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BOMBAY PRESIDENCY,

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## M. G. PANADE, M.A., LL.B.,



## BOMIDAY:

PRINTED AT TIE TIMES OP INDIA EXCHAXGE PRESA

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## SOME OF THE RESULTS

of THE

## BOMBAY ABKARI ACT.

It is time that the Secretary of State for India, and the Frecial public knew something more than they do at present, . 1 war the effects of the liquor laws obtaining in a very important ['situon of Her Majesty's dominions in the East, viz:-the Presidence of Bombay containing a population of over 16 millions at nouls.
"he present liquor laws, or as they are locally styled, the Al. exi system of Bombay, date from the beginning of the year 1-7., when a new Act was passed to regulate the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and toddy.

Under this system, the Abkari Department has attained to the usenviable position of the liquor-distiller and liquor-seller of Lif ruuntry. A large additibn has been made to the liquor revcuue, by the adoption of means which have had the effect of lestroying a considerable amount of private property, of depriving in very large and poor population of a portion of their daily food, aud of throwing out of employment a numerous class of people shind the Bhandaris or Toddy-drawers, throughout the province

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where palm tree: grow. These conseqhences, thoug's originally intended, might cortainly have been áticicipate.

The main and the most oljectionable feature uf th: present system, has been the treation of large monopotics for the tanufacture and sale of liquor. These monopolics it called jurns, and the menopolists, liquor-farmers. $k$. is the sistinn may be described thus-Every jear the Cal. $\cdot$ :
 of distisivg and solling liquor, within his District. The te:the: has to guarante to the Government a minumum um • ber paid during the ycar, say $£ 10,000$. This anm he has tr..... ce, by riping a certain daty per gallon (now varin, $\because$
 liquoit sold 'py him. "It the duty on the quantity aoli short pf, the graarnteed amount, the farmer basto mak, $7, .:$ the deficipady; if on the other hand, more higuor is sold than : coverad by the guaranteed amount, the farwer has $t \leq$ pas dut: on the byeds.! !

In order to sectre the liquor revenue under this syater., and aldo to profect the farmer, there is a large establisinn at maintained, and an elaborate machinery of cleck and conc. t : checks, devised, ind restrictions imposed upon the coanufa.". removal and possession of liquor and toddy, such as have t. : . been kinown in Igdia before, and I believe never exselled, if at a. equalled if pixy ther part of the world. The liquor is dis +ise i

- d ll e liquor produced, which is at all times open to the inspec. tusi of the Gorernment official. The distilled liquor is kept in the joint custody of the farmer and the Covernment, and is net issued except under the supervision of Government. So that when the ycar is out, the Government exactly knows how ruch liguor was made, and sold, and makes its arrangements w'c's the next year's farmer, on the footing of the knowledge thes obtained. This, practically, comes to allowing the farmer so wuch for his trouble (comparatively a very small amount), and the appropriation by Government of nearly the whole of the profits of the liquor-trade. It will now be clear, that by revising this ingenuous system, the Abkari Department has it eriae to all intents and purposes, the liquor-distiller of the country, emplosing the liquor-farmer merely as its agent workivg under direct Government control.

In connection with the above remarks, I may say that out of every rupee realized by the sale of liquor in the market, the exciss duty, in one form or another, abscrbs about 12 annas (or 15 shillings out of every guinea), and the balance goes to pay for the cost of manufacture and the liquor farmer's profit.

It would not require much astuteness to imagine the evils of such a syatem. The minimum guarantee, of which I have spuiken above, serves as a powerful, though indirect, encouragement to the consumption of liquor. The farmer has to see that a certain quantity (upon which he has contracted to pay full duty), is sold during the year, to save him from actual loss; and all sorts of devices are resorted to for the purpose. I have known instances, not many yeara ago, of whole rillages
making up their minds not to drink liquor. Whes :.. farmer hears of this. he ends for the beadmen, and tri. 3 t pursuade them to gire up the reqolve. This dees nut nimats succeed. When tho villagers are firm, and atick to thei wis somehow the farmer receives information of illicit dist: $n$. . gring on in the village, and on search becing made it turns, . that a sub; antial man in the village is found having uter • " Lis posse scin for distilling liquor. Ho is arrested, and tried "eture the local Wagistrate. These proceedirgs act like a arm throughuat the village, and the resolve not to drin' " ", in" rani hes ixto thin air, and the rillago liqu r-ship ts cnce i. in bugr as erer.

Another result, a very common one, is that when the ingret finds, about the end of the term of his farm, that be : $.3 \mathrm{r}^{+}+$ sc: 11 as much liquor, as bil is entitled to have for, the gua $:, ., \quad$ a amount, he issues the balance from the distillery, and at what price it will fetch. In the month of July $1886, i, i, 4$, was sold at Bassein at 12 annas per gallon (2 annas per toi" 0 , when the Government duty alone, was something like $R$. 2 , l , alone the cost of manufacture. The result was, that about this a much liquor was sold during one month, as was sold durier it. previoussix months; the poor people drinking of the rlap liquor to their hearts' content, day after day, until the new : Ir:s: came in, when of course the prices rose to what they were : : wt. Now, under a system which does not concern itself with th minutias of the liquor-trade, but taxes each gallon of $\mathrm{y}_{1}$ ar taken out of the distillery, at a uniforn rate, such a locsc aud demoralizing practice would be wipossible.

Thare are many other evil results of this close monopolr, , such as the throwing out of employ of the old liquor and toddy-sellers-a numerous class, who distilled their own liquor, and took it out of the Public distillery on payment of a fixed-excise duty, and sold it in their shops. This may not appear a very serious watter to Government, but it is a matter, almost of life and death, to those poor men who used to earn an honest livelihood by their trade, and who, having been trained up to no other business, are at a loss to know what to do to maintain themselves and their fumilies in these proverbially hard times.

Before farming was introduced, Surat liquor was famous throughout the Bombay Presidency for its superior quality, and ised to be exported to Bombay and other places, in quantities. The liquor-farmer has put an end to all this, and now there are loud complaints in Surat, about the vile quality of the liquor sold there. It is natural that the liquor-farmer having nobody t.) compete with under a system of close monopoly, does not cart to incur the trouble and expense to produce liquor of a styerior quality, knowing, that unfortunate people who are acc1 tomed to drink must buy his liquor, be it good or bad.

The system of liquor-farming does not obtain in the city of I-mbay. There are about 400 separate licenses granted. The teer payable for the licenses, had up to the year 1878 , been fixed ly Government from time to time, and were not revised erept at long intervals. Most of the licenses had been held fl" "editarily, from generation to generation, and had been regarled a: family property, and there are instances in which they had

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 was made in thia aystem, shereby, the right to bold the licenses, was put up to public auction. The compelition thus created, of course, igncrased the license fees. Some; of the old licensees were thrown out, and others had to taks up their licenacs at rates which left rery littlo $p$ ofit. But what could the poor men do? They would as'urally cling to their old andettral business as long asit afforded them the b.rest subsistence. Beinides the ainction sales there wero various restrictions imposed upas the licensees, such, as keeping accounts of all liquor brought and wold in the shops, labelling of bottles, \&a. Theso annosances were unhearable, and it must be said to Lord Reay's credit, that he loot no time, after his shival, to afpoint a Commission to inquita inte and report on these grioracces. The Commissioncrs hell ar exhaustive inquiry which resulted ip a mases of the most impor tant evidence being taken. The evidence showed a widespread discontentment at thl Abkari admicistration, and a wholesale disergaid of the rights of private properth, in order to obtain a large liquor revenut. The Commissioness in their report recognized the existence of many well-founded grierances, and re. cormmended a reduction of taxation on toddy trees, and condemned the 'system of annual anction sales of licenses. Lord Reay': Guraraméat issued a a Resolution on this report, slighty $y$ redpring $^{2}$ the taxation pa toddy trees, and directing that anction anle stoould $!$ cease in fatare, Bnt the cup of the licensees trouble wis not jet filled upa aid on the recommendation of their tild friend the Ablari Consurisionener, the Government again withdrew their resolution so fart as to direct cene more auction sale to be teld,
which was accordingly held in July last, and resulted in an increase of Rs, 45,000, over the last year's revenue. This increase las in past gears, was brought about, partly, by increased bids from people, who without the least bonce fide intention of pur. chasing licenses, bid in order to satisfy old grudges, But the novel feature of the last auction sale was that where nobody bid against a licensee, the Collector himself made bids against him, although the upset price for each license was laid down from the first.

But the most lamentable consequence of the farming system has been the effect it has had on the production and consumption of toddy which has been for centuries the favourite, harmless and cheap beverage of the people of Bombay. In those Districts of the Bombay Presidency, which lie on the coast, a large number of palm trees are grown. Of these, three species, the date-palm, the cocoanut-palm, and the brab-tree yield toddy which, as I bave said, is highly prized by the poor classes, as a nutricious and slightly intoxicating beverage, much less so than beer. Before 1879, in some places, for instance, in Gujrat, there was no tax on these trees. In others, there was a light tax varying from 1 anna to 8 annas ( $1 \frac{1}{2}$ pence to 1 shilling) per tree. The owners of the trees, on payment of this tax were allowed to draw and consume toddy, and in many places to sell it. Toddy is good food, fand a very large quantity was annually drawn and consumed in the raw state. There are numerous people who, as long as they got toddy, did not at all care for spirituous liquor. But this quality, which is its great recommendation, was naturally felt by the Abkari Department as a great binderance in the way of a proper development of the
liquor-revenue, So that, when in 1879, aystemeo liquore farms was devised, it became neoeessary to bring toddy under, proper control. And it was dorce in this way. Intminy parts of the Presidency, the right of draving and selliag tiddy was taken away from the owaers of toddy trees, antgirca to tho liquor-fariner; aud at the same time the tree tax was raised so that while it varied from 1 anna to 8 anna -before, it now varies from Ke. 1 to Rs. 16 per Iree: The rezit of these arbitrary proceedinge, was, thatre hundreds of thousande of frees were at once, given up, and hie still lying fallow, bringing nothing to the owner (except in the cace of roccu-cut palms) and uselessly encumbering the land. By cous strike of the pon the Abkari Department deprived thousanis of Her Majesty'a subjects, of the usufruct of their property, dotiojed a large quantity of food supply of the poorer pecrle, threm a leiseclass of toddy-drawers out of employ, and what ras worse iudirectly compelled those who were eatiofied with a mils beverage like toddy, to drink spirituous liquor ton satisfy their eraripg. It is rot difficult to undeittand why the liquor-famer dd not draw toddy of which he was so auxious to got the moncpoly. Toddy trees lie all over the country, and it would not pary tho farmar at all to employ an establishment to tap the teec scattered over wide areas. But while he knew he conld not tap the tices, he Lnew at the same time that it would not do to allow the people to do so, as the consumption of his liquor very much depended, in an inverse ratio, uponthe quantity of toddy availAble; and bence the recessity of restricting the supply of toldy to stimulate the sale of liquour.

The only justification which is, and can possibly be alleged por a heavy liquor tax on toddy-trees, is that otherwise people fould secretly distil liquor from toddy. Whether such a fear fas justifable, is itself a question; but supposing it to be in fyy measure true, the most serious question arises, if it would justify the wholesale suppression of a trade, and the stopping of a source of food supply. The Government is so strong, that illicit distillation must cave in, sooner or later. And it was a sery strong measure indeed, to have introduced such a sweeping - nd rigorous system, in order to put a stop to possible illicit istillation by a few dishonest persons.

While a heavy tax was placed on the trees, and a . ionopoly granted, so that the owner could not draw toddy, the Government of Bombay, curiously enough, refused for some ysars, to remit the old tree-tax (called buddene) and compelled prople who could not pay it on account of the trees not yielding anything, to give up the trees which were thenceforward antered as Khalsa or Government trees. Thousands of trees were thus given up. These trees Government let to the liquorfarmer to extract toddy, which the farmer did so effectually, that in the Talnks of Dahanu-Umbergaum alone, no less than 1,50,000 trees were killed outright, in the short space of 2 years The injustice of these proceedings was so great, and so palpable, that although Sir James Fergusson steadily refused to see it and to remedy it, Lord Reay's Government has recently remitted the old tree-tax, and in justice to those who gave up the trees for inability to pay the tax, restored them to the owners. Bat while this will do some measure of justice to people in the

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only made tòddy very dear, but, as might have been expecto led to extensive adulteration, which in an article of fool lik toddy, is a scrious matter. Besides, the only way of weaning th. poor classes from apirituous drinks, is to render toddy a free as posible. But the lond waila of the peoplo (of a people, too, anaccustomed to any unnecessary acgitation) bswo as yet, made oily a faint echo in the Secretariat. This ia perhapa, not quits unnatural, secing that members of Goremnent, anxiu.s thaugh they are to do justice to the reuph, cannot bs experted from their habits of life and roode of thought, fully to sympathize with them. This is the of iny in which one can reasonably account for the am If ut unwllingruess of Lord Reay's Covernment, to uad, 1 while of the mischief, so far as toddy is concurned. I when there is such a cry from all quarters, it surely behov. Government, to take a little more trouble to sce, if aftor a there miy not be substantial grievance in what may, at first siget appear'to 'them' to be as, phreasonalle demand invulving possibly, some sacrifice of refepue.

MANEKSHAH J. TALETAREHAN.

## Dedication.

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## MEMBER OF COUNCIL.

> Sr,

Three years ago I ventured, with your permission, to tedicate to you my pamphlet on the Statistics of Civil Justice. The present publication is a continuation of the same inquiry. I cannot expect that you "will agree in all which I have written; but I trust that on many prints the views which I have expressed will be found to accord with your opinions. As's an humble effort to $d$ scuss a subject in which, you have always taken the Weepest interest, I hope it will meet withyour approval.

THE AUTHOR.

## PREFACE.

Tue substance of the first six chapters of the present publication has already appeared in the shape of a series of articles in the Times of India at broken intervals. This series, digesting the statistics of the administration of criminal justice in this Presidency, is a continuation of a similar effort made in conncction with the administration of civil justice, the result of which inquiry has already been embodied in the author's pamphlet on the statistices of civil justice. Whatever may be the value of the conclusions and suggestions for reform contained in these publications, the author hopes that both these attempts will be found useful as digests of the published statistics regarding the administration of justice in this Presidency.

Sume of the articles as they appeared were favourably noticed in the newspapers, and this has encouraged the author to collect them together in a separate publication.

The seventh chapter contains the substance of the observations made by the author upon the minute of the Hon'ble Mr. FitzJames Stephen on the administration of jastice in India, a copy of which minute was sent to the author for his opinion. It is owing to this circamstance of its origin that this concluding portion is, not so impersonal in its character as the rest of the work. These observations contain a risumé of the whole inquiry, and they conld not conveniently be scparated from the body of the pamphlet.

## STATISTICS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

## Chapter I.

## STATISTICS OF THE WORE DONE BY THE CRIMINAL COURTS.

Tue Hon'ble Mr. FitzJames Stephen's minute on the Administration of Justice in Indis, fully sustains the author's claims to the highest order of Indian statesmanship, and may be regarded as his parting legacy to this. land of his temporary sojourn. It is good at times to see how a great administrative system looks when turned inside out. This service Mr. Stephen has performed for us by passing under review the salient features of the existing judicial system in India. He does this from the stand-point of an emiuent English jurist, brought in intimate contact with the administration of law in British India, but so placed as not to be a working wheel of the machine. Mr. Stephen's method of treatment is, however, at times too speculative to be anfe, and there is a constant effort to justify the system, by reuson of its presumed adaptability to ensure a theoretical ideal, which is not altogether vory assuring. At any rate, it is absolutely necessary to supplement this method of inquiry, and test its conclusions by the only unfailing testimony,-that of the ascertained results of the actual working of the system at present in force.

The Government of India, in eirculating Mr. Stephen's minute with its sanction, has taken good care not to lead the public, at this early stage of the discussion, to think that it has prejudged the question, and that all the members of Government shared in the views enunciated in the minute. With a view to secure additional information, it has moreover requested the opinion of its most competent officers upon the sqbjects discussed therein. It uray assist those students and publicists, who wish to arrive at an independent opinion on these points, if Mr. Stephen's specalative conclasions were tested by an appeal to facts, and, with this view, the published statistics of criminal and civil justice for a sufficiently long period were digested together, and their testimony carefully acrutinized. More than two jearsago,
the statistics of the working of civil courts of all grades in this Presidency were collated together in this spirit. It is proposed at present to complete this inquiry by a lrief survey of the statiatice of the work done by the courta of crininal jurisdiction in this Presidency. With such a ground-work of ascertained facts and detailed figured results to guide and correct his observations, the student of judicial statistics will be in a better posstion than otherwise to return to the officiql minute, and discuss the policy and the assumed necessity of the particular reforms suggested therein. Without such a guarantee for correctness, the discussion partakes greally of the indefiniteness of a speculative controversy, where opposite opinions are taken up and cherished more as matters of feeling than of judgnent, and the controversy serves only to fasten the hold of favorite prejudices upon the contending parties.
It may be observed once for all that the figured details which follow relate exclusively to the "regulation" districts of this Presidency, which are subject to the ordinary appellate jurisdiction of the IIigh Court of Borabay. Throughout these districts, one uniform sy stem has obtained for the last forty or fifty years; and their general coudition is much on a common level of civilization, so as to admit of a fair comparison being instituted between them, and their administrative results being surnmed up together in large averages. It is, in the first instance, essential to know what is tho average amount of work which our mofussil courts of inferior and superior criminal jurisdiction discharge from one end of the year to the other. Including the ieland of Bombay, there are in all 500 officere who preside over the courts of criminal justice in this Presidency. There are four grades of these Judges,--four or five Judges of the High Court sitting on the appellate side of the court; 24 session and assistant session Judges, - including the three Judges on the original side of the High Court, who preside by turns over the quarterly sessions; $\mathbf{1 7}$ district magistrates; and 464 assistant, depaty, and subordinate magistrates. The magistrates of all grades, with the small exception of the Police magistrates of Bombay, the railway and cantonment magistrates, and a few of the deputy magistrates in the larger towns, are also executive, manicipal, police, and revenue officers. Their revenue and executive duties are their principal charge, and the eriminal work is tacked on as a terror-striking miscellaneous adjunct. The Judges of the High Court, and the session and assistant session Judges, have exclusively judicial functions ; but, in their case, their time in nearly equally divided between their civil and criminal work. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, for they serve to explaid the apparent discrepancy between the large number of persons charged with the work of eriminal justice, and the comparatively small totals of their annual work.
The following table furnishes a statement of the number of offences tried, the number of trials held, and the total number of persons tried, by
the magistrates of all grades in the regulation districts of the Presidency for eight years:-

|  | 1864 | 1865 | 1886 | 1867 | 1868 | 1863 | 1870 | 1871 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tetal number of offence tried | 80,075 | 27,243 | 36,509 | 35,827 | 36,873 | 39,848 | 45,847 | 49,480 |
| Of trials held | 27,233 | 87,24? | 35,8886 | 32,271 | 33,831 | 36,573 | 42,505 | 46.488 |
| Of persona tried ..... . | . | - | 67,876 | 64,709 | 68,015 | 75,463 | 82,959 | 88,124 |

These figures show that the criminal courts have every year more and more work throwa npon them, the nucrease in the number of trials held being seventy-five por cent. in eight years. The increase, however, it must be noted in this place, is chiefly confined to the work of the subordinate magistrates. The work of the higher magistracy and of the session courts dues not show a corresponding increase.

The figures for the town and island of Bombay for the corresponding period of seven years will be seen from the following statement :-

|  | 1865 | $18+6$ | 1867 | 1863 | 1869 | 1870 | 1871 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of cases | 15,187 | 11,930 | 11,380 | 15,34 | 18, 130 | 19,931 | 18,780 |
| Numbet of persuns appre bended. | 25,163 | 18,459 | 17,6\% | 25,79 ${ }^{4}$ | 27426 | 31,917 | 28,949 |

Wath regard to these figures for Bombay, it is to be noted that the three Polico magistrates of the island act also as Justices of the Peare, and, besides their criminal wok proper, exercise a large number of miscelladeous jurisductions under special Acts uf Pulice and Conbervancy, which for the most part have no counterpart, except in a few of the larger towns, in the work discharged by magistrates in tho mofussil. Putting these figures together, the total number of criminal and quasi-criminal cases disposed of by the entire magistracy of the-Presidency, and the total nnmber of persons brought up before the criminal Judges, will be seen from the following table:-

|  | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1809 | 1870 | 1871 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cases disposed of by magistrates ......... | 48,45 | 47,207 | 52,867 | 57,984 | 65,778 | 68,460 |
| Persons brought up betore magistrates . | $86,35 \%$ | 82,377 | 33,808 | 102,894 | 114,876 | 117,073 |

These figures represent the work all the year round of about 484 judicial officers. When it is remembered that the Judges of our civil courts, numbering about 100 , dispose of 175,000 suits in the course of a singla year, and that, on an average, a civil suit takes up as much time and trubble as a criminal case, the fact, that nearly fire times the number of criminal Judges should get through only half the amount of work done by the civil
courts, mast excitt sarprise in the most casual obnerver. One obviuns explanation of this anomaly is that the magistrates, being bardened wit: revenue and miscellaneous executive duties, work half time, or at interval The department of Civil Justice has been long since organized N an indepeudent basis, and the civil Judges, having no other duties t. distract their attention, work full time all the year round. The bearing of this consideration upon the organization of criminal courts will bean in more fully in the sequel of these observations.
Having thus opened up the large subject of the working of the crimi i. courts of all grades in this Presidency, it is next proposed to discuss 1.1 nature and classtication of the 65,000 criminal cases which represent 1 amount of the work done in 1870 by the criminal courts of the $\mathfrak{f} r$ : instance. It need hardly be remarked in this place that mere number, however accurate, can give no adequate conception of the actual charact : r of the work done by the criminal courts. Taking the figures for ti, Mofussl courts for the last five years, it will be aeen that the presumali: serious offences against person or against property form but a vor suall portion of the total number of criminal casen tried. The followi. statement furnishes the necessary figures :-

| Total number of ollences tried .............................. | 1867 | 18.88 | $1 \times 60$ | 18. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 85827 | 85,873 | 34, $\mathrm{m}_{4}$ | 45.57 |
| Simple hurt, assault, and criminal force. | 10.867 | 11,9597 | 18,749 | 14\%. |
| Simple theft and theft of cattle ............................. | ${ }_{6} 8,681$ | 7,989 | 6.7\% |  |
| Miscellaneous and quast-criminal offenctel . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 13,867 | 14,3ist | 15.040 | 19,111 |
| Deduct.... | 83156 | 24,041 | 26,548 | 42,8 77 |
| Serion ortencos against body and against properiy ...... | 2,572 | 2,822 | 8,299 | 3,8" |

These latter figures represent the whole of the presumably Leiaous clubs of offences, including under that term all cases in which, if the magistrat es find true bills, the accused parties are conmitted to stand their tr at before the session courts. The number of these presumably heinous cle's of offences has remained pretty constant, notwithstanding the tuonme"; increass in the simple and miscellaneous class of offences.

The corresponding figures for the island of Bombay, ineluding ta, cases disposed of by the Police magistrates nuder their miscellancol., jurisdictions, tell a similar tale, as will be seen from the folluwn: statement:-

Cases disposed of by Magistrates.

|  | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 187.4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Telonles or heinons crimes | 448 | 2nd |  | 40 | $7{ }^{7}$ |
| Misdemeanours or minor crimes | 4,191 | 4088 | 5699 | 5971 | Bn: |
| Miseellaneons or quasn-criminal offences | 6,418 | 6,080 | 6762 | 5.9463 | 6.5 \% |
| Coneervancy cases ........................ | 983 | 1,148 | 8,084 | 5,942 | 8, 8: |

In considering these figares, it must be borne in mind that the Police magistrates of Bombay do not exercise their jurisdiction under the Code if Criminal Procedure, and their criminal powers are much more limited than those of the mofussil magistrates. This fact, together with the naturally favourable opportunities for crime which a crowded city population affords, will be sufficient to explain the larger proportion of felonies and heinous crines which the Bombay police returns show. This nnalysis of the criminal returns will serve to show that, out of a total of i 5,000 cases, about 3,600 cases, at the outside, are of a character which the law regards as serious offences, and which require exceptional abulity in the judicial officens who are called upon to adjudicate them. This listinction betwecn the heinous and simple classes of offences corresponds to the distinction between money suits and land suits in the procedure of the civil courts, i. e., between suits cognizable by coarts of small canses, and suits regarding imnoveable property, for which the law provides an elaborate machinery of a first and second appeal. Probably enough haa leen said on this part of the subject to convey an adequate notion of the classification and character of the work done by the criminal courts of the first instance, ander which term is included the entire magistracy of the Presidency. It will havo been scen that in the year 1870, out of stotal of 65,000 cases tried, the magistrates took original and final cognizance of nearly 61,500 cases, or 95 per cent. of the whole number of cases tried, and that of the remaining 3,500 cases they took original cognizance for the purpose of returning true bills. For in these cases, when a prinu facie case is made out to their satisfaction, they are required to commit the accused to stand his trial before the session court.

Confining these remarks to the mofussil magistrates for the present, the next point for inquiry is to see how these magistrates distribute the work between themselves. There are in all 17 district magistrates, 97 assistant and deputy magistrates, and 355 subordinate magistrates, including honorary magistrates. The administration reporte do not ufford full information as to the numbers respectively of magistrates with full or first-class powers, and the subordinate magistrates exercising second and third-class powers. The work disposed of by the magistrates of various grades will be seen from the following table:-

|  | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \text { No of caser do- } \\ \text { clded in } 1870 \text {. } \end{gathered}\right.$ | No. of perrons urjed. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 17 Distriot magistrates <br> Magistrntea with full or lst class powera <br> Sub-mpaistrates, 20d class <br> Sub-magistrates, 3rd class | 299 |  |
|  | 6,878 | 11.245 |
|  | 15.2R5 | ${ }_{29,498}$ |
|  | 18,872 | 40,380 |
|  | 41,834 | 81,691 |

One fact is quite plain on the face of these figures. The magistrates of the districts have virtually renounced their triminal jurisdiction.

When 17 officess, in their position could afford tine to diypose of only 300 cases in a year, or hardly two cases each in a month, this i- a virtual absindonment of oue of their most imporfant functions. Th, aband wment may, by reasco of therr other duties, be forced upon thew magistrates ; but, whether forced or voluntary, it is a circumstance the ftit siguificance of which must never be misunderstood. The distr, , magistrate of the large district of Alimednuggur decided only two cases ${ }^{\prime}$. 1870, that of Sattara decided five cases only, while the diefrict magistry. of Khandeish, Rutngherry, and Dharwar disposed of one case each $p^{p}$ month.

Mr. Stephen's laborious pleading for the retention, on political ground", of their present criminal functions by the chief executive officers of t , e districts, loss a all its force when confronted with this silent testimony of figures that cannot deceive. They show beyond cavil or dispute that the time has now come for providing a separate organization for the administration of criminal justice in the regulation districts, and to withdraw tha muchcherished privilege of their criminal jurisdiction from the higher revenus and exccutive officers. The present multiplication of fuations only results in a waste of powers and lax supervision in all departinents. Th., district collectors will not, if consulted on this point, consent to styy arrangement by which they will be confined to their revenue duties exch.sively; but in such a matter as this, the testimony of their conduct from year to year ought to carry more weight than their words ; and, as has been shown before, that testimony is quite decisive on the point. Under nativ rulers, and notably under the non-regulation eystem noder British rale, this officer in charge of a district or portion of a district is the centre of all authotity ; he is Judge, magiatrate, policeman, revenue collector, military commander,-all rolled up into one. The first constitutional lesson the British rulers of India have, during their century of uninterrupted rule, taught to the people of their older provinces, is the supreme necessity of a separation of military from civil duties, and the great Codea of 1792 and 1827 carried out still further this principle of a systematic distribution of civil power. This principle of dividing the powers of sovereignty, and grouping under proper subordination its various functions into separate departments, led to the distinct organization of the department of civa justice, and entrusting the higher functionaries in charge of the work of civil justice with the rogaizance of the more serious criminal offences The most thorough-going advocate of personal government does not in these days'question the wisdom of this separation of fanctions, jnulicia? and executive, as far as it has already been accomplisbed. There in no consistency, however, in the policy which provides a geparate judicial machinery for the graver class of offences, and relegates the rest to the itinerant revenue officers, high and low. The virtual abandonment by the
district magistrates of their criminal functions, as illastrated by the figures quoted before, is sufficient to dispel the idle plea that the terrors of their criminal jurisdiction are necessary to ensure obedience to, and keep up the prestige of, the revenue officers.

To return from this discussion to the statistics regarding the distribution of the work between the magistrates of various grades. The magistrates of the lowest class dispose of nearly 45 per cent. of the whole number of cases ; the subordi nate magistrates of the class above that, dispose of 37 per cent., and the two between them dispose of nearly 75 per cent. of the entire number of cases during the year. The assistant and deputy magistrates, who have generally " full power," dispose of about 18 per cent., thus accounting for all but the 5 or 6 per cent. of cases which are committed to the session courts. The classification of offences, about which some observations have been made before, coincides in this respect remark_ ably with the division of jurisdictions. The foregoing observations, it is hoped, will have shown-that (1) with regard to the oriminal courts of the first instance, there are about 480 officers in charge of criminal courts who dispose of 65,000 cases in the course of the year; that (2) there is a large waste of power in the present arrangement by which the tax-gathering and miscellaneous functions are allowed to distract the attention of these criminal Judges ; that (3), as one consequence of this, the district magistrates have in fact ceased to be criminal Judges, in spite of the law which cluthes them with these duties; that (4) this immense waste of power in the luwer magistracy, and this virtual abandonment of functions by the highest magistrates, are cogent reasous for carrying out further the only safe policy of disburdening the executive officers of the work which they discharge so unwillingly or indifferently ; that (5), of the whole number of cases disposed of, about 3,500 cases, or 5 per cent. only of the whole number, are of a character which the law regards as serious, and which require special qualifications for their proper adjudication; that (6) this distinction in the nature and classification of offences corresponds to e distinction of jarisdictions; lastly, that (7) about 75 per cent. of the entire criminal work is disposed of finally by the native subordinate magistrates, and of the rest about 18 per cent. represents the work of the higher magistracy.

## Chapter II.

## TIIE QUALITY OF THE WORK DONE BY THE CRIMINAL COURTS.

Taking up the thread of the observations on the administration of criminal justice in this Presidency, it is proposed next to furnish the statistices showing the nature of the adjudication in the large total of cases which come up before the magistrates all the year round. One noticeable feature of the administration of criminal justice, which strike the most casual student of these statistics, is the large perceutage of cases in which resort to the criminal court is merely had for danning or intimidation purposes, in which the charge is hastily made and as easily withdrawn ly private settlement, or results in the acquittal and discharge of the accused. The following statement regarding the mofussil magistraten' courtu will place the matter properly before the reader :-

|  | 1868 | 1867 | 1808 | 1888 | 1870 | 1871 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total number of persong tried ...cen*.... | 67,876 | 64,700 | 68,016 | 75,468 | 64,599 | 88,124 |
| Of persons convicted................e.e.e. | 37,179 | 85,489 | 81,888 | 4,288 | 25,494 | 85,685 |
| Of persons discharged. | 80,697 | 81,220 | 86,194 | 41,238 | 47,475 | 82,499 |

[^0]convictions and discharges becomes every year most scandalous. To put it in other words, while the percentage of convictions was 54 per cent. in 1866 and 1867, the percentage dwindled down to 42 per cent. in the year 1870 , and to 40 per cent. in 1871 . This is a matter which those who are charged with the edministration of criminal justice would do well to ponder over. Mr. Stephen, in his able and far-seeing observations, does not appear to have had his attention forcibly drawn to this curious feature of these criminal statistics.

That this abuse of the coercive power of the State represented by the magistrates, high and low, is not peculiar to the mofussil courts, will be seen from the following statement regarding the statistics of the work of the Police magistrates of Bombay, where, as has been observed before, tho system of criminal justice is partly based upon the English manicipal law: -

|  | 1885 | 1866 | . 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1874 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of peramat apprehended. | 25,708 | 18.459 | 17,620 | 25,993 | 27,426 | 31,825 | 28,949 |
| Mersons convicted ................ | 18,577 | 12,154 | 10,347 | 14,214 | 14762 | 16,488 | 15,312 |
| Hersons releabud.................. . . . | 6,874 | 6,340 | 7,232 | 11,768 | 14,609 | 15,482 | 18,487 |

This table requires to be supplemented with another subsidiary to it, for which, however, the administration reports give information for four years only, for it becomes here necessary to analyze the details of the large number of discharges. As has been remarked before, the number of discharges includes two different categories of persons-persons against whom the charge is withdrawn by private compromise before trial, and persons who are acquitted or released upon trial. These details will be seen from the following statement:-

| Persons dischargod.............................................. |  | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1871 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 11,768 | 12,609 | 15,437 | 13,487 |
| Persons aoquitted Chage withdrawn |  | 4,144 | 2,999 | 2,468 | 2.374 |
|  | .......... | 7,624 | 0,610 | 12,918 | 11,113 |
|  | Total... | 11,768 | 12,609 | 15,886 | 613,487 |

These figures show that the large number of discharges consists for the most part of persons who are brought, ap before the magistrates for slight defaults, and who manage, under the pressure of this coercion, to settle privately with those who prosecute them before the courts. It may be urged with some truth, with regard to these figures for Bombay, that the Police magistrates there exorcise so many and varied jurisdictions under the Police and Conservancy Acts, that the results of their work cannot be usefully referred to while considering the relative proportion of presumably false and true complaints in the mass of cases disposed of by the magistrates of the mofussil. Unfortuastely the administration reporta
afford but little pelp in clearing up this point. With regard to the talles relating to the mofussil courts, the number of persons discharged before trial, and of those who are acquitted after trial, are confusedly mixed up together. The figures for the towa and island of Bombay, however, give the necessary details; and though, for reasons stated before, the comparisun is not quite apposite, yet as the condition and circumstancer of the native population there, and in the mofussil, are pretty much alike, these may usefully be impressed into present sertice, carefully confining the atuation to those categories of offences only which have their counterpart in the work of the mofussil magistrates, or in which the law allows private prosecutors to withdraw the charge whenever he seep fit :-

| Town of Bombay, 1870 | Number ot permans brought to trial. | Nrmber convicted. | Nnmber disharg. ed. | Finmber achultat. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. Theft onder and above Re. 60 ........t........ | 1,832 | 1,407 | 160 | 292 |
| 2. Hishonestly receiving atolen properts ......... | fi9 | 81 | 8 | 41 |
| 8. Cheating .......................................... | 194 | 46 | 74 | 73 |
| 4. Foryery ....................................... | 81 | $\cdots$ | 14 | 14 |
| 5. Kidhapphng and abduction .................... | 11 | 8 | 81 | 34 |
| 6 False evidence ....... | 60 |  | 4 | 12 |
| 7. Rapo.. - .............. | 8 | 1 |  | 3 |
| 8. 'riminal breach of trunt ...................... | 850 | 68 | 123 | 71 |
| 9. Criminal mieappropriation of property ....... | 16 | 8 | * | 6 |
|  | 68 |  | 48 | 19 |
| 11. Criminsi trespabs ................................. | 213 | 104 | 810 | 41 |
| 12. Aq4anit ...................................... | 0,320 | 1,864 | 8,877 | 1,197 |
| 18. Criminal intimidation :.................... | 13 | , | 1 | 1 |
| 14. Using insuiting words to provoke breack of the peace | 84 | 84 | 238 | 88 |
| 15. Mischlef ........... | 104 | 24 | 86 | 84 |
| Totel.... | \$874 | 8,486 | 4,210 | 1,790 |

In preparing the foregoing statement, it will be seen that care has been taken to select the most common gnd withal criminal offences proper ; and the figures show that, out of a total of nearly 9,600 persons arrested on suspicion of having committed these offences, about 6,000 , or nearly twothirds, had to be discharged or acquitted, and the proportion of convictious was about 40 per cent. There can be no question that these figores are equally true of the mofussil courts, whose proportion of acquittals exceeds that of the Bombay police courts. The latest administration report for 1871 showa much the same details of this proportion of convictions to acquittals. The proportion of convictions to the numbers tried varies from 23 por cant. in Rutnagherry to 50 per cent, in Ahmedabad; and the average for the whole presidency is 40 per cent. ; so that nearly 60 per cent. of the 88, n00 or more persons apprehended were put to all the annoyance of a criminal prosecution for no fault of theirs, and the criminal Judge had thum, at least twice as often as not, to discharge the function of protector of those who were wrongly accused, in place of his proper doty of punishing tho wrong-doer. This is a state of things which reflects but little credit apon
the existing state of our criminal law. The impression is all but universal that the multiplication of offences in the Penal Code, and the absolute impunity which the private delators (to borrow an expression from the early days of the Romań Empire) enjoy under the present procedure, have tended to aggravate this unfortunate state of things. These figures afford the only correct test by which one can form an adequate estimate of the relative efficiency of the working of the criminal courts. If these results be contrasted with the ancertained figures ${ }_{\text {a }}$ of the working of the civil courts, it will be seen that, while the proportion of presumably honest to false cifyl claims is as 9 to 1 , the likelihood of a presamably honest to a dishonest criminal charge is nearly 1 to 2 ,-a discrepancy of results which certainly reflects no credit apon the present system, and calls urgently for a prompt and thorough-going remedy
It has been already stated, in the first chapter of these observations, that the magistrates of the rofussil courts dispose of finally about 95 per cent. of the cases dhich come up before them; and that, with regard to the remaining 5 of 6 per cent, of the cases which form the proportion of presumably heinons offences, their functions are limited to holding the preliminary inquiry, and directing the committal of the accused to the superior courts in all cases where they find there is a sufficient primá facie case made out. The following statement gives the necessary figures on this yoint for the years 1867, 1870, and 1871; the figures for the intermediate three years, oddly enough, are not given in the administration reports :-

|  | 1867 | 1670 | 1871 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total number of offences tried by magistrates ....................... | 85,827 | 45,847 | 49,480 |
| Total number of cases in which prehminary enquirios were held. | 1,618 | 1649 | 1,54\% |
| Total mumber of persous mecused ...................................... | 8,432 | 9278 | 8,683 |
| Crsextesmmitted . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 1,026 | 1014 | $1019{ }^{\circ}$ |
| Number of pursons commitied | 9,003 | 1,829 | 2,092 |
| Casea divehargud ..... ................................................ | 614 | 638 | 578 |
| Number of persons discharged ............................................ | 1,369 | 1,440 | 1,547 |

These figures will serve to confirm the remark that has been made before, that, while the work of the subordinate magistrates has increased to a large extent of late years, the work of the higher grade of our criminal Judgen docs not show any correspondug increase. In fact, companng the three years, it appears that, whild the work of the lower magistracy has increated by bearly 40 per cent., there is a complete stand-still so far as the work cf the courta of session is er ncerned. These figures also lend a strong confirmation to the observations made before as regards the enornous abuse of the machinery of the criminal courts by private per sona for illegitimate purposes of their own. Oet of a total of 1,650 cases in which preliminary inquiries were held in 1870 by the magistrates, they found that, in nealy 40 per cent. of the cases, the charge was not supported
by any presurably honest evidence, and accordingly discharged tho accused. Looking to the number of persons discbarged, the proportion is much greater ; the discharges were nearly 50 per cent. of the entire number tried. When, moreover, it is remembered that, in the triala held before the suparior courts, a further deduction of another 80 per cent. of peraona aequitted after trial has to be made out of the total number committed, it will be at once seen that the abnormal proportion of acquittals which has been found to be true as regards the work of the subordinate magistrates' courts, disfigares to an equal extent the work of the higher grade of the mofussil criminal courts. The disparity of results thus holds good in reference to the presumably heinons class of offences, equally with the offences of a simpler sort, of which the magistrates take final cogulzance.

