but added, "I know when I was at the Board of Control I conducted the government; there is no doubt about that." Now, if Lord Ellenborough conducted the government, I should like to know the necessity of the Proprietors keeping up such an establishment as this? Or rather, I should like to know whether the Proprietors ever considered a capacity for conducting a government the first requisite in electing a Member of the Court of Directors? Do the Proprietors exercise their franchise only in favour of men who possess the proper qualifications for governing India? Not at all!—For further detail, as to the system by which the Government of India is carried on, I would refer gentlemen to Mr. Dickinson's pamphlet. It would take up too much time to read the different passages which refer to this subject, but I beg to point out, that under that system, almost all the real work is carried on by irresponsible clerks. The preparation of despatches is thrown into the hands of the clerks at the India House, and that of altering them into the hands of the clerks at the Board of Control. When I

use the term "clerks," I mean no disrespect towards those gentlemen, because I know that many of them are men of eminent ability, and more capable of discharging the duties devolving upon them than yourselves. Having referred you to these several points, with a view to show that the Government of India does not in reality rest in your hands, I will now refer to what are the attributes of government, and then inquire whether, and to what extent, you possess those attributes. One attribute of a Government is the power of appointing its own servants; but by the recent Act of Parliament, you no longer have that power. No person can be appointed to the civil, the military, or medical service of the Company, until he has undergone a special examination, by examiners, not appointed by yourselves, but by the Board of Control. You are also, by the same Act, deprived of the power of appointing the Advocate-General, your own law officer: the 29th section of the Act declaring that no appointment of any Advocate-General by the Company shall be valid without the approbation of the Board of Control. I would ask any Honourable Proprietor whether he, as a client, would consent to have his lawyer appointed at the instance of another man? Nothing shows more strongly the want of confidence, on the part of the Government, in your body, than thus taking from you the power of appointing your own law officer. Then as to the power of appointing Members of Council. By this Act you cannot appoint any Member of Council, without the authority of the Government.

How did you exercise the power of appointment when this Act was not in force? I know, of my own knowledge, that in Madras there were two gentlemen, who went by the names of Noodle and Doodle, appointed to Council, who amply responded to the soubriquet. It is well known that you have appointed men to Council, not because they were fit for conducting the business of government, but because they served to keep things smooth, and would not differ from your Governors. Most unfit men have for that purpose alone been appointed by you. I will not allude to particular individuals obnoxious to this imputation; but there is one individual to whom I will allude, because he was a man well fitted for the office; him you threatened to remove; I allude to Mr. Chamier, who is allowed on all hands to be an able and well qualified man. Because he in some matter disagreed with the Government of Madras, you told him that if his term of service had not nearly expired, you would have removed him. You have not only lost power in the appointment of your servants, but the Board of Control have acquired a power over them, and may remove them at discretion. I have said in my motion, that the present system of the Government of India is a "jumble," and that no one understands where the real authority rests. When a person in India has any grievance to complain of, he comes to this country, but knows not where to apply for redress. He is either sent back to India, or he goes to the Board of Control, or to the Court of Directors; finding no redress, his

last resource is to try what intrigue will do. It is notorious that private influence is resorted to on all occasions, and that persons having grievances, trust more to that than to anything else. Although I have already, in the remarks I have made on the motion of Mr. Whiteman, referred to the loss of power, on the part of the Directors, not only by the Act of Parliament, but by the Proprietors themselves appointing unfit men to the Court of Directors, I will make one observation here in regard to what fell from the Honourable Chairman on that subject. He deprecated any attack upon the most absolute freedom of election by the Proprietors. I was glad to hear that sentiment, which I have no doubt is the real sentiment of the Honourable Chairman, who I believe, as an individual, is a liberal man; but how widely different is this from the practice that has hitherto obtained! I must make one more observation about the Court of Directors, because the constitution of that Court now forms the subject of discussion in the newspapers in India. I have some of those papers here, in which the Court of Directors is spoken of in the most unmeasured terms of reprobation. I will not, however, read all the remarks; first, because of their length; and next, because of their personalities; the gist of them is, that persons have been appointed to the direction, in many instances, so unfit, that really good men have refused to sit under them. I have frequently heard surprise expressed, that some of the men now in it should have consented to sit in a Court, presided over as it has been. The or-

dinary ground for appointment to the Chair, is the Honourable Director having been for a long time a Member of the Court. I believe it is a fact, that the choice of the Chairman of the Court has been for a number of years entrusted to one gentleman, less known in India than in the world of commerce—I mean Mr. Wigram. I believe that that gentleman has in effect long named the party who should be appointed to the Chair. And now with regard to the Proprietors, and the way in which they have discharged their duty. I have already anticipated the observations I intended to make on that subject by what I said when taking part in the discussion of the motion of Mr. Whiteman; I cannot, however, avoid observing again how much it has been a part of the system to elect men to the Direction without any reference to their qualifications. So much has this been the case, that a sort of vested right has been acquired by the members of some mercantile houses in the City to seats in the Court of Directors. So long as the East India Company retained its commercial character there might have been some pretence for this; but all that ceased on the renewal of the Charter, which took from it that character. But, notwithstanding the change, the periodical elections have gone on upon the principle of advertising and voting for the “Outs” against all the world. And for maintaining the system the Directors had a good and sufficient reason; they were afraid lest the removal of one stone from the rotten fabric would cause the downfall of the building altogether. I will

now advert to the object, which the Government must have had in view when introducing the changes which have been recently made in the constitution of the Court of Directors. Viewing the conduct of that Court, in all its parts, we find that it has always been opposed to progress; and that hardly any good measure which has been adopted for India has emanated from them, or which has not been forced upon them by Parliament. I will refer to Free Trade, and to the China trade; I will also make a remark on the Opium trade. A pamphlet has recently appeared on the latter subject, by which it will be found that the Emperor of China was a more perfect Christian in his views than ourselves, in reference to the use of that baneful poison. The Emperor of China, who had remonstrated in the strongest manner against opium being smuggled into his dominions, when urged to grow the poppy on his own soil, nobly declared that nothing should induce him to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of his people. Look also at what has been the conduct of the Directors towards the press. What was their treatment of Mr. Buckingham? That individual was driven out of India and ruined, merely because he wanted to give the people of that country the inestimable benefit of a free press. In his case you completely stultified yourselves. You first ruined the man, and then found it necessary to pension him. Whether the same persons were Members of the Court of Directors when these two most opposite measures were taken, I cannot say; but they at all

events show how unwilling the Court has ever been to promote any means of progress in India. Take also the case of Lord Metcalfe, who was acknowledged on all hands to be a great man; you kept him in the background, because he freed the press of Calcutta. The consequence was, that when he came home the Government were obliged to acknowledge his services. He was appointed to the Government of Jamaica, and afterwards to the Government of Canada, and in both situations proved himself to be a most able Governor, and showed that you had lost one of your best servants, simply because you would not allow measures to be carried out for the benefit of the country. Secrecy was your object, as it has always been the object of the Indian Government. I will refer to what has been written on this subject, and published in an Indian newspaper called *The Friend of India*. "It is (says the writer) the perpetual aim of the Court of Directors to throw a veil of profound secrecy around all their counsels and measures;" adding, "that any disclosure by any of the functionaries of the state is severely resented, and condemned in no measured terms." It is utterly impossible, without secrecy, that the abuses of the Indian Government should so long have continued. In further proof of your constant opposition to progress, I may refer to your opposition to steam navigation. You kept up a system of passports. Every gentleman who has been to India knows the endeavours that have been made to prevent Europeans from getting into that country.

No man could go and settle in India for commercial purposes without a license, difficult to be obtained; and yet those European settlers have proved themselves of the greatest service to the country; and the revenue of the Government has been increased by the employment of their capital, while they are also known to be among the best conducted people in India. By their means the worst products of the market has been converted to the best. The next subject to which I will call your attention is that of education. A few experiments have been lately made for promoting that object, but it is only recently that the small sum which was granted by Parliament in 1832 has been drawn upon for that purpose, and the whole of it has not yet been expended. I will now say a few words about the natives of India. Your unjust treatment of them has created great discontent throughout India. I have here three newspapers, all published in India, in which they speak of the great desire that exists to get rid of you. I will read a passage from *The Englishman*, published in Calcutta, which represents the feelings of the natives as well as of Europeans. "If (says the writer) anything were wanting to complete the proof of the systematic deception and falsehood practised by the East India Company, when their own misdoings are in danger of being exposed, it would be supplied by Mr. Lewin's pamphlet." (A laugh.) I do not wish to puff my own pamphlet, one which was written by me on the subject of torture, and of which I shall say a word or two presently. After quoting certain passages from

that pamphlet, the writer thus concludes:—" We call on the people of Great Britain no longer to neglect their duty in this great cause, but to come forward and demand with one voice the utter abolition of the East India Company." I have also a copy of the *Hindu Intelligencer*, which contains this passage—" The people of Madras have petitioned the British Legislature to take away the government of this country from the hands of the East India Company, or more properly speaking, the Court of Directors, and place it in those of a responsible Minister of the Crown." This would put India on a footing of equality with Her Majesty's other Colonies, the affairs of which are administered by a Colonial Secretary. Then we have a petition from Madras for a transfer of the Government of India to the Crown; and I have good reason for supposing that that transfer will take place at no very distant day. Your illiberal treatment of the natives has excited a feeling of discontent throughout India. Why, for instance, should a system of covenanted service be maintained? The natives are as competent to hold office as any European. They are, in fact, the persons who perform the chief offices in relation to the revenue. Without their assistance you could not collect a penny. The statistical reports of their decisions as judicial men have shown that they are even superior to the decisions of our own servants. They have equal jurisdiction with our own Judges, and the appeals from their decisions have been less frequent than appeals from those of the Company's servants, whilst corruption

amongst them has been quite as unfrequent as amongst ourselves; and yet we deny to them the right of entering the covenanted service. Keeping up the prejudice of caste and colour, we shut them out of Council, and refuse to them the right of popular representation. In the last Parliament it was insisted upon that the natives of India were not fit to be entrusted with high judicial office; and Mr. Halliday, in his evidence before the Committee, threw discredit upon the natives, and yet he was the very first man to appoint an uncovenanted officer to a covenanted judicial office. It is true you have given them the right of passing an examination in England for the covenanted service, but at the time you did so you knew it was only a nominal right, as they could not take advantage of it. Instead of giving the Government in India the power of selecting men for office, you have confined the selection to the Government at home. I defy contradiction when I state that the natives of India are as fit to exercise power as ourselves. We know their ability, and all who have dealt with the natives must know perfectly well that there is not a situation in India which they are not qualified to fill. I am speaking in the presence of an Honourable and Gallant Proprietor, General Briggs, who can contradict me if I am wrong, but I appeal to him whether what I now state is not correct.

General Briggs.—I affirm what you say.

Mr. Lewin.—I have received letters from various members of the Indian community, who say—“It is true you have thrown open the door to us, but it is a mere sham, a mockery, and a delusion, because you know that we have not the means of availing ourselves of the offer.” I quite agree with them that throwing open the examinations in England to them is a perfect farce; besides which there is really no necessity for it, because there are institutions in India where the natives can be just as well educated as in this country.

Dr. Beattie.—I rise to order. I think the Honourable Proprietor is travelling very widely from the subject, and is somewhat trespassing upon the time of his audience.

Mr. Lewin.—I am speaking quite in order. I am giving my reasons why I think the present Government of India should be dismissed, and am pointing out its defects. If that is not in order, I do not know what is.

The Chairman.—The Honourable Proprietor is quite in order.

Mr. Lewin.—I suppose every gentleman in this room will recognise the principle, that the object of Government ought to be the improvement of the people. I do not think it right that we should go to

a country, and take possession of it, without giving to the people of that country the best government we can. And not only so, but that we ought to teach them the way to govern themselves. But so far from acting upon this principle, we have on the contrary kept them out of every superior employment. They are in no respect placed upon a level with Europeans, they are in a state of vassalage, and are despised by us because they submit. I will now allude to another subject, and one which has lately excited much interest, I mean the practice of judicial torture in India. At the last Court day, I asked whether the Report of the Torture Commission would be laid on the proprietors' table, when the Chairman said he did not know whether it would be or not. Torture has been going on in India for many years. It has paralysed the judicial service in that country entirely. No judicial officer can come to a decision without the danger of doing injustice. Torture in India is now as completely a part of the judicial service as any other part of the service itself. But, notwithstanding loud complaints on this subject, the Court of Directors have not taken any means to put an end to the practice. The House of Commons lately compelled a commission of inquiry, but the Indian Government might have appointed a commission many years ago, if they had chosen to put an end to it. In 1840, I addressed a Report to the Madras Government, in which I stated that "various means of coercion had come into play, which had so fixed themselves in police operations, that they were as

regular and habitual as any other part of their duties," and I made a suggestion that a general police inquiry should be instituted. I observed—"As I am convinced that a general inquiry into the state of the police of the country is necessary, in order to put it in a form adequate to the wants of the country, and as I firmly believe that the subject, from its size, offers innumerable difficulties to its being adequately treated by the authorities before whom it must now come, who are known to be already overwhelmed by their present labours, I would beg to submit the suggestion, that a general police inquiry be instituted, as the only medium through which any practical result can be arrived at." Now this Report was written in 1840, and contains some of the cases I met with during the five years in which I was a Judge of Circuit, at Madras. I will reserve a great deal of what I have to say on this and other subjects till another time, as I see that gentlemen are becoming impatient. It is my intention to pursue the subject. I wish to see accomplished the abolition of this Court, because I do not think it in any respect answers its purpose. It is idle to talk of correcting a court such as this. The evil can only be corrected by extinction. I will say a word before I conclude, on the subject of our Indian aggressions. We are accustomed to speak with indignation of Russia as an aggressive power; but the acts of aggression which have taken place under the government of the East India Company surpass all that Russia has ever committed. It was a

saying of Mr. Burke, that "we never made a treaty that we have not broken." I believe that that is true. What has been our conduct in the Mysore Country, which at the present moment ought to be in the hands of one of the native Rajahs? At the time we took possession of it by treaty the revenue had fallen below a certain amount; but it was stipulated that when the revenue rose, the country should be restored to its former possessors. The finances of the country did rise, but we still retain possession of Mysore. What again, has been the result of all our subsidiary forces? Whenever we contemplated the ruin of any country, we began by subsidizing it. I may refer, as a proof of this, to our conduct in Hyderabad. There are many other topics to which I could wish to refer, but I am desirous not to detain the Court. I might have called your attention to our system of absorption, which, in the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, "instead of raising, degraded and beggared the natives, making them all enemies." I might also have referred to our conduct towards Sattarah and Jhansi; but I hurry these over and observe, generally, that the whole course of our policy has been one continued system of aggression and plunder. Look at our conduct with respect to the obtaining possession of the Koh-i-noor diamond. It has often surprised me that Her Majesty should have been advised to accept property acquired in such a manner. It was the opinion of my lamented friend Mr. Sullivan, that it was a most unjust acquisition, and that it involved the greatest indignity to offer a-thing

so acquired to our Queen. It has been said that its possessor has been always unfortunate. I will not trouble the Court with any further observations. The subject is one which I shall pursue until I can get the Court to come to some issue upon it. My belief is, that giving expression to public opinion on these great questions, is the way and the only way to induce the natives of India to stand forward and vindicate their own rights. They have hitherto been treated as vassals and as slaves by you. Had they been treated differently, and as they ought to have been treated, their position would be very different from what it now is. I beg, Sir, to move the resolution that has been read by the Secretary:—

“That, in the opinion of this Court, the present system of Indian Government is unsuitable for its purposes; that it assures neither efficiency, responsibility, nor redress; that under it, the grossest abuses are permitted to exist, unchecked throughout our Indian territories; that the sole medium of placing our Indian administration on an intelligible basis, is a perfect transfer to the Crown, by which the jumble of two authorities (being as respects each other’s powers unknown quantities) will be abated, and the needless expense of the Leadenhall Street Establishment saved to the territorial revenues of India.”

Dr. Beattie having opposed the motion.

Mr. Lewin said in reply:—The principal argument urged by the honourable proprietor (*Dr. Beattie*), is

that the services in India are good. I never denied it. He says, that if the government of India were in the hands of the Crown, the great virtues now exhibited by the present Indian Government would be lost, and that the best interests of the people of India would be in peril. I differ from him. Whatever good has been conferred on India has come from the Crown. It seems indeed wonderful, that the services of India should be so good as the honourable proprietor represents, when it is recollected that they have never received the least protection from the Court of Directors. They have never countenanced their own army; and there has not been a single commander-in-chief appointed out of their own service. When the conduct of Sir John Littler was, by the inadvertence of the Duke of Wellington, impugned in the House of Lords, what did the Court of Directors do to protect him? Why, they did nothing; they appointed him to the Council as a sort of sop, they did nothing to vindicate his military reputation. You ought to have procured his vindication in the same place in which his conduct was impugned. The honourable gentleman has said that the people of India have prospered under our rule; but what has been your commercial policy? Your whole system has uniformly been one of exclusion and monopoly. Your policy shut out Indian cloths from this country, and English cloths from India, and what was the consequence? Cloth in India was so dear that the natives were left unclothed, while the native population were left unemployed on their home

productions. Again, so stringent and anti-commercial was your policy, that you would not allow ships to go to India; and when ships of 350 tons were first allowed to go there, they were prohibited touching at any port but the Presidencies, so that merchants who had settled at the small ports, were obliged to send their goods to Bombay or Madras for shipment to England. In short, you offered every impediment to commerce. By whom were the Reports on Public Works, on Irrigation, and on the growth of Cotton, obtained from India and made known? They came from the House of Commons, not from you. You preferred ignorance to knowledge. Whatever good has been done for India, has been the result of the inquiries made on the periodical renewals of your Charter, which inquiries have brought forth information which you have always endeavoured to suppress. What have you done for India in the shape of roads? Not until lately have you devoted any attention to their construction. What, again, have you done in respect of railways? Nothing until lately. It is only since the public have become acquainted with what are the wants of India that these works have been entered upon by you. But you have long known what was wanted in that country, from the reports which your own servants, coming from India, have made to you; but their representations have had no influence upon your conduct. The consequence of which is, that you have made your rule hateful to the people, and to everybody acquainted with its results. Those who read the newspapers must

see that there is discontent and dissatisfaction prevailing in that country, from one end of it to the other. It is impossible to deny this. And those who read the papers must also foresee the end of the aggressions which have been made by Lord Dalhousie—seizing everything he can lay his hands on; and who will leave a mine behind him, that will at no distant day explode, and scatter ruin all around.

(From the Times.)

LONDON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1855.

While a new debating body has just sprung into existence in the metropolis we have recorded a rather remarkable discussion in that ancient and rather obsolete assembly, the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company. It is seldom indeed that we find anything worth comment in the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors, where some disappointed East Indian generally regales the public with harangues about the wrongs of the Rajah of SATTARA, or exposes the flagrant iniquity of not having invented a new Royal House to take the place of the extinct family of BERAR. The second subject discussed at the meeting of Proprietors on Wednesday was, however, the absurdity of continuing any longer the system of double government, and assuredly the speaker did not lack argument to support his conclusion. He denounced the double government as possessing neither efficiency nor responsibility, as permitting gross abuses to grow up and continue, and as ruinously and unnecessarily expensive. To us it appears that the three years that have passed since the last India Bill have materially

advanced this question towards its final solution. During that time the wants and demands of Indian government have almost entirely changed. Slowly and reluctantly, with infinite rubbing of the eyes and averting of the face from the unwelcome beam, the Home Government and the Indian Government have begun to perceive that the ideas and principles which sufficed in former times for the management of our Eastern empire will suffice no longer. Energy, rapidity, and decision—principles of revenue and taxation on a level with those of the most enlightened European Governments—a reduction of salaries to something which may more nearly than hitherto approach to the market-price of the talent that is demanded—an expenditure economical in some things, in order that it may be generous and liberal in others—a complete revision of the system of administering justice which shall combine at once simplicity and efficiency—a thorough review of the land question and all its incidental extortions and enormities;—these and many similar questions are forcing themselves upon the attention of the Home Government, and bewildering it by their magnitude, complexity, and urgency. In the meanwhile our object seems to have been to create as many obstacles as possible in the way of rapid and consistent improvement. In India the last Act has placed an additional clog on the movements of the Government, by enlarging the Legislative Council, and giving it the dimensions and the functions of a deliberative body. The effect of thus intrusting the making of laws to men occupied already with an overwhelming amount of business seems likely materially to check the course of useful legislation, and to raise up an opposition rather official than constitutional, and thus to delay and obstruct in a much greater degree than formerly the progress of useful legislation. The hand that has held the reins of government so firmly and for so many years, is about to relinquish them, and the loss that India will sustain

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THE
EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEANS
IN INDIA.

A PAPER READ BEFORE
THE
Bengal Social Science Association

ON

THURSDAY, MAY 1ST, 1879.

By J. BALY, M.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF CALCUTTA.

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Miss Broadest

45 Phillimore Gardens

Hensington

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England

India

THE EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEANS

IN

INDIA.

For some years past this subject has attracted much attention, and provoked much discussion. It has been written about in the newspapers, talked about at public Meetings, and thought about in the Council of the Government of India; but as yet nothing has been done about it; and the question now seems to be precisely where it was some five or ten years ago. And this inactivity in a question which all admit to be one of very great public importance, and its practical solution to be of pressing necessity, seems to arise, not so much from reluctance to do any thing, as from ignorance what it is possible and proper to do.

Nor can there be any doubt that the problem is really difficult to solve. The situation of the Europeans who now form an indigenous and permanent element in the population of India is so peculiar; their reasonable claims for consideration involve so many delicate questions; and the evils they complain of are of so long standing; that it is difficult all at once to know what ought to be done, and one can scarcely feel surprise at the Government being unable to solve the problem off-hand, and unwilling to adopt hasty suggestions, or one-sided schemes, which may

in the end produce evils as great as those which they profess to remedy. Yet, it is felt and acknowledged by all that delay only increases the difficulty, and that it is absolutely necessary to make some effort now to meet it, or to give up the question altogether as one past human intervention.

This necessity arises from the simple fact that the number of indigenous Europeans in India has become far too large to be left alone. It is far larger than it ever was before, and it is certain that in years to come it will be far larger still. For it is not only the natural increase that we have to take into account, but the increase by annual immigration. The first is large enough; all over India, in the larger towns and stations, and even in the smaller, where twenty or thirty years ago there were no Europeans at all, there are scores or hundreds of young European children growing up, all or nearly all of whom will have to live in India, work in India, and die in India, not however before they have left behind them an increased number of successors to take their place.

And the increase by immigration, can scarcely be computed as less. Every year a certain number of soldiers take their discharge in the country, and remain in it with wife and children, a permanent element of its population. A far larger number of English mechanics and artisans are annually imported by the Government, or by the railway, mercantile, manufacturing, and tea-planting companies, the greater proportion of whom will settle permanently with their families in the country. And this source of increase must be expected to continue for many years, and even to a greater extent than at present, in the same ratio as the Indian Railway systems are extended and the resources and trade of India are developed. Add to these the stray adventurers from America, Australia, and the various countries of Europe, who come to seek in India the fortunes

which they have not found at home, and we arrive at a very considerable total, annually added by immigration to its European population.

It will perhaps help us in ascertaining how much can be done to make, or to keep, this somewhat heterogeneous population, a class profitable to the country, if we attempt a rough and general classification of it.

One constituent part, not the least in number, but the lowest in useful capabilities, is the very poorest East Indian class of the larger Indian towns. It is the offspring, principally, of marriage or concubinage between the old Portuguese settlers and women of the country. A smaller portion of it bears English names, and owes its origin to the same relations formed by English soldiers and pensioners in the early times of the English occupation. It has not been ascertained with any certainty whether this class is on the increase; the very unfavourable circumstances of their life ought, one would think, to tend to a decrease rather than an increase. It is certainly very undesirable both from a humane and from a political point of view that it should increase, unless, at the same time, its material and moral condition can be ameliorated. For in general it appears to be steeped in such poverty and wretchedness, as to make life scarcely worth having; nor can it be denied that in the mass, it is an immoral, pauperised, unproductive class, too idle, or too conceited to submit to hard work, and practise an honest industry, as unbecoming their European descent.

It may seem a harsh, but I believe it to be a true judgment, that this class, having been so long neglected and left alone, has at last sunk so low, that any practical effort, which either private or public benevolence can now be expected to make, in order to retain it as a distinct European class, will be found unequal to the task. It is so very helpless, it has so little of European energy and manliness,

and already approaches so nearly to the natives of the country in habits and mode of life, that except in the external profession of a different faith, and in the partial use of a different language and mode of dress, there is not much distinction between them. Indeed, I should not regard it as a consummation extremely to be regretted, if, as is already the case in Ceylon, this lowest class of East Indians lost its national identity, and condescended to live and work on an equality with the native population. I believe that they would be both happier in themselves, and certainly more useful to the state, than while struggling to maintain in idleness and conceit the barren fiction of being European. And I do not see that anything more can now be done for them as a class, than to give their children a suitable education which will help them to get their own living, and to protect themselves against pauperism, and then leave them to find their own level, and support themselves by the same occupations as natives of the corresponding class.

It is with great reluctance that I have come to this conclusion, and I am not speaking of what ought to be, if either the state, or their fellow citizens individually, had recognized and discharged their duty towards this people. But I speak of what now is, as a matter of fact and of sorrowful necessity. When I know that from the time of Warren Hastings to the time of Lord Canning there was no persistent effort, scarcely indeed a single effort of any kind, to educate them and fit them for honest industry, or to teach them morality and religion; when I recall the circumstances of their origin, the example set them in old times by their English superiors, the contempt and aversion with which they were treated, I can never sympathize with the outcry which is often so loudly raised against them—that they are so worthless as to deserve neither help nor pity. Whatever they are now, it is not fit-

ting that the sons and successors of those, to whose fault it was chiefly due that they became what they are, should mete out the hard measure of wholesale and pitiless condemnation. We should be acting only as bad schoolmasters who lay upon the pupils the blame which they deserve themselves. Rather let us help them so far as we can, and where we cannot help, let us pity rather than condemn; at least let us accept the warning which their present condition so evidently supplies, not to suffer the evil to be accomplished in other classes, which has gone beyond our power of healing in this.

Very different, much higher in moral character, occupying a higher position in the social scale, and in energy and self-maintaining power approaching more nearly the English standard, is the second class of Europeans, which I will call Eurasians. They are, for the most part, of English descent with the admixture of native blood, and fill many of the subordinate, but still reponsible situations in the various departments of the Government service, and in mercantile offices; or they engage in trades and professions on their own account. They are in the main, a highly respectable, useful, and intelligent class, with a tendency to rise rather than to sink; and it must be the interest no less than the duty of the English Government to aid and encourage the efforts which this class is now making to overcome the disadvantages of its position in India, and to maintain itself as an useful and independent element in the population of the country.

From my own observation, though without any accurate statistics, I am disposed to think that this class is increasing steadily in number by the natural process of births exceeding deaths, and I believe that at the same time the Eurasians are advancing morally and intellectually: they are more provident, more persevering industrious and enterprising, and more willing to incur sacrifices for the

education of their children, and to give them a good start in life. If they are judiciously dealt with, and receive only such a degree of aid and encouragement as they have a right to expect, they may be to India what the corresponding class of burghers is to Ceylon,—a middle class, most useful in the administration of the country and surely to be depended on in any crisis.

A third most important constituent of our European population is the class, which for the sake of distinction, may be called the Anglo-Indian ; and under it I will include the Americans, Germans and others, of foreign origin, who are domiciled in India, and may be classified as English subjects. It is in this class that I consider the increase to be largest and most rapid, as it is constantly being added to by immigration over and above its own natural development. It is made up of various elements ; a comparatively small section of it consists of officers, civil and military, who at the end of their service have chosen to remain in the country, and educate their children for an Indian career. A somewhat larger number is contributed by soldiers and non-commissioned officers, who have entered the Railway service as guards or police, or are employed as ~~warrant~~ officers, or as subordinates in the department of Public Works. Their sons are found in the sub-medical department as apothecaries to European regiments, in the subordinate appointments of the Telegraph and Survey departments, and as clerks and assistants in the trading establishments of the mofussil. As a rule, these marry very young, and contribute very liberally to the European population of India. Another large section of this class consists of the drivers, fitters, platelayers, foremen, way-inspectors, station-masters, &c., employed by the Railway Companies ; engineers in manufactories, agents and overlookers of labour on plantations, small private traders and contractors. All of these generally come from England

either bringing families with them, or soon marrying, and having children in India; and by far the greater part of them must be included among the permanent European settlers in India. To them finally must be added the many others of pure or nearly pure European descent, who now in one way or another are trying to gain a livelihood here, and for whom, as for their children, there is no reasonable prospect of a return to their native country.

It is this class which in my opinion most urgently needs the serious attention of Government, and if the welfare of any class of men may be considered separately on its own account, they have the most direct claims. They have been introduced into India in our own day, and are not the bequest of those who came before us,—the Governments of the last twenty-five years being responsible for their presence in the country,—they have been brought here to do work which no other than they could have done; they have been as necessary to the English Government, and to the interests of the country, as the soldiers and Civil servants of the crown; they are not highly paid, their earnings being but little in excess of their cost of living; they are derived largely from the working class of England, and bring with them the bad as well as the good qualities of their class; they are taken away from the churches and chapels and schools which in England supply them with an education and a moral training at almost no expense, placed in a country where these institutions are still wanting, and distributed over it in so small and dispersed communities that they cannot combine and provide them for themselves; and they have to maintain themselves and their families under the greatest possible disadvantages, as a few aliens in the midst of an unfriendly and jealous population, and as a northern race working for their bread under the sun of the tropics.

Not is it a mere question of humanity and justice, whether

the welfare of this Anglo-Indian class should have a special consideration, but a question of policy. Their children will be more numerous than themselves, and it depends upon what is now done for them, whether they shall be as profitable to the State as their fathers, a source of strength to British rule and of usefulness to India; or add to what Lord Canning called "the floating population of Indianized English, loosely brought up, and exhibiting most of the worst qualities of both races, than which a more profitless, unmanageable community can hardly be imagined."

Last of all comes the fourth constituent of the European population, which has already acquired an unenviable notoriety under the name of loafers. This is recruited from the failures of the two preceding classes, but especially of the last-mentioned, who have fallen out of all respectable employment through incorrigible drunkenness and idleness. The principal occupations of its members are to beg, borrow and steal, to brawl and to drink. When not confined in the workhouse or the gaol, to which, I believe, they find it in the hot season convenient to retire, they will be found drinking in bazars and serais, or begging in the European quarters of the town. They are the terror or the sport of the Native, the pest and nuisance of the European. Some few there may be who fall into this class from sickness or other causes which they cannot help, and by some lucky chance, or helped on by some good Christian, get out of it again; but as a rule, when men are once possessed by the spirit of loafedom, they seem to be irreclaimable, and must be dealt with accordingly by restraint and suppression. Being past curing, and equally past enduring, there is nothing left for them but the workhouse or the prison.

But both the English loafer and the poor East Indian are at least of so much use in the body politic, that they

furnish us with a very practical proof of the hopeless nature of the evil resulting, when classes, which, with the timely exercise of judicious care and administration, might supply useful subjects and servants to the State, have been suffered through want of it to yield instead, so rich a crop of paupers, vagrants and criminals.

It is almost the universal complaint, that for this very large European element of the Indian population there is a most inadequate amount of suitable employment at this present time practically open to them; and that very many European boys and young men, of fair average ability and moral character, are from various causes unable to find occupations which will secure them a respectable and independent livelihood. My own experience certainly leads me to think that this complaint is well-founded; and it is my endeavour now to ascertain the causes of the evil complained of; to shew to what extent it exists, and how far it is due to the faults, of the Europeans themselves, how far to a misconceived policy on the part of Government; and to point out a practicable remedy.

But, first of all, it will be fitting to say a few words upon the claim which Europeans seem to consider themselves entitled to make, that their position does need and deserve a special consideration from the English Government.

With respect to such a claim it may be said to the European population of India by its Government:—we confess that your position in this country is a hard one; but its hardship arises partly from causes which no Government in the world can remove, and partly from causes which only yourselves can remove. It is not from a want of regard for you that we do not adopt more active measures to relieve the evils of which you complain, but we are bound by the necessities of our position which we cannot overstep.

You complain that you have not your due share of

employment in the various branches of the public service ; but you must remember that, although the number of Europeans in India seems large when written down by itself, it is only an exceedingly small fraction of the whole population ; and its two or three hundred thousands almost disappear in the midst of as many millions of natives. You must consider too, that the bulk of the revenue is derived from them, and they have at least an equal right with Europeans to have their share of the employment which Government has to give.

And, as the first object of the English Government of India is to unite the native races with ourselves in sympathy and interest, although the work done by them may not at first be quite equal to the work done by Europeans, yet this defect is counterbalanced by the advantage of their being made to understand and feel that they are part and parcel of our administration in all its various grades, and that there is no privilege, position, or occupation in the country which they cannot share, on equal terms with the European.

Besides, the labour of natives may be had on so much cheaper terms than that of Europeans ; and if it is as good, or nearly as good, you can hardly expect that the dearer labour should be preferred to the cheap out of favour to a particular class. You would not observe this principle in your own private concerns ; you would not engage an European as a domestic servant, or as a carpenter, or tailor, if you could get the same work as well done by a native at half the cost. You have no right, therefore, to demand from Government that Europeans should be made a petted and favoured class, irrespective of their own deserts, or that European labour should be employed and paid for beyond the degree which its own intrinsic value warrants.

There are, indeed, certain special forms of employment

requiring a peculiar skill or particular qualities, for which Europeans, for the present at least, must still be exclusively employed; but for these Eurasians and Anglo-Indians have proved themselves unfit. They have neither the physique, nor the moral qualities, nor the special education and practised skill, which these employments require, and therefore, for them the Government, finding no fit European labour in India, is compelled to import it from England.

If this be accepted as the final answer to this claim, and the settlement of the whole question, then the indigenous European of India is in evil case indeed, and his whole life is spent in the Pharaonic task of making bricks without straw. He has to acquire the English physique without the English climate; the Englishman's fitness for special kinds of work without any of the Englishman's special advantages, and to maintain himself independently in India, when the means of independent maintenance are taken away from him on either side. Is it a wonder under these circumstances that he should fail, or just, that over his failure the cry, "ye are idle" should be raised? In a climate injurious to European health and vigour, and with the necessity of a dear mode of living to preserve his life at all, it is demanded of him that he should work as cheaply as the native of India, in those occupations where native labour can be employed, and where European labour must be used, as well and skilfully as the trained workman from England, with none of his advantages, either in respect of a suitable climate, of good general education, or of special professional training. It is absolutely impossible under these conditions that the indigenous European can compete successfully with either of his rivals. He is crowded out of one range of employments by the native Indian, from the other by the imported Englishman; and in this state, left alone to the unchecked operation of the natural law,—the survival of the

fittest,—his fate must be to starve, degenerate and die out as a spent and effete race, like the Veddah of Ceylon, the Aztec of Mexico, and the "black fellow" of Australia, or to be absorbed among the native population, and lose his identity as an European and a Christian.

I can never bring myself to accept this as the final solution of the question,—how are Europeans in India to be employed. It is to my mind the very worst employment and use to which they can be put. I do not think either that the strictest impartiality to the native races, and the fullest recognition of their claims, demand this complete sacrifice of the European, or that the difficulty of his position cannot be relieved by any measures within the power and the duty of a Government to adopt. On the other hand, I believe it to be possible, I believe it also to be more humane, more politic, and more to the interest both of the English Government and of India, to allow and to satisfy the claim advanced by indigenous Europeans for a special consideration of their special position, and for some relief in its many peculiar hardships, if not to the full extent desired, yet so far as to maintain them, in spite of their manifold disadvantages, a distinct independent class able, when freed from its disqualifications, to stand by itself and to render good and useful work to the State and the Country.

If a reason be asked why this course should be adopted, one at least may be given of which I hope the force will not be disputed. It certainly cannot be denied that the English Government in India has certain special obligations towards the indigenous Europeans, over and above those which it has toward all who are here subject to its rule. Either they or their fathers have deserved well of the State, as civilians, as soldiers, as clerks and mechanics. A very small proportion indeed came out to India* as mere speculators, to try their luck on their own account; but all the

rest came out either in the direct service of Government, or under the inducement of Government, or with the sanction and approval of Government, to do work which can only be done by Europeans ; and nearly the whole of the European population now permanently settled in India, are here, either because now, their own, or in times past, their forefathers' work was necessary to the administration of Government and the prosperity of the country. It could not be expected that a whole class of men, either in India or anywhere else, would live as celibates, and not raise up families of sons and daughters, who, from the nature of the case, must become a permanent element in the population of the country. Surely a Government must be unwise which does not foresee this necessity, and severe not to provide for it; to cast it off, as a fact for which it has had no responsibility in the past, and in which it can have no interest in the future. I can scarcely conceive a narrower and more shortsighted policy for any Government in the position of the Government of India, than to acknowledge no obligation to any part of its European population, save only that obligation to the persons whom for the time being it employs and pays, which is defined in the terms of its contract with them ; and to lay down the principle, that if their wives and children, being "not in the bond," choose or are compelled to settle in India, it can be of no concern to its English Government, how they are to live in India, or by what means they can provide themselves, or be provided with the conditions of moral and physical well-being in India.

I feel forced to express my own opinion on this matter ; which is, that a Government importing or employing Europeans in India, and knowing that a large proportion of these will settle in the country with their families, even if it regards itself in no higher aspect than as an employer of labour, has an obligation beyond the nuncual payment

of salary and pension to the persons in its service. It is bound, if not by a legal, yet by a strong moral responsibility towards their children and descendants, to make the conditions of life in India less hard for them, and to provide for them, when they cannot provide for themselves, whatever is necessary to place them more upon an equality with the natives of the country in the struggle for subsistence.

But in truth the Government of India has now a far higher position and a nobler duty than those which belong to the mere employer of labour. Principles, not unseemly perhaps, so long as it represented a mercantile company, have become inapplicable, now that its sovereign, the Queen of England, is Empress of India ; and the relation in which it stands to every inhabitant of India, European or Native, is higher and wider than the nexus of personal service and cash payment, being that of the ruler to the subject.

Among the many high duties which now devolve upon the Government of India one is, to remove from every class of its subjects the evils from which it suffers to the extent of its power of removal ; and the question now before it is, whether the effort should be made to maintain a numerous and important class, allied with itself in race and faith, for whose existence in the country it was itself responsible, as a self-supporting and profitable community, by helping it to overcome the unfavorable conditions of European life in India ; or whether it should be left alone without that help, to struggle on, as best it may, against all evil influences, at last to sink, as in part it has already sunk, to the level of a hopeless pauperism, and to become a source of weakness to the Government, and a permanent charge upon the country.

And there is another reason which should guide the decision, and which I will not leave unsaid. Englishmen can

never forget that their Government in India is a Government of foreigners. I believe it to be the most disinterested and the least oppressive Government which either this country or any country in the world, ruled by foreigners, has ever had. It is beyond comparison better than any Government it had under its own native princes, and the wiser among the people know this and confess it. But yet it is the Government of the alien and the conqueror, and from the nature of the case, has not gained the cordial affection and loyalty of the great body of the people, but is accepted by them as a necessity rather than loved. This is not to be wondered at; there are so wide differences between us and the natives of this country, in religion, in race, in civilisation, in national character, in social habits and in political interests, that there is small blame to either party; but yet it will be a very long time before the natives of this country, can feel towards us as even the poorest and most despised East-Indian; his one drop of European blood, diluted as it is, and his creed, imperfectly practised as it may be, draw him closer to us, than their interest has yet been able to draw the vast majority of Hindus and Mahommedans. And in case of any outburst of the latent elements of dissatisfaction, discord and disorder engendered by the alien character of our rule, it would be of the greatest importance to have in such a crisis, a considerable section of the population indissolubly bound to it by nationality, religion, sympathy and interest. The existence at such a time of a numerous, intelligent, industrious European class will supply to the Government a body of men ready and able to undertake the more confidential departments of its service, willing and eager to aid in its maintenance and defence, and whose unswerving loyalty would be relied on with a fulness and implicitness of confidence, which would hardly be given in such a crisis to the native, however well affected and loyal he might really be.

Summing up then the whole case, and reviewing all the circumstances of the indigenous Europeans of India, the special disadvantages of their life, and their special usefulness to the country, their special relations and their special importance to the Government, I cannot but come to the conclusion that they need and deserve a special consideration; that this can be given them, not only without injustice to the natives, but to their great advantage; and that, if given wisely and properly, it will not fail in accomplishing its object.

But one question more still remains to be cleared away before stating how this may best be given; *viz.*, how far the disadvantages with respect to employment of which Europeans complain are due to errors and defects in themselves, which it is in their own power to correct. For it is said to be almost entirely their own fault that so many of them remain unemployed.

I fear that even their best friend must confess that this charge is not wholly untrue; and I will state here what I consider to be the principal faults, especially of young Eurasians, which aggravate the disadvantages of their position, and make the question of their employment more difficult to solve.

First. Their chief ambition seems to be to obtain clerkships in Government or mercantile offices; but this, unfortunately for them, is just the kind of work which the educated natives can perform, almost, if not quite as well as they, and at a less cost; and consequently there is a constantly increasing dearth of such situations open to them. If therefore the European clerk cannot do desk-work at the same wage as his native competitor, he must either by superior ability and trustworthiness make it the interest of his employer to retain him even at a higher wage, or he must put by his feelings of pride, delicacy, timidity, or indolence, and seek other fields of employment, even though

they involve out-door and manual labour, in which there is a demand for European work in preference to native, and which will give him sufficient wages. In this he does but submit to the same necessity as the middle and higher classes of England. There the genteel labour-market is largely overstocked, and every year hundreds of young men of good birth and breeding, who can find no opening in trade or professions at home, are sent out to rough it in New Zealand, America and Australia, to get their living as farmers, shepherds, horse-breeders, gold-diggers and miners; or in India and Ceylon, as coffee, tea, and indigo planters.

Secondly. Imprudence and extravagance are faults which the European youth of India must also correct before they begin to complain of their position. If they cannot obtain more than a certain rate of wage for their work, their first endeavour should be to reduce their expenditure to what is absolutely necessary, and in this way meet the disadvantage, as far as they can, of having to compete with cheaper labour. But the European youth of eighteen or twenty years of age, and with a clerkship of Rs. 80 or Rs 100 a month, often thinks that he can keep a horse, or dress extravagantly, or indulge in amusements more or less expensive, or more frequently still, he will marry upon it, and have four or five children before he is five and twenty or thirty. Then he finds his income insufficient, becomes involved in debt, loses his situation, is thrown upon the world, and complains of the scarcity of employment for Europeans. His children are half-starved, and wholly uneducated, and so the evil is transmitted to the next generation in an aggravated form. But his own original imprudence and youthful extravagance were in fault; he did not, to use a familiar proverb, cut his coat, according to his cloth, and finds now the coat too small to cover himself, and not a rag left to cover his children.

Thirdly. Impatience, fondness of change, self-conceit are

other causes which, to my own knowledge, have thrown many a young European out of good situations. Their pay has not been so large as they thought they required, or deserved, they are impatient of the slow promotion in their office, or they have not liked the work, or have been spoken roughly to by their official superior, and from pique and the impulse of the moment they resign the appointment at once, find themselves on the world without either money or a situation, have to depend for their maintenance upon the kindness of friends, the alms of strangers, or the usury of money-lenders, and only find out, when it is too late, the folly of losing one situation before they have found another. There can be no doubt that if these faults were amended, the number of poor and unemployed Europeans in the country would be very considerably less than it is. And amended they must be; no help from others can be expected by a man who does not try to help himself, and if the European desires to overcome the disadvantages of his position, which come upon him from without, and to secure such employment as will suitably maintain him, he must first of all free himself from the defects which he finds within, and must learn to endure hard-work of whatever kind it may be, exercise thrift and self-control, patience and perseverance, and earn by better work the higher wage that he needs.

Having said thus much of the extent to which Europeans in India are able to help themselves, and improve their condition, we come at last to the question;—what kind and degree of aid may they claim from Government in meeting these two great disadvantages,—an unsuitable climate, and the competition of the cheaper labour of natives; and in finding, in spite of them, a market for their labour, profitable as well to their employers as to themselves?

And this question, I think, may be very briefly

answered as follows. They have the right to claim of the State :—

1. That it shall provide an education for their children both general and special, which shall fit them for employment.

2. That every practicable method of profitable employment should be freely thrown open to them.

With regard to their first claim for a suitable education, the argument has been urged, of what use is it to educate if you are not sure that you can employ? First show how Europeans can be employed, then begin to educate them; which sounds to me very like saying: "Be sure that a child will live, before you begin to feed him;"—for to the European in India education is as necessary to employment as food is to life; without education he has as little chance of employment and as little fitness for it as a navy without hands and arms; but with it, employment, at all events, is possible. Therefore, the argument should rather run;—educate first, that there may be at least the possibility of employment afterwards.

But without the aid of the State it is impossible that the great majority of the European children in India can be properly educated in such a manner as will fit them for getting their own living. Their parents are too poor, and generally distributed into too many small and scattered communities to establish and maintain the schools which are needed. For it cannot be too clearly understood, nor too strongly insisted upon, that not only good schools, but good schools in a good climate are an absolute necessity; and that for the suitable education of European children in India nothing but Hill Boarding-schools will suffice. They may receive as good instruction in the Plains'-schools, and with good discipline be trained there to correct the faults which I have just noted, as lessening so much their fitness for employment; but as a rule they

will never acquire a high standard of mental energy and moral firmness, still less a healthy and vigorous physique, if they are brought up in the plains from seven to seventeen. To obtain the strength of body, and vigour of mind, and moral determination, which will enable them to resist the influences of climate, to be capable of sustained hard work, mental or bodily, and to develop the qualities of manliness, endurance and perseverance, they must spend those years of their life in the climate of the hills.

It is by no means to be wondered at that European youths born and bred, and educated as imperfectly as so many of them are, in the plains of India, should grow up soft, delicate, unmanly, indolent, weak both in morale and physique. Put a hundred English families, the strongest, the most industrious, and the best that can be found among the working classes of Great Britain into the same circumstances; let them be spread over the country in small groups, left to themselves, uncared for and unknown; the fathers with an income of 150 Rs. or 200 Rs. a month, and living from hand to mouth, the children with neither schools nor sports, growing up to maturity in a temperature, compared with which a hot-house strikes chill, with no companionship but that of native servants or children; and in two or three generations their descendants will become as listless, sapless and languid as the rest. English oak does not flourish in a Bengal soil; and the faults which are so freely charged against the indigenous European population of India, are due more to the climate and to the circumstances in which for so many generations they have been allowed to live than to any personal vice. It is strange that this should not have been more generally perceived, and the measure which so evidently tends to remedy the evil, not more generally adopted. If an European climate is necessary for the healthy and vigorous growth, in mind and body, of the European children, give

them the nearest approach to it that can be found in India,—the climate of the Hills ; build schools for them there, that the parents of the middle and lower classes may in this way enjoy the same kind of benefit for their children, as the wealthier classes have for theirs in their ability to send them home. This seems plain and reasonable enough ; yet only some two or three years ago the deliberate statement was made by a gentleman, who should have known better, that it was undesirable to educate children in the hills, if they afterwards have to get their living in the plains, and that it was better to inure them to the plain climate from the first. The gentleman's own practice did not, however, coincide with his theory. His practice was that of every Englishman in the country who can afford it, not to educate his children in India, in order that they may be inured from their childhood to the climate in which they will have to live and work in their manhood ; but to send them to England when they are five or six years of age, and keep them there till nineteen or twenty, not only for the sake of a better education, but for the sake of the better constitution, the greater physical strength, and the manliness of character, which they attain in the better climate of England. Is not the practice a sufficient refutation of the theory ?

Not so very long ago, again, the reason assigned for the non-employment of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian youths in certain departments of the Government service was, that they had not the general physique and temperament required. Is this also not an argument that they should be taken out of a condition of life where they cannot, and placed in one where they can, acquire this general physique and temperament ? As they are situated now, it is their misfortune not their fault that they are without it ; and they always will be without it, each succeeding generation in a greater degree, until they can acquire the "mens sana in corpore

sano' by being educated during the years of growth in good schools in a good climate.

Have these been provided for them in sufficient degree? I am bound, reluctantly, to say that they have not. It is only eighteen years ago that the public mind was stirred by Lord Canning's minute on the education of Europeans in India, and the attempt was then made for the first time on any considerable scale to establish suitable schools for them. Since that time some eight or ten hill-schools have been provided, of which half the original building cost was contributed by the State, and most of them still receive a small grant-in-aid from the State. But, during the same period the number of European children to be educated in India has enormously increased, so that if all were now sent to hill-schools, the existing accommodation must be considerably enlarged, and the charges must be very considerably reduced. For at present these are necessarily fixed so high, for the maintenance of the school, and so slightly reduced to the parent by the Government grant-in-aid, that they are within the reach only of the better classes, and are not even as yet, from one cause or another, but chiefly on account of their cost, entirely filled by them; while nearly all the children of the poorer classes of Europeans, who receive any education at all, are only imperfectly and unsuitably educated in the plains. At this moment between Calcutta and Peshawar there are not more than half-a-dozen large towns where an European boy can get a good education (to say nothing of a good climate) which will fit him afterwards to get a living.

Some four or five years ago I was induced to notice the different measures of State-aid dealt out to European and Native education. It will be unnecessary, therefore, for me now to say more on this point, than that the figures then quoted from the Bengal, Punjab, and North-West Educational reports shewed, that while in most of the

higher schools and colleges established, and maintained by Government for the education of natives, the State contributed nine-tenths, the native parent one-tenth of the total cost of the education ; in the hill schools aided by Government, this proportion was reversed ; the European parent paying the nine-tenths of the total cost, and the State contributing the one-tenth.*

It may be accepted as a tolerably certain fact that the cheapest hill-school cannot teach and feed an European boy, as he ought to be taught and fed, at a lower charge than Rs. 25 a month, and that the average income of the working classes of Europeans in India does not admit of an expenditure on the education of each boy larger than Rs. 10, or at most of Rs. 15 a month. It is very evident, therefore, that if all the children of the European working classes are to be provided with the education they require, this deficit between the paying power of the parent and the cost of the son's education, must be supplied either from the State, or from some other source. If the State considers that it cannot, in justice to its native subjects, pay so large a sum as Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 per mensem towards the education of every boy of the European working classes, that is, cannot contribute about one-half only of its total cost—it is plain that they must either remain as they are, or that the deficit must be met by the employers of the parents, a public educational fund, an assessment on European property, or whatever other device financial ingenuity and vicarious benevolence may suggest. But those who consider the proportions in which European and Native parents are aided in the education of their children, and know the total cost to Government of a single pupil educated at any one of its higher schools and colleges, will scarcely be prepared to say, that the European parent of the working class is unreasonable in asking the State to help him in

* See Appendix.

educating his children, by a grant of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 a month ; or that the State by giving so much would seriously disturb the impartiality which all classes have a right to demand from it.

And this inequality of treatment with respect to education has affected most disadvantageously the position of the European with respect to employment. For on the one hand, the unwillingness of Government hitherto to contribute a sum large enough to enable him to place his children in good hill-schools, practically has disqualified them from most of the employments, for which European labour is required. And on the other, its liberality in paying a double or treble amount* for the education of a single native pupil in the higher schools and colleges, qualifies him for all employments open equally to natives and Europeans, and enables him to push out his European competitor, because, being in his own country and a congenial climate, he can afford to work at a cheaper rate.

So long, then, as this inequality is maintained, I think that Europeans in India have reason to complain that in the race for employment the heaviest weight is laid on the weakest horse. They start at a disadvantage, having the climate as a dead weight lying upon them from the day of their birth ; to which, as they grow up, the extra weight of a deficient and unsuitable education is afterwards added ; and it is impossible that they can ever compete on equal terms with either the natives of the country, or Europeans from home, until the State, without relieving the European parent of one penny of the cost of his children's education which he is really able to pay, supplies that portion of the cost which he is as really unable to pay. Thus, and thus only, can his children obtain in a climate suited to their constitution an education suited to their needs, which shall fit them to make their own way in the world when they come to man's estate.

* See Appendix.

This is no more than is done by the Government of England for every child born within the limits of the United Kingdom ; no more than is done by the Government of India for the children of the Natives in every large station and town of the country ; and certainly no less ought to be done for the children of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian.

I have only spoken hitherto of what I consider to be a necessary preliminary to all methods of profitable employment of Europeans in India ; and have now to discuss the methods themselves.

Some of those that have been suggested seem to imply an opinion that Europeans cannot be utilized in India, and must be employed out of India ; and various writers in the newspapers, at the very time that fresh batches of Europeans are imported into the country year by year, propose, as though there were already far too many in it, to deport the superfluous number to England, to the Cape, to Australia, or New Zealand. The fallacy of this proposal may, I think, very soon be exposed. There are two classes of Europeans in India ; those who are still capable, and those who have become incapable of useful labour. To deport the first, while compelled to import others to take their place, would be of course absurd ; and to deport the second class, though perhaps a good riddance for India, would do no other good to them, than afford them greater facilities for starving, nor be a valuable or acceptable gift to the countries to which they were deported. To send, for instance, a few cargoes of our loafers and very poor East-Indians to England, where the labour-market is so much overstocked that many thousands of the best workmen emigrate annually, would be worse than sending coals to Newcastle ; it would be sending the weak among the strong, and adding not to the useful labour, but to the pauperism of the country ;—an addition which its people would naturally decline to accept, or perhaps reciprocate by sending

us in turn a supply of their own paupers and gaol-birds.

And as for the Colonies, I fear the result would be no better. It is not the brain-workers and the clerkly men, still less the weak and the purposeless, that succeed, but the men of the strong arm, who can stand any amount of hard work, mine and dig, fell timber and hew stone ; of the strong constitution that will bear wind and weather, heat and cold ; of the strong will that pursues the end in spite of the hardship of the means ; and of the versatile energy which, when one means of livelihood fails, can turn its hand successfully to another. There may come a time when the young men of India, whose fathers as well as themselves have been trained in their early years in the climate of the hills to English strength and manliness, may, if they can find no employment in India, succeed in the Colonies ; but such they are not now ; and I am convinced that, reared as they and their fathers have been for several generations past in the plains of India, such an experiment would end only in disappointment and distress.

Equally hopeless of success, in my opinion, would be the experiment of raising Eurasian or East-Indian regiments, or of establishing Eurasian or East-Indian agricultural colonies in the hills. Their sufficient condemnation is that they would not pay ; the regiments would not pay the Government, and the colonies would not pay the colonists. I have not indeed much faith in any artificial and forced employments to which a class has not turned, and does not turn spontaneously when left to itself ; certainly neither of the two last mentioned forms are suited to the present capacities, habits and predilections of the class, and the result of their trial, would be almost certainly a costly failure and the waste of time.

In the ordinary handicrafts, shoemaking, carpentering, tailoring, &c., in the ordinary trades of butcher, baker, grocer, and in almost all the forms of domestic service,

the ground is already occupied by the Natives ; and it is, for various reasons, plain that the Europeans cannot hope to compete with them. But yet there are openings for successful trade or work, of which Europeans may take advantage. In all matters connected with house decoration, furniture, cabinet-making and carriage-building, native work, especially in the provinces, is so rough and unskilled, that in the larger towns and stations of India, where there is a considerable number of English or native gentry, no longer content with the primeval simplicity of the ancient bungalow, and the battered furniture handed down from a remote age through successive generations of residents, many an European might make a profitable livelihood as a skilled painter and glazier, an upholsterer, cabinet-maker, or carriage-builder.

But there are other modes of employment for which Europeans have an especial aptitude, which to many of them are hereditary, for which no forcing, only suitable training, is required, and which, this being given, would afford them for many years to come an occupation as profitable for their employers as it would be for themselves. At present instead of utilizing the Europeans already in the country, we import every year at considerable cost fresh Europeans from England, to be employed here as drivers, fitters, platelayers on the railways, as working engineers in Government and other factories, on plantations, and wherever else machinery is used, or as subordinates in the Departments of Public Works, Telegraph and Survey. The reason given is, of course, that the requisite physique and trained skill cannot be obtained in the country ; this however arises only from the simple fact that no measures have yet been taken to obtain the requisite skill and physique. But why should there not be established for each province one or more mechanical schools and workshops, where European boys in this

country could be taught the very trades for which costly relays of English mechanics are annually imported? There is at this moment but one school of the kind connected with Government in the whole presidency,—at Dehree, near Arrah, receiving some thirty European boys. If instead of this one small school in the plains, the Government established several larger schools in suitable positions in the hills, capable of receiving from the age of 15 up to the age of 18 or 20, on the footing of apprentices, after they had been well taught in an ordinary hill-school, the majority of European lads now growing up to manhood in India,—the sons of railway servants, telegraph masters, warrant officers, subordinates in the Survey and Public Works Departments, I am convinced that in a very short time hundreds of lads would be found eager to enter them.*

By this means a large and profitable opening would be permanently afforded to European industry in a most suitable direction, and an indigenous class of healthy and vigorous young men, well trained as skilled mechanics, would be formed, whose labour would be cheaper than the fresh supply of European labour annually imported, and whose employment would check the increase of European immigration, and lessen the amount of poverty and pauperism ultimately consequent upon it. The establishment of these schools would, of course, involve considerable expenditure at first; the final and not very distant result however would be, I believe, a gain in every way both to the State and the country. At all events it appears to me that the method now pursued of importing European labour from outside, without an effort to utilize that already in the country, resembles the action of a farmer, who spends his money in planting fresh crops instead of tending and gathering in the old, which he leaves on the ground to rot.

* The Hon. Sir Andrew Clarke has proposed the establishment of one large school of this kind, but I fear that if there were only one, it would be too large for good management.

Again, for the largely increased, and, if a wise policy be pursued, necessarily increasing number of European schools in India, there is a large demand for suitable teachers and assistant-teachers, both male and female, yet a very small supply in the country. There is not, it may be said, one European school which does not suffer from want of such a supply; their managers are either put to a serious expense in importing English masters and mistresses, or have to be content with such untrained and inferior teachers as they can engage in the country. Why should this be so? Not because the Europeans of this country are by nature or by habit incapable of teaching, but because they have never been trained to it. Teaching is an art which must itself be taught, and there is not in the whole of this presidency one school or college in which young European men and women can be trained as teachers of European schools. It would be the greatest possible benefit to European education in India, to have an adequate local supply of trained and certificated teachers. In fact, the schools, whether large or small, elementary or advanced, can never be put on an efficient footing without it; it is their one great want. And surely it is not too much to hope, that a Government which maintains an establishment of highly paid and highly educated English graduates, to give an advanced education to the native youth in its own schools and colleges, should be willing to aid the elementary education of the poorer and middle classes of Europeans, by giving them a staff of teachers trained in the country to the profession of teaching. Such a gift would raise the standard of European education, lessen its cost to the parent, and eventually to the State, and at the same time open an avenue of useful and honourable employment to the European youth of both sexes.

The Pilot Service too, which at one time afforded a profitable employment to many Eurasian and Anglo-Indian

young men, has for some time past, as it appears from an official correspondence recently published, been practically closed to this class. The Bengal Government, in a letter bearing the date of January 3rd 1879, states that "in default of qualified candidates on the spot, it has decided on bringing its leadsmen from the training ships in England." It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the controversy on this subject between the Government of Bengal and the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, or to dispute the statement made in the Government letter, that Eurasian youths are without the "general physique and temperament" necessary for the services, and that although in 1861 the Pilot service "was made open to all who have served some years at sea, yet they have not taken to a seafaring life in the mercantile marine, or attempted to face the preliminary training necessary for a licensed pilot." For no one in his senses will deny that the general physique and temperament of lads, whose ancestors for three or four generations, as well as themselves, have passed their lives in the climate of Calcutta, must be unequal to that of lads brought up in the sea-port towns of England. It may be admitted too that neither St. Xavier's College, nor the Doveton, nor the Calcutta Free-school prepare their pupils so directly either for the mercantile marine or the Pilot Service, as do the training ships in England. But, as I have endeavoured to shew, the first ground of disqualification would be infinitely lessened, if not removed, by an education during the years of growth in hill-schools; and I think that an Eurasian or Anglo-Indian boy so brought up, being already acclimatized, would be scarcely if at all less capable of useful service as a leadsmen or pilot, than the English lad who is brought out at fifteen or sixteen, and at that early age has to undergo the process of acclimatization, in a calling which necessarily exposes him for many hours together to a tropical sun.

And the second qualification of a professional training and of liking for the sea, the European youth of India can scarcely be expected to have in the same degree as the English lad, unless they have the same advantages and inducements. I do not think that they have any special dislike to the mercantile marine, but they have had nothing as yet to attract them to it, or fit them for it. Many, I know have taken to a seafaring life, and if more have not entered the merchant service, it is probably not so much from a distaste to it, as because the majority of ship-owners and masters of vessels trading with Calcutta are English, and bring their apprentices from England. They draw them either from their own English friends and connections, or from the same source as the Bengal Government draws its leadsmen,—from the training ships in England. But if the Government tried the experiment of establishing an Indian Naval School, or a few training ships at the ports of India, of the same kind as the schools and training ships at home, I believe that a number of lads might at once be employed in profitable service at sea, who for want of employment are half starved on land. Nor can I see any reason why these, although born and bred in India, especially if well taught and reared in hill-schools, or even a fair proportion of those taught in the schools of Calcutta, should not make as good able seamen, petty officers, mates and masters, as the boys who are taken off the streets of London or Liverpool. But it is evidently in vain for the Government to expect to find qualified candidates in India either for the pilot service or the mercantile marine, so long as nothing is done to qualify them. The man in the moon cannot learn to swim.

In these various ways, and perhaps in others which time may discover, with no more aid and protection to Europeans than they may reasonably claim, with no more than is freely given to the natives of the country, the evil now

complained of would, in my opinion, be infinitely reduced. More avenues of profitable employment would be opened to them, they themselves would be made fitter for employment, both in physique and morale, and their class would be utilized, elevated, and kept within manageable dimensions, instead of being, as now, abnormally increased by annual immigration, gradually depressed and pauperized by remaining unemployed.

But there are other measures still which their present circumstances seem especially to call for, and the adoption of which would remove restrictions now placing them at a most serious disadvantage.

Nearly all the higher forms of public employment in India, though theoretically open to them, are practically closed by one condition. I do not allude now to the civil service, for in the uncovenanted branch of it Europeans born and bred in the country hold appointments, though neither so many nor so highly paid as those held by Europeans from home. But in the other branches of the Government service,—the medical, telegraph, survey, forests, and public works departments,—the fact, that for nearly all the appointments, except to the subordinate grades, the qualifying or competitive examinations must be prepared for and passed in England, excludes the European youth of India from the competition. Out of all these departments there are only eight appointments annually thrown open to competition in India, *viz.*, in the department of the public works to the students of the Engineering College at Roorki; and even this advantage is considerably diminished by the preference shown to young men who have passed into the department from Cooper's Hill College at home.

In the medical department, indeed, some few of the subordinate branch who have distinguished themselves by good service are made what is called honorary surgeons but this

appears to be a distinction in name rather than in fact, their pay and position remaining much the same as it was in the sub-medical department.

With these exceptions it is, I believe, impossible for the country-born youth to obtain an entrance into these services, unless they pass an examination in England ; and the same holds good for the higher appointments as Engineers in the Railway Service.

Now these five departments of the Government service are filled, and under present circumstances must be filled for many years, almost exclusively by Europeans. This being the case, it does seem a hardship that they should be handed over almost without an exception to young men from England, and that the many otherwise well-qualified youths trained at Indian schools should be practically excluded from them, because they cannot obtain the professional education necessary for them in India, or must go to England to pass an examination. Their parents have already strained their resources in meeting the cost of their education in India, and very few can afford, even with the certainty of success; and still less with the possibility of failure, to incur the additional charge of their sons' residence and professional education for two or three years in England.