It is not the province of these observations in this place to do more than enforce public attention to this most unfortanate state of thinga, which detracts so considerably from the usefulness of the oxisting syatem of criminal law and procedure, The students of Mr. Stephen'e official minute will do well to note this peculiar feature of the working of the criminal courts, and in any arrangements that may be proposed, the existence of this anomaly should never be lost sight of.

The array of figured statements presented above, together with tha lessous they suggest, will no doubt be startling enough to the selfcomplacency of optimist administrators, for they cannot but shake the orthodox belief in the soundness of the present syatem, which not onily. permits such an anomaly to exist, but actually fosters its growth year ofter year. The disparity of results is so scandalous that one would fain tone down a shade or two of its startling character, bat the most suparficial student of these statistics will not fail to see that the case, as borne out by the published results of criminal administration, is nuch worsc than what it has been described before to be. In the interests of an honest administration of justice, it is necessary to disclose fully this abnormal feature of the working of the criminal courts, and it is proposed accordingly, in continuation of former observations, to give further details which extablsh this fact beyond all dispute. Contrastiog the statistica of the work done by the criminal courts with the results of the working of the civil courts, it will appear that out of an average total of $13 \downarrow, 000$ civil suits dipposed af by the mofussil courts, the honesty of the claim of the plaintiff was presumally established by the verdict of the court in his favour in no less than 121,000 suits, whils his claim was presumably shown to be not founded in right is only 13,000 suits, or less than 10 per cent. of the whole number. In the department of criminal justice, on the other hand, out of a total of about 88,000 persons tried by the magistrates in the mofussil, ouly 33,300 persons were convicted ; the rest were either acquitted or discharged. The proportion of acquittals and discharges, which was 42 yer cent. in the years

1865 and 1867, has steadily risen during the last four years, and is now 60 per cent. of the entire number tried. Taking these figures by themselves, it will thus be seen that the relative efficiency of our civil and criminal coorts is as 20 to 1 ,-a disparity of results which is not satisfactorily accounted for by the acknowledged fact that crime skulks in the dark, while the transactions of civil life generally take place in the presence of witnesses. There is one consideration, moreover, which has yet to be added, to make the startling enormity of this unfortunate feature of the working of our criminal courts patent to the most superficial observer. The criminal courts are set in motion by the police, and the number of persons who are placed before the magistrates from one end of the year to the other does not fairly represent the number of those who are in the first instance reached by the police, who are apprehended by then with or witbout warrant, and who are released for want of evidence before the case is ripe enough to be placed before the magistrates. So far as the coercive agency of the police officers is concerned, people who are thus apprehended and released are subjected to as much annoyance and trouble, and loss of repute, and may be loss of money, as those who are regularly placed in the docks before the magistrates. Unfortunately, the administration reports of this Presidenay furnish little or no information upon this puint for all the districts of the Presidency. The latest tables, however, supply the necessary details for the nine districts of the southern division of this Presidency for the two years 1869 and 1870. The following statement contains the detailed results of our pulice work, and shows the number of persons arrested by the police, the number who were actually tried by the magistrates, and the percentage of convictions to tho arrests :-

| Names of districto. | Number of arreats. |  | Number of persons tried. |  | Number convicted. |  | Percentage of conrictions to arrest. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 168\% | 1870. | 1868. | 1874 | 1869. | 1870. | 1869. | 1870. |
| 1. Poman and Sholapore | 9826 | 12,715 | 9,551 | 11,238 | 4,141 | 8,824 | 42 | 42 |
| 2. Abmedunggur. | 7,789 | 6, 751 | 7,129 | 4,646 | 8781 | 1,953 | 47 | 28 |
| 3. Kntungheriy ............... | 8.698 | 8,429 | 4,594 | 5,3,42 | 1,498 | 1,717 | 80 | 38 |
| 4 datara ............ . . . | 5,615 | 6,673 | 6,150 | 6,418 | 8,726 | 2,578 | 47 | 37 |
| 5 Relgaum and kulladghee .. | 6,1087 | 7,446 | 4.725 | 8,042 | 2,012 | 2,526 | 35 <br> 48 | 83 |
| 6. Hharwar | 9,887 | 4,069 | 2,937 $\mathbf{3 , 7 9 0}$ | 8,719 $\mathbf{8 , 5 1 3}$ | 1,361 1,298 | 1, ${ }_{976}$ | 48 44 | 38 38 |
| To | $\pm 0,461$ | 46,342 | 37,906 | 40698 | 16,75h | 16,897 | 41 | 35 |

The figures here presented merit the most careful study. It will be scen that, as far as these nine districts are concerned, while the number of arrests has increased by 6,000 and the number of trials by 4,500 , the nuraber of convictions has not only not increased in proportion, but has actually so fallen off that, in the end, it has come to this pass, that on
less than two-thisds of the wholo namber of persons arrinted wero subjected to the annoyance and the disrepute involved in the prucesa of apprehension by the police by a dowaright abuse of the State's cuercive machinery. Such a state of things loudly calla for the exercise of tho highest statesmanship, especially as the evil complained of is growing upon us year after year. The waste of time involved in the process of finding two-thirds of the persons brought before them innocent of the charges imputed to them, the waste of inuocent people's moneys drained out of their hard-earned incomes in rescuing themelve from the mercilews grasp of the police and their false accusers, the anxiety aud the bitterness which the false accusation create,-these are all considerations which demand on the part of our administrators an effort to grapple with this evil in that terrible earnestncss which Englishmen alone know huw to put forth when the occasion demands.

It must be noted in this place that this unfortunate feature of the criminal statistics is peculiar to this 'Presidency, at least it does not disfigure to an equal extent the administration of justice in other parts of India. The statement which followa contains a summary of the resulta of six years' working of the criminal courts in the Madras Presideucy :-

| Madras, | Number of yersons tried by Magia: tratel. | Namber convicted. | Number die charmed and acquitted. | Percentage of con:tro tiena to namber tried. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1864 | 176,694 | 109,888 | 69404 | 60 |
| 1 n65 | 175.219 | 118,871 | 68,858 | 64 |
| 1846 | 188,854 | 184,378 | 61.434 | 68 |
| 1867 | 278,485 | 116,848 | 86,68\% | 61 |
| 1 Kfig | 172954 | 118,756 | 61,467 | 64 |
| 1869 | 182.227 | 122,163 | 63,188 | cs |

The proportion of convictions is nearly two-thirds of the persons tricd, which indicates a much more healthy state of things in the so-calh J 'benighted presidency' than anything that is seen on this side of India. In Bengal, out of a total of 141,028 persons tried by the magistrates, 73,000 persons were convicted and punished, and 4,000 more were committed to the sessions, leaving only about 60,000 as the number of thoso who were released. In the North-Weat Provinces, out of a total of $\mathbf{9 7 , 6 4 4}$ persons tried by the magistrates, fully 64,754 persons were convicted and punished, while 31,700, or 33 per cent. only, were either discharged or acquitted. In the Punjab, out of a total of 113,931 persons tried, 66 per cent. were convicted or committed, while about 34 per cent. were diac Larged or acquitted. In the Central Provinces, out of a total of 40,560 offenders, 27,400 were convicted, 6,807 were discharged, and 5,500 were acquitted. It will be seen from these details that, while all over India the proportion of convictions to acquittals and discharges is as 2 to 1, this Presidency
has the unenviable distinction of having this proportion nearly reversed, its acquittala and discharges being 60 per cent., while the coavictions are about 40 per cent.
It is hoped enough has been said on this unfortunate peculiarity of the crininal statistice to rivet public attention to it. At this stage it will be enough if the evil pointed out be honestly recognized, as it is not the province of these observations to suggest the remedy. An attempt was made, during one of the recent transformations of the Stamp Act, to make revenue out of this growing propensity of the people to drag their every little sorrow and pettish complaint before the criminal courts. This is $t 00$ scrious a matter, however, to be bartered with or traded in for revenue purposes. A judicious discouragement on the part of the magistrates of too eager complainants in assault and criminal force cases, as also in cases of breach of contract, express or implied, and in all cases bordering on torts, juined with the levy of a fine for every complaint proved to be false, and of a small duty on every complaint withdrawn, may go a great way in restraining the further development of this great evil. The imposition of a heavier stamp duty will naturally suggest itself as a convegient resource; but on priuciple such an impost is condemned on all grounds. The right of demanding judicial inquiry is a fundamental right of every subject aggrieved, and no preliminary bar can be justly placed in the way of such a demand. But the imposition of a penalty for a charge disproved or withdrawn is not objectionable on any ground, and is in consonance with the old native system of Harki and Goonhegari. As has been said before, it is not the province of these brief remarks to suggest remedies, and if any reforns are suggested, the suggestion is not made from any confidence in their efficacy, but as tentative proposals which will doubtless be received at what they may be worth.

## Chapter III.

## THE ETIINICAL OR LOCAL' DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME

Next in the order of the development of this inquiry into the administration of criminal justice in Western India, it is proposed to consider the -geographical, or rather the ethnical, distribution of crime in the different divisions of this Presidency. The criminal returns of the eeveral dietricts of this Presidency are full of instruction on this head; and the contrant they present is of a sort which has a claim upon the student's attention, on grounds of more permanent interest than mere antiquarian curiosits. The "regulation" districts of the Presidency divide themselves naturally upon the principle of distinctive races, languagen, and prevailing religions, into the provinces of Guzerath, Maharashtra, and the Canarose-bpeaking districta, or Carnatic. The population of these large divisions, according to the latest returns available, as also the number of armed and unarmed police which served to keep the peace, and the numerical atrength of judicial officers who acted as magistrates and session and assistant nession Judges in each of these large divisions, will be seen from the following statement:-

| No. of District | Namea of Divisions, | Population. | Polica | Magiotrater and Judgen. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | Guzerath, excluding Panch Mahalg, 10,000 square millea | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} 2,152,778 \\ o r \\ 21+\frac{r}{\text { Lakhe }} . \end{array}\right.$ | $\left.\underbrace{\begin{array}{cc} \text { Armed. } \\ 1,048 \end{array}}_{8,000} \begin{gathered} \text { Vnarmed. } \\ 1,004 \end{gathered} \right\rvert\,$ | S4 Megistrumen s Judgen, |
| 9 | Maharashtra, 64,846 equare milea. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} 8,970,512 \\ \text { or hakha } \end{array}\right\}$ | $\underbrace{8,464}_{7,571}{ }_{r}^{8,907}$ | 288 Maplistraten 11 Judgen. |
| 4 | Carnatic, 20,350 equare milleas. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} 2,768,662 \\ \text { or } \\ 27 \text { Iakhu } \end{array}\right.$ | $\underbrace{1,361 \quad 1,218}_{2,880}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 88 \text { Maplotratiea, } \\ & \stackrel{\text { Judgen. }}{ } \end{aligned}$ |

These figures represent the state of our police and judicial entablishments in 1870-71. One thing is quite clear npon the face of these figures,-that there is either a most unequal distribution of the strength of the effective police force and judicial agency, or else Guzerath is singularly favoured in respect of the numerical strength of its police force, and the number of Judges and inagistrates who guard its safety and enforce obehienco to the laws in the final resort. The Canarese districts, on the other hand, seem to be little cared for in these arrangements. It must be admitted,
however, that the mere extent and population of the several divisions are not the ouly considerations which one must take into account in coming to a definite judgment apon the point of the proper distribution or otherwise of the available police force and the strength of the judicial agency. It is absolutely necessary to see how far the present arrangements are justified by the ouly available test, that of work done : the following statement contains the results of four years' working of the criminal courts of each of the three ethnic divisions :-

| Popalation. | Names of Diviaions, | Total number of offences trled. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | $1867 \not 1868$ |  | 1869 | 1870 |
| 63 lakla .. | Maharashtra | 22.881 | 22,454 | 22,961 | 27062 |
| $37 \%$ | Carnalle | 8,616 | 5,939 | 6,326 | 6,364 |
| 213 | Guzerath | 7,2\% | 8,480 | 10,561 | 12,231 |
| Population | Namen of Divisions. | Total number of persons tried. |  |  |  |
|  |  | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 |
| 639282121 | Maharashtra | 421318.81813.757 | 49,4689,65415,894 | 44.685 | 58544 |
|  | Carnatio |  |  | 10,471 | 12,274 |
|  | Cuserath |  |  | 20,362 | 20,141 |

It may be notuced in passing that the number of offenders is generally double the number of offences tried in every part of the country. These figures, however, are chiefly important as they serve to show that, with a larger population than Guzerath, the number of offences and of offenders in the Cauareso-speaking districts is only 60 per cent. of the numbers corresponding for Guzerath. There has been an increase of work all over in the climinal courts of the Presidency during these four yeare, but this increase of work has been the greatest in Guzerath. In fact, the proportion of persons tried by the magistrates of that division has risen from 6 to 9 per 1,000 of the population in four years. The proportion of persons brought up before the magistrates has risen from 7 to 8 per 1,000 in Maharashtra, and from 3 to $4 \frac{1}{5}$ per 1,000 in the Canareso districts. The Canarese districts are thus the quietest portion of the population of this Presidency, and are more easily governed and less litigious than their fellow-countrymen of Maharashtra or Guzerath. As between Maharashtra and Guzerath, it is to be noted that with an area five times, and a population three times, as large as that of Guzerath, the percentage of offenders to the population in Maharashtra is less than that of Guzerath. These figures, so far as they go, tend to show that the present arrangements, regarding the distribution of the effective police force and magisterial strength, are justified by the varying standard of lawlessness prevailing among the people of the different divisions of the Presidency.

To proceed now to a more careful analysis of the statistica of the comparative la wlessuess of habits in the people of the differeat portions of the Presidency, the following statement shows the details of the two simplest class of offences against person and against property, simple theft and simple assault and criminal foree, for the past four yeara. These two classes of offences, it is to be noted, make up between themalves more than 60 per cent. of the aggregate number of offences committed during the year:-.

| Popalation. | Names of Divistona. | Simple thett and theft of catte. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Maharaghtra ................. } \\ & \text { Carnatic } \\ & \text { Quzerath .............................. } \end{aligned}$ | 1887 | 2868 | 1869 | 1870 |
| 639 lakbs .................. |  | 7,401 | 8.817 | 8.6848 | 111.279 |
|  |  | 1,5M9 | 1,888 |  | 2418 |
| 213 " |  | 1,837 | 1,878 | 2,258 | 2.145 |
| Population. | Names of Divisions. | Bimple amarit. hurt, and crimina |  |  |  |
|  | Maharashtra <br> Carnatic <br> Guzerath | 1867 | $1 \times 68$ | 18i9 | 1870 |
|  |  | 8,149 | ${ }^{4,347}$ | 4.778 | 6,081 |
|  |  | 1,068 | 1,519 | 1,819 | 1,274 |
|  |  | 1,778 | 1,400 | 2,644 | 2,4ul |

With regard to the offence of simple theft, Maharashtra takes the lead. It has been noted before that the returns show that, upon the whole, the number of offenders is nearly double the number of offences tried. Adopting this estimate, it will be seen that, out of every 10,000 people, there were in Maharashtra 10 cases of theft, involving about 15 to 20 persons as thieves, in 1867, and this proportion has risen in four years to about 18 cases, involving 24 to 36 persons per every 10,000 of the population. In the Carnatic, the proportion has risen from 6 to 9 cases of theft, involving from 9 to 15 persons as thieves per every 10,000 , in four years; while in Guzerath it has risen from 8 to 10 cases of theft, involving from 12 to 18 persons as thieves per every 10,000 of the population. With regard to simple assaults, the proportion of offenders to population has remained steady in Maharashtra, being 8 casen of assanlt per every 10,000 of the population ; it has fallen off from 6 to 5 cases per every 10,000 of the population in the Carnatic, and bas risen from 8 to 10 cases per 10,000 in Guzerat. As between the several datricta, Tanna, Culaba, and Nassick are noted as the most notorions for the drunken habits of the people, and they accordingly bear tho palm in respect of the proportion of their people who commit assault and criminal force and rioting. The proportion of offenders is 40 per 10,000 of the population in these districts. Surat and Broach come next; Poons and Sholapore, and the rest of Maharashtra, come a long way after, while the Canarese districts of Canara and Dharwar lag in the rear of all.

Next with regard to the more serious offences against person, the following statement gives the average results of four years' statistics of crime, 1867-1870 :-

|  | Maharashtra, 63量 lakhs. | Carnatic. 27童 lakhs. | Guzerath, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhe. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Murder, cuipable homiclde, and attempt to murder .. | 104 | 47 | 78 |
| Miscarriage, rape, and unnatural offence................ | 88 | 11 | 22 |
| Kidnapplag ............................................... | 21 | 6 | 21 |
| Adultery $\times$............................................... | 18 | ${ }^{6}$ | 25 |
| Grievous hurt e........................................ | 128 | 78 | 115 |
| Total.... | 810 | 143 | 256 |

This table summarizes the results of four years' details of figured statements. It will be seen from this that, with regard to the serious offences against person, Guzerath takes the lead under all heads. Taking the figures for Maharashtra as the standard, the number of the more serious offences against person in Guzerath are exactly double of what they should be. The number of murders, including culpable homicides and attempts to murder, should be 36, or half of what it actually is ; the number of miscarriages and rapes, and offences of lawless lust, should be 13, or nearly half of what it actually is ; and the same is pre-eminently true of the more general offence of "grievous hurt." The offences of kidnapping and adultery seem to be far more in vogue in Guzerath than in the other parts of the country, thanks generally to the loose character of the prevaling Vallabhacharya' worship of sensual divinities. In all these respects the Carnatic is favourably distinguished, and the figures for the different offences fall considerably short of the mark which, takiog Maharashtre as the standard, they should reach.

With regard to serious offences against property, the average results of the figures for four years will be seen from the following statement:-

|  | Maharashtra. | Carnatic. | Guxerath. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dacolty ... . ...................................... | 80 | 4 | 15 |
| Highway robbery .................................. | 48 | ${ }_{18}^{69}$ | ${ }_{88} 4$ |
| Aggravaled theft ........................................................ | 127 245 |  |  |
| house-breaking . | ${ }_{855}^{245}$ | ${ }_{120}^{300}$ | 127 800 |
| Total. | 820 | ${ }^{6} 9$ | 512 |

These figures deserve careful study. Dacoity, it seems, is now extinct in the Canarese districts, once the home of the lawless tribes who swelled the gangs of thugs and dacoits, and were the terror of the country. The largest number of dacoities take place in Khandeish. While dacoities as such have almost ceased in the Canarese districts, highway robberies, and housebreaking for the purposes of theft, seem to be the prevailing crimes
in those parts of the country. On the whole, with regard to serious uffences against property, the Canarese-speaking districts do not scem to be an wellfavoured as in respect of the simpler classes of offences generally, as well as of the more serious offences against person. Maharashtra, for its extent and population, is much better protected and peaceful in this respect than any of the other provinces.

While the people of Mabarashtra are in this respect thus favourably distinguished from the inhabitants of the other two divisions, it has a curse of its own ; it is the farourite home of the two most heinous offencen agraingt public justice, perjury and forgery. Both these offences are, in one sense, the direct fruit of the working of the machinery of our judicial courts. The offence of forgery is not yet domesticated in Guzerath. The number of persons there taken up for forgery were 7 in 1868, 13 in 1869, and 16 in 1870. The corresponding numbers for Maharashtra were 77 in 1869, 67 in 1869, and 64 in 1870. In this respect the courts in the districts of the Carnatic are infested by Maratha forgers, and the numbere there appear to be much larger than one would otherwiso expect thein to be. The other offence, that of false testimony, is also steadily on the inrresso throughout the Presidency, as will be seen from the following stateracut :-

|  | Maharashtra. |  |  | Gazerath. |  |  | Carnatla |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 |  | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1868 | 1869 |
| Perjury | 186 | 182 | 148 | 27 | 89 | 60 | 50 | 76 | 69 |

The offence is geaerally on the increase, chiefly in consequence of the difficulty which criminal courts find in convicting the perjurer of tho offence he is charged with. These figures indicate a growing evil of the times; and so long as a power of aummarily fining the petty perjurer is not placed in the hands of those who preside over the civil and criminal courts, this offence will increase every day. The difficulty of conviction at present amounts almost to a passport of impunity to the offender.

## Chapter IV.

## STATISTICS REGARDING PUNISEMENT.

Before briaging these observations on the administrative results of the working of the magistrates' courts to a close, it will be as well to say a few words regarding the statistics of punishment, which represent the final consumnation of the work of justice. In this direction, the admimstration of criminal justice has relation to the statistics of jail discipline, which constitutes the backbone of all punishments. The following statement contains a summary of the different modes in which the convicted offenders were finally punished by the magistrates and the session Judges during four years, 1867-1870. The figures for the year 1866, as furnished by the administration report of that year, not being trustworthy, are omitted from this statement :-

|  | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Death | 44 | 40 | 62 | 49 |
| Transportation for life ........ | 89 | 79 | 94 | 80 |
| Transportation for terms of years ....................... | 198 | 49 | 20 | 8 |
| Imprssonment ..... ........................................ | 7,644 | 7,191 | 9,996 | 8328 |
| Fine and inpriennment ................................ | 25,762 | 2335 | 2,333 | 2,080 |
| Fine . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{\text {, }}$ | 25,762 | 22,433 | 22,098 | 24,564 |
| Whipplug | 400 | 852 | 426 | 436 |
| Total.... | 34,117 | 32,433 | 35,029 | 86,145 |

It will be seen from this that there has been a pretty general uniformity observed in the infliction of death punishments, as also in the equally severe punishment of transportation for life. Transportation for terms of years has been, very wisely as everybody will allow, abandoned as leading to no good end, and the numbers of these sentences show a steady decline. As might have been anticipated, two-thirds of the entire number of convictions consist of fines only; the proceeds from this source average about five lakhs a year in this Presidency. The remaining third is made up of inprisonment, single, or coupled with fine, and whipping.

The theory of punishment, as embodied in the Penal Code, is based on two or three fundamental principles, which may be shortly summed up in these words. Punishment to be deterrent and disabling in its effect must have a certain correspondence with the motive which inspires the crime, and be not only appropriate but adequate to this end. Crimes, whose mainspring is lust, and are the luxury of the strong and the rich, can never be adequately panished by any amount of fine ; the sentence must
be chiefly a deterrent one, in the ahape of the infliction of a temporary restraint to the body of the offender, or of a disgrace which will make him lese self-complacent. The same remark holds true with regard to all serioue offences against property, though in their case punishment is inflicted both to deter and to temporarily disable the offender. Moreover, in these cases, the risk run in the event of conviction must oatweigh the uncertain chance of escaping withjimpunity. With regard to the more serious offences against person and against the peace of the realm, the only adequate punishment is one which, like bodily traneportation or imprisonment for terms of years, disables the offender from molesting society by his tranggressions, or, like death, permanently removes him from the ranks of the living, whose society he has rendered impossible by his outrage upon the life of his fellowmen. There is agreat deal of rough justice, viewed in this light, in the old law, which made the judicial office the instrument of executing public vengeance, like to the offence, upon the criminal. Lastly, mere police and conservancy offeacet against decency, offences of simple hurt, assault, intimidation, disubedience of lawful orders, offences bordering on torta, and breaches of civil contracts, abuse and defamation,-these are all adequately punished by the infliction of fine, and, in default of fine, by imprisonment.
To see how far these principles of the Code are carried out in actual practice, we have taken the pains to club together under separate heads(1) all the more serious offences against person and property punishable with death, or transportation for life or for terms, under one head; (2) the less serious offences against person and property, with the offences against public justice, including perjury and forgery, under another head, as being properly punishable with imprisonment for a longer or a shorter term; and (3) the offences of simple assault and crininal force, with the entire range of the miscellaneous or quasi-civil offencen, nnder athird head, as being properly panished with fine, or imprisonment in default of fine. This classified statement is somewhat to the following effect :-

|  | Number of oftences eommitted. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 |
| Murder, calpable horaicide, attempt to marder, dacolty, rape, and cansing miscarriage. | 168 | 288 | 845 | 161 | 45 |
| Grievous and aggravated hurt, kidnapping, nobbery, highway robbery, theft, extorition, hoasebreaking, receiving atolen property, perfury, |  |  |  |  |  |
| simple forgery ............................. | 2,211 | 10,954 | 10,192 | 11,294 | 11,488 |
| Simple assaut, criminal force, and miscellaneous offences ; | 21,788 | 24,734 | 28,112 | 27,420 |  |

The result of thus grouping offences together, according to the character of the punishment which best satisfies the theory of retribution in our penal convictions, shows that the number of offences, for which either
death or transportation for life is the only fitting and adequate punishment, is about one-thirtieth of the number of those offences which, though they sin less heavily against public peace and private happiness, are yet not properly panished asve by disabling the offender for a longer or shorter term from doing any mischief, and inflicting on him the disgrace and ignominy of public confinement. The namber of these last, again, is nearly one-half of all those offences which are adequately punished by pecuniary fine. The figures quoted before relate to crimes committed. As has been remarked before, nearly 60 per cent. of the persons brought up before the magistrates are discharged or acquitted, and of these the tabular statements of convictions take no account. It will be seen, by comparing the two statements together, that the relative numbers of the simple and more or kess heinous offences find their counterpart and correspondence in the statistics of the convictions. The number of persons imprisoned is no doabt larger than it need be ; but this is owing to the fact that a considerable number of persons brought up before the magistrates, charged with the simpler sort of offences, are 80 poor that the ragistrates wisely exercise their discretion in sentencing the offender to imprisonment instead of a fine, of which there is but little likelihood any part will be forthcoming.

With regard to the 10,000 and more persons who are condemned to imprisonment for shurter or longer periods, one can follow them in their cells after they are removed from the magistrates' docks. The numbers of prisoners confined in the great jails, as also the numbers of those who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment not exceeding one year, will be seen from the following statement:-

|  | 1866 | 1807 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number remalning in confinement at the beginming of the year .............................................. <br> Hechived durice the gtar | 6,403 15,612 | 5,661 $\mathbf{1 4 , 6 8 0}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6,105 \\ 14,132 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 8.813 \\ 12,219 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6.478 \\ 12,857 \end{array}$ |
| Total.... | 22,015 | 20,351 | 20,237 | 18,034 | 19,285 |
| Transperted beyond seas $\qquad$ Executed $\qquad$ | 216 42 | 110 38 | 106 43 | 155 49 | 92 50 |
| leleased on expiry of aentence or on appeal or payment of thue | 11,961 | 11,382 | 11,358 | 10,917 | 11,878 |

With regard to these figures, it will be noted that from nearly 80 to 90 per cent. of those who are annually sent to prison are condemned to terms of imprisonment which do not exceed the period of twelve months. It is worth while making a passing remark that, while the total number of offences ia increasing every year, the number of offenders sentenced to imprisomment is steadily declining, while the number of releases remaina steady. Another feature of peculiar interest which these jail statistics disclose is the relative proportion of male to female prisoners-a proportion
which may be ffirly assumed to ran through all the other clansea of offences which are punished by fine alone, or by death or tranaportntion. The proportion of the two sexes in the cripinal classes of the population will be seen from the following details :-

|  | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1170 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Persons recelved in prison during the year ...... | 18.612 | 14,817 | 14.132 | 12,213 | 12,nit |
| Number of male prisomera. . ....... ....A. .rord | $14 \mathrm{K28}$ | 18,758 | 13,341 | 11,813 | 11,148 |
| Number of female priswners ....................... | 786 | 788 | 211 | 704 | 814 |

This shows that the relative proportion of the fermale sex in the criminal population averages about five or six per cent. of the male clasers of offenders. Seeing that Mindoo and Mahomedan women cannot plead coverture and incapacity for the committal of misdemeanours, this fact speaks volumes for the comparative purity and innocences of native homes, and is one indirect compensatory benefit flowing from the social restraiut which prevents the promiscuous mingling of the two sexcs.
The decadence in the number of sentences of imprisonment, contemporaneously with an enormous developinent of the raiscellaneous total of offences, is not a very hopeful feature of these criminal statistics. Upon the whole, the resulta of the administration of criminal justice are ant of a sort on which one can look with much satisfaction. So far as pregress has been made with this inquiry, the resulta of the working of the crimanal courts of the first instance show, -(1) an inadequate waste of powers, (2) a weakening of responsibilities caused by the ill-sorted union of revenue and judicial functions in the same hands, (3) an exaggerated abuse of the machinery of the criminal courts for illegitimate purposes, (4) a gradual falling-off in the relative efficiency of the courts as tested by the proportion of convictions to committals, (5) an encouragement, amountiag alnowt to impunity, held out to the weak-minded or eril-minded prosecutor to lose all sense of self-dependence, and drag his every little sorrow and fictitious wrong before the courts,-these are all indication of a systera out of gear, and going from bad to worse. These remarks form a fitting conclusion to this review of the working of the primary crimiual courts.

## Chapter V.

## STATISTICS RELATENG TO THE WORKING OF TIIE COURTS OF SESSION.

Ilaving in fommer chapters taken a cursory view of all the more salient features ragarding tho administration of original criminal justice in tho courts of the first instance, the next subject of inquiry rolates to the higher grade of courts, -those of the session and assistant session Judges. In the regulation districts of this Presidency, there are about 21 officers clothed with the powers of session and asnistant session Judges. Tho courts of bession have an original criminal juisdiction in cases committed for trial by the first-class magistrates, and the senior portion of these Judges everciso also large appellate powcrs. . For the present, theso observatious will be confiued chielly to their original crmainal jurisdiction.

This part of the subject cannot be better commenced than by quoting certain observations mado in a preceding chapter regarding the results of the peeliminary inquiries held by the magistrates:-"The magistrates of various grades dispose finally of nearly 95 per cent, of the entire number of cases which come beford them; and with regard to the remaining 5 or 6 per cent. of cases which form the proportion of presumably beinous offences, their fuuctions are confined to the work of holding the preliminaiy induiry, and, if there is a sufficient primâ forie case made out, of comnutting the accused to the sesision courts." The following statement furmshes the necessary unfurmation on this point for the years 1867 and 1870 :-

|  | 1867 | 1870 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. Total number of trinls held by magistrates .................... .. | 32,771 | 42. 805 |
| 2. Total munber of persous tried . .............................. | 64,760 | 82,959 |
| 3. Jouni number of cases in which preliminary inquiries were helu.. | 1,628 | 1.149 |
| 4. Thiti number uf persons nemused in these cases .................... | 3,422 | 3,275 |
| 8. Tohal number of caues commited ... | 1.0.0 | 1,414 |
| 6. Total number to accumed tu cases eommitted | 2.003 | 1,829 |
| 7. 'Potal number of accustd discharged | 1,36, | 1,446 |

It is with regard to the cases and persons specified under the fifth and sixth heads that the original jurisdiction of the session courts begins and ends. During the interval of four years covered by these figures, the number of cases" and of accused persons committed to the session courts stord as follows.-

|  | 1867 | 1863 | 1869 | 1870 . |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nnmber of cases conmitted ............................... | 1,026 | 928 | 1,124 | 1.014 |
| Numbur of accitud persons committed .................... | 2,003 | 1,720 | 2,054 | 1,823 |

These figures sibw that, while the courts of first inatance have every year iacreased work thrown on their bands, there is no correnpoming increage in the work, of the courta of the higher grade; there is, on tho other hand, a tendency in the opposite dfrection. With regard to theas figures regarding pieliminary inquiries, it may be permitted to make a passing remark in this place, that the 17 district magistrates cominitted betwoen them only 33, caees, involving 42 persona, to tho session courts in the year 1870. This statement, however, does nut accurately express the full force of these figures. These 33 cames wcro committed to the session courts. by the district magistrates of neven disiricts ouly. The district magistrato of Surat, Broach, Khandeish, Ahmednuggur, Ratnagherry, and Sattara had'absolutely no work under his Lead of their jurisdiction. When this fact is taken into consideration along with an observation made before regarding the number of cames finally disposed of by the district magistrates, via., about 300 , caser durug the course of the year, few will be disposed to contort the correctucsm of the oouclusion that the district magistrates have virtually ceased to exercise any portion of their powers of original criminal jurisliction, and, as a consequence, that the time has come when this abuegation of functions, whether forced by pressure of work, or the result of voluntary indifference, shouk be recognized as a fact, and the district colluptors bo permanently relieved of their magisterial dutiea. There is no gain in holding $u p$ the terrors of a sceptre whitch is never wielded, and which is listlessly allowed to rust in idle or over-worked hands.

To return from this digression, the session eourts, it will be observed, are presided over by about 21 officers; out of these, 11 Judges are clothed with the powers of life and death, and try all heinous offencea without exception ; the rest exercise the more limited powers of assistant session Judges. The tables of criminal statistics make no distinction between the Work done by the two -sets of Judges; and it is impossible, therefore, to follow up this inquiry into the necessary details. The work done by the session courts during seven years will be seen from the following statement:-

|  | 1864 | 1865 | 1806 | 1867 | 1868 | 1569 | 1** |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of casea tried. | 1002 | 1,098 | 822 | 1,051 | 023 | 1.124 | 1079 |
| Number of permons tried ....... | 1,997 | 1.998 | 1,894 |  | 1,722 | 9 9, 30 | 1 kng |
| Number convicted .............. | 997 | 1,005 | 800 | 1,104 | 986 | 1,042 | 9\%, ${ }^{\text {d }}$ |

These figures fully bear out the observation, so repeatedly enforced upron the reader's attention before as almost to wear out his patience, that tho quantity and quality of the work done by the higher grade of criminal courts have remained afmost steady, the few years of divergence on one side being more than balanced by the departures in the opposite direction. This is the first general conclusion to which one is led by a glance' ati thess figures.

Noreover, it may be safely assmed that about 1,010 cases, invohng doublo that number of persons, are annually tried before the sconan courta, and, as the result of these trials, about 50 per cent of the number of accused persons are acquitted. This large percentare of acquittals, be it remembered, results after the cares have been once sifted, and tue bills returned regarding them, by the conmitting magistrates.
These magistrates themelvis commit only 60 per cent of the cahes in which they hold prehminary inquiries and it is on these 69 pe: $\mathrm{cen}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{t}$ of sifted casta thatuarly half the nupher of the accused ate $\mathbf{i}$ munally acquittod from year to year by the session courts. In colfer uchds, addang the residte tugcther, in nearly 80 per cent., or foul-fifith of the number of the pesumably hemous class of offences, the maristrates and the serse' in Judges together fiud it necessary, after formal and ofteu-times lengthy iuvestigation, to acquit and discharge the acensed persons. With regard to the offences within the jarisdiction of the magistrates, a simular -proportion of discharges and acquittals was shewn to be true. Altngether, it may be held as established that this abnormal propurtion holds equally gool with regard to the homous as well as the simpler class of offences.
It follows, therefore, that, quito independently of the dustinctive character of the offences or of the persons who try them, this abnormal dieparity between convictions and acquittals obtaius throughout the statistics of tho silministration of criminal justice. This certandy is a matter for gravo consideration, because this glaring disparity does not seem to characterize the working of the criminal courts in the other provinces of India, and even in this Presidency it is an evil of recent growth, as hiqs been shown at length in a former chapter. In the case of the simpler offences, the full details of figures necessary to enable one to distinguish between discharges and acyuittals were uot arailable, and the iuferences on this head were obnoxious to adverse cribcisin on that ground. With regard to the work of these higher courts, howerer, no such confusion exists. The character of the offences is a guarantee that no magistrate will take upon himself, to promit private settement and compounding of crime. In offences which do not aduit of compromise, the ontrageons propurtion of 80 por cent. of acquittals betrays a disparity of results, the startling enormity of which only long habit blinds the halitual observer from perverving, andindicates either listless and ine xcusable indifference on the part of the administrators, or some other radical defect which is absolntely appalling to contemplate. Where can be the merit of a aystera in which three-fouth of the number of personstied are bothered out of their existence, and exposed to the amoyance, obloquy, and loss of tíme and money involved in a criminal prosecution and trial by the court of session, for the mere fuu or mischaff of the thing? This is.too serious a subject to be lightly passed over, aud as the evil is peculiar to this Presidency, and even here in of very recent and
progressive growth it demands the most strennoun efforts on the part of the authoritics to provide a palliative for it.
Those who have attentively studled the figutes summarized before with regard to the working of the courts of session in this I'residency, will not fail to sce that the present proportion between convictions and acquittals does not indicate a state of things epon which ono can look with quict satisfaction. It will not do to accept these result as inevitable under the existing aonditions of the population of this Presillency. For, side by side with these results of mofussil administrntion, the statistics of the working of the Bigh Coart on its original side prewent a contrast which is at once agreeable and suggestive. In the town and island of Bombay, a different criminal procedure obtains, and tho committing ruagistrates are exclusively criminal Jndges, and aro not distracted with any bther executive or revenue dutics. The following statement furnishes the necessary figures for six years:-

|  | 1865 | 180.6 | 1867 | 1868 | 1892 | 18.0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| as sinhts of the IIthe Court, Bumbay.. | 218 | 176 | 169 | 197 | 149 | 15 |
| A minter of jr raons consir ted ............ | 171 | 134 | 124 | 133 | 101 | 15 |
| lumbre of iersons acyuitted ........... | 41 | 42 | 44 | 64 | 48 | - 60 |

It will be seen from these figures that the number of peracos convirted is on an average 75 per cent of the entire number of perans comanited, being 25 per cent. more than the proportion which obtaing in the mofuesal districts. All the associations in connection with the working of the $1 \mathrm{i}_{j} \mathrm{~h}$ Court, and of the proverbial leniency of English criminal law, would have led one to anticipate a contrary result,-one ominently favourable to the mofussil courts, in respect of the promptltude aud certainty, of their meting out punishment to convicted crime. The fanlt lien not so much in the Judges of the session courts, most of whom are hard-working, conscientious officers, as in the foundation of the mofussil criminal superstructure, the executive and revenue officials who are clothed with judicial functions.

There is no other differentiating circumstance which can aufficiently account for this most unexpected result. The law adminidered is the same both in Bombary and the mofussil ; the hative population is uado up of nearly the aame elemonts in both places; the Judges, who preeile over the session courtop in their quality of foreigners, are pretty nearly on the same level ; the procedure of the High Court and the traditions of English law are, if possible, decidedly more liberally inclined to favour the accused than the spirit of our mofussil Code of Procedure; and yat, from year to year, the number of convections, within the local limits of the Presidency High Cpurt, is 25 per cent. larger than the proportion which
ontains in the mofussil．The only distinctivo circumstance that can be pointed out relates to the qualfications of the comtnitting magistrates， and the nature and extent of the diseretion exercised by them in re arning true bills in those cases where they hold the preliminary inqu．ries．How－ ever that may be，this centrast opens up a whole vista of reflections， which the careful student of our administrative statistics may do well to fullow up to their legitimate conclu⿱⿰㇒一日夊ions．It will be at least concedod that the example of the Iligh Court shows that there is a consideablle scope for imporement in the constitution of the mofussil criminal courts，whi that there is no fatal neoessity about this frightful abuse and miscarrage of justice，which people must needs accept as mevitable，or with resigned indifterence．

It may be noted in this place that the criminal daties of the sersion and assistant session Judges take np more than a third of their available stting－ days in the year．The number of days that the sestion courts sat dusing fonr years，1807－7n，averaged about 1,300 days，whith gives 60 days for earh Judge．The Judges of some of the larger distris to wore required to devote nearly two－thirds of their available sitting－days in the year to their cisaunal work．The Ahmedabad session court sat 205 days in 1870，the session courts of Tanna and Khandeish sat 175 days each，and the sessiun coult of Poona sat for 153 days in the same year；nore than half the a a ailable working－time of these highly pald officers is thus frittered away in the disposal of cases where conviction ilternates with acquittal．The waste of time and talchts of judicial officers is，however，dwarfed by tho miserable lot of the witnesses who are required to attend the sessions from cousiderable distances to a great extent at their own expense．The fullowing statement gives the necessary details：－

| 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 ． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Wumbime of winesses snmmoted to attend the Ression courta ．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．． 7,822 Distance in milea tratulled by the witnesess． | 8，929 |  | 27， 11,387 | 10,710 282,210 |

－While，therefore，the number of persons tried and of persons convicted have remained absolutely steady，ot show a slight decline，the number of． witnesseg examined；and the distances travelled by them，which is a safe index to their hardships，have been increasing every year with frightful rapidity．And all these hardships have to be endured by the silent snfferers from the tyranny of the present judicisl system，as often，be it remembered，for the conviction of the real offender as for the protection of the innocent person wrongly accused．Enough has been sadd on thas part of the subject to leave no excuse for indefference in those who are charged with the responsible administration of the State．The system is ovidently
loose somewhere; and neede a thorough hauling-up to tho itter demolition of all established tradtions.
There is only one more point of intereet in connection with the working of the courts of segsion. Allusion is here made to the rowulh of the experimental introduction of trial by jury in the nofuseil. Although trial by the Punchayat is an indigenous iustitution of the land, the rulers of British India have shown such a joaldusyof the exercise of the elightest independent activity on the part of the people, that the introduction of trial liy' jury, though in sorde sense countenanced by Mr. Elphinstone'u regulations of 1827, has been regarded in many quarters with most unworthy suspicions, and has beep clogged with all manner of obstructone and safeguards, which detract greatly from its educational and judicial valur. Trial by jury was first introduced as an experiment in the dutrict of Poona about the year 1867. The following statement furnishes tho detals of the results of the working of this experimental measure frum 1867 down to the close of 1872 :-

|  | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | $18: 0$ | 1N:1 | 1872 | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of accused persons who wefe tried by jury | 68 | 63 | 62 | 38 | 84 | 38 | 23 |
| Number convicted .................................. | 28 | 40 | 33 | 18 | 98 | 17 | 417 |
| Number acquitted .............................. | 30 | 23 | 29 | 25 | 26 | 21 | 1.4 |

It will be seen from these figures that the proportion of convictions to acquittals is nearly equal; or, if there is a slight dufference, it is in favour of convictions. It has been shown at leagth before that this sane proportion holds good as regards the working of the courta of sebsion all wer the Presidency. So far, therefore, as any apprchensions may lee entertained that, by learing questions of fact to the jury, the strictness of the administration of justice will be discredited by the ragaries of urresponsible jurors, it will be seen that, in its practical working, the eystern betrays no such tendency. The jurors are quite as ready to couvict, if uot more so, as the Judges sitting with the assessors.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Lloyd, who was Sesgion Judge at Poona in 1867-68; in his official report, observes that "he has no hesitation in saying that the system is popular, and he thinks alao that it may be held to be successful." In the first year of its introdnction, in 59 out of CC cases the verdict of the jury was concurred in by the Judge. In the other cases, the Judge did not concur in the verdict of the jury, which acquitted in 4 and convicted in 3 cases. On the whole, to use the words of the administration report of $1867-68$, "there has been such a fair measure of success as to jastify the continuance of the experiment." The administration report of the next year, 1868-69, furnishes an equally favourabie testimony as to the success of this institation. It eecms some
high official had complained that the administration of justice had heen hronght into discredit by the system of trial by jury, regarding which, it was alleged, popular opiniun was anything but favourable. $\Delta$ return of etminal trials of the sessiun court of Poona was accordingly called for, flom which it appeared that, out of 101 cases tried since January 1867, the Judge approved of the fiuding of the jury in 88 cases, and disapproved in 13 cases; with regard to the disapprovals, it appeared that the jury convicted 17 prisoners whom the Judge would have acquitted, and acquitted 13 whoun the Judge would have convicted. The return, therefore, showed that the jury were quite as ready to conviot as the Judge, if not more so. Under the new Code of Criminal Procedure, this danger of a possible difference between Judge and jury has been obviated by a plavision which directs in such cases a referenco to the High Court, whose verdict is to be fiunl. Under theso circumstances, it must be adnitted that the time is como for the gradual abolition of tho imbecile system of trial by assessons, and the concession of this old indigenous privilege to the people of this country. The imbecale systum, as it may well be called, of assessors seives no possible end. Its requisitions upon the time of private iuduiduals are equally exacting, while the power at allows, and the responsibility it coforces upon their attention and consçence, are nil. As a genetal result, there is no perceptible difference between the work done under the two systems, or, if there is any difference, it is in favour of the jury systom. Add to these the inmense educational value of the juy system and its political safety. If these considerations are taken into account, there will be no room left for two opinions on this question.

With the new safeguard piovided by law, there is no further excuse. left for coutinuing any longer the anomalous, half-and-half, and therefore thoroughly useless, compromise of trial by assessors, who determino nothing, in whom independence is too often deemed to be impertipence, and who, therefore, sit stuldily and listlessly to render the bohbly service of attendahce exacted from them, without any profit to themselves, or in any way reconciling the people to feel confidence in their verdict. It is a common saying in this country that the unanimous voice of fivemen.(Panch) is the voice of God himself. The unanimous verdict of five jurors impartially chosen has this potent effect upop tho mind of the people, and they accept it accordingly. No auch acceptance is accorded to the decision of the Judge assisted by the assessors. In connection, therefore, with the working of the courts of session, the substitution of trial by jury in all the larger zillah towns is a reform which is urgently called for. Its safety and ita success are gaaranteed by the results of past experence; aul the proppective advantages which such a change promises to secure in thu best interests of the people, are enough to outweigh all minor difficulties attendaut ypon its first introduction.

## Chapter VI.

## Statistics beganding tur working of tie crimin il COURTS OF APIEḰL.

Turs observations contained in the preceding five chapters touch upm ucarly all the chief points of permanent interest in conaection with the working of the original criminal courta. Besides these courts of origmal juisdiction, there is a corresponding chain of courts of appeal intended to keep in check and regulate the working of the courts of first instanco. The system of appeal in criminal matters differs for the better in one easential respect from the complex arrangement of the civil app.llate courts. The law allows one appeal only as a matter of right, and this appeal is general, and not partial. Frorn the decisions of the subordinate magistrates of the second and third classes, ono appeal lies to the magibtrute. of the district, or person clothed with these powers; and from the magistrates of the firstclasz, one appeal lies to the court of session; and frius the court of session, one appeal hies to the Iligh Court. This last appeal, in cases tried by jury, relates to matters of law only. Thls simplification will be admitted to be a great advantage, and it certainly obviates all the delay and the vexation and needless expeuse finvolved in the system of double and partial appeals allowed by the law in civil litigation. It may lo noted, however, that there is room for improvement in the direction of relieving the distrift magistrates of the labour of appellate work at present cast on their shoulders, and the transference of these duties to the courts of scssion. This is a reform suggested by the signs of the times. Enough has been said in the preceding observations on the general inconipetence, grounded on incompatibility of duties, of district collectors to diacharg, elfectively purely judicial work; and it is not necessary to go over the sane ground again. The virtual abandonment of their judicial functiens by the distriet magistrates of whole. districts, is a fact which can no longer bo overlooked as a passing incident; and this indifference to purely judicial work indisposes these officers from effectively exercising their large appellate powers. Most of these officers, for eight months in the year at leaft, are traveling in the districts, and the bardships and uncertainty which the unfortunate prisoners, punished in one part of the country, find is following these itinerants on their tours with their applioations for relief, together with the perfect impossibility of providing for the attendance of professional advisers in these out-of-the-way places, are all senious draw-
backs, and they imperatively demand that there appellate powers shoudd be transferred to a permauent court, which is entrusted with purely judicial duties, like the court of session.

Another important fuature in which the system of appeal in crimiual matters differs from civil appeals, relates to the supplementary remedy of revision by which, even in the absence of a formal appeal, the superior courts are clothed with a power to call up for papers upon a teview of the criminal returns. There is also a power of reference in capital sentences, and, under the new law, where there is a material difference of opinion between the judge and the jury. These supplementary powers, juined with the general superintendence exercised by the superior courts, are found in their practical working to be ample protection and corrective against prejudice or error in the original courts. The administration reports unfortunately give very imperfect information regarding the working of the criminal courts of appeal. The tabular statements lump together the results of the working of the district magistrates and of the courts of session. In the absence of the necessary details, it is impossilile to instatute any useful comparison between the relative efficiency of these two orders of courts.

The fullowing statement summarizes the arailable information regarding the total number of appeals from the whole body of the magistracy of all grades during six years:-

|  | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1871 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total nnmber of trials .................. | 85, 386 | 82,771 | 33,881 | 36,53 | 42,505 | 46.298 |
| Total number of appeals disposed of.... | 2,018 | 1,919 | 2,241 | 2,763 | 3,146 | 2,979 |
| Number of reversals .................... | 387 | 473 | 501 | 699 | 624 | 579 |
| Number of contirmations ............... | 1,452 | 1,312 | 1,551 | 1,953 | 2,283 | 2,119 |
| Number of mentoncas altared .-.... | 179 | 188 | 185 | 201 | 269 | 202 |

It will be seen from these figures that there has been a considerable increase, averaging about 50 per cent., in the work of the appellate courts, which is not fully accounted for by the comparatively smaller increase in the total number of trials by the magistrates. As regards the quality of the work, the figures for confirmations and reversals show no change. About 70 per cent. of scatences appealed against are confirmed, and about one-sixth of the sentences are reversed. It may be of some interest to compare the results of the working of the civil and criminal courts in this connection :-


It will appoar from thisstatement that, while the number of civil appetite disposed of was only 3 per cent. of the entire number of suita dispooal of, the propiortion of appcals in criminal cason is ucarly doable, beiug more than 7 per cent. on the total number of trials held, and this in apito of the bar which the law places against appeals from all sentouces infleting; a certain minimun of punishments. This fact is partly accounted fur by the circumstance that all criminal trials partake of the charactre of a contest, which character carnot be predicated of all civil litigation.

With regard to the working of the High Court as a court of appeal superior to the courts of sussion, and superintending generally the admiuistration of justice in all the subordinate courts, the administration reports give but little information beyond what may be gleand from the following very imperfect statement :-

|  | 1865 | 1866 | 1867 | 18C8 | 18c9 | 1770 | 16.1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Caseg recrived for confirmation | 51 | 47 | 47 | 41 | 60 | 47 | 64 |
| Ceses dippoyed of on appeals by prisomers.... | 128 | 130 | 121 | 194 | 241 | 2 i 6 | 106 |
| Caser clinposed of on a ruview of criminal retnrms | 184 | 75 | 138 | 117 | 176 | 158 | 145 |
| Cafres recelved for the orders of the Higb Court. | 70 | 112 | 202 | 215 | 216 | 212 | 1.3 |

These figures show constant fluctuations, but on the whole they do nut indicate any scrious increage in the work of the Iligh Court as a court of final resort in criminal matters. The reports do not furnish auy details as regards the character of the adjudications, and, in the absence of this information, the bare figures with their fluctuations have no aiguificano to the student of judicial statistics. These figures, however, fully bear out the importance of preserving to the High Court its jurisdiction as a court of revision. In the hands of painstaking Judges, much good is silently effected by the timely exercise of their powers in the most helpless casci.

## These observations find their fitting close in this place.

The bearing of the larger conclusions which are impressed upon the attention of the thouglitful student by a survey of these statistics of criminal justice, and the reforms in the existing arrangements which they suggest, will be discussed in the next chapter.
That chapter was originally written by the writer of these obecrvationa in answer to a call from the authorities to eubrit a review upon the Ilon'ble Mr. FitzJames Stephen's minute on the alministration of justice in British Iadia. It finds its proper place here as the concluding chaptor to those obscrvatione.

## Chapter VII.

## odSERVATIONS ON TIIE honourable mr. fitziames steplen's minute on the administration of JUSTICE IN BRITISII INDIA.

Before commencing this review, it may be necessary to state, by way of preliminary remark, what are the writer's qualifications to take part in this discussion, and presnme to hold independent views of his own on tho subject. The writer is a graduate of the Bombay University, and hias passed the Advocate's examination of the High Court. He has scen eight years' service,-first as Karbhari at Akulcote, exercising original civil jurisdiction, aud the powers of a district magistrate in criminal matters; secondly, as Nyayadhisha at Kolapore with civil appellate powers, and the jurisdiction of an assistant session Judge; thisdly, as acting Police magistrate, and acting Judge of the Small Cause Court in Bombay for short periods; fourthly, for the last two years and more as first-class subordinate Judge at Poona, invested for some months past with jurisdiction to decide arpeals. He has had in this way the rare good fortume of Laving mado practical acquaintance with the dificulties and advantages of the present arrangements for the administration of civil as well as criminal justice, both in the original and appeal stages, and under the non-regulation as well as the regalation systems of rule He may also claim to have made a special stndy of judicial statistics, having published a pamphlet on the sulject of civil statistics about two years ago. Having said thus much rugarding the writer's qualifications, it need hardly be remarked that these observations will bo confined strictly to the eystem of administering justice which oltains in this Presidency.

The main question discussed in the minute relates to the consideration of the best mode of organizing our judicial establishments. There is iudeed a sort of digression, and a lengthy one too, in which the existing systems of civil and criminal procodire are passed under review, and their defects pointed out. This portion of the minute, so far as it bears upon criminal justice, has passed beyond the stage of discussion; for, since the minute was written, the new Criminal Procedure Code was passed, and is now the law of the laud. Except so far, thercfore, as the system of procedure bears upon the question of the arganization of our courts, the questions discussed in Chapter V. of the minute (pages 49-89) have been for the most part settled in accordance with the views of Mr. Stephen, and will not, therefore, be touched upon in these obscrvations.

The first question discressed in the minute relates to the present state of our judicial organization. In this connection, the diatinction betwen the regulation and non-regulation systems is all-pervading, separating the several provinces of India, riz, the older provinces where executive and judicial functions are cutrusted to different officera, from those receut acquisitions in which all these functions are concentrated in the handa of one and the same oflicer. So far as this P'residency is concerned, Uhis quostion has been definitively settled by the old Regulations of 1827 ; and the principlo of divisiou of functions has obtained such a firm footing on this side of India, that in our non-regulation province of Sind, and even in thowe native States which, by reason of the minority or incapacity of thris clicfs, are undor the direct administration of our Political oflicers, tho judicial and exccutive functions are, for the most part, entrusted to different officers.

This division of functions has led, in the conrse of time, to the partial organization of separate services in this Presidency-a point in which Bombay, as remarked in the minate, in ahead of all the other provinces of India.

Mr. Stephen's account of the present organization and strength of julicial officers in this Presidency is incomplete in one important reapect Jhe takes no account of the large number of eubondinato magistrate who discharge, under the district collector-magistrate, revenue, exceutive. and judicial functions all over the country. The evil results of the concentration of excoutive and judiciul powers in the ame hands uostly make themselves felt by reason of the administration of criminal justico being entrusted to these subordizate revenue officers. Their number, as stated in the latest administration report, comes up to the largo total of 355 officers; and this portion of the judicial service cannot safely be kept out of view, becsuse, between themselven, they dispose of nearly 80 per ceut. of the entire criminal work of the Presidency. The work diaponed of by the magistrates of various grades in the regulation districts of this Presidoncy will be seen from the following statement :-

| Magistrates of different gradea | Number of cesem tried. | Sumber of jerture triked. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11 District Maglstrates | 294 | 875 |
| Eall-power Ssalstant and Deputy Magistratas ............ | 6.878 | 11.4. 5 |
| Total.... | 7,177 | 11, $x+3$ |
| Sabordinate Magistrates of the 2nd and 3nd claster...... | 84,187 | 69,878 |
| Grand Tutal.... | 41,834 | 81,701 |

It will be seen from these figures that the subordlnate magistrates disposed of nearly four-fifths of the entire number of cases, while the district magistrates and their assistants and deputies had cognizance of the remaning one-fifth between themselves. The significance of these figures will be understood morefully in the sequel of these observations ; at present it will bo sufficient to have pointed out this most important omission in Mr. Stephen's sketch of the existisg organization in this Presidency. Another cmission, though not of so much consequence, may also be noticed in this place. Mr. Stephen makes no mention of the ten small cause court Judges in this Presidency. With these additions, Mr. Stephen's sketch of the existing organization is tolerably completo for the purposes of the present conquiry. As a general result, it may be stated that the separation of judicial and executive duties has been completely carried out in the depatment of civil justice in the courts of original, appellate, and special appeal jurisdictions. In the department of criminal justice, however, tho separation of judicial and executive functions is complete as regards the higher courts only, while the entire magistracy, numbering about 470 officers, with the small exceptions of the police and railway magistıates, have, besides their criminal work, both revenoe and executive functions to perform, which constitute their principal charge, and the snccessful discharge of which duties becomes the great object of their ambition.

To proceed next to the consideration of the second question discussed in tho minute, namely, whether it is desirable to separate judicial and executive functions where, under the existing aystem, they are united. 'Ihough it is rather too broadly worded, this question has, as Mr. Stephen has treated it, reference chicfly to the non-regulation provinces of the Punjabr and the Central Provinces. Mr. Stephen states his deliberate opinion that the present system of the concentration of fanctions which obtains in those provinces should be abolished. As observed before, this question has been settleal beyond dispute, so far as the recognition of the principle of separation is concerned, on this side of India. The reasons, however, which Mr. Stephen adduces for the reform of the system adrocated by him, have a wider application, and lead to conclusions of great significance in the consideration of the third question discussed in the minute. For, as has been observed before, whilo the principle of tive separation of functions has been long recognized on this side of India, it has been only partially carried out in the department of eriminal justice, so far as the courts of first instance are concerned. Erecutive and judicial functions clash with one another, and cannot be usefully united in tlue same hands, for the simplo reason that the character of the work required of a judicial officer is adarted to, and developes, a different order of active and passive faculties from those which are called into exercise in the efficicat diseharge
of executive functions. Judicial work, moreorer, in in door work, which must le done at stated times, puactually olservel. Executive work is for the most part ont-door work, which, to le done well, mast be done at all times. The work of a Judge comes to him instead of hia going to $i t$, and he munt proceed ly fixed rules, unconcerned for the most part abont particular consequences. The exccutive officer has to take the initiative in all manner of things, and he must watch the execution aud carrying out of his measures with a direct view to thetr particular consequencen. Tho judicial and exccutive temper of mind being thns opposed to one another, one geaeral result is that the predominant habit absolutely smothers the other. Independently of these considerations, which cannat be worded more appropriately than in Mr. Stephen's own terse way, there is coe special reason which makes it highly inadvisable, in provincea where the british rule has become a long-established ordor of thingn, to unite all tho functions of sovercign power in the same hands. The disparity letween the power represented by the governing elasses, and the capacity on tho pat of the subject millions to influence tho exercise of this power for good, aud to check its cvils or abuses, is so great that, in the interests of a good and progressively liberal Government, it is casential that the two frme tome of sovereignty represented by the Judge and the collector of revenue must be entrusted to separate officers. The judicial courts are emphatically the only institutions in the land which serve the purforis of a tomally guaranteed constitution to conserve the rights of the subject fopulation; and the education they give in the habits of constitutional obedence to the law, as distinguished from abject submission to tho individual will of the officer declaring and executing the law, is of a sont which can never be too highly esteemed. The old native model in which civil, multary, revenue, police, and judicial functions were united in ons and the same hands, each petty officer represeuting the full absolute soverign within his own domain, has brought the nation into its present plight of hclpless dependence. In the case of nativo rulers, cominon sympathy and the restraints of religion afforded some guarantees against the worst evils of this absolutism. As both these checks ary wanting under the British rule, the perfect independence of the courts of justice is the only security provided by the constitution; and this perfect iadependence can never be secured so long as the departraent of crimina justice is constituted on its present footing. All these cousiderations render it necessary that, to the utmost extent practicable, the seyaration of executive and judicial functions should be complete, not only in the non-regulation provinces, but also in the regulation districts in those dupartments where at present they are united.

This leads naturally to the question discussed in tho third chapter of the minute, whether, ander the conditions of British rule in India, the
separation between the judicial and executive officers should be als 3 . $\quad$ 's in all cases. This question resolves itself on this side of India in. the single consideration, whether the combination of criminal jurisdiction with executive authority in the hands of the magistrates of varions grades is a necessary or desirable departure from the general principle recognized in this Presidency with rogard to all civil courts and the higher grades of criminal courts. Mr. Stephen quotes a passage from the ry ply of the Dombay Governnent, in which the eystem which obtains in this Presidency is described to be " one of permanent separation, not only between judicial and administrative functions, but also between the persons by whom they are administered. The system is not partial or experimental, but it has existed for many ycars, being designed in the Regulations of 1827." It need hardly be observed that this expression of opinion is inaccurate in one respect. The primary courts of criminal justice are presided over by somo 470 officess, who are, each in his jurisuliction, in chargo also of the revenue and executive administration. It uill be convenient to discuss the main quiestion under two heads,-(1) with reference to the menbers of the covenanted civil service, who are rather exceptionally placed in this respect; and (2) with refurence to the uncovenanted native and European magistrates of all grades. Mr. Stephen's observations have been exclusively confined to the first class of officers; the second, and by far the largest, class of these officers seems never to have been distinctly presented to his view, though, as we have shown before, it is with regard to them that the union of functions is chiefly felt to be an evil, and requires to bo remedied.

With regard to the members of the covenanted service, men who constitute the ruling class in this country, their number in this Presidency is about 80 , of whom there are 18 officers in charge of districts, called district collectors, and tho rest are their assistants in subordinate charge of portions of the districts. The number of deputy magistrates and subordimate magistrates is about 388, or nearly five times the number of tho civilian magistrates.
With regard to tho first class, Mr. Stephen states that thero is a consensus of opinions on the following points:-(1) That it is absolutely essential to the maintenance of Britishr rule in India that the position of the district officer, as the representative of the Government within his limits, should be preserved. The district officers must be real and effective governors, and they should always have sufficient powers in their hands to lead people to regard them as rulers and governors. (2) A certain amount of service in the revenuc and general executive department is an indispensable preliminary to jodicial employment, as it secures the necessary experience of the people, their ways, character, and langoage. Partly in deference to the muthority of
thoso whose opinfons on this point are digested in the minute, and partly from the fact that justico in this comntry has to to admimeternd consistently with, and in subordination to, the paramount pulitieal consideration of the maintenance of Dritish role in India (involving in this single limitation the necessity that justice must be administered ly foreigners, in a foreign langunge, in tho absence of all chechs which pablic opinion and the sense of the profession imposc), Mr. Stephen arrives at the conclusion that the district officers, high and low, should retain their criminal jurisdiction to the extent exercised by them at the present time. Their criminal jurisdiction is, both in theory and in fact, tho most distinctive and easily recognized mark of sovereign power, and any duninution of their authority in this respect would break down the nution of personal rule and authority.

With reference to this position, the writer of these observations submits that, in this matter, people, on this side of India at least, have advauced beyond the stage in which the considerations suggested in the previeus paragraph have much weight. As a matter of fact, our great district officers have ceased to exercise any of their magisterial functious. They find that their revenue and executive dutics so wholly absorb their available time, that practically they have of their own accord hedd in aleyance the exercise of their magisterial powers, conscions of their inalility to do justice to these duties. Throughout the year 1870, the 17 district magistrates in this Presidency disposed of 300 cases between themselves, or hardly two cases a month each. During the same time, these saune officers committed only 33 cases to the session courts for trial. The distrjet magistrates of Surat, Broach, Ahmednuggur, Khandeish, Rntnagherry and Sattara did absolutely no work under this head of their juriodiction. These facts show beyond doubt thaf there has been a virtual a a bandonment of their judicial functions forced upon these over-worked officers ly the daily exigencies of their miscellaneous duties. It cannot, however, be maintained that people have in any way ceased to regard the district collectors with awe and with trembling. There is no loss of prestige in the fact that the district collector, being oppressed with executive work, wisely abstaing from exercising his judicial functions. There is no une of retracing our steps; the district collectors have ceased to be working factors in the judicial organization, and the time bas come when this fact ahould to recognized, and some arrangement adopted by which the distict collector will be formally permitted to delegate his magisterial charge to one of his señjor assistants, who should be entrusted with exclasively judicial work. As regards the younger civilians, there can be no doult that there is much force in the consideration anggested before, that before he is allowed to make his choice between executive and judicial duties, he should be made to spend some years in the revenue and executive charge of
one or more talookas. Even with regard to these officers, it is certainly to be desined that there should be a division of duties between the assistant magistrates; and the young civilian, after spending his first two years in the discharge of revenue work, should be requred to work as criminal Judge for a similar period. The division between the several magistrates of executive and judicial duties is not in any way identical with the union of both these powers in the same hands. While admitting, to a partial extent, that the covenanted collector-magistrates are exceptionally circumstanced, and that, for political reasons of State, the principle of a separation of functions and of services cannot be fully carried out, it must at the same time be allowed that the time has come-(1) for pernanently relieving the chief district officer of his magisterial duties, and permitting him to delegate these functions to one of his assistants; and (2) for carrying out the general principle of separation of functions, with regard to the younger civilians, to the extent ef entrusting to one officer at a time only one kind of work.

To come now to the second class of native subordinate magistrates, there are no political reasons which counsel the necessity of continuing the present system with regard to them. They are mostly natives of the country by birth or residence. They are not foreigners, and do not adminaster justice in a foreign language. They do not furmish the materials out of which the great heads of departments are made. The maintenance of their prestige is not synonymous with the maintenance of British rule. There is not a single considelation, except perhaps of financial ecunomy in their favour, justifying a departure so flagrant and so dangerous from the principle of permanent and systematic separation of functions and services, which the Bombay Government so emphatically claim the credit of having established in this Presidency.

From the statement furnished before, it will appear that the subordinate native magistrates dispose of $80^{\circ}$ per cent. of the entire number of criminal cases. If the work done by the 33 depaty magistrates be added to this, the percentage will certainly rise to something like 90 per cent. The evil results arising from the policy of uniting the two functions, mostly make themselves felt in respect of thess 380 officers. Nearly all these officers are in cbarge of revenue and executive duties. "The mamlutdar is the chief revenue collector, or Jamabandi officer, for his talooka; he is, besides, in charge of the talooka treasury; and all the different departments of the State make their requisitions upon the people through his channel. The superintendent of police, the survey and settlement officer, the executive engineer, the inspecting post-master, the inspector of vaccination, the commanding officer of a regiment on march, the educational inspector-these, and many more, constantly require his personal services for aid and assistance. His head karkoon
has the charge $\mathbf{b}$ the treasury in the mamlutdaris absence ; he is also subregistrar and sub-magistrate. Besides these duties, the mamiutdar disposes of cases under Act $V$. of 1864. The manlutdar has further to ene that the accounts of the village and of the talooka are properly hept, that the ryots have their recelpt-tooks punctually written up, that the cultivation returns are properly made out, that the boundary marks are kept in proper repair. The mamlutdar myst aford legitimate help to Enropran travellers ; he must call on gentlemen who come to bis talooka on duty, and show them every courtesy and respect.
"The mamlutdars appoint inferior village servants other than patels and kulkarnees. They must personally conduct the nale of stulen forest produce, as also of the right of occupancy of waste numbers under the survey rules. They enter in the accounts the names of 4 the heirs of deceased holders of khalsat or summaily-acttled inam lands. They certify to the execution of powers-of-attorney and life-certificates. Thery have, moreover, to attend to abkari matters, to collect the income-tax without giving cause for complaint, to act as members of the local fund committees, to attend to the execution of local works, to act an membern of the municipal boards," \&c.
This enumeration of functions is extracted from the Revenue Hand-book published by Mr. Nairne. There can be no doubt it is very imperfect; but, even as it is, the duties required of these revenne officers are of a sort which unfit them for judicial work. What holds true of the mamlutiars holds true, with more or less accuracy, of the head karkoons next in rank to them, and of the depaty collectors over their beads. Nowonder therse men perform their judicial functions indifferently and in an offhand manner. That these fudctions are indifferently performed, is a fact about which there is little room left for doubt. Comparing the two services, the native subordinate Judges and the native subordinate magiotrates, and contrasting their results, the disparity that appears is of a mort which should silence the most obstinate advocate of the present irder of things. In the department of civil justice, about 90 judicial officers dippose of between themselves 143,000 civil cases, out of which about 24,000 are of the contested sort. The claim of the plaintiff is found to be true in 138,000 of these cases, or in 95 per cent. of the casea tried. In the department of criminal justice, more than four times the number of officers dispose of less than three times the number of cases ; the figures are respectively 388 oflicers deciding 42,500 cases, out of which about 7,000 cascs only relate to really heinous offences. While the proportion of rightful to falme claing is more than 10 to 1 in the department of civil jnstice, the proportion of false to true complaints is reversed in the criminal conts, mare than 70 per cent. of the persons apprehended by the police having to be acquitted or discharged for want of evidence.

These facts are sufficient of themselves to satisfy the most incredulons that the criminal courts of first instance are not in safe hands, and that reform is needed in their organization. No seform can effect the slightest change for the better which is not based upon as radical a separation of executive and criminal dities as that which has obtained so loug in the department of civil justice. As has been shown before, the work devolved upon the subordinate revenue othicers is sufficient to employ all their avalable tume and energy, and in their case no political considenations counsel the mamtenance of the present system of uniting heterogeneous, and in some sense conflictiug, functions. The waste of powers involved in the present arraugeneut is simply fughtful to contemplate, the weakening of respon siblities, the encouragement given to frivolous complaints, the demoralization of the people caused by the frequent recourse to the police courts, and the mefticiency generally of the work done, are all of a sort which demand a radical change in the direction modicated before. A great deal of this ineffictency is, no doubt, due to the indifierent manner in which the native subordmate magistrates are selected for then poste, and the entire absence of any rperial training for the work which distinguishes most of these men. On this part of the subject, however, there will be occasion to speak more fully in the sequel of these observatious.

As a summary of the whole of this portou of the discussion, it may be safely stated that the union of executive and criminal functions in the hambs of the native subordinate service is condemned on all grounds, and the pinciple of separation must be canred out as fully in the criminal, as it has lony been canied out in the cuvil, department. Looking at the matter from a common-sense point of view, there is really no intelligıble reason, except of financial economy or polhee convenience, why such a daztinction should be made between civil and ciminal justice, why the rights of person should be treated as of less consequence than those of property. As regards the argument based on financial or police considerations, this is not the place to consider it in detail, but it can be shown that, with the present expenditure of public money; the reform in the organization of our criminal courts can be carried out with a view to secure efficiency and police control.

Having thus disposed of the main question, Mr. Stephen proceeds, in the fourth chapter of the minute, to digcuss the question of the nature and extent of judicial traimug which should be provided for those who aspire to preside over our ciril and criminal courts. At present, the native subordinate Judges as a class are selected after a hard competition, which teste the hberal and special educational qualifications of the candidates. The next grade of Judges, the assistant Judges, are perhaps the weakest link in this civil organization. There are bright exceptions, not a few; but, as a clase, the young civilian who has made his choice of the judicial line is at onec
posted to the charge of a court of appeal, and sits in judgment over the decisions of the dubordinate Judges without ever having decided an original case hinself. No special text is mposed to ancertain his mastery of the natuve character and languages beyond what all civilians pass through in the first years of their probation, or of his attainmente in the knowledge of the Enghoh, Hiodu, and Mahomedan Lawr. Of courme, in the course of years the asssstant Judge grows into the experieuced district Judge, and make up for past deficime an be beat can. In the department of criminal justice, the young aysistant magistrates learn their busmess in the actual discharge of it; and of late a special examination test has been devised, which must be passed through by these officers if they care for promotion. The native subordinate magistrate are, howerns, adly neglected in this baach of the service. For the most part, the mamlutars rise from the ranks, and possess little or no judicial training beyoud what their early skill in taking down depositions may have taught them.
$N . B$-Since these observations were written, a salutary change for the better has been introduced by a recent arrangement which provides an examination test for all future aepirants for magisterial duties.
This is a fair description of the present state of thingain this Presidency. The administration of law is becoming daily more and more a materer of ppecial study. With our codes and our judicial decisions upon written and unwritten law, it will not do to let things alone, and the inconvenient fact inust be fully faced. The native magistrates should be at least on a level with their brothers, the native subordinate Judges. In fart, the two services must be filled from the ranks of the same class, if both the duties cannot at present be entrusted to the same personia.

Mr. Stephen is lavish in his praise of the small body of: Indian codified law. On this point, the writer of these observations bas always cherivhed a feeling that this self-glorification was based considerably on a miaconception of the service to which codified law can be tarned to account for the purposes of study or in the discharge of actual work. A code of law does not in any way, for purposes of real atudy or actnal practice, enable the student or practitioner to dispense with the great text-books on the subject, or to see his way dearly through all difficultirs without the help of judicial decisions. In this respect the latest example is the best. Mr. Stephen's Indian Eridence Act is a masterly specinen of the strength and weakness of codified law. As authoritative declarations of the great principles of English Connon Law on "the subject, its sections can certainly not be equalled in accuracy or exhaustiveness, but it is quite a delusion to sappose that the student will know all he wauts to know on the subject by confining himself to the texl of the Act. The Act by itself is simply uninulligible, and must be studied in all its amplification in the writing of the great
text-writers. The same must be said, in terme still more emphatic, as regards the necessities of the practitioners. The bald illustrations are in the first instance unintelligible, and, even when their meaning can be made out, they are but indifferent substitutes for the reports of the cases of which they are the abstracts. Day by day, this complexity of law must increase, and no manner of codifications will make Indian Law more easy of study and reference than before.

As regards judicial decisions also, Mr. Stephen seems to regard their immense growth during the last ten years as an unmixed evil. Viewed from one point of view, they are no doubt a great stumbling-block in the exercise of independent judgment on the part of the Judges who administer the law. But this is a necessary evil, which must be submitted to in order to avoid more dangerous evils arising from the unbridled discretion of Judges. The elaborate scheme recommended by Mr. Stephen, by which the present extent of unlicensed reporting will be, to some degree, controlled, looks well on paper, but it is not likely to succeed at all in its practical working. At present in all the Presidencies, there are official reporters with their staffs, and Government grants a large subsidy to defray the charges of printing the official reports. Notwithstanding these advantages, the official reporter is out-distanced in the race by the mass of private publications which create and find their own market, and have managed to live on for years together on their own resources. Official reporting will be either too meagre or too indifferently done, or will be too late, or will be too partial to be the genuine thing which people want. As the writer of these observations has himself served for two years on the staff of the reporter to the High Court, he can speak with a great deal of expericnce on the subject. And it is his deliberate opinion that neither the codification of law, nor the official control of the work of reporting, will in any way help to makelaw simple of study, and enable the student to do away with the help of the great text-writers or the mass of private reporters.
As a part of the subject of judicial training, Mr. Stephen proposes,-(1) to turn to account the legal patronage of Government by bestowing the professorships of our law-schools, the places of Advocates-(yeneral and Legal Remembrancers and Gorernment Prosecutors upon civilian barristers, who will thus, by diat of professional practice, specially qualify themselves for the judicial service of the State ; (2) by opening the judicial service to outsiders, barristers, and native lawyers and Judges, subject to proper tests and qualifications.
Of these two proposals, it may be sufficient to remark, regarding the first, that the places at the disppsal of Government are, in the first instance, too few for the purpose intended, and require besides the services of men already trained to their work, and cannot be safely used to serve
as stepping-stones or schools of discipline to teach the young civilian or barrister the worl fequired of him. As regards the second suggertion, it is one which must find practical recognition one day. As soon as a separate judicial service is formed, it must be opened to outsiders, both Enropean and native, who may be qualified for it. The recommendation has been made from time to time hy the ablest Indian statesinea; and the anomaly of the present arrangement; based on fancied reagons of State policy, cannot be permitted to last fong without being questioned.

Mr. Stephen, at the close of his observations in this chapter, has exprensed his opinion that, while it is every way desirable to open the judicial acruce in all its gradeq to native ambition, it is not at all a necessary consequence that the mative Judge should be pail at the same rate as his Faglish compeer, for the scale of salaries paid to the Eaglish officers in largely based on other considerations than remuneration for work done. This was too particular a remark, and should have found no place in the monute. For, in the first place, the word "native" cannot be accurately defined. The latest explanation given includes Englishmen born in India, as well as the indygeuous sons of the soil. Secondly. - Even in the restríted sense of the word, it includes whole races whose mode of life and staniard of living is as expensive as those of Europeagns, who heve also to leave home and country, and live alone in foreign lands the best part of their existence, and send their children home to be educatod Me. Daphtare serving in Burnah, or Mr. Tagore in North Canara, or Mr. Jaykar at Aden, have to submit to all the hardships of hife of which their European compeers make so much capital. Thirdly.-There is fit impropriety in paying men like Mr. Dwarkanath Mittra or Mr. Shambhoonath Pandit at the rates of salary received by the European Judgen, when it is remembered that both these able men made more money at the Bar dban thiry ever got as Judges. Fourthly.-The whole moral advantage of such nominations of native officers to pnsts held before by Europeans only, is lost when this most insidious distinction is made between two sets of servants who work upon a common platform. The sense of the great truth that the political equality of the two races is becoming every day more and more a maiter of fact, is lost when such paltry distinctions are made regarding pay and the privileges of leave and pension. The English rulers of the country oftentimes cannot be made to anderstand that this unequal slruggle for place and power maintained by the ambitious class of natives, resulting in the gradual eacroachment of the privileges of the ruling class, is nof entirely sordid in its character; it, in fact embodies the principles of the old Roman straggle between the patnciaus and the plebeians for the offices of the State, and should therefore meet with their sympathy when a fair victory has been won in open competition. At least, there should be no cause for jealousy till the
number of native aspirants becomes a really formidable minority. Lastly, M. Stephen, and those who udvocate his riews, forgt what the responshbilities and demands of suctal position are which a native in high place 13 called upon to meet. Socrety is still parriarchial with us, and the sumber ot poor relations who learu to be dependent upon the kinduess of a well-to-do native has alsolutely no counterpart in English domestre connmy. These considerations ought always to have due weight allowed to them whenever proposals of a reactionary temdency in this direction are made by men in Mr. Stephen's position,
In Chapter V., Mr. Stephen discusses at great length the question as to what modifications are required in the present system of eivil and criminal procedure. It has been already stated, at the commencement of these observations, that all the particalar snggestious made iu this chapter relating to criminal procedure have been embodied in the new Act, and the entiue subject therefore has been set at rest for the time.