If, therefore, a certain number of these appointments should be reserved for them; not only in the public works, but in every one of the departments of the public service, with the privilege of qualifying for them by passing an examination in India ; and if the Government established, in addition to its Engineers' College at Roorkee, schools of Forestry, Medicine, Surveying, and of the art and science of Telegraphs, or one general college embracing all these subjects, the boon to the European community would be enormous. It would not only open to the higher ranks in it fresh avenues of employment, more lucrative and honorable than any that have been opened to them before;

but would remove a distinction between the English-born and the Country-born, which cannot but be regarded as a badge of inferiority ; it would infuse hope, energy and a spirit of independence into the whole class, and stimulate its industry, perseverance, honest rivalry and ambition, by presenting to it worthy prizes for competition.

It is not because the young Eurasian and Anglo-Indian are so intensely enamoured of desk-work, that they are so eager for situations in Government offices, but because this career has hitherto contained the highest prizes for which they can compete. Probably, if their sentiments were known, the generality of them have no more abstract liking for the desk than the generality of young men anywhere else. Only let the prizes of the professions which I have named be brought within their reach by the institution of Indian colleges, and local examinations, and Government will have no more reason to fear that there will be any dearth of qualified candidates, and that it must go out of India to find men who will prove good and useful servants in the higher grades of the telegraph, survey, forest, and medical departments ; than it has had reason to complain of the young men trained in India, who have passed into the department of public works from its college at Roorki.

The cost of such a college or colleges ought not to weigh against the benefit that would result. Little enough indeed has been done in the way of colleges for Europeans in India. Except the one solitary and highly-valued Engineers' College at Roorki I know none. If the erection of the magnificent Muir College at Allahabad be not thought an excessive and unnecessary expenditure ; nor the establishment of the Calcutta University with its majestic buildings, nor of the various colleges more or less convenient and costly, both in Calcutta and elsewhere, that are attached to its system ;—all of which institutions are designed especially

for the benefit of natives ;—it can scarcely be thought an improper charge, to establish, especially for Europeans, one or two colleges for their professional education in India, which are so urgently demanded by the necessities of their position, and would afford them so substantial a relief under the disadvantages which now depress them.

Or, if on the other hand, it be thought, that the professional education required for these departments of the public service can be obtained in England, better in kind, cheaper in cost, and with less disturbance of the existing system, than in an Indian college ; would it be too much to ask that a Government, which has spent on each native student at the Berhampore college Rs. 800, at the Gauhati High School Rs. 900, and at the Muir College Rs. 1,300 per annum, in order that he may be educated to the level of the learned professions, should be willing to found a sufficient number of exhibitions of £60 or £70 per annum in favour of the European student, in order that he may obtain that kind of education, without which it is impossible for him to obtain in India any of the more lucrative and honourable forms of employment open to his class ?

I am well aware that the present is not the most favorable time for proposing any measures of public improvement which involve an immediate outlay and yield only a distant return. The resources of the empire have been recently strained by famine, depression of trade, and the depreciation of its coinage ; and to these causes of financial difficulty has been added the present cost of an expensive war. *Inter arma silent leges*, and an expenditure proper in a time of peace and domestic prosperity, becomes impossible in a time of war and domestic distress. But when this time of pressure and compulsory retrenchment ceases, and the Government of the country is more at liberty to provide for measures of internal improvement, it should be remembered that the social measure most

urgently needed, and least bearing delay, is one that will ameliorate the condition of the indigenous Europeans, and rescue them from the bottomless pit of pauperism into which, unless their downward course is reversed, they will surely and not too slowly fall.

One of the troubles which now harass the empire is said to be the result of the "masterly inactivity" which is supposed to have directed our policy during the last fifteen or twenty years. Whether the inactivity alleged was masterly or not, or whether the war in Afghanistan was due to inactivity at all, or to a desire for a scientific frontier, may be left for those to decide who are able to solve political puzzles. But of this one thing I am certain ;—that the evils which have already been caused by the prolonged neglect of the poorer and middle classes of Europeans in India,—prolonged even after Lord Canning so publicly drew attention to them and predicted their ultimate result,—and the still wider evils which must inevitably follow within the course of two or three generations, if some remedy for them is not immediately applied, will find their last issue in a greater and more enduring calamity than a war on the frontier,—in the degeneracy degradation and ruin, in the very midst of us, of a large section of our own people. And this calamity will surely be ascribed to the inactivity of a Christian Church and Civilized State, which saw it coming, but took no measure to avert it ; an inactivity, for which no partial and euphemistic advocate will be found who shall call it masterly, but the severer truth of history will record it under its own name, as the inactivity engendered of supine apathy and shortsighted parsimony.

I have now only to conclude. I do not pretend to have exhausted this most important subject of the employment of Europeans in India, nor to have discovered a complete and immediate solution of the problem, which will effect all at

once either a moral revolution in their character, or a material revolution in their circumstances. That is impossible ; the beneficial result must be left for time gradually but surely to develope. And I have gone on the principle, that it is not so much the invention and introduction of artificial and novel modes of employment, that is wanted in order to improve their present condition, as the less restricted admission into those which already exist, and the better preparation for them by the methods suggested. Still less do I consider that what Europeans in this country require is such a kind or degree of patronage and protection as shall constitute them a privileged class. I have done no more than suggest measures which an English Government may adopt without disturbing the impartiality of its administration towards all classes of Her Majesty's subjects ;—measures which Europeans in India may fairly demand, and which, I think, will at once very materially lessen the evils so reasonably complained of, and eventually gain the richer result of infusing a new life of hope, energy, vigour and usefulness into the whole class.

I do not think that either Hindus or Mahommedans will begrudge their European fellow-citizens the amount of aid which these measures so necessary to their welfare imply, and which they themselves have already received. But if they do, I am quite sure that they will be opposing themselves to measures which tend ultimately to their own advantage, as surely as they promote the advantage of those for whom they are directly designed. For the number of Europeans in India, when fitly trained and judiciously utilized, is no larger than India needs, and can provide with suitable employment, without encroaching on the rights of its native inhabitants. And I consider it infinitely more to the advantage of the whole country so to train and utilize them, than to allow a portion of them every year to sink into the class of vagrant loafers,

and idle paupers, and fill up the gap so caused by yearly importations of fresh Europeans from England, whose children and descendants, in the course of another generation or two, will swell the mass of European pauperism to a larger bulk, and aggravate the evil we now idly lament.

It remains for me now only to add, as a last word, that my sole purpose and effort in writing this paper has been honestly to say what I honestly believe to be necessary as a matter of fact, and right as a matter of duty. If in the course of it I have stated either opinions or facts too freely, and, in so doing, offended the sensibilities of any person or class, I here express my sincere regret, so far as the offence lies in the manner of stating them; but as for the substance of what I have written, and my own part in writing it, I can but say, *Liberavi animam meam.*



APPENDIX.

A sketch of what has been done in one province of the Presidency for the education of Natives will indicate, to some extent, what might have been done for the education of Europeans.

It was well known that neither the wealth nor the enthusiastic desire for education of the middle and lower classes of the native population would warrant the introduction of a high scale of payments; accordingly, the school fees for every class of school were set very low. But it was soon discovered also, that not even the inducement of extreme cheapness was strong enough to recommend education to the general favor of the people, and very few were found to take advantage of the schools provided for them by Government, especially of the Colleges and higher grade of schools. Accordingly, the system of granting so called 'scholarships,' *i. e.*, monthly allowances to individual pupils, either as prizes of proficiency, or for their maintenance, was introduced, and now very largely prevails in the Punjab. Of these scholarships, the cost of which is defrayed from the Provincial Revenues and other sources, the Punjab Education Report for 1872-3 states—"By experience we find that hardly any one will remain at college without a scholarship, and as it is unsatisfactory to keep up a highly paid staff of teachers to lecture to empty benches, the scholarships of the Punjab university have been most useful." And again, "As a rule every student draws a scholarship." The Lieutenant-Governor is also of opinion, "that scholarships of moderate amount should be liberally awarded in connexion with the higher classes of zillah schools."

But the following table of figures will shew accurately to what extent this system prevails in every class of the Government schools, and how easy the charge of education is made to the native pupil. It must be premised, however, that the total amount, from all sources, spent in scholarships is stated only for the colleges; for the three grades of schools, the amount includes only the sum paid by Government, and not the scholarships granted from local or private sources.

	Colleges.	Higher schools.	Middle schools.	Lower schools.
Average number of pupils on monthly roll	97	269	11,465	43,623
Total annual amount paid in scholarships	Rs. 13,754	Rs. 13,511	Rs. 7,411	Rs. 1,398
Total annual amount received in fees	Rs. 1,944	Rs. 2,173-15-0	Rs. 8,582-14	Rs. 5,379-13-7
Average annual fee paid by each pupil	Rs. 20-0-8	Rs. 8-1-2	12 anas	2as. nearly
Annual average value (equalized) of scholarship received by each pupil	Rs. 141-12-2	Rs. 50-3-7	10as. 4p.	6 pie
Annual total cost of educating each pupil	Rs. 727-5-5	Rs. 194-4-0	Rs. 13-15-1	Rs. 3-14-8
Total annual cost to Government of educating each pupil ..	Rs. 633-2-9	Rs. 190-13-7	Rs. 12-2-6	Rs. 3-10-5

Taking these figures as they stand, and excluding all scholarships held by pupils in the schools, that are derived from local and private sources, an inspection of them discloses the following facts :—

1. That the sum total paid in fees by all the pupils in the four classes of Government schools is only Rs. 18,080-10-7, while the sum total received by them in scholarships is Rs. 36,074 : 2, i. e., if the amounts paid and received were equalized for every pupil in all the four classes, every pupil would receive twice as much from a scholarship as he pays in fees. And, equalizing this payment and receipt for every one of the 55,454 pupils attending the four classes of the Government schools, it will be found that every pupil pays for his education an average fee of 3 as. 5 pie per annum, or nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ pie per mensem, while he receives an average stipend of 6 as. 10 pie per annum, or nearly 7 pie per mensem ; in other words, every boy taught in a Government school receives an average sum of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ pie per mensem as a reward for being educated.

2. If the payment and receipts of each pupil are equalised separately in each class of school, the following result is obtained—

	Colleges.	Higher schools.	Middle schools.	Lower schools.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	P.	
* Average monthly value of scholarship received by each pupil	11-13-0 $\frac{5}{8}$	4-2-11 $\frac{7}{8}$	10 $\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ pie
Average monthly fee paid by each pupil	1-10-8 $\frac{5}{8}$	10-9 $\frac{2}{8}$	1	2 pie

Subtracting the smaller from the larger sums, it will be seen that in excess of his fee the college student receives an equalized payment of Rs. 10-2-3 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the higher school pupil of Rs. 8-8-2 $\frac{5}{8}$, per mensem; while the pupils of the middle and lower schools pay respectively 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ pié and 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ pie for their education.

3. A third fact apparent is, that, taking into the account all receipts from fees and other sources, the Punjab Government spends, in excess of these receipts, from the Provincial revenue on every pupil;

In Colleges	...	...	Rs. 52 12 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	per mensem.
Higher schools	...	...	„ 15 14 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	„
Middle do.	...	...	„ 1 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	„
Lower do.	...	...	„ 0 4-10 $\frac{5}{8}$	„

It cannot be so clearly ascertained from the educational reports of the other provinces of the Presidency, whether the principle of granting scholarships is applied generally with the same liberality as in the Punjab; but a comparison of their reports will shew that great facilities of education are afforded there to the Native, and that a large proportion of its cost is borne by Government, especially in the colleges and higher schools.† For instance, the annual cost to Government of educating each pupil is, as follows,—

In Bengal at ...	{	Berhampore College,	Rs. 800-8
		Gowhatti High School,	„ 908-0
		Sanscrit College, Calcutta,	„ 549-0
		Patna College,	„ 480-0
		St. Xavier's College for Europeans,	„ 106-0 ‡

* These are calculated at 12 months in the year, not for the number of months at school: with the latter divisor, the average receipt from scholarships would be about Rs. 14, the average fee Rs. 2.

† The total cost to Government of 22 pupils in Berhampore College is Rs. 17,614, nearly one-half the whole education grant of Rs. 37,800 to all the European schools in Bengal. The total cost to Government of 19 pupils, the average number on the monthly roll of the Muir College, Allahabad, was Rs. 25,895-12-10, which exceeds by Rs. 3,268-12-10 the total grant-in-aid to eleven European schools in the North-West Provinces, containing 535 pupils in average daily attendance. The total cost to Government of the 52 pupils at the Lahore College is Rs. 33,433-6-5, which exceeds the grant-in-aid to all the Punjab European schools, (except the Lawrence Asylum at Murree for soldiers' children) containing 477 children on average monthly roll by Rs. 13,679-15-9.

‡ The total cost of a student at St. Xavier's College is Rs. 706: of which Rs. 600 is met by the pupil's fee and the funds of the Institution, and Rs. 106 only, as stated above, contributed from State funds.

The tuition fee paid by the pupil at all these institutions is Rs. 5 per mensem. To what extent the payment of this fee is lessened by scholarships has not been ascertained.

I have been unable also to refer to the Educational Reports of the Central Province; but the following statement of the scale of maintenance-allowances for the different classes of schools in the province, was made by a Native student, who appeared well acquainted with the educational system adopted, at least on its financial side. I cannot of course vouch for its correctness, but if correct, it must be considered fairly liberal.

- (1.) Amount received by pupil at zillah school while studying for entrance to High-Schools; 1st Grade Rs. 3, 2nd Grade Rs. 2.
- (2.) Amount received by pupil at Nagpoor Govt. School while studying for Matriculation Examination for two years, 1st Grade Rs. 7, 2nd Grade, Rs. 6, 3rd Grade Rs. 5.
- (3.) Amount received by pupil at Jubbulpore high-school while studying for First Arts Examination for two years, 1st Grade Rs. 15, 2nd Grade Rs. 10.
- (4.) Amount received by student at Allahabad (Muir College) for B. A. Examination for two years, 1st Grade Rs. 30, 2nd Grade Rs. 25.

Under this system the course of the industrious native student resembles that of Hogarth's industrious apprentice. Virtue is made to thrive. It compares favorably with the scholastic progress of the pupil in the Calcutta Free School. His education costs Rs. 14-2-7 per mensem, towards which Government contributes Rs. 2-9-0 during his period of education in the Free School. But no progress to schools of a higher standard is made possible to him, however studious, by the institution of scholarships.

For the North-West Province, the following table exhibits the amount contributed by the State to the education of each pupil in the four Government colleges, and the amount contributed by the pupil himself, or derived from other local sources:—

Place.	Total annual cost of educating each pupil.	Total annual cost to Government.	Total annual amount derived from fees of pupils and other sources.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Agra	312-10-1	304-8-6	8-1-7
Bareilly ... { College and upper school ...	245-3-3	235-0-5	10-2-10
Bareilly lower school ...	32-4-11	30-11-0	1-9-11
Benares	140-12-2	137-10-7	3-1-7
Muir College, Allahabad ...	1,401-9-3	1,362-14-3	38-11-0

To what extent scholarships are awarded in these institutions has, as has been said, not been ascertained. A boarding house system has, however been introduced in connexion with twenty-six of the colleges and principal schools of the North-West, which in 1872-3, were filled by 367 stipendiaries and 280 self-supporters. The former class is defined in the Report as "those who hold either Government scholarships, zilla scholarships, municipal scholarships, or hulkabundee scholarships of the ordinary value of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4, per mensem." The latter, as "those who take advantage of the house as a place of residence free of cost. They bring their own provisions, and occasionally bring servants."* The system pursued is stated to be as follows:—"The cost of living is generally calculated by the superintendent and divided among the residents, whose allowances are thus made subject to regular reductions." No comment on this is necessary to explain the great advantages supplied by this system both to stipendiaries and self-supporters.

These calculations and statements of facts have not been made with a view of shewing that the Government pays too highly for the educated native, or that native education is unduly fostered. On the contrary it is freely admitted that their education is in every respect most desirable, and that it must be made cheap to become general. But at the same time it is impossible to avoid contrasting the facilities of education thus afforded to Natives, with the very different condition of Europeans in this respect, or to refrain from the wish, that its charge was lightened to them in somewhat of the same manner and proportion.

I append here a tabular statement shewing the total cost at several European hill-schools of a boy's education, and the proportion contributed by the Government grant-in-aid. Although the grant-in-aid has been increased since 1874-5 to the Darjeeling and Naini Tal schools, the Government share is still little more than one-tenth of the total cost of education, without including, the extra expenditure, and travelling allowance which fall upon the parent.

	Total annual cost of education per head.	Total annual contribution per head by Government.
Mussoori	Rs. A. P. 509-12-8	Rs. A. P. 0-0-0
Simla	460-4-0	45-0-0
Darjeeling	401-4-0	68-9-1
Naini Tal	282-5-0	60-5-8

* This does not indicate any great degree of poverty, and naturally suggests that pupils, who can afford to bring their own servants, could also afford to contribute more largely to their own education.

	Total annual cost of education per head.	Total annual contribution per head by Government.
Total cost of 4 boys at the above schools	1,653-9-8	17-134-9
Equalized cost of boy	413-6-5	43-7-8

The further difference must also be taken into the account, that for native schools the Government in a general way provides the whole original building cost, but for European schools only one-half of this, the other half being contributed from other sources.

As compared with the Government colleges and higher schools for natives, it will be seen that the largest annual amount given by the State to the education of the European pupil—Rs. 68—is one-twentieth of the largest amount given annually to the native student of the Muir College, which is Rs. 1,362.

A calculation, based upon the receipts and expenditure for a single native pupil at ten of the principal Government Colleges and higher schools, shews, that in 1872-3 the total equalized cost of every pupil was Rs. 653 per annum; of which the State contributed Rs. 604, or twelve-thirteenths, the parent, aided by scholarships from local sources, Rs. 49, or one-thirteenth. The aid by scholarships in some instances is very considerable. See pp. III, IV.



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P 8

Private.

CONDITION OF INDIA.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

BY

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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P 8.

BOMBAY:

PRINTED BY N. R. BANINA AT THE UNION PRESS.

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CONDITION OF INDIA.

32 Great St. Helens,
London, 24th May 1880.

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON,

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

INDIA OFFICE.

MY LORD,

I beg to submit a series of tables, working out in detail the total production of the Punjab, for the year 1876-7.

My objects in troubling your Lordship are as follows:—

In 1876 I read some papers on the Poverty of India before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association of London. These papers are published in the Journals of the Association, and I send herewith a copy. At pages 237 @ 239 I have explained how the mode of taking the averages adopted in the various Administration Reports of India, was quite wrong. When preparing my Papers on the Poverty of India, I had not sufficient time to work out all the averages for all the Provinces in detail. I have now worked out in detail the averages of all the production Tables of the Administration Report of the Punjab for 1876-7. I request now that the different Governments in India may be directed to supply their tables of production, as fully as are prescribed by the Statistical Committee of Calcutta, that the averages may be correctly taken, as I have done in the enclosed tables, and that in addition to the tables prescribed, may also be given a summary of the total agricultural production like the one given at page 21 of my tables, a summary of the whole production (agricultural, manufactures and mines) like that at page 23 and a table of the absolute necessaries of life for an agricultural labourer, like that at pages 26 @ 28.

It is only when such complete information is furnished by the Indian Authorities, that any true conception can be formed of the actual material condition of India from year to year, and our British rulers can only then clearly see, and grapple with effectually, the important problem of the material condition of India, and the best means of improving it.

I have also to solicit your Lordship to submit my tables to the Statistical Department of the India Office, and to direct to oblige me by pointing out any mistakes of facts or figures there may be in them.

In troubling your Lordship with these requests, I have no other object than to help, as far as my humble opportunities go, to arrive at the real truth of the actual material condition of India. For it is only natural that without the knowledge of the whole truth on this most important subject, all efforts, however well and benevolently intentioned, must generally result in disappointment and failures.

I also earnestly desire and solicit that your Lordship will kindly take into your consideration the representations I have urged in my papers on the Poverty of India.

I remain,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient Servant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.



ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF PUNJAB 1876-7.

Page 77 "Upon the whole the character of the weather during the year 1876-7 was favourable for agriculture."

I have taken 1 seer equal 2·057 lbs. from the Compilation entitled "Prices of food grains throughout India—1861-76, compiled in the Financial Department of the Government of India—Calcutta 1878."

The prices I have adopted are the average of the prices given in the Report for 1st January 1876, 1st June 1876 and 1st January 1877—the last being the latest price that is given in the Report.

For all such particulars or figures as are *not* given in the Report, I have consulted a Punjab-farmer, and adopted such information as he has given me.

There are some figures in the report which are evidently some mistakes and are much in excess of probability. But I have not altered them, though by retaining them as given in the report, the quantity and value of some of the articles become much higher than what they must most probably really be.

Excepting such mistakes, the farmer thinks, the tables of the Report give a fair representation of the produce of Punjab—the averages being worked out in the right way they should be, and not as they are given in the Report, worked on a wrong principle.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT—PUNJAB 1876/7.

RICE.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity		Price per	Total value.
					1 Ra.	
			lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1 Delhi	27,900	920	25,668,000	13·71	18,72,210	
2 Gurgaon	1,591	720	1,145,520	19·2	59,662	
3 Karnál	53,113	1,152	61,186,176	21·94	27,88,795	
4 Hissar	10,506	745	7,826,970	23·31	3,35,777	
5 Rohtak	5,326	670	3,568,420	25·37	1,40,655	
6 Sirsa	8,285	869	7,199,665	21·94	3,28,152	
7 Umballa	117,941	880	103,788,080	19·88	52,20,728	
8 Ludhána	3,963	1,096	4,343,448	16·45	2,64,039	
9 Simla	1,875	620	1,162,500	18·51	62,804	
10 Jullundar	9,192	1,085	9,973,320	16·45	6,06,281	
11 Hoshiarpur	28,835	752	21,683,920	17·82	12,16,830	
12 Kángra	147,766	415	61,322,890	29·48	20,80,152	
13 Amritsar	20,128	974	19,604,672	18·51	10,59,139	
14 Gurdáspur	81,533	755	61,595,165	15·77	39,05,844	
15 Siálkot	74,100	1,029	76,248,900	30·85	24,71,601	
16 Lahore	22,415	861	19,299,315	30·17	6,39,635	
17 Gujránwála	9,925	759	7,533,075	19·88	3,78,927	
18 Firozepore	6,543	795	5,201,685	20·91	2,48,765	
19 Ráwalpindi	1,093	970	1,060,210	12·34	85,916	
20 Jhelum	233	943	219,719	11·65	18,860	
21 Gujrát	6,969	586	4,083,834	17·82	2,29,171	
22 Shahpur	990	790	782,100	22·63	34,560	
23 Mooltan	9,800	750	7,350,000	13·71	5,36,105	
24 Jhang	127	281	35,687	13·71	2,603	
25 Montgomery	7,870	1,145	9,011,150	13·71	6,57,268	
26 Mazaffargarh	10,178	852	8,671,656	16·45	5,27,152	
27 D. I. Khan	1,366	196	267,736	12·85	20,835	
28 D. G. Khan	14,001	513	7,182,513	18	3,99,028	
29 Bannu	125	880	110,000	12·85	8,560	
30 Pesháwar	10,325	894	9,230,550	13·45	6,86,236	
31 Hazára	12,274	1,152	14,139,648	28·8	4,90,960	
32 Kohát	2,361	1,507	3,553,027	14·83	2,39,920	
		Average.		Average.		
Total..	708,699	796	564,054,551	20·42	2,76,17,270	

I take produce of rice as 25 fold and deduct 4% for seed. The quantity will then become lbs. 541,492,369 and value Rs. 2,65,12,580. Again the price of rice given in the Report is for "1st sort" only. The medium or 2nd sort forms the bulk and there is lower sort still. 2nd sort is generally about 75% of the 1st sort. I take upon the whole 85%. The value then for the whole bulk will be Rs. 2,25,35,693.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

WHEAT.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. l.	Total Value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	159,900	913	145,988,700	53·82	27,12,536
2	132,425	856	113,355,800	49·37	22,96,046
3	113,110	1,319	149,192,090	48·68	30,64,751
4	89,048	548	21,398,304	48·34	4,42,662
5	99,428	732	72,781,296	49·37	14,74,200
6	56,310	255	14,359,050	49·02	2,92,922
7	296,322	1,000	296,322,000	51·25	57,81,892
8	137,012	1,013	138,793,156	51·08	27,17,172
9	3,610	550	1,985,500	38·39	51,719
10	269,010	1,339	360,204,390	49·37	72,96,017
11	349,863	692	242,105,196	48·68	49,73,401
12	144,170	460	66,318,200	37·02	17,91,415
13	263,265	1,038	273,269,070	52·11	52,44,081
14	325,329	856	278,652,824	50·74	54,91,778
15	197,000	910	179,270,000	49·02	36,57,078
16	368,000	557	204,976,000	50·39	40,67,791
17	203,745	793	161,569,785	50·74	31,84,268
18	241,180	736	177,508,480	58·97	30,10,143
19	424,135	776	329,128,760	68·9	47,76,905
20	480,273	933	448,094,709	64·45	69,52,594
21	268,316	736	197,360,576	57·42	34,37,139
22	199,325	790	157,466,750	58·62	26,86,229
23	186,040	655	121,856,200	41·83	29,13,129
24	161,169	674	108,627,906	49·37	22,00,281
25	263,494	1,252	329,894,488	53·48	61,68,558
26	201,363	1,248	251,301,024	43·88	57,27,006
27	176,055	777	136,794,755	69·42	19,70,537
28	156,594	765	119,794,410	44·57	26,87,781
29	262,728	523	137,406,744	88·28	15,56,487
30	232,975	600	139,785,000	57·47	24,32,312
31	100,570	993	99,866,010	58·97	16,93,505
32	97,533	816	79,586,928	70·89	11,22,682
		Average.		Average.	
Total ...	6,609,497	840·4	5,555,014,081	53·48	10,38,75,022

I take produce of wheat 25 fold, and deduct 4% for seed. The quantity will be lbs. 5,332,813,517 and value will be Rupees 9,97,20,021. The price given in the report is for 1st sort only. The 2nd sort forms the bulk, and is generally about 12% lower in price. I take only 8% lower for the whole bulk.

The value of the whole will then be Rs. 9,17,42,419.

PANJAB—1876-7.

MAKAI (INDIAN CORN.)

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Rs. l.	Total Value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	13,900	1,500	20,850,000	72	2,89,583
2	1,344	"	2,016,000	75·42	26,730
3	6,215	"	9,322,500	67·19	1,38,748
4	89	"	133,500	51·42	2,596
5	73	"	109,500†		
6	466	"	699,000†		
7	100,736	"	151,104,000	62·4	24,21,538
8	62,602	"	94,203,000	66·51	14,16,373
9	1,282	"	1,923,000	45·94	41,859
10	86,392	1,544	133,389,248	63·08	21,11,604
11	105,651	1,500	158,476,500	55·54	28,53,375
12	65,093	"	97,639,500	39·77	24,55,104
13	44,428	1,412	62,729,512	65·14	9,62,995
14	49,977	1,500	74,965,500	53·48	14,01,748
15	33,000	"	49,500,000	58·28	8,49,450
16	34,150	"	51,225,000	65·82	7,78,258
17	16,535	"	24,802,500	61·02	4,06,465
18	42,428	"	63,642,000	31·59	7,80,022
19	66,392	"	99,588,000	94·62	10,52,504
20	2,423	"	3,634,500	64·45	56,392
21	16,507	"	24,760,500	68·57	3,61,098
22	884	"	1,326,000	63·08	21,020
23	142	"	213,000	50·05	4,255
24	2,317	"	3,475,500	65·82	52,803
25	2,512	"	3,768,000	49·37	76,321
26					
27	17	"	25,500	90·85	280
28	30	"	45,000†		
29	37,069	"	55,603,500	124·27	4,47,441
30	80,542	"	120,813,000	84·42	14,31,094
31	198,025	"	297,037,500	95·09	31,23,751
32	12,920	"	19,380,000	97·92	1,97,916
		Average.		Average.	
	* 130,818	1,499·17	196,118,760	63·4	2,37,64,323
	953,521	1,500	1,430,281,500	† add for	12,478
				853,500 lbs.	
Total..	1,084,339		1,626,400,260		2,37,76,801

For Makai I take 50 fold and therefore deduct 2% for seed. The total quantity will then be lbs. 1,593,872,255 and value will be Rs. 2,33,01,265.

* In the report crop per acre is given for 2 districts only marked *. The average for these two viz. 1499·17—say 1500 lbs. is applied to all other districts by me.

† No price is given in the report for the 3 districts marked †. The average of the others viz. 63·4 lbs. is applied to these.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

Jow (Barley.)

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity.	Price per 1 Re.	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	61,290	503	30,828,870	73.02	4,22,197
2	197,145	"	99,163,935	69.94	14,17,842
3	29,856	"	15,017,568	72.68	2,06,625
4	30,312	"	15,246,936	83.65	1,82,270
5	42,353	"	21,303,559	75.42	2,82,465
6	101,408	"	51,008,224	108.33	4,70,859
7	35,787	"	18,000,861	72	2,50,011
8	106,202	"	53,419,606	86.39	6,18,354
9	3,184	"	1,576,402	50.74	31,068
10	25,211	*856	21,580,616	75.42	2,86,139
11	21,602	503	10,865,806	76.79	1,41,500
12	56,831	*250	14,207,750	52.11	2,72,649
13	36,509	503	18,364,027	84.84	2,17,738
14	123,635	"	62,188,405	63.08	9,85,865
15	122,000	"	61,366,000	83.65	7,33,604
16	57,181	"	28,762,043	82.96	3,46,697
17	64,082	"	32,233,246	88.45	3,64,423
18	195,298	"	98,234,894	100.1	9,81,367
19	43,383	"	21,821,649	77.48	2,81,642
20	17,879	"	8,993,137	76.11	1,18,159
21	67,094	"	33,743,282	82.28	4,10,163
22	15,657	"	7,875,471	78.16	1,00,760
23	11,832	*800	9,465,600	59.65	1,58,685
24	6,083	503	3,059,749	74.74	40,938
25	21,802	"	10,966,406	69.94	1,56,797
26	10,987	*679	7,460,173	60.34	1,23,635
27	19,203	503	9,659,109	94.28	1,02,451
28	5,925	"	2,980,275	60.42	49,325
29	26,282	"	13,219,846	133.7	98,876
30	238,161	"	119,794,983	104.30	11,48,561
31	70,079	"	35,249,737	102.98	3,42,296
32	10,014	"	5,037,042	109.28	46,092
				Average.	
Total..	1,874,217		942,700,207	82.76	1,13,90,053

For Barley I take 16 fold. Deducting for seed 1/16th the total quantity will be lbs 883,781,444—and the value will be Rs. 1,06,78,175.

* Crop per acre is given for only these 4 districts the average of which for 104,861 acres is 503 lbs and this average is applied to all the other districts for 1,769,356 acres.

PUNJAB—1876-7.

GRAM.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total Quantity.		Price per	Total value
			lbs.	lbs.	Rs. 1.	
			lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	57,500	645	37,087,500		72	5,15,104
2	101,184	* 620	62,734,080		71·65	8,75,562
3	119,935	* 680	81,555,800		72 34	11,27,395
4	76,534	645	49,364,430		80 22	6,15,363
5	119,240	* 790	94,199,600		78·16	12,05,214
6	37,762	645	24,356,490		102 85	2,36,815
7	175,094	"	112,935,630		76 11	14,83,847
8	171,984	"	110,929,680		77 82	14,25,464
9	5	"	3,225		51·08	63
10	65,158	*1,233	80,339,814		73 37	10,94,995
11	46,324	645	29,878,980		61·02	4,89,658
12	370,802	* 290	107,532,580		51·08	21,05,179
13	103,350	*1,394	144,069,900		84	17,15,117
14	31,347	645	20,218,815		73 37	2,75,573
15	21,500	"	13,867,500		74·05	1,87,272
16	171,216	"	110,434,320		89·82	12,29,507
17	31,682	"	20,434,890		83·65	2,44,290
18	255,898	"	165,054,210		96 68	17,07,221
19	38,263	"	24,679,635		76·79	3,21,391
20	34,115	"	22,004,175		65·14	3,37,798
21	34,728	"	22,399,560		68	3,08,194
22	23,817	"	15,361,965		74·05	2,07,453
23	8,404	"	5,420,580		57·25	94,682
24	12,026	"	7,756,770		73·37	1,05,721
25	81,616	"	52,642,320		77·48	6,79,431
26	12,679	*1,942	24,622,618		55·54	4,43,331
27	11,922	645	7,689,690		95·13	80,833
28	1,961	"	1,264,845		47·74	26,494
29	53,037	* 286	15,163,582		106·28	1,42,722
30	947	645	610,815		44·05	13,866
31	222	"	143,190		61·71	2,920
32	1,984	"	1,279,680		70·36	18,187
		Average.			Average.	
Total..	2,272,236	645	1,466,041,869		75 89	1,93,16,062

I take gram 30 fold. Deducting for seed accordingly, the total quantity will be lbs. 1,417,173,807 and the value will be Rs. 1,86,72,194.

* Crop per acre is given for these districts only. The average from them is applied to others viz. 645 lbs.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

INFERIOR GRAINS (as noted below.)†

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity.	Price per l Re.	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	114,677	522	59,861,394	66 85	8,95,458
2	404,175	447	180,666,225	66	27,37,367
3	196,787	521	102,526,027	64 79	15,82,436
4	1,256,158	393	493,670,094	76 79	64,28,833
5	441,437	412	181,872,044	64 79	28,07,100
6	680,225	118	80,266,550	104 39	7,68,910
7	195,893	680	133,207,240	66 16	20,13,410
8	214,111	1355	290,120,405	68 91	42,10,135
9	8,406	520	1,771,120	40 11	44,156
10	165,767	395	65,477,965	62 05	10,55,245
11	111,933	685	76,674,105	58 41	13,12,687
12	30,366	362	10,992,492*		
13	71,937	590	42,442,830	67 88	6,25,262
14	154,306	648	99,990,288	48	20,83,131
15	94,070	745	70,082,150	65 14	10,75,869
16	141,579	374	52,950,546	69 94	7,57,085
17	123,515	449	55,458,235	64 45	8,60,484
18	477,728	608	290,458,624	82 11	35,37,433
19	287,941	554	159,519,314	92 91	17,16,923
20	209,379	722	151,171,638	70 23	21,50,990
21	239,640	632	151,452,480	80 91	18,71,863
22	68,819	1100	75,700,900	66 16	11,44,209
23	98,847	468	46,260,396	51 08	9,05,646
24	55,474	218	12,093,332	60 17	2,00,986
25	63,883	686	43,823,738	55 54	7,89,048
26	76,969	693	53,339,517	49 37	10,80,403
27	43,618	485	21,154,730	89 13	2,37,346
28	178,113	640	113,992,320	54 17	21,04,344
29	105,488	536	56,541,568	111 42	5,07,463
30	107,183	550	58,950,650	59 48	9,91,100
31	52,074	960	49,991,040	74 05	6,75,098
32	69,465	770	53,488,050	112 28	4,76,380
Total...	6,534,963	Average.	3,335,968,007	Average	4,76,46,800
		510 5		69 78		Add 1,57,530
					4,73,04,330

for * for which price is not given.

Seed required per acre.	for acres.	
† Joar per acre 40 lbs.	x	2,221,535
Bajra..... 16 "	x	2,339,796
Kangri..... 8 "	x	58,434
China..... 16 "	x	74,842
Moth..... 24 "	x	982,208
Matter..... 20 "	x	106,865
Mash..... 16 "	x	213,465
Mung..... 16 "	x	263,324
Masur..... 32 "	x	187,544
Arhar..... 16 "	x	86,950

The total of the products of these = 168,694,604, divided by the total 6,534,963 of acres, will give an average of 26 lbs per acre of seed for a crop of average 510 lbs—say 20 fold. Deducting then 5% for seed, the total quantity will be lbs. 3,169,169,607 and total value will be Rs. 4,54,14,114.

6,534,963

PUNJAB 1876-7.

INFERIOR GRAINS (Continued.)

It should be noted that the prices of Jowár, Bájrâ, Másh, Mung and Arhar are nearly the same generally, but of the remaining 5 kinds of grain, viz. Moth, Kangni, Chínâ, Matter and Masúr, the prices are generally nearly 25% lower. The prices I have used in the table are as given in the Report for Jowár and Bájrâ only—though the acreage of the lower priced grains is 1,409,893 acres out of 6,534,963 acres or above 20%. If the allowance for the lower price of the 5 kind of grains mentioned above were made, the value will evidently be much lower than I have given above. It requires also to be noted that out of the inferior grains a portion goes for the feed of animals in about the following proportions:—

Grain.	Proportion for human use.	Proportion for animal's use.
Bájrâ.....	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
Jowár	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$
Moth.....	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
Másh.....	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
also Jow	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$
Gram.....	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$

So that out of the total acreage of grains of all the above kinds viz

Gram	2,272,236	$\times \frac{1}{3}$	} =6,000,512 acres are for animal use or near- ly 3/5 ths of the total acres 9,903,457.
Bájrâ	2,339,796	$\times \frac{2}{3}$	
Jowár	2,221,535	$\times \frac{2}{3}$	
Jow.....	1,874,217	$\times \frac{2}{3}$	
Moth	982,208	$\times \frac{3}{4}$	
Másh	213,465	$\times \frac{1}{3}$	
	<hr/>		
	9,903,457		

And out of the whole acreage of *all* kinds of grains *i. e.* 19,083,971 acres about 30% is used for producing food for animals.

PUNJAB 1876-7.
POPPY (Opium.)

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.		Total quantity.
		lbs.	lbs.	
7	3,620	18		65,160
8	69			
9	244	3		732
10	578			
11	163			
12	1,539	3		4,617
13	877	19		16,663
14	278			
15	140			
16	770	5		3,850
17	147	10		1,470
18	263			
19	53	15		795
20	81	14		1,134
21	336	15		5,040
22	2,182	10		21,820
23	25	6		150
24	27	10		270
25	94	9		846
26	40	11		440
27	23	8		184
28	535	20		10,700
29	15			
30	67	3		201
31	182	9		1,638
		Average.		
Total..	12,348	12.51		135,710 for 10,842 acres.
				add 18,840 „ 1,506 „
				154,550 „ 12,348

{ for which
ne crop
per acre
is given,
at 12 5/8
average.

Government pay Rs. 5 per seer or Rs. 2½ per lb to the producer. The total value will therefore be Rs. 3,86,375.

The additional value at which Government sells opium is a part of the national income as it is chiefly paid by a Foreign Country as profit of trade, and therefore (as I have done in my "Poverty of India") the net opium Revenue will have to be added to the total production of the country. The particular provinces only from which this revenue is derived viz. Bengal, Bombay and other opium producing places, cannot be credited with this income. It belongs to the whole nation as every place is not quite free to cultivate opium.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

TOBACCO.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	7,472	888	6,635,136	5-14	12,90,882
2	2,424	600	1,454,400	14-4	1,01,000
3	917	525	481,425	16-45	29,266
4	2,812	532	1,636,584	16-45	99,488
5	1,851	514	951,414	16-45	57,836
6	381	850	323,850	14-4	23,489
7	4,661	560	2,610,160	12-34	2,11,520
8	1,550	925	1,433,750	27-25	52,614
9*	5	846	4,230	9-6	440
10	2,793	1,561	4,359,873	24-68	1,76,656
11	3,782	1,733	6,554,206	19-88	3,29,688
12	776	532	412,832	12-34	33,454
13	2,169	984	2,134,296	18-51	1,15,305
14	3,973	1,040	4,131,920	16-45	2,51,186
15	5,785	917	5,304,845	16-45	3,22,483
16	3,460	461	1,595,060	16-45	96,964
17	3,259	669	2,180,271	17-14	1,27,203
18	5,879	651	3,827,229	13-03	2,93,724
19	1,380	1,080	1,490,400	16-45	90,601
20	622	792	492,624	17-83	27,628
21	2,389	593	1,416,677	12-34	1,14,803
22	838	1,700	1,424,600	12-34	1,15,445
23	1,839	656	1,206,384	6-51	1,85,312
24	1,173	820	961,860	12-34	77,946
25	851	1,042	886,742	16-46	53,872
26	978	780	762,840	15-09	50,552
27	2,029	615	1,247,835	12-63	93,409
28	783	740	579,420	7-28	79,590
29	452	870	393,240	20-6	19,089
30	1,250	880	1,100,000	21-85	50,343
31	27	480	12,960	17-83	726
32*	3,307	846	2,797,722	10-97	2,55,033
Total..	71,867	Average. 846	60,804,785	Average. 12-58	48,32,541

No deduction is made for nursery or seed. The average of 12-58 lbs per rupee is rather a high price. It is considered, 12 seers or 24 lbs per Rupee would be nearer the average. I have, as above, kept the Report's price, though it is considered so high.

* The produce per acre for these is not given in the Report. I have applied the average of the other districts viz. 846 lbs. to these.

PUNJAB 1876/7.

TURMERIC.

Neither produce per acre, nor price is given in the Report. I take 10 maunds for green, which gives 2 maunds dry or 164 lbs. dry per acre. The price is taken say 10 lbs. per 1 Rupee.

4130 acres \times 164 lbs = 677,320 lbs.—at lbs. 10 per rupee = Rs. 67,732.

CORIANDER SEED.

As above neither produce per acre nor price is given in the Report. I take as follows.

Acres 6934 \times 330 lbs. dry per acre = 2,288,220 lbs. at 16 lbs. per Rupee = Rs. 1,43,014.

GINGER.

As above.

286 acres \times 205 lbs. per acre (dry) = 58,630 lbs. at 7 lbs. per Rupee = Rs. 8376.

CHILLIES.

Produce per acre given for 4 districts only viz:—

				The average of 808
No. 2 acres	774 \times 600 lbs. =	464,400	} lbs. is applied to the rest. The total quantity then is 19,003,502 lbs of green crop. Dry quantity will be one-fifth or 3,800,700 lbs and at 8 lbs per Rupee, the value will be Rs. 4,75,100.	
13	611 \times 410 „ =	250,510		
18	3,604 \times 924 „ =	3,330,096		
30	77 \times 640 „ =	49,280		
	<u>Average.</u>			
Total...	5,066 808	4,094,286		
Add for	18,452@ „	14,909,216		
	<u>23,518</u>	<u>19,003,502</u>		

OTHER KINDS OF DRUGS AND SPICES.

These are chiefly Ajmá, Bádián, Jeree, and Sowá. Neither produce per acre nor price is given in the Report. I take as follows.

Acres 35,074 at 330 lbs. per acre = 11,574,420 lbs. at average of 14 lbs. per Rupee Rs. 8,26,744.

PUNJAB 1876/7.

OIL SEEDS.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity.		
			lbs.	lbs.	
1	10,260	293	3,006,180		The price of these seeds is not given in the Report. I take as follows:— Linseed and } Rs. 3 per maund or 27 lbs per Re. 1. Sarso. } Til seed..... " 4 " " 20 " Taramira " 2½ " " 32 "
2	11,506	237	2,726,922		
3	13,018	500	6,509,000		
4	21,582	242	5,222,844		
5	12,304	297	3,654,288		
6	79,160	* 80	6,332,800		
7	27,229	560	15,248,240		
8	11,172	668	7,462,896		
9					
10	11,392	715	8,145,280		The quantity of these seeds is about in proportion of 55 % of Linseed and Sarso. 15 " " Til. 30 " " Taramira.
11	25,911	310	8,032,410		
12	18,442	352	6,491,584		
13	35,996	582	20,949,672		The price then will be lbs. 55 % × 27 = 1,485 } 15 % × 20 = 300 } Average 27.45 lbs. per Re. 1. 30 % × 32 = 960 }
14	24,923	408	10,168,584		
15	23,806	777	18,497,262		
16	81,894	260	21,292,440		
17	17,952	307	5,511,264		
18	70,315	601	42,259,315		
19	69,294	311	21,550,434		Taking 27 lbs per Re. 1 the total value will be Rs. 1,22,83,423.
20	60,169	481	28,941,289		
21	50,375	291	14,659,125		For seed. per acre. Linseed 6 lbs } Sarso..... 8 " } × 55 % } Til 6 " × 15 " } Average 7.15 lbs. Taramira .. 8 " × 30 " } per acre.
22	4,712	750	3,534,000		
23	9,541	462	4,407,942		
24	3,473	252	875,196		
25	29,076	477	13,869,252		
26	24,453	288	7,042,464		
27	17,660	464	8,194,240		
28	20,473	492	10,072,716		
29	4,004	136	544,544		Taking 7 lbs of seed required per acre—for produce of 392 lbs, gives 56 fold. Deducting 56th part, the total quantity will become lbs 325,730,071 and total value will become Rs. 1,20,64,076.
30	30,244	460	13,912,240		
31	21,005	533	11,195,665		
32	5,348	251	1,342,345		
		Average.			
Total.	846,689	392	331,652,436		

* This evidently is some mistake. It may be 230.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

COTTON.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1.	Total Value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	24,565	186	4,569,090	6·51	7,01,857
2	47,855	164	7,848,220	6·51	12,05,563
3	21,510	140	3,011,400	6·43	4,68,336
4	20,323	87	1,768,101	6·17	2,86,564
5	49,073	70	3,435,110	7·2	4,77,098
6	77	64	4,928	6·17	798
7	27,332	72	1,967,904	6·84	3,10,395
8	11,468	85	976,480	6·34	1,54,019
9					
10	26,093	122	3,183,846	5·14	6,19,328
11	24,420	136	3,321,120	5·49	6,04,940
12	6,733	22	148,126	5·14	28,818
13	23,597	64	1,510,208	5·65	2,67,293
14	37,474	50	1,873,700	5·14	3,64,533
15	11,425	65	742,625	5·65	1,31,438
16	25,305	138	3,492,090	5·49	6,36,082
17	33,376	129	4,305,504	5·49	7,84,244
18	9,680	153	1,529,440	6·17	2,47,883
19	33,745	128	4,319,360	4·46	9,68,466
20	25,557	122	3,117,954	5·27	5,91,642
21	24,716	43	1,062,788	4·63	2,29,543
22	26,029	50	1,301,450	5·49	2,37,058
23	16,550	82	1,357,100	5·65	2,40,194
24	16,881	87	1,468,647	5·27	2,78,680
25	15,838	149	2,359,862	5·31	4,44,418
26	29,632	124	3,674,368	6	6,12,394
27	11,175	115	1,285,125	6	2,14,187
28	29,739	84	2,498,076	5·7	4,38,259
29	7,544	73	550,712	5·36	1,02,744
30	16,468	* 105	1,729,140	5·23	3,30,619
31	8,280	100	828,000	4·11	2,01,460
32	6,396	121	773,916	4·41	1,75,491
		Average.		Average.	
Total ...	668,876	105	70,013,890	5·69	1,23,54,314

The average of 105 lbs per acre is evidently too high. 80 lbs will be nearer the mark. If so the above quantity and value are nearly 36½% above the right quantity and value.

Very probably some of the figures of produce per acre are for uncleaned or seed cotton. The report uses the word "cotton" only in the column of produce per acre, while in the column for prices it uses the words "Cotton (cleaned)."

* The produce per acre for this is not given in the Report. The average of the others (652,408 acres) is applied to this.

PUNJAB 1876/7.

HEMP.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total Quantity.	Price lbs. per Re. 1.	Total value Rs.
		lbs.	lbs.		
1	2,100	* 1,158	2,431,800		
2	516	116	59,856		
3	1,085	450	488,250		
4	2,788	153	426,564		
5	16,146	465	7,507,890		
7	1,619	220	356,180		
8	1,637	305	499,285		
10	3,655	398	1,454,690		
11	6,424	192	1,233,408		
12	5,263	312	1,642,056		
13	1,002	444	444,888		
14	1,622	352	570,944		
15	3,205	177	567,285		
16	537	306	164,322		
17	355	406	144,130		
18	1,649	218	359,482		
19	417	120	50,040		
20	203	360	73,080		
21	971	286	277,706		
22	2	250	500		
25	† 25	366	9,150		
30	39	240	9,360		
		Average.			
Total...	51,260	366	18,770,866		

The prices are not given in the Report. I take ordinarily prepared fibre as 20 lbs. per Rupee. The value of 18,770,866 lbs. at 20 lbs. per Rupee will be Rs. 9,38,543.

In the Report the figures of crop per acre are given under the heading "Fibres." In the columns per 'acres cultivated'—Cotton and Hemp are given under the heading of "Fibres"; and as produce per acre of cotton is given separately, the produce per acre under the heading "Fibres" applies to Hemp.

* This is apparently a mistake. The figure is too high.

† The crop per acre for this district being not given in the Report, I have given it the average 366.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

KASSAMBA (Safflower.)

Neither produce per acre nor price is given in the Report. I take 40 lbs per acre of dry prepared stuff—and price $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs per Re. 1.

Acres 24,708 \times 40 lbs = 988,320 at $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs per Re. 1 gives Rs. 3,95,328.

INDIGO.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity.	Price lbs. per Re. 1	Total value Rs.
		lbs.	lbs.		
1	100	30	3,000		
2	56	100	5,600		
3	588	30	17,640		
4	* 785				The price is not given in the Report. I take annas 12 per lb which will give the total value to be Rs. 30,53,205.
5	* 1,526				
7	1,798	62	111,476		
8	2,647	33	87,351		
10	754	41	30,914		
11	1,162	44	51,128		
18	26	24	624		
21	47	101	4,747		
23	75,364	26	1,959,464		
24	2	29	58		
25	8	20	160		
26	20,603	50	1,030,150		
28	23,999	29	695,971		
		Average.			
Total.	129,465	31.44	3,998,283		
			* add 72,658		
			4,070,941		

* For these (2,311 acres) produce per acre is taken of the average for the others viz. 31.44.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

VEGETABLES.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre	Total quantity.	Price per 1 Re.	Total value
			lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	11,700	4,753	55,610,100	43-88	12,67,322
2	* 9,387	* 6,000	56,322,000	28-8	19,55,625
3	846	4,753	4,021,038	39-77	1,01,107
4	3,485	"	16,564,205	28-8	5,75,146
5	920	"	4,372,760	35-65	1,22,658
6	677	"	3,217,781	27-43	1,17,308
7	3,495	"	16,611,735	35-65	4,65,967
8	7,560	"	35,932,680	30-17	11,91,006
9	7	"	33,271	60-34	551
10	7,731	"	36,745,443	27-43	13,39,607
11	3,536	"	17,044,258	32-91	5,17,905
12	6,551	"	31,136,903	49-37	6,30,684
13	15,175	"	72,126,775	36-34	19,84,776
14	6,790	"	32,272,870	27-43	11,76,553
15	3,000	"	14,252,000	32-91	4,33,272
16	5,746	"	27,310,738	24-63	11,06,593
17	56,933	"	270,863,964	39-77	68,10,761
18	* 4,274	* 2,015	8,612,110	32-91	2,61,686
19	4,660	4,753	22,148,980	40-45	5,47,564
20	3,709	"	17,628,877	31-54	5,58,937
21	21,904	"	104,109,712	28-8	36,14,920
22	11,072	"	52,625,216	"	"
23	29,239	"	133,972,967	26-74	51,97,194
24	23,203	"	110,283,859	20-57	53,61,393
25	1,423	"	6,763,519	27-43	2,46,574
26	3,095	"	14,710,535	21-25	6,92,260
27	803	"	3,816,659	33-42	1,14,202
28	794	"	3,773,882	20-57	1,83,465
29	4,152	"	19,734,456	45-25	4,36,120
30	3,631	"	17,258,143	32-05	5,38,475
31	598	"	2,842,294	45-25	62,813
32	599	"	2,847,047	31-45	90,526
		Average		Average	
Total.	256,800	4,753	1,220,573,777	30-98	3,77,02,970
					lbs. for 1,167,948,561

The prices I have taken above are given in the Report for potato only—and the average comes to say 31 lbs per Re. 1. This is a high average price. The average price of potato will be nearer 60 than 31 lbs. I take however the average of 31 lbs.

* Produce per acre is given for vegetables for these two districts only and the average of these viz. 4,753 is applied to all others.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

VEGETABLES (continued).

Now out of the vegetables grown, about one-eighth only will be potato and seven-eighths other kind of general vegetables.

This will give, out of lbs. 1,220,573,777— $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of general vegetables = lbs 1,068,002,055.

The price of vegetables is not given in the Report. It may be taken as $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per Re. 1 or 124 lbs., say 100 lbs. per Re. 1—which will give the total value of vegetables to be about Rs. 1,06,80,020.

Again the average of 4,753 lbs is of vegetables, but potato will be only about 30 maunds or lbs 2,460 per acre and as potato will be about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the acreage planted with vegetables, or about 32,100 acres, the total quantity of Potato will be $32,100 \times 2,460 = 78,966,000$ lbs. This at the price of 31 lbs per Re. 1 will give Rs. 25,47,290.

I make no deduction for seed potato, or seed for vegetables.

TEA.

The produce per acre is given for 1 district only. But the Report at page 78 takes the general average to be the same viz. 96 lbs. The price is not given. I take 3 lbs per Re 1.

Districts.	Acres.
------------	--------

9	.75
12	7,985
19	468
30	356

Total... 8,884 x 96 lbs = lbs 852,864—at 3 lbs per Re. 1
will give Rs. 2,84,288.

PUNJAB—1876-7.

SUGAR.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total	1st sort	Total value.
			Quantity.	Price per Rs. l.	
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	34,881	* 1,500	52,321,500	5-49	95,30,328
2	1,125	646	726,750	6-68	1,08,795
3	14,309	"	9,243,614	7-03	13,14,881
4	34	"	21,964		
5	33,324	"	21,527,304	8-14	26,44,631
6	6	* 589	2,334	6-34	368
7	25,540	* 280	7,151,200	5-83	12,26,620
8	14,400	* 661	9,518,400	6-86	13,87,521
9					
10	43,963	* 531	23,344,353	6-51	35,85,922
11	42,015	* 597	25,082,955	6-51	38,52,988
12	8,139	* 494	4,020,666	6-43	6,25,297
13	36,579	646	23,630,034	7-11	33,23,492
14	41,375	* 360	14,895,000	5-65	26,36,283
15	29,009	646	18,739,814	6-51	28,78,619
16	2,527	"	1,632,442	5-65	2,88,927
17	26,625	"	17,199,750	7-2	25,27,743
18	1,916	* 410	785,560	6	1,30,926
19	2,381	646	1,538,126	6-34	2,42,606
20	414	"	267,444	5-83	45,873
21	7,221	* 660	4,765,860	6-51	7,32,082
22	1,312	646 †	847,552		
23	3,726	"	2,406,996	6-17	3,90,112
24	260	* 261	67,860	5-91	11,482
25	113	646	72,998	6-17	11,831
26	4,355	"	2,813,330	5-83	4,82,560
27	88	"	56,848	5-65	10,061
28	55	"	35,530	5-23	6,793
29	5,443	"	3,516,178	5-36	6,56,003
30	9,914	"	6,404,444	6-08	10,53,362
31	561	"	362,406	5-49	66,022
32	20	"	12,920	5-74	2,250
		Average.		Average.	for lbs.
Total.	391,630	646	253,012,132	6-34	3,97,74,378
					252,142,616 ex- cluding the 2 quantities marked †

* For these districts only is the produce per acre given in the Report. I have applied the average of these to others.

† This is evidently a mistake. Though other Districts, such as Ludhiana (8) are better than Delhi—and while 661 lbs is considered a fair average for Ludhiana 1500 for Delhi cannot be correct. It is more likely 500 than 1500. If 500 be adopted the average will become 487 instead of 646 lbs. And it is also considered that an average of about 439 will be near the mark. I have allowed the figure 1500 to remain though this increases the average above 437 lbs nearly 32%.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

SUGAR (continued.)

The average price, as obtained on the basis of the prices given in the Report, is for "1st sort" or what is called Misri. But there are different qualities of sugar viz. G6l, Red Sugar, ordinary 2nd sort sugar and best or 1st sort sugar. Taking the price of 1st sort as averaging 6 lbs per Rupee, the prices of the other kinds are:—

G6l.....	24 lbs per Rupee	} Of these the first two form nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ rds and the last two form $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the whole quantity. Taking in this ratio we get
Red Sugar...	16 " "	
Ordinary 2nd	7 " "	
1st sort	6 " "	

$\frac{2}{3}$ rds at 20 lbs = $13\frac{1}{3}$ } or $15\frac{1}{2}$ or say 15 lbs per Rupee.
 $\frac{1}{3}$ rd " 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " = $2\frac{1}{8}$ }

The whole quantity, being 253,012,132 lbs, will at 15 lbs. per Rupee give the total value Rs. 1,68,67,475.

For seed, to deduct cane equal to 40 lbs of sugar per acre.

This gives 16 fold, and taking the higher average of 646 lbs, I deduct say 6 %.

The whole quantity is then lbs. 237,831,405.

And the whole value is then Rs. 1,58,55,427.

If, as I have pointed out above, the average of Delhi (1) were taken 500 lbs. instead of 1500 lbs., which would make the average produce of the whole of Punjab 487 lbs instead of 646 the above quantity and value will prove some 30 % higher than they should be.

It may be noted here, that the Report itself makes the average 449 lbs only, on the fallacious principle of simply adding up and dividing by the number of districts, while when properly calculated the figure should be 646 instead of 449. This is an instance of how misleading and incorrect the averages are as they are generally calculated in the Administration Reports.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

Summary of Produce of all Districts.

Produce.	Acres.	Total Quantity.		Average per Acre.		Total Value.		Average price per Re. 1.	
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	lbs		
Rice	708,690	541,492,369	796		2,25,35,693	20.42			
Wheat	6,609,497	5,332,813,517	840.4		9,17,42,419	53.43			
Makai (Indian corn)	1,084,339	1,593,872,255	1500		2,33,01,265	68.4			
Jow (Barley)	1,874,217	883,781,444	503		1,06,78,175	82.76			
Gram	2,272,236	1,417,173,807	645		1,86,72,194	75.89			
Inferior grains	6,534,963	3,169,169,607	510.5		4,54,14,114	69.78			
Poppy (Opium)	12,348	154,550	12.51		8,86,375	4			{ 2½ Rs. per lb paid by Govt.
Tobacco	71,867	60,804,785	846		48,32,541	12.53			
Turmeric	4,130	677,320	164 (dry)		67,732	10			
Coriander seed	6,934	2,288,220	330 "		1,43,014	16			
Ginger	286	58,630	205 "		8,376	7			
Chillies	23,513	3,800,700 (dry)	808 (green) 161.6 (dry)		4,75,100	8			
Other kinds drugs and spices	35,074	11,574,420	330		8,26,744	14			
Oil seeds	846,689	325,730,071	392		1,20,64,076	27			
Cotton	668,876	70,013,890	105		1,23,54,344	5.66			
Hemp	51,260	18,770,866	366		9,38,543	20			
Kassamba (Safflower)	24,708	988,320	40 (dry)		3,95,328	2.5			
Indigo	129,465	4,070,941	31.44		30,53,205	1½			
Vegetables	256,800	{ 1,068,002,055 78,966,000	4753 2460		1,06,80,020 25,47,290	100 Green vegetables, 31 Potato.			
Tea	8,884	852,364	96		2,84,288	3			
Sugar	391,630	237,831,405	646		1,58,55,427	15			{ Average of qualities.
Total....	21,616,420				27,72,56,263				

PUNJAB 1876-7.

Manufactures.

Goods.	Value given in the Report.	Deduct for raw Material already calculated and included in the produce, or imported and paid from produce,	Balance representing labour.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Silks	19,62,049	Say half for Material (imported) 9,51,024	9,81,024
Cottons	1,75,05,556	" 40% per " 70,02,222	1,05,03,334
Wool	9,42,329	" 20% " 1,28,315	9,42,329
Fibres.....	6,41,578	" 25% " 89,641	5,13,263
Paper	1,58,565	" 40% " " 2,55,429	1,18,924
Wood	67,28,686	" 1/3rd " " 14,42,044	67,28,686
Iron	43,26,132	" 40% " " 2,55,429	28,84,089
Brass and Copper	6,38,573	" 1/3rd " " 37,51,370	3,83,144
Building.....	43,22,867	Material not stated.	43,22,867
Leather	63,21,802	" 1/3rd or Say 1/2 Material 6,22,983	63,21,802
Gold and Silver lace	56,27,054	" 1/3rd Material imported 74,709	18,75,685
Dyeing	7,38,926	Not described	7,38,926
Oil	12,45,966		6,22,983
Shawls	8,96,507		8,21,798
Other Manufactures.	80,81,205		80,81,205
		Total.....	4,08,40,058

PUNJAB 1876-7.

MINES.

There is no clear statement of the value of the produce of Mines given in this Report. The chief article is Salt. The report does not give any account of the cost of Salt.

Parl. Return No. 176 of 1878 gives (page 30) "The quantity manufactured, excavated or purchased" during the year (1876-77) as Maunds 1,795,956. In the statistics published by the Government of India (1875) at Calcutta—part III page 79, it is said "Since 4th July 1870, one anna per maund has been charged as the cost price of the salt in addition to the duty." At this rate the above production of Salt *viz.* Maunds 1,795,956 will cost Rs. 1,12,247. Duty is paid from the produce of the country.

For other minerals I can get no estimate. I roughly and as a very outside estimate put down the *whole* product of mines at Rs. 3 lacs.

STOCK.

I am unable to make any estimate of the annual addition to stock during the year. All that portion however which is used for agricultural or manufacturing purposes need not be estimated, as its labour like that of the agriculturer and the manufacturer himself is included in the agricultural or manufacturing produce. The portion of the annual produce or addition, which is used for other than agricultural and manufacturing purposes, such as carriage and food and milk needs to be added to the production of the year. Though I cannot estimate this, still it will not matter much, for, as I have shown in the table for Inferior grains, a certain portion of them goes in the feed of animals—and as this portion supplies the feed of the *whole* stock that requires grain and not merely that of the *annual* addition, the non-estimate of that portion of the *annual* addition to the stock which is used for carriage and for food may be more than covered by the value of the grain used for animals. Moreover, as I also give a margin upon the total estimate for any omission, any such item will be fully provided for.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

Summary of the total production of Punjab.

	Value.
Agricultural Produce	Rs. 27,72,56,263
Manufactures.....	„ 4,08,40,058
Mines.....	„ 3,00,000
	<hr/>
	Rs... 31,83,96,321

In order to meet any omissions (fish &c.) I allow a further margin of above $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Rupees, making say the whole produce of Punjab $35\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Rupees, or at 2/ per Re. = £ 35,330,000 which, for a population of 17,600,000—gives £2 per head per annum at the outside for the year 1876-7.

The approximate estimate I had made out for the year 1867-8 in my paper, on The Poverty of India was 49s. 5d. showing that either my calculation for the year 1867-8 was too high or the production of the province has diminished in value. The truth most likely is between both.

At all events unless any error of importance is pointed out it seems clearly established, that the value of the production of one of the best Provinces of India is Rs. 20 per head per annum at the outside.

PUNJAB—1876-7.

FOOD PRODUCE.

	GRAIN.	Total Quantity. lbs.
Rice		541,492,369
Wheat		5,332,813,517
Makai (Indian corn)		1,593,872,255
Jow (Barley).....		883,781,444
Gram		1,417,173,807
Inferior grains		3,169,169,607

Quantity raised
for animals.