The only subject of any present importance in this connection is the question of the civil appellate courts. The British Indian system of law is distinguished from all other nunicipal laws by the great liberty it allows to parties cast in one court to renew their fight in a court of appeal. A judgment oncegiven by a competent Julge who hears and records evilence on buth sides, ought, as a rule to be final for all purposis. If the Judge tarns out to be incompetent or corrupt, he may be removel from his post, and due care taken to select the most competent men for the post vacated. Partice are not allowed this luxury of an appeal where they agree to refer their disputes to private Judges or arbitrators. There is no more reason why a Judec's decinion ahould not be equally final, simply becanse he is a wellqualfied, and in most cases a perfectly fair and impartial, Judge, which cannot be "oftentines said with truth aboat private judges or referees. The present systen ' of procedure seerns to sospect that no man's honesty or competence can be accepted as certaiu, and provides, both in civil and criminal matters, an absolute right of appeal both on queations of fact and law. As if this was not enough, the same spirit of jealonsy allows a further appeal on points of law to a third superier court Such complexity of check within check, whatever may have been its use once, is certainly now out of date, and benefits nobady except those who are inclined to abuse it. Out of a total of 128,000 suits disposed of by the subordinate Judges, there were only 4,000 appeals, which gires a proportion of nearly 3 per cent. Out of the 128,000 cases dieposed of, nearly 18,000 were contested suits ; the proportion of appeals in these contested suits was thus about 25 per cent. Out of the 4,000 and odd appeals, in nearly 60 per cent. the original decree was confirped, the ouly doubtful advantage derived by the appellant being that he staved off the evil day for a year or more, at the sacrifice of a considerable sum of money.

Sixty per cent. of donfirmations reduces the proportion of casen in which there was a presumably legitunate accasion for àpeal to about 8 per cent. of contested suits, and about 1 per cent. of all suits. It is to be borne in mind that there is a further stage yet open, and the number of decisions in special appeal in which the High Court reverses the judgment of the lower appellate courts upon points of law alone, is proportionately larger than the number of cases in which thesedower appollate oourts reverse tha decrees of the courts of first instance. A further reduction has accordingly to be made, which reduces the percentage of suits, in which parties are really benefitted by the preseut permission to appeal in all cases, as low as 5 per cent. of contested suits, and less than 1 per cent. of the total number of suits. The 60 per cent. confirmations, togethar y ith the 20 per cent. in which the original decree reversed by the lower court. of appeal is set to right again by the High Court, represent so much absolute waste of money, talents, time, and trouble, which is certainly nut counter-binanced in the long run by theg gain to the rightful parties who sucpeed in the remaining 20 per cent. of succeneful. appealis. What holds true of civil suits is equally true of criminal cases. Ont 'uf 42,500 trials beld in 1870 , there were only 3,000 appreals, and in these 7 per cent. of appeals, more than two-thirda resulted io the confirtation of the sentences passed. The uselessness of keeping up the costly machinery of a double system of appellate courts will be thas plain to the most ardent admirer of the present arrangements. The bencits, if any, must be of a very questionable kind, seeing that the appellate tourts spend more than half their available time in confirming theoriginal decrees, or in re-confirming a reverse. decree.

Independently of the anomaly of such a position, there is another'fact which has been well brought out in the minute, viz., thal the first appeal is always an appeal from a well-ioformed to an ill-informed tribunal-from a Judge of considerable standing atid experience, versed in native languagea and perfectly acquainted with native character, and hearing and recording the story as told by the witacses before him, to $a^{*}$ Judge often his junior in years and standing, unversed in native languages and manners, and judging from the record before him whether the Judge of the lower geurt gave due credit to the testimony of the witnesses." As if this was not enough, thereis a further degree of absurdity in store. The verdict of this ill-informed Judge, judgigg of facts from the record before him is declared to ${ }^{\circ}$ te final on points of fact, although from his judgmente on points of law an appeal is*allowed to the High Court. The aystem of complex chtcks, as it is at pitesent devised and worked, simply therefore defeats itself,' and worts injustice and demoralization to an extent indescribable in worda: ${ }^{\text {o }}$ Notwithstanding these acknowleaged evile,

Mr. Stchen would retaiu one stage of appeal as a matter of counse for the indinect servico rendered in checking official indifference and abuse, and proposes only to do away with the present aystem of double aud partial appeals. As a substitute for this useless appeal, Mr. Stephen proposes to make it optional with parties to require the lower court to state cases for the opinion of the higher court on the plan followed by the Judges of the Mofussil and Presidency Small Cause Courts, and also to empower the superior courts to call for papers on sufficient cause shown.

The writer of these observations, in his pamphlet published in 1871, entitled "The Statistics of Civil Justice," has, in anticipation of the minute of Mr: Siephen, touched upon most of the questions discussed in these last cbapters. He had hardly anticipated that there; would be such a consensus of opinions of the highest authorities on the question of the anomalous position of the courts of appeal and special appeal in the present arrangements. Moreover, it is to be remembered in this connection that, since the establishment of the Staall Cause Courts in the Mofussil, this right of appeal has been taken away from the litigant classed in the largor towne, and there is no earthly reason why the more simple disputes which make up the litigation of the rural classes should need this frotection, and there is every reason why they should be discouraged from throwing good money after bad in this speculation of law-suits. The conclusions to which Mr. Stephen has been led by a review of the opinious of Indian Judges on this part of the great subject of his inquiry, namely, that the whole system of appeals in civil cases is radically faulty, that the number of appeals ought to be reduced, and the power of finofl disposition more hberally accorded to the inferior courts, coiacide in the main with the views stated by the writer in his statistics of civil justice upon a survey of several years' results of the work of the civih courts in this Presidency.

The last qưestion discussed in the minute relates to the nature and extent of the alterations which can be made in the present system, with a view'to secure econony and increased employment of the natives. "On this part of the subject also, the writer can do nothing befter than refer to his chapiter of suggestions for reform, in the constitution of the dastrict and suboidinate coufts. The general diection of the reform suggested therein points to the re-coustruction of the courts in every zilla on the model of the Piesidency High Court, aud the Presidency Small Cause Courts and the police courts. This would require,-(1) thrat the subordinate civil courts should be turned into small cause courts, thei furisdiction of aland suits, and suits involving status and quèstions ofninvolved accounts, being transferred to the central zilla court; (2) the this central ${ }^{*}$ zilla court should consist of four or five Judges, including twosinembers of the civil
service and three uncovenanted Judges, sitting together or in divinion benches, and disposing of the whole of the heavy litigation in the origiual stage, for which work these Jadges will find ample tume by reasun of their being relieved from all appeal work; (3) no arpeal should ho from the subordinate courts, but there should be a power to call for the record, and also a power to state cases upon the requisition of the parties; (4) no appeal on matters of fact thend lie from the district court to the High Court, (5) on the criminal eide, the subordinate civil Judges, being releved of their heavy civil work, should dispose of all casca within the jurisdiction of second-class magistrates; (6) all other cases in the zillahs should be disposed of by one, two, or more civilian or uncovenanted full-power magistrates, who should be bardened with no other revenue or executive work; (7) these latter officers should also commit persont charged with the more heinous offences to the sessions of the di,trict High Courts, where the district Judge, with one native collragno magistrate, should dispose of the beary cases. This ia, in brivf, the scheme which coincides in the main with ghe niews etabed by Mr. Stephen in this portion of his minute. Mr. Justice Phear and Mr. Justice Jackson seem to hold preciscly the same viewe uphat this subject. Mr. Stephen's scheme relates only to the re-construction of the district courts, but it is impossible to construct the distrigt courls on a proper footing without taking into account the sabordinate relation of the inferior courts under their supervision. Under the plan propoasd in these observations, the present anomalous character of the criminakeourts will cease, and they will take their place in the graduated series of inferior and superior courts ; their independencer-that is, their freedorn from distraction caused by the prejudices and exactions" of revenuça and miscellaneous work,-will be secured ; there will be a natural adjustment of the jurisdictions of the courts of different degrees according, to the quality of the Judges who preside over them; the present.oystem of duable appeals will be done away with, and the consequont waste of money and time and trouble and talents will be saved ;'the jodicial seffice will be for the first time opened to the natives on equad terima, and European and native officers will learn to profit by each other's bmulation; and last, not leagt, by the strengthening of the district courta, the piofissil bar will acquire astutua and an influence which it often lacke at.prcseat. -These obscrvations bave extended over a larger gpace than was at first articipated, and here accordiagly they find their fitting close.

# B A R O D A ADMINISTRATION <br> IN <br> 1874. <br> $\frac{g}{p} 8$ 

## A STATEMENT

In Aeply to Remarks in the Baroda Blue Book of 1875 , CONCERNING DADABHAI NAOROI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

## :To E. W. RAVENSCROFT, Esq.,

Sir, Acting Chicf Secretary to Government.
$I$ beg to submit to the Bombay Government the accompanying Statiment in reply to the remarks containct in the Baroda Blue Book of this yar, concerning myself and my Colliagues. I also send two more copies hercaith, and I shall feel obliged by Goüernment forwarding one to His Excellincy the Viceroy, and the other to the Secretary of State for Indaa, with a request on my behalf that in simple justice to us this Statement may also be lazd before Parlament.
$I$ remain, your obedient Scriant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

32, Great St. Helen's, London, 22nd March, 1877.

To The Most hon. Thi MarquiS of SAlisbury, My Lerd Secretary of State for Indat, Inda Offa.
On 25th November, 1875, I addressed a letter to the Government of Bombay, accompanued by a Statement in reply to remarks in the Barodin Blue Book of 1875 , concerning myself and my Collcaguis. I enclose a copy of the letter with the Statement nttached.

In reply to this letter, the Government of Dombay, th their littor dxird 2nd December, 1875, inform me:-"as desired by you a copy of the Statement wull be transmilted to His Excellency the Vicerov and Fifer Mitcsty's Secretary of State for India."

I now beg to request your Lordshis will be pleased to direct to fiator me here with your Lordship's reply to my request, that the Statcment may alse be published as a Blue Book.

My only object in making this request, as a matter of simple justicr, i, that my defence should be placed anong the same Pubhe Records, in when the untruthful attacks upon our honor, character and capacily hate been publishod to the world.

> I remain, your Lordship's obeaient Serzant,

DADADHAI NAOROJI.

India Office, 18th April, 1875.

Sir,
I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge the rectopt on your letter of the 22nd ultimo, and to acguaint you in ieply that Hiss Lordship in Council is not preparcd to recommend the presentation td Parliament, by command of Her Mfajesty, of the Statcnent forivaricid therewith, in regard to your conduct in connection with Baroda affitirs. I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
Dadabhal Naoroji, Esq.
GEORGE HAMILTON.

> The House of Commons,
> I4th August, 1879.
> NOTICES OF MOTIONS.
2. Sir Eardiley Wilmot,-East India (Baroda),-Adivess for Keturn of "A Statement in reply to remgeks in the Earoda Blue Books of 1875, concerning Dadabhai Nroroji and his Colleagues," by Dadalhat Naoroji, addressed to the Gowdrnment of Bombay on the 25th day of November 1875, and a copy of which has becn forwarded to the Sccre-i tary of State for India-by the Bombay Government.
[The Return was not granted by the Secretary? State for India.]

# IN REPLY TO REMARKS IN THE BARODA BLUE BOOK of 1875 , CONCERNING DADABHAI NAORONI AND HIS COLLEAGUES. 

By DADABMAI NAOROFI.

## BLUE BOOK* No. .

Cin reading all the Numbers of the Baroda Blue Book of this year I find the amount of misunderstanding, misrepresentation and falsehood regarding me and my Colleagues as something awful. To attempt to explan or icfute them all in detan would be like trying to cut down a swarm of mosflutus with a sword. Moreover it will be now an utterly unprofitable thang to enter into a minute examination of the detals of every day worl: of administration and for which, besides, I should have the laroda Records before me. It will be sufficient for me to sav, as it will be apparent hereafter, that from the very beginnng, Colonel Phayre has taken a jaundiced view of my and my Collcagues' motives and actions. I confine mysclf to an exposure of only the most glaning misrepresentations and falschoods, leaving as to who is guilty of them, to be settled between Colonel Phayre and his "highly respectable" and "honorable" informers on whom he relied. It will clso be for Colonel Phayre to say whether the various messages from and reports about hum which I have given tereafter require any correction.

Colonel Phayre in his letter of 1st January, 1874, says, with reference to the Gackwar's Kharecta of 31st December, 1873, "The dificrence of tone of this Khareeta not only contrasts Fage 59 strongly with His Highness' last one of 25 th October last, but with the strong determanation expressed by Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee as to the reforms he was about to inituate at once." I shall now first give the history of the Kharecta of 25 th October 1873, as reported to me by Mr. Hapnobhoy and other old Durbarees. This Bapoobhoy is one, as will be seen herestter, who has been pronounced "respectable" by Sir R. Meade's Commission and considered very highly of by the Colonel himself.

When Coloncl Phayre found that the Viceroy took the appointment of the Commission into his own hands and left him (the Colonel) to play a subordinate part, he was very much displeased, told the Durbarees that the "Calcuttawalas bachá lodis hać, kuch nahi samajte," (the Calcuttawalas are mere chuldren, don't understand any thing) and suddenly turned very sympathetic towards the Gaekwar, encouraging him in his des.re to remonstrate against the appointment of the Commission. He then so tar showed his cordidity that the draft of the Khareeta received a perusal and some fostering and suggestive care at his hands; and the hhareeta

[^1]contains the following high praise for the Coloncl from the Gaekwar, with whom his relations had hitherto been anything but of a friendly or sympathetic character.

- "I am deeply obliged to Colonel Phayre, whom I consider as my best Page 50. friend and well-wisher of the State, * * and further being backed in my endeavours at reform by a zealous and energetic officer and Ressdent like Colonel Phayre, who is only ( I am happy to say) too glad to assist me with his advice, and to the best of his power, m carrying out these views, as well as those affecting the grandeur, honor, and stability of my State, and whose appointment at such a time as Resident at my Court I have therefore reason to congratulate myself upon, what need then is there for the appointment of a Commission, when I am sincerely willing, and have resolved to carry out thoroughly this woik of "state reform," by the advice and co-operation of Colonel Phayre?"

How signficant is all this when read by the light of its little history, and $i t$ is no wonder that Colonel Phayre should look fondly back to the Khareeta of 25 th October.
Now with regard to the Gaekwar's Khareeta of 31st December 1873, any body who reads it will see that there is nothing improper in it, but only a respectful representation of the then position of the Gackwar, nor is there anything to contrast with my determination to initiate reforms at once. For I do not see why I may not be able to represent the just rights of the Gaekwar to Government and at the same time introduce any reforms in the State. This representation against me has gone to Government, within three weeks of the Colonel's assurance to me, when I had first seen him on the day of my arrival at Baroda, of his cordality and support. and of his taking credit to himself that my going to Baroda was the successful result of his exertions for reform !
Colonel Phayre further says, "I was privately and confidentially informed by a highly respectable person who was present in Durbar when this Khareeta was signed, that His Highness hesitated to attach his signature, saying that it required consideration. He was, however, overruled by Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee, the acting Dewan." This information is simply false, neither had His Highness shown the least unwillingness to send such a Khareeta, nor had I overruled him. His Highness was particularly desirous to make such a representation.

Colonel Phayre says in his letter to the Bombay Government of
Page 22. 18th August 1873, "I am always kept well informed of Durbar proceedings." Judging from this case and from what 1 shall show hereafter, it appears that the Colonel's "highly respectable" informers generally fed him upon misrepresentations and falsehoods. In spite of the above misleading and false statements in the Colonel's letter, Page 6i. His Excellency the Viceroy gives the Khareeta of 31 st December, a courteous reply and calls it "Your Highness' friendly letter."
The letter of the Bombay Government to the Indian Government, of 5th March 1874, referring to my interview with His Excellency the Governor, says:-
"He fairly admitted that he had not had the slightest practical expePage 64 . rience in public affairs, though he had made them the subject of much study. He likewise stated that the present Dewan would remain about the person of the Gaekwar under the title of Pritinidhe, and that the four Parsee* gentlemen from Bombay, to whom he propostd to entrust the four Chief departments of the Government, would have associated with them the Ministers who are at this moment in charge. It would be difficult to imagine a worse arrangenent."

## His Excellency the Governor (who I think hardly knew much about me)

[^2]bad, no doubt, every right to object to my want of practical experience. I might say here, on the other hand, what some persons in high position as well as some princes, who knew me well, and whose opinions would be, I think, generally respected, had thought of my selection at the time. But it is enough that the Bombay Government itself admit in the previous paragraph of the same despatch, "This gentleman stands high in the est1mation of many persons both here and in England, and would no doubt make every eifort in his power to introduce a better system of Goverument;" and Mr. Tucker, the first Councillor in the Bom- Page 7r. bay Goverment, says in his minute, "Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojce is without administrative experience, but he is a man of some culture and intelligence, and with a constitutional form of goveinment, I see no reason why he should not be tried," and "I am not able to suggest anyone at the moment who would seem likely to have a better chance of success in such a difficult position."

Now about his Excellency's objection, to Nanasaheb remaining near the Gackwar, and the old Ministers remaining with the new, being urged as reasons aganst me, I have, I submit, just grounds to complain. The Bombay Covernment were well aware of what had already passed between them and the Indian Government. The Bombay Government in their letter of 29th August 1873, to the Indian Government, Page 88. say: " But his Excellency feels precluded from entertaning any such expectations, and fears that the Gaekwar will be unable, even if desirous of so doing, to introduce and maintain a proper system, or to check and punish the evil practices of his Mimsters and confidential retaners, some of whom are known to have been his evil advisers during the reign of his late brother. And I am, therefore, directed to apply for the authority of the Government of Indıa to instruct the Resident to demand from the Gaekwar the immediate suspension of the Dewan, and the Revenue Sir Soobah with his deputy, Narayen Bhai ; the last, a man of bad character, dismissed from the service of this Government in the Rewakanta. The suspension for the present of these officers is the more essental, as I am further instructed to solicit from the Government of India, authorty to appoint a British Commission for the parpose of inquiring into the system of revenue administration, and the alleged practice of the abduction of females from their families for the purpose of converting them into Loundis. This Government attaches the greatest importance to the appointment of this Commission ; and as the Gaekwar will be expected to render it every assistance in the prosecution of its inquiry, it is obviously desirable that his efforts to that end should not be thu arted during its progress by the Mnisters whom I have mentioned."

This pressing application of the Bombay Government to suspend three of the old Ministers was replied to by the Government of India as follows (Letter 19 September 1873).

[^3]Now in the face of this, the Government of Bombay expect from me, what they themselves could not do, because the Viceroy, under a sense of justice, would not allow it to be done. I may further complain that while talking upon this subject, His Excellency the Governor did not express to me his decidedly adverse opinion of the arrangements or I would have pointed out the above reply of the Viceroy and explained to him its tem-
porary necessity and also that the real power, however, was left in the hands of my colleagues. On the contrary, while talking of the warious difficulties in my way, Mr. Lee Warner encouraged me with the remark. that the British Government had taken 6o years to do what thev had done in this Presidency and that much yet remained to be done, and H:s Excellency himself, at my parting, in a most kindly way told me "go on quetly." Had $\ddagger$ dismissed or suspended any of the old Ministers, an matters are now disclosed by the Dlue Book, Colonel Phayre would have turned round upon me, to denounce me on my back, as having insulter! the Viceroy by doing what the liceroy had expressly desired, was rot to be done. Again while the Dombay Governnient object to Nanac, theb having been allowed to remain as Pritindhi near the person of the Gaekwar, they forget, that they themselves not only allowed him to reman on, but even as the Dewan, by not recognising my appointment and therthe not only retainng but ageravating the very evil they complan of. The Bombay Government having thus made up their mind to object to m : appontment, whout expressing it to me or to the Gackwar, not only pave me no moral support but refused to me the add of Government officials which I solicticd and very much needed, and by also refusing to recognise me as Dewan, largely impaired my position and usefulness, in the eyes of the public. This gave the "highly respectable" persons of Colonel I'hayre, opportunities of misrepresenting and maligning me and my Colleagues to him for their own private ends, and he, as now appears from the Blue Look, was only too willing to hear them, and to turn ther information to account against us, without any inquiry into their truthfulness. it was a curious vicious circle in which the affairs then moved. The Bombay Government would not recognise me, or give me any aid. My position being thus weakened and rendered uncertain as to the intentions of Government in the eyes of the public, I myself would not like to ask good hands to come to serve under me, nor would they like to come, though very willing. Thus, though weakened by the action of the Bombay Government itself, and being compelled to go on with the old hanc's as best I could, they turned round upon me, for keeping on these old hands, besides forgetting that the Viceroy would not allow them to be dismissed or suspended.

Mr. Tucker says,-"I disapprove altogether of the existinc Page 7r. arrangement by which there are virtually two Ministers, and neither has, I imagine, any real power." To this objection I have already replied above. Further,-"I was present at Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee's examination before the Indian Finance Committee of the late House of Commons last year, and was not then impressed with the arcuracy of his knowledge of the subjects upon which he was examined or of his readness in applying what he did know."

I cannot blame Mr. Tucker for his impression. My examination has a little bistory of its own, which this is not the proper occasion to discuss. I need only say that Mr. Ayrton the chairman, did his best to prevent me from giving my evidence upon the subjects for which I was prepared and which $I$ had proposed in a letter to be examined upon; and he drayged me, against my remonstrances into questions with which I had nolling to do. I had, previous to appearing before the Committer, shown my notes to an infuential and actuve member of it, and he had told me, that the subjects I had selected were just some of those most important to be brought forward before the Committee. But Mr. Ayrton evidently thouzht otherwise, and at the end of my first day's examination, to which Mr. Tucker's remark applies, another member of the Committee told me that my that day's troubles were owing to my being a litte too ambitious in the
subjects I proposed. I then understood the cause of my unusual treatment. The next day, when Mr. Ayrton was not in the chair, I had som. fair treatment given me. Be this as it may; I am not the less thankful to Mr. Tucker for his opinion which 1 have already quoted bcforc.

It is true as Mr. Gibbs remarks in his minute of 28th May 1874 (after doing justice to the honesty and good intentions of myself Page 3 , and my Colleagues), that the old Durbarees were then making efforts to thwart us, though they had been only nominally associated with my Colleagues. Fut these Durbarees began to take heart, and lead back the Maharaja to his old bad ways, because the Bombay Government iefused to and or recognise me, and thereby were generally understood to be against me, because Colonel Phayre kept up open opposition to me and my Colleagues, and gave his ear'and encouragement to men like Bap oobhoy who knew well how to turn such power and opportunities to account, and because somehow or other Damodar entirely escaped any remark from Sir R. Meade's Commission, though Colonel Phayre was always talking loudly agrainst him as the Maharaj's worst evil genius.

The long delay in the decision on the Report of Sir R. Meade's Commission also unfortunately contributed largely towads encouraging the old Durbarees and giving time for the development of their intrigues. They took much advantage of the delay by getting up "gups" from time to time, at first that the Keport of the Commission was favourable to the Gaekwar, and latterly that the decision on the report was to be all right for the Gaekwar; and with the aid of such gups they tried to lead the Gaekwar into their own ways again. In short, for what Mr Gibbs complains, the Government and Colonel Phayre have themselves been the principal cause.

## BARODA BLUE BOOK No. 2.*

Colonel Phayre, in his letter to the Bombay Government of 9 th May with a P.S. of IIth May, with reference to the Gaekwar's Page 15 Khareeta of gth May, makes some remarks about me. Before notiong the most glaringly false statements in it, I may here state a circumstance, which if true, throws a clear light upon Colonel Phayre's whole fiture conduct towards me. Messrs. "the respectable" Bapoobhoy and Govindrao Mama reported, that on the receipt of the Khareeta, the Resident became exceedingly angry and that at a subsequent interview two or three days after, he said that the Khareeta had been written by me and that ("suiting the action to the word" with a strong emphasis and gesture of haeds) ho would "Girenga or Giránga" (fall or throw down) me. When this was reported to me by Nanasaheb I took it only as a bit of the Colonel's big talk, and thought no more about it. But the Blue Book now discloses that he seems to have exerted all his might and main to make good his vow of "giraoing" me, and I can only account by such vow for the strangely virulent attacks against me, and the persistent dinning into the ears of the Government several misrepresentations about me even though in some matter he had both public and personal explanations from me as to the true state of the cases.

Colonel Phayre referring back to my having written the precedence Khareeta of 5 th December 1872, alludes in an insinuating way to my obtaining Rs. 50,000 for the writing of it and for the agitation of the

[^4]question, though he knew the true state of the case from myself personally as well as from the public explanation I had already given. I shall have to say more' about this matter further on.

Colonel Ihayre calls me a "thorougly disappointed man," "unanimously pronounced to be a failure here as an aspirant to the office of Mimster not having been able up to the present time to effect any reform \&c."

I do not know how the Colonel found out my disappointment, whatever that means, unless it be that the wish was father to the thought, and it is no matter of surprise that his "highly respectable" informers, or perhaps the "respectable" Mr. Bapoobhoy, (who, we now find, was himself an aspirant to the office of Dewan, and was considered fit by the Colonel,) should have opined that I was a failure and made no reforms ; and that Colonel Phayre with his desire to "girao" me or at least with his Lias against me should welcome such opinion and make a special note of to to Government.

The fact simply being that some of the Durbarees were then endeavouring to thwart is under the circumstances I have already mentioned in connec ion with Mr. Gibbs' Minute, and they took advantage of the Coloncl's incimations against me.

Colonel Phayre says that Nanasaheb repudiated the obvious direct meanng of the words "much as 1 already suffered in dignity and authority from the Resident's open hostilty to my adminstration" \&c. First $o$ all the obvous meaning of this is simply a fact, there was nothing to repudiate And next, if Nanasaheb made any show of repudiating a single word of the Kharecta, or as the Colonel further on says, "he also expressed his disapproval of the general tone of the Khareeta by saying that such a production would never have emanated from any of the old Durbaree servants and appeared to express anxiety as to whether it would be despatched to-day or to-morrow," he told a falsehood. For the Gackwar, Nanas aheb and all the old Durbarees, approved of the Khareeta, and none more so than Nanasaheb himself. In fact it was at the desire of the Gackwar and Nanasaheb that a Kharecta of the kind should be sent, that 1 wrote it out, as I and Mr. Wadia agreed that this dcsire was reasonable. Colonel Phayre says, that he had "heard from independent sources that the whitdrawal of the Khareeta was actually mooted in the Durbar" This 15 etther false information, or I know nothing of such mooting.

Of the Colonel's poor tactics of making capital out of representing me, as a "mischievous poltical agitator" I need take no notice. When I am conscious of being actuated in all my public acts only by a simple sense of duty, I can afford to treat this and other such miserable clap-trap and devices with contempt.

Colonel Phayre says "facts like these prove the utter unfitness of Mr. Dadabhoy for the work of reform." As are the premises, so is the concluston. The so called "facts" being all fiction there is no need to say what the worth of the conclusion is. And a question naturally arises, what is the Colonel's own fitness to judge of the fitness of others? The present Blue Book and the Sind-resolution of 1872, answer this question. Moreover, some criterion may be formed of the Colonel's own judgment, by ascertaining who are his fit men. This I shall have to speak alout further on. It is quite enough for me to say here that his ideal being "the respectable" Bapoobhoy, there is no wonder in his opinion about my unfitness. I may, before finishing with the Colonel's letter under comment, make a remark here once for all, that the Colonel's power of speaking Hindustani is indifferent, and I had several times to interpret
his Hindustanı to the Maharaja. Heaven knows how much mischef may have arisen from the Colonel's misunderstanding and being misunderstood by others.

All the above clap-trap and abuse of me seem to have gone for nothing, for His Excellency the Govenor of Bombay, instead of foolishly rushing into motives \&c. looked to the Khareeta itself and in a becoming reply, endeavoured, according to His Excellency's views, to explain the Resident's conduct and ended his explanation with the courteous conclusion, "I feel sure, that your Hyghness, with this explanation before you, and being thus made acquainted with what had passed between the Resident and your Ministers, will perceive that the former acted in obedience to his instructions and will acquit him of any intention to offer you a public insult."

Some time after this answer was received from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Colonel Phayre sent me a message with Mr. Bapoobhoy, in Hindustani "give Dadabhai my compliments and tell him to secure his passage in the steamer as Government has decided to turn him out." What to say or think of this, what now appears to be simple impudence and a false use of the nume of Government, I do not know; or is it an invention of the "respectable " Bapoobhos

I find from this Blue Book some expression of dinapprobation against His Highness on the part of the Viceroy, with reference Page ${ }_{3}$ to the correspondence upon the subject of the insult and e-pecially about His Ilighness's yad of 7 th May 1874, to the Resident. I do not at present undertake to controvert His Excellency's views I necd sumply say thit as far as I remember, this disapprobation has not been communicated to the Gackwar and there was, therefore, no opportunity ot giving any explanation, and that with regard to the yad of 7th May, it so happens that though I do not say we objected to it, it was sufsersted and dictated in Marathi by one of the old Durbarecs, approved of by all the others, and simply translated by us. Did the Colonel's "respectable" informers tell him this?

## BLUE BOOK No. 4.*

This number contains a great deal of correspondence upon the question of redressing a varrety of complaints. Instead of wading through each case it will be suflicient to give a general explanation for the whole. The " honorable" gentlemen who had the Colonel's ear, had organised a regular system by which the people were kept up in a continued state of agitation. The mode of operation was this;-with regard to the Cultivators, a number of Vakeels went about the districts telling people they were going to manage through the Saheb to get the assessment reduced half or more, that the ryots should resist payment and complan loudly at the least real or imaginary coercion by the authorities. Then ether the Vakeels or ryots would first complain at once to the Resident, then come to me, Mr. Kazi or to both of us, make insolent demands from us, and the moment we conymenced any question or inquiry, they would refuse to answer, threaten us they would go back to the Saheb and complain that their complants had not been heard or redressed, and away they would walk off to the Saheb. I explained this to the Resident several times but to no effect. He would take it for granted that we paid no attention to the complants, hurl vexatious yads to us and write letters to Government inclosing peti-

[^5]tons, or statements taken by humself, containing all sorts of faischoods and caaggetations. In short etther we should give all that every body chose to demand with the Saheb at their back, or we were at once pronounced as deaf to the complaints of the people and having no intention to cany out the recommendations of the Commission \&c. \&ic. In thrs way was the farce of coming to us and getting no redress, and a cuntinuet agitation were kept up among all classes of comphinants. It was simply impossible for us to come to any weaconable settlement with any cemplainants. They always showed clearly and openly that they were conscious of their strength that the Saheb would get them all they wanted. With regard to the Sirdars especially, it was a common report that they had atuce from the Colonel himself to remain thoroughly combined and not to come to any terms directly with the Gaekwar and a case has come to ny knowledge lately that, after a certain individual obtamed redress directly from the Durbar, he found the doors of the Residency shut aganst him for any visits. In the case of two or three settlements made by mo the partues in a day or two withdrew from the arrangements and were ayain among the crowd of complainants meeting at the Residency. It is uscless now to go into all the details of the long correspendence in the 4 th Number of the Blue Bock. I would only glance at some important mitters.
With reforence to the long and fussy correspondence about the Sirdars, the whole pith of it is contained in one sentence of Colonel Phayre's yad, No. 1965 of 19 th October 1874, viz. "also whether, refering to Fags $\mathrm{F}_{7}$ my jad No. 1502 C .7 , dated 12th August 187t, any, and if so, what steps have been taken by your Highness towards settling the gries ances of this class."

Now in connection with this subject of the Sirdars while he is writing to Gov ernment about my inexperience and my inablity to grasp general principles \&c., the following will explain his own actual concuct in the matter. To the above questoon put by him, a reply was sent, but somehow that reply docs not make its appearance in the Blue Book; or that reply would have shown the character of the Colonel's proceedings and tactics. As I have not got the Baroda records at command, I write from memory. The facts are these. Soon after I commenced working with Colonel Phayre, 1 proposed to him as the most practicable and shortest way of setthing all the claims brought before the Commission, and chefly those of the Sirdars, that he would kindly give me his own views after a fair consideration of each case, as to how it should le sctiled: that I would endeavour to carry out at once such views as 1 could agree to, and that for all those cases in which we differed, I would draw up a statement of my views to be submitted with his remarks upon them for the consideration and final advice of Government. To this promsal he agreed, and gave me a statement of his views on some cases. Then hr stopped, and whenever 1 pressed for more, he told me he was very busy and with one reason or other further progress stopped. And while it was thus with him that the cause of delay rested and in the face of the arrangement between us, he suddenly turned round and asked the question quoted above. The Gaekwar's reply then naturally was a reminder of our arrangement and the Colonel was red-hot angry with me when I isited him the next day after the reply was received by him, for telling him in the reply that the cause of the delay was himself. After he cooled down he said he would take up the cases, and would give any assistance be could, and if I remernber right, he wrote so in his reply also. But little or nothing further, I think, was done, and when one day he blurted out, "I am not going to shew you my hand," I gave up hopes of any further assistance
from him, and my colleagues and myself set to work to prepare our own proposals to be submitted to Government. To come to any reasonable settlement direct with the complanants themselves was out of the question, as long as they entertanned the hope that the Saheb, who had fought so hard for them before the Commission, was sure to get them all they asked. Our proposals were subsequently forwarded to Government in a Khareeta. The above explanation and the Khareeta will shew first that there was no want of desire on our part to settle the claims on some reasonable basis, and secondly that the matter required a much wider and juster consideration that the Colonel would allow with his great statesmanlike grasp Thus it will be seen that the Colonel hunself was the chief cause of the delay in the settlement of the Surdars' cases, and yet he makes so much artful fuss about my mexperience, inability, \&c. \&c. to Government

In his letter of 1 th August, Colonel Phayre says "His Highness has long wanted to part from Mr. Dadabhai himself, but he Page 23. feals, as I betore reported to Government, his home influence, and that he will give him a bad name" Whether the Colonel has known this from his "highly respectable" informers, or from the Gaekwar is not mentioned The Gaekwar knew very well and I had often told him, that if he desired a change at any tume I would never be in his way for a moment and I never held out to him any of my supposed "home influence 'or even of any excation on my part to do him harm if I left him. I had always told him openly to consult his own best interests only and that I would go out at his desire just as I had gone in at his urgent request. Was the Colonel ever told this?

The Colonel says "Mr. Dadabhai, I an reliably informed, went so far a day or two ago as to draw up an agreement of 25 artucles to the effect that the Maharaja was to make over the Raj to him and his party, in order to effect the reforms specified in His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General's Khareeta of 25 th ultumo." As I have to notice this misrepresentation further on when it is agan repeated, I pass on to the next statement with the simple remark, that it betrays a nidiculous credulity to suppose that I could ask the Maharaja to "make over the Raj" to me and my party. But he had "reliable" mimformation, of course, from his "highly respectable" imformers !

The Culonel says, "when consulted I gave my decided opinion that Mr. Dadabhat and his party had not the knowledge, abilty, experience or weight of character sufficient to carry out the reforms needed in every department of the State." Certanly, the Colonel is quite right. We were not his men. His ideal was the "respectable" Mr. Bapoobhoy and the report was that men like Mr. Narayan Wasudew Kharkar were considered by him a hundred thousand times better than us; and Nanasaheb said he was in favour again and could manage to get the Dewanship for himself, offering to onc of my Colleagues the Naeb Dewanship, which was dechned. Men like "the honourable and perfectly rehable" the Bhaoo Poonckar, to whom I am told the Colonel has given a flaming certuficate and whose transcendent merit, he has also recorded in the Residency, and the "highly respectable" mformers of the proceedings of the Durbar, who traitors to their master, also managed to sell the Colonel for therr private ends, were men to the Colonel's heart. By the bye what should be thought of an Englsh gentleman, fraternising with and encouraging men in the confidence of therr master to become his informers. What wonder then that we, not possessing the knowledge, abllty, experience and weight of character, and other extraordinary merits of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy and "the hundred thousand times better than us" Mr. Kharkar, were discarded by the Colonel as worthless '

Had we only shown the extraordinary merit of the policy of "please the Saheb", we would have turned out the greatest administrators and reformers in all India! But unfortunately our schools taught us one or two naughty lessons, such as to look to both sides of every question, to do our duty, \&c. and so, of course we must suffer the consequence of such pernicious teaching, and be denounced unfit and unequal to the superior men of the Colonel's heart! The Colonel has, several times, dinned into the ears of Government about our inability \&c. \&c. I shall not repeat the above remarks, but simply note the statement hereafter.

The Colonel says "that none of the people from the Sirdar downwards had the least confidence in them." 1 suppose this is also the infurmation from his "highly respectable" informers. 1 am speaking in no spurit of boastfulness, but 1 may say, that the mark we have left and the confidence we have inspired among all classes of the people, (except the harpics, the intriguers and their dupes), by showing the difference between pure and impure justice in general administration, and between honesty of purpose and shams and intrigues, and by the progress we actually made in a short time, and against tremendous difficulties, will take a long time to be forgotten. This statement is not intended to be a history of our work, but only a notice of the matters mentioned in the Blue Book with reference to us. I may therefore only give a few broad facts. We had to clean an augean stable besides introducing new systems. The Nazráná system in judicial cases, which in plain Enghish means selling justice to the highest bidder, was put down by us against great opposition. This was the very question which first brought us into collision with the Gaekwar and the old Durbarees, and the "respectable" Mr. Bapoobhoy was most acne in promoting the very first case of Nazrana-justice that cropped up before me.

From the day Mr. Bal Mangesh took charge of the Court, the proceedings of the Court underwent, what to the people was, an extraordinary change. Instead of the hole and corner arrangements between the Vakeels and the Judges for the amount of the Nazráná to the Gaekwar and bribes for the Judges and other Durbarees, a thorough investigation of each case in open Court and decisions based entirely upon merits, without any private intcrviews with the Judge, may well inspire the confidence which should take long to be forgotten.

In Mr. Wadia's Court a similar change was simply astonishing to the people, to see Vahivatdars and Fozdars and other officials (supposed to possess influence at high quarters) accused of corruption or oppression, tried in open Court or thoroughly cross-examined as witnesses, and made to feel the weight of law and justice when found guilty.

Sir 1. Pelly testifies that "Until purged by the administraNo, 6, Page 42. tion of Mr. Dadabhoy, the criminal and civil adminstration of justice was notoriously venal and corrupt."
Messrs. Mangesh and Wadia had under my direction nearly prepared the Penal Code and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, on the basis of the English Codes with such modifications as were adapted to the wants and circumstances of the State. Mr. Kazi Shahabudin, doing his best to meet all pressing evils that wanted immediate redress or attention, was recasting the revenue system. Re-organisation of Courts of Justice, Police, the Revenue system, the Municipality and Public Works \&c. was all being prepared and the financial condition was fully placed by me before Sir L. Pelly. I had also then pointed out to Sir L. Pelly, that Baroda was a most promising state. That it would do credit even to ordinary management, provided that the management was honest, and that its chef want, and that most indispensable one, was good men and a thorough though gradual change of personnel in all departments. Its revenue was capable
of being much increased even with diminished incidence of taxation, and that even as the condition of the revenue then was, ordinary careful and honest administration and check of extravagance should leave a large surplus, with a liberal administrative expenditure. But the great want was the men to carry out all the plans of reform settled upon b) us. Only four of us had to slave the whole routine work thll nearly the time we left. At first, the Bombay Government refused us the and of the ofricials we asked till the Viceroy's decision on the report of Sir R. Meade s Commission should be known, and latterly we lost nearly another three months before we at last got some men.

Thus therefore the obstacles to rapid progress was the Resident's open opposition, the passive opposition of the Government, and the encouragement thereby given to the old Durbarees to lead the Gaekwar back to their own ways. A fair moral and direct support from the Resident and the Bombay Government would have produced far more satisfactory results. I think, I may say that it was surprising, we were able to do what we did against such great odds. Enthusiasm and fath in the right cause alone enabled us to stand the high-pressure and harassing work we had to do and we did, and had I had the necessary time to carry out our plans of reform, I had far hopes of showing that my appointment was not a mistake.

Again, notwithstanding that Colonel Phayre was fully aware of the nature of the obstacles I have mentioned above, and especially that I had not yet obtained the and of men I wanted to carry out the refurms, and that I could not have had any far trial, he endeavours to mislead Government "that juiging from the fair trial which Mr. Dadabhan has had for the last mine months and Mr. Kazi Shahabudin for five, together with the Page ${ }_{4}$ results of that trial I saw no hope of the requisite work being done by them." Of course not! It would not suit him to see anything of the kind in us, because his men (persons like Bapoobhoy) and he did not want us. But even the Bumbay Government, with all their desire to support him, could not swallow this, and admitting partly the true causes, I find them telling him it could not with certanty be stated int we had a fair trial.

The Colonel says ".that I loubted if men of, abilty and character from British districts would serve under Mir Dadabhai" Certamly the Colonel may well dcubt that tes men of character and ablaty like Mr. Bapoobhoy would like to apply te serve under me lest they may not be accepted. As to men like Messrs Mahadev Govind Ranade, Nana Morojec, Dosabhoy Framı, Gopalres Hurri Desti MLook, The Honorable V. N. Mandhk, Mr. Pestonjı Jehangir, Mr. Shambhooprasad and others, they of course do not, I suppose, possesp arfy character and ability in the Colonel's eyes. If I said that Sir T.Mpdava Rgw might not have objected to serve under me, would be of no avail. None of these can reach the high standard of the "respectable" Bappobhoy"whom he proposed in this very letter as one of the Provisional Government in our place and who was somehow discovered by the Colonel, to be already then "really doing the Dewan's work," r.e . my work, even when I was still the Dewan! After this what absurdities would not the Colonel believe and say!

The Colonel says " as "might naturally be supposed Mr. Dadabhai and his friends are indignant at my having expressed such an opinion regarding them." The Colonel, I suppose, ether took this as a matter of course, or his respectable informers told him this. The fact is that when we heard that the Colonel was against us, we plainly told His Highness that we did not cane a straw, if he thought it would be to his interest that we should leave. I reminded him especially that he knew well that it was not love of power, position or pelf that had taken me there, but only his
urgent request forihis and his State's good ; and that he had therefore to make up his mind as he thought best and only express bis wish, and we would be out of his way at once. All this the Durbarees knew, but the Colonel did not get this information, I suppose !

In his letter to the Bombay Government of 13th August 1874 Page 28. the Colonel while objecting to the Gackwar's proposal to make Nanasaheb Pratinidh, drags me in as follows:-"That if this was the kind of reform His Highness was going to carry out under Mr. Dadabhai's admunistration, it could onlyend in one result, and that very shortly." Now as a mere matter of opinion 1 should have taken no notice of this, especially as the Bombay Government have told him how wrong he was in the way in which he objected to the Pratindhiship. But this short sentence pours a flood of light for which I was not prepared, and I see the Bombay Government have been struck with it, and in their mildest manner notice it as " mjudicious." But they could have bardly realised the full import of this blurting, as I cannot help reading it in conjunction with the reports and events of the time.

The Colonel was reported to have made his vow to "girao" me in May as I have already mentioned, but as matters now appeared taking a turn contrary to his wishes and as his clients (the Complainants belore the Commission) began teasing him that, after all, the Gael:war was going to have his own way in the appointment of his Minister and a tral for 17 months, Colonel Phayre was then reported to have said that he would bring doun my administration within 2 or 3 months by raising all Daroda teminory up against it. I had laughed out this report at the time I had taken it to be a bit of the constant braggardism of Bhaoo Poonekar and others, and whatever I may have thought of Colonel Phayre's weaknesses, and of the charm his "honorable" friends were exercising upon him, I never believed that an English gentleman of Coloncl Phayre's position and education would degrade himself to such a plot to gain a triumph over me. But reading the "injudicious," out of place and illogical sentence as it is; looking back to the devices with which the Sirdars were made to rise, and the ryots kept up in a state of agitation and passive rebelfort, (which uth the spary fof a single hast; step on my part might hape tourst out into a corflagtation); also calling to mind that only 2 days before he wrate* his letter ander comment, he had sent among other mèsages to tha Gaektar, ${ }^{*}$ int his "respectable" Bapoobhoy and Govindrao Mama, that rat; appontment would be mar and not peace and that it would brug about His llighness' rum in 3 months; and remembering the way in which the Colonel had once blurted out to me that the Gaekwar hat burrowly escaped a general rising, and as if I might have still to look out for it; i think I cannot be blamed to be inclined to believe the repprit: The Colonel can say, whether it was true or not, but one thing secmst ${ }^{4}$ tain, that the rascals, I beg their pardon, the "respectable" and "honorable" men around him took every advantage and made splendid capital and mischief out of his blind side and weakness of great self-esteenn. This same remarkable letter, containing the prophecy of my administration coming to an end "shortly", also discloses another remarkable fact; a touching wail of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy, and the Colonel's sympathy therewith. The Colonel communicates to Government, "and at last Eapoobboy himself remarked that every thing appeared to have been turned upside down, that he who was recommended by the Commission has been rejected, and that Nanasaheb who has been rejected was to have promotion." Goodness knows how Sir R. Meade's Commission made out Bapoobhoy, the respectable man out of the whole lot of the Durbaress, and 1 wonder
what the Gaekwar and Nanasaheb would have to say to this, remembering how Bapoobhoy was telling them every day of the valiant fights he was fighting for them with the Resident. Verily Lapoobhoy is a remarkable man, devoted to and in the confidence of his master and yet "respectable" and beloved among his Master's opponents and enemies ' Discovered by the Commission mainly under the gudance of Colonel Phayre's opinion, to be the only respectable man, admidst all the scamps of Durbarees, was it not unkind of that Commission, not to hive recommended that such a "respectable" person should at once be rescued from such bad company and sent out of Baroda; a consideration he so well deserved!

About the great offence, I am supposed to have committed, in Page 29 calling the Colonel "toom," and which in fact was an oversight on the part of the Furnis, I have already made penance, by mmed.ately withdrawing and altening the yad when the Colonel mentioned his objection. This somehow does not appear in the Blue Book. 1 had no more idea of usulting him in this or any other way than of taking has place, though the Colonel gave me the credit of calling this a manoeuvre on my part for some sinster object. About the sccond "Manceuvre" with which I am credited as having said that when advice is uanted it will be asked for, and which the Colonel supposes to be "put forward in order as far as possible to prevent my (Colonel's) seeing real reforms carried out and the orders of Government respected," I need not take any notice, as the Bombay Government has discharmed him of his delusion by telling him that his objection was "most unreasonable" and "it is difficult to see what other answer the Gaekwar could have been expected to give."

Now comes the Colonel's highest effort to dislodge me and my Page 3 r party; his letter of 15 th August 1874 which requires some detailed
notice. I pass over his thrd or fourth dinning inta the ears of Government about my and my party's incapability to effect reforms. Repetition scems to be in the eyes of the Colond a grand argument. The statement in the second prata. that it was under my advice the Gackwar had refused to go to Dpmbay during the Viceron's visit, is untrue. The statement that 1 persuaded the weak minded Malbatrao to appoint me his agent in England, if untrue, "And the Colonel can have no excuse of being misinforme on thie sphiectit Not only had I publicly* denied

[^6]this some twelve months before, but I had personally told him at my first visit to him that I had never asked to be, nor had been, appointed an Agent of the Gaekwar in England. That the Residency Parsee head clerk had given me aid or information is untrue. This "Manceuvre" comes with very ill grace indeed from the Colonel who himself tells Government "I amalways kept well informed of Durbar proccedings ' and who had "highly respectable" persons of the Durbar to keep hm "well informed." Others may be wrong for doing such things but in a Resident perhaps it may be all right '
About the matter of the Rs. 50,000 whe h the Colonel misrepresents in the 4th para. for the second or third time, I have the same complaint. As I have already said before, not only had I given a public* explanation of this matter, but I had personally explained to him my whole previous connection with the Gaekwar ; and yet the Colonel has thought proper to take every opportunity of misrepresenting this matter. To the public explanation I may add here, that had I followed my own im pulse, and had I not been pressed by the Gaekwar, and strongly persuaded by friends, I would have simply declined the offer as I at first did, and the matter would have ended. That this is not an after-thought may be judged from the facts that I had declined similar offers before of 25,000 and 30,000 Rupees from two other princes, that if I had chosen, I could have entered into an arrangement with a third prince to become his Agent with 30 or 40,000 Rupees cash down, and a lac or so in prospect. Moreover, not in any of these cases was there any promise of exerting influence in high quarters. It was all the service of personal brainwork. During the last thirty years I have given such brain-work to many persons without remuneration.
1 agan pass over the Colonel's remarks in the 5 th para. about my unftness \&c. As to the long list of counts in his indictment against me in this para. viz ; the "deliberate neglect of the recommendations of the Commission for eight months, the increasing injustice done to British subjects. the continued oppression of the ryots, the systematic resistance to all reasonable demands of the British Government as represented in the large number of cases still pading ; there is the rroglect to take notice of Government references of the most urgen kind ; there is the injury done to our trade, and the firect act of disretepeci yhtownt to the Resident in the

[^7]* See Note or preceding page and this.
opium case" and others; I have only to say that all these are creations of his imagination. I really wonder how Colonel Phayre could think of writing such nonsense. He might just as well have proceeded to say that I was going to set fire to the ocean, or still better to drink it all up. What strange impulse or desire must have made him write all such things !

In the 6th para. comes again that ridiculous story of my party turning the advice of the Governor General in his Khareeta of 25 th July 1874, to our own account by endeavouring to induce the Gaekwar Page 32. to sign "an agreement" to the general cffect that the administıation should be placed in our hands for a certain period; or as he says in another place "an agreement of 25 articles," "to make over the Raj" to me and my party; and that my proposal for His Highness signing an agreement "to make over Riasat to any one whatever except the British Government" was "an offence against the sovereignty of the paramount power." Where on earth had the Colonel's common sense fled when he seriously wrote all this stuff of my "taking over the Raj" and "offending against the sovereignty of the Paramount Power!"

My colleagues did not then require any binding for a fix period. They had been originally engaged for three years; with the provision that if the Gaekwar dispensed with their services before that period they were to receive half of the salary for the balance of the period. At this time, instead of asking for a fixed period, they were actually giving up their places of their own accord. As to myself, I had never asked a binding for any fixed period. My only condition with the Gaekwar from the very beginning was, and of which the Colonel was well informed by me, that as long as I had the Gaekwar's confidence and I felt myself useful, I serve; and when the confidence and usefulness cease, I make my salam and go. I never attached the slightest importance to any bond or signature of the Gaekwar on this matter. I went only on a call of duty and I cared not to remain longer than I could perform that duty. I may give here a brief sketch of the facts about the extraordınary "agreement" by which I and my party were deposing the Gaikwar, and making the Raj our own ; our threats to leave Baroda and what is most ridiculous and racy, my taking Damodar into my counsels and aid.

Under the causes I have already mentioned the old Durbarees began their pranks to lead back the Gaekwar to his old way, by first reviving the practıce of deciding judıcial cases by Nazrínás. After remonstrating and opposing this step for some time, about the beginning of July (the Viceroy's Khareeta of 25th July being received by us on 3rd August) we let His Highness know, that if he was bent in reviving the Nazrand and relapse into some other old practices, he might please himself and we should go. This message communicated both in writing and verbally by Mr. Wadia, led to a discussion between us and His Highness which went on for more than a fortnight. During this time Damodar had once seen me on some business, when he also communicated to me a message from the Gaekwar upon the subject of the remonstrance I had made. I then told him that His Highness had to consider carefully the course he was taking. He said he would communicate the message to His Highness but I saw no more of him afterwards and this is magmfied into taking him into my counsels and aid, and to make my connection with him effective with Government and to shew my company, the Colonel has taken particular care to describe him as "the notorious Damoderpunth the present favourite of the Gaekwar, the panderer to his grossest vices, the oppressor of women \&c." though somehow Sir R. Meade's Commission did not get any information to say a word about this man, when all other evil-advisers were denounced.

Our discussion'with the Gaekwar was for a few days interrupled on account of Mr Wadia's absence to Bombay. When he returned, and we found that neither His Highness nor his Durbarees appeared to understand our remonstrances, 1 sent word with Mr. Wadia that we must go and that he was smply wasting time and words and was much mistaken if he thought we would care a straw for our places, and allow hum and his mandal to go back to therr old ways.

He was now farly roused and earpestly requested Mr. Wadia to ask me to make a Memo. of what I wanted. This was on the 29th july. This request of the Gaekwar led to what Colonel I'hayre calls an "agrecment of 25 articles" to "make over the Raj to us" and which proved such a midhtmare to him, in his anxiety for the sovereignty of the paramount power, but which in reality, was simply a letter from myself to the Gaekwar to let ham see clearly what we considered necessary for preventin: the old abuses from crecping in again, and for making proper reform, if we were to scrve him in our respective positions. As I have already said, I never cared for any signed bond or agreement, as it would both be no use if he did not observe it, nor would i care to serve under such circumstances. I give below* translation of the monstrous "agreement" of 35

## * To his hichness shrimant sirkar.

Ajarn Hormusjee has communicated to me all that Sirkar said to hum in Shriment Nanamha', " house , iafter that birkar aent to me Nanasaheb and Kajeshree Damodarpubt. Itolatizin ion communcute to Sirhar that if the substance of what Surkir cold Ajam Hormusjee be as shisd below, I cannot carry on the work.
4. No body can ever alter Sircar's orders.
2. Sircar uill give orders as he like
3. Sircar will upend as muct as he like altogether.
4. To tahe Sircar's sanction in every matter.
5. Orders are to be from Sircar and power for Dadabhai."

Of the above matters, Damodarpunt took a note to communicate to the Surcar and promased to get a reply from ham, Gut no reply has been received.
After that I sent word to Sirkar, that I could not carry on the administration of the Raj. We should therefore be allowed leave to go whth uilhagness. Thereupoa burcar told Ajan Honmusjee to bring a memo. of what Dadabhaa sett wanted.

Now if Sircar determme to contmue in the ame views which he expressed to Ajam Hormucjee, 1 cannot carry on the admumstration. Had I known uuch views at the commencement. I wouhi not have undertaken the work, and if the Surcar's present vews reman the same lhave then no hope that my views would be accepted. But as Sircar has desired to let hum know my views, I cannot but accede. My sumple object is the Sirkars, and Sirkar's State's welfare, oiherwise I have no business here. The chief foundation of the State muse be lasd upon justice and farness.

And Sircar giving me his confidence, should asist in and sanction my work with a suncere heart. Learing this object in mind I state below what I ask.

1. Writen orders should be sent to all departments, that oxders written in the name of the Sircar or Hazoor and countersigned by Dadalham are only to be obeyed. No other orders should te obeyed.
Firat Explanation. The vecessity for my counter-signature ts only this, that the order to be made coming to miy knowledge, I may be able to give my opinon or adrice, or make any inguiry that may be necessary and should there be any mastake or musunderstandung, I may be alue wo explain it So that proper orders alone may be given.
Second Expianaticy Sucarsavs that if on some oceasion, under a pressure from the Rancesaheb the Sircar gave durect orders whthout my knowledge I should aof object to that. Abeat tals I have to submit with every respect, that if on even a single oceasion Sircar would give a direet order, people will bnng recommendation to sircar and Raneesaheb and conatandy tuterfere with the regular course of business. "Bandobust" is such a thing that 40 one link to trokeat the whetre chain is rendered useless. With one irregular unstance Surcar will lose all hus prave. (1)
2. All "chuties" or orders for paymeat on the State Banks must be matioled by me. Withers that no payments should be made from the "Dookans"-such order anust be made to the "Dookans. (2)
3. A certain amount should be fixed for Sircar's private expenduture includiag that of hit
 4. It $1 s$ necessary to engage the services of several new fit men, and to increase the salarnes of fil

[^8]attides which scared the gallant Colonel so much, and in which I had adopted the same principles which I had recommended to His Highness the Holkar, during his negociations with Sir T. Madava Row; vnz., that in all matters to end in permanent results, the voice of the sovereign should prevail, the Dewan giving his best advice; that in all ordmary every-day administiation, the Dewan should be left free and, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a large latitude should be left to the Dewan to introduce the necessary reforms, as the respunsibility of the extent and result of the reforms would be chiefly on the head of the Dewan, and as in this case it was an especial fcature that it was manly for the purpose of reforms that I had been invited.

The Memorandum, asked by the Gaekwar, was at once prepared in the shape of the letter from me given at foot of the preceding page and the Gaekwar entered into a fair discussion of the conditions proposed, but while this discussion was going on, we received the Viceroy's Kharceta on 3rd August. Coloncl Phayre, however, makes out the "agreement" as being proposed by us a day or two before his letter of inth August, and as being "one of our first effoits" to turn the advice contained in the Khareeta to our own account, by snatching away the Raj; and the old Durbarces, for the nonce, suddenly become good men in the eyes of Colonel Yhayre, as being solicitous to save thear master from the clutches of the Monsters who were going to devour the Riasat ' When the Viceroy's Kharecta of $25^{\text {th }}$ July, arrived on grd August, its consideration engrossed the attention of the Gackwar, and the "agreement" fell into the background altogether. New intrigues started on their feet under pressure of Colonel Phayre's, what the Bombay Government call "determincd personal opposition to me," and his encouragement to Dapoobhoy and to Nanasaheb as I had then heard.
have permishon to spend five lahhs per annum more for three years, than the present (administra-
ton) expendture. (of course) expend ture will be incurred as necessary only. (4)
Like the ahove His Highness the Holharhas arranged with Sir T. Madava Kow.
5 What I am not to do without the sanction of the Sircar.

1. To give land or village to any body.
2. Fo incur any new charitshle or religious expenditure, or to make a present of more than Ra. 500 to any bedy.
3. To bevow a charitable, or other annuity on any body.
-To make new laws.
s 10 emertan or dismiss servants of salary exceeding Rs. 500 per month.
4. To aher the rates of assessment.
5. To do any public work costing above Rs. 1000.
L. Aiduaton. Sircar should give these sanctions personally, it is heped that Surcar reposmg contidence in me will gise sanction quachly. Delay or inconvenience in the sanction, would produce disappountment and a check to hearty work, for taking such sancuon Sircar should fix a place and time, to enable me to have private miterviews for a certan time every day.
6. Nothugg should bo done contrary to the exasting Revenue, Livil and Criminal laws, thll altered by new lans.
7. All correcpondence with the Britush Govemment to be carried on accordiag to the satisfaction and sanction of the Surcar.
8. No Nuzrana whatever should be taken in zatters of jusuce, or of appointments or dismussal of officu ds.

Axp amatoom. In no case old or new, should any Nagrana be taken by any body. The cases of Vaco and Majmootiar must be inquired into and decided according to jusuce.

Several high ofticials onght to be made to resign their Dubaree posts.
10. Should Surcar have to make any appointment in state-service, 1 should be consulted.

Explimetios. Moteram Dulpatram had once applied to me for service. I had refused. Sircar knew this, and yet without asking me Sircar has engaged bim to do some secret Folicical work. This is aganst my (views). He should not be retained in the service.
I now most earnestly request that if Sircar would order to conduct the administrations according to the above clauses, it is nost essentially necessary for the Sircar to make a thorough determinauon, not to disturb it afterwards. It is my duty to preserve in tact the nghts and morease the fame of Sircar and I shall not fall to do all I can methat way. Date 3 ist July 1874 .
(Signed) Dadablani Nadrojt.
(4) Under the circumstances of the tune, when the old Durbarees always endeavoured "to thwart " reforms, thus hatude as well as that of the sub-clause 5 of clause 5 became an absalute zecessity.

When this came to our knowledge, we at once actually fave in our resignations on the gth of August, so that the Gaekwar was left completely frec to act as he liked without any difficulty or discussion from our part, and get rid of us by simply accepting our resignations. But he would do nothing of the kind, and on that very same day he brought such a pres. sure of entreaty upon us, not to leave him, that we felt ourselves forcul to withdraw our resignations. When Colonel Phayre must have heard that $H_{1 s} H_{i g h n e s s ~ w o u l d ~ n o t ~ a l l o w ~ u s ~ t o ~ g o-B a p o o b h o y ~ a n d ~ G o v i n d r a n-m a m a ~}^{\text {- }}$ brought a message from the Colonel to the Gaekwar on the ith of Ausust, that His Highness should not appoint me, should turn all four uf us out, that he (the Colonel) was ready to say this to our face 10 times over, that Manibhoy, Boevey, and Kharkar were a hundred thousand times beitir than I, that he would shut up the Bangalo if I was apponted Dewan, that my appointment would be war and not peace, and that it would lormgr about His Highness' rum in three months, \&c., \&c. Further in the cyening we heard that Bapuobhoy was also one of the Colonel's contemplated Cabinct. We again told His Highness that the Coloncl was really strongly against us, and that though we thought that if he (the Gackwar) was sincere and loyal in his promises of reform, and showed that sincerity unmistakably by his actions, no harm would come to him from the Lritish Government, and especially the present Viceroy, who had so clearly shown his consideration and justice towards him, we still desired that he should consider carefully before he decided upon my continuing in my Dewanship. The Gaekwar, however, made up his mind and sent the yad for mulitary honors to be accorded to me as Dewan, on the 14 th of August. This yad brought forth this letter of 1 5th August, which I am commenting upon, and which is a tissue from berinning to end of misrepresentations and false statements. Of the rest of the letter from para. 7 and of another string of hallucinations and abuses; and of further dinnings about my unfitness \&c., I need not take any notice. They are of a piece with the rest of the letter; all false and imaginary.

Almost all the above misrepresentations \&c. and further repeated dinnings about my unfitness, want of grasp \&c. are repeated in Colonel Phayre's Report of 2nd November 1874. But it is sickening and useless to go through them again. I shall notice just a few things, that are new and important. I may give an instance of what is etther his extraordinary gullibility and carelessness, or his desire to misrepresent me.
"The salary," says he, " of the new Dewan, Mr. Dadabhai Page 6o. Nowrojee, has been fixed at a lakh of Rupees per annum.

Certainly a matter like this should be expected to be known to and described by a Resident more accurately. He could have easily ascertained this as well as many other [truths by asking me, instead of writing all sorts of untruths behind my back. Now my salary proper was only 63,000 , Baroda Rupees, then equal to about 53,000 Bombay Rupees. Out of the rest of the "lakh" Rupees 31,000 was simply the pay for a Paga, serving in the contingent, which was proposed to be transferred to my name, (but which I had not allowed so to be transferred, as the then holder of it had represented to me a grievance upon the subject); and 6,000 Rupecs were for the maintenance of an elephant and for other state-ceremonal requirements for the Dewan, 1000 of them being "palkhi" allowance.

The Report of 2 nd November is in itself the best proof of the undue and vexatious interference of the Colonel which most seliously interfered with my regular work, and of either his utter want of thought, or intentional ignoring, that reforms and redresses could not be made without men and time to inquire and to act, and that to very nearly the time of this very report we had not received the aid of British officials we had
asked for. Even the Bombay Government recognised this necessity and recommended that 3 months more should be allowed in the probation on account of the delay ; viz. "to extend this term from the 3 Ist of Dccember 1875 till the 31st March 1876 ."

In para. 145 of this report, the Colonel writes as a matter of Page $c_{0}$ complaint against me, that "Again in a Khareeta written by Mr. Dadabhai to IIs Excellency the Viceroy, dated 19th April 1874, acknowledging the receipt of the report of the Commission, he stated that he was preparing a full reply to the Report." Even if I had sand so, there would have been nothing wrong, had I been of the opinion that a reply should be made. But what should we think of this statement, after reading its following short history. The Gujaratee saying "ûlio Chor Kotzal ne diande" (The thief fining the magistrate instead) is well verified in this instance. The Report of the Commission was received at Nowsaree. I and Mr, Wadia went there on 13 th April. After reading and explaining the report, a short Kharecta was prepared the next day,* as the Gaekwar desired and we approved. This was copied fair, signed and sealed on the 15 th April. The next morning Nanasaheb took it to Colonel Phayre. Or reading his own copy of it, the Colonel flung the paper away, and said this was no reply. It was only a trick of mine to seat myself firmly, and to leqve the old Durbarces out in the cold. A full reply should at once be made to the Report. The Kharecta was brought back, the Resident himself so suddenly turning over a new leaf and sympathisingly recommending a full and immediate defence. I need not say that I had not the remotest idea of the motive imputed to me in the above message which Nanasaheb brought and which was repeated by Bapoobhoy. Now with the Resident's recommendation, the old Durbarees became strong in their advice to defend at once. We two gave a decided "no." We explained, that though the Report of the Commission was open to some exception and attack, it would be simply suicidal on the part of His Highness to make any such attempt and that we should not be surprised if Colonel Phayre took hold of it to shew to the Viceroy that the Gaekwar had learned nothing and forgotten nothing and that he was stll incorrigibly bent on his old ways which the Commission had so unmistakably condemned. To me, I said, it was quiet puzzling, that Colonel Phayre should suddenly become so solicitous about the character of those very people, whom he was himself most instrumental in getting denounced. However, be the Colonel's motive what it may, we said, we were decidedly against making any defence at all, especially then, till something more was known of the Viceroy's mind, and that we should not mar the friendly spirit that was shown in the Viceroy's Khareeta.

His Hıghness took time to consider and agreed with us. Another Khareeta, with certain addition to meet his wishes to some extent, was prepared, adopted, copied far on the usual gold paper and ready for signature. But during this time the old Durbarees were at it again. Had not even the Resident recommended that a defence should be made, and that at once, so at last the Gaekwar turned round and refused to sign the Khareeta and determined to defend at once. We repeated our advice distinctly. We would not have any defence at all, at least not any then and left him to please himself. The stakes, large as they were, were his, and we had

[^9]discharged our duty to give him out best advice. The Rusilent's recommendation and sympathy carried the day. A telegram was prepired the sent at once to the Viceroy fid a corresponding alleration was made in the Kharceta, as follows. In the rejected Kharecta, the paragraph was:-
"As your Excellency, however, is to communicate to me shortly your friendly advice, I reserve, for the present, the question of the opinion of the Commission aboft my general administration, and more particulari even about my personal conduct and that of my Dewan fiom which I should naturally desire to clear ours'liés's at an early opportunty. 1 neel only say at present that I have an earnest desire \&c."

For this was substituted ;-"As your Excelleney, however, Fage 343 No :. is to communicate to me shortly your friendly adice, I have telerraphed to your Excellency that should the opinions and recommen in ions of the Report of the Commission be hkely to influence your Evcel'ency adversely to my rights, I request your Excellency tu postpone ditermining upon the friendly advice to be given to me thl m: reply to the Report is reccived by your Excellency. I am preparin: this full reply to the Report. In the meantime Sc." With this alteration the Kharecta was sent on 10th April 1874, and to which the Colonel refers in a way, as if I had done something very wrong and encourared the Gackwar to give a full reply. Now, be my advice sound or musiticen, it is strange that Colonel Phayre who is himself the cause of the conplant he makes, fathers it upon me and in in way to insinuate a prepulice agangt me in the mind of the Viceroy. Or did his "respectable" Ladnobhoy. Nanasaheb and others invent the message from him that he stronfly adysed a full immediate reply. And I may also ask whether his "hishly respectable" informers who "kept him well informed of the proccedings of the Durbar," had told him or not that we were all alont openly aganst making any defence, or at least then, against the Report of the Commission, and that it was entirely owing to his advice being thrown in the scale that an immediate defence was determined upon. If the Colonel reall; recommended the reply, and then make the offer to reply, as a mattor of complaint, it was to say the least, most disingenuous on his part. I can hardly even now persuade myself that Colonel Phayre could have stooped to such conduct. If not, it is a pity that his and others' eyes shoula be opened when too late to his blind faith in his "respectables" and "honoables" and the injustice and mischief that must have been caused thereby.

I may here ask the Colonel whether his friend everinformed him or not that from the very first day I came in contact with the Gaekwar, I always, on every necessary occasion, used to impress upon His Hirhness that however strong his treaty-rights might be, and that though I would represent them from his side, to Government to the best of my ability, he should never expect to preserve his rights safe, unless he performed his duties of a good ruler. These were not hole and corner conversations: they were almost always open and in the presence of the Du.tirces. While I have on the one hand, done my best to serve the Gaekwar taithfully and to take care of his legitimate rights and interests, I have never, on the other hand, failed in or shirked myduty to advise him, and to hive done my'best to lead him, to the performance of his duties towards his subjects. But such things the Colonel never learnt.

Colonel Phayre's insinuation that by the terms of our appoint-
Page 63. ment we were entirely subject to the will of the Gackwar, inpljing as if we were bound to allow the Gaekwar to perpetrate any injustice or enormity he liked, is ridiculous and absurd. Now nothing was more well known and noised abroad than the fact, that we would no: allow the Gaekwar to do as he willed but at once protested against and
prevented any irregular or undue interference with the administration Why, that monstrous "agreement" which frightened the Colonel so much, was the result of this very position that we ibould not submit to allow the Gaekwar, or his Durbarees in his name, to doanything wrong. That was our chief and continued struggle with the Durbar. Colonel Phayre and all the Durbarees knew this well, and yet this attempt to misrepresent us! It is simply a libel to say that the gentlemen who were with me would agree or that I would agree or ask them to scrve on such conditions.

After thus briefly noticing some of the most glaring misreprensations and falsehoods in Colonel I'hayre's writings, I pass over without nutice hes remarks upon the Gaekwar's Khareeta of and November 1874, as, first, they are mostly a repetition of what had been stated by him betore, and upon the glanng porion of which I have already commented and secondly; the Indian Government have done sufficient justice to the Khareeta in their despatch to the Secretary of State, of 27 th November 1874 .

The despatch says "the Gaekwar has addréssed the Viceroy a Page rea. Khareeta in which His Highness has in temperate language begred
for the removal of Colonel Phayre "** "We are constrained to admit (apart from certan objections raised by Colonel Phayre to the accuracy of the Gaekwar's statement of two particular instances of interference) the general correctness of His Highness' complaints of Colonel Pha.re's proceedings "

Agan the Indun Government in their despatch to the No s, pree Secretary of State, of 15 th April 1875, say "In his communications with the Gaekwar and with Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee, the Minister whom the Gaekwar had selected, Colonel Phayre was wanting in consideration."

Lord Sahsbury in his despatch of 15 th April 1875 savs No 4, page iof "His (Colonel Phay re's) character was little fitted for the delicate duties with which he had been recently char red."and his departure from the orders he had received was too serious to be overlocked."

Asain in their despatch of 29 th April 1875 , to the Secretary of State, the Indian Government do me the justice (for No s. page 4 which I feel thanhful) to say " shortly after Sir Lews Pelly's arrival, Mir. Dadabhoy Naorojee, the Minister in whom Mulhar Rao professed to place confidence, and who, so far as we could judse, had been honestly destrous of reforming the administration,* resigned office, and no explanation has been afforded to us of the reason for his resignation."

With regard to our resignation the Secretary of State also in his despatch of 3 rd Junc 1875, to the Indian Government, savs Page 52. "Almost the last incident in the history of his reign, before it was closed by his arrest on the charge of porsoning, was the mysterious resignation, without reason given, of the reforming Minister who had been appointed under the pressure of Sir R. Meade's report."

Our resignations were communigated to the Gaekwar on 21 st December 1374, when nothing was known to us of His Highness being implicated in the poison-case. This was first mentioned to me on 23rd December by Sir Lewis Pelly, after I had communicated to him our reasons for our resignation. On 25 th December, I repeated those reasons at an interview at the Residency between His Highness, Sir Lewis Pelly and myself. Ist, I reminded His Highness that I had undertaken the dutues of the Dewan at his pressing request, that I had plainly given him my condition in acreding to his request that as long as I had his confidence and I was useful. I serve, and that when that confidence was withdrawn and my usefulness impaired, I make my Salam and go, that we had on two former occasions withdrawn our resignations at his pressing and earnest solicita-

[^10]tions and that notwithstanding all this, he had, during the past week or so allowed humself to play in the hands of his old Durbarecs, and forgotten that he had requested me to become his Dewian and not a Karkoon mercly to obey his bidings. 2nd, that after showing long and sufficient forbearance and giving a long trial to the old Durbarees to mend their ways, we had found it absolutely necessary that they should be sent out of Baroda, and I gave a list of Damodar, Bapoobhoy, Govndrao Mama, Kharhar, Hurybadada (Nana Saheb having himself offered to leave D.troda for some tume) and severaT other names. His Highness in reply expressed his regret at my first complaint and promised me every confidence, but my second demand he pressed me to waive. It enen expiessed our determination not to withdraw our resignations. When 1 decided to resign, all the 8 or 9 officials from the Bombay Government, besides my 3 Collearues, who had wifully and readily agreed and come to serve under me, also decided to resign with me, though they had been hardly a month or two in their new posts. This is a strange commentary upon Colonel Shayre's views that no officials of weight and charact:r from the British districts would like to serve under me, and that my selections would asree to serve under the old Baroda ways.

I pass over Colonel Phayre's last shot, fired a day after No. 6, poge $\rho$. he received the private intimation to resign ;-" a day or two after this, Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji made his false and malicious attack upon me in the Khareeta of the 9th May." This was as much umajmary as many other thungs I have already noticed, if not the effect of the irritation of the previous day's intimation. In connection with No. 7 of the Blue Book, it is enough for me to extract the letter I addressed, at the close of the last Commission, to the Times of India.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES OF INDIA.

Sir,-As I have not been put into the witness-box either by the prosecution or the defence, I hope you will allow me to say a few words about some mattcrs concerning me personally which were referred to at the enquiry.

It as true that I recelved the resolution of May 1872. The history of the affir is simply this, Mr. Hurrychund Chintamon, who is at present in England as IhaHighness's agent, obtaned a copy, and I beheve honestly, from an Englah frent in England. It was when he sent it to me about last June that His Highnesf, my self and my colleargues came to know of it. Mr. Hurrychund brought the existence of this resolution to the notice of Lord Salisbury on the 24 th June last. The documert was given to the defence by me, as I had received th. In the course of a conversation 1 mentioned the resolution to Sir Lewis Pelly. He asked for a copy of it and I gave $n$.

Colonel Phayre says I made no complaints to him about his cuurse of proceetings. Colonel Phayre may have forgotten, but as a matter of fact I did complain to him several times. Colonel Phayre says he gave me all the assistnce in his powet. Had I been so fortunate as to have received that assistance, no necessity wonld have arisen to write the Khareeta of 2nd November. Colonel Phayre says 1 more than once ach nowledged the assistance be had given me in the matter of the Sirtar cases and others. True; but I am only sorry that the occasions were few and far between. I had more occasions to thank Sir Lewis Pelly in one week than I had for thanking Colonel Phayre in three months, and I was able to do more work both towards introducing new reforms and redressing old complants in one week with Sir Lewis Pelly, than I was able to do in three months with Colonel Phayre.

Colonel Phayre says the facts of the two instances given in the Khareeta of and November are not correctly stated. I have not yet learned what was incorrect in them. For my part I can say that every fact is correctly stated.

> Yours faithfully,-DADABIIAI NAOROJI.

I close this painful task with the hope that it may open the eycs of Government to the mischief and iniquity of the present system of the political department, of receiving secret reports and acting thereon.

## LETTERS FROM SIR BARTLE FRERE.

Private.

## Dear Dadabhoy,

$$
\text { Nov., } 7 \text { th, } 1873 .
$$

$I$ can only repeat the advice $I$ gave you at starting. The Government here MUST support the Government of Bombay, when the Gaekwar trues to pass the latter over, and you can only injure yourself by attempting to protect such a hopelessly, feeble, untractable, and, I fear, vicious client as H.H. is, unless he is grievously lihelled.

It is a great pity that he cannot bs allowed to get the best advice procurable, and, I belicve, he could not have a better adviser than you, but, I fear, he could not be saved from himself, and from the evil consequences of his own conduct, if he had the whole Bar of England at his disposal.

But if you intend to try, call on Mr. Lee Warner, and ask to see the Governor, and to talk the question over with him; and, if the Governor refuses,'I should advise you to give up the attempt. You know this advice does not come from one who wishes all to the Gaekwar or any Natzve Prince.

Yours, in great haste, H. B. E. FRERE.

22, Prince's gardens,<br>$14 F_{t} b, 1874$.

## Dear Dadabhoy,

I hate reccived, with the utmost interest, all the information you hate sent home regarding your doings at Baroda. You must not be discouraged? by anythite that happons. You have undertaken, as I warned you, a tcrrioly difficult work, but, I feel sure, you have undertaken it th the right spurat and fromin none but the purest motives, and $I$ ami in great hopes that you weill be, at hast in part, successful. I only wish you had firmer materials to deal wnth in .His Highness's Court; but my apprehension is that you will find the secret obpostton of courtiers your great difficulty; but you may, $I$ am surc, rely"upon the support of Sir Philip Wodehonse whenever you are night, and o.i kindly warnulgs when he thinks you are mistahen.

> With my best awishes,

Belueve me, sincercly yours, (signcd) H. B. E. FRERE.

## Srizate.

Wressil. Lodge, Wimbledon, S.W: 25 Feb., 1875.

## Dear Dadabhat,

I have received yours of 18 th'fanuary, and shown it to Sir Erskine Perry. It has been a matter of regret to both of us that you were not alloued all opportunity of carrynng out the reforms you desired, and thus making one of the most intercsting experiments possible in a Native State. Bul you have the consolation of having done your best. I do nf see that any human being could have done more under the carcumstanct.
$I$ have great confidente in Sir Lewis Pelly, and feel sure tht, wnder His guidance, many of the excellent measures you wished for, wil be carrted out, and I have every hope that you will, some day, have ie opportunty of etoing such diongs yourself. I shall always be ghad thear from you, and remain,

# Trinstaal, <br> April 3rd, 1879. <br> Golernment llouse, Care Tun: 

## 1) Ear Dadabhai,

$I$ have received your letter of February 7th, and regret that my absenn. foom Cape Town has caused some dilay in your recezing a reply. I shill
 14th, 1874, and February 25th, 1875, of which youe enclose tre copies, wh be of any use in testifying to my beluef that you had, at that tome, the lent intirests of the Gaedzar and State of Baroda at heart in the work who hind then undintaken.

Beliece me,<br>Dear Da labhai, Jours sincercly,<br>II. B. I. IRERE.

To Dadmatil Naoroji, Ese. 32, Goct St. Hilins.

## LETTER FROM SIR ERSKINE PERRY.

india Office.
My Dear Dadabhat,
I am very sorry to hear that objections have been made to your going to Barodit as Detoan. For, although for your own sake I should have consselled you agninst accepting such an appointment, I think for the sake of good gorernment, and for British interests as will as for the Garkwars, he could not have made a better selection. I am writing in a great husry to catch the post in reply to your letter of the 2nd receized this morning $I$ may add that I have been talking the matter over with Sir Bartle Fretri, and we cntirely agree in the above veew of the matter.

> Yours wery sinccrely, E. PERRY.

## EAST INDIA ASSCCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinteested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of tie public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants $\bar{c}^{=}$India generally.

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The Most. Hom, the MIRgtiS or SALIS- "His Fihness the NAWAL of JoON W. JURY, KG, PC, M.A, FKS, MKA
the Mont Hon, the M4RQUilS of TWEEDDALF.
The Right Hon the EaRL op SHAFTESHUK1: K.1, FRAS,FSS, FC
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Kight Hon. James STANSFELD, P.C., M $P$
I chd-Marshal IORD STRATHXAIRN, (.C $\mathrm{H} . \mathrm{C} \boldsymbol{C} \boldsymbol{C}$ I, Member of H M's lons Hungarable I'risy Counct of lreland
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# Zievised 彐kenroxatixnn 

## ON

## THE MOST IMPORTANT REFORMS NEEDED

## BY INDIA,

Submilted for the consideration of the late and present Viceroys, and some other high Officials in India.