Total. 12,938,302,999

Gram lbs	1,417,173,807	$\times \frac{1}{2} =$	708,586,903
Jow "	883,781,444	$\times \frac{2}{3} =$	662,836,033
Jowár acres	2,221,535	$\times \frac{2}{3} = 1,481,023$	lbs per
Bájrâ "	2,339,796	$\times \frac{1}{3} = 1,169,898$	acre less
Moth "	982,208	$\times \frac{2}{3} = 736,656$	seed
Másh "	213,465	$\times \frac{1}{3} = 71,155$	(510-26)

Total..3,458,732 x 484=1,674,026,233

Total. 3,045,449,274

Balance remaining for }
human use. } 9,892,853,725

Or 562 lbs per annum or lb 1 oz. 8 65 per day per head for a population of 17,600,000.

Even taking the *whole* quantity of grain as for human use and thus not allowing any portion at all for animals (which would of course not be right to do) the quantity per annum will be 735 lbs., or 2 lbs. per day per head.

In the value I have calculated for grain, I have taken the *whole* grain, *i. e.* including the portion for animals.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

FOOD PRODUCE (Continued.)

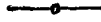
VEGETABLES.

General Vegetables.

Total quantity 1,068,002,055 lbs gives 60·7 lbs per annum or 2·66 oz. per day per head.

POTATO.

Total quantity 78,966,000 lbs gives 4·48 lbs per annum or ·2 oz. per day per head.



LAND REVENUE OF THE PRINCIPAL PROVINCES
OF INDIA FOR 1875-6.*

	Revenue.	Population.	Revenue per head.	
	* Ra.		Rs.	a. p.
Bengal.....	3,77,65,067	60,502,897	0	10 0
Punjab.....	2,00,15,260	17,611,498	1	2 2
N. W. Provinces.....	4,24,57,444	30,781,204	1	6 0½
Madras	4,54,50,128	31,672,613	1	6 11
Bombay (including Sind)	3,69,43,563	16,302,173	2	4 3

* I have taken 1875-6, for, on account of the Famines in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies in the year 1876-7, a comparison for the year 1876-7 will be an unfair one.

PUNJAB 1876-7.
Cost of absolute Necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer.
FOOD.
MAN.

Items.	Quantity per day.	Quantity for 1 year.	Price for Re. 1.	Cost for 1 year.	Remarks.
	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Rs. As.	
Flour	1	365	25	14 9	The price in the Report is 20 Seers for 1st sort; I have taken 25% lower price for lower quality.
Rice	$\frac{1}{4}$	91	13	7	The price in the Report is 10 Seers for 1st sort; I take 80% lower price for inferior quality.
Dal	$\frac{1}{8}$	45	18	2 8	The price in Report is 16 Seers; I take it 12% lower.
Salt	1 oz.	11	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 8	The price of the Report—which is Government sale price.
Ghee	1 „	11	3	3 11	The price in the Report is less than 2 seer's. In taking 3 seers, I lower it above 50% or rather to the price of oil.
Condiment...	2 pies worth.			3 13	The quantity 1 oz. is also rather low for a Punjabee.
Tobacco	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ „ „			2 14	These are regarded as under the mark.
Vegetables...	1 „ „			1 8	
Total.				37 2	Without any meat, sugar, milk or any drink or any kind of luxury whatever.

WOMAN.

All the above items will be nearly the same, except tobacco. Deducting tobacco it will be Rs. 34-2 as. Say Rs. 32.

2 MORE MEMBERS IN A FAMILY.

1 Young person say between 12 and 18—Say Rs. 26—though there will not be so much difference.
 1 „ „ under 12 Say „ 0 though this cannot be the case generally.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

Cost of absolute Necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer
(Continued.)

CLOTHING FOR 1 YEAR.

Man.	Woman.	Remarks.
Rs. a.	Rs. a.	
2 Dhotees .....1	2 Pajamas .....1	No holiday clothing, nor for occasions of joy and sorrow are reckoned.
2 Pairs, shoes.....1	1 Gagra .....2	
1 Turban .....1	2 Chadars .....1	
2 Bandis for warm and cold weather.....1	4 Cholees.....1	
2 Kamlees .....4	8 Bangles .....0	
1 Small piece of cloth for langootee &c. ...0	2 Pairs shoes .....0	
1 Chadar .....0	Hair Dressing...0	
1 Pajama.....0		
Total.....10	6	
4	11	

For 1 young person say Rs. 6—For the 2nd say nothing.

FAMILY EXPENSES IN COMMON.

Cottage Rs. 60.	Say Rs. 4	for 1 year.	Calculated on the lowest scale without any furniture—such as cots or mats, or stools or any thing.
Repairs	3		
Cooking and other utensils.	3	8	
Fire wood $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per day.	5	11	
Lamp oil 1 oz. per day at 3 seers per Rs. 1	3	12	
Total...	19	15	

Taking 4 in the Family.

	Food.	Clothing.	Family expenses.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	
Man	37	10 4		
Woman	32	6 11		
Youth (12 to 18)	26	6.		
Child (under 12)	0	0		
	95	22 15	19 15	137 14—say Rs. 136.

Which will be Rs. 34 per head per annum in a family of 4—against the production of Rs. 20 per annum at the outside.

No Wedding, birth, and funeral expenses calculated, nor medical educational, social and religious wants, but simply the absolute necessities for existence in ordinary health, at the lowest scale of cost and quantity.

The prices this year are the lowest during 10 years.

PUNJAB 1876-7.

Cost of Necessaries of life &c. &c. (continued).

The Report says—page 83—“Salt and tobacco show a rise in price.” This is a mistake into which the writer is led by the mistake of the clerk in taking his totals and division by the number of districts. The figures in table 45 (page clxxvii) in the line of the “General Average” of tobacco *viz.* 4-5 and 5-7 are wrong. And so also in the line of Salt 7 and 7-5 are wrong. I do not mean these figures are wrong on account of the fallacious principle of the report in taking averages, but in taking the average according to the report's own method *i. e.* of adding up the columns and dividing by the number of Districts.

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It is requested that any further communication on this subject may be addressed to—

The Under Secretary of State for India, India Office, London, S. W.
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India Office, S. W.
9th August 1880.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th May enclosing a table of statistics relating to the value of the production of the Punjab for the year 1876-77.

In reply I am to thank you for your communication, but with reference to your request that the several Governments in India may be directed to supply similar statistics of production I am to remark that as regards the important Province of Bengal, means do not exist of supplying the information you desire, whilst as regards those Provinces for which such information does already exist it appears very questionable whether the results given, owing to the absence of any sufficient machinery for their preparation, can be relied upon as trustworthy. Your letter and its enclosure have, however, been sent out to the Government of India.

I enclose herewith for your information copy of a memorandum upon your letter, and also copies of statistics similar to those compiled by yourself, which have been recently prepared in this office.

I am, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

LOUIS MALLET. *

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

—o—

ENCLOSURE.

Memorandum on a letter from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, dated 24th May 1880.

In this letter Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji requests that the several Governments in India may be instructed to furnish statistical information regarding the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing produce of their respective administrations, and that a summary may also be given, similar to one which he has prepared for the Punjab, and which he submits with his letter, in order that "a true conception may be formed of the actual material condition of India from year to year." He also asks that his tables may be submitted to the Statistical Department of the India Office, and that any mistakes of facts or figures may be pointed out to him.

In January 1879 I made calculations for the greater part of India similar to those made by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the Punjab; copies of these are attached. I do not, however, put much faith in the accuracy of the figures from which these calculations are made. The agricultural statistics of India, as they are published can hardly be very reliable as they are based upon averages, each average referring to a very large area, in which there may be, and probably are, many variations of conditions and circumstances, whilst in parts, such as the large and wealthy Presidency of Bengal, no statistics of agricultural produce are available.

In examining Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper, it appears that in his calculations he has omitted to make any allowance for the value of straw, and he has made no attempt to estimate the value of the increase of agricultural stock, but he has added an arbitrary sum for the latter and for other omitted items.

Having, however, arrived at some figures supposed to represent the value of the produce of a certain district, the question arises as to how these figures should be applied in order to show the comparative prosperity or otherwise of the people in that district. Mr. Dadabhai has adopted the principle of equally apportioning the value of agricultural produce and manufactures, as ascertained by him from the statistics available, amongst the whole population, without distinguishing how many are agriculturists, how many mechanics, and how many belong to other trades or professions, or possess property, and whose incomes therefore are derived directly neither from agriculture nor from manufactures. Thus he omits all reference to railway wealth, Government stock, house property, profits of trade, salaries, pensions, non-agricultural wages, professional incomes, and returns

to investments, and all other sources from which a man who does not grow food himself may obtain the means of purchasing it.

From the Census Report of 1871 it appears that, out of a total population of 17,611,498 under British Administration in the Punjab, 9,689,650 are returned as agriculturists, 1,776,786 adult males, equivalent to about 4,500,000 of population, as engaged in industrial occupations, thus leaving a population of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions directly dependent neither upon agriculture, manufactures, nor mining, and who must therefore derive their means of subsistence from other sources.

Mr. Dadabhai makes out the total value of the agricultural produce of the Punjab to be Rs. 27,69 71,976,* and that from manufactures and mines Rs. 4,11,40,058. To this he adds to meet any omissions, a further margin of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores, making the whole produce of the Punjab $35\frac{1}{4}$ crores of Rupees, "which for a population of 17,600,000 gives Rs. 20 per head per annum at the "outside for the year 1876-7", to which year the figures he has taken refer. At page 27 of his tables he shows that the cost of absolute necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer is Rs. 34 per annum, but he omits to explain how, under these circumstances, the people of the Punjab managed to live, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions how, with only rupees 20 per annum, he can provide for an expenditure of Rs. 34.

Adopting Mr. Dadabhai's figures, with regard to which I will take no exception, I think it may be shown, by another process of reasoning than that which he adopts, that they point to the Punjab agriculturist being in a good condition of prosperity rather than the reverse. First I think it must be admitted that the agricultural produce belongs in the first instance to the man who grows it. From it he and his family will first provide themselves with food, and the remainder he will sell, either for money to enable him to pay his assessment, &c., or in barter for clothing and other necessaries, whilst a part will go to pay wages for labourers and others dependent upon him.

Now, if these premises be admitted, it may be shown that, allowing threefourths of a seer ($1\frac{1}{2}$ lb) of grain per head per day, according to the calculations given by Mr. A. P. Macdonnel in his "Food Grain Supply and Famine Relief in Behar and Bengal" (page 8), or say 550 lbs per annum per head of agricultural population, and allowing $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the gross produce for seed, an equal quantity for cattle-feed, and 2 per cent. for waste, or together 15 per cent. the value of the surplus agricultural produce is sufficient to yield Rs. 24 per head per annum for other requirements, and Rs. 22 per head after deduction of the land revenue demand, or, say £8. 16s. per annum per family of four persons.

* There was an error in my table. This amount should be Rs. 27,72,56,263. D. N.

The other population of the Punjab (omitting native states) numbers 7,921,848, for whom the remaining food grain grown, after allowing for the food of agriculturists, cattle seed, waste, &c., amounting to 5,401,151,059 lbs., is sufficient to provide them with an average rate of over 600 lbs. per head per annum. To supply them with 550 lbs. per head per annum would take 4,357,016,400 lbs., leaving a surplus of 1,044,134,659 lbs., or over 450,000 tons, for export. The food grain grown in the Punjab is, therefore, apart from other food supplies, more than sufficient to feed the whole population, and it is well known that considerable quantities of wheat are exported thence.

The numbers engaged in Manufactures in the Punjab I have stated to be about 4,500,000. The net value of manufactures, after deducting the value of raw material, is given by Mr. Dada-bhai as only Rs. 4,08,40,058, or about Rs. 9 per head per annum of the population engaged therein. This, I think, sufficiently shows that there must be some error in the value given.

F. C. DANVERS.

India Office, 28th June 1880.

—o—

32 Great St. Helens,
London, 12th August 1880.

SIR LOUIS MALLET,

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

INDIA OFFICE,

LONDON, S. W.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 9th Inst. and I tender my sincere thanks to His Lordship the Secretary of State for India for the kind attention he has given to my letter of the 24th May last and for forwarding it to the Government of India.

The necessity for having correct information about the material condition of India is so very great, both to the rulers and the subjects, that I venture to say that any reasonable and well directed expenditure for this object, would be productive of great good; and that, therefore, the Government of India may be requested to improve the existing machinery as much as it may be needed, to obtain from the different governments, the tables of production and consumption, with as much approximate accuracy as possible. The tables, even so far as are at present supplied, are useful and I cannot think that it would be difficult for the different governments to improve the existing arrangements, so as to get sufficiently approximate results for the guidance of the legislation and administration of the country with the greatest practical good, and without the commission of

such mistakes as are unavoidably made in the ignorance of the actual state and wants of the country.

For Bengal also, I hope some means may be devised to obtain such information.

It does not remain for me now, with the evidence of your present letter and its enclosures before me, to impress upon the India Office the great importance of these statistics; for I find that when I commenced working at these tables about the beginning of last year, the India Office had already had got these very tables prepared for their use, and I cannot but express my gladness to find such to be the case.

I am sorry I am not at present well able to give such attention to the enclosures of your letter as I desire, as I am not in good health and am under medical treatment.

I remain,
Your Obedient Servant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

—o—
32 Great St. Helens,
London, 13th September 1880.

SIR LOUIS MALLET,
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,
INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON, S. W.

SIR,

In continuation of my letter of 12th Ult., I now beg to submit for the consideration of His Lordship the Secretary of State for India, the accompanying Memorandum on Mr. Danvers's 2 papers of 4th January 1879 and 28th June 1880 and I hope His Lordship will give it the same kind attention that was shown to my former letter.

I request that copy of this letter and memo, be sent to the Indian Governments, as I think that views similar to those of Mr. Danvers, more or less prevail in India also.

I shall esteem it a great favour, if it is pointed out to me that I am mistaken in any of my views now put forth. My only desire is to find out the truth and that India may receive and enjoy the blessings and benefits which the British nation is really capable of bestowing on her, if once British Statesmen give their usual conscientious attention to her concerns.

I remain,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

*Memorandum on Mr. Danvers's papers of 28th June 1880
and 4th January 1879.*

Mr. Danvers says—"In examining Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper, it appears that in his calculations he has omitted to make any allowance for the value of straw, and he has made no attempt to estimate the value of the increase of Agricultural stock, but he has added an arbitrary sum for the latter and for other omitted items."

I have omitted not only straw, but also Grass, Cotton seed, and any fodder or other food for animals which I have not taken in my tables; and further, I should also omit all that portion of the inferior grains which I have shown in my table at page 9—of about 30% of the whole acreage of grains, and which is grown for the food of animals.

The reason is this. The principle to be considered is:—1st, Either the whole *gross* annual production of the country may be taken (including straw, grass, &c. &c.) and from this *gross* production, before apportioning it per head of human population a deduction should be made for the portion required for all the stock—which in the case of the Punjab are above 7,000,000 large cattle and near 4,000,000 sheep and goats; or 2nd—All straw, grass and every production raised for animal food should be left out of calculation, and only the rest of the production which is and can be turned to human use, should be apportioned among the human population. Mr. Danvers may adopt either of the above two methods:—whichever he may consider would give most correctly the actual production for human use. It would not be correct to include the produce raised for animal use and then not to make the necessary deduction for such use. I would put this matter in another form.

Suppose on the 1st of January 1880, we have in India a certain amount of material wealth in all its various forms, and we take complete stock of it; that during the year following the country works in all its varieties of ways, consumes for all its various human, animal and instrumental wants from the store existing on the 1st January 1880; and that after the end of the year, on 1st January 1881, we gather together or take stock of every possible kind of material production (agricultural, mineral and manufacturing and addition from profits of foreign trade) during the year. This production during the year will have to meet all the wants of the next year. If this production prove less than what would be wanted for the next year, then there would be a deficiency, and either the original wealth or capital of the country will have to be drawn upon, or the people will be so much less supplied with their wants in some shape or other; in either way showing a diminution of prosperity—both as pro-

perty and capacity. If on the other hand, the whole material production of the year prove more than what would be necessary for the next year for all ordinary or usual wants, then a surplus would accrue, and so far in some permanent form, add to the capital of the country and increase its prosperity.

I request therefore that Mr. Danvers may be asked to work out the total production and wants of India, for say the last dozen years, on correct principles of calculations, from such materials as are already available at the India Office, supplementing such information as may be deficient, by asking from India and from experienced retired officials who are now in this country. Such tables will show what the actual material condition of the country is and whether it is increasing or diminishing in prosperity. Unless such information is obtained, the Government of the country will be blind and in the dark, and cannot but result in misery to India, and discredit to the Rulers, their best intentions notwithstanding. It is hopeless to expect intelligent government without the aid of such important information annually.

I am glad Mr. Danvers has made an estimate of the annual increase of agricultural stock in his paper of 4th January 1879, and as I have to say something upon this paper further on, I do not say anything here upon the subject of stock.

Mr. Danvers says—"Mr. Dadabhai has adopted the principle of equally apportioning the value of agricultural produce and Manufactures, as ascertained by him from the statistics available, amongst the whole population, without distinguishing how many are agriculturists, how many mechanics, and how many belong to other trades or professions, or possess property, and whose incomes therefore are derived directly neither from agriculture nor from manufactures. Thus he omits all reference to railway wealth, Government stock, house property, profits of trade, salaries, pensions, non-agricultural wages, professional incomes, and returns to investments, and all other sources from which a man who does not grow food himself may obtain the means of purchasing it."

"From the Census Report of 1871 it appears that, out of a total population of 17,611,498 under British Administration, in the Punjab, 9,689,650 are returned as agriculturists, 1,776,786, adult males, equivalent to about 4,500,000 of population as engaged in industrial occupations, thus leaving a population of nearly 3½ millions directly dependent, neither upon agriculture, manufactures, nor mining, and who must therefore derive their means of subsistence from other sources."

I take each of the items;—

1st—"Railway wealth." I am not sure what Mr. Danvers means by 'Railway wealth.' In his paper of 4th January 1879

he regards railways as "enhancing the value of food grains, and adding, *pro tanto*, to the wealth of the districts through which they run." If he means in the above extract, by "railway wealth" something different, then that needs to be explained. In the mean time I adopt the interpretation as I make out with the aid of his paper of 4th January 1879.

Suppose 100 maunds of wheat exist in the Punjab, and its cost to the producer, say, is Rs. 100—suppose that this wheat is carried by railway to Bombay and its value at Bombay is Rs. 125. Does Mr. Danvers mean that this circumstance has added Rs. 25 or anything at all to the existing wealth of India?

If so, then no such thing has happened. The 100 maunds of wheat existed in the Punjab, and the Rs. 125 existed in Bombay, before the wheat was moved an inch. After the movement, the only result has been change of hands. The wheat has gone to Bombay and the Rs. 125 are distributed between the owner at Punjab, who receives Rs. 100, and the railway owners and workers, and the merchant who carried through the transaction, who between them divide the Rs. 25. By the mere fact of the removal of the wheat from the Punjab to Bombay, not a single grain of wheat nor a single pie of money is added to what already existed in India before the wheat was touched. Such "railway wealth" does not exist. If the mere movement of produce can add to the existing wealth, India can become rich in no time. All it would have to do, is to go on moving its produce continually all over India, all the year round, and under the magic wheels of the train, wealth will go on springing, till the land will not suffice to hold it. But there is no Royal (even railway) road to material wealth. It must be produced from the materials of the Earth, till the great discovery is made of converting motion into matter. I should not be misunderstood. I am not discussing here the benefits of railways, whatever they are, to any country or to India. To show that the people of India are not deriving the usual benefits of railways, I give hereafter a short separate section. Here it is enough for me to state, that railways are in a way an indirect means of increasing the material production of any country, but that whatever that "means" is, its result is fully and completely included in the estimate of the actual annual production of the country, and that there is nothing more to be added to such actual material production of the year.

2nd—"Government Stock." Suppose I hold a lakh of Rupees of Government 4% Rupee paper. It does not from itself produce or create or make to grow out any money or food or any kind of material wealth for me. It simply means that Government will give me Rs. 4,000 every year, and that, not by creating any.

thing by any divine power, but from the revenue of the country; and this revenue can be got from only the actual material production of the year. So in reality my income of Rs. 4,000 from "Government Stock" is nothing more nor less than a share out of the production of the country and is therefore fully and completely included therein. No addition has to be made from "Government Stock" to the actual material production of the year. No such addition exists at all.

3rd—"House Property." Suppose I have taken a house at a yearly rent of Rs. 1,000. The house does not grow or create the rent by the mere fact of my occupying it. I have to pay this amount out of my income of the Rs. 4,000 from Government Stock, and so the house-owner receives through me and the Government his share out of the production of the country. The discussion of the other items further on will show that, be my income from any of the various sources Mr. Danvers suggests, it is ultimately and solely derived from, and is included in, the yearly production of the country, and the owners of "House property" simply take their share, like everybody else from this same store.

4th—"Profits of Trade." I take first foreign trade. Mr. Danvers is quite right that the foreign trade of a country adds to its annual income or production.* But unfortunately the case with India is quite otherwise. The present system of British Administration not only sweeps away to England the whole profits of the foreign trade, but also drains away a portion of the annual production itself of the country. So India, instead of making any addition from its "profits of foreign trade" to its yearly production, a deduction has to be made from such production in estimating the actual quantity that ultimately remains for the use of the people of India. A portion of the actual production, through the channel of foreign trade, goes clean out of the country to England, without an atom of material return. The manner in which the foreign trade of India becomes the channel through which India's present greatest misfortune and evil operate, I treat further on in a separate section, to avoid confusion. It is enough for me to say here, that as matters actually stand, instead of there being, as should be, any addition from foreign trade to the annual production of India, there is actually a diminution or drain of it, clean out of the country to England, to the extent of some £18,000,000 a year, together with and over and above all its "profits of trade". I grieve, therefore, that I have nothing to add from "profits of trade" as Mr. Danvers suggests, but much to subtract.

* Taking the aggregate wealth of the world, Foreign Trade even adds nothing. It simply then becomes Internal Trade and is mere change of hands as explained further on.

I take next the internal trade. Resuming the illustration of the 100 maunds of wheat at Punjab, say a merchant buys at Rs. 100 and sends it to Bombay, where he gets Rs. 125. The result simply is, that the wheat is still the same 100 maunds, and the Rs. 125 that existed in Bombay are still Rs. 125, but that out of Rs. 25, the merchant receives his "profit of trade," and the railway its charges for carrying. Not a single atom of money or wheat is added to the existing wealth of the country by this internal trade; only a different distribution has taken place. I should not be misunderstood. I am not discussing here the usefulness of internal trade, whatever it is. I am only pointing out, that any increase in the material income of the country by the mere transactions of the internal trade, is a thing that does not exist, and that whatever benefits and "profits of trade" there are from internal trade, are fully and completely included in the ultimate result of the actual material production of the year.

5th—"Salaries and pensions." These will be official and non-official. Official salaries and pensions are paid by Government from revenue, and this revenue is derived from the production of the country; and so from that same store are all such salaries and pensions derived. For non-official salaries or pensions, the phenomenon is just the same. I pay my clerks or servants, either from my profits of trade, or interest of Government Stock, or from rent of my house property, or from any of the sources which Mr. Danvers may suggest, but one and all of these incomes are drawn from the same store,—the annual material production of the country. All salaries and pensions are thus fully and completely included in the estimate of the production.

But this is not all. In these salaries and pensions &c. do we come to the very source of India's chief misfortune and evil, which, as I have already said, works through the medium of the foreign trade. It is the salaries and pensions, and all other expenditure incident to the excessive European Agency, both in England and India, which is India's chief curse, in the shape of its causing the exhausting drain which is destroying India. In the ordinary and normal circumstances of a country when all the salaries, pensions &c. are earned by the people themselves, and remain in the country itself to fructify in the people's own pockets, there is no such thing as an addition to the annual production of the country from "salaries and pensions." But as far as India is concerned, the case is much worse. All salaries and pensions &c. paid to Europeans in England and India beyond the absolute necessity of the maintenance or supervision of British rule, are actually, first, a direct deprivation of the natural provision for similar classes of the people of the country, and second, a drain from the property and capacity of the country

at large. So, unfortunately, is there nothing to be *added*, as Mr. Danvers asks, from "salaries and pensions," but much to be *subtracted*, that is either spent in England or remitted to England from the resources of India and for which not a particle returns, and what is enjoyed in India itself by the Europeans.

Mr. Danvers may kindly consider his own salary. It is derived from the production of India. It is brought to England and not a farthing out of it returns to India. Even if it returned, it would be no *addition* to the wealth of India, but as it does not return, it is so much actual *diminution* from the means of the subsistence of the people. I should not be misunderstood. That for a good long time, a reasonable amount of payment for British rule is necessary for the regeneration of India, is true, and no thinking native of India denies this. It is the evil of excessive payment that India has to complain of. But what I have to point out here is that salaries and pensions, even to the natives themselves, are no addition to the wealth, and much less are those which are not paid to the people of the country. The increase supposed by Mr. Danvers does not exist. There is, on the contrary, much diminution.

6th—"Non-agricultural wages."

A person, employed by a farmer, say as a labourer, upon building his house, is paid from the farmer's agricultural income. A person employed by a merchant, a house holder, a stock holder, a pensioner, or a salaried man, or on a railway, is paid from their income, which, as I have explained, is derived from the only great store—the annual material production of the country. In short every labourer—mental or physical—has his share for his subsistence, through various channels, from the only one fountain-head,—the annual material production of the country. There is no source, outside the production (including any addition to it from profits of foreign trade) from which any individual derives his means of subsistence.

7th—"Professional incomes."

I consult a Doctor or a Solicitor. The mere act of my consulting these professional gentlemen does not enable me to create money to pay them. I must pay them from my income as an agriculturist, or a miner, or a manufacturer, or a stockholder, or a householder &c. &c., and my such income is all and solely derived from the material production of the country.

I need not now go any further into a repetition of the same argument with regard to ;—

8th—"Returns to investments, and all other sources from which a man who does not grow food himself may obtain the means of purchasing it ;" or leaving a population "directly dependent neither upon agriculture, manufactures, nor mining, and who must therefore derive their means of subsistence from other sources."

There *do not exist* any such "other sources," except profits of foreign trade. But unfortunately for India, instead of foreign trade bringing any profits, it is actually the channel by which, in addition to all such profits, a portion of the production itself is also swept away. So India exhibits the strange phenomenon, that her people cannot get any benefit from profits of foreign trade, and cannot enjoy for their subsistence even their own production fully or adequately. The result of all the different influences, forces, labour, knowledge, land, climate, railways or all other kinds of public works, good government, justice, security of property, law, order, and all the above 8 and other so called sources of income, is *fully and completely* comprised in the *ultimate resultant* of all of them, viz. the actual material income of the year. Its increase or decrease every year, is in fact *the* test of the ultimate and full result of all the above direct and indirect means of the production of a country. If the material income of the year does not suffice for all the wants of the whole people for the year, the existing "capital"—wealth of the country is drawn upon, and so far the capital and the capacity for annual production are diminished.

I submit therefore that Mr. Danvers's argument of the "other sources" has to be laid aside.

Mr. Danvers says, "Mr. Dadabhai makes out the total value of the agricultural produce of the Punjab to be Rs. 27,72,56,263 and that from manufactures and mines Rs. 4,11,40,058. To this he adds, to meet any omissions, a further margin of 3½ crores, making the whole produce of the Punjab 35½ crores of Rupees, "which for a population of 17,600,000 gives Rs. 20 per head per annum at the outside for the year 1876-77," to which year the figures he has taken refer. At page 27 of his tables he shows that the cost of absolute necessities of life of an agricultural labourer is Rs. 34 per annum, but he omits to explain how, under these circumstances, the people of the Punjab managed to live, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions how, with only Rs. 20 per annum, he can provide for an expenditure of Rs. 34."

Why, that is the very question I want government to answer,—how they can expect people to manage to live, under such circumstances, without continuously sinking in poverty. The first real question is,—are these facts or not? If not, then what are the actual facts of the "means and wants" of the people of India? If they are, then the question is for Mr. Danvers and government to answer how people can manage to live. The answer to the question is however obvious, viz. that as the balance of income every year, available for the use of the people of India, does not suffice for the wants of the year, the capital-wealth of

the country is being drawn upon, and the country goes on becoming poorer and poorer, and more and more weakened in its capacity of production; and that the American War, for a little while, gave, and the various loans, give a show of prosperity to end in greater burdens, and greater destruction by famines.

These facts of the insufficiency of the means for the wants go to prove Late Lord Lawrence's statements made in 1864 as Viceroy and in 1873 before the Finance Committee. In 1864 he said, that India was on the whole a very poor country and the mass of the people enjoyed only a scanty subsistence; and in 1873 he repeated that the mass of the people of India were so miserably poor that they had barely the means of subsistence, that it was as much as a man could do to feed his family or half feed them, let alone spending money on what might be called luxuries or conveniences. Such then is the manner in which the people of India manage to live; scanty subsistence, and dieing away by millions at the very touch of drought. In the case of the Punjab as the latest British possession and least drained, and from other circumstances noted below,* the people have had as yet better resources, in their "Capital"-wealth to draw upon. But taking India as a whole, Lord Lawrence's words are most deplorably but too true.

I need not discuss Mr. Danvers's paper of 28th June 1880 any further. The fallacy of "other sources," besides agriculture, mines, manufactures, and foreign trade, pervades his whole

* The Punjab is favoured by nature and by circumstances. By nature, in as much as it is one of the most fertile parts of India. It is "Punj-aub," the land of the 5 waters, and it has both natural and artificial irrigation. It is favoured by circumstances, in as much as that (excepting Bengal in its special fortunate circumstances of the permanent settlement) Punjab pays the least land revenue—viz. the Punjab pays Re. 1-2-2 per head per annum, the North West Provinces pay Re. 1-6, Madras Re. 1-7 and Bombay Rs. 2-4-3 (See my tables page 25). I have taken these figures for 1875-6. Those for 1876-7 would be unfair and abnormal on account of the Bombay and Madras Famines. Further, the Punjab has been further favoured by other circumstances in the following way :—

The Administration Report of 1856-8 says—"In former reports it was explained how, the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab, contributed to depress the agriculturists. The native regular army was Hindoostani. To them was a large share of the Punjab revenue disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was, that year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjab and enriched Oudh. But within the last year the native army being Punjabi, all such sums have been paid to them and have been spent at home. Again many thousands of Punjabi soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings but also have sent quantity of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

It will be seen that the Punjab has more capital to draw upon, and has some addition to its resources at the expense of the other provinces, to make up some of its deficiency of its production.

argument, and in the latter part of the paper, 2 different matters are mixed up, a little misapprehension has taken place as to my meaning, and some part is irrelevant.

The whole question now before us is simply this.

1st—What the whole actual, material, annual income of India is, as the ultimate balance of all sources and influences, that is available for the use of the whole *people of India*.

2nd—What the absolutely necessary wants, and the usual wants of all classes of the people, are; and

3rd—Whether the income of India is equal to, less, or more than such wants.

By carefully ascertaining these facts every year, shall we ever be able to know truly, whether India is progressing in prosperity, or sinking in poverty, or is in a stationary condition. This is the whole problem, and it must be boldly faced and clearly answered, if the mission of Britain is the good of India, as I firmly believe it to be.

As to the question, how and by whom, directly or indirectly, the income is actually produced, and how, and by whom, and through what channels, this income is distributed among the whole people, is entirely a different matter, and though important in itself and involving much legislation, is quite separate from the first and fundamental question of the whole total of the means and wants of India.

I may explain the misapprehension to which I alluded above. In my tables for consumption, in taking "the cost of absolute necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer," I meant him, as merely representing the lowest class of labourers of all kinds, so as to show the lowest absolute necessary wants of the people.

I am under the impression, that there is a Statistical Committee at Calcutta existing for the past 20 years, and I hope it will adopt means to give complete tables of the means and wants of India.

As I am requesting His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, that Mr. Danvers be asked to work out the means and wants of the people of India during the last 12 years, and that the Government of India may adopt means to perfect the machinery for getting complete information for the future, I submit a few remarks on Mr. Danvers's tables of 4th January 1879, so kindly sent to me. As I have my Punjab-tables only, for comparison, I examine Mr. Danvers's Punjab-tables only.

In his table of quantities of all the inferior grains, Mr. Danvers has taken the crop per acre of only some of the grains whose average is 510 lbs per acre. But the produce of makai and gram which are included by Mr. Danvers in the inferior grains,

is larger, and the result is a large error. The acreage of makai is 1,084,339 acres, and the average produce per acre is 1500 lbs., so that, this produce is underestimated to the extent of taking only about one-third of the actual quantity. The average produce of gram is 645 lbs. per acre, and the acreage is 2,272,236 acres. On this large acreage, there is nearly 26 per cent. of underestimate. The result of the whole error in the table of inferior grains, is, that the total quantity is taken by Mr. Danvers as 6,504,880,162 lbs., when it actually is 7,371,110,343 lbs., or above 866,200,000 lbs. more.

In the prices of inferior grains, it is necessary to make proper allowance for the lower prices of such grains as Moth, Kangni, Chinnà, Matar, and Masur, which are nearly 25 per cent. lower than the other grains—Jowar, Bajrà, Mash, Mung, and Arhar. This makes an overestimate of £ 240,000. The price for makai, jow, and gram are given in the Report, and separate estimates should, therefore, be made of the values of these grains, to obtain all possible approximation to truth and accuracy.

The total under-estimate by Mr. Danvers is £ 1,300,000 in the value of inferior grains.

In "other crops," the value assumed by Mr. Danvers is nearly only one-fourth of what I make, by taking every item separately i. e. I make Rs. 19,16,294 against Mr. Danvers's Rs. 4,73,200.

In the following articles, Mr. Danvers has adopted the average given in the report, which, as pointed out by me on previous occasions, is taken on the fallacious principle of adding up the produce of the districts and dividing by the number of districts, without any reference to the quantity of acreage of each district.

Produce.	Incorrect average.	Correct average.	Error.	
			Correct average.	
			More percent.	Less percent.
Vegetables.....	4,008	4,753	18½	
Sugar*	449	646	44	
Cotton*	102	105	3	
Tobacco	825	846	2½	
Fibres.....	322	366	13½	
Indigo.....	47	31		53
Opium.....	10	12.5	25	

In the case of Indigo, Cotton, Tobacco, and Hemp, the error has not been large, as the incorrect average is adopted by Mr. Danvers for a few districts only. I notice such differences, as 2½

* For some probable errors in these two articles in the Report, I have already given my views in my tables.

and 3 per cent. also, because in dealing with figures of hundreds and thousands of millions, these percentages, singly as well as collectively, seriously disturb the accuracy of results. It is very necessary to avoid, as much as possible, all *avoidable* errors, large or small, so that then reliance can be placed upon the results.

The report gives the price of 1st sort sugar only, but which, applied to the whole quantity of all kinds, makes the value of nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole quantity, quite $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than it actually is—the overestimate comes to near £ 1,800,000.

The price of Indigo, as ascertained by me (Rs. 60 per maund), is nearly 20 per cent. higher than that assumed by Mr. Danvers (Rs. 50 per Maund).

Mr. Danvers has taken seer = 2 lbs, when in reality it is nearly 6 per cent. of a lb larger, which becomes a serious error in the large amounts to be dealt with.

Mr. Danvers has adopted the prices of 1st January 1877 only, instead of taking an average of the prices of the 4 periods given in the Report, to represent the whole year.

In his remarks at page 16, Mr. Danvers makes no allowance for seed, which is an important item. He includes straw, all inferior grains, and cotton seed, and yet makes no allowance at all for the feed of animals, (some 7 millions large cattle and near 4 millions sheep and goats) before apportioning the produce per human head. Grass being not taken, makes some allowance for animals so far.

I cannot say on what grounds, (page 16) 4 per cent. is assumed for annual increase of large cattle and 15 per cent. of sheep and goats. I have not got the report for 1878-9, when the next quinquennial enumeration of stock must have been made, but on comparing the numbers of the last two enumerations of 1868-9 and 1873-4 the result is as follows.

	1868-9.	1873-4.	Increase.	Decrease.	Per cent.
Cows, Bullocks, and Buffaloes*	6,797,561	6,570,212		227,349	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Horses	96,226	84,639		11,587	12
Ponies	51,302	51,395	93		
Donkeys	257,615	288,118	30,503		11.8
Camels	148,582	165,567	16,985		11.4
Total	7,351,286	7,159,931	=	191,355	
Sheep and Goats	3,803,819	3,849,842	46,023		1 $\frac{1}{2}$

* In the report of 1868-9; the heading is only "cows and bullocks," while in 1876-7, it is given as "cows, bullocks and buffaloes." Now if buffaloes are not included in 1868-9, the diminution in cattle will be very much larger. Most probably buffaloes are included in 1868-9 figures. But this must be ascertained. It is a serious matter.

From this comparison, it appears, that in the important items of Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes, instead of any increase, there is actually a decrease of 227,349 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the 5 years. In horses also, there is a decrease of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. every year instead of 4 per cent. increase. In ponies, the increase is hardly $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 5 years, in Donkeys about 11 per cent., and in Camels about 11 per cent., in all the 5 years, or about $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per year instead of 4 per cent. In sheep and goats, the increase is hardly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 5 years instead of 15 per cent. per year. For Cows and Bullocks, and Sheep and Goats, there is one allowance to be made, viz. for what are killed for food. To make out the increase in cows &c. of 4 per cent. every year, nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. must have been killed every year for food, and for sheep and goats, the percentage of killed should be nearly $14\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum. Is it so ?

Mr. Danvers has assumed Ghi, produced in the Punjab, as 4 times as much as imported (52,303 maunds) into it, and he thus makes the quantity produced to be 209,212 maunds. Now the value of the imported Ghi, is also given in the report, as Rs. 9,64,028 which, taken 4 times, would be £ 385,611. But Mr. Danvers has overlooked this actual price, and adopted the fallacious average of the table of prices in the Report, which makes the price 1s. 12c. per Rupee. At this incorrect price, the value will be £478,198, or nearly 25 per cent. more than the actual value given in the Report. But not only has there been this incorrect increase thus made, but by some arithmetical mistake, the value put down by Mr. Danvers, is above 3 times as much as even this increased amount, *i. e.* instead of £ 478,198, Mr. Danvers has put down £ 1,501,096. If this be not merely an arithmetical mistake, it requires explanation.

Mr. Danvers has taken the import of Ghi from "foreign trade" only, and has overlooked a further quantity of import "inter-provincially" of 16,312 maunds of the value of £ 34,741, which, taken 4 times, would be £ 138,964, making up the total value of the assumed produce of Ghi in the Punjab to be £ 385,611 + 138,964 = £ 524,575.

Working upon Mr. Danvers's own assumption, and what information I have been at present able to obtain, it appears that the assumption of 4 times the import—or £525,000, will be an underestimate by a good deal. I am not at present able to test the accuracy of Mr. Danvers's assumption of the produce of milk, nor of the information I am using below, but I give it just as I have it, to illustrate the principle. I adopt Mr. Danvers's assumption of 10 per cent. of the whole cattle to be milch-animals. The number then will be 657,000. Of these, cows may be taken, I am told by a Punjabee, as 75 per cent. and

Buffaloes, 25 per cent. This will give 164,250 buffaloes and 492,750 cows. Each buffalo may be taken, on an average, as giving 6 seers of milk per day for 6 months in the year, and each cow about 3 seers. The quantity of milk will then

seers	days	=	
164,250	6	×	180 = 177,390,000 seers.
492,750	3	×	180 = 266,085,000 „

Total... 443,475,000 „

Mr. Danvers assumes for milk used in the province to be about Rs. 10 per annum from each of the 10 per cent. of the cattle, and taking the price of milk to be 16 seers per Rupee, the quantity of milk used would be $657,000 \times 160 = 105,120,000$ seers. This, deducted from the above total produce of milk, will give (443,475,000—105,120,000) 338,355,000 seers as converted into Ghi. The produce of Ghi is about $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ of milk, according to quality. Assuming $\frac{1}{10}$ as the average, the total quantity of Ghi will be about 28,196,250 seers = 704,906 maunds, or allowing a little for wastage, say 700,000 maunds, which, at the import price (Rs. 13,11,445 for 68,615 maunds) of Rs. 19 per maund, will give about £1,339,300, or nearly $2\frac{3}{4}$ times as much as Mr. Danvers has assumed. I have endeavoured in a hurry, to get this information as well as I could, but it can be obtained correctly by the officials on spot. My object, at present, was simply to show that, calculated on Mr. Danvers's assumption of milch-cattle and milk used, how much Ghi should be produced in the country, if the information I have used be correct.

For hides and skins, the export only is taken into account, but a quantity must be consumed in the province itself, which requires to be added.

The value assumed, Rs. 100, per horse, is rather too high. Rs. 60 or 70, I am told, would be fairer, so also for ponies, Rs. 25 to 30 instead of Rs. 35, and camels, Rs. 60 or 70 or 75 instead of Rs. 100. For Sheep &c. Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 1, would be fairer.

But, as I have said above, officials in India can give all this information correctly for every year, and I do not see any reason why this should not be done. I urgently repeat my request, that the wants and means of the last 12 or 15 years may be ordered by His Lordship, the Secretary of State, to be carefully worked out, as far as practicable, and that future reports should be required to give complete information.

—o— RAILWAYS.

I may take railways to represent Public Works.

The benefits generally derived from Railways, are these.

They distribute the produce of the country from parts where

it is produced or is in abundance, to the parts where it is wanted, so that no part of the produce is wasted, which, otherwise, would be the case if no facility of communication existed. In thus utilising the whole produce of the country, the railway becomes directly a saving agent, and indirectly, thereby, helps in increasing the production of the country.

It brings the produce to the ports, at the least possible cost for exportation and commercial competition for foreign trade, and thus indirectly helps in obtaining the profits of foreign trade, which are an increase to the annual income of a country.

Every country in building railways, even by borrowed capital, derives the benefit of a large portion of such borrowed capital, as the capital of the country, which indirectly helps in increasing the production of the country. Excepting interest, paid for such borrowed capital to the foreign lending country, the rest of the whole income remains *in the country*.

But the result of *all* the above benefits from railways, is ultimately realised and comprised in the *actual*, annual income of the country.

The misfortune of India is, that she does not derive the above benefits as every other country does.

You build a railway in England and, say, its gross income is a million. All the Employés, from the Chairman down to the common labourer, *are Englishmen*. Every farthing, that is spent from the gross income, is so much returned to Englishmen, as direct maintenance to so many people of *England*, and to England at large as a part of its general wealth. Whether the shareholders get their 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. or 1 per cent. or 0 per cent. or even lose, it matters not at all to the whole country. Every farthing of the income of the million, is fully and solely enjoyed by *the people of the country*—excepting only (if you borrowed a portion of the capital from foreign parts) the interest you may pay for such loan. But such interest forms a small portion of the whole income, and every country with good railways, can very well afford to pay. All the benefits of railways are thus obtained and enjoyed by *the people of the country*.

Take the case of the United States. India and the States are both borrowers for their railways (the latter only partially), and they both pay interest to the lending countries. They both buy, say, their rails, machinery &c. from England, the States buying only a portion. So far they are under somewhat similar circumstances. But here the parallel ends. In the United States, every cent of the income of the railway (excepting the interest on the Foreign loan) is the income of *the people of the country*—is a direct maintenance for the people employed on it, and an indirect property of the whole country and remaining *in it*.

In India the case is quite different. First, for the Directors, home establishments, Government Superintendence, and what not in England, a portion of the income must go from India; then a large European staff of Employés (excepting only for inferior and lowest places or work left for natives) must eat up and take away another large portion of the income, and to the rest, the people of the country are welcome, with the result, that out of their production which they give to the railways, only a *portion* returns to them and *not the whole*, as in all other countries (except interest on foreign loan); and the diminution lessens so far the capacity of production every year. Such expenditure, both in England and India, is so much direct deprivation of the natural maintenance of as many people of India of similar classes, and a loss to the general wealth and means of the people at large. Thus, the whole burden of the debt, is placed on the shoulders of the people of India, while the benefit is largely enjoyed and carried away by the people of England, and yet Englishmen raise up their hands in wonder, why India should not be happy, pleased, and thankful ! Some years ago, I asked Mr. Danvers to make a return in his annual Railway report, of the salaries and every other kind of disbursement on Europeans, both in England and India. If I remember right, (I cannot just now lay my hands on the correspondence) he was kind enough to promise, he would try. But I do not know that this information has been given. Let us have this information, and we shall then know, why India does *not* derive the usual benefits of railways; how many Europeans displace as many natives of the same class, and deprive them of their natural means of subsistence, (some 3600 in India and all those in England) and what portion of the income, the people of India do not see or enjoy a pie of.

Instead, therefore, of there being any 'railway wealth' to be added to the annual production or income of India, it will be seen, that there is much to be deducted therefrom to ascertain what *really* remains for the use of its own people. For, the income of railways is simply a portion or share of the production of the country, and what is eaten up and taken away by Europeans, is so much taken away from the means of the people.

It is no wonder at all, that the United States have their 70,000 or more miles of railways, when India, under the *British Government*, with all its wonderful resources, with all that good government can do, and the whole British wealth to back, has hardly one-tenth of the length, and that even, with no benefit to the people of the country. In short, the fact of the matter is, that as India is treated at present, all the new departments, opened in the name of civilization, advancement, progress, and what not, simply resolve themselves into so much

new provision for so many more Europeans, and so much new burden on exhausting India. We do pray to our British rulers, let us have railways and all other kinds of beneficial public works, by all means, but, let us have their natural benefits, or talk not to a starving man of the pleasures of a fine dinner. We should be happy to, and thankfully, pay for such European supervision and guidance as may be absolutely necessary for successful work; but, do not, in heaven's and honesty's names, talk to us of benefits which *we do not* receive, but have on the contrary to pay for from our own. If *we* are allowed to derive the usual benefits of railways and other public works, under such government as the British—of law, order and justice,—we would not only borrow 200, but 2,000 millions, and pay the interest with as many thanks, with benefits both to ourselves and to England, as India would be then her best and largest commercial customer.

The real important question, therefore, in relation to public works, is, not how to stop them, but how to let *the people of the country* have their full benefits. One of the most important part of England's great work in India, is to develop these public works, but to the *people's* benefit and not to their detriment—not that *they should slave and others eat.*

FOREIGN TRADE.

Resuming our illustration of the 100 maunds of wheat from the Punjab, arriving at Bombay, costing to the Bombay merchant Rs. 125, we suppose that this merchant exports it to England. In ordinary course and natural conditions of trade, suppose the Bombay merchant, after two or three months, gets his net-proceeds of Rs. 150, either in silver, or as a bale of piece-goods, which could be sold at Bombay for Rs. 150. The result then of this "foreign trade" is, that before the wheat left Bombay, there were 100 maunds of wheat costing Rs. 125 at the time of export; and *after* the operation, India has either Rs. 150, or a bale of cotton goods worth Rs. 150. There is, thus, a clear "profit of trade" of Rs. 25, or in other words, an addition of Rs. 25 worth either in silver or goods, to the annual income or production of the country. This, in ordinary commercial language would be, India exported value Rs. 125 in the shape of wheat, and imported value Rs. 150 in the shape of silver or merchandise, or both, making a trade-profit of Rs. 25.

Under ordinary natural circumstances, such is the result of foreign trade to every country. I shall take the instance of the United Kingdom, and we may see what its ordinary foreign trade-profits are during a few past years, say, from 1871 @ 1878.

PROFITS OF FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IMPORTS.				EXPORTS.						
Years.	Merchandise.	Treasure. (Gold & Silver.)	Total.	Years.	Merchandise.	Treasure. (Gold and Silver.)	Total.	Foreign Trade Profits.	Per cent.	
	£	£	£		£	£	£	£		
1871	831,015,480	88,140,827	869,156,807	1871	288,574,700	83,760,671	817,885,871	51,820,936		
1872	854,695,624	29,608,012	884,301,686	1872	814,588,834	30,335,861	844,924,695	89,376,941		
1873	871,287,872	33,599,231	404,886,603	1873	811,004,765	28,899,235	839,904,050	64,982,553		
1874	870,082,701	80,379,188	400,461,889	1874	297,650,464	22,853,593	820,504,057	79,957,832		
1875	873,939,577	83,264,789	407,204,866	1875	281,612,323	27,623,042	809,240,865	97,964,001		
1876	875,154,703	87,054,244	412,208,947	1876	256,776,602	29,464,082	286,240,684	125,968,263		
1877	894,419,682	87,152,799	431,572,481	1877	252,346,020	89,798,119	292,144,139	189,428,342		
1878	868,770,742	82,422,955	401,193,697	1878	245,483,858	26,686,546	272,170,404	129,023,293		
Grand Total			3,210,985,926	Grand Total.....			2,482,463,765	728,522,161	= 29.34	

The result of the above table is, that during the 8 years, the United Kingdom has received as trade-profits 29·34 per cent. This result requires the following further consideration. It includes the results of all money-trade, or loans to and from foreign countries. Suppose England has lent a hundred millions to foreign countries; that forms a part of Exports. Suppose it has received in interest, say, £ 5,000,000—that forms a part of the imports, and unless any portion of the Principal of the loan is returned, the whole or balance (if a portion is paid) of the loan remains outstanding, and is so much more to be added to the above figure of trade-profits. Again, there is the political profit from India of some £ 27,000,000 a year (as shown further on.) That forms a part of the import, and has to be deducted from the figure of trade-profits. England contributes to the expenses of the Colonies. This is a part of its exports. Thus the formula will be :—

£ 728,522,161 + outstanding balance of loans of the 8 years — the political drain from India to England (£ 216,000,000) + contributions to the Colonies = the actual profits of all commercial and monetary transactions with the world, or in other words = the actual profits of the Foreign Trade of the 8 years.

Now the figure £ 728,522,161 is 29·34 per cent. The Political drain of India forms nearly 9 per cent. out of this. There remains, above 20 per cent. + the amounts of balance of loans, and contributions to the Colonies, as the actual rate of profits of the Foreign Trade of the United Kingdom.

I may fairly adopt this rate, of at least 20 per cent., for the profits of the Foreign Trade of India. But to be quite under the mark, I adopt only 15 per cent.

Now we may see what actually happens to India—taking the same period of 1871-8.

The actual Exports (excluding Government stores and Treasure).

Merchandise and Gold and Silver = £ 485,186,749

Take profits only 15 per cent. = £ 72,778,012

The Imports as they *ought to be*..... £ 557,964,761

Actual Imports (excluding Government stores and treasure)

Merchandise and Gold and Silver £ 342,312,799

Deficit in Imports, or what is drained to

England £ 215,651,962

i. e. nearly 27 millions a year.

Again taking actual Exports £ 485,186,749

And actual Imports £ 342,312,799

Abstraction from the *very produce* of the

country (besides the whole profits), is = 142,873,950

in 8 years or nearly £ 18,000,000 a year or 29·4 per cent.

Thus, with all the advantages of good Government, law, order, justice &c., railways, and every other influence of a civilized rule, the actual result is, that not only does India *not* get a *single farthing* of the 15 or 20 per cent, or whatever it be, of the profits of her foreign trade, but actually has a further amount of nearly 30 per cent. of her exports, kept away from her. This is not all. There is, moreover, the halter round her neck of the accumulated railway debt of nearly a hundred millions, held in England, (from which her people have not derived the usual benefits); about 60 millions of public debt (out of £ 134,000,000—mostly owing to wars) held in England, and £ 5,000,000 spent in England on account of State Public Works; and yet Englishmen wonder why India is poor, and her finances inelastic ! Good God when will this bleeding-to-death end !

Keeping as much as possible on the right side, we find some £ 18,000,000 from the production itself, swept away from India, besides all her profits, and besides what Europeans enjoy in India itself, to the so much exclusion and deprivation of her own people. But this item of £ 18,000,000, would be found much under the mark. For instance, all duty-articles imported into India, are, I believe, valued 10 per cent. more than their laying-down-value. If so, roughly taking, the customs revenue being 2½ millions, represents roughly a duty at 5 per cent. on £ 50,000,000—and to make up this £ 50 millions, with 10 per cent. extra, requires an addition to the actual value of imports of about £ 5,000,000. If so, then there will be this much above £ 18,000,000—taken away from the actual production from India, besides the whole trade profits, maintenance of Europeans in India, debts &c.

The real abstraction from the very *produce* of the country is most likely much above £ 20,000,000 a year, and the whole loss, above £ 30,000,000 a year—besides what is enjoyed in India itself by Europeans.

Under such circumstances, it is no wonder at all, that Famines and Finance should become great difficulties, and that Finance has been the grave of several reputations, and shall continue to be so, till the discovery is made of making 2 and 2 equal to 5, if the present unnatural treatment of India is to continue.

Far, therefore, from there being anything to be added to the annual income of India, as Mr. Danvers thinks, from the "profits of trade", there is the deplorable fact of much to be deducted in the case of India, and the consequences of such abstraction, in impoverishment and destruction by famines &c., lay mostly at the door of the present unnatural policy of the British Administration. Let our rulers realise this fact.

intelligently and face it boldly in a way worthy of the British moral courage and character, and the whole scene will be entirely changed—from deplorable poverty to prosperity; from the wail of woe to joy and blessing. Our misfortune is that the great Statesmen of this country have not the necessary time to see into Indian matters, and things are allowed to drift blindly; or England would never become, as she unwittingly is at present, the destroyer of India. Her conscience is sound.

It is natural that in all discussions on Finance, curtailment of expenditure and economy are, at first blush, recommended:—to cut the coat according to cloth. But, unfortunately, no one asks the question, why the cloth is short; why, under such rule as that of the English, India should not do well, if not quite as well as these Islands, but should be only able to pay the wretched revenue of some 6s. a head, and that even after “wringing out the last farthing.”

No doubt, vigilance for economy will always be a necessity in the best of states (not excepting England, as debates in Parliament testify) as long as the world lasts. But the real question, the most important question of all questions at present, is, not how to get £ 60,000,000 or £ 100,000,000 for the matter of that, if that be necessary, but how to return to the people what is raised from them.

There is no reason whatever, why India with all her vast resources, the patient industry of the people, and the guidance and supervision of British high officials, should not be able to pay 2 or 3 times her present wretched revenue, say a hundred or hundred and fifty millions, for efficient administration by her own people under British supervision, and for the development of her unbounded material resources. Is it not unsatisfactory or even humiliating, that British Statesmen should have to confess, that they have hopelessly to depend, for about a sixth of the net revenue, on supplying opium to another vast human race; and to ask despairingly, what they were to do to get this amount of revenue from India itself. Then again, nearly as much more income has to be raised by an oppressive and heavy tax on salt, so that between a third and a fourth of the net revenue, has to be derived, a part, by pinching and starving the poor millions of India in one of the absolute necessities of life, and the other part, by poisoning and demoralising the millions of China. Surely a great people like the English, with their Statesmanship of the highest order and with all their genuine desire to do good to, and to advance mankind, should not be able to get the necessary revenues from India from her own healthy and natural prosperity, is a strange phenomenon in this advanced age.

Only restore India to her *natural* economical conditions. If

as in England the revenue raised from the people, *returned to the people*; if the income of railways and other public works taken from the people, returned to the people, to fructify in their pockets,—then will there be no need for anxiety for finance or famines, nor for pinching in salt, nor poisoning with opium, millions of the human race. India will then pay with ease a hundred or two hundred millions of revenue, and will not be the worse for it. It would be far better also, which would then be the case, that India should be able to purchase a pound or two worth a head of British Manufactures, and become England's best and largest customer, instead of the wretched one, she is at present.

I repeat, therefore, with every earnestness, that the most important question of the day is, how to stop the bleeding drain from India. The merit or good of every remedy, will depend upon and be tested by its efficacy in stopping this deplorable drain, without impairing the wants of the Administration, or checking India's natural progress towards prosperity.

There is a deep conviction among educated and thoughtful natives, that, if there is any one nation, more than another, on the face of the Earth, that would, on no account, knowingly do a wrong to or enslave, degrade or impoverish a people, and who, on feeling the conviction of any injury having been unintentionally done by them, would, at once and at all reasonable sacrifice, repair the injury without shrinking,—that nation is the British nation. This conviction keeps the thinking natives staunch in their loyalty to the British rule. They know that a real regeneration, civilization and advancement of India, materially, morally and politically depends upon a long continuance of the British rule. The peculiarly happy combination of high civilization, intense love of liberty and nobility of soul in the British, cannot but lead them to the desire of the glory of raising a vast nation, instead of trampling upon them. This noble desire has found expression from some of their best men.

The English people have a task before them in India, for which there is no parallel in the History of the World. There has not been a nation, who, as conquerors, have like the English considered the good of the conquered as a duty, or felt it as their great desire, and the Natives of India, may, with the evil of the present drain stopped, and a representative voice in the legislation, hopefully look forward to a future under the British rule, which will eclipse their greatest and most glorious days.

May the light of heaven guide our Rulers.

DADABHAI NAOROJI

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 13th September 1880.

INDIA OFFICE, S. W.,

15th October 1880.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th September which together with its enclosure, has been duly laid before the Secretary of State for India.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

LOUIS MALLET.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

—o—

32, Great St. Helens,

London, 16th November 1880.

SIR LOUIS MALLET,

The Under Secretary of State for India,

India Office,

London, S. W.

SIR,

Thanking you for your letter of 15th Ultimo, informing me that my letter of 13th September with enclosure had been duly laid before His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, and hoping that the same kind attention will be given to it as to my previous letter, and that if I am wrong in any of my views I would be corrected, I beg to submit for His Lordship's kind and generous consideration the accompanying Memorandum No. 2, on the Moral Poverty of India and Native Thoughts on the British Indian Policy.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

—o—

16th November 1880.

MEMORANDUM

No. 2.

THE MORAL POVERTY OF INDIA
AND
NATIVE THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT BRITISH INDIAN POLICY.

In my last paper, I confined myself to meet Mr. Danvers's line of argument, on the question of the material destruction and impoverishment of India by the present British Indian Policy. I endeavoured to show that this impoverishment and destruction of India was mainly caused by the unnatural treatment it received at the hands of its British rulers, in the way of subjecting it to a large variety of expenditure upon a crushing foreign Agency both in India and England, whereby the children of the country were displaced and deprived of their natural rights and means of subsistence in their own country. By what was being taken and consumed in India itself and by what was being continuously taken away by such agency clean out of the country, an exhaustion of the very life-blood of the country was unceasingly going on. That till this disastrous drain was not duly checked, and till the people of India were not restored to their natural rights in their own country, there was no hope for the material amelioration of India.

In this Memorandum, I desire to submit for the kind and generous consideration of His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, that from the same cause of the deplorable drain, besides the material exhaustion of India, the moral loss to her is no less sad and lamentable.

With the material wealth, go also the wisdom and experience of the country. Europeans occupy almost all the higher places in every department of government, directly or indirectly under its control. While in India they acquire India's money, experience and wisdom, and when they go, they carry both away with them, leaving India so much poorer in material and moral wealth. Thus India is left without, and cannot have, those elders in wisdom and experience, who in every country are the natural guides of the rising generations in their national and social conduct, and of the destinies of their country—and a sad, sad loss this is!

Every European is isolated from the people around him. He is not their mental, moral or social leader or companion. For any mental or moral influence or guidance or sympathy with the people, he might just as well be living in the Moon. The people know not him, and he knows not, nor cares for the people.

Some honorable exceptions do, now and then, make an effort to do some good they can, but in the very nature of things, these efforts are always feeble, exotic, and of little permanent effect. These men are not always in the place, and their works die away when they go.

The Europeans are not the natural leaders of the people. They do not belong to the people. They cannot enter into their thoughts and feelings; they cannot join or sympathise with their joys or griefs. On the contrary, every day the estrangement is increasing. Europeans deliberately and openly widen it more and more. There may be very few social institutions started by Europeans in which, Natives, however fit and desirous to join, are not deliberately and insultingly excluded. The Europeans are and make themselves strangers in every way. All they effectually do, is to eat the substance of India, material and moral, while living there, and when they go, they carry away all they have acquired, and their pensions and future usefulness besides.

This most deplorable moral loss to India needs most serious consideration, as much in its political as in its national aspect. Nationally disastrous as it is, it carries politically with it its own Nemesis. Without the guidance of elderly wisdom and experience of their own natural leaders, the education which the rising generations are now receiving, is naturally leading them (or call misleading them, if you will) into directions which bode no good to the rulers, and which, instead of being the strength of the rulers as it ought to and can be, will turn out to be their great weakness. The fault will be of the rulers themselves for such a result. The power that is now being raised by the spread of education, though yet slow and small, is one, that in time, must for weal or woe, exercise great influence. In fact it has already begun to do so. However strangely the English rulers, forgetting their English manliness and moral courage, may, like the ostrich, shut their eyes, by gagging acts or otherwise, to the good or bad influences they are raising around them, this good or evil is rising nevertheless. The thousands that are being sent out by the Universities every year, find themselves in a most anomalous position. There is no place for them in their mother-land. They may beg in the streets or break stones on the roads, for aught the rulers seem to care for their natural rights, position and duties in their own country. They may perish or do what they like or can, but scores of Europeans must go from this country to take up what belongs to them, and that, in spite of every profession for years and years past and up to the present day, of English Statesmen, that they must govern India for India's good, by solemn acts and declarations of Parliament, and above all, by the words of the August Sovereign Herself. For all practical

purposes all these high promises have been hitherto, almost wholly, the purest Romance, the reality being quite different.

The educated find themselves simply so many dummies, ornamented with the tinsel of school-education, and then their whole end and aim of life is ended. What must be the inevitable consequence? A wild spirited horse, without curb or reins will run away wild, and kill and trample upon every one that came in his way. A misdirected force will hit anywhere and destroy anything. The power that the rulers are, so far to their credit, raising, will, as a nemesis, recoil against themselves, if with this blessing of education, they do not do their whole duty to the country which trusts to their righteousness, and thus turn this good power to their own side. The nemesis is as clear from the present violence to nature, as disease and death arise from uncleanness and rottenness. The voice of the power of the rising education is, no doubt, feeble at present. Like the infant, the present dissatisfaction is only crying at the pains it is suffering. Its notions have not taken any form or shape or course yet, but it is growing. Heaven only knows what it will grow to! He who runs may see, that if the present material and moral destruction of India continued, a great convulsion must inevitably arise, by which either India will be more and more crushed under the iron heel of despotism and destruction, or may succeed in shattering the destroying hand and power. Far, far is it from my earnest prayer and hope, that such should be the result of the British rule. In this rule, there are every element to produce immeasurable good, both to India and England, and no thinking native of India would wish harm to it, with all the hopes that are yet built upon the righteousness and conscience of the British statesmen and Nation.

The whole duty and responsibility of bringing about this desired consummation, lies upon the head and in the hands of the Indian Authorities *in England*. It is no use screening themselves behind the fiction and excuse, that the Viceroys and authorities in India are difficult to be got to do what they ought, or that they would do all that may be necessary. They neither can nor will do this. They cannot go against acts of Parliament on the one hand, and on the other, the pressure of European interests, and of European selfishness and guidance, is so heavy in India, that the Viceroys in their first years are quite helpless and get committed to certain courses; and if in time, any of them, happening to have sufficient strength of character and confidence in their own judgment, are likely to take matters in their own hands, and with any moral courage, to resist interests, hostile or antagonistic to the good of the people, the end of their time begins to come near, their zeal and interest begin to flag, and

soon they go away, leaving India to roll up Sisyphus's stone again, with a new Viceroy. It is the highest Indian authority here, the Secretary of State for India, upon whom the responsibility wholly rests. He alone has the power, as a member of and with the weight of the British Cabinet, to guide the Parliament to acts worthy of the English character, conscience and Nation. The glory or disgrace of the British in India, is in his hands. He has to make Parliament lay down by clear legislation, how India *shall* be governed for "*India's good*," or it is hopeless for us to look forward for any relief from our present material and moral destruction, and for future elevation.