The whole Indian problem in all its aspects, material, moral, industrial, educational, political, \&c., will be solved only when means are adopted to check the annual disastrous drain of the produce of India and to bring it within reasonable and moderate limits. I have gone into the details of this subject in my papers on "The Poverty of India," and in the Correspondence with the Secretary of State for India on the "Condition of India." I shall add here only one more testimony of the highest financial authority, the late Finance Minister, Sir E. Baring, on the extreme poverty of India, and corroborating my calculation of the very low income of this country as compared with the worst European country -Turkey. Here is this emphatic testimony in addttion to the opinions given in my "Poverty of India," Part I.,* especially of Lords Lawrence and Mayo, and of Mr. Grant Duff as Under Secretary of State for India, with regard to

[^11]all India, at page 278. Sir E. Baring in his Budget speech of 18th March, 1882 , says :-
"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than rupees 27 a year,* and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possibfe, would be unjustifiable."

Again, in the discussion on the same Budget, he said, after repeating the above statement of rupees 27 per head per annum :- .
". . . Bat he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the mass of the people. In England the average income per head of population was $£ 33$ per head; in France it was $£ 23$; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was $£ 4$ per head. He would ask honourable members to think what rupees 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people."

This was stated in connection with salt duty. It must be remembered that rupees 27 (or my rupees 20 ) is the average income, including that of the richest, or all various disproportionate distribution that takes place among all grades of people, while the average of the lower classes only will be very poor indeed.

The whole problem of India is in a nutshell. . Never can

[^12]a foreign rule be anything but a curse to any country, except so far as it approaches a native rule.

Hoping that my papers will be carefully studied, I confine myself here to the remedy of the evil in its practical form. I may explain here that a part of the drain I complain of is not to be laid directly at the door of Government. It is in the hands of the natives to prevent it if they could and would. I mean the employment of non-official professional agency, such as barristers, solicitors, engineers, doctors, \&c. Though not directly, the English official agency indirectly compels natives to employ such European non-oficial agency. English officials in power generally, and naturally, show more sympathy with and give greater encouragement to English professional men. The result is, that the portion of the drain caused by the non-official Europeans is as much, though indirectly, the result of Government or official action, as the other portion of the drain. The remedy therefore, I am proposing will influence the whole drain.

This remedy is in the power of the English Parliament only. It is (though at first sight it is not so readily apparent) the transference of examinations to India for services in all the civil departments-civil, medical, engineering, forest, telegraph, or any other. Canada, Australia, or the Cape, are not compelled to go to England for their services. Over Indıa alone does England impose its despotic will in this one respect. This, in fact, is the one important act of the British nation, which is now un-English and unjust, and which mars and nullifies all the other blessings (which are not few) conferred by it upon India. Let England be just to India and true to itself in this one respect, and honestly, according to the Queen's proclamation, and declarations of British statesmen, and Acts of Parliament, let the natives have free scope to serve in their own country, and
every qther measure for the purposes of good government and administration, or for improving the material and moral condition of India, which at present generally fails or produces poor and doubtful results, will be crowned with success. Every matter will then fall into its natural groove, and the effect on everything will be marvellous. Private efforts will receive natural and immense impetus for providing all higher education, leaving Government to devote itself, with far ampler means than at present, to primary education as in England. So will railways and all public works and all private enterprise receive a rapid and successful development. And, above all, will be this most important result-that the growing prosperity of India will lead to a truly great and extensive trade between England and India, far outweighing the present benefit to England at the sacrifice of and misery to India.

Of course when examinations for all the higher services in all the civil departments are transferred to India, the ruling and controlling offices should be mainly rescrved for Englishmen, such as the Viceroy, the Governors and their Counsellors, the Chief Secretaries, and Board of Revenue (if such boards be any use) and chief heads of departments. Admission of any natives to any such appointments should be entirely in the gift of the Government, as a special reward for some high and exceptional services and deed of loyalty. In the military department, the English should have the chief share, leaving some fair scope for the warlike races, to draw and attach them to the side of the British rule. It will never do to repress all military ambition altogether. This will be a great mistake.

The subject of the confidence which our British rulers ought to show towards their subjects, and thereby beget and acquire the sincere confidence of the subjects in response,
both by trusting them with reasonable military position, and by allowing and encouraging volunteering, under some wellconsidered principles and rules, is too important and extensive to be adequately treated in a short space. I can only say that it deserves our ruler's serious consideration. The open want of confidence by the British rulers is a weakness to them, and cannot but in time lead to evil.

If the examinations, as a first step, are not altogether transferred to India, simultaneous examinations at least ought to be held in India for all the services. This great reform and justice to India is absolutely necessary. This alone will be a fair fulfilment of the promises of the Act of 1833 , of the gracious proclamation of 1858 , and of the various declarations made from time to time by English statesmen and Governments. At least, for simultaneous examinations in India and England, the India Office itself has unequivocally admitted its justice and necessity. I give below an extract from a Report of a Committee of the India Council (consisting of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Sir Erskine Perry, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Mr. Macnaghten) made to Sir C. Wood (Lord Halifax) on 20th January, 1860. The Report says:
" 2 . We are in the first place unanimously of opinion that it is not only just, but expedient, that the natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.
" 3 . It is true that, even at present, no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4 Wm . IV., c. 85, s. 87 , it is enacted 'that no native of the said territories, 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 Company.' It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted, it could not have beenintended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.
"4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native leaving India and residing in England for a time are so great, that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.
" 5 . Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by natives, and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is, to hold, simultaneously, two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list, according to merit, by the Civl Service Commissoners. The Committce have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."*

This principle ought to apply to all the services.
Now, I say let Government lay down any tests-mental, moral, and physical-and the natives cannot and would not object being on equal terms with the English candidates.

[^13]It may also be arranged that every successful candidate in India be required to go to England and study for two years more with the successful candidates of England in their respective departments; or any other arrangement may be adopted by which the successful candidates of Indaa may derve the benefit of two years' residence and study in England in the department in which they have competed successfully. India will be but too happy to have a portion of its revenue devoted to this purpose. .

Till this most important, " just and expedient" and "fairest" measure is adopted, England can never free itself from the charge of "keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope," and India can never be satisfied that England is treating her justly and honestly.

But I earnestly submit, that this is not merely a question of " justice and expediency," though that is enough in itself for this reform, but that it is absolutely necessary for the far larger necessity of the material and moral prosperity of India-for the chief remedy of the present "evtreme pozerty" of India-sf Enghsh rule is really and honestly meant to be a just rule and a blessing to this country. My earnest desire and intense interest in this great reform to hold examinations in India, solely, or, at least, simultaneously, for all the services in the Civil Departments (with some fair scope in the military) do not arise simply from the motive of secing an opening made for the gratification of the natural ambition of educated natives to serve in their own country, but more for the solution of the great question -the question of questions-whether India is to reman poor, disloyal, and cursing England, or to become prosperous, loyal, and blessing England.

Coming to the uncovenanted services, both higher and lower, they must also be reduced to some system of
examination, based upon some clear and just principles. The system worked by the Civil Service Commissioners in England for subordinate servants for all the different departments of State may well provide a model for these examinations, according to the higher and lower wants of all the departments for their uncovenanted servants. It will be the best way to secure servants most fitted and best prepared for their respective departments, and to give to every subject of Her Majesty a free and fair scope and justice according to his merits, relieving Government from the obloquy that is often cast upon it for injustice or favountism in its appointments.

Next to this great reform for examinations solely or simultaneously in India for all the covenanted services, and for all the uncovenanted in India alone, is the important question of introducing due representation and reform in the Legislative Councils in India. But I consider the first reform as of such paramount importance that I do not mix up the second and some others with it here.

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 THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE:

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Printed at the "Native Opinion" and the "Induy Peintiva" presses and published at the Natire Opinion Ofice.

Bombay.
1880.

## prepace.

Tae title of this collection partly suggests its scope and occasion, and but a few words are necessary to explain why it has been made and published.

The administration of Sir Ruchard Temple at first as a Famine Commissioner and then as Governor in this presidency has been universally felt to be so hurtiul to the interests of the people and has been marked by such high-handedness and inconsiderate rigour that to think of hovouring it with a memorial in recognition of its merits and beneficial results in the name of the public was alding "insult to injury." When, therefore, taking advantage of the excitement caused by His Excellency's sudden departure, a few interested admirers hastily carried through the farce of a public meeting and voted a fulsome address j.ined to the proposal of erecting a statue, the popular feeling of dislike grew to indiguation and showed itself in a free expression of opinion. The Native Press faithfully refected this feeling, though necessarily in reserved languare. Under an astute but self-seeking politician like Sir Richard Temple, it was to be expected that a powerful section of the community like the Europeans in India would be conciliated, and certainly they as a body probably have not the same cause of coniplaint against Sir hichard as the Natives. Still such of their organs as have looked to the subject from a large poins of view, have not failed to notice the highly injurious character of his rule and principles of conduct and policy and have spoken without the reserve which natire publicists labour under. The extracts giveu in the following pages,
therefore, may be taken to represent correctly public opinion in India regarding the character of Sir Fichard Temple as a ruler and statesman, and as he has now gone to a sphere of labour where his power of 'mischief is greater than in this country and his policy and views are likely to be placarded as meeting with the approval and appreciation of the Indian public, it has been thought in the interest of truth and fair-play desirable to collect the various comments on the character and administration of the late Governor of Bombay and to publish them in this shape.

These extracts criticise the subject from all points of view and upon the whole convey a very fair view of it, and no further comment or analysis is required from the compiler, except to say, that he has been unable for want of sufficient time to emboly into the collection opinions of the other Anglo-Indian vernacular papers in tbis presidency who have as a body condemed Sir Richard's career in Bumbay buth as a statesman and an administrator.

## address to sir riciard teuple.

## THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

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Is the winter of $1873-74$ the famine in Behar and Northern Bengul opened up a new field in which his powers of rapid locomotion, his utter indifferences to fatigue, his slall in organization, and his knowledge of individuals pre-emsnently fitted him to labour, and he will probably be longest remembered in Indis for his services in connection with famine relief, then andafterwards. He threw himself into this new work with all possible energy. He was given carte-blanche-and he used it. The sensational accounts of the special correspondents, notably Mr. Forbes' letters in the Daily Neu's, sent a thrill of horror through Europe, aud when the Government became quite unnecessarily lavish of the public money, they found a ready distributor in the person of Sir Richard Temple. Without accepting all the statements of the civilian anthor of the Black Pamphlet, the waste that ensued was certainly uncalled for, and little short of a public scandal. But Sir Richard, who as a civilian too, has always prided himself on rigidly enforcing the orders with which he was entrusted, was not perhaps so mach to blame as the Government he served. On another occasion nearer us he knew how to parry out orders of a very different nature, and this has been taken as evidence that he acknowledged the extravagance of his former policy. Perhaps a hittle independence as an official entrusted with such high duties would have benefitted the State far more thoroughly than the rule of tacit acquiescence he had laid down at that period of his career, and tho fact that he maintained two pounds of food to be essential to the preservation of life in Bengal, and that he afterwards declared ane pound to be ample in Bombay, will have to be reconciled and ex. plained by his biographer. A show of firmness on his part would indisputably have saved the State much moneg in the one case, and the people mach misery in the other.

It was, then, on the 30th April, 1877, that Sir Richard Temple formally succeeded Sir Philip Wodehouse, who left
him as a last legncy the daty of urging the constraction of the Rajpootana Railway on the broad gauge aystern, and it is one of the few regrettable featares in his administration that be was not able to agree with his predecessor on a point so vital to commercial interest of Bombay. Auother point on which we, at all events, moust continue to differ with him was his conduct of the famine, and as this occupied his main attention for a time, it is best perbaps to discuss it first. The following table of the daily average of, labourers employed on the relief, works in the Bombny Presidency during the last week of each month from November, 1876, until Novamber, 1877, conveys as good an ideaof the growth and severity of the famine as can be brielly exhibited:-

18 th November 1876 .................................... 979:966
Last week of November 1876 ................................ 167,352
Do. December an ㄷ........................... 296,583
Do. January 1877 .............................. 286,849
Do. February $\quad$............................... 227,088
Do. March, .............................. 252,225

Do. April " ............................. 278,700
Do. May $\quad$.............................. 867,307
Do. June $\quad$.............................. 356, $\mathbf{C 7 8}$
Do. July " ............................... 266.828
Do. Augast n .............................. 264,122
Do. September n ............................... 241,314
Do. October n .............................. 69,076
Week ending 10th November 1877 ...................... 41,375
The total cost of relief up to the following Morch was, se $1,140,000$, bat owing to the sums spent in long contemplated pablic works the actual outlay. was only $£ 490,000$. Hera the Bombay Government had successfally held their awn against the Gpvernment of India, who were anxious. to aroid the construction of large works of great atility, such notably as, the Dhond and Munmar Railway, and it is only when we come down to questions of daily rations, piece-work, and the enforoed fast on. Sunday that we disagree with Sir Richard Temple's policy. In Hyderabal and in Madras the one pound ration was condemned as too small, but it was nominally maintained to the last in lombay for all ordinary forms of relief, though through the remonstrance of the pablic and the press it ceased to ba rigidly enforced. Again the sudden enforcement of task work on the P. W. D. works, and the transference, of labourers from the civil works to the P. W. D. works in Jane 1877, led, as we-can see froca the table, to the ex:
traordiuary reduction of more than 100,000 persons who had previoasly been in evjoyment of relief, and undoubtedly resulted in grsat buffering and heary mortality. It will, we suppose, be impossible now to arrive at any eccurate idea of the mortality throughout all the famine districts of Bombay and Madras, but the idea still prevails in native circles that Dr. Cornish of Madras and the Madras Correspondent of the Timea knew what they were about when they set the total mortality due to famine causes down at the enormous sum of $6,000,000$ people. Some of this mortality, we think, was preventible, and we are anable to forget that Sir Richard Temple, who thought a 21 b . ration only just sufficient in Bengal, wished to mantain the 1 lb . ration in Bombay. Some experiments appruaching the 1 lb . ratinn were attompted in Tanna gaol, and with disastrous results; and it is important that in the conduct of future famines this experiment should not be forgotten. Again the almost absolate refusal of remission of the land revenue after the famine was over, and the even harsher collection of arrears due while the famine lasted, led to much further misery, which eventually found a vent in the Deccan dacoities.-Times of India, March 13.

Sib Ricgard Texples has departed•amidst such a shower of flowery hyperbole, such a flow of platitude, as would have fairly overwhelmed any ordinary mortal. The whole thing has, we fear, been overdone : a little more, and those of his admirers who are indiscriminatingly gushing, inust force on a violont reaction. Some of the public orators of this city, and some of the public prints, have been carried away in such a mad whirl of enthasiasm as to make one dread they will never stop until the arrival of a new idol, in the shape of a new Governor, gives another direction to their cries of admiration. To a certain extent the remarks of the Press, flowing from columns into pages, have been tempered with some attempt at criticism and some feeling for the fituess of things. But never in Bombay, nor perhaps, indeed, anywhere else, have such sounds arisen as those that mourned Sir Richard Temple's departure, during the fonr and twenty tours before he left. On Friday afternoon an address was read in the Town Hall and eleven long speeches delivered in his honour, to be supplemented four hoars later by a
dinner and twelve still Ionger speeches at the Bycnlla Club -enough, one would think, to have satisfied the veriest gourmand of local oratory. But early on Saturday morning the applause and the lamenting becran again. At eleven the address passed the day before was presented at Malabar Point, and the fire was kept up briskly all day long. The address of the citizens was sacceeded by an addrese, and a very sensible one too, presented by a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce; and the members of the Chamber only loft the audience hall to be succeeded by the nembers of the Bombay 'Trades' Association. Most men leaviag India for good would fain require a little leisure for their private preparations. But at five Sir Richard Temple was at Mazagon, receiving a further address on behalf of the Parsee community; and at six o'clock he shook hands with balf Bombay at the Apollo Bunder before escaping into the steamer that was to bear him to England. To each of these several addresses he has made a ready and kindly reply, and the compliments exchanged on both sides fully justified the Rev. Dr. Meurin's shrewd observation that Sir Richard owed something of his greatness, as well as much of his popularity, to the knowledge of how to be all things to all men. This is perhaps the truest .tribute that can be paid to that many-sidedness which every orator agreed to bo his chief characteristic for all sorts and conditions of men were loyally anxious to express the sympathy awakened in them by his invariable urbanity and his attention to their individual interests. And it was, of course, no fault of his that this smpatily was expressed in unmeasured terms. He is at most answerable only for that sincerest form of flattery-imitation. Sir Richard has, according to Mr. West, "fonnded a achool-an infant school-of administrators." It would perhaps be at least as true to say that he has fonnded a school-an infant school-of orators. And surely the voice of the great master can be heard in one of the speeches delivered on Friday evening-when a gentleman, informed us that "to the genius of Mackintosh we owe some of the best words of the English language; to Kinloch Forbes most interesting aunals of a country which has been termed the garden of Westeru India; and to Arnold the finest work on that interesting commercial sabject-Marine Insurance. And the men of the present day (haring apparently cast authorship aside as a vanity) are quite equal if not superior to those
of the past. . . . That our friends should have the ben nefit of tranned minds like those of Sir Richard Couch, Sir Michael Westropp and Lyttleton Bayley is one of the glories of British rule." For the mode, then, of this style of personal laudation Sir Richard may perhaps be answerable, but for nothing else.

Diogenes, we imagine, would scarcely bring his lantern to bear on the genial flow of after-dinner eulogy or the farewell plaudits of official admiration. "Where are the bad people buried ${ }^{\prime \prime \prime}$ asked the child, after spelling out the epitaphs in a grapeyard. Still the old saw of de mortuis really applies, if it shonld ever apply at all, quite ss aptly to Governors departing in search of honours elsewhere, as to heroes who leave us for ever, and we chiefly protest against the kind of praises levelled at Sir Richard because he is a man of whom so mach can be honestly said without exaggeration. As it happens, the eulogy with which he has been bespattered was injurious to others and hartful to himself, and were he now with us he wonld be the first to cry for deliverance from his friends. The framers of the address only made it ridiculous when they maintained that he deserved a statue because he had assisted at the opening of the Tulsi Water Works, the Prince's Dock, and the University Tower, when he cannot in the remotest degree claita a tittle of the credit for any of the schemes. Had they said that Sir Richard was of material assistance in preserving the Tulsi Dam, at a time of great peril, or that he had forced on the amalgamation of the Foreshore Properties, and insisted on the protection of the Trade by the appointment of mercantile members, these things would have been quite as much to his honour, and within the straitest bounds of trath. Again, the credit of the Dhond and Manmar Railway, which half the speakers attributed to Sir Richard Temple, was really due to his predecessor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, who with the members of Council of that day fought the Government of India on the question of large and remunerative famine works, and by a rare show of independence came out conquerors after a severe tussle. But Sir Richard's admirers might have referred here to the Kandahar Railway where he adopted the same independent course, even out of his own Presidency, and with the same signal success. Already the important part played by His Excelleney in expediting the despatch of the Malta Expedition has been exaggerated into the most insufferable in-

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terference with the properly conatituted anthorities. Ta say, as has been said, that "some of the most richly deserved laurels which were orer worn by Sir Richard Temple are associated with the historic expedition of Indian troops to Malta," is to mako very light of his Indisn career, and to cast a slight on the Bombay army. He assisted as well as a layman who was also a governor could assist, but still he was neither tho general of a division nor an officer in the transport service. The officers who had the real charge of despatching the expodition were general Barrowe and Colouel Hogg, and when the former was appointed the other day to the command of a Bombay Brigade in the field, the Commander-id-Chief knew how to refer to his eminent services on that occasion. Much has been eaid, too, about the late Governor's services to edacation, more especially in connection with physical science, and Mr. Latham, sunitten, to the astonishment of all who knew him, with the same infection as the others, actually declared Sir Richard to bo " ${ }^{\circ}$ second founder' of the University. Sir Richard may have had vast educational schemes in his mind, interrapted by his sudden departure, but he actually did little for higher edacation but make a few appointments of doubtiul propriety; and as for furthering the study of physical scienco in Bombay he accomplished nothing at all, bat the appointment of Dr. MacDonald as a Curator of a Museum that is atill empty. There are other points to which we might refer, such as his nomination of native members to the Legislative Council who could either not speak English at all, and consequently had to be directed by others, or of gentlemen who as Government officials were bound to vote with Government through thick and thin. Bat we have already quated eneugh for oar present purpose, which is not to criticise Sir Richard Temple's administration-that has been done elsewhere-but to show the evil resalts and the atter folly of such indiscriminate landation.

As a first result every native journal of standing in Bombay has already turned round. The pablic meeting which might have been made to express the honest feelings of a logal commanity has been almost nanimonsly disowned. Even before'the meeting the terms of the address seem to have transpired, and an audacious broadsheet, of a nature guch as is fortanately soldom seen in India, was openly circulated among the audience, though we have been unable to trace it to its source. This hand-bill gives a dozen

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ironical reasons "Why Sir Richard Temple should have a Statue." And the reasons inclade the one lb. ration, the collection of arrears of land revenue, the passing of fhe Land Revenue Cess Bill, the Salt and Abkari Acts and the Irrigation Bill, his sanction of the extravagant scheme of the Port Trust, the introdaction of the Sewage System, tha non-employment of ratives, the legacy of the C. D. Act as a final bequest, and so forth. Taken by itself the manifesto would have had little importance except as bearing on the growth of freedom which renders such squibs possible. But now that it has been followed up by articles in the same strain in all the native papers; and by the pnblication in our local contemporary of a signed communication by a well-known Parsee, it is diflicult to estimate the mischief that has been thoughtlessly done by those who perhaps merely wished to make themselves agreeable to a man of Sir Richard Temple's influence and position. Something of the present dissatisfaction may, for aught we know, be due to jealousy of the individual promoters of the address, but even so, the promoters were surely in fault not to bave made such enquiries and taken such precantions as would have prevented the unseemly spectacle presented when we sce the promoters ranged on the one side and the native public on the other, of a scheme in which all should have joined.-Times of India, March 17.

Tez departure of our late Governor which we had to describe with somewhat of prophetic responsibility, is still the event of the day, or rather,-as Foote once remarked in a wicked jest-the day after. Themorning's reflection has come with its inevitable damper to the evening's, that is last week's diversion of spasmodic enthasiasm; arid' many gentlemen, "desirous of publicly expressing their respectful and grateful rtcognition' of His Excellency's services, are uncorofortably conscions of having rather overdone their zeal. IIappils they have not been put to the severe test, which we saggested might be in store for' them, of going all over again with their valedictory. eulogies. But it will have been noted what narrow escape they have had, seeing that the Sumatra did meet with an obstruction in the shape of an unoffending native craft; only, as in the case of Stephenson's " $\mathrm{coO}^{\text {," }}$ the incident proved. "rarsa bad" for the praa. The flood of
unqualified eulogy which filled most of the speechos at the Town Hall and Byculla Club last Friday might be described, as Mr. Disraeli did the American Civil War, as 'a marvellous exhibition of haman energy,' but the elements of political intelligence and discrimiuation, as applied to the object of all the laudation, diffased throngh the whole, were present only in infinicesimal dilution. The demonstration will confirm the fane of Bombay for energy and enthusiasm ; but it will detract, and that very seriously, from the reputation of our community for genuine and thoughtfnl public spirit, as contra-distinguished from its factitious, gregarious, and somewhat flighty counterfeit. And this reproach mast, we grieve to say, attach to our daily press, wherein some decent show of moderation and discriminating criticism might be looked for. But we mast not be hard on our contemporaries; they are already enduring the dyspepsia that follows surfeit. The Tincs of India took its black draught manfally at a gulp, when last Wednesday it did penance in a whole white sheet, aud humbly confessed "to the evil results and the atter foily of such indiscriminate laudation." Who shall say after this that we have nota free and independent press in Bombay ; only it was a little too bad of the repentant sinner to tarn round on his quondam leaders and deride the fine periods of the Chief Justice, the Hon. Raymond West, and the new Adrocate-General. The Gazette was less tractable. It made many wry faces over its black dose, which was administered, the day before, by that stranuons dry uurse Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta. Bat that journal also treated Sir Michael Westropp harshly in citing his Lordship's very hazardous prediction, repeated amongst the flow of post-prandial oratory, to wit-"Sir Richard Temple who, as 1 have already to-day said in the Town Hall, will never sacrifice the interests of India, where ho has spent the best years of his life, to those of party or of. placemen whether expectant or present." Unfortanately, most of those who have closely followed the very successful Governor's course, are entirely convinced that the failing to which he is most prone is that of ministering to, or yeilding under more pówerfal anthorities or temporary dominant influences which determine the cbauces of his personal promotion and saccess. Sir Richard is, by nature, an "opportanist;" and as this is frach a generally accepted fact, of which a pablic man of

Sir Michael Westropp's calibre mast be well aware, one cannot but suspect that, in making that point, his Lord ship intended to insinuate the wholesome tonic of irony But, after the Gazette had itself evolved a post facto apology for the "oue pound ration" policy, perhaps our respected contemporary was not in the mood to perceive the Sir Michael's delicate sarcasm. As to the formal address passed nem. dis. at the Sherifi's meeting, and which, mirubile dictu, was moved by the editor of the same journal in his character as a private citizen, it reminds one of a Queen's Speech, for its literary povertf, its platitudes, and vague generalisations. There was fair senting an address to the retiring Governor; bat we suppose violent haste and the heated sensoriam of the inditer must be the excuse for its not being a document worthy of the occasion. Perhaps, however, some critics will say it was remarkably fitting as an expression of the overstrained excitement and overdone fervour of the whole movement. As we have said there was good excase for a public address to Sir Richard; but when the Hon. Magnus Bowatt declared that "the monument which is about "to be erected to hint Tid claim eqnal attention with "those which have been raised to Monntstuart Elphinstone "and others" he gave a fataldlow to the Statue project; which, unless a very few admirers pay smartly, will remain a prediction and nothing more.

It is not needful that we should go into any argament to prove this; and we have already consumed too great a proportion of our own scant space in reviewing the crade and ebullient orations of last week. Oar estimate of Sir Hichard Temple's administrative course has been plainly enough expressed in other columns in past jears, and we. have not concealed in these outeconvictions opposed to very many of his measures daring the last fear or tro. As a pablic man, we claim to know him as well as do any of the orators of last week, and very much better than most of them. They are only occasional observers; it has been our duty by him, as by ${ }^{n \prime}$, the notable Anglo-Indians of our day to follow th jurse and watch their tendencies continuously. We Jrtain as high an opinion of Sir Richard Temple's abilit ${ }^{5}$ as do any of his reasonable admirors; batwo percei, o his fatal tendency to au-
tocracy, his invincible dislike to feal frcolom of diacussion, his inchation to-sacrifice principle to expediency, his readiness to subordinate the interests of tho prople to the offical policy of the day, to postpone the gemuino claims of India to psuedo-imperial exigenciea, nnd, as Bishop Meurin, with perhapsunintentional frankness, remarked, his facility of "becoming all things to all men," if so (this is ours, not tho Bishop's) be may theroby ellhance the fame and further the personal success of Richaril 'Iemple. This being so, we cannot but regard tho popular movement of last week as an unfortumate and mischievonq mistake. Still, for all that, Sir Richard 'knows tho right'; and it will be partly tho fault of the people of India if he ever bo allowed 'to pursne the wroug' with impunity.-Dombay Review, March 20.

East Worcestershire in Western India secms a curions geographical expression; but there was something very like it in Bombay on Friday and Saturday last. Sir R1chard Temple was about to leave the city to contest Jast Worcestershire in tho Conservative interest; and no doubt it was part of the purpose that he should leavo Bombay in a blaze of fireworks, retiring wach as, certain others returned from Berlin bringing "peace with honour." To this course certain sections of the Bombay commanity readily lent themselres. It would scem not irprobable that a good deal of this enthasiasm was inspired and arranged for. When the Viceroy enters or leaves the capital, the streeis are lined with chowkeydars, aboat as thickly spread as the gas-lanips. Sir Richard leaves Bombay for Worcestershire with the roads lined with troops, and probably with claqueurs at intervals to lead the enthosiasm. It is somewhat astonishing that the people of Bombay should allow themselves to be deluded and used in this way, on behalf of a man who, professing to le au Englishman, has not the very smallest conception of the rights of Englishmen who are not in office. A more abject and servile worshipper of power does not breath than Sir Richard Temple. A more contemptible champion of tho rights of Englishmen it wonld be impossible to find. The right of Eiglishmen to meet for the redress of grierances, the right to petition Parliament, or the Queen, or the Viceroy, or any authority whatever, is not a privilego,
lut the right of Englishmen. And get it is but a few months ngo that this wretched chamatan, who now goes to England to contest for a seat in the freest asssembly in the world, positirely refused these same. citizens of Bombay the ase of their own Town Hall, to hold a meeting which they had a right to hold for a constitutional parpose, an object which they had a right to seek to attain. These free and enlightened citizens of Bombay were actually indebted to the courtesy ot a travelling showman for a place to meet in, becauso the political Barnum, at the head of the city, thought it would be pleasing to "his betters," if he could stike the voice of public opinion that desired to protest against an abuse of anthority in the interests of his party at home. Surely, Bombay has not stultified itself; or is the proposition ironical merely, to erect a statue to Sir Richard in-the Town Hall! Is it a shrewd attempt to draw the citizens into a scbeme for erecting a atanding monument of theisown servility that might bo instructive to future ages? In this eense wo can understand it. Bnt we cannot conceive of a failly free and independent constituency in England sending to Parliament a man like the ex-Governor of Bombar. There was no flourish of trampets, no dinner, no address, no lined streets, when Sir Richard left Bengal. 'I'bere might not be much to hope in the way of improvement; but the province was at least rid of an official who would not hesitate to subordinate the interests of India, and the most cherished rights of Englishmen, if, by so doing, he could only add to the glory or adrancement of Sir Richard Temple.-Indian Daily Vews. (From the Times of India, 18th March 1880.)

## to the editor of the " bombay gazette."

Sra,-I think it is necessary to enter a stroug protest against the bold attempt that has been made to represent the address voted to Su Richard I'temple as having emanated from "the citizens of Bombay" instead of simply from his admirers. The requisitiou to the Sheififf oniy asked him to call a meeting of "the European and native iuhabitants of Bombay desirous of publicly expressing their respectjul and gratejul recagnition of the administrution" of Sir Richard Tomple; the address passed at the mecting called in complance with this requisition, presumes tos speak gene-
rally in the name of the citizens of Bombay. If the intentio of the promoters or the meoting was really to convene a Public meetag of the inhabitants of Bombay, it w as their duty to have taken care, as it certainly would have been most easy, to express themselves without ambiguity. I venture to say that if any suchintention had been openly exrressed the proposal to epect a statue to Sir Richard Temple would have encountered verye strong opposition. I knew that many gentlemen attended the meeting with that object, who were dissuaded from expressing their views, by the representation that the meeting was meant to be only of those who concarredin their comonon admiration of Sir Richard T'emple's services. It would be hardly worth while to expose the true character of the address votea to wir Aichard Temple, if it would have gone the way of most farewell addresses to departing governors and were destined to be intered in the calm oblivion in which they generally retire after leaving India. But those whoknow anything of electioneering tactics in England $\overline{0}$ the ere of a general election, know well that this address, in the name of the public citizens of Bombay, will figure prominently in erery Conservative paper in East Worcestershire and will be placarded in large tspe throughont its length and breadth. The electors of East Worcestershire need never know that it proceeded only from the admirers of their candidate, such as a man in his position could always command in India, and that it is only by clever manipulation that it is transformed into a public address. If there was any reason to suppose that this manipalation was conscionsly performed, the first city in India would be fairly entitled to claim the credit of haring initiated, for the first time in the bistory of Butish rule, an active participation in the walfare of an English general election by successfully carrying out a derice such as would gladden the heart of the sharpest electioneering agent in England. Under its shelter, Sir Richard Temple cal now pose before the East Worcestershire electors as a candidate, whose Conservative opinions on the many important questions of Indian policy on which the iwo parties have now joned issue, are stamped with the approval of the unammous poblic opinion of the foremost Presidency in India, and cover with confusion the pretentions of the Liberal candidates to speak and fight on behalf of its roiceless populations. I am afraid
that a very large majority of the native gentlemen who attended the meeting to "gjve rent to their admiration of Sir Richard T'emple's great services never contemplated the prospect of their admiration being turned to such good account. Otherwise, with all their lack of public spirit and independeuce, I do firmly believe that they would hare hesitated before placing in the hands of a candidate who has now openly pledged himself to support an Indian policy against which they hare so often prononnced themselvesa weapon which he can use with such pernicions effect ngainst those great statesmen who have been fighting their battle so nobly, andso valiantly in and out of Parliament,such men as Bright, Gladstone, and Fawcett, whose names are cherished with affection and reneration by all thinking and intelligent natives. Gcd knows we do hittle enough, cr rather absolutely nothing, in the way of active co-operation with the cfforts of these great defenders of Indian interests. But nothing could exceed our hamliation of we lent ourselves in utter ignorance, in apathetic indifference, in blind adulation, to thwart their generous exertions on onr behalf. That such a stigma sbould not attach against ns, it is desirable to proclaim widely and loudly that the address to Sir Richard Temple does not represent the ananimous or independent public opinion of this Presideacy. I am in a position to know that a large proportion of the native publio holds very different views of the title of Sir Richard temple to a statue, and I trust that they will come forward in such ways as may be open to them to give expression to their riews, so that, though it is a far cry to East Worcestershire, some echo may even penetrate these distant lands.

That the meeting which voted the address was not a very representative or spontaneous or crowded gathering, it will not be very easy to dispute. A departing Governor, leaving with the prospect of high promution, can always gather round him men who have reason to be grateful to him, or who are connected with bitn by personal or official ties, and men who will follow because others have gone before them. Leaving these alone, the n,eeting was singularly thirly attended. The Mahomedan community, in spite of the sop thrown out to them only the day before, was represented by certainly not more than three or four members, while the gentleman whom we have generally sten leading them with spirit and independence was conspicuous by his ab. sence. The Hiada community was not mach better repre.
sented, and it is worthy of note that the ouly one of them who tonk part in the day's proceedings was a gentleman unknown to fame in that way. The Parsses were certainly in stronger numbers; but they openly avow that they are grateful to Sir Richard for the sweet words he has showered upon them. Eren their nambers, however, were eked out by some very deminutive specimens of Bombny ciiizens, and it would not be without interest to ascertnin if any of the Parsee Schools had not a half holiday on the day of the meeting.
But the numbers that attended the meeting wonld not ho very material, if the title of Sir lichard demple to the grateful recognition of the people over whom he ruled, stood on a solid foundation. That he possessees many high and estimable personal qualities, nobody, I think, will be disposed to deny. That he possesses administrntive talents of no mean order will be readily admitted by ull. His antiring energy, his single hearted devotion to work, physical nud mental, his astonishing versatility, his amiable privato character, are worthy of all respect. But unless we can find that these qualities and talents were devoted to noble aud statesman-like claims and were productive of grod and useful work, we cannot recognize his right to rank with those great statesmen, whose names are handmarls of Indian progress, and whose memories are gratefully perpetuated in marble and bronze. Do we then find any great act of statesmanship distinguishing Sir Richard 'Temple'a administration of this Presidency? No better man could have been found than Sir Michael Westropp who presided at the meeting, to lay his finger with unerring precision on any such act, if there was one. One might almost imagine that the Chief Justice was quietly indalging in that keen and polished irony for which he is so famous, when he singled vut Sir Richard's exertions to push on the native contingent to Malta, and his two expeditions to hurry on the construction of the Kaddahar line as 'giving him high rauk among the foremost Indian statesmen, and deserving to be commemorated by the erection of a statue. 'the Hon’ble. Mr. Mowat who has been earning for himself the reputatiou of an orator, and who moved the principal resolution, had absolutely nothing to say. It was painfnl to observe the way in which he floundered among rhetorical platitudes, and at length took refuge in discreet brevity asd poetry. Mr, Latham spoke of Sir Hichard's services
to the cause of University education, but I am sare noboly would be so ready as himself to acknowledge on reflection that he was carried away by the impulse of the moment wisen he eulogized Sir Richard Temple as a second founder of the University. That Sir Richard 'I'emplo took great interest in the advancement of scientific education must be warmly recogaised; but it must not be forgotten that he set about it in a way that was fraught with danger to the independeat growth and development of the Unirersity. In a public lecture, which years ago Sir Alex. Grant delivered in Oxford, he earnestly warned Sir Bartle Frere never to confound the Chancellorwith the Governor. Sir lichard Temple never forgot that he was Governor when he presided as Cbancellor. While grateful for the interest he took, Sir Richard 'lemple's departure releases all true friends of the University from the anxiety that the very warmth of his interest occasioned-viz., that be might transform it into a department of Government. Mr. Budroodin Tlyabjee, who followed Mr. Latham, went iuto ecstacies, because Sir R. Temple promised hin the assistance of Government to found a Mahomedan school. 'Iurning from the speeches to the Address where, if anywhere, we might expect to find his titles to glory set forth clearly, if succinctly, our astonishment at the courage of its promoters is only destined to increase. A more wonderful document it has never been my fortune to come across. Concocted to bless, it only curses him beyond redemption. First and foremost it mentions Sir Richard's services in alleriatiog the severity of the Deccan famine. Surely the framer of this paragraph must have been an uncouscious disciple of the bold Danton with his famous battlecry of L'audace, toujours l'audace. How did he chase away, when he peuned those lines, the gannt and hangry spectres that must have thronged rourd him of the victums of the inhuman experiment of the one pound ration? How did he silence the clamours of the starving ryots from whom the full assessment-arrears and all-was mercilessly wrung out? 'lhe audacity of the address reaches, however, its culminating point, when pretending to enumerate the important works urged to completion during the last three years, it cleverly conveys to the minds of the East Worcestershire electors the idea that their candidate had something considerable to do with them, and deserred nearly the greater portion of the creditat-
taching in tespect of them, by assuring them with the most innocent earnestness that he was present when they were opened! The framers of the address must have been lard pressed, indeed, for material, when they were reduced to eulogize Sir Rirhard because he opened the Prince's Dock, the Univerity Tower and-Eibrary, and the Tulsi Water Works, when not a little of the credit in respect of them can in the remotest degree be claimed for him. Nor does he deserve any ackuowledgment for fostering free municipal government in this city, for tho Dombay Municipal Corporation came into existence long before his time and has preserved its independence in spite of his attempts at dictation. After mentioning his services to the cause of edacation to which we have al. ready referred, and relating the stories of the inevitable Malta and Kandahar raids, the address abruptly comes to an ond. All the energy and enthusiasm of his admirers are, we thus find, quite impotent to point to one singlo act of high statesmanship, which can be fitly commenorated by the erection of a statue. Bat while the reasons for doing him such honour atterly fail, we have, on the other hand, a heavy bill of indictment against him for high crimes and misdemeanours committed by him daring the short period that ho ruled over this Presidency. Never had an Indian statesman more brilliant opportnnities for distinguishing himself in the ranks of those illnstrious inen who firmly and fearlessly trod in "that path of wisdom, of pational prosperity and of national honour,' so eloquently, yet so sagaciously depicted by Lord Macaulay. He could have covered himself with glory by exposing the shortsighted weakness and impolicy of the Vernacular Press Act. But he gave it his 'loyal sopport,' as it has become the fashion enphoniously to describe servile obedience. He could have assisted in a statesman-like solution of the question of the admission of natives into the Civil Service. But he heartily co-operated in bringing about the most disastrous solution of it that could be imagined. He conld bave protested against the iniquitons repeal of the cotton import dintios and the imposition of an anequal Licencetax. But he refused even to let the public indignation against these measures find voice in its own Town Hall. He cuuld have fostered the pablic spirit and independenco for which this Presidency had acquired a name. Sut he tried to control it in its municipal organization, he anni-
hilated it in its Legislative Council. But the gravest eharge still remains behind. He found this a free and independent Presidency; he leaves it a servile appendage of tho Government of India. To crown all, he now offers himself for election to Parliament as an admirer of that shortsighted and disastrous Imperial policy which gave birth to all these measures, to which may be added that most unwise, if not unjust, Afghan war. It is prophesied that Sir Richard Temple may return to India as Viceroy. Unless the bracing English climate leads.him to juster and truer views of Indian policy, it will be an evil day for this country that sees Lord Lytton followed up by Sir Richard 'Temple.—Bombay Gazette, March 161880.

March 14th PHEROZESHAI M. MEHTA.

The Address to Sir Richard Temple was voted last Friday ufternoon, at a meeting calling itself a meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay, bat really consisting of a few Earopeans, largely officials, and some Parsis; and it was read to his departing Excellency by a datifal delegation of admirers on Saturday morning. It is, we think, the feeblest and falsest docament of the kind we ever saw; it fails to mention one single act of the late Governor's which could jastify such a mark of gratefal attention as the presentation of an address is sapposed to be; and instead makes Sir Richard's elaim to the affectionato remembrance of posterity to consist in his official connection with several events and transactions which were planned and began long before he bocame Governor, and which would have been brought to a saccessful issae at about this time, whether or no,even if John Smith Esq.; or the Hon'ble Mr. Joncs had been Governor instead of Sir Ricbard Temple. It would have been as appropriate to thank him because the san had risen every morning. or to vote him a statue because the last monsoon was not a failare, as to do so on account of his part in the ill-starred Malta expedition, or his connection with the Tasli Water-Works-that fruitfal source of pablio grambling-or with the socond white elephant of Bombay, the Prince's Dock.

The native papers of Bombay have been prompt and mauly in pointing ont that the meeting of last Friday afternoon was put in auy real senge a representative meeting of the inhabitanta of Bombay; and that the extraragapt and undiscriuninating
handition of which sie Richard Templ has rexeutly boun nadd the wilhug sabject is uut cherished certaiuly by. tho mon ine telligent part of tho native commanity. It is au angracions task to wnite in this manor aboade man whu has really dono so mach to distingaish himself, and of whom so much of :'m. can trathfally be said, as of Sir Richard. Yei a few wond. if this kind are not out of place when such an iusanity of oulygy has suddenly affictod a certain portion of tho community.Dnyanulaya, Bombay, 18th March 1880.

The rather sudden dissolution of Parliament resolved apon by the Ministry is a bombshell throwu into the liberal camp. The dissolation was expected bat it was not thought that it would come so soon. Lord Beaconsfield has chosen his time well. There is nothiag stirring in Earope, while in India the appre. hensions entertained as to the chances of the unjart war proclaimed against Afghanisthan are allayed. For good or fur evil India is growing to be a factor in the party politics of England, and since under the leadership of Lord Lytton and Bir Jolnt Strchey the finances of Indis have prospered, paid the expenser of the Afghan war, and are expected to show a surplas next ycar, it is no wonder that Lord Beaconsfeld should choose to dissolve Parliament and make hay while the sun shines. The import duties on English cotton goods have gone and what remains of them is destined to go. So much wind is therefore taken out of the aails of the Liberal party, and as the finances of Ivdia have suddenly taken a favourable turn, there will be no neccs. sity for asking succour from the English exchequer. These ars, so far as India is concerned, some of the considerations why the Ministry hare determined to dissolve Parliament just now. But it would seem that the Conservative party is not satisfled with taking adrantage of the circumstances detailed above. Should fortune retain them in office, they seem to be determined to be strong in Parliament so far as the discossion of the Indian questions is concerned. Sir Richard Temple, our late Governor, is or is likely to be considered in England a great unthority on Indinn matters, and Bir Richard is to stand as a candidate for

East Worcestershire, where, it is said, he has every chance of suceess. It may be all ambition (and he is credited with a desire of ascending the viceregal throne at Calcatta) or the restless temperament of Sir Richard which may have prompted him to throw ap the Governowhip of Bombay and enter a life entirely novel to him. If the Conservatives sncceed during the coming contest, and Sir Richard alles himself closely with them, serving at the same time as an extingnisher of Mr. Fawcett aud others who have cuased so much trouble to the party in power, there is erery likelihood of Sir Richard retaraing to India as a Viceroy or being appointed to govern one of the English colonies. These would appear to be some of the circumstances why unnsual importance is attached to his candidature. And the ease with which he is allowed to release himself of the onerous duties of the Governorship of Bombay by the Secretary of State goes to strengthon all these considerations.

It is therefora the daty of the Press in India to tell the electors of Worcestorshire the kind of representative they are going to have, and it is with sach a view that we propose briefly to review the career of Sir Richard Temple in India, and particnlarly in this Presulency.

Sir Richard is a peculiar man. There is, so fur as we hnow, no other soul that may be likened onto him. He is considered the favorrite of fortune and a favorrite of fortune is almost always a person whom the world, while his star is in the ascendant, outwardly admires bat inwardly dislikes. A favourite of fortnne, moroover, is not, in the majority of instances, endowed with strong faith in fixed principles, and we do not think that this peoularity cannot be traced in Sir Richard Temple. Obedience to the orders of his saperiors and an inclination to execate them with promptitnde and exactness combine in him to a remarkable degree, so much so indeed, that be did not, on several occanions, shrink from immolating himself at the shrine of duty in a manner which was traly heroic but not very compreheasible to the outside world. This very convenient and comfirtable faith las been the secret of his success in ife. Combined with this, Sir Richard possesses, in an eminent degree, passion for flash and thnnder, no matter how short-lived and

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unreal these may be. These ares fow of hic prominont che. racteristics-characteristics which have, during his time, raised "time-serving" to the dignity of a science. We shall not be unjust to Sir Richard and are ready to confess that he possssee, besides these, other accomplishments which may well be the envy of the cleverest and lackiest man in the world. He porsesses an iron constitution and can ride auy number of miles in a dny. He is besides a sweet talker, a voluble spoaker and a pleasant writer-accomplishments, which, we make no hesitation to say, he did his best to prostitute to his npper-most pas. sion-the passion for flash and thunder.

Such is the man whom the electors of Worcestorshire are going to have for their representative in the next Parliament, and if our tiny voice coold reach them, we would tell themconsider well before you go in for Sir Richard. It is not the man that we are writing against. He may be an agrecable companion and a true friend. We know for a fact that he is a generons patron. Bat the whole official career of Sir Richard Temple, has, instead of raising the tone of the administration, lowered it to a degrec. This is the opinion of the native prblic and we make bold to express it. It is indeed certain that he stands high in official farour, and is even considered the pillar of the Indian Empire. For our part, we think and believe, we carry the whole native pablic with nas, the addresses and parties given to Sir Richard notwithstanding) when we say that instead of strengthening the empire he has done great damage to it. The high respect in which the great officials were once held, and the confidence that was put in their code of ethics, do now no longer exist. We do not say that Sir Richard is alone answerable for the change ; but we ask whether the brief review that we have taken below of his official career in India is calculated to engender in the native mind the respect and esteem that they ought to bear. towards their governors.
It was in the Panjab that Sir Richard first began to be known as the rising star. The rosecoloured and lashy reports that he wrote for the late Lord Lawrence, the then Commissioner of the Panjab, attracted attention all over India and the

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land of the five rivers soon came to be designated as "the model province." The trath however leaked out in time that all that gl 'tered was not gold. The frst responsible post he fflled was thin. f the Chief Commissioner of Nagpore. He toured through ther, ry like tho great Mogul, made the rural population to receive with tom-toms and evergreens, held an exhibition at Nagpore, and made ronds that were washel a way tho next wet season. What permanent good did he do to Nagpore is a question that may well be left anasked. Next, we find him at Hyderabad and thence in the Vice-regnl Coancicil. As Finance Minister he was a failure and as the Lieatenant Governor of Bengal he was neither admired nor liked by the Bengalis

Next he came to Bombay as Famine Commissioner of the Government of India and then became the Governor of this Presidency. Here we have made a closer acquaintance with Sir Richard, and we confess that all our anticipations of him have been verified. He brought with him not only the mpnessive policy he inherited from his patron (the late Lord Lawrence), but also the flash and the white-wash of what is known as the Panjab civilisnism. The famine record will bear ns oat in this respect. The public press recorded thoosands of deaths from want of food and its effects. Papers published by him or ander his authority do not record handreds. Bat his readiness to fall in with the views of his superiors was most glaring in the matter of the one pound ration and the collection of land revenne. He was quite at one with Lord Northbrook that a stinted expenditare during a famine time wonld not only involve a great loss of life, but that it would be opprobrious to ran such a risk* He equally agreed with Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey that it wonld be demoralising a whole population to give them sufficient food or not to exact task work from them. At least we are not aware of a protest written by Sir Richard "emple against the instractions that were issued to him. Althou th nobody was at the time either for lavish expenditare or a charitable distribation of food to able bodied persons, Sir Richard maintained that a pound of grain was quite sufficient to sustain haman energy and would not increase the ration. What the resnlt of the stinted ration has been we shadder to mention. And yet some of
our Danares, Jees and Ehoys have voted Sir Richard an addrean! Sir Richard has all along tricd to be popular with natires and we think he does not take them for sach a bad lot of peo. ple as some of the Anglo-Indians suppose them to be. But when a public mecting of the inhabitants of Borabay was held to inan. gurate a volunteer movement, he ex"claded them from it. When the Surat trial camp, he casily fell in with the official view of the distarbanco, notwithstanding that it was brought about by the inconsiderate and insolent conduct of the officials themselves and as if to show his respect for thoseofficials and particalarly that forgotton being Motilal, he shook hands with the latter gentlemen when he had been to Sarat! Daring the recent fires and dacoities in Poona he sent a telegram to the Socretary of State which convesed the idea that the distarbance was a plot hatchod by natives, and the educated natives were its ring leaders. It Sir Richard really believes, as we think he doeq, that the majority of natives is a loyal and well behaved body of men, sach action as he took daring, the above occarrences was most inconsistent. But we never looked for consistency in Sir Richard. He is tho pupil of a hberal chief, he has now thrown his lot with the conservatives. He was once the admirer and follower of the policy of " masterly inactivity." He is now to all intents and parposes, for catending our frontier in the North West!
Other instances in which he has allowed himself to be catried with the strong carrent, and where he has made " words do duty for things" may be cited. Bat we think what we have said of Lim is enough. Such a career as that of Sir Richard Temple is not calculated to elevate the character of the high dignitaries in India. It does not inspire the populace with confidence in theit Governors. We therefore say that instead of being the pillar of empire, he has been the means of doing much injury to the noble fabric. Let the electors of Worcestershire look to this hefor. they elect him fof , neier representative. But what ahall we sas of some of the gcititemen of Bombay, who have got up a meeting and voted an address and an equestrian statue to boot to Sir Richard simply because they personally basked in the sunshine of his favonr Equestrian statue to a man to whom the ;mortality of the famine stricken is so mach. due! The idea is nored and to
inake the farce complete in all its ladicronsuess we hope the statue will be placed in a place which was lately affected by the famine.-Native Opinion, Bombay, March 14th, 1880.

Sil Richard Temple's career as Governor of Western India has abruptly come to an end on account of the dissolution of Parliament. He left by Satarday's Mail for England to be able to canvass for votes in his favor as a caudidate for East Worcestershire and he has left amidst circamstances which are of a strangely novel character. - Some cf the citizens of Bombay held a moeting on last Friday and voted an address to Sir Richnrd aud uho an equestrian statue. The Meeting professed to express the generul paklic opinion of Western India in regard to Sir Richard's administration and it becomes our duty to carefully examine the fact and show to our readers that the pablic of Western Indiaat least the Native portion of it, which of course is not confined to and represented by the speechifying Shettics of Bombay bat which duells in the country does not sympathise with the movement at all to the undue extent to which its supporters hare gund. The fact that what was called a public Meeting was held muy show at first to anybody that we are saying what wo are not warranted by facts to say; but it deserves to be known that not more than 300 persons were present at the Meeting and most of those persons were young Parsee boys. The Meeting itself was got up undor some rery anpleasant circumstances. If Sir Richard Temple has really become popular with the Native pullic and if, as has been incorrectly stated in one or two papers, a great enthasiasm prevailed about him, why should the supporters of the Meeting have been so hasty about it? Would it not have been bettor to have waited for some days, when, if the en. thasiasm existed at all, there would have been ample and freer scope for its display? But perhaps its supporters were not sure of this and it deserves to be mentioned that several of those who sigued the requisition to call a pablic Meeting did so not becanse they sympathised with the movement but because they wers taken by surprise and had to give way to the urgent appeals of $\mathrm{f}_{\text {riendship }}$ ! This is not very creditable to the way in which some of our Native grandees hare acted on this occasion,

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In jadgivén of Sir Richard's adininistration iapartially, it i, not at all proper to overluok the serioas blemishes of his mhmenistration. That during these three years he shoned much energy as Governor and took a wide interest in ull the pablic movements of the day is what nobody denies. Former Governars never cared for the University, nor were they so unsious as Bir Richard to know the Natives thoroughly; that he his made all Government officials more carcfal and diligent and that he never geft to others what he could do himself and see with his own eyes are facts which are known to all; and in his time Bombay society has leen one scene of activity and intellectual pleasure; und we are also well nware of the scrutiny with which at the end of every week he used to go over the weekly Reports submitted by the Government Reporter on the Nafive Press and instituted departmental enquiries into the complaints of the Vernacular Press. All this merits praise and we do not gradge its meed to Sir Richard; but surely is this enough to entitle bim to the honor of an equestrian statue? An address was more than enough; but some of the citizens of Bombay have gone further for reasons which are best known to themselves. Let us glance u little at some of the events which have marrod Sir Richard's popularity.

Bombay made her first acquaintance with Sir Richard as Famine Commissioner of the Government of India. He hasl already distinguished limself daring the Behar Famine of 18;'4 by a policy of humanity and extravagance, for which he was afterwards taken roundly to task. He however did not scruplo to go to the other extreme in his management of the famine which affected lately Western India. We are all familiar with the manner in which Sir Richard rode from one famine stricken district to another, represented things to be all right, put deaths to the credit of cholera and other epidemics and when the Duke of Buckingham asked from Madras whether any pecuniary sid Was wanted from the subscriptions raised by the gencrons pullic of England, informed him that matters were not bad and no money was wanted. But abore all, the ngly memory of the famous one lb. ration stands still crying in the namo of gir Riohard. A man, who bat three years ago preached the doctrine
that 2 lbs. of food were necescary to feed a Native daily, hurried to preach the opposite doctrine that one lb. of food was quite sufficient. He adhered to bis new theory with strange ohstinacy, regardless of all remonstrance and medical advice, founded on experience and the resalt was death and misery were sampant in the famıne districts. Bat Sir Richard's sturdy heart was not to be moved. This fact was forgotton at the Meeting held last Friday-not one speaker ventured to remember it in his anxicty to praise Sir Richard's horsemanship and energy. But what sarprises us most is that Mr. Grattan Geary, the accomplished Editor of the Bombay Gazette, should have come forward in the columns of his paper to justify or at all events palliate Sir Richard's responsibility in this matter while bnt a few years ago as Editor of the Times of India it was Mr. Geary who wrote thundering articles against the inhamanity of the 1 lb . ration. We are now told that the experiment of one lb . ration was not at all productive of misery and deaths-that people died because there was not the sufficient quantity of grain to be had in the famine districts, whereas the fact has been all along asscrted and notoriously known-we appeal to Mr. Geary himself for the trath of it-that there was no acarcity of food but the want nf Luling power in the people. We are ready to acknowledge that Sir Richard was at the time placed in a delieate and difficalt position, that he had instractions from Lord Lytton to carry economy to its bitter limits. Bat surely is that a reason why Sir Richard should have sacrificed principle for economy? And yet the Guaett; would have us suppose that that reason is sensible and excnses Sir Richard's condact. If it is, why, Sir John Strachey, against whom our contemporary has been writing fiery articles dows not merit at all the censure that has been passed on him! But let that ga. How is it none of the gentlemen who the Meeting referred to Sir Richard's land revenue policy-the apoke at way in which he steadfastly refused to grant remissions of the of land revenne arrears? We in Bombay ure not perhaps uware evils which this policy has engendered bat the fact is that many Ryots have had to give up their holdings and be tarned oat because they could not pay what was so rigorously exacted from them. Then again, when the Govermment of India recently asked Sir Richard if the system of levying land assessments which had been ropresented and foand by experience to be prodactive of many evila, could not be safely modified, he informed them that the system required no change, though almost everywhere it is asserted that the assessments have been pitched so high as to ruin the Ryots. The same has been unfortunately the case with Sir Richard's License Tax policy.

We ucxt come to Sir Richaru's policy as a legielator. And herp aufurturutely we find the same spirit of impatience and
high-handedness which we find in many of has other meanureIn the first place, ho hated tho idea of having intelligent on I English knowing Natives in tho Council and distributed the honors as if they wero toys for ignorant grandees rather than responsiblities carrying with them certain sacred obligat, as. Mon not knowing English and"uiable to understand whin: ., being done in the Conncil wero selected as Councillors and tins result has been that the non-oflicial Native clement has bern most pitifully weak in the Conncil theso two gears! And jet Sir Richard till the last moment of his departare from Bomilay spoke well of educated Natives and said they descrved well of the Government. If we come to the legislative measures passed in his time, the same conviction stares as in the face. The Land Revenue Code Bill is itself enough to show us how stringent a legislator Sur Richard has been. And yet Mr. Geary has hat the good sense to give Sir Richard credit for it! Does $3 \mathrm{~L}=$ Geary remember the proceedings in the Conncil at the time the bill was under discussion-how Rao Saheb Mandlik and Mr. Mahomed Ali Rogay were silenced and put down? Nor id the Irrigation Act less indicative of Sir Richard's disregard of publio opinion. We are ready to give every credit to Sir Richard for the efforts he has made to guard the country against famines bat the good intention of the Act has been marred by the compalsory labour clauses which were taken off from even the Bengal Irrigation Bill by Sir Ashley Eden becaase of their oppressive character.

We now come to the Surat Trials and the Dacoitice. And here we nust say that indefensible as Sir Richard's conduct was daring the Surat Editors' trials, the failare which attended them and the exposer that was made of the attempts of certain underlings in service to mislead Government were woll borne in mind by Sir Richard who took a wise lesson from them and turned that lesson to a good account during the recent dacoities It is true Sir Richard soon after the Poona fires telegraphed to the Secretary of State that the dacoits were led by "one or two educated Natives" bat we must remember that the times wore of a character to lead astray foreigners and Sir Richard was away from Bombay and thas liable to be daped bs malicious scribes. And moreover the fact that on returning to Poona Sir Richard carried all enquiries quietly and made no fuss as in the Surat trials bat restored confidence in the Native commanity dearves our praise. In the last Administration Report, again, he has retracted the statement made by him in his telegram, by saying that "the only Brahman accomplices, he (Wraeuleo Bulwant) had (three or four in number) ecere mere achool-byya." So far we readily acknowledge that Sir Richard has done justice to the edacated Natires.

On no subject has Sir Richard said so much as he has said on the question of the lopalty of edncated Natives. He is said to have written a Minute when Resident of Hyderabad to the offect that Natives are passively logal but that composed as they are of different communities, the Government should be cantions lest this difference leads to some rebellion. And at the Byculla Club dinner on last Friday he gave the aame adviee to his audience in speaking of the excellent ases to which the Earopean Volunteer Corps morement could be turned in a country like this. In the first place, the ambiguoas language in which Sir Richard says in one breath that Natives are loyal and in another tells his countrymen that they shonld develop military instincts because the comn'rinitities of Iulia are varied shows his asnal ancicty to please all the parties and favour the one that he really likes. But is there any logic in saying that because Native socicty is male of diffrent sections, the Earopeans should have a Volunteer Corps lest that difference rises one day "into cyclones and tornados." Sir Richard conld not even anderstand that thus very difference between the different communities of Intia is against the doctrine he preached. If the Indian people are divided amongst themselves, there is so much the less necessity for a Volunteer Corps to keep down sach a lot of people amongst whom ly the very force of that difference unity is impossible. Bat above all, Sir Richard's greatest blunder has been to widen this difference. Only two years ago he had the hardihood to say that a certain section of the Native commonity was more loyal than the others-a statement which came from his month with a bad grace.

We have now to say a few fwords as to what Sir Richard has done in respect to the appointments of Natives to higher posts in the Public Service. When Resident of Hyderabad now many years ago, he wrote these memorable words :-

[^14]me) in the Calcutta Review on the Native Press. It declared, on an analysis of the outspoken sentiments of their own Press, that the Natives did not really complain of some evils which we Europeans so often lament in our own system, such as corruption in our Police, ínefficiency in our Courts of justice, and the like; evils which the Natives know but too well to spring themselves, and not to be attributed to 119. But it classed their complaints under two uain lieads: first, that the British Government does not sufficiently associate in its administrative system the Native gentry and the more respectable classes; second, that the Britush Guvernment does not, allot to Natives an adequate share of public patronage, and does not promote them sufficiently to, lucrative offices in their own country. The shortcoming in the latter respect was pronounced to be particularly dangerous inasmuch as state education was rearing up swarms of intellectual men, whose aspiratioii would never be satisfied by the narrow field now open and who would be compressed into discountent unless some expansion was afforded. All this seemed to me to be bur too true."

Now these words, which were written many years ago and showed a great anxiety on Sir Richard's part to admit the Natives to a fair share in the administration of their own country.are really generous but unfortunately he has failed to carry out what at one time he so strongly advocated. Wien but a few months ago the Government of India asked Sir Richard to appoint any capable Native to the joint Judgeship of Tanna on Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari's retirement, Sir Richard opposed that Government (the only sort of opposition he has shown to his superiors). The same with the vacant judgeship in the High Court, and the Professorship in the Deccan College. It is strange that this fact was forgotion by those Native gentlemen who made speeches at Friday's Meeting. One Native gentleman gave him credit for the Volunteer Corps, $\rightarrow$ forgetting that at the time the Volunteer Corps was formed, the Native Commonity were treated in a manner simply shabby, another gave Sir Richard credit for his energy bat none cared to say a word about Sir Richard's weak points, which cry ont for prominence. That Sir Richard has done much good to the Earopean commanity there is no donbt; that be showed as if he were a friend of the Parsee commonity we wonld not deny; that he possessed and displayed unusasl energy is also readily admitted; that he presided everywhere is also true; we also thank him for having just before his departure sanctioned a scheme to encourage the education of that neglected but important sanction
of our society-the Mahomedans; he also did something for the University; let him by all means have his due for all this; bat in praising him for all this, it is simply absurd to lose sight of the failings of his administration-failings which every Native, rich or poor, acknowledges and has acknowledged bat which our Shettias forgot because there was no help for it! No greater absurdity and folly could be conceived than that of men profersing to be the leaders of society saying like children that they were compelled to sign the requisition, that they wo uld not attend the Meeting if Mr. So and So woald not attend and so on. And yet such has been the fact! There were both ble Hindus and Parsees, occupying prominent positions in socaty, ready to attend the Meeting and protest against its determieation to speak in the name of $W$ tstern India but they were deinrted by some of those who let them know that in reality they seid not sympathise with the movement but joined it because thdre was no help for it. And we say what is only the truth when ewe state that Sir Richard's administration generally has not been popular with the general pablic of Western India, the real opimon hold by whom about him may safely be expressed in the words of the subaltern, who when asked by Napoleon what people thought of him said :-"Sire, They admire j"ul gentus but hate your despotism."-The Iidu Prakash, Bombay, 1 th March 1880.

We see it stated, that a movement is abont to be set on foot for presenting an address on behalf of the inhabitants of Bombay to His Excellency Sir Richard Temple on the occasion of his retirement from the Governorship of this Yresidency. We confess that we cannot persuade ourselves to sympathise with this movement, and we can only look upon it as aunther manifestation of that mania for addresses which has for long taken possession of the public of Bombay. We are, of course, quite free to admit that there are sundry good qualites in Sirl Pichard Temple-but we must be permitted to doubt if the possession of those qualities entitles a Governor to an address from those over whom he bears sway. For instance, Sir Richard is a man of extraordinary energy; though it may be open to question if the energy is not almost morhid. He has shown considerable interest in educational matters; he has spoken in pretty satisfactory terms about the just clams of the Natives of the country; he has always shown a laudable readiness to lend
his countenance to any public movement to which his presence has been invited; and, if we may say so, he has even invited himself to one or two such movements within the past few months. He is said to hare inspired the heads of all departments of administration with a wholesomo awe, for it is generally supposed that his lynx eye watches the working of every department. "- All this, no doubt, Sir Richard Temple may be admitted to have done. But what dues it all come to? Each one of the virtues wo have enumerated has a strong leaning to the side of the kindred vice. And when the net profit of all this indefatigable and many sided activity comes to be calculated, it seems to us, we own, to be a clear case of much cry and little wool. Take education. Sir Richard Tomple has dot missed a single opportanity of talking on that topic. But what is the net outcome of all his activity here? He has we believe, been a source of some mischief at the University; he has made more than one educational appoiutmont of mure than questionable propiety, and in the defence of one of them, if a very trustworthy report máy be beclieved, he bas done very grave injustice to other and deserving members of the Educational Department; and he has got the Ahwedabad College established, which wd can only hope, but can hardly expect, may prove successful. What else has he done? He has talked about scientific education, without making any provision for attracting students to it-though, we apprehend, under present circumstances, such provision is very necessary, if scientific education is to be widely disseminated. And now as the crown and consummation of all his educational activity, he is said to be alout to hand orer the inspection of our schools to the District Revenue Officers! We can only say $A$ bsit Omen.
On the subject of the legitimate claims of the Natives to a slare in the administration of their country, the fucts lead to pretty nearly the same conclusion. Sir Richard Temple has talked excellently on that topic. But what has he done? Well he has done this. He has appointed a European Judge at the High Court, where a Native Gentleman formerly officiatéd. He is about to appoint a European Magistrate in the roum of a Native Magistrate whom be is said to have called upon to retire. He appointed a Earopean Professor of Mathematics in the ploce of a Native. He has passed a Goverument Resolation requiring graduates of the University to work for two years at 40 Rupees a month to qualify
for thie poots, which, under Sir Bartle Frere's Resolution, they conld get without such preliminary apprenticeship. Hr has suffered Mr. Gopalrao Hari's Civil Service appointment to "lapse," after Mr. Gopalrao's retiremeut, and under the fresh nominations, he has got a joung man appointed, who is said to have failed to get into the servic. by open competition, and who was unsuccesstul in his candidat ture for University Honours. What, we ask again, ha, he done for the Natives? He has appointed one Graduate, aud one very ordinary undergraduate, of our University to two very good ponts in the Revenue Department-but both appointments have eroked, and not altogether unfairly, considerable adverse criticism on the motives which led to them.

Coming next to Sir Richard's lynx-eyed superintendence of everything under bim, we have cortainly heard complaints that this superintendence often degeuerates into mero meddlesomeness. But this as a point on which we have no materials for judging one way or the other, and we shall not therefore dwell upon it. We venture howerer to say, that the result of the very cursory examination here made of Sir Richard Temples career is not at all such as to justify the movement which is sand to he impending.

One or two other points there are in connexion with this subjec which merit a slight notice. Sir Richard Temple's recently announced conversion on the question of the "forward policy" in Afghanisthan is not calculated to inspire us with any coufidence in his political character. Aud the same conclusion follows in our mind, when has lavish expenditure of public money in the Bengal famine is contrasted with his cruel niggaraliness in the Bombay and Madras Famines. All these matters coupled further with his recommendation to the Government of India about the License Tax, serve to lead us yery clearly to the conclusionthat Sir Richard Temple is very much of a time-serting politician. He is undoubtedly very clever, very alle, very energetic-but he is also, we venture to think, very slippery, if we may say so-and he is further very autocratic Thero is besides a particular appropristeness in his casting in his lot with Lord Beaconsfield-for he has on a small scale a gift similar to that which, as pointed out the other day by Mr. Lowe, belong so peculiarly to Lord Beaconsfield-tho gift of making words do duty for things. "These be thy Cods, oh Israel1-Subodia Patriku, Bombay, 7 th SLarch 1850.

We confess then to a sense of intenso disappointment at the sum total of the resalts of Sir Richard's statesmanship in Bombay. We have to say that the bad preponderates when weighed with the good in tho scales of justice. * * Un. fortunately, Sir Richard, from'the very commencementiof hia carcer in Bombay, was led away by the notion that he felt constrained by daty to rale the Presidency as bis masters bid. Consequently, it is notorioas that while affecting to court it ho set pmblic opinion on all important matters at noaght. . He nominally invited opinions from all independent anofficial pablic associations, bat heeded them not. All potitions and remonstrances were either pigeonholded or consigued to tho waste paper basket. He dormatically stack to his servile iustincts or trinmphantly carried them into action to the dingast of all right thanking and independent men. He came here when a part of this Presidency as well as a portion of Madras were suffering from a dive famine the effect of which the wretched peasantry have not yet shaken off. With that exaberant energy which never deserted him, he at once net himself to mit:gate the distress by personally inspecting the afflicted districts. But how did he proceed with this work? Why, by informing the Government of India, who had been previously accnsed of gross carelessness and extravagance, that a pound of rice was more than euough to keep together the body and sonl of a famished ryot. And this opinion he claborated in a formal minate notwithstanding the stroug protests of Dr. Cornish of Madras, and of a few native gentlemen of Bombay who had, by their superior experience and personal presence in several of the famine districts, satisfied thenselves as to the inaderaacy of the one poand ration per head. Pablic opinion, both here and in Madras, waxed wrathfal; thoasands died of faminc fever; yet the great Goliath, the whilom advocrte of the two poands ration doring the previous Bengal famine, buckled on his armone and resolutely fonght against all comers, to prove that the one ponnd ration was more than safficient for the Bombay labourer on famine works! The history of the bitter controversy which follow ed is so well-known that wo shall pass over it in deep silence. Suffice it to say that Dr. Cornish, backed by all the scientific authorities of Earope, eventally demolished by the stern logic of facts the theory so persistently and mischiev. ously advocated. by Sir Richard, and won for himself from a repentaut tuongh sill redactant Government the coveted diso
tinction of a C.I.E. This was the first episode. Soon after Sir Richard openly insulted the pablic of Bombay by denying them the right of the use of their own Town Hall for the parpose of petitioning the House of Commons against the iniquitons License Tax Act of 1878. He refnsed it a second time when the petiion for constra cting the Rajpootana Railway on the standard gauge was to be discussed. Though there was a consensas of opinion among the engineering authorities, both here and in Eugland, as to the immeasarable adrantages and ultimate saving in cost of a line so reprodactive, he adrised the Government of India to stick to the narrow gange originally advocated by those brilliant laminaries of the Supreme Government known an the Castor and Pollux of India-luminaries whose banefal influence is yet being sorely felt in varions quarters, and the erratic wanderings of one of whom is at the present moment astonishing the world of finance. What a singalar 'irony of fate' that has compolled a Viceroy and an adrocate of the freedom of speech to gag the expressin of bonest pablic opinion by passing the Vernacular Press Act, and obliged a Governor to hanker after a ssatue erected in the very Hall which he did not scraple to refuse for a parpose the most constitational! Then there are the Irrigation, Khote, and Ablari Bills, so frosh in our memory. In passing each of these enactments Sir Richard has not failed to set at nanght the opinions of the uative pablic against the injarions character of some of their provisions. He overrode the opinions of the indepeadent members of the Legislative Council, a body which has sunk since his arrival into atter insignificance of strength and impotence of speech. The enactments named adove have obliterated ancient rights, brought many to the threshold of beggary, and will yet bring others to the same condition of wofal poverty. These are sodre of the legacies he has bequesthed to the people of Bombay-legacies, which instead of enhancing their happiness, are sare to involve them in a maze of woo and destitation. To crown the whole he has left to the city of Bombay another precions present which in times to come may yield a crop of misery nutold and neerpected. We mean the 'scientific' Drainage of the Town.-The Indians Spectator, Bombay, March 21st 1880.

Ever since Sir Richard Temple first camo to tho Bombay Presidency in his capacity as the Famino Delegato of the Government of India to the time of his departure from amongst us last Saturday for his native country to contest East Worcosterstire in the forth-coming elections, there has been a difficult problem in conection with Sir - Richard Temple which we do not think can be said to havo been yet solved. The difficult problem is nothing more or less than an accurate and faithfal estimate of bis real character. If there ever was any living man whoso real character was an enigma difficult of solution, that man we hare not the slightest hesitation in saying is Sir Richard Temple, our late Governor. The mythology of the ancient Greeks and Romans possesses a character known to all the students of classical history by the name of Proteus, a demi-god, who could at times and at his pleasure assume any form and shape, and thus successfully bafle his captors. We think it is not inapt to like the character of Sir Richard Temple to that of this classical demi-god P'roteus; for as we have already remarked above, the variations in his character have been so Proteus-hko that the future historian of India will find it very difficult to form an accurate estimate of the same. In the Panjaub before the Matiny he was the trasted Secretary of Sir John Lawrence, and so identified himself with his master and chief that he came to be regarded as his right hand and firm disciple. As a member of the Government of India in 1868 he wiote against the impolicy of the forward frontier policy, the same man who did and does still identify himself with the present policy of the Government of Lord Lytton. Again as the responsible and constitutional adviser of the Government of Lord Mayo in financial matters he thought the minimum limit of taxable income at hs. 750 per annum so low that he raised it to Rs. 1000 , the same man who maintained in 1878 and 1879 that it inflicted no hardship to lower and maintain the minimam limit of taxable income at Rs. 100 per annum. Again during the Bengal Famine of 1874 in his capacity as the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the trusted adviser collabourateur of Lord Northbrook in the famine policy of the period, he maintained that twa pounds of food were essentially necessary in Bengal to keep the lody of a famine-labourer in a fitting condition, the same man who afterwards with equal resolnteness maintained that one pound of food was quite safficient in Bombay, and

Midras. Having regard to all these circumstances one cannot but come to the conclusinn that whatever his individaal character might be, Sir Richard knew well how to accomodate himself to the prevailing views and to carry out dametrically opposite instructions of two or more diametrically opposed chiefs and masters, in such a way as to show that he cutered iato the spirit of both. We firmly beheve that tarn wherever we may, it will be almost, if not altogether, impossible to point out one single act in his chequered and diversified career on which Sir Richard 'I'emple may be properly said to have left his individual mark. We think that from the moment when he first came out to this country in 1843 as a member of the Bongal Civil Service to the day when he resigued the Governorship of Bombay, Sir Richard Tomple has been nothug more or less tbana logal and faithful reconder and executor of the orders and riews of his master and chief for the time being, and we are afraid that whatever the future career before hum may be, he will continue to be up to the end of his life, we mean public life, nothing more or less than what he has been fur the last thirty-two years of his life, -the loyal recorder and executor of his master's decrees. We think it is not in his nature to act independently, for Nature never meant him to be in independent charge of a Province or an Eupire. We behere the highest post for which he was fitted and which he did hold in India was when he continued to represent tho Britith Indian Goverament at the court of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. Farther than that he ouglit never to have been elevated.-The Dnagar Prukash, Puona, 18th March 1830.
(The following is a translation of an article in the Rastgoftar the leading Parsee aveekly of Eombay.)
(1). "The views of the party which Sir Richard Temple has joined aro prejudicial to the interests of India. True native patriots will, therefore, not like to see his party successful, and that of Mr. Gladstoue overthrown. Daring the last ten years, Mr. Gladstone has rendered important services to Iudia; and thuse citizens of Bonbay who wish for the success of Sir Richard Temple against the son of that eame Mr. Gladstone, betray their ingratitude towards. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Fuwcett, Mr. Bright, and many other men of note."
(2), "And it behoves us to confine ourselves within the aforesaid limits (i,e. piring merely an address to Sir Rinhard Temple). But the friends and admirers of Sir Richard bave transgressed these limits. Not content with giving him an address, they have resolvod-to erect a statue in his honour ; and this resolution we consider it our duty to oppose. They carry their admiration too far ; they disregard publio opinion for the sake of private friend-ship; and they are thus reading a bad lesson to fature generations. Sir Richard Temple has many friends here. His Excellency is a master of the art of multiplying friends by awect words. He conferred honours and dignities on prominent men; ho brought the sons of well-known gentlemen to pablic notice; he gained over Europeans by kind treatment:-thus extending his flattery far and wide, Sir Richard facilitated his way to the honour of a statue. But that these men should undertake to raise a statute in hdnour of Sir Richard Temple because he raised them to high dignitities, or that certain English officers, who fully regaled themselves at Ganesh Khind (i.e. at the Government house at Poona) as the Governor's guests, should combine in a body to atiflo public opinion is not merely improper, but positively degrading. It would have been proper for the friends of tha Governor to have held themselves aloof from this movement, for the very reason that they were his friends; and we are inclined to think that' Sir Richard Temple would himself wish that his friends should so far carb their spirit of friendship as not to desp:se public opinion. Bat no. The friends of Sir Richard Temple do not like to do so. Had they left the matter in the hands of the public, we are quite sure that the latter would not have shown themselves wanting in rendering due honour to Sir Richard Ternple. But the public would never have gone the length of erecting a statue in his honour.

Had his friends dons so (i.e. erected a statue) at their private expense, wo would have laughed in our sleeves and lsept silent.: But when, in order to express their private sense of gratitute, they step forth to render the highest honour of erecting a statue in the namo of the pablic, we cannot but say that Sir Jamsetji Jeejegbhoy Bart. and Dossabhoy Framjee C.S.I., do not constitate the whole pab-
lic; nor are the Government officers and "Government house-Guests" the only organ of public $\rho$ pinion. We have moreover heard that some protests against this movement which were sent to the editors' of the English dailies for publication; were not placed before the pablic.

We have heard that several influential gentlemen plainly refased to sign the requisition seat to the sheriff of Bombny for calling a pablic reeting while others signed it after much hesitation. And it is worthy of remark that excluding the intimate friends of Sir Richard Temple, who had obtained some share of praise or obligation at his hands, there was very little of the popular element to be found in the meeting. There lay two courses before the promoters of this movement: to rest satisfied with merely giving an address, or to erect a statue in his honour at their private expense withont at all discussing this matter in a public meeting. The honour of a statue is not to be given to all.

An address is an embodiment of our present regard and affection. But a statue is intended to commemorate one's memory in ages to come. It is quite proper to give addresses to Governors und Government officers of average abilities, if they bo found worthy of the same. But the honour of a statue is reserved for mighty heroes or brave personages who sacrifice their lives for the welfare of nations, or for those great sculs who undertake enterprises of high importance.