Englishmen sometimes indulge the notion, that England is secure in the division and disunion among the various races and nationalities of India. But even in this, new forces are working their way. Those Englishmen who sleep such foolish sleep of security, know precious little of what is going on. The kind of Education that is being received by thousands of all classes and creeds, is throwing them all in a similar mould; a sympathy of sentiment, ideas, and aspirations is growing among them; and more particularly a political union and sympathy is the first fruit of the new awakening, as all feel alike their deprivation, and the degradation and destruction of their country. All differences of race and religion, and rivalry are gradually sinking before this common cause. This beginning, no doubt, is at present insignificant, but it is surely and steadily progressing. Hindus, Mahamodans, and Parsees are asking alike, whether the English rule was to be a blessing or a curse. Politics now engross their attention more and more. This is no longer a secret, or a state of things not quite open to those of our rulers who would see. It may be seen that there is scarcely any union among the different nationalities and races in any shape or ways of life, except only in Political associations. In these associations, they go hand in hand with all the fervour and sympathy of a common cause. I would here touch upon a few incidents, little as they are, still showing how nature is working in its own quiet way.

Dr. Birdwood has brought to the notice of the English public, certain songs now being spread among the people of Western India, against the destruction of Indian industry and arts. We may laugh at this as a futile attempt to shut out English machine-made cheaper goods against hand-made dearer ones. But little do we think what this movement is likely to grow into, and what new phases it may take in time. The songs are at present directed against English wares, but they are also a natural and effective preparation against other English things when the time comes, if the English in their blindness allow such times to come. The songs are full of loyalty, and I have

not the remotest doubt in the sincerity of that loyalty. But if the present downward course of India continue, if the mass of the people at last begin to despair for any amelioration, and if educated youths, without the wisdom and experience of the world, become their leaders; it will be but a *very, very* short step from loyalty to disloyalty, to turn the course of indignation from English wares to English Rule. The songs will remain the same; one word of curse for the rule will supply the spark.

Here is another little incident with its own significance. The London Indian Society, a political body of many of the native residents of London, had a dinner the other day, and they invited guests. The three guests were, one Hindu, one Mahomadan, and one Parsee. The society itself is a body representing nearly all the principal classes of India. It is small and may be laughed at as unimportant and can do nothing. But it shows how, a sympathy of political common cause is bringing the different classes together, and how, in time, such small seeds may grow into large trees. Every member of this little body is carrying back with him ideas, which as seeds, may produce crops, sweet or bitter according to the cultivation they may receive at our Rulers' hands.

I turn to one bright incident on the other side. True to their English nature and character, there are some Englishmen who try to turn the current of native thought towards an appreciation of English intentions, and to direct English thought towards a better understanding of England's duty to India. The East India Association is doing this beneficent work, more especially by the fair and English character of its course of bringing about free and full discussion upon every topic and from every point of view, so that by a sifting of the full expression of different views, truth may be elicited. Though yet little appreciated by the English Public, the English members of this association are fulfilling the duty of patriotism to their own country and of benefaction towards India. How far their good efforts will succeed is yet to be seen. But they at least do one thing. These Englishmen, as well as public writers like Fawcett, Hyndman, Perry, Caird, Knight, Bell, Wilson, and others, vindicate to India, the English character, and show that when Englishmen as a body will *understand* their duty and responsibility, the natives of India may fairly expect a conduct of which their's is a sample—a desire and deed to act rightly by India. The example and earnestness of these Englishmen, though yet small their number, keep India's hope alive;—that England will produce a statesman who will have the moral courage and firmness to face the Indian problem, and do what the world should expect from England's conscience, and from England's mission to humanity.

I have thus touched upon a few incidents only, to illustrate the various influences that are at work. Whether the result of all these forces and influences will be good or bad, remains, as I have said, in the hands of the Secretary of State for India.

In my last paper, I said, the thinking natives were as yet staunch in their loyalty to the British rule, as they were yet fully hopeful of the future from the general character and history of the English people. They believe, that when the conscience of the English nation is awakened, it will not be long before India receives full and thorough redress for all she has been suffering. While thus hopeful of the future, it is desirable that our rulers should know and consider, what about the past is passing in many a thinking native mind.

They are as grateful as any people can be, for whatever real good of peace and order and education has been done for them. But they also ask what good upon the whole England has done to India. It is sadly poor and increasing in poverty, both material and moral. They consider and bewail the unnatural treatment India has been receiving.

They dwell upon the strange contrast between the words and deeds of the English rulers. How often deliberate and solemn promises are made and broken. I need not here instance again what I have at some length shown in my papers on the *Poverty of India** under the heading of

“Non-fulfilment of Solemn Promises.”†

I would refer here to one or two characteristic instances only. The conception for an Engineering College in London was no sooner formed than it became an accomplished fact; and Mr. Grant Duff, then Undersecretary of State, in his place in Parliament, proclaimed what great boons “we” were conferring on the English people, but quite oblivious, at whose sacrifices. It was an English interest, and the thing was done as quick as it was thought of. On the other hand, a clause for native interests, proposed in 1867, took 3 years to pass, and in such a form as to be simply ineffectual. I asked Sir Stafford Northcote at the time of the proposal to make it in some way imperative, but without effect. Again, after being passed after 3 years, it remained a dead letter for 7 years more, and might have remained so till doomsday for aught any of the Indian authorities cared. But thanks to the persevering exertions of one of England’s true sons, Sir Erskine Perry, some steps were at last taken to frame the

* East India Association’s journal, Vol. IX, pages 375 to 405.

† The Duke of Argyll, as Secretary of State for India, said in his speech of 11th March 1869 with regard to the employment of Natives in the Covenanted Service:—“I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty or the promises and engagements which we have made.”

rules that were required, and it is now, in the midst of a great deal of fine writing, making some, though very slow progress. For such even as it is we are thankful, but greater efforts are necessary to stem the torrent of the drain. Turning to the uncovenanted service, Sir Stafford Northcote's despatch of 8th February 1868 declared that Europeans should not be allowed in this service to override "the inherent rights of the natives of the country." Now in what spirit was this despatch treated till very lately? Was it not simply, or is it not even now, almost a dead letter?

In the matter of the load of the public debt of India, it is mainly due to the Wars of the English conquests in India, and English wars abroad in the name of India. Not a farthing has been spent by England for its British Indian Empire. The Burden of all England's wars in Asia, has been thrown on India's shoulders. In the Abyssinian War, India narrowly and lightly escaped, and in the present Afghan War, her escape from whatever portion she may be saved, is not less narrow. Such though the character of nearly the whole of the public debt, (excluding for public works) being caused by the actions by which England has become the Mistress of a great Empire and thereby the first nation in the world, she would not move her little finger to give India any such help as is within her power without even any material sacrifice to herself, viz. that of guaranteeing this public debt, so that India may derive some little relief from reduced interest.

When English interests are concerned, their accomplishment is often a foregone conclusion. But India's interests always require long and anxious thought—thought that seldom begins, and when it does begin, seldom ends in any thorough good result. It is useless to conceal that the old pure and simple faith in the honor and word of the English rulers is much shaken, and were it not for the faith in the conscience of the Statesmen and people in *this* country, any hope of good by an alteration of the present British Indian Policy would be given up.

The English rulers boast and justly so, that they have introduced education and Western Civilization into India, but on the other hand, they act as if no such thing had taken place, and as if all this boast was pure moonshine. Either they have educated or have not. If they deserve the boast, it is a strange self-condemnation, that after half a century or more of such efforts, they have not yet prepared a sufficient number of men fit for the service of their own country. Take even the Educational department itself. We are made B. As. and M. As. and M. Ds. &c. with the strange result that we are not yet considered fit to teach our countrymen. We must have yet forced upon us even in this department, as in every other, every European that can

be squeezed in. To keep up the sympathy and connection with the current of European thought, an English Head may be appropriately and beneficially retained in a few of the most important Institutions. But as matters are at present, all boast of education is exhibited as so much sham and delusion.

In the case of former foreign conquests, the invaders either retired with their plunder and booty, or became the rulers of the country. When they only plundered and went back away, they made no doubt great wounds, but India with her industry revived and healed the wounds. When the invaders became the rulers of the country, they settled down *in* it, and whatever was the condition of their rule, according to the character of the sovereign of the day, there was at least no material or moral drain from the country.* Whatever the country produced, remained in the country. Whatever wisdom and experience was acquired in her services, remained among her own people. With the English the case is peculiar. There are the great wounds of the first Wars in the burden of the public debt, and those wounds are kept perpetually open and widening, by draining away the life blood in a continuous stream. The former rulers were like butchers hacking here and there, but the English with their scientific scalpel cut to the very heart, and yet, lo! there is no wound to be seen, and soon the plaster of the high talk of civilization, progress, and what not, covers up the wound! The English rulers stand sentinel at the front door of India, challenging the whole World, that they do and shall protect India against all comers, and themselves carry away by a back-door the very treasures, they stand sentinel to protect.

In short, had England deliberately intended to devise the best means of taking away India's wealth, in a quiet continuous drain, without scandalising the World, she could not have hit upon a more effectual plan than the present lines of policy. A Viceroy tells,—the people of India enjoy but scanty subsistence—and this is the out-come of the British rule.

No doubt, the exertions of individual Europeans, at the time of famines may be worthy of admiration; the efforts of

* Sir Stafford Northcote, in his speech in Parliament on 24th May 1867, said :—" Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India, but we ought to consider on what conditions we held it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal policy that was pursued by men like Akbar availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character."—*Times*, of 25th May, 1867.

Government and the aid of the contributions of the British People to save life, deserve every gratitude. But how strange it is, that the British rulers do not see, that after all, they themselves are the main cause of the destruction that ensues from droughts ; that it is the drain of India's wealth by *them* that lays at their own door the dreadful results of misery, starvation, and deaths of millions. England does not know famines, be the harvest however bad or scanty. She has the means of buying her food from the whole world. India is being unceasingly deprived of these means, and when famine comes, the starving have to be taxed so much more to save the dieing.

England's conduct in India is in strange contrast with her conduct with almost any other country. Owing to the false groove in which she is moving, she does violence to her own best instincts. She sympathises with and helps every notionalty that struggles for a constitutional representative Government. On the one hand, she is the parent of, and maintains the highest constitutionalism, and on the other, she exercises a clear and, though thoughtlessly, a despoiling despotism in India, under a pseudo-constitutionalism in the shape of the farce of the present Legislative Councils.

Of all countries in the world, if any one has the greatest claim on England's consideration, to receive the boons of a constitutional representative government at her hands, and to have her people governed as England governs her own,—that country is India, her most sacred trust and charge. But England, though she does every thing she can for other countries, fights shy of, and makes some excuse or other to avoid, giving to the people of India their fair share in the legislation of their country. Now I do not mean to say that India can suddenly have a full blown Parliament and of such wide spread representation as England enjoys. But has England made any honest efforts to gradually introduce a true representation of the people, excepting some solitary exceptions of partial Municipal representation? I need not dwell upon the present farce of the nomination system for the Legislative Councils, and of the dummies that are sometimes nominated. I submit that a small beginning can be well made now. I would take the Bombay Presidency as an instance. Suppose the present Legislative Council is extended to 21 members, 13 of these to be nominated from officials and non-officials by the government, and 8 to be elected by the Principal Towns of the Presidency. This will give government a clear Majority of 5, and the representative element, the minority, cannot do any harm, or hamper Government. In England the Majority determines the Government. In India this cannot be the case at present, and so the Majority must follow the Government. It would be, when some-

thing is extremely outrageous, that the Minority would, by force of argument and truth, draw towards it the Government Majority, and even in any such rare instance, all that will happen will be, that Government will be prevented from doing any such outrageous things. In short, in such an arrangement, Government will remain all powerful, as it must for a long time to come, while there will be also independent persons actually representing the people to speak the sentiments of the people, thereby giving Government the most important help and relieving them from much responsibility, anxiety, and mistakes. The representative element in the minority, will be gradually trained in constitutional Government. They will have no inducement to run wild with prospects of power. They will have to maintain the reason of their existence, and will therefore be actuated by caution and good sense. They can do no harm but a vast amount of good both to the Government and the governed. The people will have the satisfaction that their rulers were doing their duty and endeavouring to raise them to their own civilization.

There are in the Bombay Presidency the following towns of more than 50,000 population. Bombay having by far the largest, and with its importance as the capital of the Presidency, may be properly allowed 3 representatives.

The towns are :—

* Bombay. Poona. Ahmedabad. Surat. Karrachi. Sholapore.
644,405 118,886 116,873 107,149 53,526 53,403.

Thus Bombay having 3—the Gujarati division of the Presidency will be represented by Ahmedabad and Surat, the Maratha portion by Poona and Sholapur, and Sind by Karrachi, making altogether 8 members—which will be a fair though a small representation to begin with. Government may with advantage adopt a larger number; all I desire and insist, is, that there must be a fair *representative* element in the councils. As to the qualifications of electors and candidates for election, government is quite competent to fix upon some, as they did in the case of the Bombay Corporation, and such qualifications may from time to time be modified as experience may suggest. With this modification in the present Legislative Council, a great step will have been taken towards one of the greatest boons which India asks and expects at England's hands. Without some such element of the people's voice in all the Legislative Councils, it is impossible for Englishmen, more and more estranged and isolated as they are becoming, to be able to legislate for India in the true spirit and feeling of her wants.

* Statistical abstract of British India—1879 page 21.

After having a glorious history of heroic struggles for constitutional government, England is now rearing up a body of Englishmen in India, trained up and accustomed to despotism, with all the feelings of impatience, pride, and high-handedness of the despot becoming gradually ingrained in them, and with the additional training of the dissimulation of constitutionalism. Is it possible that such habits and training of despotism, with which Indian officials return from India, should not, in the course of time, influence the English character and institutions. The English in India, instead of raising India, are hitherto themselves descending and degenerating to the lower level of Asiatic despotism. Is this a nemesis that will in fulness of time show to them, what fruit their conduct in India produced? It is extraordinary how nature may revenge itself for the present unnatural course of England in India, if England, not yet much tainted by this demoralisation, do not, in good time, check this new leaven that is gradually fermenting among her people.

There is the opium trade. What a spectacle it is to the World. In England, no Statesman dares to propose that opium may be allowed to be sold in public houses at the corners of every street, in the same way as beer or spirits. On the contrary, Parliament, as representing the whole nation, distinctly enacts "opium and all preparations of opium or of popies" as "poison", to be sold by certified chemists only, and "every box, bottle, vessel, wrapper or cover in which such poison is contained, be distinctly labelled with the name of the article and the word Poison, and with the name and address of the seller of the Poison." And yet, at the other end of the World, this christian, highly civilized, and humane England forces a "heathen" and "barbarous" power to take this "Poison", and tempts a vast human race to use it, and to degenerate and demoralise themselves with this "Poison." And why,—because India cannot fill up the remorseless drain, so China must be dragged in to make it up, even though it be by being "Poisoned." It is wonderful, how England reconciles this to her conscience. This opium trade is a sin on England's head, and a curse on India for her share in being the instrument. This may sound strange as coming from any natives of India, as it is generally represented, as if India it was, that benefited by the opium trade. The fact simply is, as Mr. Duff said, India is nearly ground down to dust, and the opium trade of China fills up England's drain. India derives not a particle of benefit. All India's profits of trade, and several millions from her very produce, (scanty as it is and becoming more and more so), and with these, all the profit of opium, go the same way of the drain to England. Only, India shares the curse of the Chinese race. Had this cursed opium trade not existed, India's miseries would

have much sooner come to the surface, and relief and redress would have come to her long ago. But this trade has prolonged the agonies of India.

In association with this trade, is the stigma of the salt tax, upon the British name. What a humiliating confession to say, that after the length of the British rule, the people are in such a wretched plight that they have nothing that Government can tax, and that government must, therefore, tax an absolute necessary of life to an inordinate extent. The slight flash of prosperity during the American War, showed how the people of India would enjoy and spend, when they have anything to enjoy and spend—and now, can anything be a greater condemnation of the results of British lines of Policy, than that the people have nothing to spend and enjoy, and pay tax on, but that they must be pinched and starved in a necessary of life.

The English are, and justly and gloriously, the greatest champions of liberty of speech. What a falling off must have taken place in their character, when, after granting this boon to India, they should have even thought of withdrawing it. This act, together with that of disarming the people, are a clear confession by the Rulers to the World, that they have no hold as yet upon the affection and loyalty of the people, though in the same breath, they make every profession of their belief in the loyalty of the people. Now which is the truth? And are gagging and disarming, the outcome of a long benign rule?

Why do the English allow themselves to be so perpetually scared by the fears of Russian, or any other foreign invasion. If the people of India be satisfied, if their hearts and hands be with England, she may defy a dozen Russias. On the other hand, do British statesmen think, that, however sharp and pointed their bayonets, and however long-flying their bullets, they may not find the two hundred millions of the people of India her political Himalaya to be pierced through, when the present political union among the different peoples, is more strengthened and consolidated?

There is the stock argument of overpopulation. They talk, and so far truly, of the increase by British peace, but they quite forget the destruction by the British drain. They talk of the pitiless operations of economic laws, but, somehow, they forget that there is no such thing in India, as the natural operation of economic laws. It is not the pitiless operations of economic laws, but it is the thoughtless and pitiless action of the British Policy, it is the pitiless eating of India's substance in India, and the further pitiless drain to England,—in short, it is the pitiless *perversion* of economic laws by the sad bleeding to which India is subjected, that is destroying India. Why blame

poor Nature, when the fault lies at your own door. Let natural and economic laws have their full and fair play, and India will become another England, with many fold greater benefit to England herself than at present.

As long as the English do not allow the country to produce what it can produce; as long as the people are not allowed to enjoy what they can produce; as long as the English are the very party on their trial;—they have no right, and are not competent, to give an opinion, whether the country is overpopulated or not. In fact, it is absurd to talk of overpopulation, *i. e.* the country's incapability, by its food or other produce, to supply the means of support to its people, if the country is unceasingly, and forcibly, deprived of its means or capital. Let the country keep what it produces, and then, can any right judgment be formed, whether it is overpopulated or not. Let England first hold hands off India's wealth, and then, there will be disinterestedness in, and respect for, her judgment. The present cant of the excuse of overpopulation, is adding a distressful insult to agonising injury. To talk of overpopulation at present, is just as reasonable, as to cut off a man's hands, and then to taunt him, that he was not able to maintain himself or move his hands.

When persons talk of the operation of economic laws, they forget the very first and fundamental principles. Says Mr. Mill, "Industry is limited by capital." "To employ industry on the land, is to apply capital to the land." "Industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest." "There can be no more industry than is supplied by materials to work up and food to eat. Yet, in regard to a fact so evident, it was long continued to be believed, that laws and governments, without creating capital, could create industry." And while Englishmen are sweeping away this very capital, they raise up their hands and wonder why India cannot have industry.

The English are themselves the head and front of the offending, and yet they talk of overpopulation, and every mortal irrelevant thing, but the right cause, *viz.* their own drain of the material and moral wealth of the country.

The present form of relations between the paramount power and the Princes of India, is unenglish and iniquitous. Fancy a people, the greatest champions of fair play and justice, having a system of political agency, by which, as the Princes say, they are stabbed in the dark; the Political Agents making secret reports and the government often acting thereon, without a fair inquiry or explanation from the Princes. The Princes, therefore, are always in a state of alarm, as to what may befall them unawares. If the British authorities deliberately wished to adopt a method, by which the Princes should always remain alarmed

and irritated, they could not have hit upon a more effective one than what exists. If these Princes can feel assured, that their treaty rights will be always honorably and faithfully observed, that there will be no constant nibbling at their powers, that it was not the ulterior policy of the British to pull them down gradually to the position of the mere nobles of the country, as the Princes at present suspect and fear, and if a more just and fair mode of political agency be adopted, I have not the least hesitation in saying, that, as much from self-interest alone, as from any other motive, these Princes will prove the greatest bulwark and help to perpetuate British Supremacy in India. It stands to reason and common sense, that the native Princes clearly understand their interest, that by a power like the British only, with all the confidence it may command by its fairness as well as strength, can they be saved from each other and even from themselves. Relieved of any fear from the paramount power, they will the more readily listen to counsels of reform which they much need. The English can then exercise their salutary influence, in advising and helping them to root out the old corrupt regimes, and in making them and their courtiers to understand, that Power was not self-aggrandizement, but responsibility for the good of the people. I say from personal conversation with some of the princes, that they thoroughly understand their interest under the protection of the present paramount power.

It is useless for the British to compare themselves with the past native rulers. If the British do not show themselves to be vastly superior, in proportion to their superior enlightenment and civilization, if India do not prosper and progress under them far more largely, there will be no justification for their existence in India. The thoughtless past drain, we may consider as our misfortune, but a similar future will, in plain English, be deliberate plunder and destruction.

I do not repeat here several other views which I have already expressed in my last Memorandum.

I have thus given a general sketch of what is passing in many natives' minds on several subjects. It is useless and absurd to remind us constantly, that, once, the British Fiat brought order out of Chaos, and to make that an everlasting excuse for subsequent shortcomings, and the material and moral impoverishment of the country. The natives of the present day have not seen that chaos, and do not feel it, and though they understand it, and very thankful they are for the order brought, they see the present drain, distress, and destruction, and they feel it and bewail it.

By all means, let Englishmen be proud of the past. We accord them every credit for the order and law they brought about, and are deeply thankful to them, but let them now face the present,

let them clearly realise, and manfully acknowledge the many shortcomings of omission and commission, by which, with the best of intentions, they have reduced India to material and moral wretchedness: and let them, in a way worthy of their name and history, repair the injury they have inflicted. It is fully in their power, to make their rule a blessing to India, and a benefit and glory to England, by allowing India her own administration under their superior, controlling and guiding hand—or in their own oft-repeated professions and words, “by governing India for India’s good.”

May the god of all Nations lead the English to a right sense of their duty to India, is my humble and earnest prayer!

DADABHAI NAOROJI

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 4th January 1881.

SIR LOUIS MALLET,

The Under-Secretary of State for India,

India Office,

London, S. W.

SIR,

I beg to request you to submit the accompanying Memorandum, No. 3, on some of the Statements in “the Report of the Indian Famine Commission—1880,” to His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, and I hope His Lordship will give his kind and generous consideration to it.

I remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

DADABHAI NAOROJI

MEMORANDUM, ON A FEW STATEMENTS IN THE
REPORT OF THE INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION,

1880.

Part II. Chapter I. Section VII. treats of Incidence of Taxation.

I submit that the section is fallacious, gives an erroneous notion of the true state of the matter, and is misleading.

We shall see what the reality is.

The income of a country consists of two parts—

1. The internal total annual material production of the country (Agricultural, Manufactures, Mines and Fisheries).
2. The external annual profits of Foreign Trade.

There is no other source of income beyond these two, excepting, in the case of British India, the tributes, and contributions of Native States, of about £700,000.

The incidence of taxation of any country means, that a certain amount or portion is taken out of this income for purposes of Government. Call this portion, revenue, tax, rent, service, contributions, blessing, curse, or by any name from A to Z in the English Vocabulary. The fact simply is, that the country has to give a certain proportion out of its income for purposes of government. Every farthing that the country has thus to contribute for government, has to be produced, or earned from Foreign trade, or, in other words, has to be given from the annual income. No portion of it is rained down from heaven, or produced by some magic by the government of the country. The £24,000,000 which the Commissioners call "other than taxation," do not come down from the heavens, nor are to be obtained from any other source than the annual income of the country, just the same, as what they call taxation proper. And so also, what the Commissioners call "rent," with regard to the revenue derived from Land.

Whatever plans, wise or unwise, a government adopt of distributing the incidence of the revenue among different classes of people; from whatever and how many soever different sources, government may obtain its revenue; by whatever hundred-and-one names may these different items of revenue be called;—the sum total of the whole matter is, that out of the annual income of the country, a certain portion is raised for the purposes of government, and the real incidence of this revenue in any country, is the proportion it bears to the actual annual income of the

country, call the different modes of raising this revenue what you like.

Now England raises at present for purposes of government about £ 83,000,000. The income of the United Kingdom is well nigh £ 1,000,000,000* a year. The proportion therefore of the revenue of £ 83,000,000 or even £ 84,000,000, is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. out of the annual income.

Now India's income, as I have first roughly shown in 1870 in my paper on The Wants and Means of India,† and subsequently in my papers on the Poverty of India,‡ is hardly £ 300,000,000 per annum. This statement has not been refuted by any body. On the contrary, Mr. Grant Duff, though cautiously, admitted in his speech in 1871, in these words,—“The Income of British India has been guessed at £ 300,000,000 per annum.” And Lord Mayo quoted Mr. Grant Duff's speech soon after, without any contradiction, but rather with approval. If the fact be otherwise, let government give the correct fact every year. Out of this income of £ 300,000,000, the revenue raised in India for purposes of government is £ 65,000,000 or very near 22 per cent.

Thus, then, the actual heaviness of the weight of revenue on India, is quite $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as that on England. This is the simple fact, that out of the grand income of £ 1,000,000,000—of only 34,000,000 of population, England raises for the purposes of government only $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while out of the poor, wretched income of £ 300,000,000 of a population of nearly 200,000,000—two and half times more, or nearly 22 per cent., are raised in India for the same purpose, and yet people coolly and cruelly write that India is lightly taxed. It must be further realised, what this disproportionate pressure, upon a most prosperous and wealthy community like that of England, and the most wretched, and poverty and famine-stricken people of India, means. To the one, it is not a fleabite, to the other, it is starvation and death of millions, under her present unnatural treatment. For, this is not all. A far deeper and worse depth lies behind.

Let me then once more repeat that out of the grand income of £ 1,000,000,000 a year, England gives only $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for government purposes, while out of the wretched poverty of India of an income of £ 300,000,000—she gives 22 per cent. for purposes of government. Now comes the worst evil of the

* The Westminster Review of January 1876, gives the National production for 1875 of the United Kingdom as £ 28 per head of population. I do not know whether profits of trade are included in this amount. Mr. Grant Duff, in 1871, took £ 800,000,000—or roundly £ 80 per head of population. The population is above 34,000,000—which, at £ 28, gives £ 952,000,000.

† East India Association's Journal, Vol. IX, page 283.

‡ East India Association's Journal, Vols. IX and X.

whole, to which English writers, with few exceptions, always shut their eyes.

Of the £ 83,000,000 of revenue, which is raised in England, every farthing returns in some shape or other to the people themselves. In fact, England pays with one hand, and receives back with the other. And such is the case in every country on the face of the Earth, and so it must be—but poor India is doomed otherwise. Out of the £ 65,000,000, taken out of her wretched income, some £ 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 are never returned to the people, but are eaten up in the country, and taken away out of the country, by those who are not the people of the country—by England, in short. I pass over this mournful topic here, as I have to refer to it again further on.

I may be taken to task, that I am making a very indefinite statement, when I talk of “some £ 30,000,000 or 40,000,000”—as being eaten up and taken away by England. The fault is not mine, but that of government. In 1873, Sir D. Wedderburn moved for a return for the number, salaries &c. of all the services. The return was ordered in July 1873. It is now past 7 years, but has not been made. Again 1879—Mr. Bright moved for returns (salaries &c. 19th June 79) and Sir D. Wedderburn moved for Returns (East India Services—20th and 23rd June 79), and (East India Services—24th June 79). These returns have not yet been made. I hope they are being prepared. When these returns are made, we shall know definitely and clearly what the amount is, that, out of the revenue of £65,000,000, does not at all return to the people of India, but is eaten up in, and carried away from, India every year, by England. Such returns ought to be made every year. Once it is made, the work of succeeding years will be only the alterations or revision for the year, or revised estimates every 2 or 3 years even will do. To government itself, a return like this will be particularly useful. They will then act with clear light, instead of groping in darkness as at present, and though actuated with the best of intentions, still inflicting upon India untold misfortune and miseries. And it will then see, how India, of all other countries in the World, is subjected to a most unnatural and destructive treatment.

The next sections VIII and IX on Trade and Railways, are pervaded with the same fallacies, as those of Mr. Danvers's Memo of 28th June 1880 and to which I replied with my letter of 13th September 1880. I, therefore, do not go over the same ground here again. I need only refer to one statement, the last sentence of para 4 of Section VIII :—

“As to the other half of the excess, which is due to the cost of English Administration, there can hardly be room for doubt

that it is to the advantage of India, to pay the sum really necessary to secure its peaceful government, without which, no progress would be possible; and so long as this condition is not violated, it does not seem material whether a part of the charge has to be met in England or not."

A statement, more wrong in its premises and conclusion, can hardly be met with. Let us see.

By "the other half of the excess" is meant £ 8,000,000.

The Commissioners tell the public, that India pays £ 8,000,000 for securing peaceful government. This is the fiction. What are the facts.

England, of *all* nations on the face of the Earth, enjoys the utmost security of life and property of every kind, from a strong and peaceful government. For this, England "*pays*" £83,000,000 a year.

In the same manner, India "*pays*" not £ 8,000,000, but £ 65,000,000 for the same purpose, and should be able and willing to "*pay*" twice or thrice £ 65,000,000, under natural circumstances, similar to those of England.

Thus, England "*pays*" £ 83,000,000 and India "*pays*" £ 65,000,000 for purposes of peaceful government. But here the parallel ends, and English writers, with very few exceptions, fight shy of going beyond this point, and misstate the matter as is done in the above extract. Let us see what is beyond.

Of the £ 83,000,000 which England "*pays*" for security of life and property, or peaceful government, every farthing returns to the people themselves. It is not even a fleabite or any bite to the people of England that they "*pay*" £ 83,000,000 for peaceful government. They simply give with one hand and receive back with the other. The country and the people enjoy the *full benefit* of every farthing, they either produce in the country or earn with Foreign Trade.

But with India, the *fact* is quite otherwise. Out of the £ 65,000,000, which she "*pays*" like England for peaceful government, £ 30,000,000 or £ 40,000,000 do *not* return to the people of the country. These £ 30,000,000 or £ 40,000,000 are eaten up in the country, and carried away from the country, by a foreign people. The people of India are thus deprived of this enormous amount, year after year, and are, as a natural consequence, weakened more and more every year in their capacity for production, or, in plain words, India is being simply destroyed.

The *Romance* is, that there is security of life and property in India. The reality is, that there is no such thing.

There is security of life and property in one sense or way, *i. e.* the people are secure from any violence from each other or from Native Despots. So far, there is real security of life and

property, and for which India never denies her gratitude. But from England's own grasp, there is no security of property at all, and as a consequence, no security for life. India's property is not secure. What is secure and well secure is, that England is perfectly safe and secure, and does so with perfect security, to carry away from India and to eat up in India, her property at the present rate of some £ 30,000,000 or £40,000,000 a year.

The reality therefore is, that the policy of English rule, as it is (not as it can and should be), is an everlasting, unceasing and every-day-increasing foreign invasion, utterly, though gradually, destroying the country. I venture to submit, that every right-minded Englishman, calmly and seriously considering the problem of the present condition and treatment of India by England, will come to this conclusion.

The old invaders came with the avowed purpose of plundering the wealth of the country. They plundered and went away, or conquered and became the natives of the country. But the great misfortune of India is, that England did *not* mean, or wish, or come, with the intention of plundering, and yet, events have taken a course which has made England the worst Foreign invader, she has had the misfortune to have. India does not get a moment to breathe or revive. 'More Europeans', 'more Europeans', is the eternal cry, and this very Report itself of the Commission is not free from it.

The present position of England in India, has, moreover, produced another most deplorable evil, from which the worst of old foreign invasions was free. That, with the deprivation of the vital, material blood of the country, to the extent of £ 30,000,000 or £ 40,000,000 a year, the whole higher "wisdom" of the country is also carried away.

I therefore venture to submit, that India *does not* enjoy security of her property and life, and also moreover, of "knowledge" or "wisdom." To millions in India, life is simply "half feeding" or starvation, or famines and disease.

View the Indian problem from any point you like, you come back again and again to this central fact, that England takes from India, every year, £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 worth of her property with all the lamentable consequences from such a loss, and with a continuous diminution of the capacity of India for production, together with the moral loss of all higher wisdom.

India would be quite able and willing to "pay," as every other country, or as England "pays," for peaceful government. But no country on the face of the Earth, can stand the deprivation of property that India is subjected to, without being crushed to death.

Suppose England were subjected to such a condition at the hand of some foreign Power; and would she not to a man clamour, that far better would they fly at each other's throat, have strifes in streets of civil wars, or fights in fields for foreign wars, with all the chances of fame or fortune on survival, than to submit to the inglorious, miserable deaths from poverty and famines, with wretchedness and disease in case of survival. I have no hesitation in appealing to any Englishman to say, which of the two deaths he would prefer, and I shall not have to wait long for the reply.

What is property worth to India, which she can only call her own in name, but not in reality, and which her own children cannot enjoy? What is life worth to her, that must perish by millions at the very touch of drought or distress, or can have only a half starving existence?

The confusion and fallacy in the extract I have given above, therefore, consists in this. It is not, that India pays for peaceful government some £ 8,000,000. She pays for it £ 65,000,000, just as England pays £ 84,000,000. But there is one feature peculiar to India. She needs British wise and beneficent guidance and supervision. British aid of this kind can, under any circumstances, be but from outside the Indian family *i. e.* foreign. This aid must be reasonably paid for by India. Now, if the whole foreign agency of European men and materials, required under the direct and indirect control of government, both in India and England, in every shape or form, be clearly laid down, to be confined within the limit of a fixed "foreign list" of say £ 5,000,000, or even say £ 8,000,000, though very much, which the Commissioners ask India should pay, India could very probably pay, without being so destroyed as at present. But the present thoughtless and merciless exhaustion of some £ 30,000,000 or £ 40,000,000, or may be even much more, is crushing, cruel, and destructive.

In fact, leaving the past alone as a misfortune, the continuance of the present Drain, will be, in plain English, nothing less than plunder of an unceasing foreign invasion, and not a reasonable price for a beneficent rule, as the Commissioners wrongly and thoughtlessly endeavour to persuade the public.

The great misfortune of India is, that the temptation or tendency towards selfishness and self-aggrandisement of their own countrymen, is too great and blinding for Englishmen (with few exceptions) connected with India, to see that power is a sacred trust and responsibility for the good of the people. We have this profession to any amount, but unless and till the conscience of England, and of English honest thinkers and statesmen, is awaked, the performance will remain poor or nil as at present.

Lord Ripon said—India needs rest. More true words cannot be spoken. Yes—she needs rest—rest from the present unceasing and ever-increasing foreign invasion, from whose unceasing blows, she has not a moment allowed to breathe.

I said before, that even this Famine Report was not free from the same clamour, “more Europeans, more Europeans.”

Whenever any question of reform arises, the only remedy that suggests itself to English Officials' minds, is, “apply more European leeches, apply more European leeches!”

The Commission suggests the institution of an Agricultural Department, and a very important suggestion it is. But they soon forget, that it is *for India* this is required, and that it is at India's expense it has to be done, that it is from India's wretched income has this expenditure to be provided, and that India cannot afford to have more blood suck out of her for more Europeans, and deprive so much her own children; in short, that native agency, under a good English head or two, would be the most natural and proper agency for the purpose. No, prostrate as India is and for which very reason, the Commission was appointed to suggest a remedy, they can only say, “more Europeans”—as if no such thing as a people existed in India.

Were any Englishman to make such a proposal for England,—that French or German youths be instructed at England's expense, and that such youths make up the different public departments, he would be at once scouted and laughed at. And yet, these Commissioners thoughtlessly and seriously suggest and recommend to aggravate the very evil for which they were expected to suggest a remedy.

I appeal most earnestly to His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, that though the department suggested by the Commissioners is very important, His Lordship would not adopt the mode which the Commissioners have suggested with good intentions, but with thoughtlessness, about the rights and needs of India. That with the exception of some thoroughly qualified necessary Europeans at the head, the whole agency ought to be native, on the lines described by the Commissioners. There can be no lack of natives of the kind required, or, it would be a very poor compliment indeed, to the Educational exertions of the English rulers during the past half a century.

A new danger is now threatening India. Hitherto India's wealth *above* the surface of the land has been draining away to England. Now the wealth *under* the surface of the land, will also be taken away, and India lies prostrate and unable to help herself. England has taken away her capital. That same capital will be brought to take away all such mineral wealth of the country, as requires application of large capital and expensive machinery.

With the exception of the employment of the lower class of bodily and mental labourers, the larger portion of the produce will, in several shapes, be eaten up and carried away by the Europeans, first as servants, and next in profits and dividends, and poor India will have to thank her stars, that she will get some crumbs, in the lower employments of her children. And great will be the sounding of trumpets of the wealth found in India, and the blessings conferred on India, just as we have sickeningly dinned into our ears, day after day, about Railways, Foreign Trade, &c.

Now, this may sound very strange, that knowing full well the benefits of foreign capital to any country, I should complain of its going to India.

There is, under present circumstances, one great difference in the modes in which English capital goes to every other country and India. To every other country, English capitalists *lend*, and there is an end of their connection with the matter. The *people* of the country use and enjoy the benefit of the capital in every way, and pay to the capitalists their interest or dividend, and as some capitalists know to their cost, not even that. But, with India, the case is quite different. English capitalists do not merely lend, but with their capital, they themselves invade the country. The produce of the capital is mostly eaten up by their own countrymen, and after that, they carry away the rest in the shape of profits and dividends. The people themselves of the country, *do not* derive the same benefit, which is derived by every other country from English Capital. The guaranteed Railways, not only ate up everything in this manner, but compelled India to make up the guaranteed interest also from her produce. The remedy then was adopted of making State Railways. Now under the peculiar circumstances of India's present prostration, state-works would be, no doubt, the best means of securing to India the benefits of English capital. But the misfortune is, that the same canker eats into the state-works also,—the same eating up of the substance by European Employés. The plan by which India can be really benefited would be, that all kinds of public works, or mines, or all works that require capital, be undertaken by the state, with English capital and *native* agency, with some thoroughly competent Europeans at the head, as may be absolutely necessary.

Supposing that there was even extravagance or loss, government making up any deficiency of the interest of the loans from general revenue, will not matter much, though there is no reason why, with proper care, a native agency cannot be formed good enough for efficient and economic working. Anyhow, in such a case, the people of India will then really derive the

benefit of English capital, as every other country does, with the certainty of English capitalists getting their interest from the government, who have complete control over the revenues of India, and can, without fail, provide for the interest.

For some time, therefore, and till India, by a change in the present destructive policy of heavy European agency, has revived and is able to help herself in a free field, it is necessary, that all great undertakings which India herself is unable to carry out for developing the resources of the country, should be undertaken by the State, but carried out chiefly by native agency, and by preparing natives for the purpose. Then, will India recover her blood from every direction. India sorely needs the aid of English capital. But it is English *capital* that she needs, and not the English invasion, to come also and eat up both capital and produce.

As things are taking their course at present with regard to the gold mines, if they prove successful, great will be the trumpeting of India's wealth being increased, while it will all be being carried away by England.

In the United States, the people of the country enjoy all the benefits of their mines and public works with English capital, and pay to England her fair interest; and in cases of failures of the schemes, while the people have enjoyed the benefit of the capital, sometimes both capital and interest are gone. The schemes fail, and the lenders of capital may lament, but the people have enjoyed the capital and the produce, as far as they went.

I have no doubt, that in laying my views plainly before the Secretary of State, my motives or sentiments towards the British rule, will not be misunderstood. I believe, that the result of the British rule *can be* a blessing to India, and a glory to England,—a result worthy of the foremost and most humane nation on the face of the Earth. I desire that this should take place, and I therefore lay my humble views before our rulers without shrinking. It is no pleasure to me to dwell incessantly on the wretched, heart-rending, blood-boiling condition of India. None will rejoice more than myself, if my views are proved to be mistaken. The sum total of all is, that without any such intention or wish, and with every desire for the good of India, England has, in reality, been the most disastrous and destructive foreign invader of India, and under present lines, unceasingly and every-day increasingly continues to be so. This unfortunate *fact* is to be boldly faced by *England*; and I am sanguine that, if once England realises this position, she would recoil from it and vindicate to the World her great mission of Humanity and Civilization among mankind. I am writing to English *gentlemen*,

and I have no fear, but that they would receive my sincere utterances with the generosity and love of justice of English gentlemen.

In concluding these remarks, I feel bound to say, that as far as I can judge from Mr. Caird's separate paper on the Condition of India, he appears to have realised the abnormal economical condition of India and I cannot but feel the true English manliness and moral courage he has displayed, that, though he went out an avowed defender of the Indian government, he spoke out his convictions, and what he saw within his opportunities. India needs the help of such manly, conscientious, true-hearted English gentlemen to study and probe her forlorn condition, and India may then fairly hope for ample redress ere long, at England's hands and conscience.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 4th January 1881.

—o—

India Office, S. W.,
16th February 1881.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council, to acknowledge your letters of the 16th November, and 4th January last, with accompaniments.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
T. L. SECCOMBE.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.



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INDIA REVISITED:

ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

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BY

SAMUEL SMITH, M.P.

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"THE INDUSTRIAL TRAINING OF DESTITUTE CHILDREN,"
"FALLACIES OF SOCIALISM EXPOSED," "BI-METALLIC MONEY,"
"GOLD AND SILVER," &c. &c.

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P 9

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INDIA REVISITED:

ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

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I PAID a visit to India during the height of the American War, in 1863, to enquire into its Cotton-growing capacity. My travels were then confined to the Bombay Presidency. Since then I have had extensive commercial relations with the country, and have kept up an interest in its affairs so far as a busy life permitted. On losing my seat in Parliament last November, I carried out a long cherished project to revisit India and study its institutions more fully, and now venture to recapitulate the results of my enquiries. My course lay from Bombay to Calcutta, through the North-West Provinces, and my information was drawn from observation and contact with all classes of people. I associated equally with Europeans and natives, and especially sought to understand the views taken by the latter. I met many highly educated native gentlemen, and the information obtained from them is among the most valuable results of my trip. I also read the best literature I could obtain bearing on the present position of India, and I purpose in the following pages to summarise my principal deductions from the evidence brought before me.

I am well aware of the folly of pretending to sit in judgment on the government of India, after a couple of visits, separated by an interval of twenty-three years.

The vastness and complexity of Indian questions grow upon the mind increasingly, and the wider your knowledge the greater is your sense of ignorance. India is, in fact, a continent rather than a country—a congeries of races and languages, not a nation. What is true in one part is false in another. What is politic in the Punjaub is folly in Bengal. What is suitable for the North is out of place in the South. Consequently all generalisations are dangerous. To assert general laws for India is like laying down principles for all Europe. The frontier tribes differ as much from the Bengalees or Madrasees as Finland differs from Naples. Consequently great caution is needed in writing about India, and the difficulty is increased by the vehement contradiction one meets on every point of Indian policy. The views of the Indians and Europeans are often diametrically opposed. The official and non-official class differ widely from each other. Indian problems, looked at from the points of view of a native, a civilian, a missionary, or a soldier, are about as different as the starry heavens, looked at through the telescope of Newton or the eye of an ancient astrologer.

There is no agreement in India either upon facts or inferences. All statistics are disputed—all conclusions are questioned. A traveller no sooner ascertains what he thinks is a well-established fact, than he finds it vehemently disputed. He finds human testimony as unreliable as most of the evidence tendered before Indian courts of law, and he almost despairs of arriving at any valid conclusions.

This difficulty will not be felt by those who confine themselves to one class of opinion; for many travel through India with blinders, only seeing what official optimists wish them to see. You may remain entirely ignorant of what is thought by the 250 millions of people who inhabit the country. Nothing is easier than to dogmatise when

only evidence on one side is heard; but when an attempt to judge honestly is made, amid the Babel of contradictions one hears, the task is enough to daunt the boldest.

It is, therefore, with much diffidence that I offer some remarks on the strange phenomena of our Indian Empire, so unlike anything the world has ever seen, that no historical analogies give much aid in comprehending it.

I begin by observing, that the general opinion at home is that India is enormously indebted to British rule; that we have converted a land of anarchy and misrule into one of peace and contentment; that poverty is giving place to plenty, and a low, corrupt civilization to one immensely higher. It is somewhat of a shock to the optimist to learn that every one of these points is contested by well-educated and intelligent natives; instead of contentment, one finds in many places great dissatisfaction, and a widespread belief that India is getting poorer and less happy. Without at present controverting these opinions, I will offer some remarks upon the social economy of the country, which are necessary to any true understanding of Indian problems.

The first and deepest impression made upon me by this second visit to India is a heightened sense of the poverty of the country. It is greater and more wide-spread than almost any one in England realizes, and the most important political consequences follow from the recognition of this fact. I have taken some pains to form an estimate of the wealth of India, and have been startled at the result. The late able Finance Minister, Major (now Sir Evelyn) Baring, estimated the average income of the people at 27 rupees per head, say £2 0s 6d at the present exchange of 1s 6d per rupee; but as Indian accounts are all kept at the old rate of 2s per rupee, for the sake of comparison with former years, it may be reckoned as £2 14s per head per annum. That would give 540 millions

as the total income of the 200 millions* of people who inhabit British India. Our best statisticians put the aggregate income of the 36 millions of people who inhabit the United Kingdom at 1250 millions, or about £35† per head, against £2 14s per head in India. I must add, however, that the most intelligent natives I met put the income of India at less than those figures. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, than whom there are few better statisticians in India, puts the average income at only 20 rupees per head, or 400 millions sterling for British India. These very low estimates are confirmed by much collateral evidence. The average rate of wages up country is from 2 to 4 annas for common labour, or say, at the former value of the rupee 3d to 6d per day—about a tenth of what is paid for the same class of labour in England. Then the income-tax tables show a marvellously small area of high incomes. It is well known that a penny on the income tax produces about two millions sterling in England, and the assessment commences with incomes of £150 per annum. In India the same rate, commencing with incomes of £50 per annum, but with some large exceptions (such as the native Zemindars, or land owners), produces rather over £200,000 per annum. The comparison is not at all an exact one, but, speaking broadly, I should say that an income tax in India only yields one-eighth, or one-tenth, of what it does in the United Kingdom, though the population is six times as large. The great complaints in many parts of India as to the pressure of the land revenue tell the same tale. The whole amount collected is 22 millions sterling, which is little over 2s per head of the population. It is hard to believe how so small a tax

* India contains, by the last Census, 254 millions of people, of whom 200 millions are in British territory.

† I incline to think this is too high, especially since the great fall in values that has recently taken place.

should press heavily; yet I fear it is an undoubted fact, that in the poorer parts of the country it is collected with difficulty, and in years of scarcity causes no little suffering. The produce of the land is extremely small, according to European standards, and I much doubt whether the entire agricultural produce of British India exceeds in value 300 millions sterling.

The fact is human life is supported in India upon the barest minimum of necessaries; the village population feed upon the commonest grains, seldom eating animal food (which is contrary to their religion), and rarely tasting the finer grains, such as wheat and barley. The clothing worn is of the scantiest, and I was distressed to see many of the people in the North-West Provinces shivering and half naked in weather so cold that I was glad to wear two topcoats. The houses are built of clay, and almost destitute of furniture, and I understand that a large portion of the population only eat one meal a day. Of course this in an Eastern country does not signify what it does in Europe—life can be sustained on less food and less nutritious diet than in northern climes; the labour power of the Hindoos is small, there is far less taken out of the human machine than in our laborious western life; it consumes less and produces less; besides the Asiatic has the power of digesting a greater quantity of food at one meal than is possible to Europeans; but, when due allowance is made for all this, it is not to be denied that the poverty of a great part of the people of India is extreme and more acute than what we witness in Europe. It may be said with truth of a great part of the rural population that it is never far removed from famine. A scanty harvest any year brings that calamity within measurable distance; a failure of crops means death to a large part of the population unless fed by government.

A clear conception of the economical state of India is

essential to sound views of public policy, and to a right comprehension of what the natives think and desire.

I now wish to express as briefly as I can the objections taken by the natives to our system of government, and I remark in the first place that there is now an educated native tribunal by which our actions are closely scrutinised. This constitutes a totally new element in Indian problems as compared with former times. When the British acquired India they found a primitive but decaying civilization, and no education worthy of the name. They became of necessity the supreme power in the country, as they alone possessed the intelligence required for civilized government; but a new state of things has grown up owing to the excellent system of higher education we have planted in India these last fifty years. In all the important cities there are now first class schools and colleges—many of them the noble result of missionary enterprise—for be it remembered to their honour that the European missionaries were the pioneers of education. But the Government has now entered the field in good earnest; besides, many of the wealthy natives are contributing endowments and forming schools of their own, and an intense eagerness for Western knowledge is taking hold of the Indian people. You now meet in India many graduates of their Universities as accomplished as those of Oxford and Cambridge; not a few of their youth have visited England and Scotland and completed their education there, and they bring back to India our own habits of vigorous thought and criticism. An intelligent native public opinion, and a free native press, are now judging the governing class, and its policy is viewed from a very different standpoint to what the official Europeans and the British public are accustomed to take. I may add further, that in many interviews with the leading natives I was impressed most favourably with the fairness

and logical acumen of the Hindoo mind. There was no attempt to talk clap-trap, or to draw unfair inferences; there was a tone of moderation and willingness to look all round a subject which are characteristic of a well balanced intellect. When India becomes generally educated, as only the few there are at present, it will be an intellectual force of the first magnitude.

The general tone of educated native opinion is much less favourable than we could wish to the methods and results of British rule in India. I will touch upon some of the principal objections they urge against it.

They complain that it is much too expensive, and drains the country of its wealth. The administration of the country is, as every one knows, almost entirely in the hands of highly paid Europeans. The lower posts are mostly filled by natives. The scale of pay was fixed many years ago, to stop corruption and to attract a higher class of talent. It has effected both these ends.

The covenanted civil service, which supplies most of the high offices, is a body of able and upright men. With the rarest exceptions no charge of corruption is made against it, and it discharges its arduous duties with fidelity, and I believe in most cases with a real desire to do the best possible for the people. The scale of pay is not too high, judged by our English standard, and its effective power has been much reduced of late years owing to the fall of the rate of exchange from 2s to 1s 6d per rupee. In India salaries are all paid in silver, but most of the European officials have to remit home a large part of their income to maintain their families, for it is well known that the children of Europeans can hardly be brought up in India after the age of five or six. There is, therefore, in reality much grumbling, and not a little pinching, among the European official class at what is a virtual reduction of income.

But the matter appears wholly different when looked at from a native point of view. Their scale of living is immensely cheaper than ours. An income of £100 per annum counts for almost as much among them as one of £500 with us. They view with envy the salaries of the higher officials, and think they could replace them with native officials, who would be well paid at half, or quarter, their salaries. Then they hold that these salaries are not spent in India, as those of natives would be. A large portion of them is remitted to England for domestic expenditure there, and when the officials retire from service they draw a pension from the Government of India. This pension list is very large, and is looked upon as a drain upon the resources of India, not making due allowance for the equivalent that has been rendered in the shape of good service. Then the natives hold that the cost of the army—some 18 millions sterling, at the old rate of exchange—is very high; the European part of it—60,000 to 70,000 men—is extremely costly. White men require many comforts and luxuries in a tropical climate which they do not need at home. I suppose each white soldier costs nearly double in India what he does in England, and probably three or four times what the native Sepoy does, but the need of this is not obvious to the Indian mind. I do not find that many intelligent Hindoos wish to diminish the force of the army. They are alive to the need of being strong against foreign invasion, and they know that the nucleus of the Anglo-Indian army is the European force; but they think it is maintained at undue cost. Great additions have been made to its expense by regulations passed in England, and only suitable for the home army, but not needed in India. The pension list and non-effective charges are very heavy, and the natives complain that no army in the world costs nearly as much in proportion to its strength as the British army in India.

They also complain that in the division of the expenses between the Home Government and India the scales are not held fairly, and many items are debited to India which ought to be borne by England. This is a great grievance, and excites much discontent in India. It is the one point on which all classes agree; European and Native alike hold that India is not treated fairly by the British Exchequer. There is no subject to which it is more necessary that the attention of the Parliamentary Committee about to be appointed should be directed, and unless ample opportunity be given for native evidence the whole truth will not be brought out. Then it is urged with much warmth, that India has been unjustly saddled with the cost of expeditions in which she had no interest. Much soreness is felt at the claim made for part of the cost of the Egyptian War, and for the recent expense of the expedition to Upper Burmah. If the British Parliament was aware how much indignation these exactions cause in India, it would revise its policy. It is not that the sums are so large in themselves, but it is felt to be unfair that a rich country should charge a poor one with the cost of wars about which it was never consulted, and in which it feels no concern. Speaking broadly, the native opinion is that British government is very costly. The expenditure has been creeping up year by year, till it now reaches 75 millions per annum (at the old exchange), and for many years past deficits have been the rule rather than the exception; the national debt has been steadily growing, and is now about 160 millions, some of which, however, is covered by State railways and other public works.

It is right I should mention here that much misunderstanding exists about Indian finance. A large portion of the receipts of the Indian exchequer are not revenue in the sense of taxation—the railways are nearly all made either by the State, or under State guarantee,

and therefore their receipts are treated as revenue—the same remark applies to other public works, especially irrigation canals; and the large opium revenue may be said, in a certain sense, to be paid by China. The actual revenue raised by taxation in India is only some forty millions, of which fully half is from the land. The State in India holds a position to the land which has been sometimes described as that of landlord; but it is more correct to say that, from time immemorial, it has been held to be entitled to a certain share of the produce of the soil. If, then, we reckon the revenue from land as having some analogy to rent the scale of taxation appears light according to a European standard; yet it is not so in reality. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the proofs of extreme poverty that meet one, and the universal complaint of the natives is that taxation is high under British rule. They generally assert that taxation is lighter in States under Native rule; and I was rather startled by the statement, frequently made, that the condition of the Ryots, or peasantry, was better there than in British territory. I am not prepared to offer any opinion on this point, as the evidence is so conflicting; it may be that the mode of raising the revenue has something to do with it. The ancient method in the Native States, still pursued in some of them, is to take a certain share of the produce; this has the advantage of distributing the burden fairly over good and bad seasons; the payment rises and falls with the yield of the land. In our territory Government exacts a fixed rent in money—a much lower one, our officers allege, than was charged in former times by the Native Governments—and this is levied without regard to season, except when there is such complete failure of crops that the general Government permits remissions to be made.

It is alleged, I know not with what truth, that the collection of the revenue in poor years often forces the

Ryot to borrow from the money lender, and that when he gets into debt he never gets out of it again. Certainly the natives all prefer the system of taking a share of the actual produce to a fixed rent; but how it is possible to work so cumbrous a system over so vast an area they do not clearly show. I think, if the truth were told, it would probably amount to this, that the natives in British India both pay more and get more than in the Native States. In the latter they have little or no education, few roads, few or no police, no sanitation, and few courts of justice—these are all expensive adjuncts of modern civilization; they exist in British India, they cannot now be dispensed with, nay they are sure to increase as civilization extends.

In our own country municipal rates and local burdens have immensely increased of late years; but this is owing to the spread of enlightenment and the requirement that Government (local or imperial) should do much that our forefathers did not think necessary. Every nation that advances from a primitive to a higher civilization passes through the same experience. India is becoming a civilized Government at a civilized cost. She complains of this because the masses do not as yet appreciate the blessings of civilization. The little rural communes, of which the great bulk of the Indian population is composed, would still, if left to themselves, be seed plots of cholera and small-pox; they would drink foul water out of polluted wells; they would vegetate as their forefathers did for thousands of years; but European energy is changing all this, and the process is costly. The Native States are slow to follow; in many of them the process has hardly begun; and no doubt the people, till they know better, prefer to live as their ancestors did. There are sections of the people of England to this day who resist the visits of the education officer and the sanitary inspector; if left to themselves, they would wallow in dirt and ignorance.

We need not be surprised if the people of India, with the languor and apathy that belong to all Oriental races, somewhat rebel against our restless progress.

I give this as a partial explanation of the statement often made to me, that the people in the Native States are better off and more contented than in British territory; but however this may be, there can be no doubt of the antipathy felt in India to further annexations of Native States. The annexation of Upper Burmah is very unpopular among the natives, and the reason alleged to me was that it shakes their confidence in our oft-repeated declarations that no further Indian annexations will be made. They fear that pretexts will be found to enter on a fresh career of aggression, and it should be well understood in England that no such course can be entered upon without giving mortal offence to the people of India, and destroying all faith in the pledges of the British Government.

I have said that the chief complaint which educated Indians made against our Government was that it is too expensive, and that it drained the country of its wealth. A few words upon this latter head.

The great increase of the foreign trade of India is regarded with pride by the British. It has grown from 18 millions 50 years ago to a total volume of 140 millions sterling, reckoned at the old rate of exchange. It is argued that this implies a great increase of wealth, and is a most striking proof of the material progress of India. The view taken by the natives themselves is widely different, and it is very important that it should be laid before the British public. It is held by them that the foreign trade represents the decay of native industries, and the payment of a heavy tribute to England. I will take the last head first.

The statistics of foreign trade show that India exports

much more than she imports, and this balance has been steadily increasing, till it now averages from 20 to 25 millions annually. Speaking broadly it may be said that India now exports 80 to 90 millions, nearly all agricultural produce, and imports about 50 millions of merchandise and 10 to 12 millions of treasure. She is in the position so ardently desired by the nations of Europe before the time of Adam Smith, when the chief advantage of foreign trade was thought to lie in a surplus of exports to be paid for in bullion. The clearer light of economical science in our days has dissipated this illusion, and we know well that a surplus of exports means a poor country, while a surplus of imports (as in England) means a rich country. The natives press this point against us; they argue that as India exports annually 20 to 25 millions, for which there is no commercial return, she is drained of her wealth to that extent. The case will appear even stronger if we consider that the value of the imports of any country includes the cost of carrying the goods, viz: freight and commercial charges, and consequently nearly every country shows a greater value of imports than exports. The United Kingdom, it is well known, shows an annual net surplus of over 100 millions sterling of imports, of which about half represents freight and the remainder interest on foreign investments. All European countries show a surplus of imports, more or less, and if India were only to receive the exact equivalent of her exports, she ought to import 90 to 100 millions, including bullion, in place of 60 to 70 millions as she does now, so that the real balance of trade against India appears to be some 30 millions annually. The question arises, how are we to account for this? Does it really represent, as some of the natives allege, an exhausting tribute paid to England?

We require to glance at the relations of the two countries in order to understand it. One great part of the work

done by the British Government in India has been to cover the country with a network of railways, and make several valuable irrigation canals. In most countries such works are done by private enterprise, but it was necessary, in the undeveloped state of India, that they should either be done directly, or be guaranteed, by the State; moreover the capital had nearly all to be drawn from England. India has little surplus capital of its own, and what it has can be invested at much higher rates of interest than prevail in Europe, and so it came to pass that the great bulk had to be borrowed from England, on which interest at about 4 per cent had to be paid in gold. The Indian Government has also contracted a large National Debt, say 161 millions sterling; part of it covered by public works, but the greater part, say about 100 millions, of the nature of our own and other national debts. The upshot of the whole matter is that upwards of 7 millions annually has to be remitted to England for interest by the Government of India; about as much more has to be remitted for pensions, military charges, stores, &c; making in all a sum of 15 millions a year for "Home charges." This represents the Government side of the account; but there is also a vast amount of private remittance from merchants and others in India who have capital employed or invested in that country. Most of the tea, coffee, and indigo plantations are worked by European capital, the foreign trade is nearly all so carried on, and there is much money annually remitted by Government servants for the maintenance of their families in England. When all these items are added together it is possible that they may amount to about 15 millions annually, and so account for this adverse balance of 30 millions in the trade account of India.

It will be seen that for most of this annual remittance India has received back a fair return. The railways and public works now yield an annual surplus to the Govern-

ment after paying interest, and the private capital invested in India is also highly reproductive, and gives employment and maintenance to many of its people; but there is another portion on which the benefit to India is not so conspicuous. I refer to the pension list and military charges in England, and the interest on the National Debt, contracted for warlike expeditions. It is not difficult to represent this as a burden imposed by a foreign power, and which India, if freed from British rule, could shake off. Matters have not come to that point yet; but it is easy to see, from the spread of anti-English literature and the influence of revolutionary thought coming in from Europe, that sooner or later such ideas will take root in India, and it becomes a grave question of policy whether it is wise for the Government to keep adding to the Indian debt held abroad. England has probably a stake of 300 millions sterling in India, in one shape or another. For much of that she has conferred a full equivalent in the shape of reproductive works; but, looking to the peculiar relations of the two countries, and to the fact that it is British rule which is the main security for the due payment of interest on this vast amount, one cannot but look with apprehension to the future. Were it possible to raise loans in India from the native capitalists, the solution would be much simpler; but at present that is impossible on any large scale.

I said that another reason why the natives looked with jealousy on the growth of the foreign trade of India was, that it was largely at the expense of their home industries. It is hardly realized in England, that our cheap machine-made goods have destroyed the bulk of the old hand-made manufactures of India. At one time a considerable part of the population was so employed. India now imports about 35 millions worth of manufactured goods, chiefly cotton cloth, hardware and pottery, which were once

made at home. If we allow £2 per head as the annual income of each person in India, the making of their goods must once have sustained about 17 millions of people. Now they are imported, no doubt at a cheaper cost, and according to the formulæ of political economy the labour and capital so employed can be turned to more profitable directions, and India be a great gainer; but it so happens that the hand-loom weavers and the small artificers who made these goods in this simple native fashion, and as a hereditary calling, had no other trade to turn to. The capital which was their trained handicraft was destroyed, and they had either to starve, or take up vacant land for farming, or become coolies. Most of them took to agriculture; but it was a hard struggle to live, for all the good soil was already taken up, and they had to reclaim from the jungle barren land, on which they could barely subsist. The general result has been, to make India more than ever a country of poor peasants, with little variety of pursuits. Of course this process greatly increases the foreign trade. The people of India require to export a large portion of the produce of the soil, in order to buy their clothing and utensils, and another large portion to liquidate the "Home charges" and private remittances made to England. When thus analysed, it will be seen that it is futile to reckon increase of foreign trade as equivalent to increase of wealth; it is rather a substitution of foreign for domestic exchange. The food and raw produce are exchanged against the cloth and hardware of England, instead of against the products of innumerable small makers at home.

Yet there are some aspects in which the increased trade really means increased wealth. The railways have made many districts accessible which were not so before. Where surplus food was almost worthless, it now finds a ready market, and in times of scarcity and famine the

surplus of one part of India is quickly made available to supply the deficit in another part. No one can doubt that the railway carries with it both material and moral civilization. It tends to break up those foolish caste prejudices, which have been the bane of India for thousands of years, and it enables the whole produce of the country to find a ready market.

It must also be remembered, that though the old hand manufactures of India are dying out, they are being replaced by the improved methods of European manufactures. Bombay resembles a Lancashire town in the number of its smoky chimnies. It has nearly seventy cotton mills, fitted with the best machinery of Oldham, and paying much better dividends than similar factories do in England. The jute manufacturing trade is leaving Dundee for the valley of the Ganges, and no one can doubt that India will in course of time recover much of the trade she has lost, and compete with Europe on equal terms. Labour is so immensely cheaper than in England, and the natives are so quick at the use of their fingers, that I suspect it is only a question of time to transfer to India much of the trade of Lancashire. Already the Bombay mills have nearly deprived Lancashire of the trade with China in cotton yarn, and there are symptoms of still greater changes in the future. India is just now in a transition state. She has lost most of her primitive manufactures, and the change has been very painful, but she is acquiring the improved methods of Europe, and they will largely compensate her in course of time.

One more remark before I pass from the question of the value of India's foreign trade. It is often asked what has become of the huge amount of bullion that India has absorbed in recent years? She has received on balance some 350 millions sterling of silver and gold in the last forty years. What has become of it all? Many writers in

England hold that this is a great proof of wealth. It is not so regarded in India; it is extremely difficult to say what becomes of the money; no one could give me a satisfactory answer; it is apparently diffused over that vast population, either in the form of coin or ornaments, and shows little visible sign of existence; probably much of it is hoarded. There still remains in India the feeling of mistrust, burned into the mind of the people through ages of pillage and anarchy. No property is considered by the villagers quite secure unless it can be hidden. Banks and bank notes are very little used; the rupee has to perform the ordinary exchanges of 250 millions of people, and everything that can be spared is put upon the women in the shape of rings, bracelets, anklets, and other ornaments. Of late years a considerable part of the bullion imported—fully one-third—is in gold, and it is said that much of this goes into the Native States, where the rajahs and rich natives are fond of display. I doubt whether any safe conclusion can be drawn as to the wealth and prosperity of the masses of the people merely on account of this absorption of bullion; still it is undoubted that India has greatly replenished her currency as compared with the early part of the century, when it was deplorably scanty, and when the rudest means had to be adopted for the purpose of exchange.

Before parting from the subject of Indian trade, I would further remark that the natives strongly assert that England forces upon them a fiscal policy, unsuited for their country but adapted to develop British commerce; the system of taxation, they allege, is adapted to suit England rather than India, and this causes much heartburning and is a source of political danger in the future. The unanimous opinion of all who know India well is that it is not suited for direct taxation; the fiscal and economical canons of advanced countries like England are altogether untrue as applied to India. There are few greater dangers which

beset British rule in India than this tendency to apply crudely to it the latest deductions of political economy in England. Many of these, which are treated as axioms of universal application, are only true of highly developed communities, where the right of free contract and free competition has lasted for centuries, and where it has produced a robustness of individual type which is wholly wanting in India, as indeed it is in all Asiatic countries. It would be as reasonable to impose by main force upon India our religion, our laws of marriage and inheritance, our political and social institutions, as our economical and financial views. I can hardly sufficiently convey my sense of the danger as well as the injustice of so acting. Systems of law and finance which are quite suitable for the West may become the parents of as much oppression in the East as the worst abuses of despotism. Of all classes of people that endanger our Eastern Empire, the worst are the narrow pedants who apply cut-and-dry formulas of European thought without mercy to the complex and widely different civilization of the East. One instance, of many that might be cited, is the action of England as regards the repeal of the import duties. India used to raise a considerable revenue from these duties without the least complaint from the native population, but they were abolished in deference to the urgent remonstrances of Manchester, and since then the Indian Government in its extremity has been obliged to resort to taxes which are hateful to the population and injurious to their welfare.

If British India were polled to-day, there would hardly be one person out of its 200 millions who would not reimpose those import duties in preference to a further increase of the land tax, or the iniquitous liquor laws, which are rapidly spreading drunkenness among the people of Bengal, in order to supply revenue to the Government. The standing difficulty of the Government of India is how

to obtain revenue. The finances are always strained, and it is next to impossible to devise new taxes which do not oppress the people, or invade some of their deeply cherished customs. Now the import duties did none of these; they hardly added perceptibly to the cost of the articles imported; they carried no inquisition into people's private lives, and they did not afford opportunity for speculation, which most forms of taxation do in India. If India had representative government of its own, there is not the least doubt that it would draw much of its revenue from customs duties, like most other nations of the world. A tax of 10 per cent on imports of manufactured goods would yield three or four millions sterling, and enable it to dispense with the income tax, and most of the liquor duties. A tax of 20 per cent would enable it to reduce considerably the land assessment in those large districts where the peasantry are hardly able to exist, and where the collection of the tax in poor seasons often drives them into bankruptcy. It is not necessary that these duties should be protective; it would be quite easy to levy an equivalent duty on the produce of the Indian factories. England might justly complain of taxing her goods to build up competing manufactories in India; but if equal treatment were applied to all, she would have no reason to object.

One thing is perfectly certain—just as public opinion becomes enlightened in India, and the natives claim the share that justly belongs to them in the government of their country, they will shape its fiscal policy in a way suited to India, and not always agreeable to the commercial classes of England. The only true guide to our policy in this, as in all other matters, is to follow the course best for the people of India, without regard to the supposed interests, or prejudices, of the dominant country.

I will here allude briefly to the objections alleged by the

natives to an income tax. It seems to us most just that the richer classes should contribute more than they do to the government of the country. In India the weight of taxation falls on the poor, and it is difficult to devise any better means than an income tax to get at the rich. It falls on Europeans as well as on natives, and this is altogether expedient, for the Europeans draw a handsome revenue from the country, and have hitherto paid little taxation. The total number of people affected by the proposed income tax of 6d in the pound is only 300,000—a striking proof of the poverty of the country; and the amount expected to be raised is £1,300,000. All incomes above £50 per annum are to be assessed, with some important exceptions, as already stated. Now, the great objection of the natives is the power of oppression it puts into the hands of the lower native officials. The estimate of income is usually made by the lower officials of the revenue department, who are poorly paid, often uneducated and usually corrupt; so, at least, I was repeatedly informed by the natives themselves. They told me that the only principle on which a native was assessed was the amount of “backsheesh” he was willing to pay. One man would be put at ten times the amount of another, unless he paid blackmail to the assessor. It was impossible for the European supervisor to overlook the innumerable details of such a tax; hence endless opportunities for peculation and fraud. This is the inherent objection to all systems of direct taxation in India. An army of ignorant, poorly paid native subordinates must be employed to enforce them, and it is wholly impossible to prevent extortion and robbery. No one trained in England can imagine the extent to which this takes place in India, as in all Asiatic countries, and the true method of taxation is that which reduces this evil to a minimum. Much of the same objection applies even to the land revenue when the time

for revising the settlement arrives. It is well known that most of the land of India is periodically re-assessed every thirty years. When that time approaches uneasiness almost amounting to panic fills the minds of the rural population. If the revenue officer happens to be a severe man, or the Government to be hard up for money, a large extra assessment may be the result. Then arises the danger of widespread corruption; the army of native officials that is needed to survey and value the millions of small holdings—often not more than four or five acres in extent—hold the fortunes of the cultivators at their mercy. All sorts of pressure are exerted to squeeze the helpless peasantry, and I feel strongly convinced, from much of what I heard, that far more is taken out of the pockets of the Ryots than reaches the Government in the shape of revenue. The chief district officers, who are always Europeans, do their utmost to check this, and if they are able and vigilant men, and move freely among the people, they may succeed to a considerable extent; but I fear there is more leakage than is generally suspected, and so harassing are these re-settlements of the land that I greatly doubt the wisdom of disturbing old arrangements when working fairly well.

I will again refer to the Indian land system. My present object is to illustrate the inherent difficulties of all kinds of direct taxation in India, even so simple and ancient a one as the land tax. They all require an army of collectors, they all involve an inquisition into a man's private affairs which is far more hateful to Asiatics than Europeans, and above all they afford unbounded opportunity for speculation and oppression. All these vices are rampant in the Native States. They existed in India on a gigantic scale during the age of Mahommedan rule, and in spite of the best efforts of the English officials, who are as a rule incorruptible themselves, they still exist, I fear,

to a greater extent than is suspected. I could not otherwise account for the bitter complaints I heard in some places as to the exactions for land revenue. I emphasize this subject more fully, for I foresee that one of the great dangers of the future is in forcing on India the fiscal and economical maxims of England, for which she is quite unprepared.

It is now time that I should deal with the remedies which the educated natives propose for these defects of British administration. I was surprised to find so general an agreement both as to the evils and the remedies. At Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, as well as in the interior towns, I found something like solidarity of opinion on the main lines of reform. They were agreed that the chief defects of British government were its costliness, its tendency to subordinate Indian to British interests, and its exclusion of the natives from most of the leading and highly paid posts of the government. At some points I found more bitterness of feeling than at others; probably race antagonism has reached its maximum at Calcutta and its minimum at Madras; but no where did I find much violence or unreasonableness of opinion, nor any considerable trace of what may be termed active disloyalty. The educated natives have no desire to get rid of British rule; they admit it has conferred many advantages on India; they know that the elements of anarchy would soon burst out afresh if the strong hand of the European were withdrawn; and, above all, they know well that India would soon become the prize of some foreign invader if her weak native races were left to themselves. What they wish is not to overthrow British authority, but to mould it into a truer Indian form, and above all to get a substantial share of the administration, and an effective voice in determining the policy of the Government.

Up to the present time it may be said that our

Government has been a paternal despotism. We have ruled India by means of a European Bureaucracy, recruited from England through the "Covenanted Civil Service," and largely supplemented in India by appointments made from the army through the staff corps, and from outside civilians usually styled "uncovenanted." A few thousand British officers, partly civil and partly military, administer the affairs of India, subject to the general supervision of the Viceroy and local Governors sent out from England, and, in the last resort, to the Secretary of State for India aided by his Council at home.

It will be seen at a glance, and without descending to details, that the natives of India have very little power of influencing the policy of their own country. The excuse offered has been that they were not fit for it, and before English education entered India there was much to be said for this view. Certainly, in the earlier days of British rule, it was impossible to govern, except through an autocratic and military form of government. The country was then full of freebooters, thugs, or professional murderers, and dacoits, or professional robbers, whose trade was to live by plunder, and nothing but the strong hand of a centralised and arbitrary Government could keep the peace.

But matters have greatly altered of late years. Education is coming in with a flood. English ideas of liberty and political right are spreading fast. A free native press, of considerable ability, is growing up. Besides, the country is becoming ripe for a more gentle and constitutional mode of government. The old robber tribes have died out, or become converted into peaceful husbandmen. No country in the world is safer to live in, or travel in, than India. I do not deny that elements of disorder, and serious ones too, still survive, of which more hereafter; but, speaking generally, the time has come for an

extension of the political rights^d of the natives, and a larger admixture of the best of them in the government of the country.

The main reform upon which the natives insist is the election of representative members to the Legislative Councils of India. Each local Governor has a Council, and so has the Viceroy of India, but their powers are not very extensive, and they can be over-ruled in case of need. The main power rests with the executive, which is wholly European; yet the natives do not at present propose to limit the authority of the executive, but they wish to make their voice fully heard in the Legislative Councils, and they claim the power of discussing the Budget and of interpellating the Government on questions of executive administration.

It may be replied to this, that a certain number of native gentlemen are already "nominated" to the Legislative Councils by the respective Governors. This is true, and the selections made are usually from the heads of the native communities; but it is said with truth that men who owe their position to the favour of the Governor are not so apt to be independent, or to represent truly the feelings of the people, as those who are directly chosen for the purpose. They are also few in number, and are easily over-ruled by the official members. I must say that I think the native view is reasonable. Representative members would make native opinion felt to the real advantage of the Government. It is often in the dark as to what the natives actually wish, and sometimes makes mistakes through ignorance. Indeed, there is much misconception on both sides. Native criticism is often unjust to the Government, from not understanding either its motives or its actions. There is a want of mutual understanding, which closer contact would dispel. I think the time has come when this moderate demand might be

safely conceded. It may be objected, that the difficulty is to find an electoral body. Certainly the mass of the people of India have not as yet the faintest idea of representative government, but there exists in all the large cities the rudiments of an intelligent electorate. They have now, thanks to Lord Ripon, a scheme of municipal government in operation, and these Town Councils, which are working fairly well, might elect the representative members to the Legislative Councils.

There also exists in India a considerable body of University graduates, which is rapidly increasing, and this would also afford a basis for an intelligent body of electors. There is no insuperable difficulty if the principle be admitted; and it is the one urgent reform which all educated natives demand, and I believe it is as much in our true interest as theirs to grant it. I did not find in India so strong a desire for representation in the British Parliament, as for a voice in the Indian Government. The natives are much impressed by the difficulty of getting English constituencies to return Indians; yet many of them feel the great importance of having spokesmen of their own in the House of Commons, and it was a great disappointment when they heard of the defeat of Lalmohun Ghose at Deptford. He would have been an able and useful representative of Indian opinion in Parliament; and certainly it is most desirable, when Indian questions are under discussion, there should be representatives of the views held by the native population, as well as those of the official class of Europeans, who are always well represented in the House. It cannot be too well known at home, that there is a wide divergence between the official and native opinion of India, and not a little friction between them. The impression of the natives is, that the English officials stand between them and their just rights and claims. They think that they

keep all the high appointments for themselves and their relatives, and do not carry out the principles of the Queen's proclamation, when the old East India Company was superseded. In that proclamation it was stated that no distinction would be made between race, colour, or creed, but that equal privileges would be given to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. They allege that this principle has not been acted upon, and that the chief hindrance has been the opposition of the European official class. I am not giving my own opinion on this question, but am stating what I found to be a universal grievance among the natives, and it is one that must be dealt with if we wish to keep India loyal in the future.

Now it is a remarkable fact, that no such complaint is made of the British nation. There is a strong belief in their justice and good faith; and the constant desire of the Indian people is to get access to them, in order to lay their complaints before that august tribunal. They fully believe that if the British Parliament and people were made acquainted with their grievances they would remedy them. It is almost touching to see the simplicity of their faith; and certainly I do think it is well worthy of consideration whether we could not devise some constitutional way by which India might find legitimate expression in Parliament. The most practical means suggested to me was, to give a representative to each of the three Presidencies, through their Universities; the electoral body would then be the graduates of those Universities, than which no better exponents could be found of the aspirations of educated India.

In close connection with this lies another reform urgently demanded by the natives. It is in the constitution of the Indian Council in London. That body it is well known was appointed at the time the government of India was taken over by the Crown, in order to assist

the Secretary of State for India with a trained body of advisers. It numbers fifteen, and is composed of eminent members of the Indian Service on their return home. Originally it seemed well fitted for the end in view. The Secretary of State for India was often inexperienced in Indian affairs; and could exercise no efficient control over the complicated machinery of Indian administration without the guidance of experts. This Council supplied the needed guidance, and no doubt has prevented many blunders being made; but it has the defect of accentuating the Bureaucratic government of India, and strengthening those very traditions to which the Indian people are opposed. It prevents that free criticism of the methods of government which is indispensable for the removal of abuses. It is too much like an appeal from Cæsar to Augustus, from the acting Bureaucracy in India to the retired Bureaucracy in London. All classes in India object to the constitution of the Indian Council. The Europeans allege that it stereotypes past methods of government, even when these are discredited; that it is behind the age, and a drag on modern progress. The natives allege that it is a deadly bar to their advancement, and prevents the Secretary for India knowing the true wishes of the people. Their desire is to abolish it altogether, and to have instead a Standing Committee of Parliament to supervise Indian affairs; if that be not done, they wish the admission of a native Indian element on the Council. It seems to me that this last request is the most practicable. It is impossible for the Secretary for India, in our ever-shifting political arena, to have a real hold of the reins, without the aid of an experienced Council; but it is equally true that this body can never do full justice to Indian opinion without a native representative element. I understand that in the original draft of the Council, by the then Mr. Disraeli, there were

four places reserved for natives of India: if so, it was a piece of true statesmanship, and had it been acted upon some mistakes we now deplore (such, for instance, as the last Afghan War) would probably not have occurred; but it is not too late to remedy it now. It would be a graceful concession to the Indian population to act thus, and elect a certain proportion of the Council by some means which would give a genuine representation of the best native opinion, and I think that the number of seats placed at their disposal should not be less than five, or say one-third of the Council. I believe it would be of great importance that the Secretary of State for India should have this ready means of acquainting himself with Indian opinion, and, when necessary, of laying it before Parliament.

If these three reforms could be carried out—viz.: Representation of natives by election on the Legislative Councils of India; the return of a few Members directly from India to Parliament; and the election of a proportion of the Indian Council in London by the natives of India—I believe great good would result. We should have a true knowledge of what India wants, and our policy would be moulded into forms far more acceptable to the people than it is at present. Nor are those reforms in the least revolutionary. They proceed on the old English lines of gradual progress, and in the direction of representative institutions which England, the mother of free parliaments, must act on, all the world over, if she is to be true to herself.

Next to these points—indeed I may say in the same category with them—is the demand that the Civil Service should be opened, on fairer terms, to the natives of India. As matters stand at present, it is next to impossible for natives to pass the examinations in England, which are indispensable for entering the covenanted Civil Service. The age was lowered some years ago, when Lord Salisbury

was Indian Secretary, from 22 to 19. There may have been some good reasons for this, but it practically closed the door on native candidates. A small number had made their way into the service at the older age, in spite of the great difficulties of coming to England and struggling through the medium of a foreign language; but when the age was lowered to 19, it was found virtually impossible to get Indian youths pushed through their education in England in time to compete, and so now hardly any natives enter the covenanted Civil Service. It is true that certain appointments are filled up in India from natives, who are selected for fitness, and classed among what are styled "statutory civilians," but the higher appointments are reserved mainly for the covenanted Civil Service, which is recruited from England through the channel of these annual examinations. Now, the view of the natives is, that if the Queen's proclamation is to be honestly carried out, and equal facilities given to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects to rise in her service, there should be entrance examinations in India, as well as England.

In that case the youth of India would not have the enormous disadvantage of crossing the seas, contrary to the teaching of the Hindoo religion, and competing through the medium of a foreign tongue. One cannot but feel there is weight in this argument, and it is clear that in some way the entrance must be made easier for the natives. I think few who understand all sides of the question would consider it prudent to open the door so wide, that an examination in India would fulfil all the purposes of one in England. Statesmen must face the consequences of their acts, and not act blindly on abstract principles. The youth of India mature more quickly than those of Europe. An Indian lad is developed at 16 as far as a European at 19, and he much sooner reaches his full

powers, and has much less outcome in after life. Then the memory and imitative powers are very strong in the Indians; but original faculty, and resource in times of difficulty, are much weaker. The fact that a handful of Europeans govern India is proof that they are a much stronger race. The easy conquests of the Hindoos, by repeated hosts of Mahomedan invaders from Central Asia, shows that the race is deficient in martial qualities, and the mere addition of European education does not change their essential character. The quickest of the Indian races are the Bengalees, and they are also the softest, and would be the first to fall under the rule of stronger races if British power were withdrawn.

It would never do to place the government of India in the hands of the weakest races of the Indian Peninsula, simply because at school age they have the quickest memories and can cram more easily than a European. If entrance to the Civil Service were to be on precisely equal terms in India as in England, in course of time the bulk of the posts would be filled by natives drawn from those races which have never been dominant in the Peninsula, and who would not be obeyed by the stronger and more martial races, such as the Sikhs and Mahomedans in the North. This principle of entrance by examination must be cautiously applied, but undoubtedly it must be extended so as to facilitate the admission of a larger number of Indian youth. It was a ~~great~~ mistake lowering the age for examination. An increasing number of natives possessing force of character were entering the Service, and the necessity of coming to England operated as a sort of guarantee for personal energy. The education given in England imparted a higher conception of life, and put, so to speak, backbone into the Hindoo character. The successful competitors were not unworthy to enter on the race on equal terms with English-born youth. The very

minimum of justice that can now be done is to restore the age to where it stood before. It would be better for the Service in every way that older and more experienced men should enter it. At present the youth who go to India, even after their two years' further education, are little more than boys, and they are suddenly put to duties requiring knowledge of life and experience of men, such as discharging magisterial duties in the Interior. It is one of the crying evils of our system of government that such extensive powers are committed to mere youths. The discipline of human life, and experience of the world, are more valuable than any literary acquirements for the task of an administrator, and it would be much better that they should enter on their responsible duties somewhat later in life.

Nothing strikes a visitor from England more than the youthfulness of the Indian administrators. Duties are performed in India by men of thirty which devolve upon men of forty or fifty at home, and by the age of forty they fill posts of extraordinary power and responsibility, such as with us only fall to the lot of elderly men of ripe experience. It would be a distinct gain to the Service if all stages could be pushed back a little. At present civilians may return on full pension after twenty-five years' service, of which twenty-one must be passed in India; the result is that India loses the services of many men in the prime of life, say about forty-six. Of course the climate is very trying and enervating—many break down and many die before that age is reached; but where there are strength and vigour, as one sees in many, it is doubtful policy to encourage such early retirement. Any change that tends to bring into the Service and keep there men of riper years would be a distinct gain to all concerned. But a mere change of age for the competitive examination in England will not fully meet the native

demand for justice; they feel it is due to them that at least a portion of the appointments should be competed for in India, and in order to get the benefit of English training they are willing, and indeed propose, that their youth when successful should spend two years in special training in England, as our own successful candidates now do. Some compromise on this point must be arrived at. Perhaps it may be desirable to give certain appointments to natives of the numerous provinces of India by examinations conducted in those provinces, and restricted to natives of them alone, that so the difficulty may be avoided of all the prizes falling to the races with the quickest memories, but deficient in backbone and force of character. Certainly the Punjaubees are a much sturdier race than the Bengalees, but would be easily beaten by them if cramming were the only test. Our object should be to get the strongest and most upright men for administration, and to do substantial justice to the various races of India. Some plan of this kind ought to be adopted. There are special posts for which the natives are peculiarly qualified, such as judicial ones. There are now some excellent native Judges, admitted by all to be equal to Europeans. The Indian mind has much legal acumen, and there is room for a large extension of native agency in this direction. There are other appointments, again, requiring rather practical powers and force of character, for which Europeans are better fitted. The weakness of the Hindoo mind lies in hair-splitting and subtle distinctions; and a European who can neither write nor speak so fluently will often be a safer and better administrator. Then it is beyond doubt that the English conception of truth and honesty is much higher. The lower native officials are constantly charged by the educated natives themselves with being corrupt; but they allege that this is owing to their being uneducated and

badly paid, and they allege that this vice will not be found in high class men who have enjoyed English education, and are well paid. There is truth in this view, for most of the few native officials who fill high posts, such as the Judges of the High Courts, are admitted to be pure. There is such a thing as *esprit de corps* in all professions, and if natives are judiciously mixed with Europeans in the highly paid services, especially after being in England, they will generally imbibe the same honourable ideas.

The true policy of Government would seem to be to make appointments according to fitness, and a chief element in the fitness must be honesty and force of character. When that is found wanting, neither native or European should be chosen. It is unhappily true that black sheep are sometimes found even among European officials. I fear there can be no doubt that the natives believe that some of them are not immaculate. Nothing could be more fatal to our predominance in India than the spread of such a belief. Prestige, in its best sense, counts for a great deal in India. We hold our position there because in the main the natives believe us to be upright and courageous. They bear with much that is distasteful to them so long as they see we possess these imperial qualities; but let that belief disappear and no force that we possess will hold India. It is therefore of the highest importance that where well founded suspicions of corruption exist the natives should have the power of interpellating the executive, and demanding an enquiry. It is clear that if we object to the large introduction of the native element on the ground of this danger, we must, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion. Before passing from this branch of the subject, I would remark that the posts most exposed to this temptation are those of Residents at native courts. The semi-independent princes, who still rule over fully fifty millions of natives, all have British

Residents attached to their courts, who enjoy large powers, and supervise their foreign relations. At most native courts corruption and bribery are matters of course; and unless men of stern principle are selected for these posts, influences not of the highest are sure to be brought to bear upon them. It is in this direction that native suspicion points; and it is here that strict watchfulness must be observed if the British name is to maintain its proud position.

I cannot forbear adding here, that, in the opinion of many, the Civil Service is not what it once was. It is alleged that a rougher and less gentlemanly class of men enter it than in the old days; that they take less interest in the natives of India, and aim more at saving money and leaving the country with their pensions as soon as they can. The natives allege, with some truth, that the Europeans do not settle in their country, or in any sense make it their home; that they are mere birds of passage, and have not even the same interest in the country that the old East India Company's servants had. The facilities of communication with Europe, and their frequent furloughs, lead to constant coming and going, and keep up in the minds of the official class the feeling that they are exiled from home, and must return as soon as possible. The old East India servants seldom visited England, and often lived and died in India, making it their home. All that is changed now. The European officials have usually their families in England, and their heart is there, and they count the days till they can see them again. The natives complain that this gives a provisional and ever-changing character to British administration; that it lacks stability, and is not adequately identified with the country, and it is one of their strongest reasons for holding that we must gradually replace European by native agency, as fast as the people are educated up to it.

Another complaint which they make of our system is that the officials are incessantly shifted from place to place, and seldom remain long enough to gain personal knowledge of the people. Sometimes a grievous mistake is made by the arbitrary decision of an official; but he goes to another place before he is made to feel the consequences of his error, and so the sense of responsibility is weakened, and there is no effectual check against proved incapacity. In times of scarcity or famine a mistake made by a district officer may cost the lives of thousands of people. A wrong view, taken at headquarters, as happened once in Orissa and once in the North-West Provinces, may cost the lives of millions, as it did in both these instances; yet from the constant shifting of officers these terrible lessons do not produce their proper fruit. It is hardly possible to say who is to blame when gigantic mistakes are made. The pieces on the chess-board are always being moved from place to place, and an impersonal "department" hides behind an impenetrable veil the mistakes and even the grave faults of individual officers.

Unless we take into account the whole working of the bureaucratic machinery of the Indian Government, we shall not do justice to the native complaints of its inefficiency. Neither shall we recognise how right it is that a larger devolution of its functions be laid upon the natives themselves. Hindoo officials have no families to support abroad; they prefer living and dying in their own native place; they invest their savings at home, and the wealth that they acquire fertilizes their country. It is no wonder, therefore, that they call for a change in our system, and though it be true that this change can only be made gradually and with many precautions against abuse, yet it is certain to come, and it is far better that it

come with a good grace from ourselves, than be wrenched from us, as it may be in some time of sore trouble.

Before parting from this branch of the subject, I must refer to one more complaint brought by the natives against our administrative machinery. I allude to the annual migration of the Supreme Government to Simla during the hot season, and of the local governments to their respective hill stations. This practice only commenced in the time of Lord Lawrence, but is now an integral part of our system of government. The hot weather lasts for six or eight months, and is very trying to Europeans; the atmosphere of the hills is delightful and bracing, and enables white men to enjoy much better health, and to perform more work than is possible on the plains. After the death of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning and others, due very much to the effects of climate, it was found that it was not safe to send middle aged men from England to live in such a climate as Bengal during the hot season, especially when railways had brought the hill stations within easy reach, and the important decision was taken to make Simla the seat of the Viceroy during the hot weather. The local governments soon followed suit, and the chief officials went along with them. Delightful summer abodes now crown the various hill stations of India, and those who resort to them enjoy an improved European climate, even under a tropical sun. Yet this salubrious change is not without grave drawbacks: it removes the high-class Europeans from touch with the native population, and surrounds the Viceroy and governors during more than half the year with an exclusively official element. At a conference I had with the British Indian Association at Calcutta, it was likened to Mr. Gladstone directing the policy of England from the Riviera; the comparison is by no means far-fetched. The whole tendency of such a life is to isolate the

governing class from the governed; as was once said of the House of Lords, "they are up in a balloon," and out of sound or hearing of common humanity. It also leads to the great multiplication of written reports. Government being removed from contact with the district officers, a voluminous correspondence has to be kept up, and matters often occupy months of discussion which might be settled in a few minutes "vivâ voce." I heard on all hands of the enormous increase of report writing in India, and of the pernicious effect it had on the usefulness of the district officers; men who should be moving about among the natives, seeing with their own eyes and hearing with their own ears, were tied to their desks all day, filling up reams of paper with lengthened despatches.

The practice of despatch writing has grown to be a fine art in India; but, as it has grown, so has the far more important practice of moving about in the districts and keeping touch with the natives declined. In the old East India Company's days there was far less letter writing, and more personal intercourse with the natives. In trying to supervise the action of district officers, we have gone to the other extreme, and reduced our officials too much to the level of clerks of a Government department. The personal touch of a strong man counts for far more among Asiatics than with us; and, what with the hill stations, and endless despatch writing, the European chiefs are becoming invisible to the natives, and losing that magical power of personal influence which distinguished our early administrators, and helped not a little to create the Empire.

I pass now from questions of political and administrative reform to some other aspects of Indian life, the knowledge of which is essential to sound views, even on matters of policy. You may draw any conclusions you like in India if you limit the scope of your induction. You may prove

to your own satisfaction that the British Government is the most perfect ever devised by man, as some official optimists actually affirm, or that it is the worst form of oppression ever invented, as others have sought to impress upon me. Either side can quote a certain class of facts which give plausible colour to their conclusions, but each leave out of view another large class of facts which vitally affect the result. An induction is only sound when it takes in all the phenomena, and the material and social phenomena of India are so different from those of Europe, that no opinions are worth anything which are not founded upon a general knowledge of them. The material condition is the first I will refer to, though it is true that at every point it is interpenetrated by the social and even the religious phases of Indian life. India is almost exclusively a country of rural population and agricultural industry—only 5½ millions of people live in towns of over 50,000 inhabitants—nine-tenths of the people live in rural villages of a few hundreds of population, and subsist almost entirely on the products of the soil. One Indian village is almost an exact copy of another. All the people are divided into castes, and each follows its own pursuit, from father to son. One caste, or profession, is not allowed to pass into another. The “hereditary principle” rules supreme among the Hindoos. It is somewhat different with the Mahommedans, but even they have adopted many of the Hindoo ideas. Two great systems of land tenure divide the soil of India—the Zemindary or landlord type, and the Ryotwary or peasant type. Lord Cornwallis, with the best intentions, stereotyped the Zemindary system in Bengal by giving to the middlemen or farmers of the revenue permanent rights of possession, subject to a quit rent to the Government. He failed to take effectual care of the multitude of small peasants who tilled those estates, and who, under ancient Hindoo law,

had occupancy rights akin to what we have conferred on the Irish tenants. Consequently there has arisen in Bengal precisely the same difficulty which has so long afflicted Ireland. The Zemindars have been enabled, by the growth of population and its pressure on the soil, to rack-rent the miserable Ryots, and their incomes have grown to several times what they were in the time of Lord Cornwallis, while their land tax remains the same.

Late in the day the Indian Government, after several ineffectual efforts, is seeking to remedy this by the "Bengal Ryots Act," recently passed, which confers fixity of tenure and fair rents upon many millions of people, mostly small cultivators. Their poverty may be judged by the fact that six out of ten millions of holdings pay a rent of less than five rupees a year, say 7s 6d at the present rate of exchange. The population is so dense in some districts that it exceeds five hundred people to the square mile; and as all the land is occupied, and the population is steadily increasing and is averse to emigration, the terrible problems that confront us may be imagined. Over the rest of India the tenure is mostly Ryotwary, that is there is no landlord class between the Government and the peasantry, but the State deals direct with the small cultivators. The custom is to assess the land for periods of thirty years at a fixed rate, and then to re-value and re-assess according as it has changed in value, or as cultivation has extended. The British Government has for many years favoured this system as one that allows the fruits of their labour to go directly to the cultivating class; yet there are large tracts of country scattered all over India where the Zemindary system also exists. In most of these our Government found a powerful landlord class in possession, as for instance in Oude, and thought it best to interfere as little as possible with native customs. Indeed it may be said with truth that every

form of land tenure exists in India, and in some parts the complexity of the system almost baffles description, and I am sorry to be obliged to add, that in all of them pressing agrarian difficulties exist, and it is not an easy matter to say upon the whole which conduces most to the good of the people. At first sight the peasant-proprietor system would seem to be the best, as the produce of the soil feeds only one class instead of two ; but in some parts of India, such as the Deccan, where there are no landlords, the poverty is excessive and the Ryots are all in the grip of the money-lenders. A dead level of poverty is not good for a country, and the existence of a certain number of wealthy men, like the native Zemindars, serves to diversify the rural system and give colour and variety to it. Yet, unless carefully watched, these men too often oppress the peasantry, and it is absolutely necessary that the State should define and secure the rights of the cultivators, as it is now doing all over India.

The great object of the Government should be to encourage the peasantry to improve the soil by better culture, and to secure to them the fruits of their labour. In no other way can the dead level of poverty in India be much alleviated. The re-assessment of the land each 30 years tends, I much fear, to discourage improvements; it is true that the Revenue regulations forbid taxing tenants' improvements, but it is next to impossible to distinguish them in the prodigious number of small occupancies there are in India, and the general opinion of the natives is that their assessment is raised if they improve their land. They become very frightened as the time of revaluation approaches, and cease to make the most trifling improvements. The Government is always in want of money, and they allege that the Revenue officers are valued and promoted in proportion as they bring in more revenue, and that this constant pressure for revenue

makes it impossible for them to do justice to the peasantry. These complaints are loudest in Bombay; they allege there that recent assessments have raised the rents 25 per cent, though the Ryots are extremely poor. As a rule, the Government officials deny the truth of these statements, and it is very difficult to arrive at the real facts of the case. The same discrepancy exists as to the share of the produce taken by the Government; it is alleged by the Revenue officials to be about 7 per cent of the gross produce, but the natives in many cases assured me it was 30 per cent, and in special cases even one-half, giving me full particulars of the value of the crops and the rent paid. These are the contradictions one meets continually in India. I believe both parties state what they believe to be true, but they adopt different modes of reckoning, and I strongly suspect that much more is taken out of the Ryots than reaches the Government. I was repeatedly assured that the lower native officials squeezed much out of the peasantry by threats of over-assessment. They have it in their power almost to ruin a Ryot by false statements; for the head officials cannot supervise properly the prodigious mass of detail involved in surveying and valuing millions of small holdings. Some idea of the difficulties may be formed from the time it took the land court in Ireland to fix fair rents for about 100,000 cases, and of the dissatisfaction its decisions caused. It is this tremendous difficulty that weighs against all schemes of direct taxation in India. According to Hindoo law, the State is entitled to a share of the produce of the soil. It is not in the strict sense a landlord, as is often wrongly asserted; but, according to the Institutes of Manu, the oldest Hindoo lawgiver, it may take a share varying from one-sixth to one-twelfth of the produce, according to the richness of the soil, and in times of emergency even one-fourth. The British

scale of taxation is said to be much lower than in the old days of the Mahomedan rulers. The records of Aurunzebe—when the Mogul empire had attained its maximum extent—showed that the land revenue was 36 millions sterling, whereas now it is 22 millions, but it is probable that it was never fully collected. Asiatic rulers always demand much more than they get, but our scientific system squeezes out of the people all that is demanded.

It seems of so much importance to encourage the peasantry to improve their holdings, and add to the narrow margin that stands between them and famine, that I gravely doubt whether the Ryotwary districts should be re-assessed at all, and in some of them the amount of tax should be reduced. It were better to forfeit a future increase of land revenue, if it were the means of raising the general level of well-being among the people, and encouraging them to put their savings into the soil. But whether this desirable consummation can be carried out depends upon whether a British fiscal policy shall be forced upon India. It can only be done if a customs revenue be raised, which the whole of India would most gladly pay in lieu of other taxes, which are far more oppressive. Suppose 100 out of the 140 millions of foreign trade, now untaxed, paid a duty of 10 per cent, it would yield 10 millions of revenue, by means of which the land assessment could be reduced and made permanent, while other most objectionable imposts could be removed. It is unfair to impose English ultra free trade ideas upon a country like India. One of the greatest dangers that besets our rule lies in despising the wishes of the natives in such matters. If we are to allow India to have any voice in the construction of her Revenue system it will tend, I have no manner of doubt, in the direction I have indicated.

The main difficulty that confronts us in India is the extreme poverty of the rural population, and the ever present danger of famine. A failure of the rains, which happens periodically, means death to millions, unless fed by the Government, and therefore the first and principal object of the Government is to increase the fertility of the soil, and to provide for the easy transit of food into famine-stricken regions.

This leads me to allude to the need of irrigation. Were it possible to apply to all India the admirable system of irrigation that the Nile provides for Egypt, famines would be unknown and wealth would rapidly increase; but, according to the admirable Report of the Famine Commission (one of the ablest State papers ever issued, and a veritable mine of information on Indian questions) only some 15 per cent of the cultivated soil of India is irrigated, and much even of that fails in very dry seasons.

One of the first duties of Government, where the rule is a kind of paternal despotism, as in India, is to construct canals and build tanks where the conditions admit of it, and, above all, to give every encouragement to the construction of wells by the peasantry. Much has been done of late years, and is still being done, in the way of constructing canals in Northern India along the great waterways of the Ganges and its tributaries, and most successful works have been made in Madras, but after all there is only a small part of the area of India that is capable of so being dealt with, and the more primitive system of tanks and wells must be relied on over most of the country. Nothing strikes a traveller more in the winter or dry weather season than the patches of delicious green vegetation dotted over the parched plains of India. As you approach these green oases, you see in the centre of each a gentle mound, up and down which a pair of bullocks are patiently toiling, drawing a bucket of water

out of a deep well, whose mouth is at the top of the mound. A peasant drives the team, and another empties the pitcher into a channel, which conducts it into the surrounding fields, over which it is spread by many little subsidiary channels. A rich mass of foliage marks the presence of the water, and no famine need be feared in that favoured spot, unless the well ceases to yield. Millions of such wells exist in India, and for practical use they excel most of the engineering works. In Southern India the tank system generally prevails, which is the primitive mode of collecting the water into reservoirs during the rainy season, where the slope of the land admits of it. Unfortunately in some parts of India, such as the Deccan, the subsoil does not easily afford water for wells, and too little rain falls to be gathered into tanks, and chronic poverty seems to be the inevitable fate of the unhappy peasantry. Those wells and tanks are the chief improvement which the Ryots can make in the soil. They are largely constructed by their own labour in the slack season, when there is little field work going on, and the chief help that Government can lend is to give them full security that they shall enjoy the fruits of the extra produce which irrigation yields. I much doubt whether the periodical re-assessment does not discourage the making of these wells and tanks, from the fear that the Government will tax the increased value so obtained. Certainly that view, whether rightly or wrongly, is largely held by the natives.

The other great means of preventing famines is the spread of railway communication, and here our Government has done noble work in the last twenty years. This work, however, must be done gradually, and so as not to burden the finances of India. For several years the existing railway system was a heavy drain on the finances; it is now paying interest, and yields a surplus

revenue ; but we cannot afford to make railways largely in the future without a well-founded expectation that they will pay interest on capital. The strained state of Indian finance leaves no room for making experiments. It is also a mistake to assume, as is too readily done in England, that the railway does away with the danger of famine. The statistics of recent famines show very heavy loss of life in districts traversed by railways. The fact is, when the great bulk of the food crop of a district perishes, and the people have no money to buy imported food, a railway is of no use, unless the Government feeds the people gratuitously. It did so with success in one or two cases of recent famines, but generally it has encumbered the relief with labour tests and other conditions which deprived it of much of its value. .

The effective dealing with a vast famine is one of the most tremendous tasks ever put upon a Government. The last Madras famine affected 50 millions of people, and in spite of an expenditure of 10 millions sterling several millions of people died, and almost the whole stock of animals in many districts. If the Government is to cope effectively with these frightful calamities in the future, it must set aside a larger amount of revenue than "the insurance fund" of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions that is now nominally so appropriated, and this ought to be looked upon as the equivalent of a poor's rate, which does not exist in India. I was informed by many of the natives, that one result of the railways was to clear the country every year of its surplus stocks of grain, and so when famine came to render them more helpless than they were before. In the old times the custom was to bury all surplus food in the ground, and to keep it there till a season of scarcity occurred. In some parts of India, such as the Punjab, it was alleged that several years' supplies used to be kept in stock. All this has been changed, and now a vast

export trade in wheat and rice has arisen, and, as railways increase in India, so will it export food more and more largely.

This export of food is not looked upon by the natives with the same unmixed satisfaction that it is by our merchants. It is curious to contrast the opposite points of view from which commercial problems are approached by Europeans and natives. To the English mind exports of food, or any surplus products, appear an unmixed source of wealth. To the Hindoo they too often mean a dangerous depletion of the necessaries of life. Neither view is altogether correct, but there is enough of truth in the Indian conception to make us careful of dogmatizing about the economy of a country so totally different from our own.

In connection with this I may remark, that nothing impressed me more than the prodigious capacity of India for wheat growing. It is the principal cold weather crop of Northern India, and as you travel through the vast valleys of the Jumna and Ganges, you see hundreds of miles planted with this grain. The cost of cultivation is far below that of Europe or even America. Labour at from 3d to 6d a day, and a land assessment of 2s to 4s per acre gives the Indian producer an immense advantage over the European or American grower, and, as railways spread through the country, the competition of India will be increasingly felt in Europe, and will produce remarkable results.

Before passing from the economical condition of India, I must allude to the tremendous evil of indebtedness among the peasantry. There is only one opinion as to the gigantic extent of this evil. I was assured in the North-West that 90 per cent of the cultivators were habitually in debt to the money-lenders. Probably this may be above the average, but there is no doubt that all

over India it is the rule for the Ryot to be in debt to the village money-lender. It is a difficulty that seems incapable of solution. The Hindoo peasant goes into debt with the same readiness that a child spends its money on sweetmeats. He has no capacity of gauging the future. He will promise to pay any rate of interest to gain some present ease, and not unfrequently the rate charged is one anna per rupee per month, or 72 per cent per annum. Their caste system enormously adds to this evil. It requires them to spend vast sums in proportion to their means on marriage and funeral ceremonies. A man frequently spends on one such occasion a sum equal to four or five years' income, which he borrows from the Bunyea, or village lender. One case was brought before me of a rising young man, an earnest student at college, whose income was seven rupees per month. His father died, and his caste insisted on his spending 1100 rupees in funeral rites. To do this he had to load himself with debt, the interest on which absorbed nearly all his income, and broken-hearted he had to give up his studies and his prospects for life.

I fear that British rule has increased this evil, by imparting our Western ideas of the obligation of all contracts. Our courts of law have, as a rule, up till recent years treated all debts as binding, and enforced their collection by distraint or ejectment when the creditors demanded it. Immense numbers of suits have been brought against Ryots for the payment of debts at usurious interest, and multitudes have been sold out of house and home, and become landless beggars. As we had abolished the Usury Laws in England, we thought it right to do so in India, contrary to the immemorial traditions of the country. We are now retracing our steps, after great evil has been done. The Deccan Ryots Act gives power to the court to reduce debts when the

interest is excessive, and when advantage of an ignorant debtor has evidently been taken. The same principle is gradually being extended to the rest of India, and we are going much more on the lines of ancient Hindoo law, which protects an ignorant debtor against the consequences of his own folly, and forbids his farm and household goods being sold up for debt. The difficulties that surround this question are enormous, for there are innumerable ways in which an ignorant and credulous peasantry may be victimized; but, speaking broadly, I believe that ancient Hindoo customs were much more suited to this primitive people than our advanced ideas of commercial law. I can hardly express my sense of the danger of applying to India the latest forms of European thought. Let the principles of British commercial economy be rigorously applied to India, and in course of time the bulk of the rural population would be landless beggars and paupers. Carry out to its logical issues the principles of free trade in land, in money, in goods, free competition in all departments of life, and enforce by law all contracts, and you will gradually vest all property in India in the hands of the money-lending and trading classes.

The modern conception of England, as of all advanced and commercial nations, is to enlarge to the uttermost individual rights and responsibilities, each person is held to be free to contract himself into any obligation he chooses, the law has no function but to enforce these contracts. Society is looked upon merely as a mass of units, each fighting and struggling for his own hand under the fire of the hottest competition. It is thought to be a law of nature that the weakest should go to the wall. Anything that looks like "Protection" is the rankest heresy. Now the constitution of Hindoo society is precisely the reverse of this—the individual is swallowed up

and lost in the family, the village, the caste. He has hardly any rights of his own, he is more like a member of a community of bees, or ants, or beavers, if I may use the simile. His place in society is fixed for him by birth, his duties are hereditary, his rights and obligations are decided by status, not by contract. He is incapable of contracting for himself upon the hard commercial principles of modern Europe, and to apply to him our conceptions of law is the most cruel tyranny. I believe more mischief would be wrought in India in ten years by applying the theories of our advanced political and commercial doctrinaires than was caused by the invasion of Tamerlane, or Nadir Shah, or the ruthless Moguls. I do not for a moment imply that we have committed such mistakes; a series of great administrators have sought to adapt and improve ancient Hindoo law to the modern needs of India; still most serious mistakes have been made, and will be made again, if we permit modern English ideas to be forced on a country centuries behind us in social development.

The general complaint of the natives is that our elaborate British jurisprudence is not suited for the simple wants of the village community. It is said greatly to multiply litigation, and to stimulate the fabrication of false evidence. Our European judges admit that it is almost a lottery whether or not a right decision is come to, so hopeless is it to get at the true facts of the case. The old native system was to leave a large discretion to the Panchayet, or council of five village elders, who heard cases on the spot, and administered justice in a rude way, from their knowledge of the locality and of the customs of the people. It is now claimed by many that this ancient tribunal should be re-established, with power of settling cases up to a limited amount; and the suggestion is well worthy of consideration.

Indeed many of our best administrators are coming to

the conclusion that we should restore, where possible, more of the old village customs of the Hindoos. They perceive the harm that has been done by breaking them up, and the folly of putting a new patch of Western civilization upon the old garments of Indian tradition. We have succeeded best where we have preserved the integrity of the old village community, as is still the case in the North of India. We have done worst where we have broken it up, and substituted dealing with the individual Ryot. Just as each beaver or ant taken out of its nest is helpless and soon perishes, so in some sense does the Hindoo when cut loose from the props that held him up. British law, I fear, has often knocked down those props in the attempt to build up better, with the only result of undermining the foundations of both.

This leads me to say that one of the greatest recent reforms in India is the extension of municipal government by Lord Ripon. It gives the native population the opportunity of co-operating for schemes of social improvement. All over India a spirit of enterprise has been called forth by this generous attempt; it is true that not much intelligence is yet evinced by the more backward communities, and one hears not a little ridicule of the blundering efforts of these infant governments, but, so far as I could judge, the experiment was working quite as well as could be expected, and I have no doubt will prove a great boon to the people. It will provide a school for education in the art of self-government and self-help, and will gradually educe a class of native administrators who will be capable of holding higher posts hereafter. It is true that for some time these local boards will need supervision, but already in the larger towns, such as Calcutta and Bombay, there is no little public spirit and intelligence displayed, and probably they are ahead of our

municipalities in England before the close corporations were abolished.

One great reform, however, is urgently demanded by the natives, namely, that the control of the trade in intoxicating drinks should be vested in local bodies, and this leads me to observe that one of the greatest abuses of our Government in India has been the extension it has given to the sale of alcoholic drinks. It ought to be known in England that all classes of the Indian population are by nature extremely temperate, by religion as well as custom they are mostly total abstainers, and they regard the vice of drunkenness with the deepest abhorrence. If left to themselves they would not have licensed shops for the sale of the vile alcoholic compounds which come from Europe, in comparison with which our own whisky and gin are comparatively wholesome. But the Government in its desire for revenue, and, ignorant of the consequences, has let out to contractors, or farmers of the excise, the right of opening liquor shops or "out stills" as they are called, and of late years many of these dram shops have been opened in country districts where the taste did not exist before. This mischief is worst in Bengal, and I was often told by the natives that groups of drunkards have been formed in many places where the vice was unknown before. The use of strong European spirits is deadly to the natives of India; it kills them far sooner than it does Europeans, and they have so little to spend that it involves them and their families in beggary. Hardly any worse evil could be inflicted on India than introducing a taste for alcohol, it will, if persisted in, do for the Hindoos what opium has done for the Chinese. They become perfectly mad and reckless when they are addicted to this vice. It is a shameful thing that in the matter of morality our so called Christian Government should fall behind the ethical code of India;

yet so it is, and few things will more certainly undermine our hold on India than this defiance of native opinion. I am told that the revenue officials shelter themselves behind the fiction that it is better for Government to license the trade than suffer it to exist in a contraband fashion. I believe the truth to be that in many cases there was no trade or taste for the article till the excise officers planted the temptation amid an unwilling people. No doubt when the taste is once formed there is an irrepressible craving, which will find some means of gratification, and so the Government may excuse itself now for taxing the trade, but there is all the difference between tempting a people to drink to increase revenue, and seeking to curtail consumption by high duties. If the local bodies of India had the control of this trade, on the principal of "local option," now generally assented to in England, they would either stamp it out, or hold it in check where extinction was impossible. Native opinion is so pronounced on this matter, that it may be trusted to act for the real good of the people, which our paternal Government does not. There is no doubt that the three or four millions drawn from the Excise, and the chronic poverty of the Exchequer, are the motives that blind our eyes to the havoc that is being wrought; and to go further back, it is the injustice of England in forcing upon India a fiscal system unsuited to that country in the supposed interests of Free Trade. I trust the Commission, appointed to inquire into the Government of India, will probe this matter to the bottom, and insist that native opinion shall be fully represented. Had India the voice she ought to have in the management of her own affairs, an end to this iniquity would soon be put.

My remarks hitherto have been directed mainly to the defects of our system of government, and the complaints

made by the educated natives; but it would not be fair to stop here. Some extremists are trying to make out that British Government has been an unmixed evil to India, and pamphlets are being circulated among the natives, some of them written by discontented Europeans, attributing every ill to our oppressive and alien Government. These writings suppress everything that makes for the other side, and omit altogether to state that the chief causes after all of the poverty of the people are their own social and religious systems, and especially the tyrannical authority of caste. After all, the habits and beliefs of a people have more to do with their welfare than the action of governments. Some of these habits and beliefs are fatal to all prospects of improvement, so long as they hold the people in their iron grasp. Chief among these must be mentioned the inveterate custom of premature marriages. The first thing a Hindoo father thinks of is to get his child betrothed, which is done usually in infancy, and can never afterwards be annulled; and in the case of a daughter, marriage often actually takes place before the age of thirteen. An unmarried girl of fifteen is hardly to be met with, unless unfortunately a widow, in which case the Hindoo religion forbids re-marriage, and condemns the unhappy creature to life-long ignominy; it may be that her "betrothed" husband died when she was an infant, unconscious of his existence, yet she is treated almost as if she were an accomplice to his death, and is condemned to celibacy and reproach all her life. I am speaking generally of India, but there are exceptions, such as the Punjaub, where this rule does not apply; but all over India the rule is for mere children to be married. In going through a school, and asking the members of a class of elder boys to stand up if married, almost every one rose to his feet. I need not add, the social results to the community are disastrous. One consequence is a

great deterioration of physique, and an excessive multiplication of sickly children. The population is increased unnaturally, and a great portion of it is too feeble to maintain itself. The custom is for all the married sons, with their wives and families, to live in the same household, while their father is alive, and it is not uncommon to find forty or fifty relatives living together under the same roof, and often the greater part of them are a burden upon the small number of bread-winners.

The Hindoos are extremely kind in maintaining their poor relations. Nobody thinks of casting off any one nearly related to himself, and so it happens that excessive poverty results from this constant increase of mouths dependent upon others for support. Their marriage customs are a part of their religion; they have no connection with common sense. A starving family marries off its daughters at twelve or thirteen to another pauper family, even though they know the offspring must die of hunger. It is held that a man without a son to perform his funeral rites is shut out from bliss hereafter, and it is further held that a son must take upon himself the burden of his father's debts, otherwise he forfeits his hope of future happiness.

Where this system is in full play amid a poor peasantry like that of Bengal, living on patches of four or five acres apiece, with the land over-cropped and no uncultivated soil to be had, one can conceive how impossible it is to raise their social state. The custom is to subdivide the land among the sons, so that holdings always grow smaller, and the struggle to live fiercer. Besides, there is an immense amount of subletting, and hosts of middlemen, who squeeze the classes below them as they are squeezed by those above them. Where 500 people are living on a square mile, solely by agriculture, and when they will not emigrate, it is obvious that no increase can

take place without reducing the scale of living. A very heavy death rate is inevitable; it balances the heavy birth rate, and a low state of vitality prevails. The position of things is like that in the West of Ireland before the potato famine; the land was always being sub-divided more and more as families increased, till the people barely existed on patches of potatoes. So in Bengal, they just exist on rice, which is a prolific crop, and feeds as many people per acre, I suppose, as any other crop in the world.

The recent census of India revealed the striking fact that one-third of the population was under twelve years of age; probably half the population was below eighteen. Were it not for the high death rate, supposed to be about 35 per 1000, against 22 in England, the Indian population would double every twenty-five or thirty years, and increase in a single century to double the whole population of the globe! Even as it is, with the abnormal death rate and the great amount of disease, the population is increasing at a rate which will double it in a century, and every sanitary improvement increases this rate. If 250 millions of people have such difficulty in living in India now, one marvels how 500 millions can live a century hence! There can be no doubt that one effect of British rule has been to prodigiously increase the population. During the incessant wars of old times large tracts of India were laid waste, and enormous numbers of people were periodically cut off by war, pestilence and famine. We have no reliable statistics of the population of all India in former times,* but I have little doubt that the population of India has increased, since the time of Clive, more than in the 2000 years that intervened since the invasion of Alexander. I see no possible solution of this problem, except through a change in the habits and beliefs

* The first estimate made of the population of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was 10 millions, now it is 67 millions.

of the people, and so far only the dawn of that era is perceptible.

But there is another cause of extreme poverty and indebtedness. The universal custom of India is to expend immense sums on marriages and funerals. I have already given an example of this. It is the outcome of the caste system; but so deeply is it implanted in Hindoo nature, that even the Christian converts are unable to rise above it. I was told of one experiment, where all the debts of the converts were paid off in order to start them fair in life, but it was soon found that they were as deeply in debt as before. One of the saddest things is that when the Ryots get occupancy rights from the British Government, that is when they are converted from tenants at will into permanent occupiers, they too often pledge the additional security so acquired, and get deeper into debt than before. The only remedy appears to be to secure by law their land and farming implements from attachment for debt, so that the village lender may have no lien for his advance.

In legislating for India, one has to remember that the bulk of the people are but children, and the Government has to act as a kind but firm father. An admirable movement for social reform is rising into importance among the educated Hindoos. It is partly the offspring of the Brahmo Somaj movement, initiated by the well known Keshub Chunder Sen, and which may be described as an attempt to graft Christian morality upon a basis of theism. Frequent meetings are now being held in all the large towns to advocate the alteration of pernicious caste rules, and urge the abolition of infant marriages, while sanctioning the re-marriage of widows, and encouraging female education. The ice of inveterate custom is slowly breaking under the dissolving influence of Western thought, and a meed of praise and generous support should be given to these enlightened natives, who, at much social

suffering, have dared to emancipate themselves, and are seeking to free their countrymen from degrading bondage.

I have said that the great solvent of Indian caste prejudice is Western thought; and this leads me to observe that the future of India largely, indeed mainly, depends upon education. Nothing impresses a visitor more than the craving of the natives for English education. Wherever schools or colleges are opened they are soon crowded, and the universal desire is to learn to read English. At little village schools, if a European steps in, the pupils will crowd round him to show him how they can read English. Their natural difficulties are very great, some of our sounds they can scarcely articulate, the formation of their throat and palate seems to be different from ours, and it is a work of great labour to acquire good English pronunciation. Yet that difficulty is entirely surmounted by many, and some of the cultivated natives in the principal towns speak English with an elegance and eloquence that few of us could surpass. The great need of India is now primary education; colleges and high schools have been abundantly supplied, but the masses are still far behind, and it is felt that too much has been done for the rich, and too little for the poor. I cannot forbear expressing my admiration for the splendid missionary schools in all the great centres of Indian life. One of them, which I visited, had 1500 youths in attendance; they are better patronised by the natives than even the Government institutions, and that notwithstanding that the first lesson given is always upon the Scriptures. Nothing strikes one as more remarkable than the willingness of the Hindoos to let their children be taught Christianity. They are most reluctant that they should outwardly embrace it, for this involves forfeiture of caste, and a species of outlawry; but they recognize the moral benefit of being taught Christian morality, and prefer it to

purely secular education. Cases have occurred where a Government secular school was started side by side with a mission school, and had to be given up, in consequence of the native preference for the latter.

This raises the great question what is to be the character of the future education of India. A more momentous one was never asked, for, according to the decision taken, India may be a century hence a land of idolators or of infidels, or at least nominally Christian. The whole subject was exhaustively treated by the recent Education Commission, and the general conclusion arrived at was that Government should undertake the function of stimulating and encouraging education by grants in aid to all voluntary schools by whomsoever originated, whether by the natives, European missionaries or others, but should not itself be the direct instructor of the people, except in special cases. There had been formerly much dissatisfaction felt at the action of the Education department, and its attempt to absorb all education into its own hands; but now the voluntary bodies are satisfied, provided the recommendations of the Commission are faithfully carried out. The future of Indian education will therefore depend upon the zeal and energy shown by the various classes of which Indian society consists. The Brahmin, the Brahmo-Somaj, the Mahommedan, and the Christian Churches have all fairplay, and not a little liberality is now being shown by native gentlemen in starting schools.

It may be hoped that the higher and nobler conceptions of life and duty given in the Christian schools will affect largely the whole future of Indian education. There is ground for believing that it will. It is highly valued by the natives of all classes, and its indirect effect is much greater than its direct influence. Very many teachers in the native schools have received their education in the mission

colleges, and a constant stream of trained teachers is passing out of these normal schools and training colleges. The public at home must exercise constant vigilance to prevent these fountains of good for India being injured by official jealousy. There have been, and still are, painful instances of Government colleges whose whole influence is thrown against Christianity. The heads of some of these institutions are pronounced agnostics, and miss no opportunity of instilling scepticism into the youth under their charge. It is often stated in India, that Government colleges turn out clever infidels—men whose whole view of life is merely destructive ; it is from these classes that the strongest opponents to British rule proceed. The native newspapers that are most bitter against us are usually edited by agnostics. That contempt for all authority, which commonly accompanies the destruction of faith, is most deadly in India ; and one of the great problems of the future is to carry the Hindoo mind safely through the transition period when native faiths gradually decay. If that be so effected as to secure a permanent foothold for Christianity—it may be in some form better suited for an Eastern race than in its European dress—England will have done a work in India of which she may be proud ; but if Western thought and science merely act as dissolving acids, and destroy all faith in religion, a terrible chaos may be predicted in India, and its certain revolt from British rule. It may be gravely questioned, whether any benefit at all will be conferred on India merely by pulverizing its ancient religions, without substituting better. Her old faiths, with all their lamentable defects, yet hold society together ; they enable multitudes of poor and often suffering people to bear patiently the hard incidents of their lot ; they maintain reverence for authority in the breast of millions, and so make it easy for government to be carried on. If all this

binding influence be destroyed, and nothing put in its place, the firm texture of Indian life will be broken to shivers, and such a cataclysm result as the world has seldom seen.

Before leaving the subject of education, I would say that the natives desire technical schools, after the model of those in Europe, to stimulate native industry, and the Government will do well to respond to this demand. India has lost so much of her ancient hand-made manufactures, that it is incumbent on us to give her every chance of retrieving her trade by adopting improved modern processes. No jealousy of her competition with ourselves must hinder us from doing full justice to her aspirations. We must act in this, as in all other matters, as interpreters of the highest and most patriotic wishes of the native community. It is in the long run true self-interest so to do, for such policy alone can bind India to us in chains of genuine affection.

I cannot forbear saying that the Hindoo population are the reverse of exacting; they are contented with small mercies. All they want is fair play, and the consideration of their wishes. They are one of the most patient and contented peoples on the face of the earth. They are naturally courteous, and seldom dream of insulting a white man, unless badly treated themselves. It is a standing miracle that Europeans may travel alone all over India as safely as in any Western country. It is the rarest thing to hear of solitary Europeans, or even their wives and children, when left alone in the Mofussil, being harmed in any way. Much of this is of course due to the prestige of the dominant race, and the dread of swift penalty, but much also is due to the mild law-abiding character of the people themselves. It should be impressed on our countrymen that it is a crime to abuse this unique position they hold in India. Their

treatment of the natives is vastly better than it was in the old days, and most of them, I believe, conduct themselves in a manner worthy of their country, but painful exceptions are to be found. One hears the contemptuous term "nigger" still applied to natives by those who should know better, especially by youths just come from home, and somewhat intoxicated by sudden power. The natives deeply feel the want of courtesy. They are themselves punctilious to a degree. Etiquette is a fine art among them, and it is a grievance of no small magnitude that some Europeans should fail to behave like gentlemen. The flames of war have been lighted before this by social insults, and may be again, and it should be distinctly impressed by the Government of India on all its officers that courtesy to the natives is a cardinal virtue, and that rudeness will bring sharp censure.

It is most unfortunate that since the explosion produced by the "Ilbert Bill" the relations of the two races have become more strained, especially in Calcutta and Bengal. I heard on all hands, both from English and natives, that there was increasing repulsion between them. The newspaper press in Bengal, both English and vernacular, did its utmost to fan the flame, and though it has subsided, the ill feeling is not removed. I pronounce no opinion on the wisdom of the "Ilbert Bill;" it was part of a policy introduced by Lord Ripon from the highest motives. Its object was to raise the status of the natives, and open for them a gradual entrance into the higher posts of the service. This is the true and patriotic policy to be followed in India, and Lord Ripon was only endeavouring to carry out the Queen's proclamation of 1858; but it is alleged by the European community that the "Ilbert Bill" was ill timed, and brought forward in a way offensive to their feelings, and that the substance of the change might have been attained without provoking race an-

tagonism. I venture no opinion on this point; but this I will say, that it is perilous for administrators just come from Europe to legislate on delicate questions involving race feeling. Great complaints are made that men are sent from home strangers to the complex structure of Indian life, but with large powers of legislation, and that just when they are beginning to understand their business and be of use, they return home, having finished their five years' term of office. It does seem in many respects an unwise thing to give the initiative in Indian legislation to men unacquainted with the country and its traditions, and to promote them over the heads of old and trained officials; but it may be said, on the other side, that unless the Indian bureaucracy is controlled from England, it will become despotic, and find itself in increasing opposition to native opinion. I cannot undertake to solve this difficulty. This only I will remark, that the appointments to high offices made from home have a vital bearing upon the welfare of India, and it would be worse than a mistake, it would be a crime, to give them merely as a reward for political service at home.

If the government of India is to become the shuttlecock between parties, and its appointments the prize of the sharpest tongue and the smartest intrigue, we may bid farewell to all hope of permanently holding that country. Now that India is rapidly growing in political knowledge, it judges of those appointments very differently from what it used to do, moral qualities count for far more, and a governor to be esteemed must be worthy of honour, and if he is worthy he will receive it. I cannot forbear stating that no Viceroy in recent times has evoked loyalty among the natives as Lord Ripon did; his name has quite a magical power over the Indian mind. Unhappily, this view is the reverse of that entertained by the Europeans, and it is deep matter for regret that one who has done so

much to bind India to England should have got so little support from his own countrymen. Mistakes may have been committed from over-haste, or want of accurate knowledge, but one thing is undoubted. When the crisis of a Russian war seemed imminent, Lord Ripon's policy made India loyal from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, whereas the previous Viceroyalty left it in a state of smouldering disaffection. The time has fully come when we must realize that our strength in India depends upon the goodwill of the natives. To make and keep India loyal counts for more than to have a strong frontier, and to secure that loyalty, we must govern India increasingly in accordance with educated native opinion. We shall not find any want of support among the natives in resisting foreign aggression. The aim of the new India that is coming into existence is not to exchange one foreign ruler for another, but to mould British rule into accordance with Indian requirements. They wish to make Anglo-Indian government what the name implies, that is, a mixture of English and native administration. They recognize that England has given the first impulse to the new life which is now throbbing in India. They believe that she can confer much greater blessings on the country if she will give fair play to native aspirations, and they know that her strong hand alone secures internal peace, and protects against external invasion, and it does not enter their minds to cast off this powerful guardian, and risk the anarchy that is sure to follow.

It is not forgotten by the Hindoo population that they had little justice at the hands of the Mahomedan invaders from Central Asia. For many centuries India was to those cruel marauders what the later Roman Empire was to the Northern barbarians. They swooped down from the Afghan passes, and ravaged with fire and sword the fertile plains of Hindostan. As soon as British

rule is removed the same thing would happen again, and all educated Hindoos know that well.

But there is one element of permanent disaffection I fear among the Indian population. The Mahommedan descendants of the ancient Moguls still behold at Delhi and Agra the departed magnificence of a great empire. The Taj at Agra, the immortal work of Shah Jehan, is without exception the most exquisite piece of architecture in the world. Europe has nothing to equal it. The vast mosques and mausoleums of the Mogul Emperors, their huge fortresses, the gigantic ruins of deserted cities which encumber the plains for many miles around Delhi, speak of the grandeur of an empire which was only second to that of ancient Rome. It were vain to think that the descendants of those who created this empire can love their conquerors. There is too much evidence that the ancient centres of Mahommedan authority are still far from friendly to the Power that supplanted them. Nor have the Mahommedans profited as the Hindoos have done by British education; they long stood sullenly aloof, and refused to enter our schools, and so the path to advancement was seized by the Hindoos, and they have the mortification of seeing their former subjects rising above them in the social scale. I am glad to think that this opposition to modern ideas is subsiding, and in some places Mahommedans are sending their children more freely to our schools and seminaries; but it will be long before old memories pass away, and the new order of things be heartily accepted. The Mahommedans are believed to number about one-fifth of the population of India; but many of those are only Hindoos (whose forefathers had been forcibly converted) slightly varnished over. Such is much of the population of Eastern Bengal; they are not fanatical Mussulmen of the Arab type. It is chiefly in the Punjab and North-West Provinces, especially at

Delhi, the old Mogul capital, that disaffection is still active.

The army that keeps in order this vast country, and overawes those centres of disaffection, is singularly small, considering the work it has to do, and it cannot safely be decreased; nor, on the other hand, would it be prudent to burden India with further military expenditure, for she is a very poor country. The universal native opinion is that we should on no account waste their resources on expeditions beyond the frontier; but they agree in the expediency of the frontier railways, and in the fortification of that natural boundary of extraordinary strength, which nature has given to Hindostan. If India has ever to defend herself against foreign invasion, our true policy would be to throw ourselves more heartily upon native loyalty than we have done hitherto, and I believe it will respond to the occasion.

I will add, in conclusion, that the future guidance of our Indian Empire will task to the uttermost British statesmanship. New problems will constantly present themselves, demanding rare wisdom and tact to solve discreetly. We have to conduct India successfully through the various stages that separate a subject province from a self-governing colony. It is only at present capable of feeble progression; education and intelligence touch as yet but the fringe of its 250 millions; thick darkness still broods over the deep, and no one would propose dangerous experiments on a people who have never known since the world began any government which was not despotic. What we have to do is to absorb into our system the best native thought of India, and generously to welcome the aid it can give us in administering the country. The time is past for considering India as a close preserve for a profession. The new wine of Indian life must be put into the new bottles of a more liberal policy of rule. Deep

interest is felt in India at the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry. It is much to be desired that this inquiry should be thorough and impartial; above all, that it elicit fully native opinion. It is much to be desired that, like the Famine Commission, it should hold its sittings in India; but, if that be not possible, ample facility must be given for native witnesses to come before it and tender evidence. Justice would seem to require that eminent natives of India should sit on the commission—there is no difficulty in finding such men. If that be not practicable, the next best thing is to give these men the fullest and fairest hearing. Great good will arise if these principles be followed; but if they are not, much soreness and discontent will be felt in India. In this, as in all things, “honesty is the best policy,” and the fullest and frankest investigation should be courted.

In the foregoing remarks my sole object has been truth. I have sought to state both sides of the case, fully, even at the cost of some apparent inconsistency. If my remarks seem to bear hardly upon our administration of India, it is not because I seek to injure it, but to improve it. We have no need to be ashamed of the work we have done in India; but that work will improve in quality, and yield nobler results in future, just in proportion as it is brought within the scope of healthful criticism.

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INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

$\frac{A}{P} 10$

PARBATI CHURN ROY, B.A.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

A DIGEST AND CRITICISM

OF THE

REPORT OF THE

Public Service Commission.

BY

PARBATI CHURN ROY, B.A.,

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PREFACE.

IN these pages I have attempted to lay before the British people the general outlines of the Public Service question as it at present stands in India. I have tried my best to focus under their respective heads the most salient points contained in the Public Service Commission's Report and Proceedings. What is most urgently needed in India is a scheme for reducing expenditure in the different branches of the Administration without in any way impairing their efficiency, and this the Public Service Commission has failed to effect. A Royal Commission guided, like the late Court of Directors, by considerations of humanity and abstract justice, will, it is hoped, be able to accomplish the task better.

P. C. ROY.

20, MORTLAKE ROAD, KEW,

LONDON, *October 15, 1888.*

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I.

THE WORK OF OBLITERATION OF RACE DISTINCTION IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF INDIA BEGUN AND CONTINUED.

THERE is nothing that impresses a student of history so much with the greatness of the English people as their conduct in dealing with the affairs of India. Having come into the possession of India more from motives of self-defence than from those of conquest, England has always allowed herself to be mainly guided by considerations for the well-being of the Natives of India. Within twenty years from the battle of Plassey, Warren Hastings gave to Indians laws, civil and criminal, which were greatly in advance of those in force during the Mahommedan government in its best days, and, before the end of the eighteenth century, the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, which, whatever its defects may be, has given to Bengal its present prosperity, was settled. The Board of Directors of the East India Company were a body of men of whom any country might be proud. Their despatches are often full of generous sentiments towards the Natives of India. The good of the Indians was the chief object held in view; to this all others were made subordinate. It could not be denied that the Government of India by England has had its shortcomings, especially, in its treatment of Native claims to a fair share in the administration of the affairs of their country. But it could not with justice be alleged that England had uniformly and deliberately furthered the interests of her own children at the expense of those of the children of India. Within a few years after the consoli-

dition of her *Indian Empire, England commenced the work of educating her Indian subjects, and as education began to spread in the country, she began to entrust the educated Natives with offices and responsibilities for which they had made themselves fit. Then it was, with that magnanimity of heart which could only belong to the most advanced nation in the world, England came to the determination that all distinctions based on a difference in the races must disappear from the Services of India, and that the only criterion of eligibility for offices should be fitness. It was in this spirit that section 87 of the Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV. cap. 85, 1833, was passed,* and it was in the same spirit that the Court of Directors issued their Despatch No. 44, dated December 10, 1834, in which, among others, the following noble sentiments find place :—

“ It is fitting that this important enactment should be understood in order that its full spirit and intention may be transfused through our whole system of administration.

“ But the meaning of the enactment we take to be that, there shall be no governing caste in British India; that, whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number; that no subject of the King, whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent, shall be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on our Uncovenanted Servants in India, or from the Covenanted Service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible, consistently with the rules and agreeably to the conditions observed and enacted in the one case and in the other. . . .

“ Certain offices are appropriated to them (the Natives), from certain others they are debarred; not because these latter belong to the Covenanted Service, and the former do not belong to it, but professedly on the ground that the

* “ That no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government ” (Act 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, s. 87, 1833).

average amount of Native qualifications can be presumed only to arise to a certain limit. It is this line of demarcation which the present enactment obliterates, or rather, for which it substitutes another, wholly irrespective of the distinction of races. Fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility.”*

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which ended in the shedding of much English and Indian blood; and roused some of the worst passions of revenge and race hatred in irresponsible Englishmen, produced not the slightest change in the just and humane policy of Government. In the ever-memorable proclamation issued on November 1, 1858, by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, after assumption of the direct Government of British India, occurs the following passage, breathing most noble sentiments of justice, equality, and humanity:—

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . .

“And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.” †

But Her Majesty’s Government, in their solicitude to do justice to the Natives of India, went still further. At the time that the above proclamation was made there existed section 57 of Statute 33 Geo. III. cap. 52, which laid down that “all vacancies happening in any of the offices, places, or employments in the Civil line of the Company’s service in India (being under the degree of Counsellor)

* Reproduced at p. 75 of “Appendices to the Report of the Public Service Commission.”

† Proclamation by the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India (published by the Governor-General at Allahabad, November 1, 1858).

'shall be from time to time filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall happen.'" As this enactment stood in the way of giving effect to the wishes expressed in Her Majesty's proclamation, quoted above, in 1861 the Statute 24 & 25 Vic. cap. 54, was passed, which not only defined, in the schedule * attached thereto, the appointments reserved for the Civil Service, but also empowered the authorities in India, under special circumstances, to appoint also to these offices persons other than Covenanted Civil Servants, subject to certain restrictions. Her Majesty's Government did not, however, remain satisfied with the above Statute. Probably finding, after the lapse of nine years, that the authorities

* The schedule was as follows :—“ Secretaries, Junior Secretaries, and Under Secretaries to the several Governments in India, except the Secretaries, Junior Secretaries, and Under Secretaries in the Military, Marine, and Public Works Departments; Accountant General, Civil Auditor, Sub-Treasurer.”

“ Judicial.

“ (1) Civil and Session Judges, or chief Judicial Officers of districts in the Provinces now known as Regulation Provinces.

“ (2) Additional and Assistant Judges in the said Provinces.

“ (3) Magistrates or Chief Magisterial Officers of districts in the said Provinces.

“ (4) Joint-Magistrates in the said Provinces.

“ (5) Assistant Magistrates or Assistants to Magistrates in the said Provinces.

“ Revenue.

“ (1) Members of the Board of Revenue in the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras.

“ (2) Secretaries to the said Boards of Revenue.

“ (3) Commissioners of Revenue or Chief Revenue Officers of divisions in the Provinces now known as Regulation Provinces.

“ (4) Collectors of Revenue or chief Revenue Officers of districts in the said Provinces.

“ (5) Deputy or Subordinate Collectors where combined with the office of Joint-Magistrate in the said Provinces.

“ (6) Assistant Collectors or Assistants to Collectors in the said Provinces.

“ (7) Salt Agents.

“ (8) Controller of Salt Chowkies.

“ (9) Commissioners of Customs, Salt, and Opium.

“ (10) Opium Agents.”

in India had not exercised in favour of Natives the powers given to them in 1861 for making appointments to officers reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, they passed in 1870 the Statute 33 Vic. cap. 3, providing, in section 6, "additional facilities . . . for the employment of Natives of India of proved merit and ability in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India." It laid down that nothing in any "Act of Parliament or other law now in force in India shall restrain the authorities in India by whom appointments are or may be made to offices, places, and employments in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India from appointing any Native of India to any such office, place, or employment, although such Native shall not have been admitted to the said Civil Service of India in manner in section 32 of the Act for the Government of India, 21 & 22 Vic. cap. 106, provided, but subject to such rules as may be from time to time prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present." But it took the Government of India nine years to finally frame rules for giving effect to the above enactment. It is a matter for regret that the rules, which took such a long time in framing, have failed not only to give satisfaction to the Native community, but also "to secure properly qualified men," as will appear from the following extracts from the Report of the Public Service Commission :—

"While among these (the educated Natives) the desire is general to procure additional facilities for the employment of Natives of India, of proved merit and ability, in the Civil Service, the evidence before the Commission shows that the present arrangements under the statutory system for effecting this end are viewed with dissatisfaction. As regards the extent of this dissatisfaction, it is, of course, difficult to apply any precise measure; but, broadly speaking, the Commission believes the feeling to extend to all the educated classes of the community whose interests are more immediately affected, or who have given any atten-

tion to the question. The objections to the statutory system which have been laid before the Commission have generally been directed rather against the Rules than the Statute." *

"The next point (after prevailing feeling amongst the Native community) regarding which the Commission is directed to inquire is as to the results of the selections made under the Statute of 1870.

"In paragraph 45, *supra*, reference has been made to the appointments made under the Statute, and to the various modes of selection adopted by local Governments in connection therewith. As regards the results of these selections, it is difficult to formulate any judgment which would be equally applicable to all cases ; but, speaking generally (although there are certainly exceptions), and dealing with statutory civilians as a class, the Commission believes it to be certain that many of the persons, being untried men, who have hitherto been appointed under the Statute of 1870, do not bear favourable comparison in regard to their work as public servants with Native civilians who have entered the Civil Service through the channel of the English competition. In the majority of cases such persons cannot be said to be superior, while they are in some cases inferior, in education and ability, to the average of those appointed or promoted to the higher ranks of the Uncovenanted Service, and it is doubtful whether any except a few of them enjoy higher social consideration or belong to more influential families. In some cases, doubtless, the persons appointed under the Statutory Rules have fully justified their appointment both by their general character and by the efficiency with which they have discharged their duties ; but the Commission is unable to come to any other conclusion from the evidence before it than that the statutory system has failed to secure properly qualified men." †

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 67.

† Ibid. par. 68.

II.

THE WORK OF OBLITERATION OF RACE DISTINCTION NOT ADVANCED TO THE DESIRED EXTENT.

THE appointments made under the Statute of 1870 having failed to give satisfaction, and only two* appointments, one in Bengal and the other in Bombay, having been made under the Statute of 1861, it might well be argued that, in spite of the facilities repeatedly given by Her Majesty's Government in England for the appointment of Natives of India to offices reserved for the members of the Covenanted Civil Service, the authorities in India have not exercised their powers liberally and judiciously on behalf of Natives. The Civil Service is not, however, the only department from which Natives are at present all but excluded. With the exception of the subordinate Judicial and the subordinate Executive Service, for which they have made themselves indispensable by reason of their superior knowledge of the laws administered in the Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Courts of their country, they are virtually shut out from higher-grade appointments in the other branches of the Uncovenanted Service, which are filled up by non-domiciled and domiciled Europeans, and by Eurasians.

A reference to the schedule of appointments reserved for the Civil Service by the Statute of 1861 will show that the following higher-class appointments, requiring no special scientific knowledge, were not reserved :—

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 37, p. 24.

† Vide p. 7, ante.

Commissioner of Police.
 Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs.
 Inspector-General of Police.
 Collector of Customs.
 Commissioner and Deputy-Commissioner in the Non-
 Regulation Provinces.
 Inspector-General of Registration.
 Superintendent of Stamps and Stationery.
 Postmaster-General.
 Director of Agriculture.
 Registrar, High Court.
 Settlement Officer.
 Income-tax Commissioner.

It is a matter for surprise that not one of the above appointments in any of the Presidencies is filled by a Native. And yet it could not be said with justice that the country which once produced a Todar Mull, author of Akbar's much-admired Revenue System, and a Raj Bullabh, the chief ally of Clive in the overthrow of the government of Seraj-ud-Dowlah, had ceased to produce any great financier or administrator at the present time. To be convinced of this, one has only to look to the successful administrations of Sir T. Madhav Rao in Travancore, of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Baroda, and of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao at Indore. These are, however, instances of Indians who have had exceptional opportunities for rising to the topmost ladder of service in Native States. That as a class Natives are not incompetent to hold high executive trusts will appear from the following finding arrived at by the Public Service Commission:—

"After a careful consideration of the arguments which have been brought forward on the subject, the Commission is unable to proceed on the general assumption that Natives are unfit for district or other executive charges. They have as yet had no sufficient opportunity of showing their capacity in this respect in the higher executive

administration, and the generality of this assumption is not warranted by experience in departments in which Natives have already been tried. Moreover, it is stated that Natives of India, when placed in charge of districts in Native States which have been temporarily under British management, have in some cases performed their duties to the entire satisfaction of their superiors, and have proved themselves most efficient officers. The same may be said of many Native officers who have held sub-divisional charges in British India. Under these circumstances, the Commission considers that due opportunity should be afforded to Natives to prove their fitness for holding the executive charges of districts, and the proposals of the Commission to remove certain district charges from the schedule of the Statute have been made with this view."*

But Natives are virtually excluded not only from the above-mentioned *very high*-class appointments, not reserved for the Civil Service, but also from the higher-grade appointments in the (1) Accounts, (2) Customs, (3) Forest, (4) Jail, (5) Opium, (6) Postal, (7) Police, (8) Public Works, (9) Salt, and (10) Survey Departments, as will appear from the following:—

ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT.

"In the different classes of enrolled officers (below the Accountants-General) there are twenty-three Europeans not domiciled in India (of whom four are Covenanted civilians), eight domiciled Europeans, three Eurasians, two Hindus, one Burman, and one Parsi. Of the probationers, two are non-domiciled Europeans and two are Hindus." †

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

Madras.—"The Collector of Sea Customs . . . is a Covenanted civilian and a non-domiciled European. The Deputy Collector . . . is also a non-domiciled European.

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 77, p. 73.

† *Ibid*, par. 92, p. 92.

The Superintendent of Imports and Exports and the Manager are Eurasians. The Accountant is a Hindu." *

Bombay.—"The gazetted executive staff consists of six officers, of whom two (the Collector and the Assistant Collector) are Covenanted civilians. . . . The other four gazetted officers are the second, third, and fourth Assistant Collectors and the Superintendent of the Preventive Service. Of these officers, the third Assistant Collector is a Parsi; the others are domiciled Europeans."

"The Gauging Staff consists of six officers, of whom four are Eurasians, one is a non-domiciled European, and one is a Parsi. To secure efficiency and regularity of promotion, Gaugers are graded with the Abkari Inspectors employed outside the limits of the Presidency town, most of whom are Europeans or Eurasians originally enlisted for the Preventive Service. . . .

"The Superintendent of the Preventive Service is ordinarily selected from the ranks of that service. Exclusive of the Superintendent, the Preventive staff consists of thirty-nine officers. Of five Inspectors, three are domiciled Europeans and two are Eurasians. Of five Preventive officers in the first grade, one is a domiciled European, and four are Eurasians; of six in the second grade, three are domiciled Europeans and three are Eurasians; of ten in the third grade, five are domiciled Europeans, four are Eurasians, and one is a Native; of thirteen in the fourth grade, ten are domiciled Europeans and three are Eurasians." †

Sind.—"The chief Executive officer is the Collector of Customs, who is also Assistant Commissioner of Salt Revenue. This officer is a non-domiciled European. Subordinate to the Collector is an Assistant Collector, a Eurasian. The head Preventive officer, the officer in charge of Customs at Kali Bunder, and the Statistical Compiler are, it is believed, Eurasians, as is also the Head Clerk." †

Bengal.—"The chief Executive appointment, that of

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 96, p. 95.

† Ibid. par. 96, pp. 95—96.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

Collector, is conferred on members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The other gazetted officers are the Assistant Collector and the Superintendent of the Preventive branch. The office of Assistant Collector was up to 1854 held by a Covenanted civilian. In that year it was conferred on a member of the Tagore family, who held it for about four years. In 1880 the office of Head Appraiser was amalgamated with it; the present incumbent, a non-domiciled European, discharges also the duties of Treasurer.

“The staff of the Customs House proper is for purposes of convenience distributed among several branches, the Appraisers, the Import, the Export, the Cash, the Accounts, the Statistical Wharf branches. The officers in these branches subordinate to the Collector were recently distributed into eight grades. In each of the first three grades there is one non-domiciled European officer; the other twenty-six officers are statutory Natives, five being domiciled Europeans, thirteen Eurasians, and eight Hindus. Of the Hindus, one is in the fifth grade, and seven are in the eighth grade. . . .

“The total strength of the Preventive force is one hundred and nine. The principal officer is the Superintendent. He has also charge of the Sulkea Salt godowns. The present incumbent, who is the only non-domiciled European in the force, is an officer of the Bengal police, and it is stated that the appointment will hereafter ordinarily be conferred on a member of that service. Of eight inspectors, three are domiciled Europeans, and five are Eurasians. The subordinate Preventive officers are distributed in nine grades; twenty-seven are domiciled Europeans, and seventy-three are Eurasians.” *

FOREST DEPARTMENT.

“The Controlling Staff consists of Conservators of three grades, who are chief Forest officers in provinces or parts of provinces, and of Deputy Conservators of four grades, and

* Public Service Commissions Report, par. 96, pp. 96—97.

Assistant Conservators of three grades, who are officers in charge of Forest divisions or sub-divisions. To the Controlling Staff appointments are ordinarily made by the Secretary of State. The candidates are selected by competitive examination in England, and are specially trained in forestry before coming to India. . . .

“In the Superior Staff there are two Eurasians. There is one Native Assistant Conservator, and one Native Deputy Conservator, who entered the service by competition in England. All the others are Europeans, of whom only ten are domiciled in India. . . .

“In the ranks of the Sub-Assistants and of Rangers drawing more than 100 rupees a month, there are five non-domiciled Europeans, fifteen domiciled Europeans, and thirteen Eurasians. All the others are Natives.” *

JAIL DEPARTMENT.

Madras.—“The Inspector-General is an Uncovenanted civilian. The six central jails are in charge of non-domiciled Europeans, who are not medical officers. The order of the Secretary of State prohibiting the appointment of Europeans to offices carrying a salary of 200 rupees a month and upwards has been relaxed so far as to allow of transfers of eligible officers from the Police to the Jail department.

“The Superintendent of the Penitentiary at Madras is an Uncovenanted officer, a non-domiciled European. Two district jails are in charge of Uncovenanted superintendents—one a domiciled European, the other a Eurasian; and the remaining district jails are in charge of local medical officers.” †

Bombay.—“There are forty-six appointments carrying salaries of 100 rupees a month and upwards in the Bombay Jail Department, which are distributed among twenty-one non-domiciled and six domiciled Europeans, five Eurasians, and thirteen Natives of India.” †

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 100, p. 102.

† Ibid. par. 104, pp. 105, 106. ‡ Ibid. par. 104, p. 106.

Bengal.—"The present Inspector-General, who is also Inspector of Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, is an officer of the Bengal Medical Service, and a non-domiciled European. The personal assistant to the Inspector-General, the Superintendent of Jail Manufactures, seven Superintendents of Central Jails, three Assistant Superintendents, three Deputy Superintendents, five officers filling miscellaneous appointments connected with manufactures, and four warders, are Europeans—twenty-one non-domiciled and three domiciled." *

North-Western Provinces and Oudh.—"The Inspector-General is a colonel of the Bengal Staff Corps, and was transferred from the Police Department, in which he had served for many years, and risen to the grade of Deputy Inspector-General. The Superintendents of Central Jails are commissioned officers of the Bengal Medical Service, with one exception—an Uncovenanted medical officer." †

Punjab.—"There are only seven appointments carrying salaries of more than Rs. 100 a month which are held by officers whose whole time is given to Jail work. Three of these—the inspector-generalship and the superintendentships of two central jails—are held by medical officers, non-domiciled Europeans; and four—viz., two deputy superintendentships and two jailorships—by Uncovenanted civilians, of whom one is a Eurasian and three are Natives." ‡

Central Provinces.—"Two non-domiciled Europeans—the Inspector-General, a military officer, who is also Superintendent of a Central Jail, and the Superintendent of another Central Jail—three domiciled Europeans and six Eurasians, are employed in this department. No Native receives a salary of 100 rupees a month." §

Assam and Berar.—"The appointment of Inspector-General of Jails in Assam is combined with several other offices, and the charges of district jails, where they are paid appointments, are held by the Civil medical officers—three

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 104, p. 106.

† Ibid. par. 104, p. 106.

‡ Ibid. par. 104, p. 107.

§ Ibid. par. 104, p. 107.

in number—in addition to their other duties. They are non-domiciled Europeans. A similar system obtains in Berar, and the only two jailorships are filled by domiciled Europeans.”*

OPIMUM DEPARTMENT.

“The appointments in the commissioned ranks are about seventy-five in number. At the head there are two Opium Agents and two Principal Assistants. The former belong to the Covenanted Civil Service, and the latter are commissioned officers in the Indian Medical Service, and are at present non-domiciled Europeans. . . . Among the remaining officers of the higher grades—namely, sub-deputy agents, assistant sub-deputy agents, probationers and head assistants to principal assistants—there are at present forty-seven non-domiciled Europeans, thirteen domiciled Europeans, eight Eurasians and one Mahomedan. Two of these appointments are vacant. The two Opium agencies are reserved for members of the Covenanted Civil Service by the Statute 24 and 25 Vic. cap. 54.”†

POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

“The appointment of Director-General has always been conferred on a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. The appointment of Deputy Director-General is conferred alternately on a Covenanted civilian and an Uncovenanted officer of the department. The present incumbent is a Covenanted civilian; but an Uncovenanted officer, a domiciled European, is officiating in the appointment. The appointments of Assistant Directors-General, three in number, are at present held by non-domiciled Europeans.”‡

“Postmasters-General are appointed by the Government of India. The Director-General states that Postmaster-Generalships ordinarily belong to the Covenanted Civil

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 104, p. 107.

† Ibid. par. 110, p. 110.

‡ Ibid. p. r. 114, p. 115.

Service, but he adds that one of the five appointments has, until lately, always been bestowed on an Uncovenanted postal officer, and that since the year 1881 a Native by race and blood has been employed in another Postmaster-Generalship.*

“Deputy Postmasters-General are appointed by the Director-General by selection from among the most qualified officers of the department. The substantive appointments are at present held by Europeans, of whom three are domiciled in India. A Native officer is now officiating in one of the largest circles in charge of officers of this class. . . .

“There are three chief appointments in the Accounts branch of the Post Office. The office of Comptroller is at present held by a non-domiciled European. The Deputy-Comptroller is a Hindu, and the Assistant-Comptroller is a non-domiciled European. . . . Of the three Presidency Postmasters two are domiciled Europeans, and the third is a Eurasian.

“At the date when the return was prepared there were eighteen Superintendents of the first grade, of whom four were non-domiciled Europeans, ten were domiciled Europeans, two were Eurasians, one was a Hindu, and one was a Parsi. There were twenty-eight Superintendents of the second grade, of whom nine were non-domiciled Europeans, seven were domiciled Europeans, three were Eurasians, six were Hindus, and three were Parsis. Of thirty-one Superintendents of the third grade, three were non-domiciled Europeans, sixteen were domiciled Europeans, one was a Eurasian, nine were Hindus, one was a Mahomedan, and one was a Parsi. Of forty-three Superintendents in the fourth grade, six were non-domiciled Europeans, twenty-one were domiciled Europeans, two were Eurasians, twelve were Hindus, one was a Mahomedan, and one was a native Indian.” †

* Public Service Commission's Report,* pp. 115-6.

† Ibid. par. 114, p. 116.

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

“In the provinces to which the inquiries of the Commission extend there are in round numbers three hundred and seventy officers in the superior grades of the force, including a grade of Assistant Superintendent, which is reserved in some provinces as a final stage of advancement for deserving men of the non-commissioned ranks. Of these three hundred and seventy officers, three hundred and fifteen are non-domiciled Europeans, thirty-three are domiciled Europeans, five are Eurasians, and seventeen are Natives.” *

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

“The races represented in the superior Engineer establishment are as follows:—

Europeans not domiciled in India	810
Europeans domiciled in India, including Eurasians	119
Natives	86
	† 1015

REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

Madras.—“The present Inspector-General is a Eurasian, who before appointment had held the highest Uncovenanted post in the secretariat.” †

Bombay.—“The Inspector-General of Registration has also the superintendence of the Stamp department and of Jails. The present incumbent is a non-domiciled European.” §

Sind.—“The supervision of registration rests with the first Assistant Commissioner as branch Inspector-General. The present incumbent is a non-domiciled European.” ||

Bengal.—“Hitherto the appointment of Inspector-General has always been held by a member of the Covenanted Civil Service.” ¶

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 116, p. 119.

† Ibid. par. 118, p. 122.

‡ Ibid. par. 120, p. 125.

§ Ibid. p. 123.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

North-West Provinces and Oudh.—“The Inspector-General of Registration is also Commissioner of Excise and Stamps, and Registrar of Joint Stock Companies. The appointment is held by a member of the Covenanted Civil Service.” *

Punjab.—“The Inspector-General of Registration, who also holds the appointment of Superintendent of Stamps, is at present a domiciled European, an Uncovenanted civilian.” †

Central Provinces.—“The Inspector-General of Registration, a Covenanted civilian, is also Commissioner of Excise and Superintendent of Stamps.” ‡

Assam.—“The office of Inspector-General of Registration is held by the Inspector-General of Police and Jails, who is also Superintendent of Stamps and Commissioner of Excise for half the province. The present Inspector-General is a military officer graded as a Deputy-Commissioner of the Assam Commission.” §

Berar.—“The Inspector General of Registration, an officer of the Staff Corps, is also Inspector-General of Stamps, Jail and Police.” ||

SALT DEPARTMENT.

Northern India.—“The staff of the department comprises the following gazetted officers: the Commissioner, who is a member of the Covenanted Civil Service; the Deputy Commissioner, and seven Assistant Commissioners. Of the Deputy and Assistant Commissioners, five are non-domiciled Europeans and three are domiciled Europeans. . . .

“In addition to the gazetted officers, there are three grades of Superintendents, numbering in all fifty-three officers, of whom nine are non-domiciled Europeans,

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 120, p. 126.

† Ibid. p. 127.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

twenty-seven are domiciled Europeans, fifteen are Eurasians, and two are Mahommedans.*

Madras, including Orissa.—“The Commissioner for Salt and Abkari has, under recent arrangements, been constituted a member of the Board of Revenue. The appointment is held by a Covenanted civilian. The officer second in rank in the department is the Secretary, who is also a Covenanted civilian. An Assistant Secretary is appointed from the gazetted officers of the department. The present incumbent is a Eurasian. The gazetted officers, in addition to those mentioned, are three Deputy Commissioners, all non-domiciled Europeans, and ten Assistant Commissioners in four grades, of whom seven are non-domiciled Europeans, one is a domiciled European, one is a Eurasian, and one is a Hindu.” †

Bombay.—“At the head of the department is the Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Abkari, who must, by law, be a Covenanted civilian. The administration of the department in subordination to the Commissioner is committed to the Collector of Salt Revenue, who is always a Covenanted civilian. There are now one Deputy Collector, a Covenanted civilian, and nine Assistant Collectors in four grades. There is also a Native assistant to the Collector. One of the Assistant Collectors is a domiciled European and two are Parsis; the others are non-domiciled Europeans. The Native assistant is a Hindu.” †

SURVEY DEPARTMENT.

India.—“The administrative staff of the Survey Department comprises the Surveyor-General, the Deputy Surveyor-General in the Revenue branch, and the Deputy Surveyor-General in the Trigonometrical branch. All of these officers are non-domiciled Europeans. The sanctioned staff of the senior division comprises thirty-two Deputy Superintendents

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 122, pp. 128, 129.

† Ibid. par. 122, p. 129. ‡ Ibid. par. 122, p. 129.

in four grades, and seventeen Assistant Superintendents in two grades. The officers of the senior division are partly military and partly civil, the proportion being from time to time determined by the Surveyor-General, subject to the control of the Government. At the time of this inquiry thirty-seven out of forty-nine posts in the administrative senior division were held by military officers, and twelve by civilians, of whom nine had been promoted from the lower division and three had been specially appointed. Of the forty-six officers in the upper division, thirty-nine are non-domiciled Europeans, six are domiciled Europeans, and one is a Eurasian. The junior division comprises fifty Surveyors in four grades, and eighty-five Assistant Surveyors in three grades, two appointments in the lowest grade being vacant. In the third grade one appointment is held by a Hindu and another by a Mahomedan, who were promoted for special services in connection with the Afghan Boundary Commission. Of the other officers in the junior division, five are non-domiciled Europeans, ninety-three are domiciled Europeans, and thirty-three are Eurasians." *

Madras.—“The gazetted staff consists of eighteen officers : the Superintendent, one Deputy Superintendent of the first grade, four Deputy Superintendents of the second grade, four first Assistant Superintendents, five Second Assistant Superintendents, and three probationary Assistant Superintendents. All the gazetted appointments are now held by non-domiciled Europeans.” †

Bombay.—It appears from the statement given at page 5 of the Sub-Committee's Proceedings regarding the Bombay Survey Department, that of the forty-two gazetted appointments, thirty-five were held by non-domiciled Europeans, three by domiciled Europeans, and four by Eurasians, but, none by any Natives of India.

Sind.—“The staff at present consists of a Superintendent, who is a military officer, an Assistant Settlement Officer, and

* Public Service Commission's Report, par. 124, pp. 131, 132.

† Ibid. p. 133.

seven Assistant Superintendents in four grades. With the exception of an Assistant Superintendent of the first grade, who is a domiciled European, all the gazetted officers are non-domiciled Europeans.”*

The following Table gives a summary of the appointments held by “non-domiciled” Europeans, “domiciled” Europeans, Eurasians, and Indians in the different departments, as shown in the foregoing extracts :—

Name of Department.	Non-domiciled Europeans.	Domiciled Europeans.	Eurasians.	Indians.	Remarks.	
Accounts Department ..	25	8	3	6	* The number of “domiciled” Europeans in the Superior branch, and of native Sub-Assistants and Rangers, not given.	
Customs	13	60	117	12		
Forest	5	25*	13	2		
Jails	60	15	13	16		
Opium	49	13	8	1		
Postal	33	59	9	39		
Police	315	33	5	17		
Public Works †.....	810	119†	—	86		
Registration	7	1	1	—		† “Domiciled Europeans” include Eurasians.
Salt	35	32	16	7		
Survey	108	103	38	2		
Total,.....	1,460	486	223	188		

* Public Service Commission’s Report, p. 134.

III.

RACE DISTINCTION STILL MADE A GROUND OF DISQUALIFICATION AGAINST NATIVES.

For the purposes of the present inquiry regarding the representation of the European, Eurasian, and Native races in the different branches of the Uncovenanted Service, we have left out of consideration the departments named below,* in which scientific or technical training of a special nature is required. It is somewhat amusing to see that, in spite of the despatch of the Court of Directors and the proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty referred to above,† a Native of India, of pure blood, is still considered disqualified, simply on the ground that he is a Native, from holding appointments in the higher grades of some of the departments about which statistics have been given above. From a voluminous record of evidence collected by the Sub-Committee we shall make a few extracts, showing how in some cases the witnesses have borne testimony of a conflicting nature regarding the fitness of Natives, and how in others they have prejudged the case against Natives, not having in any way tried them in the offices for which they considered them unfit. We shall take up the departments in the order in which they appear in the extracts given under Part II. of this paper.

* Archaeological Survey, Education, Geological Survey, Meteorological Survey, Mint, Pilot Service, Telegraph.

† Vide pp. 8, 9, ante.

ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT.

Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp, C.S., Accountant-General, N. W. Provinces, bears the following testimony to the character of the Native officers serving under him :—

“ We have already in our Accounts offices a class of officers called Chief Superintendents, who are the backbone of these offices ; they are selected for merit from among the Superintendents, and it is so essential that they should be men of ability and energy that very little favouritism is shown in their selection. They are almost entirely Natives or Eurasians, and are fit for any work below the grade of Deputy Accountant-General ; indeed it is upon them, and not on his European assistants, that an Accountant-General now depends for the carrying out of any really difficult task. . . . Besides the Chief Superintendents, there are in each large Accounts office ten or twelve Superintendents, most of whom are quite fit to do the work of an Assistant Accountant-General. From this large class we could at once recruit the forty Native and Eurasian assistants we require, and I would make Europeans, unless domiciled, ineligible for these appointments. They have hitherto, since 1862 (?), been appointed by nomination after a limited competition (which has been very nominal), and they have not been a success. A few good officers have entered in this way, but the majority are of very average ability and industry, and do not do their work in any way better than Natives of India, while they cost much more. On the other hand, a few are much worse and more useless than Native officers would ever be, for the Natives would be turned out, whereas the Europeans are allowed to remain out of pity for the fate that would befall them if they were dismissed.”*

But according to Mr. J. Westland, Comptroller-General and Acting Financial Secretary to the Government of India, —“ A native will not bear the personal responsibility of

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Accounts Department, p. 9.

going out of routine, and will be apt to break down when urgent work must be done. One Native did very well in such employment; but he was altogether an exceptional man, and no system of recruitment would bring half a dozen Natives equal to him into the department. A Native is not equal to a man bred and trained in European ways in the work of organisation and management of a large office. A Native Superintendent can rarely get over the fact that he belongs rather to the side of the clerks than of the masters. You cannot trust him to the same extent to work his clerks, and the work is not so efficiently turned out as under a European. . . .

“Some of the thirty-four appointments might be filled by Natives, but not one-third, or anything approaching one-third, could be so filled with any advantage to the public service. Banks, whose work is most analogous to that of the department, find it best to recruit for their principal offices from the European element, and the average of competence being higher in that class than in Natives, there is less risk of recruiting from them, if the methods of selection do not render it possible to pick out competent Natives.” *

Here are two officers, occupying the high posts of Comptroller-General and Accountant-General, holding widely different views regarding the comparative merits of Europeans and Natives. Whom are we to believe: the one that, as Accountant-General, has daily opportunities of judging of the merits of his Native and European subordinates, and prefers the former to the latter; or the other that, as Comptroller-General, has seldom opportunities of seeing the work of any but his European assistants?

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

The opposition against the appointment of Natives to the higher offices in the Customs Department is very strong. The Collector of Customs in Calcutta says:—

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Accounts Department, p. 7.

“ Under head 4 inquiry is made as to the classes of the community who seek to be employed in the department. I have explained that for the Appraisers’ Department we require mercantile experience; and this department, as I have said, is usually recruited from among those who have had experience in merchants’ offices. Natives do not apply for admission as Appraisers or Preventive officers. There does not appear to be any class in Bengal, except among Europeans and Eurasians, that could supply men fit for the duties to be performed. In the rest of the office there appears to be no distinction or preference for any one class in particular. It happens that the heads of departments are usually Europeans or Eurasians; and this, I think, is due to the fact that the upper appointments in this office are almost invariably filled from the Appraisers’ Department. There is, moreover, no similarity between the work of a mere clerk in a department and the head of that department. This is not the natural course of promotion.

“ In the Customs the head of a department is something more than a mere supervisor; he is a checking officer as well; and it is desirable that where our receipts depend upon the accuracy and care of the subordinate clerks, the officer exercising control and check should be of a superior grade. There is, however, no prejudice and no prohibition against the employment of any particular class. The higher paid posts naturally fall to those who bring the best qualifications, and in matters relating to Customs these will generally be Europeans and Eurasians. The office has to do chiefly with foreigners; and I believe it is not unusual in other countries—for instance in China—for the Natives of the country to choose foreigners to look after the Custom House. It stands to reason that until Natives of India overcome caste prejudices, mingle more freely with strangers, and take more generally to foreign travel, there will not be found among them many who will be qualified to compete with the alien in this particular line of business. We have, however, only to concern ourselves with the selec-

tion of competent and trustworthy subordinates, and where so much depends on supervision by the heads of departments, the officer in charge of the Custom House must, in the interests of Government, be left a pretty free hand in the selection. This is not a case where it would be prudent to jeopardise the safety of the revenue by an experiment in the interests of a class. It must be recognised, I think, that the sole criterion in this case must be proved fitness, quite irrespective of colour, race or creed, and I do not know that any more equitable test could be devised."*

It will be seen that the above extract contains two contradictory statements; namely, that in the first place Natives did "not apply for admission as Appraisers or Preventive officers"; and secondly, that there did "not appear in any class in Bengal, except among Europeans and Eurasians, that could supply men fit for the duties to be performed." If Natives did not apply for admission as "Appraisers," how did the Collector come to know that they were unfit for holding such posts? The Bombay Collector of Customs does not, however, consider Natives to be as unfit for holding high appointments in the Customs Department as the Calcutta Collector, though he too cannot get over the prejudice against seeing a Native placed in situations in which he would come in contact with Europeans.

"I am glad to say," writes the Bombay Acting Commissioner in a "note" to the Sub Committee, "that the Third Assistant (now on leave) is a good assistant (this gentleman is a Parsi), as is also the Acting Assistant, a Parsi, whose permanent appointment is Head Appraiser. But there are strong reasons for having Europeans as assistants."† The following finding by the Commission, however, disposes of both the allegations made by the Calcutta Collector of Customs.

"The Commission further considers that there is no ground for the exclusion of qualified candidates of any race

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Customs Department, p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 24.

from the Appraisers' or Preventive branches. There is evidence in support of the view that Natives may be found in Bengal who are qualified for the Appraisers' branch, and in Bombay similar appointments are in fact held by Natives."*

FOREST DEPARTMENT.

All kinds of objections have been raised to the appointment of Natives in the Forest Department, of which the following is a specimen:—

"There can, I think," says the Conservator of Forests, Central Provinces, "be no doubt that, while the life entailed by Forest employ is more or less distasteful to pure Natives of India of different classes, it is not, as a rule, distasteful to Europeans or people of European extraction; and whereas Europeans accept Forest service chiefly from choice of a profession, Natives accept such service rather for the sake of the income to be derived from it. For this reason, as well as the fact that Europeans are as a rule, capable of exercising more personal influence, and are not exposed to the same feelings of jealousy on the part of officials below them, I consider them better fitted for the organisation, direction, and control of large establishments such as fall to the charge of officers of the Controlling Staff; given the same training, they will, I believe, also prove the best Foresters." †

We need hardly point out the weakness of the arguments—if the mere suppositions of the Conservator can at all be called arguments—used in the foregoing extract. The Conservator thinks that there can be no doubt that "the life entailed by Forest employ is more or less distasteful to pure Natives of India of different classes." May we ask him to what classes the Forest Rangers and other subordinate officers belong? Are they Europeans and

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 97, p. 97.

† Report of the Sub-Committee, Forest Department, p. 45.

Eurasians or pure Natives? And is not the life of these subordinate Native officers more exposed to hardship than the life of their European superiors? But one can hardly restrain laughter when one reads that "Europeans accept Forest service chiefly from choice of a profession," while "Natives accept such service rather for the sake of the income to be derived from it." We should like very much to know, if it were possible for the writer of the "note" to become the "Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces," instead of the "Conservator of Forests," he would not have, for the sake of a profession, preferred changing position. We do not deny that there are Europeans who join the Forest Department from a choice of profession, but we deny that all the Europeans, or the majority of them, that seek for employment in that department, are actuated by such high motives. They enter the Forest service just as they enter the Police and Opium departments, because they cannot find anything better to begin life with, and the same may be said of Natives. But the real reason why such a strong opposition to the employment of Natives in the higher posts of the Forest Department—which is also the reason for their exclusion from such posts in other departments—is stated by the Conservator of Forests under the Berars Administration. "I hold," says the Berars Conservator, "that the highest posts in the department—those of administration—should always be held by Englishmen. It is right and proper, as well as necessary, that they should in India be at the head of all departments."* We thank the Berars Conservator of Forests for stating the case in these plain words. The real point at issue is not the comparative merits of Europeans and Natives, but the question whether it is right and proper that a Native should be at the head of any department, seeing that he belongs to the subject and not to the

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Forest Department, p. 50.

“ruling” race. Of course the case would be different if the Native could claim some blood relationship to the ruling race, like the domiciled Europeans and the Eurasians.

JAILS DEPARTMENT.

But the amusement that one feels at the length of absurdity to which people are sometimes led by their zeal for shutting against Natives the door to high appointments in the service of their country, is not confined to a particular “note” or “evidence” bearing on any particular department, but is derived generally from “notes” and “evidence” collected regarding all the departments which came under the Sub-Committee’s inquiry. The following extracts from the Sub-Committee’s Note regarding the Bengal Jail Department speak for themselves:—

“With regard to the employment of Natives of Asiatic parentage in the Jail Department, the Inspector-General is of opinion that the post of Superintendent of a Central Jail requires special qualities not usually found in Natives of Bengal, and therefore considers that the employment of such Natives in this grade cannot be recommended.

“He testifies that the Native Assistant Surgeons in medical charge of the Alipur and Buxar Central Jails do their work thoroughly well. He mentions that an able Parsi, who had acquired experience in cotton mill management in Bombay, made an efficient Deputy Superintendent at the Buxar Central Jail, and considers that there is no objection to the employment of Natives in this or cognate posts if they are qualified by previous training in the industry carried on in the jail. He observes that the early training received by Apprentice Assistant Jailors, who are all Asiatic Natives of Bengal, has had the effect of turning out excellent Jailors from what at first would appear unpromising material, and that the marked success and popularity of the service could be judged from the fact that, whereas in former days the dismissal of Jailors for

incompetency and dishonesty was common, it is now extremely rare."*

"The district jails in Bengal are placed under the executive and medical charge of the Civil Medical Officers of the station as Superintendents. These officers receive an allowance of 75 rupees or 100 rupees a month, according to the class of jail of which they have charge. Out of thirtyseven appointments, ten are filled by Medical Officers who are Natives of Bengal. The Jail Department has no power to appoint or remove these officers, their appointments and transfers being regulated by the Medical Department."†

Now, the above extracts prove that, in spite of the Inspector-General's opinion that Natives of Bengal were unfit for holding the posts of Superintendents, they were actually holding them in several cases, and that with credit to themselves. Of course the Inspector-General would not have appointed them to such posts if he had the power to exclude; but they belonged to the Medical Service, and the Jail Department had "no power to appoint or remove them."

OPIMUM DEPARTMENT.

Sometimes an officer is not wanting in the expression of good feeling towards Natives whom he would not debar from holding appointments now monopolised by Europeans and Eurasians; but still, without giving them any opportunity of proving their fitness, he considered them unfit for such post. An instance of this is furnished in the following extract from a "note" from the Opium Agent of Behar:—

"Natives have not yet shown that capacity for taking trouble which constitutes good men of business. The highly educated Native gentlemen, who are naturally anxious to obtain a share in the government of their own

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Jail Department, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 2.

country, would, in my opinion, be above their work as Sub-Deputy Opium Agents. I agree with Mr. Rivett-Carnac that Natives should not be debarred from employment in the higher grades of the Opium Department because they are Natives. When they show themselves fit for such employment I would employ them; but I have never yet met with any who possess qualifications which will enable them to do their work, especially in the indigo districts, where they have to compete for land with active, energetic Englishmen." *

POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

But the department of all others in which the race question would be least likely to arise is the Postal, and even here we find the Director-General of the Post Office of India deciding against Natives.

"It has already been explained," says the Director-General, "that undomiciled Europeans have for the last eight years been almost totally excluded from all appointments in the Post Office below the grade of Postmaster-General. Thus the recruitment of the Department is practically limited to domiciled Europeans or Eurasians, and to natives by race and blood. Comparing these classes as respects efficiency of service, I would remark that the pure Native is usually specially qualified for sedentary occupation, such as the charge of a post office; while the European or Eurasian is better fitted for work of a more active character. A Native is trustworthy in money matters, obedient to rule, extracts hard work from subordinates, rarely objects to long office hours, is not addicted to exercise, and, if employed near his home, will work for a small salary. He therefore usually makes a good Postmaster. For the position of Divisional Superintendent, which entails duties of inspection and supervision, there is a general preference for Europeans on the part of heads of postal circles; and there can be no doubt that in times of

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Opium Department, p. 38.

war and other similar emergencies it is on the European Superintendent that the Department has mainly to rely."*

Against the above opinion of the Director-General is to be placed the following opinion of the Postmaster-General of Bombay, who would even prefer Natives to Europeans for the duties of Superintendent, which are thus described by him :—

"The duties of a Postal Superintendent are not only those of an inspecting officer charged with the supervision of the routine business and the examination of the accounts of post offices, though the importance of the latter cannot be overrated now that the business transactions of the Post Office have increased so largely. With the expansion of the department the scope of his duties has greatly extended, and it is necessary that he should be a man of good education and some position and character. The divisions in which he has direct charge of postal arrangements generally comprise two districts, and in some cases are much larger. With the extension of railways, postal communications have generally become simplified, but in some divisions the maintenance of posts and the provision of funds in connection with the money-order system and savings banks is a constant difficulty. The Superintendent of the Konkan, for instance, whose charge extends from Bombay to Goa, has to establish each year at the beginning of the rains, when labour is difficult to obtain, long lines of post-runners to carry the mail which in the open season is conveyed by coasting steamers. Within the limits of their charges Superintendents have to correspond direct with district officers, and frequently to maintain close relations with the officials of Native States, while everywhere in this Presidency, owing to the large number of schoolmaster post-offices, they have to be in constant communication with Educational Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. In introducing new schemes the Post Office has, of course, at its

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Postal Department, p. 33.

command an unequalled agency for spreading notices broadcast through the country, but the rural public is not to be reached by notices ; and for bringing to their knowledge such matters as the opportunities for thrift offered by the Post Office Savings Bank and the scheme for paying revenue by means of money orders, the heads of circles have to look to the personal exertions of Superintendents. With the constant increase in the correspondence of the country, and the growth of business transactions, there is necessarily an increase in the number of complaints and inquiries, of which a very large proportion falls to the share of Superintendents. They have also constantly to deal with evidence in making investigations, and in prosecutions have to be trusted to put their cases before magistrates, and in some instances to oppose pleaders in court. Taken as a whole, these duties, if efficiently discharged, constitute a sufficient demand on the intelligence and energy of a well-educated man.

“ These duties are being efficiently discharged at the present time by Natives of India—Brahman, Parbhu, and Parsi—in this circle, who rank among the best Postal Superintendents in India ; and so far as the ordinary postal administration of the circle is concerned, European agency in the Superintendent’s grade is not, in my opinion, required, so long as men of the same character and ability as the best of the present Native Superintendents can be obtained. There are, however, outside demands to meet, for which it is essential that there should be some European Superintendents.” *

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

The department in which the strongest opposition against the admission of Natives has been made, is, however, not the Postal, or any of the others enumerated above, but the Police, in which we are told by the Commis-

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Postal Department, p. 51.

sion: "The system (of nomination) naturally supplies youths who have failed to succeed in examinations held in England, and who come to India in the hope of securing a nomination to the Police by influence brought to bear on the nominating authority."* As might be expected from the exclusive nature of the system, the departmental authorities are opposed to any changes being made in it; but it is a great relief to find Mr. Giles, District Superintendent, holding the following liberal views regarding the fitness of Natives for the appointment of District Superintendent:—

"Mr. Giles, District Superintendent, would admit the young Natives who had undergone in India or in England the training that would, under existing rules, qualify for the Covenanted Civil Service. He writes as follows respecting the position of a Native District Superintendent in relation to (a) military duties, (b) religious disturbances, and (c) intercourse with non-official Europeans:—

"I see no difficulty. (a) *A properly trained Native . . . would be quite equal to the discharge of the quasi-military duties a District Superintendent, as such, is called upon to discharge in Bengal. The people he would have to deal with would be of his own race—an extremely quiet and manageable race.** He might not, perhaps, be fit for soldiering on the frontiers, but this is equally the case with some European District Superintendents. This is special duty hardly appertaining to the office of District Superintendent. I would not send a Bengali to serve in the Police of the Punjab or North-Western Provinces. Apart from other considerations, his knowledge of his countrymen would be thrown away. (b) Whilst the Magistrate of the District remains the head of the Police and is a European, there would be no difficulty on this score. Even if he were a Native *properly trained* there would be little risk of his acting the partisan. Were he inclined to do so, he would hardly submit to the guidance

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 117, pp. 119, 120.

of a subordinate, whether European or Native. At worst the difficulty would be no greater than exists in Ireland at the present moment. (c) If the Native appointed were of a proper stamp, non-official Europeans could have no reasonable objection to him.' *"

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Race disabilities follow a Native wherever he goes to serve Government. He is unfit, because he is a Native of the country, not only for the post of District Superintendent of Police, but also for the post of District Engineer.

"The Executive Engineer," says Colonel A. M. Lang, R.E., Chief Engineer N.W.P. and Oudh, "has greater responsibilities, needs more self-reliance and promptness, and his tact is brought into play in dealing with a wider range of fellow-workers (than an Assistant Engineer). Here wider education and a more vigorous character come into play; the more English in temperament, traditions, and education the Engineer is, the better executive should he be. This points to the advantages of the English training of the Royal Engineer and the Cooper's Hill man. Many of the Rurki Europeans, however, with hereditary race characteristics, though domiciled in India, are scarcely behindhand; but the pure Native falls behind in the race, and though capable of holding charge of an ordinary division or district with efficiency and credit, needs more help and supervision from superior officers, and would not be selected for a division with very heavy responsible works, and where prompt self-reliance and extreme activity and pluck were essentially necessary.

"For Superintending Engineers, and still more for Chief Engineers, administrative capacities are needed, and greater ability, broader views, and manner and character suited for a strong, yet sympathetic, rule of their juniors and for

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Police Department, p. 4.

harmonious interworking with a diversity of men and departments.

“To such posts pure Natives, for obvious reasons, have not hitherto proved suitable, nor are they likely to rise to such posts for some time to come; probably not before the necessity for a European control of the several Indian nationalities has ceased.” *

It will be seen from the concluding portion of the above extract that the real objection to the appointment of a Native to a high post in the Public Works Department is, like the objections raised in other departments, chiefly based on the ground that he is a Native, and as such must work under “European control.”

SALT DEPARTMENT.

The prejudice against the appointment of Natives in the Salt Department is, we are happy to find, not so very strongly expressed as in others. The Commissioner of Northern India Salt Revenue says:

“It is also only fair to add that the two Native Superintendents already in the department are excellent officers—hard-working, energetic, and honourable. All this confirms the opinion expressed by me last year, that Native gentlemen of the right class are well suited for this department, but that, as a rule, the attractions offered by it are not sufficient to secure them.” †

The Salt Commissioner of Bombay, however, considers “it would be unwise to appoint Natives to any large proportion of the Assistant Collectorships.” ‡

SURVEY DEPARTMENT.

But in the Survey Department, again, it will be seen that there is the strongest possible opposition to the appointment

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Public Works Department, p. 51.

† Ibid. Salt Department, p. 9.

‡ Ibid. p. 12 (Bombay).

of Natives. The Surveyor-General of India thus expresses himself on the subject :—

“I consider that the appointments in the senior division should be restricted to officers of European birth and education, and I further venture to say that Natives who have received the required scientific education and possess the qualifications necessary for these appointments are not yet to be found.

“With regard to the junior or subordinate division, the candidates hitherto have been for the most part Europeans domiciled in India, and Eurasians who have been educated in India, and many of whom have passed the lower or higher matriculations of the Indian Universities. The experiment of employing Natives in this branch was tried in past years to a limited extent, but with so little success that it was not continued.” *

The worst form of race feeling is, however, shown in the following extracts :—

“I may here remark incidentally,” says Colonel De Pree, Deputy Surveyor-General, “that my numerous late inspections show me that the tendency of the European Surveyors is to stand and look on, while the Natives are made to do the drawing and hand-printing, as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of thing. This is a mistake, and it cannot be permitted for the future. Besides, it is suicidal for the Europeans to admit that Natives can do any one thing better than themselves. They should claim to be superior in *everything*, and only allow Natives to take a secondary or subordinate part. . . .

“In my old parties I never permitted a Native to touch a theodolite or an original computation, on the principle that the triangulation or scientific work was the prerogative of the highly-paid European ; and this reservation of the scientific work was the only way by which I could keep up a distinction, so as to justify the different figures of pay re-

† Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Survey Department, p. 18.

spectively drawn by the two classes, between the European in office time, and the Native who ran him so close in all the office duties as well as in field duties.

“Yet I see that Natives commonly do the computations now-a-days, and the Europeans some other inferior duties.”*

Colonel C. T. Haig, R.E., Deputy Surveyor-General, Trigonometrical Branch, is unable to trust Natives with the expenditure of money, and is therefore opposed to their appointment in superior executive offices. He says:

“A great deal of trust has necessarily to be placed in an executive officer, not only as regards the expenditure of money, but in regard to conflicting claims to promotion between Government employes, and a great deal depends upon the integrity of the officer in charge. It is not like the work of a stationary office, where promotions are made and expenditure incurred as a matter of routine. I think you would always be inclined to be doubtful about the expenditure incurred and the advancement of individuals made by a Native executive officer.”†

Major J. E. Sandeman, Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India, considers the moral code of the Native, whoever he may be, to be different from that of the European, and is therefore opposed to their appointment in higher grades, though he admits that they are “capital surveyors, as long as their work is properly checked.” “In fine,” says he, “to perform the field duties of a surveyor as well as the European, the Native must be morally and physically as strong, and must labour with a sense of duty only, as my assistants do. I have not yet met the Native that I would back to appreciate the necessity for, or to exercise the constant vigilance over, the work which they do. I am under the impression

* Memorandum by Colonel De Free on the Office Procedure of Topographical Field Parties: Sub-Committee's Proceedings, Survey Department, p. 23.

† Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Survey Department, p. 23.

that their moral code is somewhat different from that of the European."*

Here is an instance of how, in his desire to defend the Survey Department, Lieut.-Colonel F. Coddington, Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India, commenced with charging Natives with "untrustworthiness," but ended with giving *only* an illustration of the want of "fertility of resource" on the part of his uneducated Native Surveyor (he should have said Sub-Surveyor, for there exists as yet no Native Surveyor):—

"In what respect do you find Natives wanting?—Speaking, of course, only of the class I have had to deal with, I do not think they are trustworthy. My best Native Surveyor is a very good man, but last year I had to detach him on work which I was unable to go down and superintend myself. He got into difficulties at once, which I think all Natives would do. They have not the fertility of resource that Europeans have." †

We shall not trouble our readers with any more extracts exhibiting race feelings, but we hope we have furnished them with sufficient materials for deciding that the opposition against the admission of Natives to the higher-grade offices in the different departments of Her Majesty's Service is not based on *ascertained facts of incompetency, but on preconceived notions* that a Native could not be fit for positions of high trust and responsibility, and also on the feeling that a Native must, as belonging to a subject race, always continue to hold posts subordinate to European, and even to Eurasian, control. But it gives us great pleasure to find that though the heads of departments are generally opposed to Native interests, the Governments are not; and the Public Service Commission, appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, has, in its deliberations, been actuated by the noblest of senti-

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Survey Department, p. 82.

† Ibid., p. 84.

ments, as will appear from the following extract from its Report :—

“ Whatever may be the legal effect of the provisions of the Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV. cap. 85, sec. 87, and of Her Majesty’s Proclamation, the Commission has interpreted its instructions as prohibiting it inferentially from receding from principles adopted in the government of India for more than half a century. The duty devolving on the Commission of examining the claims of Natives, and the direction given to the Sub-Committee to ascertain the relative qualifications of all classes who sought employment in the departments to which these inquiries extended, have, it must be admitted, necessitated the production of evidence as to the respective qualifications of the several races of Her Majesty’s subjects for the higher offices of the administration. But neither the evidence tendered to the Commission nor that tendered to the Sub-Committee would justify any recommendation involving a departure from the principles to which advertence has been made. So far as the evidence denotes the existence of race characteristics, it affirms conclusions which might have been inferred from the history and circumstances of the races who compete for employment in British India ; but it also establishes that among the cultivated classes of the most important races in India there are to be found men who possess in a high degree qualities which are not generally attributed to the race of which they are members ; and inasmuch as race characteristics are greatly modified by education, and are generally most conspicuous among the less instructed classes, it cannot be doubted that the characters of the Native and mixed races are being, and will be, modified by the movements, educational, political, and commercial, of the century, and that to some extent the character of the domiciled Europeans must be affected, though in a much more limited degree, by the circumstances of the country in which they have made their home. With regard to such race characteristics as are persistent, it may reasonably be presumed that when

access to the public service in every department is freely thrown open to all races, individuals will select the field of employment most congenial to their tastes and offering the highest rewards for the qualities in which they excel; and indeed in the evidence taken in regard to some of the departments, support is afforded to this presumption. In view of these considerations the Commission is led to conclude that any rule or practice founded on an alleged race disqualification would not only be departure from the policy adopted by the British Parliament for upwards of half a century, but would also be invidious and inexpedient, and that the only just criterion is that of fitness ascertained, where it is possible, by adequate tests, and where this is impossible, by impartial selection.

“As the progress of education excites in constantly increasing numbers of the Natives of India an interest in their political condition, the knowledge that men of their own race and creed are freely associated with Englishmen in the government of the country will minimise any sense of subjection, and enhance the sentiment of a common citizenship—a sentiment which it is at once the interest of the Empire and the desire of her most eminent politicians to inspire and confirm. The extent to which this sentiment is already entertained by the educated classes among Hindus and Mahomedans appears to a very marked degree in the evidence recorded by the Commission.” *

* Report of the Public Service Commission, pp. 46, 47.

IV.

THE SCHEME PROPOSED BY THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION FOR DEALING WITH THE CLAIMS OF NATIVES OF INDIA "TO HIGHER AND MORE EXTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT" IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY.

WHATEVER the political successes of Lord Dufferin's Government of India may be—and these, we are told by competent judges, have been specially great—his Lordship's Indian Administration has been rendered memorable by the foundation of institutions for giving better medical aid to the women of India—institutions which owe their existence to the special interest taken and exertions made by Lady Dufferin, and by the appointment of the Public Service Commission, whose reports are now awaiting consideration by Government and the public. This is not the place to dwell on the good that the Lady Dufferin Institutions will do to the female population of India; but we should be wanting in our sense of gratitude if we did not state that they will bring aid and relief to many sufferers from bodily disease and pain, who, but for the facilities now afforded, would have died without consulting a doctor. But the great and good work started by her Ladyship will take some time before it will begin to make its usefulness felt in places remote from Metropolitan towns. The case as regards the Public Service Commission is, however, very different. Its proceedings, bearing on questions of vital importance to all sections of the Native community, have been keenly watched from the commencement, especially by educated Natives.

The spirit in which the resolution appointing the Commission was framed deserves all praise and gratefulness Natives :—

“The Government expressed its desire that the inquiry to be made by the Commission should extend not only to the system under which Natives of India are at present admitted either under the Statute 21 and 22 Vic. cap. 106, sec. 32, to the Covenanted Civil Service, or under the Statute 33 Vic. cap. 3, sec. 6, to offices formerly reserved exclusively for members of that service, but to their employment in all branches of the public service connected with the civil administration of the country; the object of the appointment of the Commission was declared, broadly speaking, to be ‘to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service,’ and it was intimated that the investigations of the Commission would be preparatory to a Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs.” *

The Commission was, it will be seen from the above, directed “to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service.” We shall now try to lay before our readers the scheme proposed by the Commission, and then to examine its merits. We must, at the outset, express our obligations to the Commission for the very liberal and kindly spirit it brought to bear upon the discussion of a subject that was surrounded with enormous difficulties arising from the struggles of a ruling race and a subject race. We have given credit to it for the noble sentiment expressed with regard to the fitness of educated Natives to hold high appointments under Government, and if we happen now to differ from it in our estimation of the adequacy of the proposed scheme to remove

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 1.

the feeling of injustice shared by educated Natives as to the treatment of their claims to "higher and more extensive employment" in the public service of their country, we shall express our views with due deference for the opinion of a body of distinguished persons who have been actuated by no mean or selfish motives. We shall first lay before our readers, in the words of the Commission, the broad outline of the scheme proposed by it, and then proceed to examine the merits of that scheme * :—

"On a review of all the evidence before it, the Commission has come to the conclusion that, in the present circumstances of the country, the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service, and the admission of competent Natives of each province of India to a due proportion of the posts heretofore reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, can be best provided for by reducing the strength of the Covenanted Civil Service and transferring a corresponding number of appointments to a local service, to be separately recruited in each province of India. The following appointments have been recommended by the Commission for transference to the proposed Local or Provincial Service :—

- "(1) Under-Secretaries to the several Governments in India.
- "(2) One-third of District and Civil and Sessions Judges † or Chief Judicial Officers of districts; and in the Punjab one-third of the officers aforesaid after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for military officers.
- "(3) One-third of the Joint and Assistant Judges in the Bombay Presidency.

* Vide p. 45, *ante*.

† In the Central Provinces and Assam (except in the district of Sylhet) District and Civil and Sessions Judgeships are not held as separate appointments, but are combined with Executive appointments.

- “(4) One-tenth of Magistrates or Chief Magisterial Officers of Districts (including Deputy Commissioners); and in the Punjab and Assam one-tenth of the officers aforesaid, after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for military officers.
- “(5) One-sixth of Joint Magistrates in all provinces.
- “(6) One member of the Board of Revenue in the Madras Presidency, in the lower provinces of Bengal, and in the North-Western Provinces; and one of the Financial Commissioners in the Punjab. †
- “(7) One (where there are more than one) of the Secretaries to the Board of Revenue (or Commissioners who constitute the Board of Revenue) in the Madras Presidency, in the lower Provinces of Bengal, and in the North-Western Provinces; and one Secretary to the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab.*
- “(8) One of the Chief Revenue Officers of divisions in all provinces except Bombay and Assam.
- “(9) One-tenth of Collectors of Revenue or Chief Revenue Officers of districts; and in the Punjab and Assam one-tenth of the officers aforesaid, after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for military officers.
- “(10) One-sixth of Deputy or Subordinate Collectors where combined with the office of Joint Magistrate in all provinces.
- “(11) One-sixth of Assistant Collectors or Assistant Commissioners; and in the Punjab and Assam one-sixth of the officers aforesaid, after deducting the proportion (one-fourth) reserved for military officers.

* In the schedule given as Appendix N to this Report, the appointments of Financial Commissioner and Secretary to the Financial Commissioner are not entered as reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, in view of the fact that they may be held by military officers in the Commission. (Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 71.)

“Under this arrangement the Covenanted Civil Service, reduced to ‘a *corps d’elite*, and its numbers limited to what is necessary to fill the chief administrative appointments of the Government and such a number of the smaller appointments as will ensure a complete course of training for junior civilians,’ will continue, as hitherto, to be recruited by open competition in England only, under suitable standards and conditions of its own, while the Provincial Service, recruited under different methods adapted to local circumstances, will secure a fair representation of the various races of India in the administration of the country. It is an essential feature of this scheme that the competition in England be open unreservedly to Natives as well as to Europeans, that Europeans resident in India who satisfy the prescribed preliminary conditions be eligible equally with Natives for the Provincial Service, and that the conditions of each service respectively be the same for all who enter it, to whatever nationality they may belong.” *

“The question of recruitment for the Provincial Service is one of the most important which the Commission has had to consider. The members of this service, especially in the lower grades, will be necessarily brought into touch with the people in all the ordinary affairs of their daily life. It is, as in all services, only the man of exceptional merit who will ordinarily work his way up to highest office, and it is imperatively necessary to take special care to secure proper qualifications in what may be called the rank and file of the service. On the one hand, the Commission thinks it necessary to provide a career above the Subordinate Service, to which the best men of that service can hope to rise. On the other hand, it is impossible to expect that men of the Subordinate Service will ordinarily possess the qualifications necessary for employment in the Provincial Service. The Commission accordingly recommends that

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 71.

the Provincial Service be filled up partly by promotion from the Subordinate Service, and partly by recruitment.

“Promotion from the Subordinate Service would, of course, be made on the principle of selection as a reward for conspicuous merit, and would ordinarily take place from the highest grade of the Subordinate Service to the lowest grade of the Provincial Service. In view of the probability of such promotion, the Commission would recommend that the rules for the recruitment of the Subordinate Service in each province should be carefully revised in such a way as to adapt them to the altered circumstances which will be introduced if the general recommendations of the Commission are accepted.”*

“For the purposes of recruitment of the Provincial Service the Commission believes that, in view of the varying circumstances and requirements of the several provinces, no uniform system applicable to all provinces can at present be recommended.” †

“The Commission further recommends that, as in the Imperial Service, so in the Provincial Service, the Government should retain power in very special cases, and under prescribed conditions, to make direct appointments to offices in the higher grades.” ‡

“Finally, the Commission desires to explain that its recommendations for the creation of a Provincial Service are subject to due consideration for the rights of existing incumbents of all classes of appointments which may be affected by its proposals. The Commission would on no account recommend the adoption of measures which would directly interfere with the reasonable expectations of deserving officers already in the service of Government. Accordingly, the recommendations of the Commission regarding the recruitment of the Provincial Service must be understood as conditional on the introduction of changes in such a way as will prevent any result of this nature.” §

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 80.

† Ibid. p. 81.

‡ Ibid. p. 82.

§ Ibid. p. 87.

The following are the recommendations of the Commission regarding the special departments, other than those of a scientific nature, from which Natives are at present, as shown in Part II. of this pamphlet, more or less excluded :—

ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT.

“ That indigenous agency should be more largely introduced into the Enrolled List, and that the sources of recruitment for that list should be extended, appointments being made—

“ (a) of outsiders by open competitive examination ;

“ (b) to a limited extent, as at present, from the Covenanted Civil Service ;

“ (c) by the promotion of Chief Superintendents who have proved that they possess capacity for the superior branch ;

“ (d) by the exceptional appointment of officers who have shown marked ability in the charge of Treasuries or in other departments of the Provincial Service.

“ That the Government of India should continue to reserve to itself a discretion of appointing to the Enrolled List any person whom it may deem it conducive to the interests of the public service so to appoint. *

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

“ That of the three Collectorships of Customs at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, and the Assistant Collectorship at Bombay, only the two most responsible appointments—namely, those at Bombay and Calcutta—should ordinarily be held by members of the Imperial Service, and that it is unnecessary to include the appointments of Collector of Customs at Madras and Assistant Collector at Bombay in the *cadre* of the Imperial Service for purposes of recruitment.

“ That the present system of recruitment by selection should be retained in respect to the other superior appoint-

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 146.

ments in the department, but that if these appointments are not filled by promotion from the subordinate ranks or by transfer from the Provincial Service, the persons appointed should only hold their offices provisionally until they have satisfied substantial probationary tests.

“That there is no ground for the exclusion of qualified candidates of any race from the Appraisers or Preventive branches of the department.” *

FOREST DEPARTMENT.

“That the Government should keep in view the policy of training in India men qualified to take charge of the higher administrative appointments, so as to avoid as far as possible the necessity for expanding the Imperial branch of the service.

“That the rules at present prescribed by the Forest Code for the admission of candidates in India should be retained, as providing a system of recruitment for the provincial branches of the department suitable to existing circumstances.” †

JAILS DEPARTMENT.

“That when Superintendents of Jails, central or district, are not medical officers, more opportunity might properly be given to Natives of India to show their fitness for these appointments, from which they are at present practically excluded.” †

OPIMUM DEPARTMENT.

“That the experiment of appointing Natives by selection to a proportion of the vacancies in the department should be discontinued, and that the future recruitment for this department should be subject to the general principles of equality of treatment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and of tested preliminary qualifications which have been proposed for the Provincial Service.” §

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 147.

† Ibid. p. 148.

‡ Ibid. p. 148.

§ Ibid. p. 149.

POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

“ That of the seven highest appointments in the department, at present filled by Covenanted Civilians, not less than three should ordinarily be filled by promotion within the department. That, in order to enable Natives to compete on equal terms with Europeans and Eurasians for appointments which require higher educational qualifications and greater physical energy than are necessary for efficient service in the lower posts, a certain number of appointments carrying salaries of from 80 rupees to 100 rupees a month should be filled by competition, the successful candidates being admitted on probation, and being trained in head offices, after which they should be employed as Inspectors, and if found qualified, selected for the grades of Superintendent.” *

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

“ That the strength of the Imperial Branch should not be greater than is necessary for purposes of control and direction, and for the execution and repair of works calling for high engineering skill, and that the recruitment from the Cooper’s Hill Royal Engineering College, which appears at present excessive, should be regulated accordingly.” †

“ That although for many years to come the European element in the higher ranks of the Police should predominate, Natives of India ought not to be entirely excluded from those ranks, as is now the case in some provinces, but that endeavours should be made to introduce a reasonable proportion of Native officers, due regard being always had to the efficiency of the service.

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

“ That the present system of recruitment for the grade of Assistant District Superintendent in most provinces is unsatisfactory, as not affording a sufficient guarantee for

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 149.

† Ibid. p. 150.

educational qualifications and habits of industry, and that admission to this grade should be by—

- “(a) limited competition amongst candidates selected in England for such portion of the appointments in each province as the Government of India may decide to be necessary ;
- “(b) limited competition amongst candidates selected in India, such candidates being carefully chosen on grounds of good physique, the knowledge of the vernacular languages prescribed for the Provincial Service, and high educational qualifications of an English kind ;
- “(c) promotion from the grade of Inspectors for exceptional merit and ability shown in active service.”*

REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

“That the appointment of Inspector-General of Registration should not be included in the *cadre* of the Imperial Service for the purpose of recruitment.” †

SALT DEPARTMENT.

“That sufficient precautions being taken to secure the requisite physical qualifications, the same principles should govern the recruitment for and promotion in this department as have been recommended for the Provincial Service. . . .” †

SURVEY DEPARTMENT.

“That admission to the junior division (or to the Local Service, if the recommendation of the Commission for framing a branch of service distinct from the junior division is adopted) should not be confined to special classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India, and that it should be regulated by competition among selected candidates, and exceptionally by promotion from the subordinate service.” §

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 150.

† Ibid. p. 151.

‡ Ibid. p. 131.

§ Ibid. p. 152.

The Commission thus concludes its report :

“ These are the recommendations which the Commission has to make for the consideration of the Government of India. They are mainly based on conclusions to which the evidence interpreted by the experience of the several members compels it; and in the desire to follow the guidance of experience the Commission may in some particulars have exposed itself to a charge of inconsistency. It offers no original scheme; it advises the further application of principles long accepted, and progress on lines indicated by the action of the Government in the past. Considerations of policy and economy alike require that, so far as is consistent with the ends of good government, the recruitment of the official staff in England should be curtailed and advantage taken of qualified agency obtainable in India. The Commission is well aware of the objections that may be urged with more or less force against some of its recommendations, and has given them full consideration. But the objections to the alternative plans, which were suggested or suggested themselves, seemed to the Commission still more weighty and numerous, while they carried with them infractions of essential principles which the Commission has steadily kept in view, and presented difficulties in detail sufficient to preclude any hope of that reasonable finality which the Commission was directed to aim at. If the recommendations of the Commission fall short of the expectations of those who were sanguine in anticipating larger results, it must remind them how much has been already effected in the gradual extension of the field of employment for natives; and if it appear to other minds that they err on the side of excess, it must be remembered that they leave in the hands of the Government an uncontrolled freedom of selection for the higher offices in the administration, and that, if accepted, they cannot be completely carried into effect for nearly a generation of official life.” *

* Report of the Public Service Commission, pp. 152, 153.

V.

THE SCHEME DEVISED BY THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION IS WANTING IN "THE NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF FINALITY," AND FAILS "TO DO FULL JUSTICE TO THE CLAIMS OF NATIVES OF INDIA TO HIGHER AND MORE EXTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE."

THE work that the Public Service Commission was entrusted with was a peculiarly difficult one. It was required "to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service" of their country, mostly on the evidence of persons whose interests clashed with the interests of the children of the soil, and it should not be a matter for surprise if the Commission has failed to devise the scheme that was required of it. The proposal of the Commission to divide the services into Imperial and Provincial branches deserves praise for its originality, and it would have very likely solved the race difficulty if it had been properly worked out. But in this respect the Commission has, in our humble opinion, entirely failed. As we shall show presently, the position and prospects of Natives will, if the recommendations of the Commission are sanctioned, be rather worse as regards the Civil Service, while as regards the special departments the improvements will be but very slight, indeed almost imperceptible.

In the first place, the Commission, while enumerating the advantages of its proposed scheme, says :

"The effect of these proposals is to remove about 108 appointments from the list of appointments at present

reserved in the schedule and by the orders of the Secretary of State, a number in excess of the proportion of one-sixth of the same appointments thrown open under the statutory rules." *

But we are told in another place by the Commission: "The strength of the Covenanted Civil Service in the several provinces (including statutory officers, junior civil servants in training and officers absent on leave) is about 940 officers." †

If the number of Covenanted Civil Servants is 940, one-sixth of it will be 156, which is a much larger quantity than 108, the number that the Commission proposes to remove from the list of appointments at present reserved in the schedule attached to the Statute 24 and 25 Vic. cap. 54. In our humble opinion either one of the above figures is incorrect, or the inference drawn by the Commission, that the number of appointments thrown open to Natives under the statutory rules was less than what is now offered to them must be incorrect. That we have made no mistake in the reproduction of the figures given in the Commission's Report our readers will be able to decide by referring to the Report itself.

Secondly, we believe that the interests of Natives have suffered at the hands of the Commission, as several appointments, such as Commissionerships and Deputy-Commissionerships in Non-regulation provinces, Collectorships of Customs, and some appointments in the Postal Department which do not yet form part of the schedule, are recommended to be included in it. Though it is true that Natives had hitherto been virtually excluded from holding such high posts, it could not be said that any legal disability stood in their way on the ground that they were not members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

Thirdly, as the Commission has recommended "that the recruitment should be open to all natural-born subjects

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 77, p. 72.

† Ibid. par. 47, p. 30.

of Her Majesty,"* subject to "such limitations in respect of residence or otherwise as may be considered expedient" by the Government of India, the "field of recruitment" has been more enlarged than when only "Natives of India within the meaning of the Statute of 1870" could be appointed to the Statutory Civil Service. This, coupled with the circumstance that the number of appointments thrown open by the scheme proposed by the Commission is, as has been shown above, less than the number they are entitled to under the Statute of 1870, will make their position materially worse than it is at present.

The proposed scheme of the Commission will thus fail to afford greater facilities to Natives than exist at present for entering the Civil Service. It will also be found wanting in breadth of principle. In the allotment to the Provincial Service of appointments hitherto reserved for the Covenanted (to be hereafter called Imperial) Civil Service, the Commission has proceeded in a most haphazard and arbitrary manner: one-third of Judges, one-tenth of Magistrates, one-tenth of Collectors, one-sixth of Joint Magistrates, one member of the Board of Revenue, one Commissioner, and so on, are to be transferred from the Imperial to the Provincial Service. We are told by the Commission that the Covenanted Civil Service has been divided into the Imperial and Provincial Services with a view to reduce the former to "a *corps d'élite*, and its numbers limited to what is necessary to fill the chief administrative appointments of the Government, and such a number of the smaller appointments as will ensure a complete course of training for junior Civilians."† Now we could have understood the object of such a division if the officers of the Imperial Service had been proposed to be employed differently from those of the Provincial Service. But, as regards the appointments allotted to the Provincial Service no such distinction is perceptible, the

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 84, p. 85.

† Vide extract from the Commission's Report at p. 40.

only distinction being a difference in numbers ; while one-third of the Judges will belong to the Provincial Service, two-thirds will belong to the Imperial ; while, again, one-tenth of Magistrates and one-tenth of Collectors will be recruited from the former, nine-tenths will be recruited from the latter service, and so on. We fail to understand from what considerations the Commission *has recommended these proportions, and none others.*

“In regard to the revision of the schedule now recommended,” we are told by the Commission, “it may be observed that many witnesses examined before the Commission have urged that judicial offices should be made over more freely to Natives of India, and some witnesses have gone so far as to recommend that the greater part, if not the whole, of the civil judicial work of the country might be usefully entrusted to Native agency. In the expediency of employing duly qualified Natives to a large extent in the judicial branch of the public service the Commission fully concurs. The highest judicial offices in the country have already been filled by Natives with marked ability, while the subordinate judiciary, which is composed almost exclusively of Natives of India, has displayed very great aptitude for judicial office. But, on the other hand, the Commission is unable to support a proposal which contemplates the exclusive reservation of the judicial branch of the service for a particular class of Her Majesty’s subjects, and is of opinion that any such reservation would lead to administrative difficulties. It will be observed that local Governments generally adopt the view that while Natives of India may with advantage be extensively employed in judicial duties, the judiciary, more especially in the higher grades, ought not to consist exclusively of Natives.”*

The argument contained in the above is based on the supposition that under the present state of things there

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 77, pp. 72, 73.

exists such a material difference in the nature of the work done by a District Judge and his Native Subordinate Judge as would justify the recommendation of the Commission to reserve two-thirds of district judges for the Imperial Service. But under the Civil Courts Act VI. of 1871, the District Judge and the Subordinate Judge possess *equal* jurisdictions as regards the trial of *original* suits, and there is a difference in jurisdictions only as regards the trial of appeals and certain "miscellaneous cases." While the District Judge can try appeals against the decrees of the Subordinate Judge when they do not exceed 5,000 rupees in value, the Subordinate Judge can try appeals only up to 1,000 rupees; *i.e.*, those that are from the decrees and orders of Munsiffs, as he could not from the nature of things try appeals against his own orders. The "miscellaneous cases," which none but a District Judge can try, are often of the nature of "insolvency," and other cases triable in England by a County Court Judge, exercising in most other respects less extensive jurisdiction than a Munsiff in India. Again, the appeals which none but a District Judge can try are very few, as will appear from the figures given in the following extract from an article contributed by the present writer to the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1887, on "Financial and Administrative Reforms in India: Bengal:"—

"Now, as regards the appeals which none but a District Judge can try, we find that in 1881, out of 19,792 appeals, the District and Subordinate Judges were both competent to try 19,311, or 97·6 per cent. In the remainder—*i.e.*, 481 cases, or in 2·4 per cent.—the appeal lay only to the District Judge, the Court of first instance being the Subordinate Judge.' (High Court's Civil Report for 1881, p. 32.) In 1882, 'out of 19,501 appeals, the District and Subordinate Judges were both competent to try 18,937, or 97·1 per cent. In the remainder—*i.e.*, 564 cases, or in 2·9 per cent.—the appeal lay only to the District Judge, the Court of first instance being the Subordinate Judge.' (High Court's Civil Report for 1882, p. 39.) In 1883, 'of 17,457 appeals,

17,009 or 98·1 per cent., were triable either by District or Subordinate Judges. In the remainder—*i.e.*, 448 cases—the Subordinate Judges were the Courts of first instance, and the appeal lay therefore to the District Judge.’ (High Court’s Civil Report for 1883, p. 26.) In 1884, ‘of 18,432 appeals, 17,998, or 97·6 per cent., were triable either by District or Subordinate Judges. In the remainder—*i.e.*, 434 cases—the Subordinate Judges were the Courts of first instance, and the appeal lay therefore to the District Judge. The percentage of appeals to the District Judges exhibits no material variation in comparison with the returns of the three previous years.’ (High Court’s Civil Report for 1884, p. 31.) The average number of appeals which during the past four years none but the District Judges could try was therefore 482. As there are 31 District Judges and Additional Judges in Bengal, the average number of appeals against the orders of the Subordinate Judges falling to the share of each was therefore nearly 16.”

As regards the trial of original cases, we showed, by quoting figures in the same article that very little original work was done by the District Judges. “During the four years for which statistics had been given (in the table embodied in the article) the District Judges had on an average decided not more than seven per cent. of the original suits. If, therefore, the subordinate Judges could dispose of the ninety-three per cent. of the original cases, they might be allowed to do also the remaining seven per cent., especially as the quality of the work done by them is, as has been shown above, just as good as that of the work done by the District Judges. In the same way the Subordinate Judges could decide all the appeals from the decrees passed by Munsiffs which they are now competent to decide, and also most of the miscellaneous cases now triable only by the District Judges. In our opinion the District Judges should be relieved, first, of the work of trying original suits and of hearing appeals from the decrees of Munsiffs, as the subordinate Judges are competent to try them and have proved themselves as fit for the

work as the district Judges; and, secondly, of the work of trying such miscellaneous cases as are in England tried only by the County Courts." The reform suggested in this article was the appointment of *Divisional instead of District Judges*.

"Each division," we suggested, "should have an appellate bench, consisting of two or three Judges, who would be competent to try cases both conjointly and separately. All the Civil Courts in the division would be under their inspection, and they would, like the Circuit Judges of England, hold courts in the different districts under them by rotation. But in each district the divisional Judges will have an assistant, a member of the Civil Service, exercising the powers of a Munsiff or of a Subordinate Judge. This assistant will have charge of the office of the present District Judge, and will, besides trying original and appeal cases to the extent of his powers on the civil side, try criminal cases as well. He will also have the power to receive appeal petitions, to fix dates of hearing for the Divisional Judge, and to release prisoners on bail in criminal cases. The Divisional Judges will further have the power to make use of their district assistants in inspecting the courts of the Munsiffs in the district. This would not only result in a very large saving in expenditure, by reducing the number of District Judges to half of what it is at present, but will also give a better training to those members of the Civil Service who elect the judicial branch thereof."

We now ask our readers to consider whether, for the reasons stated above, it would not be an improvement upon the administration to substitute a system of Divisional Judgeships for the present system of District Judgeships. When the article for the *Calcutta Review* was written the Public Service Commission had not come into existence, and so it was not known that Government intended to throw open to Natives of India more lucrative and responsible offices than were available to them under the present system. But it now strikes us that the best plan

to carry out the intention of Her Majesty's Government for doing greater justice to the claims of Natives, and to effect saving in expenditure, so urgently required in every department, would be to make the senior Subordinate Judge in each district—there are generally two, and sometimes even three—the District Judge, giving him some increased pay, though very much lower than the present pay of a District Judge, and to appoint Divisional or Circuit Judges from amongst the members of the Commission's proposed Imperial Service. This would throw open a larger number of more highly-paid appointments in the Judicial Department to Natives of India, without raising any administrative difficulty, and would at the same time reserve all power and authority for the members of the Imperial Service, which, it is said, will be a *corps d'élite*. Whatever objections might be raised against a scheme such as the one sketched above, it could not be said that it was wanting in principle, was difficult to work out, or would not result in large saving in expenditure.

The Commissioners' proposal to give over to the Provincial Service only one-tenth of District Magistrates and District Collectors is open to very great objections. Under the present Statutory system Natives of India could aspire to one-sixth of such appointments, and the Commission, instead of proposing to increase the number, proposes to decrease it. This is what the Natives were not prepared for. It might be said that as the Commission recommends that a tenth of District Magistrates and another tenth of District Collectors should be given over to the Provincial Service, the effect of the proposal will be to throw open to Natives a fifth of District Magistrate-Collectorships, and not only a tenth of such appointments. The proposal of the Commission is, however, not clearly worded, and in provinces where the two offices are combined, as they are in Bengal proper, it is not clear whether the Commission means that there one-fifth, and not one-tenth, of the appointments will be given over to the Provincial Service. If they mean the former, then there would not remain much ground of complaint on

this score. But even then the scheme will be liable to the same general objections on the ground of a want in principle as has been stated in the discussion regarding the distribution of "District Judgeships." Here, too, the time has arrived for a departure from the system of administration hitherto followed. The duties of a District Magistrate-Collector are so multifarious and so onerous, that as a rule they are left to be done by Deputy Magistrate-Collectors. There is hardly a Magistrate-Collector that does them *all* himself, while there are many who either do not understand, or will not take the trouble to understand, the intricacies, especially in Revenue matters, which constantly come up before them for solution, and it is not too much to say that the real work of the Collector is often done by the Native Deputy-Collector, and not by the Collector, in whose name it appears. It is no fault of the district officers that they should not be able to do most of the things which they are expected to do themselves. The fault lies in the system under which they have to perform duties requiring knowledge of departments and subjects which are not only too many in number, but are often quite different from and opposed to one another in character. As a Magistrate, the district officer has not only to try criminal cases (especially in appeals), to supervise the work of Subordinate Magistrates, and to advise and instruct the police, but also to look after schools, dispensaries, and jails. As the chief revenue officer of the district, he has to collect revenues of all kinds, from land, opium, excise, stamps, and cesses; to conduct settlements of Government estates, to effect partitions of private estates, to manage Government estates kept directly under his management, to manage estates of minors and others brought under the Court of Wards, to prepare after survey for private estates rent rolls under the Tenancy Act, to construct roads and canals, to acquire lands for public purposes, and to supervise the workings of registration offices, &c.

The district officer is further responsible for the proper conduct of duties by the Treasury officer, and is required

to count stamps and coins remaining in the Treasury at the end of every month. He must spend four months out of twelve every year under canvas in the interior of his district. He has to attend education, hospital, road cess, local self-government, municipal and other meetings, at most of which he has not only to preside, but to prepare beforehand the subjects to be laid before the members. Besides these and other duties too many to be named, he has to submit reports on various subjects, sometimes on Bills before the Imperial or Local Government affecting the civil, revenue, or criminal administration of the country. All these duties tax the powers and energies of a district officer to their utmost extent, and unless he is a man of very exceptional abilities and is also in the possession of good health and strong constitution, he either breaks down under the continuous and heavy strain to which he is subject from day to day, or allows the work for which he is held responsible to be done by his subordinates. This is a state of things which the interests of the State requires should be remedied with the least possible delay. There was a time when the different departments of administration had not arrived at the degree of development to which they have now reached, and when it was necessary that there should be a controlling authority in the district represented in the person of a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. But things have now so far advanced that a system of further decentralisation is greatly wanted both for the sake of economy and good government. This is not the place to enter into a detailed statement of what the nature of this decentralisation should be. It is sufficient to point out the evils of the present system and the direction in which the reforms should take place.

We have hitherto occupied ourselves with the recommendations of the Commission regarding the distribution between the Imperial and Provincial Services of offices reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service by the Statute of 1861. In this the Commission might be credited with

having made suggestions of an original nature, though, as we have shown above, the scheme is far from satisfactory. But the Commission appears to us to have entirely failed in dealing with the special departments regarding which we have shown, by extracts from its report, (1) how Natives of India, of pure blood, have been excluded; (2) how this exclusion has been owing mostly to a feeling entertained against them as a race by persons with whom lies the power of making appointments; and (3) how the Commission has proposed to meet the demand on the part of Natives for justice to their claims for a greater share in the administration of their country by "advising the further application of principles long accepted, and progress on lines indicated by the action of the Government in the past." We have, we hope, succeeded in showing that, though there was nothing to complain of against the "principles long accepted" by Government, its action in the past has been marked by very little "progress." We do not attribute this want of progress to the unwillingness of Government to deal more justly with the claims of Natives, but to *the want of any well-conceived plan for dealing with those claims.* The Commission was expressly appointed with the very object of helping Government with such practical advice as it could follow in future, or, to use the language used in the Government resolution, "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service." This work—the work for which the Commission was appointed—it has left undone, not because it wanted materials to work upon, but because it either failed to grasp the difficulties that surrounded the solution of a question of the most complex nature, or, because, when it came to look at it in its nakedness, it saw that the only solution the question admitted was the solution of "open competition," the advantages of which it was unable to realise. What could be a more damaging indictment against the present system of patron-

age than the following finding of the Commission regarding appointments made in the Police Department, the department on the efficiency of which depend, more than on any other, the peace and happiness of Her Majesty's subjects :

“The evidence before the Commission shows that recruitment by nomination has not produced satisfactory results. There has been great inequality in the efficiency of the persons nominated. Some have turned out excellent officers, others, on the contrary, have taken years to become fairly efficient, and in some extreme cases have never become efficient at all. The system naturally supplies youths who have failed to succeed in examinations held in England, and who come to India in the hope of securing a nomination to the Police by influence brought to bear on the nominating authority.”* And yet the Commission could not recommend anything better than limited competition among *selected* candidates. It has recommended this competition amongst candidates “selected in England,” and candidates possessing “high educational qualifications of an English kind” selected in India, thereby virtually excluding Natives of India from the field of competition. One can hardly refrain from expressing one's extreme regret at the manner in which the claims of Natives for employment in the higher grades of the Police have been dealt with by the Commission. Promotion to the grade of Assistant Superintendentship is to be made in exceptional cases from “the grade of Inspectors, for exceptional merit and ability shown in active service.” But how does the Commission provide for appointments to Inspectorships ?

“That appointments to Inspectorships should, as a rule, be made from the lower grades of the force, and that in no case should outsiders be appointed to Inspectorships merely as a training ground for the higher offices.” †

Does the Commission expect that Inspectors obtained by promotion from “the lower grades of the force” will

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 117, pp. 119, 120.

† Ibid. par. 119, p. 120.

furnish the best materials to select from for Assistant Superintendents. If it does it is quite mistaken, for the salaries given to the lower grades will not tempt Natives of good education to enter the Police. It is true the Commission has placed "on record its unanimous opinion that many of the abuses which now characterise the force are due to the inadequate remuneration of the lower grades;"* but it has not shown whence the money is to come with which Government could adequately remunerate the lower grades of the police force. Government, we are aware, is pressed for money in all directions, and unless it is able to effect savings in one way it cannot increase expenditure in another. As the Commission has contented itself with merely recommending an increase in the expenditure, and has not shown how that increase was to be met, its recommendations for improving the pay and position of the lower grades of the force will, we are afraid, bear no fruit. But as the same objections will not arise in carrying out the recommendations regarding the appointments of Assistant Superintendents, the consequence will be that Natives will derive no benefit from the deliberations of the Commission. We have in our second article (contributed to the *Calcutta Review*) on "Financial and Administrative Reforms," which was on Police, shown by facts and figures that the Assistant Superintendents had no work as such, and that they were kept simply for the purpose of filling up the posts of Superintendents. The orders of Sir George Campbell, quoted below, justly met the requirements of the case:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor had reason to believe that the demands which are now frequently made for Assistants to District Superintendents of Police, are founded on the idea, which was till lately very prevalent, that the Police is to be a separate caste and service, and that no one but Assistant Superintendents can act for or succeed District Superintendents. The Lieutenant-Governor declared that

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 117, p. 20.

it was not his intention that District Superintendents should have Assistants, save in exceptionally heavy or difficult districts; that the Inspectors are their Assistants for most practical purposes, and that when a District Superintendent goes out into his district, and there is no Assistant under him, an officer of the rank of an Inspector should have charge of the current duties of his office, and communicate all matters of importance in the diaries to the Magistrate as well as to the District Superintendent. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, is of opinion that Assistant Superintendents are, as a rule, unnecessary, and his Honour has resolved not ordinarily to appoint a full number of new Assistant Superintendents, but to absorb those who are fit for it in the Subordinate Executive Service of the Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces. When under the exceptional circumstances of any district it may be desirable that an Assistant should be appointed, an officer of the Subordinate Executive Service may be specially so employed. For the appointment of District Superintendent, either officers of the Subordinate Executive Service or junior civilians would be eligible."*

But the life of an Indian Governor is short, and all that Sir George Campbell was able to do was to initiate the movement by abolishing a large number of the posts of Assistant Superintendent in the lowest grade, and though the reform has not been carried further, we find that there has been no increase to the number of *permanent* appointments in the lowest grade. But the difficulty is got over by making as large a number of officiating appointments, carrying full pay, in this grade as existed before the reductions were made by Sir George Campbell.

The half-heartedness with which the Commission has made its recommendation regarding the admission of Natives to the higher grades of the police is exhibited in the following:—

“The Commission has, therefore, resolved to leave this

* Bengal Administration Report for 1871-72, p. 88.

question in the hands of the Government of India as the only authority capable of judging how far the principles adopted for the larger employment of Natives in other branches of the public service can be safely extended to the police. At the same time, the Commission would express its opinion that, although for many years to come the European element in the higher ranks of the police should predominate, Natives of India ought not to be excluded from those ranks, as is now the case in some provinces, but that endeavours should be made to introduce a reasonable proportion of Native officers, due regard being always had to the efficiency of the service." *

It has no recommendations to make as to what the proportion of Natives should be in the police. This we were not prepared for from a Commission that laid down the proportions for District Judges and District Magistrate-Collectors. The objections against the appointment of Natives to district charges were still greater than what could be urged against their appointment to police charges, as the Police Superintendent was only an assistant to the District Magistrate, and yet, it is gratifying to note, they had no weight with the Commission.

"Stronger objections have been raised in the course of the inquiries of the Commission to the employment of Natives in district charges than in high judicial offices, and many witnesses have advised that they should be altogether excluded from offices of the former description. In view of the fact that the District Officer is the direct representative of the Executive Government in all departments of the administration; that he is primarily responsible for the peace of the district; that he is occasionally called on to deal with religious riots and disturbances of a dangerous kind; that he is head of the police; that his work necessarily brings him into frequent contact with officers of other departments, on whose co-operation its success must largely depend; that the District Officer is

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 117, p. 120.

invested with the control and training of the junior officers of the Imperial Service; and that in times of war the Government has to rely upon the District Officer for the supply of military transport, for keeping open communications, and for other arrangements in connection with the army in the field, it is argued that he should be an officer of the Covenanted Civil Service. More especially is this said to be the case in regard to districts in which there is more or less considerable European non-official community, or where troops are quartered, or important military establishments located.

“On the other hand, it is argued that it is unfair to allege that Natives of India are not qualified to hold offices, their fitness for which has not hitherto been tested, and no adequate training ground for which has up to the present time been supplied; that in dealing with riots and disturbances, with the supply of transport, stores, and recruits in time of war, and other matters of general administration, the District Officer has to rely almost entirely upon Native agency; that European gentlemen readily enough accept employment under Native control in Native States, Native armies, as tutors in Native families, and managers of Native estates; that there are many districts in which there are no troops and few Europeans, and where no difficulties of collision are likely to arise; and that when Natives have been largely employed in offices of control in other departments they have not only not been found wanting, but have discharged their duties with marked efficiency.” *

That the Commission has equally failed in dealing with the other special departments as it has failed with the Police will appear from the extracts made under those departments in Part IV.

The Commission has no definite proposals to make regarding any of the special departments. It desires that “indigenous agency should be more largely introduced into the

* Report of the Public Service Commission, p. 73.

Enrolled List" of the Accounts Department; that "the present system of recruitment by selection should be retained" in the Customs Department, in which there was "no ground for the exclusion of qualified candidates of any race from the Appraisers' or Preventive branches;" that the "rules at present prescribed by the Forest Code for the admission of candidates in India should be retained;" that "more opportunity might properly be given to Natives of India to show their fitness" for Superintendentships of Jails, "from which they are at present practically excluded;" that recruitment for the Opium Department "should be subject to the general principles of equality of treatment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and of tested preliminary qualifications;" that "in order to enable Natives to compete on equal terms with Europeans and Eurasians" a certain number of appointments in the Postal Departments, carrying salaries of from 80 rupees to 100 rupees a month, should be filled by competition;" that "the strength of the Imperial Branch" in the Public Works Department "should not be greater than is necessary for purposes of control and direction, and for the execution and repair of works calling for high engineering skill;" that "the appointment of Inspector-General of Registration should not be included in the *cadre* of the Imperial Service for the purpose of recruitment;" that "the same principles should govern the recruitment for and promotion" in the Salt Department "as have been recommended for the Provincial Service;" and lastly, that "admission to the Junior Division" of the Survey Department "should not be confined to special classes of Her Majesty's subjects."

Under the above circumstances we cannot find fault with Government for not having passed any orders on the Commission's Report. It was not to be patted on the back, and to be told that the Commission had "no original scheme" to offer—that Government had appointed it. Government was well aware that it was acting on correct principles, and did not want a certificate to that effect

from the Commission. What it wanted of the Commission was "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service," and in the performance of this duty the Commission has, as we have shown above, completely failed. It has *offered no scheme*, as it ingenuously admits, and unless Government were to appoint another Commission to do the very work of devising a scheme for which this Commission was appointed, it could not proceed in carrying out the desire "to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India." Seeing that the Commission contained amongst its members some very distinguished Natives, and that these Native representatives had not a single word to say by way of protest on behalf of their countrymen against the indefiniteness and inadequacy of the Commission's recommendations, we look upon it more as a misfortune than anything else that this Commission was ever appointed. We came with very great expectations to the perusal of the Commission's Report, Proceedings, and Appendices, and the Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, comprising a score of volumes, some of which extended over from 400 to 500 quarto pages, but we rise from them with a sense of utter disappointment.

In conclusion, we beg to state that it gives us very great pleasure to find that the Commission has adopted our suggestion for the appointment of a permanent body of Public Service Commissioners. In the "Note on the Competency of Natives to Superintend Survey Operations" that we submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Public Service Commission, there occurred the following suggestion:—

"The system under which appointments are made by Government or the Heads of Departments without any competitive examination is a most objectionable one, and is not calculated to always secure the services of the ablest man available in the country. Governors are not in a position to know the qualifications of candidates, and

have to depend chiefly on the recommendations of heads of departments, who again have to depend on the opinions expressed by their subordinates. Besides, heads of departments are often not free from race or class bias.

“I, therefore, humbly venture to suggest that a Public Service Commission, similar to the Civil Service Commission in England, should be permanently appointed in India, by whom candidates for appointments in all the departments under Government will be selected after competitive examinations. At these examinations there should be no restrictions as to race or class, but that all Natives and Europeans who produce certificates of health, character, and respectability should be allowed to compete. One of the members of the Commission should, for reasons already stated, be a Native. If the present Public Service Commission will leave behind it as successor such a permanent Public Service Commission, it will render lasting good to the country.”*

The recommendation of the Commission on this point runs as follows :—

“In order to provide for the satisfactory conduct of any examinations which may be prescribed for admission to the several branches of the public service, it appears to the Commission very desirable that the duty of supervising and making the necessary arrangements for such examinations should be entrusted in each presidency or province to some central Board constituted by authority, as is done in England. The Commission is aware that to some extent arrangements of this kind already exist in certain provinces, but these arrangements appear to be susceptible of improvement and might with advantage be revised, with the object of making the examinations a real and effective test of educational and linguistic qualifications and of inspiring additional public confidence. Accordingly, with a view to arrange generally for the conduct of examinations when

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Survey Department, p. 45.

prescribed by the rules for admission to the Provincial and Subordinate Services, and to secure as far as possible uniformity of standard, the Commission recommends that a Board of Examiners should be appointed in each presidency and province, who should perform duties similar to those entrusted to Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners in England, and that, whenever possible, non-official Europeans and Natives should be represented on such Boards."*

It will be observed that while our suggestion was for the appointment of a body of Commissioners for the selection of candidates, after competitive examinations, "for appointments to all the Departments under Government," the Commission's recommendation extends to only "the Provincial and Subordinate Services" and not to the special departments as well, so that even here we regret we cannot agree with the Commission. In our humble opinion the only possible course now left to Government is "to undertake at an early date" the promised Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs to which the investigations of the Commission have only been "preparatory." †

* Report of the Public Service Commission, par. 90, pp. 88, 89.

† Par. 1 of the Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Public Service Commission. Vide p. 1, "Appendices."

Home Rule Series No. 8.

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HOME RULE

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ANNIE BESANT

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HOME RULE

THE strength of the demand for Self-Government for India within the Empire, made by the National Congress, has been growing since it was first clearly and distinctly voiced with authority by India's G. O. M., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in the Calcutta Congress, 1906. The history of the whole gradual emergence of the demand is profoundly interesting and significant.

First of all, it must be clearly understood that India is neither a conquered country nor a Colony, and the recognition of this is of basic importance. The silly statement that "India was conquered by the sword and must be held by the sword" is generally met by the counter-statement, that the sword was mainly Indian. But while that is a perfectly good counter, there is a far deeper and truer answer. The Muhammadans did invade and conquer a part of India, and having established themselves, they ruled generously and well, becoming settled inhabitants of the country, and welcoming the Hindus to the highest posts in their Government; Akbar's successor was his son by a Hindu Empress; his greatest general was Man Singh; his finance minister was Todar Mall. The same policy has continued wherever the Muhammadans have held sway, and the late Nizam of Hyderabad had a Hindu Prime Minister. Conquest by the sword was for them not a reason for holding by the sword, but the conquest was at once followed by close alliance, confidence and trust, and was rendered secure by associating the people of the conquered land in the task of carrying on the Government. In this they shewed not only generosity but good statesmanship.

But the coming of the English was quite other. They came originally as traders and early in the seventeenth

century, 1613, they were permitted to build factories on certain defined spots. There was no question of conquest, but of humble acceptance of favours bestowed. Not until the end of the century did the head of one of the trading centres—Sir John Child at Bombay in 1686—announce that if the “natives” attacked him, he would retaliate. By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century the English possessed four forts: Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, S. David. And these were on voluntary grants of land, no question of conquest.

Then came the era of fighting. The French and English intrigued with Indian Princes who were quarrelling with each other; the Indian Princes borrowed officers, from one or the other, to train their own troops, and when things were critical, borrowed troops as well. When in a dispute the French took one side the English took the other; if the English took one side, the French took the other. And all three, Indian Rulers, French and English, intrigued and fought and wrangled up and down the southern land, a welter of intrigue, but no “conquest,” one side up to-day and down to-morrow. Clive at Arcot in 1751 made the real beginning of English supremacy; the French hopes were destroyed at Wandiwash by Colonel Coote in 1760, and they practically disappeared as a factor in India.

Thenceforth, it was not a question of conquest by England of India, but of taking part in Indian quarrels, fomenting disputes among Indian Princes, lending troops to one, siding with another, the outcome of each quarrel being a treaty which assigned land, or trading privileges, or limited authority, with much gold as makeweight and heavy subsidies for loan of troops; *but always treaties and gifts, not conquests.* English supremacy in India was based on treaties, not on conquests, and though the treaties were torn up when inconvenient and when the gain was quite secure, none the less the footing was gained by treaty and not by conquest. The East India Company was a trading Company and made its gains in trading fashion, not in the way of the soldier. It lent out its troops for gold, and borrowed troops by alliances disregarded as soon as they became useless, and looked to profit, not to conquest. And at last it grew so wealthy, that Parliament cast covetous eyes at its growing power, and its proceedings were scrutinised at each renewal of its Charter at 20 years' intervals. By treaties Indian Princes were gradually turned into Allies

with their rights guarded by treaties. By treaties and by charters to the Company, the rights of the owners of the country were bargained over, and they were recognised as British subjects, free and equal with all other subjects of the Crown. They were never a conquered people, but a people who passed by treaty under English supremacy, their inborn rights guarded by charter ; and so we come to 1833.

The fundamental difference between a conquered country, and a country in which the Princes and People had acknowledged the supremacy of England by treaties and charters, was very well put by the well-known President of the National Congress, held in Madras, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. He said :

British rule in India has not come as a challenge to the Indian people. The first and greatest step in the acquisition of sovereignty was taken at the invitation of the people themselves, harassed under the enfeebled grasp of a decadent administration. There have been wars since, but between brave men who have fought courageously, and have accepted the issue as between honourable combatants, our Princes becoming the friends and allies of His Britannic Majesty under solemn treaties, and our People equal subjects of His Majesty under charters and statutes equally solemn : and this mutual relationship and understanding, worthy of those who had the boldness to conceive and found the Empire, though sometimes apt to be forgotten under the passion of dominion or the prejudice of colour, to the infinite detriment of both sides, has been on the whole the guiding principle of British rule in India, well recognised by British statesmen and well understood by the Princes and People of India. It is this which has reconciled the Government of England to the martial spirit of India, to her ancient civilisation and her pride of race.

How true this is may be seen from the very beginning, for when Charles II—to whom had been given the island of Bombay by Portugal, as a marriage-gift with Katherine of Braganza—granted the island to the East India Company in 1669, the grant protected the people, declaring that all living there, and their descendants after them, were as free as though “ hving and born in England ”.

The Charter of 1833 has been very often quoted, in which it was laid down that

no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, under the said Company.

Moreover, in the Despatch sent with this by the Board of Directors to the Company, it is written :

It is fitting that this important provision should be understood, in order that its full spirit and intention may be transfused through our whole system of administration. From certain offices the natives are debarred, professedly on the ground that the average amount of native qualifications can be presumed only to rise to a certain limit. It is this line of demarcation which the present enactment obliterates. Fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility.

Contrast this with the saying of Lord Curzon, that the *corps d'élite* must be European, and it will be realised that, in liberty and equality, we were very much better off in the nineteenth century than in the twentieth.

The Proclamation of Queen Victoria when she assumed the Rule of India in 1858, repeated the old pledges :

It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race and creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and credit duly to discharge.

And that she meant this may be seen in her letter to Lord Derby, bidding him express her views on the matter. Moreover she cabled a Message to the Darbar to tell her subjects that by coming under the Crown, "the great principles of liberty, equity and justice are secured to them". Edward VII reiterated similar ideas in 1908. He declared that representative institutions should be extended, and that the politic satisfaction of the claim to equality of citizenship, made by important classes who held ideas fostered by British rule, would strengthen and not weaken that rule. It is clear from all this that it is neither the Crown, nor the Parliament of England which is to blame. It is the deadly work against liberty of the bureaucracy, which in every country is the enemy of popular freedom. To this we owe the tearing into shreds of all the charters and treaties, and proclamations, and royal messages, until the air is thick with "scraps of paper"; but the coercive legislation, which is its natural work, is not written on paper, but on

parchment; the Arms Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act, the revival of the Deportation Resolutions, made only to meet the danger of invasion and disused and forgotten—these are among the things which make Home Rule under the Imperial Crown so vital a necessity, if India is to live.

The first distinct step towards the regaining of Self-Government was taken in 1876, when the Indian Association of Calcutta was established by Messrs. Surendranath Bannerji and Ananda Mohan Bose, and among the objects of this was Representative Government. The National Congress did not at first formulate any objects, but concerned itself with the pressing questions of the day, with detached wrongs, and with reforms which would have gradually transferred authority from the foreigner to the children of the land, but did not assert that as their object. The demand for simultaneous examinations, for admission to the higher grades of the Public Service, for commissions in the Army, for the modification of the Arms Act, for the extension of trial by jury, for education, for larger representation of the people in the local bodies and Legislative Councils—all these demands, denounced by the bureaucracy as seditious when they were first made, were moves towards Self-Government. Indeed to have asked for this at first, without any preliminary action, would have been unwise and impracticable; the leaders did not yet know their own strength, nor could they tell how far the people would respond to their call. It was political wisdom to train their hosts before launching them at an objective, and the first twenty-one years were well spent in the practice of manœuvres, before the army should be led to the attack.

If the bureaucracy, instead of denouncing the Congress movement as seditious, had welcomed it, as Bentinck and Macaulay would have done; if they had seen in it the harvest of the seed sown by England, as the splendid response to her inspiration, as the justification of the hopes which had led to the introduction of English education, then the path of gradual and slow devolution of power from foreign into native hands would have been followed, and, perhaps a century hence, India, by these slow and successive steps, would have reached Self-Government. But when has a bureaucracy willingly divested itself of power? When has an autocracy welcomed the coming of popular liberty? History records no such event, and the

liberty of a Nation has never been so quietly and methodically gained.

Instead of that, the bureaucracy acted according to its inborn nature, and whenever the British Parliament passed a righteous Act, it set to work to spoil it. Lacking knowledge of Indian conditions, Parliament has always been timid, and in legislating for India, it has adopted the plan of passing Acts of broad outlines, leaving it to "the man on the spot" to make Regulations by which the principles of the Act should be applied. These Regulations have always eviscerated the Act, and have rendered it useless. The Regulations under the Arms Act make it the mischievous Statute it is, leave the country open to the ravages of wild beasts, are responsible for the thousands of deaths from wild beasts, the ruin of crops, and the desertion of villages where cultivation has been rendered impossible by the invasions of destructive animals; it is the Regulations which encourage the spread of dacoity, so that life and property are less secure now in some districts than they were fifty years ago; the dacoity is put down to anarchists; it is only partially so, and is but rather the re-appearance of old robber-gangs, due to the helplessness of an unarmed people. The right of self-defence is a primary human right, and where the protection given by Government is inadequate to safeguard life and property, that inherent human right revives in its full strength. It is idle to say the people should assist the police, when the police are not able to prevent armed bands of robbers from ranging the country. The man who helps the police is marked down by the dacoits for torture and murder. Let the people have arms to defend themselves, as the police do not defend them, and dacoity will soon be a thing of the past. But the bureaucracy fear to live in a country where the people bear arms, and all the ravages of wild beasts and of dacoits must continue, because they are afraid that an armed people would not bear their yoke. Hence also the refusal of military Colleges, of commissions in the Army, etc., and the restriction of Volunteering—*not by law* but by the bureaucracy—to Christians, who, they hope, will be unpatriotic by reason of their religion.

Similarly, the Reform Act of 1909 was wrecked by the Regulations, which while giving a technically non-official majority,

save in the Supreme Council, so manipulated the franchise as to ensure that a certain number of the elected should be Government men, and used nomination by Government to ensure a Government, if not a nominally official, majority.

Once more, the supposed training for Self-Government aimed at by Lord Ripon in 1882, by rendering local bodies self-governing, has been made nugatory by the insistence on official Chairmen, who so control the Boards that self-respecting and capable men find it, too often, impossible to sit on them.

Fortunately, Lord Curzon was sent, to shew what re-action could accomplish, and Congress was driven into a new line of work.

The coming of Lord Curzon made a movement for Home Rule in India inevitable. He definitely repudiated the Proclamation of 1858, as, indeed, Lord Lytton had done, but openly instead of secretly. He laid down the rule that the *Corps d'elite* in the Services must be European, thus relegating Indians to a position of perpetual inferiority; he definitely set himself against the educated class, and trampled on all the hopes that England had inspired, that Crown and Parliament had proclaimed. So anti-Indian was he, that that cautious statesman, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, declared, in the Benares Congress of 1905, that to find a parallel for his rule, it was necessary to go back to the time of Aurangzeb. His vice-royalty crystallised into definiteness the demand for Home Rule, since it was seen how intolerable foreign rule might be made, and his Partition of Bengal set the country ablaze; it was the match applied to the devotion and the patriotism which Congress had piled on the altar of the Motherland.

In the Congress of 1906, the demand for Self-Government was made by the mouth of India's G.O.M., Dadabhai Naoroji. Self-Government, Swaraj, he proclaimed to an assembly of 20,000 people in the huge Congress Hall, an assembly in which the vast majority were Bengalis, palpitating with outraged feeling, with the sense of a great wrong. And the Partition of Bengal did more than crystallise into a formal demand the growing desire for National freedom. It shewed that National freedom was within reach, and how it might be gained. Reaction did its work against Bengal. Not only was there coercive legislation, the suppression of all political

meetings, the strangling of the Press, but there were deportations, arrest and rustication of boys and college students, forcible breaking up of a peaceable procession as at Barisal, the bringing down of Gurkhas to terrorise the population, the browbeating of respectable men, and menaces to their lives by Mr.—now Sir—Bamfylde Fuller. There was the declaration by Lord Morley that the Partition was “a settled fact”—no agitation could have seemed more hopeless. But Bengal persisted, she mourned, she boycotted, she persisted in a determined agitation, and she won—as resolute strugglers for Liberty always must win—and at the Delhi Darbar in 1911, the King-Emperor proclaimed the annulling of the Partition of Bengal. It was the first great triumph of Indian public opinion over the furious opposition of the bureaucracy, upheld by the Secretary of State, and it shewed how futile was their panic legislation directed towards the suppression of human freedom. Such legislation can never succeed when there are men who value National, more than personal, liberty. For Bengalis, at that time, prison had no terrors. As Mr. Gladstone said, speaking of the Irish martyrs for Home Rule, they turned the prison into a temple. Liberty is irresistible, when she has champions ready to suffer for her. The conflict in Bengal lasted from 1905 to 1911: a brief six years won an immortal victory.

After the declaration of Home Rule as the objective made by Mr. Naoroji, and his expressed hope to see it before he left this world, came the Surat split and its result, the formulation of the Object of the Congress in the famous Article I, Self-Government on Colonial lines. All the Colonies enjoy Home Rule, though the details of their Constitutions vary. The demand is for the principle, while the details will be—as the Muslim League expressed the idea—suitable to India. This is now the formal objective of the two great communities, and the one great political duty of the time is to educate the people, familiarising them with the idea, so that when the Reconstruction of the Empire follows on the restoration of peace, India may not be left out because unready, and be put off with instalments of Reform, which will again be neutralised by the bureaucracy. The opportunity is unique, and if it be seized by the Indian people, the G. O. M. will see fulfilled the hope he expressed in 1906. If it be let slip, who

can say how long will be the period ere another opportunity will recur ?

When the Reconstruction of the Empire is accomplished, the Nations composing it will inevitably turn their attention to economic questions which will press for solution, and unless India has attained Home Rule, she will not have fiscal autonomy; if she does not have fiscal autonomy, she remains economically dependent, and her interests will continue to be sacrificed to Britain as they have been since supremacy was gained by the East India Company. Political dependence means economic dependence, and economic dependence means the debt and the semi-starvation of the masses of the peasantry.

The Congress, realising all this, passed last year, after five months of War, its demand for Self-Government, the first Congress Resolution that makes that demand, clearly and completely, without preliminary steps as in a Resolution of 1906. It ran as follows :

Resolved : That, in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis, this Congress appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it, and make it an enduring valuable asset of the Empire, by removing all invidious distinctions, here and abroad, between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects, by redeeming the pledges of Provincial autonomy contained in the Despatch of 25th August, 1911, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a component part of a federated Empire, in the full and free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status.

Congress cannot go back on this, for even if Bombay, as a whole, be not quite as advanced as Madras—can that be so?—yet Bombay delegates voted for this Resolution in 1914, after the state of War had been going on for five months, and after the speeches of Mr. Surendranath Bannerji and Mrs. Annie Besant had emphasised the completeness of the demand—the status of India as a component part of a Federated Empire. The Congress of 1915 must re-iterate this demand, and the formation of the Home Rule League is its natural corollary, as the formation of the Educational League by Mr. Gokhale was the natural corollary of the educational Resolutions of the Congress. There is no need of a formal endorsement, as the above Resolution is sufficient; Mr. Gokhale asked for no formal

endorsement for his League, and the Congress has always laid down the principles for action, but has never engaged in special agitations.

In view of the above Resolution, which will be repeated in Bombay, the Note of Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Krishna Gupta is somewhat inadequate, but that is no reason why it should not be passed, with the many other Resolutions asking for special Reforms, which form the bulk of the Congress proceedings. It would hardly do for the Congress to meet, to pass Resolutions of loyalty, of support of the War, of Self-Government after the War, and dissolve. The usual Resolutions on detailed Reforms will properly and naturally be passed, and the new Note will be formulated among them. The Congress cannot and will not stultify itself by making that Note its full demand for the changes desired after the War, having already, since the War began, formulated its demand for complete Home Rule.

It would almost seem from the discussion in some Bombay papers, that they did not realise how far the "benighted Presidency" had carried forward the Congress Object, by formulating it into a Resolution for Home Rule after the War—a Resolution which Mrs. Annie Besant is loyally endeavouring to carry out by proposing a Home Rule League to educate the people as suggested in Mr. Surendranath Bannerji's speech last year. May it not have been the consciousness of her practical enthusiasm on this head, which led the Subjects Committee to select her as a speaker on this Resolution, linking her with the veteran patriot who had been the first to propose it in 1876?

There are over 280 reasons, at least, why we should have Home Rule, and they may be summed up in one sentence: "Because we cannot get things done without it." The National Congress has been sitting for 30 years, it has pointed out the gross defects in our present system of Government; it has pleaded for justice; it has presented unanswerable arguments for the reforms it has advocated; it has practically left no grievance of the poor unnoticed; the best brains in the country have marshalled its cohorts, have planned its assaults. It is not the fault of the Congress that it has cried out in vain; it has beaten on a shut door. Its splendid pleadings against South African and Colonial treatment of Indians went

for nothing, till the resolution of the Passive Resisters and the rising of Indian anger to boiling point made a danger too great to be allowed to continue. Its protests against the Partition of Bengal had no effect, until Bengalis used the boycott and the situation became, again, too dangerous to be allowed to continue. The lesson is plain. Arguments, however cogent, eloquence, however noble, pleas for justice, however unanswerable, fail to have any effect, so long as they are kept within the walls of a Council Chamber. They must begin there; the case must be stated there; the appeal to right and justice must re-echo ~~within those walls~~. But until the plea within passes into agitation without, nothing is done. Agitation which is not based on a good statement is folly; but a good statement which is not backed up by agitation is futile.

Let us consider some of our 280 reasons for Home Rule. The first Congress demanded, and the second Congress formulated a scheme, for such an expansion of the representative element in the Legislative Councils as should give them some real power over finance and legislation; the fifth Congress (1889) passed an outline to be incorporated in a Bill to be brought before the House of Commons by Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., that would have formed Councils in which one-half of the members were elected, one-fourth sat *ex-officio* and one-fourth were nominated by Government. The Congress has since passed some 40 resolutions dealing with the subject, and we still have Councils in which the official and the Government nominees form the majority. The Government is sometimes contemptuous enough of the Council to appoint a man who does not understand the language in which debates are conducted; one such gentleman, asked how he managed to vote, honestly said that he watched the President, and put up his hand when he raised his!

The first Congress demanded Simultaneous Examinations for the Civil Service in England and India, so that Indians might have a chance. Would England tolerate her Civil Servants having to travel to India to be examined for berths in England? That men should be examined in their own country for service in their own country is surely an elementary fragment of justice; but the Congress in its 29 sittings has passed 29 Resolutions demanding it, and the case remains where it was in 1885, when the Congress first sat. Conundrum: If in 29 years

a thing is no nearer accomplishment than at first, when will it be done?

In its first sitting, the Congress protested against the rising military expenditure; it has protested at every session since, and the expenditure is still rising. In its second session, 1886, the Congress asked for the extension of the jury system and closely related reforms. It has repeated the demand annually ever since, and the system has been more restricted instead of extended. In the second session the Congress asked for the separation of Judicial and Executive functions; cases have been piled up to show the wrong done by making the prosecutor the judge, to show the unfairness to litigants of making them follow peripatetic Collectors, and many other injustices; all in vain; the system remains unchanged. In the second session, the Congress asked that Indians might volunteer, and in the third, added to this a prayer for the opening of the commissioned grades of the Indian Army to Indians and for the modification of the Arms Act; these resolutions have been passed annually ever since, but in vain. In the third session, the Congress drew attention to the need for Technical Education and for the fostering of indigenous Industries, and in the fifth to the necessity of long term or permanent Settlement; elementary and higher education were also pressed, and on these over 50 Resolutions have been passed during the 29 years of the life of the Congress; how much has been done to give effect to them? After 80 years of education controlled by the bureaucracy we have 2.9 literates in the population. Japan in 40 years, with Home Rule, has 98. India could do the same. And see what a Home Rule Government in Japan is doing for her indigenous industries. Congress has pointed to the awful poverty of the people, to their lack of resistance against disease and famine; it has urged the remedies; but all in vain. The land-tax rises, the indebtedness of the peasantry increases; famines recur; malaria and plague kill off the semi-starving people; things go from bad to worse; doctors hunt bacilli, and try to kill flies, mosquitoes and rats; but the bacilli and the disease carriers are normal semi-starvation and absence of sanitation. And now the doctors are adding to their hunt for bacilli their hunt after Vaidyas and Hakims.

These are some of the practical reasons for immediate Home Rule. The most glaring abuses continue, and we want to be rid of them. The bureaucracy is incompetent in the matters in which the people are most interested, and too competent in the increase of expenditure. As Mr. D. E. Wacha has pointed out, their methods mean bankruptcy, and the drifting into bankruptcy means incompetence and inefficiency. No amount of official whitewash mends rotten walls.

A big and strenuous agitation for Home Rule means the ending of all the wrongs and injustices which Congress has been exposing since 1885. When we have Home Rule, and a responsible Government, we will see that it puts our National Household in order.

We see, then, that Home Rule is necessary because of the lack of efficiency in the British administration in bringing about reforms considered by the educated Indians to be necessary for the good of their country. We may add to this the importance of Home Rule from the practical proofs of its efficiency as seen in the Indian Feudatory States, even though the Princes are considerably hampered by the presence of the representatives of the Paramount Power; under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon this was a serious interference with their independence, but the wisdom and regard for treaties shewn by Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge have to a great extent removed the painful impression made by the ambition and the vanity of the "blessing in disguise".

If we point to the rapid advance made by Japan, we may be told that the Japanese is not the Indian, and that the growth of Japan offers no guarantee for Indian efficiency. But none can deny the cogency of the appeal to the Indian Feudatory States, where the people are of one blood with, and belong to the different faiths of, the people in British India.

One great outstanding difference between the Home Rule of the Indian States and the Foreign Rule of the British Raj is the absence in the former of the religious hostilities found in the latter. Hindus and Musalmans live in peace side by side, Hindus under Musalman rule, Musalmans under Hindu rule, both content and prosperous. The Hindu Prince celebrates the Moharram, and Hindus take part in it, in all friendliness and good feeling.

Cow-killing is not made offensively prominent, and riots do not occur. But this is a commonplace, and the Princes have felt themselves as Rulers of all their subjects; Hinduism is normally tolerant; the statecraft of the Muslim has conciliated the people whom he ruled.

But let us consider specific reforms; we have seen that the Congress has been asking for 30 years for the one simple and important reform of the separation of executive and judicial functions; Gwalior effected this reform, and it is working thoroughly well; Home Rule has done what Foreign Rule finds it impossible to compass. The revival of the Panchayat system has long been advocated, and was even approved and recommended by the Decentralisation Commission. Gwalior established it in 25 selected areas; it is working to the perfect satisfaction of the Darbar, and is to be extended, while the powers given are to be enlarged. Dewas established it, and it has worked so thoroughly well that the powers are to be enlarged, and it has been established also as an urban institution, Ward Panchayats. Patiala started it some years ago, but we have not received any details of its working. Mysore is to establish it. Here, again, Home Rule has brought about a most beneficent change, affecting the welfare of the population, while Foreign Rule still stands shivering on the bank, hesitating to take the plunge.

Or let us consider irrigation, the glory of Indian Rulers in the past, while the destruction of their rule has turned gardens into deserts. Compare with the grudging doles of the Indian Government the action taken in Gwalior by Maharaja Scindhia and his Home Rule; one scheme, the Sank-Asan, which waters three lakhs of bighas in the State and has 200 miles of distributing channels and sub-channels, has cost 40 lakhs, but it benefits the State as well as the people, for it brings in an annual revenue, direct and indirect, of 4 lakhs. The Forest Laws are one of the great grievances in British India. But the Forest Department in Gwalior is a blessing to the agricultural population. When there was a severe scarcity in 1913-14, the Maharaja ordered the reserve forests to be thrown open, and carted off grass to the value of lakhs of rupees to places where fodder for cattle was short. In Gwalior there is provision made against the advent of famine, an officer being in charge of all stores needed for prompt relief, so that operations can be started, when necessary, without delay, entirely

preventing the migration from a famine-stricken district which used to cause so much ruin.

In Mysore, we have another example of the effectiveness of Home Rule. Industries are founded and fostered, the agricultural population is carefully considered, a flourishing Girls' College is maintained, institutions for helping the distressed are subsidised by the State. In Baroda, free and compulsory education is established and the percentage of literates is steadily rising; child marriage is forbidden, while we cannot in Madras even obtain a legal declaration that post-puberty marriages are valid, and in the Supreme Legislative Council the effort of a Hindu to protect Hindu girls from outrage by raising the age of consent was rejected by the Home Member, Sir Reginald Craddock.

We might enumerate many other advantages seen in the Indian States; the better Police Force, not regarded with dread by the public; the troops with their Indian officers; the good roads; the air of independence of the people; and the absence of the painful attitude of inferiority on one side, and of distrust on the other, so common in British India; one breathes freely.

All this was to be expected, for no foreigners can govern a people as well as can its own sons; there are always opposing interests, in the first case, between the governors and the governed, while, in the second, the interests are common. There is sympathy, fellow-feeling, understanding. While the coming of the British to India has brought much good as well as harm, and has been a necessary stage in the progress of the country in the new order into which it was needful that India should enter, in order to take her place again in the forefront of evolution, it is now time that the wardship should end, and that India should once more rule herself, a free Nation among the other free Nations of the Empire. That will be one of the results of the Great War, and it is for that that India must now prepare herself.

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INDIA
AND ITS
PROBLEMS

Letters written from India in the Winter of 1904-05

BY
SAMUEL SMITH, M.P.

LONDON
CHAS. J. THYNNE
GT. QUEEN STREET, KINGSWAY, W.C.

1905

PREFACE

THIS pamphlet is a reproduction of letters written from India to the British Press during a recent visit.

That visit was undertaken partly to attend the Indian National Congress meeting at Bombay in the last week of December, and partly as President of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, which has three hundred branches in India. Nearly two months were spent in India in close intercourse with both British and Indian leaders of opinion, and the knowledge gained on former visits was extended and brought up to date.

A few corrections have been inserted where subsequent information showed that mistakes had been made.

An attempt was made by the writer to bring on a debate in Parliament upon the following Amendment to the Address :—

“And we humbly represent to your Majesty that
“considering the great importance of Indian questions
“and the desire of the Indian people to lay their
“grievances, their sufferings, and aspirations before Parlia-
“ment and to ask for improvements in the adminis-
“tration of their country, the necessary steps should be
“taken, by legislation and otherwise, to place the salary

“of the Secretary of State for India on the Estimates
“so that fuller opportunity be given for discussions on
“Indian affairs.”

But an opportunity could not be found, and the speech which was then prepared is added in the hope that the suggestions therein contained may be read and studied by those responsible for Indian affairs.

It may be added that though the letters deal with various phases of Indian life, including missionary work, they all bear on the great question how best to administer that great trust—the government of one-fifth of the world's population devolved upon this far island of the West in the Providence of God.

INDIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

To the Editor of the "Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury."

SIR,—It may interest you to have some jottings from Bombay, on this my third visit to India. My first was during the American Civil War, in 1862-3. The second was in 1885-6, when I devoted myself more to the social and political conditions of the country. On this occasion I hope to attend the meetings of the Indian National Congress at the end of this month; and also to examine the work of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, of which I am President, and which has three hundred branches all over India. It was started by my friend Mr. W. S. Caine, and has proved a great success in many ways. I have already met the heads of the temperance organization in Bombay. Your readers will know that there has been a long standing difference of opinion between the temperance party and the Government of India on the subject of licensing. The vast majority of the Indian people are by religion and conviction total abstainers, but the drink habit has been creeping into the country insidiously—partly from imitation of English customs, and partly, it is alleged, from the opening of liquor-shops against the wishes of the people. The custom has been to farm out districts to the highest bidder, and the licensee naturally does his utmost to push liquor into consumption. The mill-workers in Bombay and elsewhere are peculiarly addicted to this vice, and great complaints are made that the liquor-shops are studded close to the mills, thereby tempting the people to waste their small wages there. The principal drink consumed is country spirit, similar to our

whisky or gin, and is taken for the purpose of intoxication. The effect is much more deadly in a hot climate like this than in northern countries like ours. There can be no doubt that if the Indian people were allowed to choose for themselves, the public sale of strong drink would be suppressed in most localities. One is grieved to see that the general conviction of the natives is that the Government, for the sake of revenue, tempts the people to this ruinous habit. I am glad to say our energetic Viceroy, Lord Curzon, is taking a strong line in favour of restriction in deference to the strong appeals of the tea-planters of Assam. A bill is passing through the Viceregal Council to lessen temptation; and the Bengal Excise Bill prohibits the sale of drink to children under fourteen, and also forbids the use of barmaids. In Bombay, however, these improvements have not yet been adopted, but the feeling is very strong against tempting children to drink, and also against females selling drink. The seclusion of women is universal amongst the high castes in India, and their sense of propriety is shocked by women standing at the bar, and even, as is common here, drinking along with their male customers. It is in the real interest of the British Government to respond to the universal feeling of India in favour of restriction on the sale of strong drink, even to the point of prohibition, where that is practicable. It would involve loss of revenue, but in the present state of the Exchequer that could easily be endured. For three years India has been blessed with good harvests, and for several years there have been large surpluses. This year the surplus promises to be very large. The strong feeling of the Indian people is that these surpluses should be given back, either in the form of remission of taxation or in reproductive works or education, or measures for improving the conditions of life. The financial state of India is very sound, and there is no object in taking more taxation out of the people than is absolutely necessary. The adoption of the gold standard, with the rupee fixed at 1s 4d—practically a bimetallic standard—has been a great success. It has delivered the Government from constant anxiety, and

facilitates the transmission of capital from England to India, or *vice versa*.

I am struck with the wonderful improvement in Bombay since I first knew it. The English quarter is full of splendid public buildings. This hotel is one of the finest in the world. The railway stations, University buildings, hospitals, and benevolent institutions of all kinds are on a scale worthy of the capital of a great country. The suburbs of Bombay are covered with handsome villas, mostly owned by Parsees and Hindus. The wealth of the city has largely passed into their hands. They own nearly all the eighty cotton factories of the city, besides a great many others in the outskirts. Bombay has become one of the great manufacturing centres of Asia. Trade has passed through a time of depression here as in England, but it is now recovering from it, and the prospects are in favour of good times and rapid progress, especially in manufacturing cloth. Stocks of goods in India were never lower, and the demand from the interior is strong and general. Manchester has felt the benefit of this, and Bombay equally so: and great numbers of looms are being laid down, which points to severe competition with Manchester in the future. Almost all the yarn trade is now concentrated in India, and it looks as though the production of cloth would gradually go in the same direction. This will not be pleasant to Lancashire; yet we ought to rejoice that manufacturing industries are doing something to lift up the very low condition of the Indian people. Wages have risen considerably in Bombay, and in all districts where industries have been planted. In the purely agricultural districts wages are extremely low, not more than from 2*d* to 4*d* a day. But wherever there is a thriving industry the rate advances to 6*d* or 8*d*. It just makes the difference between starvation and tolerable comfort. To my thinking the only means of lifting up the dead level of poverty in India is through the spread of manufacturing and mining industries.

The weather is still very hot here; shade temperature eighty-eight degrees at noon, and never under seventy

degrees at night. But cooler weather is looked for before long.

Reserving further remarks till I have seen more of the Congress party.

Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, *December 1st, 1904.*

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of "The Times."

SIR,—I had the advantage of witnessing the public reception of Lord Curzon this morning on his return to India to take up the Viceroyalty. It was a brilliant scene. Under a canopy on the Apollo Bunder were gathered a large number of Indian Princes and most of the leading officials in Western India. A blaze of decorations and regalia lighted up the scene. The gorgeous East, resplendent in "barbaric pearl and gold," was in full evidence, and as the representative of Britain stepped ashore to receive the address of the Bombay Corporation and the congratulations of his many friends, one felt what a magnificent position he held. The eloquent and able speech which he made in reply to the address of the Corporation will no doubt be read all over England. Its keynote was duty, and the long list of reforms he sketched implied that strenuous labours are yet in store for him. No Viceroy in our time has shown such energy and capacity for work. He has galvanized the whole administration of India. The contagion of his energy has lifted up the Civil Service and all grades of officials, from the highest to the lowest; and most fair-minded men, whether European or Indian, will admit that Lord Curzon is a strong ruler. Yet it is too much to say that he is generally popular. The Congress party in particular are strongly opposed to certain branches of his policy. They resent what they call his attack on University education; alleging it to be an attempt to officialize its Administration. This,

however, is denied by the Anglo-Indians. No doubt his energetic administration has caused some toes to be trampled upon. Undoubtedly he has given occasion for complaints of too much self-assertion, and his too frequent speeches have brought him often into trouble. He has specially dealt with the question of irrigation, and I think successfully. He is trying to spread technical and industrial education, which are greatly needed in India. He is earnestly taking in hand the reform of the police system. The lower grades of that service are deplorably corrupt, and no reform is more urgent in India. Lord Curzon is also trying to cope with the terrible evil of agricultural indebtedness; and he has in view further experiments to discover some remedy against the plague, which is still decimating many parts of India. Some of these questions will take many years to settle, and we hope that Lord Curzon will have health and strength for further arduous labour. He comes back alone, after passing through a most severe domestic trial. Let us hope that the lady who presided so well over the Viceregal household in past years may soon be able to rejoin him.*

It is forty-two years last month since I first visited India. Your readers will pardon a few remarks on the changes which I find. Bombay has grown into a beautiful city. The European quarter is adorned with splendid public buildings, spacious esplanades, and public drives; and this hotel, the Taj Mahal, from which I write, is one of the handsomest buildings in India. The environs of Bombay, especially Malabar Hill, are covered with villas belonging to wealthy Parsees and Hindus. No one can doubt that this is a wealthy city. Over eighty great cotton factories give employment to large masses of the population, and as many more are found in the adjacent districts. The great bulk of them are owned in India. After a period of depression, trade is again highly flourishing, especially the weaving

* Since writing above more experience in India somewhat modifies these conclusions. *Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur* would not be a bad motto for an Indian Viceroy.

branch. The demand for goods in India is unusually active. Stocks are very low, and manufacturers, alike in Bombay and Lancashire, are earning handsome profits. It seems to me not unlikely that India will gradually draw to itself the bulk of the trade, both in goods and yarns. Whenever an industry is acclimatized in India the rate of wages rises rapidly. So it is in Bombay. But we must not forget that the vast mass of the Indian people live in rural villages, far away from industrial centres. A long drive yesterday in the Deccan revealed the fact that the mass of the country people are much what they were on my first visit to India. Their clothing is of the scantiest; multitudes of them were almost naked. The ordinary pay of coolies in India is not more than three or four annas per day—say, threepence or fourpence—and in some parts of India, I am told, not more than two annas—*i.e.*, twopence. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that the great mass of the Indian people are intensely poor. Lord Curzon's estimate of national income is £2 per head, and the natives complain that this estimate is too high. That of Britain is variously estimated at from £35 to £40 per head. The problem of India is how to raise the condition of this vast mass of human beings—probably two hundred or two hundred and fifty millions out of the three hundred millions of people that live either in the British possessions or in native States in India. The recent famines caused terrible suffering; and, in spite of the splendid efforts of the Government and a huge expenditure, depleted the population by some millions. The loss of life in the native States was much greater than on the British side, and many of the starving natives crowded into British territory from the native States, seeking help, but dying from exhaustion. We have had now three good years in India, and the effects of the famine are passing away. But the precariousness of the climate makes it always uncertain what the crops will be.

The great problem of India is to multiply the means of subsistence. The population is too exclusively dependent upon the soil. The old hand industries which used to employ

many millions of people are decaying, owing to the competition of cheap foreign goods. These hand industries cannot now be revived. What India needs is to have industrial development, with modern machinery and trained foreign enterprise, spread widely over the whole face of the land. I find amongst the Congress party, consisting of the most highly educated natives, a curious aversion to foreign capital. They think it drains away the profits of the country. They point to the great excess of exports over imports, some twenty millions annually, and charge upon this the impoverishment of the country. They ignore the fact that the same phenomenon appears in the British Colonies and in the United States, and yet that these are the most prosperous countries in the world. It is no doubt true that a government by foreigners does impose what may be called a certain tribute on the country. Eighteen millions sterling have to be remitted annually to the Secretary for India to discharge the home liabilities of this country. Half of this is interest on debt; the other half is pensions, Army stores, and sundry other things. No doubt it would be better for India could the capital be raised in the country and the administration be conducted by natives of the country. But that is not possible at present; and it is surely better that the railways of India should be made by foreign capital than not made at all. Just as Australia has been developed by British capital, and Canada in its earlier stages, also the United States in its earlier stages, so a poor country like India with hardly any spare capital of its own, and the little it has mostly lent at 12 per cent. per annum, needs cheap foreign capital in order to start its industries. It answered our Colonies to make their railways and public improvements with British capital at 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. per annum, and it will pay India as well. The benefits she has gained and will gain in the future from the development of her industries and from cheap means of communication, will much more than repay her for the interest she has to remit to England. But at present these truths are very dimly realized. The people have literary education in a high degree, but not

commercial or technical. With the exception of the Parsee community, there is very little enterprise amongst the Indian people. There is little practical science, little engineering or mechanical knowledge; and till they get this for themselves they will have to import it from abroad. It is hopeless to attempt to raise the industrial level of so huge a population by any other means than this.

The Congress party fixes its attention on what it calls the problems of government. It thinks if it could reduce the cost by employing native agency it would make India a prosperous country. But all the savings it recommends, if carried out to the full, would not add a rupee per head to the average income of the people. To make India a really prosperous country, it would be necessary to double the income of the people—that is, to raise it from thirty rupees to sixty rupees per head, or to raise the income of the agricultural portion from twenty to forty rupees per head. Even then the people would barely have enough to live upon. As it is, a great portion of them are on the border of starvation.

Along with this are needed far-reaching social reforms. The caste system involves infant betrothal and enormous outlays in connexion with the marriage ceremony. These are usually borrowed from the moneylender, with interest at 2 or 3 per cent. per month, never at less than 12 per cent. per annum. The unhappy peasant, when he gets into the toils of the moneylender, rarely or never escapes, and the bulk of the rural population are now little better than serfs in their hands. My own view is that the greatest reform needed in India is to effect a liquidation of the debts of the agricultural class by means of a commission founded upon a Government Commission; and, to prevent a fresh growth of these debts, the holding of a ryot and his cattle and implements should not be liable to distraint for debt. He is but a child, and would accumulate another debt as fast as he is relieved of the old one, unless the power of pledging his property were taken from him.

I may return to this matter again, with your permission,

after attending the meetings of the Congress. I may also touch upon the temperance question, as being the President of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society. It was founded by my friend W. S. Caine in my house in London some fifteen years ago. We have now three hundred branches all over India. We complain that the resolution passed by the House of Commons on my initiative, seconded by Mr. Cainè, has not been adequately carried out. Yet I know that Lord Curzon is earnestly desirous to arrest the spread of the liquor curse in this country. I am here to inquire into this question, as well as other points connected with the administration of India, and with your permission will return again to these subjects.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL SMITH.

Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, *December 9th.*

INDIAN MISSIONS.

AMERICAN MISSION, AHMEDNAGAR, BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

December 18th, 1904.

To the Editor of "The British Weekly."

SIR,—It may interest your readers to have my impressions of missionary work in India. I had the advantage of meeting some of the best Christian workers in Bombay, and have paid visits to the great mission centres of Sholapur and Ahmednagar, staying some days at each, and seeing the admirable and many-sided work carried on. My first visit to India was in 1862-63, when I met several of the Presbyterian missionaries. On my next visit I met many of the C. M. S. and Baptists, as well as Presbyterians. This time I have been brought into contact more with Americans, who have specially taken up the industrial phase of missions—though there are admirable examples of the same in the Presbyterian and other missions as well.

I see a great change in the conception of mission work since I was first in India. In those days industrial training was almost untried; now it is coming to the front everywhere. This is largely the result of the terrible famines a few years ago. Vast numbers of orphans were left helpless, and were taken up in great numbers by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Several orphanages are attached to the two missions I have visited, as well as hospitals and dispensaries. I think I have seen it stated that some fifty thousand famine orphans are in charge of the Protestant and Catholic missionaries in India. The great difficulty that confronted them was how to place these children out in life. The native community is organized in castes—each son following his father's profession, and the daughters are usually betrothed in marriage when little children. No provision is made in Indian life for women following a separate calling. Marriage is looked upon as the only profession; and fathers will go into debts that crush them for life to get the daughters married at far too early an age.

The Need for Industrial Training.

In the providence of God a necessity has arisen to set new and higher ideals of life before the Indian people. The kindness which prompted these orphan homes is appreciated by all the natives. They see the better education and the higher training that the orphans receive, and they are now eager to have their own children trained at the mission schools. Almost of necessity a great part of mission work is the education of children, whether orphan or drawn from the native community. At this station some fifteen hundred children in all are under instruction. An excellent knowledge of the Bible is given to all pupils. I looked to-day over the examination papers for Scriptural instruction, and found them as advanced as they would be in England; and the higher classes gave their answers in English. Many of the older children are professing Christians and communicants. They will spread over India and carry light and knowledge

into many towns and villages. But the point I wish to emphasize is the spread of industrial training. Mere literary teaching will not enable them to make a living. India is overstocked with aspirants to Government employment, with clerks, pleaders, and such like professions. All educated Indians crowd into these professions. They have an innate dislike to, and almost contempt for, manual and mechanical work. These things are relegated to the lowest castes, and the Brahmins and higher castes generally will not degrade themselves by using their hands.

Much of the poverty of India comes from this cause. It lacks the skill and energy for developing industrial life. Hence a dead level of social stagnation in the rural districts where five-sixths of the people live. The mission schools are now run somewhat on the lines of our industrial schools at home. At this place and at Sholapur there is a great deal of carpet and rug making by hand-weaving, and beautiful work is turned out, most of which is sold in London by a society that has been formed to encourage this side of mission work. It is like going through a series of small workshops or factories to visit a mission station nowadays. Carpentering, wood-carving, metal-work, lace-making, embroidery, &c., are all carried on by boys and girls. The younger children are started with kindergartens, which teach them to use their fingers nimbly, and give them the rudiments of drawing and arithmetic. Music is constantly employed. An infant school is just organized play, and school is so happy that the greatest penalty is exclusion. Through all the stages up to the highest there is so much for the hands and eyes to do that the brain does not get weary. I am told that while three hours are given to mental and the same to industrial work, the proficiency in learning is just as great as when the whole six hours are given to it. They have found out here what our industrial schools at home have also discovered, that with young children the brain becomes tired and confused with exclusive attention to lesson books. School in my youth was a place of drudgery; now it is a place of enjoyment. It used to be little else than verbalism

and a constant strain on the memory; now it is the development of all parts of our nature, and the basis of the teaching is rational understanding by observation of facts.

The Attitude towards Mission Schools.

When one looks at the dead level of ignorance and tradition on which Indian society rests, one comes to realize what is involved in this practical education. It means in the distant future an industrial revolution; and it is sorely needed, for the mass of the population is never far removed from famine, and seems quite unable to burst these bonds of caste prejudice which have held them in their grasp for thousands of years. The Government is now most favourable to mission schools, and gives liberal grants, especially to the industrial side. It assists equally all sorts of schools: those started by Mahometans and Hindoos, as well as by Christians. It acts, and must act in a country like this, on impartial principles.

So far as I can see, the non-Christian population of India has no aversion to mission schools. They are quite willing that their children should have instruction in the Scriptures. They perceive the moral advantage of such teaching. The Hindoo religion is extremely undogmatic. It is rather a group of traditions, often contradictory and chaotic in character, than any well thought out system. The average Hindoo sees nothing inconsistent in worshipping Christ as well as Krishna. It is when baptism is required, or the giving up of caste, that the real testing time comes. The baptized Christian is put out of caste. His wife often leaves him; his relatives will not eat with him; and he becomes a pariah and an outcast. Yet in course of time he will live down this social ostracism. I visited at Sholapur an orphanage and leper asylum maintained by a Christian Brahmin who was ostracized on his baptism thirty years ago, but is now truly respected by the Hindoos for his kindness and devotion. Religion, in the long run, is judged by its fruits, and the silent permeation of Christian ideas in

India is very noticeable. I have met not a few intelligent Indians, not Christian by profession, whose mental attitude was thoroughly Christian. Many have imbibed the ethics of Christianity who stand aloof from its higher doctrines, not so much because they do not believe them as because they do not feel equal to the sacrifice involved in public profession. There are not a few godless Europeans who run down missionary enterprise. They do not like it, for it implies a condemnation of their own unchristian lives. Yet the excellent fruits of such missions as those I am visiting are so obvious that even men of the world cannot but see them.

Bad European Influences.

One must sadly admit that some of the greatest hindrances to Christianity in India come from the frivolous lives of Europeans. I cannot help adverting to a form of evil that has come in of late years: the advent of women from the dregs of London society, whose immodest dress and demeanour is a reproach to the British name. You sometimes see them in the hotels behaving in a way that shocks the natives, who have very strict ideas of female propriety. No one can tell how much the religion of Christ suffers from the fashions of female dress that emanate from London and Paris. There is also another evil connected with the cantonments of troops which I can only glance at. The wonder is that the holy religion of Christ spreads so fast as it does in spite of the pagan lives of some of our countrymen. But we have on the other side many splendid examples of noble life among both civilians and soldiers, and some of the highest officials in the country have been and are truly pious men. Such men are far more esteemed, even by the non-Christian natives. Hindoos and Mahometans believe in having a religion. The thing that they cannot understand is indifference to all religion. In proportion as the administration of India is permeated by Christian principles, so will be its durability. If this country

is ultimately lost to Britain it will be through blunders and faults, the outcome of unrighteous policy. May God avert that day.

P.S.—The mission work here is under Mr. and Mrs. James Smith, who are Canadians; that at Sholapur under Mr. and Mrs. Gates, who are Americans. I cannot speak too highly of both, and of their excellent colleagues. This Sunday as I write I hear the voice of praise constantly ascending. The cluster of Sunday Schools seems to go on all day long—service after service. The mission compound is like a little heaven on earth. At the afternoon church I worshipped with six hundred natives, the men on one side, the women on the other. I never saw a more reverent or attentive congregation.

BOMBAY, December 21st.

Postscript.

We paid a visit yesterday to the wonderful work carried on by the Pundita Rāmabai, not very far from Poona. This Hindoo lady was the daughter of Brahmin parents who perished in the famine of 1876. She was married and lost her husband, and learned by sad experience how trying is the lot of an Indian widow. Being an educated woman, she resolved to devote her life to help that oppressed class. She spent some time in America and England, and passed through various phases of religious thought, ending in becoming an evangelical Christian. She opened a home for widows in Poona on a small scale, but when the terrible famines of 1897 and 1900 filled the country with orphans she felt called to provide for them, especially for the girls. Her numbers grew till there were two thousand under her care. She acted on George Müller's principles of trusting to faith and prayer to obtain supplies, and she has been able to go on till now, never failing to get sufficient. She has now established a colony at a quiet rural place called Kedgaon, and quite a village has sprung up there, with a beautiful large church and apparatus for industrial training. She has at

the present time sixteen hundred inmates, and ten ladies who work with her, British and American, as well as her daughter. All live like natives, and share with the children any scarcity of food there may be. They seem perfectly happy in their work. I was struck with the bright faces of the dear children. Many of them were so emaciated when they were received that they died afterwards. The mortality was very great for one or two years, as always happens with famine orphans. Government sent a sanitary inspector, who suggested improvements which have been carried out, and now the colony is very healthy.

The real difficulty is how to dispose of the girls when they grow up. Openings for single women are rare in India. I discussed this with Ramabai. She thinks that many will be utilized as teachers and Bible-women in other missions, and many will get married to youths trained up in mission schools. She is not anxious about the future. She is a remarkable woman, of excellent natural powers as well as of great faith and love, and has the entire confidence of her colleagues. She now receives for this work some £10,000 a year, much of it from Australia. The cost of living and clothes is about 3½ rupees a month, or nearly five shillings. It is marvellous how cheaply the poor can live in India. But in famine years the cost is much greater; and I am sorry to say that the crops are suffering much from drought, both in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and I fear that famine relief works will have to be started in some places.

I asked Ramabai what was the greatest reform needed in India. She replied that it was to raise the legal marriage age from twelve to sixteen. She said this would do more for the womanhood of India than anything else. She seemed to think that in spite of the Hindoo traditions public opinion would acquiesce in it. I doubt this myself. These early marriages are bound up with the whole fabric of religion and caste; but a moderate step forward might be undertaken with the greatest advantage to this country.

S. S.

INDIA REVISITED.

(From the "Westminster Gazette," January 14th, 1905.)

I should like, with your permission, as an old friend of India, to lay before your readers some considerations which have occurred to me on this, my third visit to this country. It is forty-two years since I first travelled through the Bombay Presidency, and it is interesting to observe the changes, social and political, that have taken place since then.

The first thing that strikes a visitor is the wonderful increase in higher education. Colleges and high schools now abound all over India. In all important centres one meets Indian gentlemen as cultured and well educated as those in Western countries. It is very important that members of Parliament should know the views held by these men upon the Government of India, and the policy we pursue regarding this country. Their views are voiced by the Indian National Congress, which is to meet in Bombay in the last week of this year. I came to India partly for the purpose of attending it, but also as President of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, which has three hundred branches all over India. Wherever I go I am met by deputations of natives belonging to the Temperance societies, and have opportunities of addressing them and conversing with them on all that relates to the good of the country. A vast amount of information accumulates in this way.

I should wish first to refer to the subject of Temperance. The religious sentiment of India is utterly opposed to the use of alcoholic liquors. Both the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions condemn it, and the mass of the people obey the dictates of their religion. But the drink habit is growing in India, and it is attributed by the people to the influence of Europeans and to the policy of the Government in encouraging its sale for the sake of revenue. It is

undoubted that the revenue from the sale of drink and drugs has about doubled in the last twenty years, and it is painful to find how the best native opinion holds the Government responsible for much of this increase. I carried through the House of Commons in 1889, aided by my friend the late Mr. W. S. Caine, a resolution condemning the Abkari (Excise) policy of the Indian Government. It was then customary to farm out to the highest bidder the right of selling drink over large districts of the country. The contractor had the right of opening stills at his discretion, and also shops for the sale of liquor. On a previous visit to India I received the strongest complaints as to the harm that was being done. My friend Mr. Caine followed up with a more searching examination, and we succeeded in carrying our resolution against a strong Government, who did all they could to defeat us. The result was that a dispatch was written to the Indian Government asking them to reverse their policy. The reply of the Government of India was dated February 4th, 1890. It enunciated four principles to guide the local governments: (1) that the taxation of spirituous and intoxicating liquors and drugs should be high, and in some cases as high as it was possible to enforce; (2) that the traffic in liquor and drugs should be conducted under suitable regulations for police purposes; (3) that the number of places at which liquor or drugs can be purchased should be strictly limited with regard to the circumstances of each locality; (4) that efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to it when ascertained. I fear it is beyond doubt that these principles have not been fully carried out. Mr. Buckingham's report upon the tea-gardens of Assam shows that frightful demoralization exists amongst the coolies, caused by locating liquor-shops close beside the tea-gardens against the wish of the planters. This terrible evil has at last been acknowledged, and Government is now legislating to try to stop it. But the sentiment all over India has been powerfully expressed by Mr. Commissioner Lely, C.S.I. No public document that

I have seen so fully represents the view held by the best of the native community. He states in his dispatch: "Abkari revenue, though it represents the chief means of repression in the hands of the Government, yet bears a stain upon it. The money could be better got in almost any other way. There are large tracts of country where reductions and remissions of land revenue and increase of labourers' wages only mean more expenditure in drink. There are large numbers of young men of the better class who are lost to the State and their families by acquiring the habit. Numerous shops exist in frequented high roads, near mills, veritable traps to catch the weak, the thirsty, the tired, at their most susceptible moments. It should, in my opinion, be made a standing order that all shops should gradually and considerately, but as soon as it is possible, be removed to not less than half a mile from places of common resort, such as main thoroughfares, markets, mills, docks, villages." The last quotation I will make is the most serious of all: "I have never met a native, official or unofficial, intelligent or otherwise, who does not firmly believe that Government fosters the traffic for the sake of revenue, and would not willingly let it go." I am glad to say that this outspoken memorandum has been favourably received by the Government of India. Lord Curzon, our able and energetic Viceroy, is in sympathy with Temperance Reform, and the Government of Bengal is at present engaged in framing a Bill which will forbid the sale of drink to children, and forbid the employment of women at public bars. But there are parts of India where the authorities are very backward in carrying out reforms; and, speaking generally, I find that there is little faith that Government will do anything which will lead to a loss of revenue. I have not a doubt that if the principle of local option were to be assented to, the municipalities of India would generally suppress the liquor-shops. It would lead to some illicit drinking, but the gains from a moral point of view would be much greater than the losses.

With regard to the financial condition of India, the state

of things is most favourable. Large surpluses have occurred for the last five or six years, and there will be another very large one this coming year.* The country has now recovered to a considerable extent from the two last terrible famines. The plague still exists, and is very bad at some points, but it has not the paralyzing effect it had some years ago. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the general level of the population is being much raised. Contrasting the state of things now with my recollections of forty-two years ago, when I travelled for months through the rural districts, I think there is some progress, but not so much as one would like to see. The mass of the people are still miserably poor, half-clad, and sometimes hardly clad at all. The cultivators, who are three-fourths of the population, are deeply in debt to the money-lenders, and any failure of crops brings them to the verge of starvation. The two most urgent reforms in India are to liberate the cultivators from the money-lenders and to develop irrigation to the utmost. The mass of the Indian ryots are but as children. They go into debt with as little thought of consequences as children play at marbles. Their caste regulations compel them to spend far too much on child marriages, and then they usually get hopelessly into debt to the money-lenders, paying 12 to 24 per cent. per annum, sometimes much more. In this district an Act was passed in relief of debt, giving discretion to the courts to remit exorbitant interest; but something more is required. I almost think that something like the American homestead law is required. The little holding and the farming stock and clothing should be exempt from attachment for debt, and the money-lender would know that the ryot had no real security to offer him. Perhaps advances through village banks may do something to replace the money-lender. But the main thing is to render the ryot more intelligent. Ninety-ninths of the population cannot read or write and have no knowledge of arithmetic. They can be persuaded to sign anything, however contrary to their interest. They have no foresight and live by the day. Their lives are hard and

* It is just announced as about three and a half millions.

monotonous, almost unrelieved by pleasure. They are debarred by their caste rules from shifting from one trade to another ; and, till this thick crust of ignorance is done away with, one scarcely sees how any great change in their condition can take place.

The extension of primary education is all-important in India. Enough has been done for higher education. There are now many thousands of University graduates in India ; but there are three hundred millions of people, mostly steeped in the darkness of ignorance. Mission schools are bright spots on this dark background. I am staying at present with American missionaries who are carrying out a fine scheme of industrial education. A large number of famine orphans are being trained in handicrafts, and this is going on all over India. There is nothing that India needs more than industrial training and the opening of new industries. Many thousands of children are now being so trained, and will form a valuable element in the future population of the country. India urgently stands in need of industrial development. It has resources without end, which are simply wasted because the people have neither the knowledge nor the energy to use them. Foreign capital conducted by foreign enterprise, and on a large scale, is required in India. There is room for almost endless development ; but with the exception of the Parsee community, which is almost European in its character, there is not yet the requisite knowledge on the part of the Indian population. Yet there are some industries now thriving in India. The cotton industry in Bombay and the surrounding districts is very flourishing. In this inland town of Sholapur there are three great cotton mills, one of which I went through to-day. It was equal to a first-class Lancashire factory, and employs about three thousand operatives. Wages are only about one-fifth or one-sixth what they are in England. But it takes three Indians to do the work of one Lancashire operative. The mill works thirteen hours a day, against nine and a half in Lancashire ; but the workpeople frequently leave for an hour or two at a time, and there are always about 20 per cent. of them outside

the mill, eating, or resting, or smoking. This is a common custom in India, for the people cannot stand the continuous strain of work as white people can.

There is no active disloyalty in India worth speaking of, but there is much complaint of the Government, and frequent demands that it should do for the community things that the people ought to do for themselves. I am doing what I can to teach self-help and self-reliance. There is no doubt that Western ideas are filtering steadily through the country: I might even say that Christian ethics are now becoming the common standard of all educated and enlightened Indians. I have met with not a few Hindoos and Mohammedans whose conversation and views of life differ little from that of educated English and American citizens. But we must always remember this, that below this thin crust of cultivated Indians there is a dense mass of hopeless ignorance. The cleavage between Hindoo and Mohammedan is as strong as ever it was, and would result at times in fatal collisions were it not for the over-rule of a strong and impartial authority. The government of India presents problems of great difficulty. Lord Curzon is grappling with these with great energy. He has not succeeded, I fear, in winning the goodwill of the natives; but I hope as time goes on he will have more justice done to him; and everyone must wish that his second tenure of power will be as successful as, or even more, so than his first.

THE NEEDS OF INDIA.

From the "Times of India," January 2nd, 1905.

Perhaps you would allow me as an old friend of India to make some remarks upon the Congress which has come to a close. I was the only British Member of Parliament present. It may interest your readers to hear the impressions it made on me. They say the bystander sees

most of the game. I have no bias, either for or against this movement, and I am bound to testify that I was favourably impressed by what I heard and saw. Ten thousand people or thereabout met together day by day with perfect order. I never saw an assembly better conducted in Great Britain or any other country. The speaking was on a high level. A few of the speeches would have been admired if delivered in the British Parliament, and upon the whole a tone of moderation prevailed throughout the assembly. It is true that the criticism of Government was rather severe—I think too much so—but that is common to “the Opposition” in all countries, and a considerable discount must be allowed which the Indian people themselves would be the first to make. Had the Congress to govern India it would discover the enormous difficulty of the task, and would begin to wonder how successful the British Government had been. Yet it would be foolish for us to shut our eyes to the growing discontent of certain sections of Indian opinion. The Congress movement springs out of the education which England has given to India. It is the reflection of our own political teaching. We have supplied them with the weapons which they are using against us. We must not be surprised if they employ criticisms which they have learnt at the fountain of British liberty.

The fact is, we are slowly creating an Indian nation: True, this only applies at present to the small section of politically trained natives. But these men are the natural leaders of the community, and are regarded as such by the dumb ignorant masses. More than a thousand delegates have been freely elected from all parts of India. They have met in this twentieth Congress to formulate their demands, and the Government of this country and British public opinion should treat them with great respect. I was struck with the substantial loyalty to British rule that pervaded the assembly. I believe that few men of that great assembly really wished to overturn the Government of this country. They know that a strong and impartial Government stands between India and anarchy, and that the

powerful arm of the British Empire is needed to save India from a host of hungry and predatory nations. But they also feel quite legitimately that the people of India are entitled to a growing share in the administration of their own country. Some of them are men of first-class ability and sterling patriotism, and they naturally wish to see such men raised to important office in the country. One would say as a practical suggestion that first class Indian subjects should be more freely employed in the administration of this country. There should be no absolute barrier against them, except in a few of the chief executive offices of the country. Of course they recognize themselves that only men of thorough loyalty to the Government can be put in commanding positions. That goes without saying. For no Government in an Asiatic country can preserve law and order which has not a strong executive able to put down lawlessness whenever it occurs. No executive in Asia could rule any country, if it had to get the assent of a deliberative assembly and justify its action in each particular case. A certain element of autocracy, or if you like to call it so, paternal Government, is essential to success in all Asiatic countries. But the great thing required in India is that the Government should be in close touch with the best Indian opinion. That can only be done by having the leaders of Indian opinion close to those in authority, and that there shall be easy and familiar intercourse between them.

The fact is that the function of our Government is largely to give effect to the enlightened opinion of India. It cannot carry out great reforms without the support of that opinion, and it is liable to provoke dangerous discontent if it neglects it. I believe that the principles of the British Government for many years past have been just and humane. Sometimes it has erred from not being in touch with Indian opinion. The English character is rather lacking in expressions of sympathy. It possesses a cold sense of justice superior, I think, to any nation of Europe. But it would gain more affection if it would show more kindness and courtesy in social intercourse. The Indian people have a

great deal of innate courtesy. Their feelings are wounded by coldness or bluntness of deportment. They will respond quickly to a touch of human sympathy. Let our rulers remember that they are of the same flesh and blood; that they are deriving their living from the people of the soil, and that they owe to them not merely a just Government but kindly sympathetic and courteous treatment.

The Administration must become Anglo-Indian in the true sense of the word. England cannot permanently hold the country upon any other condition. The ultimate aim of Congress is not to separate India from England, but to make it an integral portion of the British Empire, increasingly tending towards the position occupied by the Colonies. The loyalty of India goes out towards the throne. Queen Victoria was almost worshipped in India. The King has received the affection that was bestowed upon his mother. If he ever visited India, he would receive a right royal welcome; or if that be impossible, the Prince of Wales would be received with equal affection. This is a most valuable sentiment, which ought to be cultivated with care.*

Turning from these general considerations to more practical suggestions, I strongly approve of the proposal that a certain proportion of the Indian Council in London should consist of delegates from India. I have several times proposed in Parliament that one-third of the seats in the Indian Council should be given to natives of India. The Secretary of State for India is often a man who has never seen this country, and knows nothing of it except through his official advisers. He ought to have some Indian gentlemen of high position at his elbow who will keep him in touch with Indian opinion. Another proposal of the Congress was that each of the three Presidencies should elect two members of Parliament to represent India in the House of Commons. It would be very desirable if this could be carried out. It would tend to bind the countries together. It would be a channel to let off a great deal of discontent, which is apt to ferment here for want of a channel to express it. Parliament is helpless with

* I am very glad that this visit is now arranged for next winter.

regard to India. It cannot form a judgment of its own, and it leaves it entirely to officials. It is most discreditable that the only opportunity given by Government to discuss the affairs of three hundred millions of people is the last night of the session, on the Indian Budget, when the house is empty. It is keenly felt in India, and one feels ashamed when one attempts to explain it to the natives. There ought to be every session a full-dress debate upon the affairs of India, and perhaps an inquiry every twenty years, as used to be in the days of the East India Company.

The most pressing of all questions in India is the extreme poverty of the mass of the people, and in the last place I would like to offer a few observations upon that point. The great need of India is industrial development. Two-thirds or three-fourths of the people live by agriculture. The greater part of them are deeply in debt to the money-lenders. Everything they have is mortgaged to the hilt. The terrible famines of the last few years have had disastrous effects, and the great problem is now to lift that vast population into greater comfort and independence. I see no way except by the spread of industries which will raise wages and the standard of living in the interior of the country. In Bombay and surrounding districts the cotton industry is flourishing, and there are a few other industries, especially the jute and the tea industry, which give employment to considerable numbers. But the vast interior of the country is destitute of any except the ancient handicrafts, which can hardly live against the competition of machine-made goods. India has little spare capital, and what it has is lent out at high rates of interest. It has not any vigorous industrial class except the Parsees, about a hundred thousand all told in India. It seems to me clear that the country can never be developed on a large scale without foreign capital, and the skill and the enterprise of foreign captains of industry; but the general sentiment of the country is strongly opposed to this. They think it drains their country of its wealth. They point to the large surplus of exports over imports, about twenty millions annually, resulting from a large payment to England for

interest, pensions and charges of various kinds, also for remittances on private investment. They do not understand that all countries in an early stage of industrial development require to utilize foreign capital. Our own colonies have done so as largely as India, and have the same surplus of exports over imports. The United States for several years showed an annual surplus of exports of fully a hundred millions sterling. The same thing applies to the South American Republics which are largely developed with foreign capital. Yet all these countries have benefited immensely by foreign capital. In their early stages it was the chief means of their development. It must be the same with India if ever it is to become an industrial country. It is true that the interest or the profits must be remitted abroad in the form of exports, but a far larger amount is spent by industries on the spot in the form of wages and in the subsidiary employments which follow upon large industries.

The first need of India is to give good employment to the labouring class. If the rate of wages could be raised from four to eight annas a day, say from four to eight pence, it would make all the difference between sufficiency and starvation. I wish the leaders of Indian opinion would take up this view. All the economies which would be effected by the Government if their schemes were carried out, would not add one rupee a head to the income of the people. But they need to have twenty or thirty rupees per head additional to give them a tolerable standard of comfort, and this can only come from industrial development on a very large scale. I am glad to see the attention there is now paid to Technical and Industrial Education. But that of itself will not create industries. The skill and organization of modern industry requires large capital behind it, and India does not possess this yet. The late Mr. Tata was a splendid example of a liberal and philanthropic capitalist. India needs many hundreds of such men. But it will be long before they are adequately produced upon their own soil. Along with this must be a great extension of primary education. The mass of the peasantry are living in dense ignorance. They are

enslaved by social customs and practices which make prosperity impossible. All intelligent men are coming to see that the spread of modern education is indispensable. It has been too much confined to the literary class, and has been far too literary in character. All thinkers are coming to see that India requires not so much pleaders and clerks as mechanics and engineers. The Government must give effect to this feeling. There must be in future an extension of practical and industrial education, while not interfering with the college system already established.

One thing I may mention in conclusion. I was struck with the strong feeling of resentment at the unfair treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa. This is a subject on which there is no difference of opinion. The Indian people willingly offered their services for the South African War. Many of them were used as bearers for the sick and wounded, and they did splendid service. Now they are treated as Kaffirs by the white colonists, though many of them are traders and educated men. This intolerable state of things must come to an end. The Indian people regard themselves as a portion of the great British Empire, and they should have the rights of free men wherever they go under the British flag.

P.S.—Since writing above I have had the advantage of attending the Social Conference that followed the Congress. It is a most cheering sign of the time. I can hardly find words to express my admiration for the noble address by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. But few sovereigns of Europe could have delivered such an address. No wonder the Indian people are proud of him, as shown by the reception he got at the great assembly yesterday. Such men are the salt of the earth in India. The address of the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandarvarkar was also excellent, likewise that of Mr. Goculdas Parekh. The subjects touched upon by these gentlemen are more vital to the well-being of the people than political reforms. But it is also fair to remember that political and social improvements go together, and both spring from that independence of thought which

stimulates health in the body politic. To all concerned in the noble work of moral regeneration I wish to bid God-speed.

S. S.

SOCIAL REFORM IN INDIA.

AHMEDABAD, *January 4th*, 1905.

To the Editor of "The British Weekly."

SIR,—I addressed you recently about mission work in India, and it may interest your readers to hear something of the conference on social reform which took place in Bombay last week as a pendant to the Indian National Congress. About one thousand delegates attended that Congress, representing every part of India. Its attention was mainly occupied with political questions; but there are many who hold that social progress is even more essential than political, and the second conference was also largely attended, and important pronouncements were made upon subjects of vital moment.

The main causes of the backwardness and poverty of the people are undoubtedly the dense ignorance and ruinous customs attributable to caste—child marriage and its deplorable consequences, including the prohibition of re-marriage to widows, even where the children to whom they were betrothed died in infancy. These and other pernicious superstitions are now called in question by a growing number of intelligent Hindoos. The ferment caused by the contact of Oriental with Western thought, and above all, the silent influence of the Christian religion, is causing a revolt against irrational customs.

The principal meeting was presided over by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, the most enlightened of Indian princes. We had from him a remarkably able address, covering the whole ground of social and religious observances. Nothing could exceed the lucidity, the grace and persuasiveness of his arguments. He invited the Hindoo

people, of whom he was a chief, to submit all their practices to the test of reason, and he courageously pronounced against nearly all the ancient customs enshrined in the word "caste." Such a speech would have been impossible fifty years ago, or might have cost him his throne. Now he was applauded rapturously by several thousand people, including some of the leading Hindoos of Bombay. One of the Justices of the High Court, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, echoed all he said in equally eloquent language; and some speeches were made by Hindoo ladies as well as gentlemen. When one remembers that not many years ago no high caste Hindoo lady, nor any Mahometan, could appear in public without being disgraced, one can measure the distance they have travelled.

Of course the movement is still in its infancy. Some fifty widows have been remarried; but there are many millions of widows in India, and their life is a most sorrowful one. Their hair is usually cropped; they are not allowed to eat with the other members of the family, and I am told are sometimes limited to one meal a day. The Brahmin priesthood is the chief obstacle to reform, for they are almost worshipped by the common people, and like the Pharisees of old they have made life burdensome by the unreasonable rites they have imposed—often upon some misinterpretation of the ancient Vedas. Along with the detestable system of child marriage go the caste rules of spending exorbitant sums on the marriage ceremonies, I mean as compared with the starvation wages of the cultivators. Men earning eight rupees a month will spend fifty or a hundred rupees on these ceremonies, borrowing from the village usurer at 3 or even 5 per cent. per month; and, once in his clutches, they can never extricate themselves. A father is disgraced if he does not betroth his daughters before they are twelve, and actual marriage may take place at that age by law, nor dare the Government in the present state of Hindoo opinion make it illegal. I think, however, the time is not far off when a step forward

may be made with the support of the best part of the community. The Gaekwar has raised the marriage age in Baroda to sixteen for youths and twelve for girls, and even that was considered a courageous act. He only waits for the growth of public opinion to carry it a stage higher. All these changes have to be made in India with extreme caution. Even the abolition of widow burning (suttee) about a century ago caused great discontent among the priesthood. Now it is universally applauded. So will be the abolition of child-marriage a few years after it has been accomplished. It is much better that it should come from an Indian movement than from a British. Intense jealousy is felt at any foreign interference with their religious or domestic customs, and the cause of reform will take deeper root when it proceeds under national auspices.

The Conference also passed resolutions in favour of female education, female physicians and nurses, the abolition of caste restrictions on foreign travel, and the prohibition of degrading practices supposed to have a religious sanction. There was very little said which would not have the support of Christian sentiment, and one felt greatly encouraged at this revolt against the age-long slavery of superstition.

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the reform movement has sunk deep into the heart of the nation. When you leave the great centres of life and plunge into the vast interior of India, you find the masses living as their ancestors did thousands of years ago. They will not destroy animal life, for they imagine that the souls of their ancestors are incarnated in brute beasts, and that they themselves will appear in brutish forms. They are liable to outbursts of fanaticism; and only ten years ago Hindoos and Mahometan mobs in Bombay flew at each other's throats, and thousands would have been massacred but for the presence of several thousand white troops and sailors. Under the smooth surface of Indian life there slumber the seeds of anarchy, and a strong resolute Government is needed to hold the reins of power.

If the British Government were destroyed, there would

be an anxious time both for foreigners and Christians, though the Hindoos are naturally a gentle and tolerant race. The Japanese stamped out Christianity in the Roman form two or three centuries ago. Madagascar did the same not fifty years ago, though there Christianity revived and won the day. The Roman Empire tried to stamp out Christianity again and again as being anti-national, and it took three hundred years to gain the upper hand. Were the British Government withdrawn it is not impossible that persecution might arise. The Brahmin priesthood is the chief foe of the Government, because its privileges have been curtailed and its cruel rites cannot be enforced by law. It is still all-powerful among the ignorant classes of Hindoos; and the religious teachers of the Mohametans are also adverse to a Government not founded on the Koran. It is the opposition of these faiths that is the security of our Government; but some upheaval like the Indian Mutiny may again come like a bolt from the blue sky. There is no doubt that the order to the Sepoys to bite off their cartridges, which they supposed to be defiled with cow's and swine's fat, was the immediate cause of the rising. They supposed it would destroy their caste and expose them to punishment in the next world. Many of them were Brahmins of Oude, whose independence had recently been destroyed. By common consent and secret signals most of the Bengal Sepoy regiments revolted simultaneously and shot their officers. But for the loyalty of the Sikhs and the extraordinary skill and courage of Sir John Lawrence, who then governed the Punjaub and organized an army of Sikhs, India must have been lost, at least for a time. It was only recovered at an awful cost and after hairbreadth escapes. It is well to remember that these dangers must always remain in a latent form in a land where a handful of Europeans govern three hundred millions of Asiatics. The great mass of the Indian people took no part in the Mutiny. Many of them risked their lives to save English women and children. To this day they regard with detestation the conduct of the mutineers.

We narrowly escaped an explosion on account of plague regulations a short time ago. Orders were given to disinfect the houses in plague-infected towns, and the patients were removed to hospitals. The poor ignorant people thought the doctors poisoned the sick. They refused to obey until companies of soldiers forcibly took away the patients—at least in some towns, like Poona, the military were employed to enforce sanitary regulations. A lady told me that in visiting the sick she had to avoid carrying bottles of medicine, as she was thought to be poisoning the people. The same difficulty arose in trying to get the people to submit to inoculation. I believe that over a million of them are still dying annually of plague, but now it is not attempted to enforce isolation or inoculation. It is wisely recognized that you cannot go further than public opinion will tolerate. It is a pity that in the honest attempt to save the people's lives too arbitrary means were employed. It might have produced a catastrophe. Who can tell that some future catastrophe may not be caused by some well-intentioned attempt to stop great evils? For this cause I think a larger infusion of Indians is needed in the Civil Service, and the Government, both in England and India, needs to be in touch with the best sentiment of this country. There ought to be elected natives on the Indian Council in London to advise the Minister for India, and if possible a few Indian members should be sent direct to Parliament from the Presidency towns.

The problem of governing this continent—for it is almost a continent in size and population, being nearly equal to Europe, excluding Russia, and with a larger population—I say this problem is the most difficult ever undertaken by any nation since the world began. It requires consummate wisdom, true sympathy with the people, and an overpowering sense of responsibility to God. The Indian people quickly discern when a man is truly religious. They are themselves a religious people, and they do not respect the godless Englishman you sometimes see here. A great deal depends upon

choosing first-class men to come out here. Many such have been sent who have done honour to our country; but some sad exceptions have also occurred. We cannot afford to jeopardize this vast experiment by political jobs. The appointments to India should stand outside of party, and should be such as reflect honour on a God-fearing nation.

P.S.—It may interest your readers to accompany me in a walk through the country this morning, and see through my eyes the real difficulties of rural life in India. We came upon a large tumble-down building like a warehouse, which was used as a poorhouse during the awful famine of 1900, when the crops withered up over the west and centre of India, inhabited by fifty millions of people. About four thousand famine-stricken people were crowded in this building, and fifty of them died daily. We saw a heap of calcined bones where the corpses of the Hindoos were burned. The Mohametans bury their dead. No gravestone tells the story of the countless victims of this awful visitation. I am sorry to say that a severe drought is again experienced in this district of Gujerat, and the crops are withered up, except where they have running wells. The total rainfall here last year was only eight and a half inches, against an average of thirty-three. We had a long conversation with an intelligent farmer who farms thirty acres. He has five wells: one of them dry and the others yielding only half their usual supply. Each will irrigate two or three acres. This portion pays well, but the rest of the farm yields very little. He has applied for a loan of one thousand rupees from the Government—a thing common in years of drought; but no reply has been received because he did not fee the subordinate officials. He says that all these subordinates levy a toll on whatever the Government advances, say 25 to 40 per cent., and that it is hopeless to get anything without this tax. All to whom I speak tell me the same story. He says the higher native official, the Mamlutar, is usually against bribery, but that a percentage, say five out of twenty-five, take bribes, and that the lower

officials are all corrupt. He advocates village banks to give advances at moderate terms to save them from the money-lender, but the difficulty is to find the capital and to get security from poor cultivators, nearly all deeply in debt to the money-lender at usurious rates of interest. It is a terrible problem, and seems almost insoluble. Yet upon its solution depends the welfare, almost the existence, of the rural population. I was struck by the honesty and intelligence of my interlocutor, as I have often been by persons of his class in India. They speak out to an Englishman very freely, for they have confidence in him. He had full faith that the British "Collector" would do justice if he could get at him; but the Collector has often charge of a district with a million of people, and has to work through an army of poor native subordinates. It is there that the difficulty comes in.

S. S.

PROPOSED SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS.

Speech prepared for the following Amendment to the Address in the House of Commons but not delivered:—

"And we humbly represent to your Majesty that considering the great importance of Indian questions and the desire of the Indian people to lay their grievances, their sufferings, and aspirations before Parliament and to ask for improvements in the administration of their country, the necessary steps should be taken, by legislation and otherwise, to place the salary of the Secretary of State for India on the Estimates so that fuller opportunity be given for discussion on Indian affairs."

A recent visit to India has impressed me with the necessity of securing a full debate on questions of urgent importance. I had the opportunity of attending the recent meetings of the Indian National Congress at Bombay—a most important representative body of over one thousand educated and

intelligent Indians from all parts of that vast country. I was much impressed by the ability and fair-mindedness of the great assembly, and by its substantial loyalty to British rule. But I must also allow that a tone of disappointment and even of dissatisfaction pervaded many of its utterances ; and it is far better that the British people should know the whole truth of the situation than hide its head in the sand like an ostrich or cry " peace, peace, when there is no peace."

The Congress is the best tribute to British rule that could be afforded. It is the result of English education and of our principles of Liberty and Constitutional Government. The leading speeches at the Congress were as restrained and moderate as those of our best British statesmen. Indeed the charges against the Government were mild compared with those often made on British platforms.

The great desire of the Indian people is to gain access to the British Parliament. They have confidence in its justice if they can but put their case before it. I often felt ashamed to explain why it was that the only opportunity of ventilating their grievances was in an empty House at the end of the Session.

I am thankful that I am able to say a few words on behalf of that vast population on what is probably the last occasion I shall have in this House. Their principal grievance is that the Indian people are too little used in the administration of their own country. Almost all the higher posts are reserved for Europeans. In the civil and military departments, of officers drawing Rs. 10,000 a year and upwards, 2,388 are British and only 60 are natives of India. I take this from Mr. Gokhale's evidence before the Welby Commission ; and I may mention that no Indian gentleman has a higher reputation than Mr. Gokhale of Poona, who is a member of the Vice-regal Council. In round numbers there is paid fully ten millions sterling a year to British officials for salaries, pensions, and allowances, and a little over two millions to natives. This is a state of things which justly excites discontent, the more so as there are nearly as

many University graduates in India as in England—some of them men of commanding ability and high character. It is clear to me that the time has come when a much more generous use must be made of Indian agency in the Government of their own country; and along with this I would strongly advocate giving a certain number of commissions in the army to Indian cadets, especially scions of the princely houses, as Lord Curzon has foreshadowed. It would have a very wonderful effect on the sentiment of the Indian people, which quickly responds to acts of courtesy.

Let me add that there is a strong feeling in India that the Queen's Proclamation in taking over the Government of India in 1858 has not been honestly carried out. In that Proclamation she said:—

“And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.”

Practically speaking the natives of India are almost excluded from the covenanted Civil Service owing to the extreme difficulty of entering by competition in England. Yet a few make their way into that great service, in spite of all these difficulties. But the Provincial Service used to be open by competition in India, and was largely filled by the natives. Now the Government has resorted to appointments by nomination, which unavoidably degenerates into favouritism.

But the deepest and most widespread grievance of India is the deplorable poverty of great sections of the population. Comparing India of to-day with what I saw on my first visit forty-two years ago, I notice great improvement in the principal cities, and the growth of a wealthy commercial class; but among the peasantry I see little change. The great mass of the cultivators are deeply in debt to the money-lenders, paying usurious rates of interest. In times of scarcity they are on the brink of famine. They are

unable to pay their assessments, and are forced increasingly into the hands of the money-lenders, who, if they choose, can eject them from their holdings, but usually allow them to remain as virtually their serfs, taking all their produce and just allowing them a bare subsistence.

There is a general complaint in India that the land assessment is too high, especially in Bombay, Madras, and the Central Provinces. All these districts have been scourged by famine. Many of the cattle have died; and though the Government by gigantic efforts kept most of the people alive, it was quite beyond its power to prevent great suffering. In Bengal, where a permanent settlement was made by Lord Cornwallis more than a century ago, the condition of the people is much better and capital has accumulated. But in Bombay and Madras, and other districts where the settlement is for short periods, say from fifteen to thirty years, there is hardly any capital and a poor state of cultivation, and a great deficiency of irrigation. The one need of India is water, and the best system is the old one of village wells. This is difficult to carry out under short settlements, for it takes years to dig a deep well, and the ryots are afraid to sink it lest the assessment should be raised on them. The wisest Viceroys, like Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence, advocated a permanent settlement all over India. I have often advocated it in this House, and once again repeat that it would do more to bind the masses of India in silken ties of loyalty than any other measure it is in our power to grant.

One reason why I advocate generosity in dealing with the cultivators of the soil is that we fixed the value of the rupee at 1s 4d by tying it to gold and making fifteen rupees exchangeable for a sovereign. This measure was perhaps unavoidable, as without it the Indian Government would almost have become bankrupt, and would have had to increase taxation heavily. But let us never forget that we stopped the relief which the two hundred millions of peasant population were getting from the rapid fall in the rupee in

which their debts were payable. But for our intervention and changing the standard they would have paid their debts in rupees worth 10*d* in place of rupees worth 1*s* 4*d*; and surely it is our duty to make up to them in some way the injustice we have done them, by remitting some of their assessment and further lightening the salt tax, which presses heavily upon them.*

Let me add that the great surpluses of the last six years have come almost wholly from currency legislation. In six years these surpluses amount to about twenty millions sterling, and there is a feeling of discontent that so much unnecessary taxation is levied on so poor a country. The universal feeling of the Indian people is that this surplus revenue should be either remitted or spent on primary education, also on industrial and technical education, so as to make the people more able to protect themselves and develop their industries.

The cardinal question is the intense poverty of the rural population which is three-fourths of the whole. The average income of all India according to Lord Curzon is £2 per head, against £36 in Great Britain—though Sir Robert Giffen places it at £42—I think too high a figure. When we further remember that Lord Curzon's estimate for the agricultural population is twenty rupees per annum or £1. 6*s* 8*d*—less than 1*d* per day per head—surely I am not far wrong in saying that an annual surplus of three or four millions a year in India is as great as ten or fifteen millions a year in this country. The Indian people declare that these surpluses encourage the spending departments to absorb more and more, especially the voracious maw of the Military department.† They allege that they lead to unnecessary frontier expeditions like that of Tibet, which they universally condemn, and of which they hold that England should pay the cost. I must say that I coincide

* I am glad to see that the financial statement for this year proposes a reduction of 25 per cent. on the salt tax—a most popular act.

† It has now risen to twenty millions a year.

in the justice of this demand. We have again and again burdened India with frontier wars, like the first and second Afghan Wars, which were entirely opposed to Indian opinion. We have also charged her with part of the cost of the Abyssinian and Egyptian Wars, and quite recently have proposed to charge her with part of the cost of the garrison of South Africa. The existence of these surpluses is a standing invitation to dip our hands into the Indian purse. On no point was the Congress more insistent than that taxation should be reduced till revenue and expenditure were adjusted: and the direction in which remission should be given was the land assessment in the heavily rated districts, a further reduction of the oppressive salt tax, and the excise duty on Indian manufactured goods. This irritating duty only yields twenty lacs—about £140,000, and is regarded as a sop to Lancashire. It leads the Indian people to suppose that England prefers her industrial interests to those of India. Wherever I went I found this idea widely spread. I had several meetings of Indians in manufacturing towns, and I always found them possessed with the belief that we would not give them fair play when their industries came into competition with ours. This petty tax is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and is supposed to be a set off against an equal tax on imported cotton goods. It is supposed to be an offering at the shrine of free trade; but I suggest that we respect the universal sentiment of India, even if it involves a slight infringement of political economy. Besides the home-made cloth is of a coarser kind than we make, and does not in any material degree compete with Manchester goods, and its abolition would be a real concession to Indian opinion.

Let me add that I found native sentiment in India entirely on the lines of the late Colonial Secretary. It is as eager as he is to impose duties on imports of manufactured goods. It wishes as he does to keep the home market for its own products; and if the Right Hon. gentleman should ever carry this country to a protectionist tariff, I cannot see

how we can deny to India the right also to levy a protectionist tariff as all our Colonies already do.

I said that Indian opinion favours the application of the surplus to primary, industrial, and technical education, if it is not remitted in taxation. We have done a great deal for higher education and University Colleges abound all over India. The time has come to take up seriously primary education. Only some 5 per cent. of the children are learning to read and write. The intense ignorance of the peasantry makes them the prey of the money-lender. Their foolish caste regulations compel them to spend on marriages and funerals far beyond their means. Nothing but the spread of intelligence will break their fetters. The pernicious system of child marriages weighs upon India like a nightmare. It thrives upon dense ignorance. Wherever the people become educated it loses its hold. The Government cannot deal directly with questions that border upon religion, but it can spread knowledge with universal consent. The next great move forward must be in that direction. But more is wanted than literary teaching. The whole country is crying out for technical and industrial training. It feels its inferiority to Western countries, and does not wish merely to be exploited by European capitalists. Already excellent industrial training is given in many orphanages established by missionaries in famine years. Many thousand children are being prepared by manual training for their future life. Government will be expected to do something of this kind.

I must say that the great need of India is industrial development. The people are far too much thrown on the land, and the rains are so uncertain that famine or great scarcity is almost sure to occur every year in some part of India. In all advanced nations, one half or two-thirds of the people live by industrial pursuits. I doubt if a tenth of the Indian people do, unless the most primitive handicrafts are reckoned. I do not see how India is to be developed without the aid of foreign capital and enterprise, for the

people are too poor and too unskilled to start great industries, except in a few towns like Bombay. They are, however, under the impression that foreign capital drains the country of its wealth ; and I would suggest that the Government should be very cautious in granting concessions to foreigners to work the coal-fields and other mineral resources. I am told that already great concessions have been made to foreign syndicates for working coal. I hope this is not so ; the preference should always be given to natives of the country ; and if it is necessary to go further afield a hold should be kept over the future development in the interest of the country. Nothing should be allowed to grow up in India like the foreign syndicates that have got possession of the gold fields of South Africa. The Government is the Trustee for the future of the country. It should retain permanently the rights of a ground landlord and only give temporary leases subject to adequate royalties, which might become a great source of national revenue. It might reasonably require that where profits exceed 5 per cent., half the surplus should revert to the State, as it stipulated with the guaranteed railways ; and it might also stipulate that after a certain period the Government should have the power of redemption at a fixed price as it has done with the State railways. Such arrangements would satisfy Indian opinion ; and, above all, there should be no secrecy, but everything should be above board.

This leads me to say that the great need of our Government is to keep in touch with the best Indian opinion. There is too little contact between the rulers and the ruled. They move on different planes. The Government is often unjustly assailed from sheer ignorance. Much of the censure is undeserved, and much of it would be removed if freer intercourse took place between Europeans and natives. How is this to be brought about ? It is the crux of the situation. I venture to say that the weak point of our Government is that we do not provide for the free play of Indian opinion in a constitutional way.

A great mistake was made in not reserving some seats in the Council of India for eminent natives of that country. It is all filled by retired English officials, and the Secretary for India has no first-hand knowledge of Indian opinion. He is often a statesman who has no personal knowledge of India, and he is wholly dependent upon his English advisers. Great mistakes have been made in the past from this cause. Probably the two Afghan wars would have been avoided if able Indian gentlemen had sat on the Council, and I doubt if the expedition to Tibet would have been entered on. There is nothing to prevent this mistake being now repaired. Let the Secretary for India ask the Government of India to nominate eminent natives of India to fill the first two or three vacancies that occur in the Council. This would give wonderful satisfaction in India. Another reform of real importance is to expand the provincial councils and that of the Viceroy by a larger infusion of elected members. Great good has already been done by the small elective element that exists. The time has come to enlarge it. A council of twenty, mostly nominated, is too small for thirty or forty millions of people. These councils will slowly grow into little Parliaments; but the Governor's veto is necessary at present, and is not objected to in the existing stage of Indian development.

There is one other reform which would be of great value. The real Government of India is almost unchecked autocracy. The Viceroy, aided by half a dozen councillors, has momentous decisions in his hands subject only to the approval of the Secretary for India. But the Secretary is often destitute of Indian experience, and naturally is reluctant to interfere with a powerful Viceroy. A great security will be given if a distinguished Indian gentleman were to sit upon the Executive Council of the Viceroy. If I am not mistaken, power already exists to appoint such a person. If the Viceroy was asked to exercise this power it would be in the true interest of both England and India. If such an adviser had been at the elbow of the Governor-General half a century

ago, we should not have forced the Sepoys to lose caste by biting greased cartridges, and perhaps we should have escaped the horrors of the Mutiny.

But one more suggestion I would offer. Parliament in the last resort governs India, for it appoints the Home Government, and it again appoints the Government of India. Could we not devise some plan whereby a very few Indian representatives may sit here, say one for each Presidency? Three such representatives would not affect the balance of parties, but three eminent men from India would give voice to the hopes and fears of countless millions who loyally regard the King of England as their own Emperor.

I would also strongly support the recommendations of Lord Randolph Churchill, supported by Mr. Gladstone, that the old custom of the East India Company to have a Parliamentary inquiry into the Government of India every twenty years should be revived. Indian problems are far too difficult and complex to be fully threshed out in this House. Nothing but a committee of eminent public men could probe them to the bottom. Such an inquiry would give immense satisfaction in India, and prevent discontent deepening into disloyalty.

I will say in conclusion the government of India is the most difficult task that any nation has undertaken since the time of Imperial Rome. It was stained with crimes, and blunders almost as bad as crimes, at the outset of our dominion, but of recent years it has been conducted with both ability and honesty. Our Indian administrators are men of whom any nation might be proud. They are presided over by a Viceroy of exceptional energy and talent. I do not bring forward this Amendment to indict them. They are doing the best they can amid enormous difficulties, but the time has come to liberalise, I might almost say to Indianise, the Government. We owe it to ourselves to make India a gradual participant in our free institutions. I adopt as my own the noble words of Macaulay:—

“It may be that the public mind of India may expand

under our system till it has outgrown the system ; that by good government we can educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert it or to retard it ; whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."