If the name of any worthy survives his death, people erect a statue in his honour. 'A'statue is bat lately erected in honour of Lord Byron, fifty yars after his death; and here is an example of due honour rendered to real sterling worth. But to erect statues in hooour of names, very likely to pass into oblivion iu the very next generation, is to make the value of those names consist merely in the value of the material of which the statue is made. It is sufficient for us to express our sense of gratituhe to Sir Richard 'Templa by an address. Our duty is fulfilled if we render due honour to Sir Richard Temple in the same sweet language
with which he flattered us so long. What more has Sip Richard Templo given to us than swoet words; what great and permanent benefits has he ronferrod upon this country; what political improvemens has ho devised; what beneficial policy has ho introduced; what important rights has he conferred upou us; that he deservesto be honoured with a statue, and to stand in the rank of Lord Wellesley, Mountstuart Elphinstone, or Lord Canning? It is more important to examine what Sir Richard Cempla has not done than what he has done. Wo must find out how mach of all that he said is carried out. On a little thought we shall come to the conclusion that instead of effecting any momentous improvements, instead of inaugurating some new line of policy, instead of rendering ang permineat service to the country, Sir Richard has intlicted such serious injuries on the people as will continue to harass and oppress them for a long time to come. Public opinion is the strongest governing power, and the justest of tribunala. We therefore hope that the force pf pablic opinion will ever remain unabated, in spite of the attempts of Sir Richard Temple's interested friends to serve their own private ends.-The Rast Goftar, Bombay, 14th March 1880.

Copres of the following hand-bills were distributed daring the course of the public meeting at the Bombay 'lown Hall, on Friday the l2th Instant, which was convened to do bonour to Sir R. Temple. They contain the following reasons for the question 'Why Sir Richard 'Temple should have a Statue' ? -

1, Because, after having waged war on Bengal Famine, ntterly regardless of expense, he put the screw on during the famine in the Deccen five times more severe, and by insisting on the "one pound ration" caused an immense addition to the rate of mortality.
2. Becanse he insisted on collecting as much land revenue as pisible, arrears macluded, duripig the year of famme 1877-78.
3. Because he refused the offer made through the Madran committee of and from Brush charity; to aneliorate the distress-though the grants atterwards obbaned from Madras, in spite of his dis. couragemént, helped to pay the lavd revenne arrears aloresad.
4. Becanse he zealously anpported the most striagent provisions of the Land Revenue Code Bill, especially those which eliminated the term "owner."
5. Because he sanctioned the heary enhancements of asseysment in Salsette and elsewtere, and supported the most stringent protistuns of the Salt and Abkari Acts and Irrigation Bill.

## ( 39 )

6. Becanse under his Presidency of the Tegislative Conncil, the freedom of discussion even occasionally manfested by official Siembers of Council, has been effectually trowned down.
7. Because he has conformed, without prutest, the extravagant ncheme of the Port 'lrust, thereby fastening a ruinous burdeu on Bombay.
8. Because by weakly gielding to the Bengal Military authorities Iast year, without appealugg by public remonstrance to the Secrecary of State, the campargn in southern Afghanistan was abortive and Gbazni remained unoccupied.
9. Becanse, by superceding public opinion, he forced on a sewerage scheme for Bumbay at the leck of the Army Samitary Commisshon and an the teeth of the best scientific knowledge : and he oboys the same extraneous influence by leaving the hated U. D. A. as a legacy for Bombay.
10. Becauso while giving the best possible reasons for the employment of natives of Indian positions of responsibility, he has done wext to nothing to give practical effect to that policy.
11. Bocause he tamely submitted to the Government of India's ordors for stoppare of Pablic Works, given under the offictally invented panic of April last year, thereby seriously noreasiug the difficulties and distress in the Defcan and elsewhere.
12. Becanse he did his utmost to fasten on the educated natives of Poons and the Deccan the foul stigma of haring excited the dacoities and incendiansms of last year.

The Hindu, 17 th March 1880.

## ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS,

GATUCRED IN CONNECTION WTTH THE indiay melegation to exgland dering tue gexenal election of 1885.


BY

N. G. CHANDAVARKAR, в. A., L ц. в., PLEADER, IIGH COI'RT.

" 1 campaign uhich it is only the barest justice to say that the roperentatives of the native educated cluss have conducted, amilet disyruceful insults and slanders, wuth a dignity and magnaimity which is itself one of the best possible textummies to the justue of their apped"-Pall Mall Gazette, Sch December, 1855.

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# MRS. RADHABAI atmarami sagoon, Cook-Seller, Pcblisher, dc. 

135, Kalkaderi Road.

## formbry:-

PRINTED AT THE

1887

## PREFACE.

The following pages are, with the exception of the two last chapters, merely a reprint of certain articles which appeared last year in the columns of the Indu Prakash newspaper. They are republished in the present form at the suggestion of many friends of tho writer.

> N. G.C.

Bombay. 11, February 1887. $\}$.

## TIIE GENLRAL ELECTION OF 1883.

-mon:
A period of General Election in England means a period of great political excitement. Always proud of his vote, it is then farticularly that John Bull seems to feel that he is a freemanand not a slave. Wherever you go, politics and tho propect of the two great parties form the priacipal topic of converation. On the windows of shops and even of honses placerds are found pasted, sone with the wouls:-"Vote for Mr.-.the Liberal C'mdidate"; others with the mords:-"Toto for-,the Conservative and Constitational Candidate." Peoplo with time and money in their hands, traders, shopheeqers, publicans and priests, eren women and chilhren,-all, each in his or her own way, take part in the excitement. There are of course men riwo take things quietly, hardly care to attend political meetings, look upon the period as a carse, mind their orn lasizpes, and, when canrassers and election-agents wait upon them, refuse to bind themselres by any pledge, wishing to "Leep their minds clear until the day of the poll." But in Lnol.nd, where politics and parties go before everything, the number of such men cannot be very large. For, generally speaking, a man's pulitical opinions seem to be determined for him at his lirth. A man is born either Whig or Tory. When he grows up, he moy change or remain neutral. But even then he is forced by self-interest or something else to side with one [arty or the other. I have seen houses in villages and counties displaying thans and hanners as either Tory or Whig ensigns; and children are to be seen goiag about in dress exhibiting the colours of the purty to which their parents belong. In the streets I have met swarms of them running about and calling for "three choers" for some favourito Parliamentary candidate.

Party spirit in fact runs so high that few, it seems, can live in the land without being drawn into its vortex. The pressure of prolitical excitement is felt to be so great that instances have nut been rare of men dying immediately after making speechey at large mectings or on returning from the polling booths after dropping their votes into the ballot-box. And a new kind of fever, known as elcetion fever, has been discovered as being duo to it.

It has been said that Englishmen go "mad" daring a period of General Election; and to strangers not acquainted with the ancient traditions and the political growth of England, the country is apt to present at such a period the appearance of a bear-garden-a place, where, it would scem, people delighted to live in a state of perpetual quarrel. At no other period do you find the statesmen of one party attacking the statesmen of the other with so much bitterness. The attacks become very often even grossly personal. During the campaign of 1885 it was usual to hear speakers at Conservative mectings denounce Mr. Gladstone as "an arch-humbug", Mr. Chamberlain as "an atheist" and "a planderer of other people's property"; whilo speakers at liberal meetings were not belind-hand in pouring forth abuse on the statesmen of the Conservative party. Lord Randolph Churchill, whom the latter regarded as their "coming man", suffered perbaps the worst at the hands of his political opponents. One speaker at a Liberal meeting described him as "a politician with a very elastic conscience"; while I have often heard his Lordship spoken of by the Liberals as one who was given to "stealing their coats." Nor was this bitterness of party feeling confined to platform orators and political meeting. Even the theatres did not escape the contagion. At a dramatic performance, which I had gone to witness one night; I found to my surprise that even on such occasions nothing fetched an English audience so well as a political hit, directed against some leading statesman, whose principles they disliked. One of the
actors, while playing his part, evidently wished to rouse his audience by saying something smart and witty. He first tried to feel the audience-to ascertain if the majority consisted of Liberals or Conservatives-by simply saying:-"There's one Joe Chamberlain of Birmingham". The mention of Mr. Cbamberlain's name gave rise to groans and hisses from the fashionable portion of the audience gathered in the dress circle and the galleries and those who cheered appeared plainly in a minority. The actor saw at once that he had to deal with a Tory majority. "I've caught it," he said-meaning that he had found out which way the political feelings of a majority of those presont were running. "Now"-he proceeded to say-"that chap wishes to give away other people's property and save his own." This hit led to peals of applanse from the Tory majority, and, though every time they cheered, the Liberal minority groaned and hissed, the groans were drowned in the cheers and the Tory part of the audience seemed to have the best of it . The resalt was that actors were turned into spectators and the spectators became actors. The man on the stage having roused the political passions of the men and women before him seemed for the time to enjoy the fun. While the andience kept on for several minutes exhibiting their prolitical feelings by their groans, hisses, and cheers, the actor for his part kept on repeating-"Well, I've caught it and caught it well too". One might have expected the pulpits at least to be free from the spirit of party rancour. But during the General Election of 1885 even they were drawn in. Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of disestablishment, of free land and free education, hal rufled the spirits of the parsons and priests; and self-interest sharpened the wits of some of them. In their Sunday sermons many of them made a special point of the elections then impending; advised their hearers "to gird up their loins" and "meet this monster of demagogism and democracy in the face." Some even went so far as to tell their fluck that if they should rote for the Liberals, they would have to pay for it
very dearly: The first thing, they said, the Liberals would do. if they returned to power, would be "to plander the Church". "And if the Church be plundered", one asked, "where will yon be? After your death, you will have no Christian burials. Your dead bodies will be thrown to the winds for the birds to feed upon". I was told that many of the electors, who would have otherwise voted for the Liberals, voted for the Tories, scared away by the vehemence of pulpit eloquence. $\Lambda$ more amusing instance of the ludicrous length to which people carried thair party spirit was this. It was some days before the elections commenced. Mr. Gladstone, who was then in London, haprened one day to visit a second-hand book-shop. He walked up to the place. Immediately on its becoming.known in that part of the city that "the Grand Old Man" was there, a largo crowd congregated outside the shop, ready for a demonstration in the ex-Premier's honor. Mr. Gladstone saw that he was rather awkwardly situated. He had bought the book he wanted lut how was he to get out? He could not walk back to his residence as quietly as he had come to the shop. Finding his difficulty, Mr L-, a trader, who happened to drive in his trap to the place ju't then on business, offered it to Mr. Gladstone and the latter readily availed himself of Mr. L-'s kindness. When the report $\& \frac{1}{}$ read in that part of London that Mr. L-had lent bis trap to Mr. Ghalstone, a burly charchwarden, who was one of Mr. L--'s customers and who was evidently a red-hot Tory, visited the lattfr's shop, enquired if the report was true, and on being informed that it was forthwith directed Mr. L-to strike out his name trom the list of his customers. Some days after this occurrence, a seraker at a Liberal meeting referred to it as an instance of the extent to which, he thought, Torves carried their bitternessand $\mathrm{p}_{2}$ rejudice. Ho refrained, however, fron giving out the name of either Mr. L-or the chnrchwarden. The audienceanthich was moved to indignation by the conduct of the latter, called for his name. The speaker refused to give it on the ground that Mr. L- had desired him to
keep it secret. The speaker, however, was, not allowed to go on with his speech for some time. " Give us the name," cried several voices, "before you go on". The speaker felt considerably embarrassed. Had he mentioned the name, the windows of the churchwarden's house would have been probably found the next morning smashed. For a time he seemed not to know what to do; he stood mute in a thoughtful mood, the indignant andience, which was growing impatient, all the while calling vociferously for the churchwarden's name. At last a happy thought suggested itself to the speaker, who very ingeniously got out of the difficulty by saying:-"Gentlemen, I have already told you that the gentleman who informed me of this incident has desired me not to mention the churchwarden's name. And I have pledged my word not to mention it. Well, were I a Tory, I should not have hesitated to break my word. But you know I am a Liberal. And you, who are Liberals too, will, I trust, not press me for the name". This had its effect on the audience. They no longer pressed for the namo.

This spirit of political rancour may seem strange in the case of a nation, which has achieved greatness and held its own by the force of unity among those who compose it; and I know many people regret the party spirit, which animates political life in England always but more especially daring a period of General Election. But for all that, however much Englishmen may grow fanatical in party matters, they are patriots first and partisans afterwards. Mr. Chamberlain has said !ibitter things about Lord Randolph Churchill; and the latter has not in his turn spared him. Nevertheless, I have been informed on excellent authority that both are friends. Another thing that struck me as a most admirable feature of the English chäracter was John Bull's sanguine temperament and the courage with which he manfully bears himself up under defeat or against adyerse circumstances. What puzzled me for some time was the hopeful attitude of both the parties. Before
the elections commenced the Conservatives were certain that the Liberals would be defeated; the Liberals, on the other hand, entertained no doubt that a clean sweep would be made of the Conservitives. Each party seemed to be 'cocksure' of its own success; and never liked to own that it had its own obstacles to combit. For the purpose of ensuring success no stone is left unturned. As soon as Sir Charles Dilke's election, for instance, by a small majority in the borough of Chelgga was declared, the Liberals placarded it all round that it might encourage the other beroughs, where the elections were still to take place, to elect Liberals. The Conservatives, on the other hand, did not fail to make nuch of the fact that Mr. Whitmore, Sir Charles's opponent, had won a great moral victory and run a closo race with him. If the Liberals work by means of their "caucus"as the well-known organization, the successful growth of which in Birmingham is mainly due to Mr. Schnadhorst, is derisiwly but perhaps most unfairly termed by the Conservatives-the latter use the influence of what are called "the Dames of the Primose League". The former body has a council of two thousand menbers in Birmingham who are all elected. The influence of the latter was confined during the elections of 1885 to London anl places nearit buteven then one could see that this political organization of ladies was likely to extend itself beyond the metropolitan boroughs. Thaidea of atilising the services of the gentler sex for party purposes seems to have originated with the Toriez, because woinen are regarded by them as "the strictest conservators of usage". Another striking fact is the spirit of boldness with which comparatively unknown men stand to oppose even leadingstatesmen. Mr. Chamberlain's opponent was hardly known in Birmingham. Nor had he acquired any political repatation. The same might to some extent be said of Mr.Dalrymple, Mr. Gladstone's opponent. Lord Randolph Charchill did not hesitate to compete with Mr, Bright; and" Mr. Skinner did not fear to oppose Lord Randolph in South Paddington. The less known
candidate starts in the contest, well knowing of course that he has no chance. Nevertheless he does not flinch from it and enters into it with all his energy, zeal, and zest. No man-that seems to be the idea in England-is too small for party fights, provided he has the sinews of war and can pay his way. If he cannot win an election, he can at least fight for his views and enjoy the satisfaction of having done his best to educate the clectors-to fight ${ }^{\text {as }}$ the phrase goes, "an educational battle". Mr. Heald, who unsuccessfully stood in the Liberal interests for a county in East Sussex, told me only a day before his defeat that he was sure he was not going to win, but that he had gone into expense and stood up merely with a view to attack that had been for years a Tory stronghold, where squires and landlords ruled supreme and the farmers and working men were helpless. For bis zealous advocacy of the canse of the latier he had made himself very unpopular with the former. But he was not to be put down by anything, He fought to the last and when I saw him after his defeat, he appeared none the worse for it. It looked as if Englishmen could enjoy defeat no less than victory.

We in India may learn something from all this. If we feel at all, we must, like Englishmen, learn to feel strongly. Nothing is so much needed among us as unswerving loyalty to one's principles. Defeat should not discourage us; nor should obstacles prevent us from working actively to see that our principles in the long run succeed. In everything we try to maintain, we must try to carry the masses with us. Political sentiment must be largely diffused-even women and children must be tanght to share it with men. The people pust be tanght to know and also to think and to feel. And, above all, we must learn to agree and also to differ. It is this feature of the English charactertheir staunch adherence to settled principles, their patriotism and the energy with which, regardless of all considerations of time and money, they strive for the saccess of their principles and views-that commends it most to one's admiration.

## (II.)

## THE ELECTION_DAYS.

As stated in the previous chapter, before the commencoment of the elections each of the two parties professed to be sure that it was going to defeat the other. The Liberals were indeed well a ware that they had a formidable league of influential class interests arrayed against them. They knew that Parnell had resolved to "throttle" their party and that at his dictation the Irith electors in many of the constituencies in England were going to vote "solid" for the Conservatives. It was also almort certain that the shop-keepers and traders, suffering from a somewhat long-continued period of depression in trade while the Litorals had heen last in office, were inclined to give a chance to Lord Salisbury's Government; that, in fact, the fire P's, as Mr. Chamberlain once described the Parnellites, protectionists, parsons, priests, and publicans, had combined, as it were, to prevent the return of Mr. Gladstone's party to power and to bring about a Conservative majority. But the Liberals hoped to make up for it all with the vote of the agricultural labourer in the counties. "Hodge" of the "Xew Democracy"-as the labourer enfranchised by the last Parliament of $1880-85$ was called-they almost felt sure would enable them to score a victory. In other words, while the Conservatives relied upon the boronghs, the Liberals relied upon the counties. It was with these prospects for the two parties that the elections commenced.

Lord Randolph Churchill had a few days before the elections spoken of the Conservative Ministry as "a Ministry of good luck." And for some time good luck did indeed neem to shine upion it. The fixing of the date of each election rests with the Government: and Lerd Salisbary, who was in office when Parliament dissolved, had so arranged the dates that the cause of
the Conservatives was able to grain a little from it. He put the elections in the boroughs first and the elections in the counties afterwards. Whether this was done on purpose it is more than one can say; but the arrangement did succeed so far that it gave the Conservative cause a good starting point. The main strength of that cause lay in the boroughs; and the belief in England is that the constituencies that begin, sometimes if not nlways, lend more or less the constituencies that follow. If a large number of the former go over to one party, the latter are apt to catch the contagion and vote likewise. I was told that this was what happened at the General Elections of 1880. Then the constituencies that began the elections sent a Liberal majority; and those that elected afterwards took the cae from them and thus ensured the success of the Liberal cause. Probably in giving the borough elections precedence over the elections in counties last Noveinber, Lord Salisbury counted upon the probability that the success of bis party in the former would lead to its success in the latter also. When the few boroughe that started the elections went over Tory, the rest followed their example so much so that the Conservatives, who had till then doubts about "Hodge", began to believe that he too would very likely side with them. It looked for some time as if the Conservative cause was carrying everything before it. Even the weather was on its side. For two or three days after the elections commenced London was enveloped in fog and prain; and fog and rain, it is believed, have a tendency to drive men Tory. Men of wealth generally belong to that party, while the Liberals represent the working and industrial classes. . The former can command any number of horses and carriages to convey electors to the polling booths; the Liberals cannot and to them fog and rain mean tho loss of many votes. While going round several of the metropojitan boroughs on the polling days, I was able to convince myself of this last fact. The carriages conveging Conservative electors to the polling booths were not only "stylish" in look but largely
outnumbered the carriages conveying Liberal electors. Where the Tories made use of broughams, the Liberals tried to make the best of open traps and dogcarts. In some places, even tradesmen's vans audrpring carts were used; and in one place even fire-engines wore brought inta, requisition. With the decided supuriority of their conveying power, the Tories, assisted by fog and rain and belped on by the five $P^{\prime}$ s, weat on triumphing all round till two events happened, which saddenly turned the tide against them. Mr. Gladstone's election in Midlothian by a majority of nearly 4000 voters revived the damping spirits of the Liberals, and, curiously enough, that election was followed by a few days of fine weather. Then it was that things suddenly began to look up for the Liberal cause. "Hodge" went the way of Midlothian and voted oatright for "the Grand Old Man."

It is on a polling day that the excitement of a General Election reaches its highest pitch, and though fog and rain took away much of the incentive to it in most of the boroughs, yet it was kept up by the electors so far as the state of the weather permitted. In some places street fights took place, "roughs" interested in one party mobbed men belonging to the other, and the police had to interfere. In others quaint-looking placards were issued, either describing or caricaturing party principles. The Liberals in one place, being staunch adrocates of the principles of free trade with which the names of Cobden and Bright are associated, made a caricatare of Lord Salisbury's advocacy of protection by displaying two big loaves, one called Free Trade and weighing 8 lbs , the other called Fair Trade and weighing one lb . The Conservatives in another, irritated by Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Jessie Collings's scheme for buying out the landlords and allotting lands among the farmers and tho, unemployed,--the scheme well-known as that of the "three acres .and a cow"-exhibited a cow called "The Radical Cow", which was led through the streets by an agricaltaral labourer. In a hild place the Liberals got up a procession, carrying small
loaves and herrings, illastrating the scanty fare which working men woald hare to live upon in the event of Lord Salisbary coming into power and enforcing the principles of protection. And what added to the excitement, which prevailed at some of the places, was the manner in which men that were either blind or crippled were led to the polling booths and enabled to exercise their right to vote. I have seen old men carried by sturdy persons on their backs. In one place, a man came to a candidate, with whom I was then standing, and informed him that a conveyance was wanted for an elector, who was suffering from fever and cold, but who was nevertheless anxions to go to the polling booth and vote for him. A carriage was immediately despatched and the man, sick as he was, came assisted by his wife and the man just mentioned, and returned after dropping lis vote into the ballot box. Men and even women rolunteer their services for the purpose of conducting blind, crippled, or lame electors to the polling places. Most in fact think it their duty to labour for their party; and many look upon the labour as a labour of love. All this time the candidates and their agents are to be found running from their committee rooms to the polling booths and from the polling booths to the committee rooms. It is in this way that the excitement is kept up until the close of the poll at eight o'clock in the evening. About that time the excitement begins sensibly to increase. A large crowd is then seen to assemble in front of the counting office to await the declaration of the poll. A little after it strikes eight, the doors of the office are closed, none being admitted inside by the returning officer and his deputies except the candidates', their election agents, and such of their friends as have been sworn in as their "counters". While the coanting goes on inside, the large crowd outside, composed of both Liberals and Conservatives, of men, women and children, does not stand still. Each party keeps on calling for "three cheers" for its candidate and that is followed by groans and hisses from the opposite side. When the counting is over and
the doors of the office are reopened for the declaration of the poll, the scene that follows is simply indescribable. Fach party outside looks forward for "good news" and stands, as it were, on the tip-toe of expectation. And when the name of the elected candidate is made known you hear nothing but cheers und groans and hisses. The elected candidate's supporters call for a speech and he speaks like "a conquering hero," thanks his supporters, and concludes by trusting that the hard things be had said of his opponent and his opponent had said of him during the election contests would be forgotten by both and good humour would return. Then the other party call for a speech from their candidate who is the defeated one. He too has to speak. He has to pluck up for at least the time being all the courage he can sammon, forget his disappointment and show to his supporters and opponents alike that in spite of defeat be is as jolly as ever. If he betray any sign of dejection or discomfiture he is almost sure to guffer in the estimation of all-he would be cast away as a coward, unfit for the manly game of politics. Though defeated, he must not forget that he is a Briton, and show both in word and in deed as if to a Briton defeat never comes. Bearing this in mind, he puts on a manly appearance, thanks his supporters, and ends by hoping that if bad lack has attended him this time, better luck would be with him next time.

## (III.)

## THE ENGLISH WORKING MEN.

( Part First.)

"The nation", said Mr. Bright on one occasion, "dwells in the cottage"; and it is there, I believe, more than anywhere else
that you generally find the genaine Englishman-with little or no humbug about him, a model of nuafected courtesy, and with sympathies of the right sort. Nothing is calculated to impress a foreigner visiting England morestrikingly than the intelligence, the shrewdness, and the wit of the lower classes generally but of the working classes particularly. On the day of my arrival at London, the very first man with whom Ientered into conversation was a hair-catter. He seemed to know a good deal of politics and interested me greatly by his talk about some of the leading statesmen of the day in England. More still, he surprised me by his criticism of some of the measures of Mr. Gladstone's last administration. Seeing that he had something of the politician in him, I asked him if he was an elector himself and he replied he was, "Well", I further queried him, "you wouldn't mind my asking you whom you are going to vote for-the Conservatives or the Liberals". And this was his answer:-"There ain't any donbt, Sir, the present Government (meaning, Lord Salisbury's), have done well since taking office; but old Gladstone also I like and so I am pazzled." I came across another haircutter and that was during my visit to Manchester-a very voluble man, who seemed proad to tell me that he was a ToryHe spoke indignantly of Mr. Chamberlain, who, he said, "was sending the country to the dogs"-the common cry of Mr. Chamberlain's detractors and political opponents. But the haircutter I. met in Honiton, Devonshire, seemed still more intelligent and slrewd. That was the county, of which Sir John Phear was the Liberal candidate; and when soon after my arrival there I enquired of Sir John's election-agent and some other Liberals of the place as to how his chances stood, they said they were so far "splendid". I put the same query subsequently to my hair-catter; but he gave me no hopes. And his forecast, which was proved correct by the subsequent result of the poll, was based on this that Honiton was an old Tory place, and that as Sir John's opponent was a local landlord of great influence, who had
represented the county in the House of Commons daring the last sisteen years, there was not much hope for the Liberal cause there. Hair-cutters, however, are every where a garrulous class; the nature of their occupation perhaps makes them so. It bring4, them daily in contact with a nomber of people of all classes and that perhaps accounts for the political sagacity, which those I came across while in England exhibited in their talk. Bat they are not the only class, however, that amaze you by their fund of information and their shrewd remarks on politics. Even tho servants seem to have more or less of the political faculty. For instance, the morning after our meeting in Swansea, I asked the man, who was waiting on me at the place where I was staying, to bring me the morning's local papers. He handed me a copy of the Western DFail and said:-"This gives an account of yotr meeting, Sir". That being the paper, of which I had heard Mr. J. M. Maclean to be one of the proprietors, I expressed my surprise that it had reported the proceedings of our meeting. The waiter thought I felt surprised because I had not expected a Conservative organ to report our speeches, So he remarked very shrewdly:-"But yours was not a political meeting, Sir" I asked him:-"What do you mean? It was political". "Oh! I mean it had nothing to do with our parties". "Then do you call party meetings only political meetings?" "Yes, Sir, that's what we mean here when we talk of a political meeting". I was not till then aware of this and I doubted if the man was drawing a difference which was popularly received. Bat when some days after, Sir Charles Dilke, who presided at one of the meetings, where we spoke, asked us about the Associations by whom we had been depated, we toldhim they were "political" Associations, He said they could not be called "political" for the reason that they were neither Liberal nor Conservative. This removed my doubt and I found that my Swansea waiter was in the right.

## More remarkable even are the intelligence and the sound

common sense of what are called the Englih working men-the men that live by manual labour, that daily crowd in the factories and the mills and whom Mr. Gladstone once described as "the huge toiling masses of the community". Of that intelligence and that common sense I was able to find abundant proofs at several public meetings attended very largely by working men. For one thing they are more demonstrative in their enthusiasm as well as in their indignation than any other class of the British public. Attend a meeting where the audience is mostly made up of men of a higher rank in life and a meeting of the working classes. The contrast is most easily perceptible. The mention of the name of a statesman popular with the former does, of course, draw forth cheers but they lack the lively enthusiasm of the cheers that one witnesses at a meeting of the latter kind. For instance, at Birmingham we attended two meetings-one where Mr. Chamberlain spoke, the other where Mr. Bright spoke, both very largely attended by working men. The first was held in the Grand Theatre which could hold three thousand people. The seats in the galleries and the dress circle, in fact every inch of space, were occupied. When Mr. Chamberlain appeared on the ${ }^{\text {hatform every single man in the andience rose }}$ and received him with tremendous eheering. When he rose $t^{0}$ speak, the same scene followed, At first he stood in the middle of the stage, when some lustily cried out:-"Step a little to the front, Joey", Joey being the abbreviation of Mr. Chamberlain's Christian name Joseph. In the course of his speech, criticising Lord IRandolph Churchill, he said:-"Lord Randolph is a man of great ability, great shrewdde'ss and"-but before he added another word, a working man in one of the galleries supplied it by crying out-"cheek" Mr. Chamberlain, pointing his finger to the man, said "boldness" as much as to say that the man was right in suggesting the word "cheek" but that he would instead use the word "boldness". The second meeting-Mr. Bright's-
was held ia the Town Hall of Birmingham and there were, I think, more than four thousand people present. It was there that we were able to realise most vividly the highly affectionato esteem in which Mr. Bright is held by the class, for whom with Cobden he had striven hard and successfully to win cheap bread. When Mr. Bright appeared on the platform, the audience received him standing. And when he sat down and before the chairman rose to open the proceodings of the meeting, the working men sang one of the election songs with an enthusiasm, the like of which we had never before witnessed. When Mr. Bright rose to speak, the audience rose with him and then again an election song was sung. He began his address in a low voice and a working man cried out:-"Speak up, Johnny." When after Mr. Bright a speaker in the course of his remarks mentioned as an instance of tha former's honesty the fact that on one occasion he had resigned his office as a member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet because he had not been able to agree with his colleagues, a man cried out:-" Honest John!" At one meeting, the audience consisting almost entirely of working men, they quietly heard a Conservative candidate. While he was addressing, not a single man interrupted him and this led the candidate and his friends there to suppose that the men were converted to his views. When the chairman, however, put the formal resolution that those there present-approved of his candidatare \&c., to the meeting, 650 working men out of an audience of 800 people voted against it. At another meeting a candidate having spoken of his opponent as "a man of no means", the audience-here again they were mostly working men-grew indignant. A man got up and asked the candidate what they had to do with his wealth-whether in the event of his election he was going to make a present to them of his "money bags". They wonld not allow him to go on. He tried hard to secure a hearing; bat the working men had made up their mind and the candidate had to sit down. Mr. Dumphreys, the opponent of Mr. Chamberlain at
the elections of 1885 , received a similar treatment on one occasion. Finding that he was being interrupted when he was addressing, he remarked that ccrtain men were sent there for creating a disturbance at the meeting. The remark was not favourably received-the noise grew louder, the interruptions more frequent, and the meeting had to be brought to an abrupt close. A still more interesting incident, which is illestrative of the wit that working men show they posess, was narrated to me by an Finglish friend. A speaker, adlressing a meeting, tried to dereant at some length on the virtues of a gentleman, who, it appears, had died shortly before. He went on asking:--"What flace are we to give this great man that is gone? Are we to ranh him with the Apostles or with Moses?" And so he procecded in the samostrain, uttering a good many of similar names, and every five minutes repeating his question:-"What place, I ask you, ǵentlemen, are we to give him:" The audienco was getting impationt and feeling bored, hoping every minute the. rant would end. No one for a time rentured to interrupt him. At last a working man sentured to rise and suid-"Don"t you troublo yoursll any more, Sir, about it. Here is my placo ready for the man you are talking of. Give it to him and relieve us." The audience;roared with laughter; the speaker lost his balance and to the relief of all sat perplexed.

## (IV.)

THE ENGLISH WORKMEN. (Part'Second.)

In my last on this sabject I bore testimony from my personal observation, such as it has been, to the shrewdness, wit, and intelligence of the working classes in England, It is often
the fashion, however, among some people, generally those belonging to what are called the.privileged classes of English socicty, to describe the working men as ignorant and illiterate. As one instance, I might mention that I was more amused than surprivel to hear an Anglo-Indian gentleman, a passenger on board the S . S. Assam, in which I returnod to India, remark to nnother passenger in the course of a conversation on the results of tho elections of 1885 that Liberalism was mostly confined in Enorland to what he called "the boors and bacolics" of the country-men, who, he said, were apt on account of their ignorance to be lidd away by what ho described as "the tempting bait of Mr. Caumberlain's radical programme". The other passenger being, liko the speaker himself, a Tory, readily assented. Their opinion was not, however, singular, for it is held by many and it may bo partly perhaps founded upon prejudice. Just before the elections there appeared in the Daily News a series of articles on "Tho New Democracy", describing pretty faithfully, I should think, the improvement made by the working classes since 1872 in point of their intellectual status and political information, and the prejudices entertained against them as a class by persons opposed to their advancement. In one of those articles the writter thus observed of the working men:-"I have been at scores of working.men's meetings-which are the same thing as Radical meetings-and can say that in no single instance have I heard any bitter recrimination against: persons but only criticism (of the most merciless sort certainly) of useless institutions. What you hear in the debating rooms of the potteries is what you may hear from a thousand platforms in the British isles'". A more straightforward set of people it would be difficult to find. The story about Mr, Mill is well-known. When at the General Election of 1865 he stood for Westminster as a Radical candidate, his opponents, while denouncing him as an atheist and infidel, tried to create a prejadice against him by bringing out a remark made by him in one of his works that the working classes
of England were given to lying. At one of his meetings he was publicly questioned if he had ever made such a remark. Mr. Mill frankly and fearlessly answered that he had. The effect the answer had on the working men may be described in the words of Mr. Justin Mc. Carthy:-"The boldness and frankness of the reply struck home to the manhood of the working men who listened to him. Here they saw a leader who would never shrink from telling them the trath. They greeted his answer with vehement applause, and Mr. Mill was returned to Parliament by a majority of some handreds over the Conservative competitor". The nice little hits and the appropriate remarks which working-men make at meetings by way of interraption, while a man is addressing, are often very happy; and they show that they generally take care to beinformed on political questions. At the close of Mr. Bright's meeting in Birmingham, a number of working men gathered round us and asked various questions about India, particularly about oar system of local self-govermment. They seemed to understand and follow all we told them, to judge from the queries they put to us; and that showed that they could not be quite so ignorant and 'illiterate as some would think they are. I could say the same thing of the working men I met in Maidstone. At their desire I visited the Paper Manufactory of that place; and had there a fairly good opportunity of conversing with them. And the impression they made on me was very favourable. In one place at the close of my address a number of working-men gathered round me, and one gentleman-not a working man-observed that there were two things which he did flot like in my address. I had, he said, harped too much on the blessings we had derived from British rule in India, which, in his opinion, was superfluons and unnecessary. I had, again, he said, on one or two occasions addressed the andience as "our rulers", while I should have spoken of them as "our fellow-sabjects". I looked to the working men around me to see if they were also of the same
opinion. One of them said to me:-" Doesn't matter, Sir. Speak your own way. It is better to be moderate". The others agreed. On another occasion when I was addrearing a meeting of working men, one not up nnd said-"Speak of Fanceft". At our meting in Swamea in the course of his address Mr. Mululiyar told the addicuce that self-interest made us strongly dosire the prosperity and continance of British rale in India, lecauw, it had conferred on us many blessirga. "It had", he aaid, "for instance, given us a common langaage. But for Englibh, I should not have been able to make myself understood by my brotber delegatos; we do not know one another's vernacular" Whereupon a man asked-"Do you know Welh?", the point of the que-tion being that difference of languaget had not prevented the English and the Welsh from uniting. So, why hould it prevent union among the people in India? At a meeting of working men held one evening in the Cobden Club, one of the speakers referred to a letter which had appeared that morning in the Times; but lefore he proceeded to state from whom it was and what it was about, a working man asked:-"Is it from Bramwell?" The question was doubtless snggested to hin by the fact that letters over the signature of " B " had bren from timo to time appearing in the Times on agricultural and other questions. They were believed generally to proced from the pen of Lord Bramwell and the question showed how Encrinh working men were taking interett in all that was being said in the papers on such of the controversial topics of the day as concerned them as a class. Mr. Broadhurst, who repreaented the Bordesley divivion of Birmingham in the last Honse of Commons, is a working man. We had the pleasure of making his acquaintance at the meeting in the Grand Theatre. He was among the speakers and his eloquence as well as bis ability to deal with political quesions struck me as very creditable to him. I was present at a meeting held at the John Bright Club, where a working man delivered an address on the pyramids of

Egypt. So ably did he, deal with the subject that I was led to think he had probably seen the pyramids; but on enquiry it turned out that he bad never been to the place and had all his knowledge derived from the books he had taken care to read and master on the subject. Is it a wonder, then, that a class that is so industrious, open-hearted, and quick-witted, and so full of enthusiasm and common sense, is said to form "the backbone of the English community?"

Men of all parties in England seem more or less to realise this. During the election contests of 1885, it was usual to find candidates, Conservative as well as Liberal, those steeped in aristocratic notions as well as the disciples of the "new democracy", posing as the champions of the' working man. One candidate, who in India made his fame as a Jingo of Jingos, with all his Indian notions of "high-caste men" and "low-caste men", tried to secure the support of the working-meu in his constituency by telling them that he had started in life without a shilling in his pocket. Another gentleman, equally aristocratic, had advertised himself as "the Working-Man's Candidate", though the working men repadiated his claim to that tifle. Mr. Evelyn, who opppsed Mr. Tal Mohan Ghose in Deptford, on one occasion told his constituents that the latter, being a high caste native, could not be said to be a representative of the working classes of India. Mr. Ghose made an effective retort by telling the working men that he tas proud to say he was descended from ancestors, who had followed the hamble but useful occupation of selling milk. In fact the, working classes seem to be feared by their detractors as much as they are respected by their friends, and that because they represent, in a sense, the power of the country. That power is increasing and as the landlords were the class of the past, so it would seem the workmen are coming to be the class of the future in England. That such a class is full of genoine sympathy for the people of India ought to be to us a matter of great and sincere satisfaction. As Mr.

Chamberlain said of them at one of his mectings where we were present, in the English working classes the people of India lave a tribunal, on whose sense of justice, fair play, and true mymathy they may always rely.

## ( V.)

## CLUBS.

Some stir was created during the period of excitement, which shortly preceded the General Election of 1885 , by a disparaging remark made about that time by Mr. Gladstone recrarding clubs and club-frequenters. I forget the occasion which rall-d forth that remark but seeing that Englishmen of all parties, whether Liberals or Conservatives, Radicals or Tory Democrats, are fond of clubs, and that clubs in England have become a power in the country, exercising silent but for all that great influence, Mr. Gladstone's observation that they were the rendezvous of idlers was naturally received by many with considerable surprise. The institution has taken deep root in the country so much so that it would not be inapt to say club-life is English life. What Macaulay has said in his "History of England" of London coffee-houses of the year 1685 may be said of many of the clubs that one sees in and about "the great Babylon" of the modern world. They form, as it were, "the Lowdoner's home" and such of them as are political are "the chicf organs through which the public opinion of the metropolis vents itself"

In fact every class of society has gone in for them. There are clubs for ladies as there are clubs for gentlemen-working mens' clubs as there are farmers' clubs. There are the Alexandra
and the Somerville Club, both for ladies only. Of the former no one can be a member who is not entitled to the privilege of attending Her Majesty's Drawing Rooms. Of the latter I shall write at some length later on. There are clubs that are non-political, such as the Pall Mall, Salisbury, Savil, and others. These, I was told, are frequented by men, whe are not strong political partisans and ${ }^{\prime}$ who pass for either moderate or indifferent men in party matters. Men of literary or artistic tastes and pursuits resort to such as the Athenveum, the Arundel or the Arts Club. They have also in London what is called the Bachelor,' clab. It is, as the name itself signifies, meant for unmarried men, but a member is allowed to continue after marriage on certain conditions. Working men resort to such as the Cobden or the John Bright Clab. The former has a large Hall, thrown open to all kinds of political or other mectings. Perkaps the most interesting of all is what is called the Traveller's Club in Pall Mall, of which I read that no person shall te considered eligible to its membership, "who shall not bave travelled out of the British Islands to a distance of at least 500 miles from London in a direct line"!

Bat the clubs that form the centre of attraction are the great political clubs in the metropolis. It is they that exercise great influence, and it is there that men of both parties draw their inspiration and form their opinions. The Liberals resort either to the National Liberal, or the Devonshire (called after the Dake of Devonshire, father of the Marquis of Hartington), or the Reform, is the Conservatives resort to the Carlton, the Constitutional or St. Stephen's. The Reform and the Carlton are situated very near each other in Pall Mall. The former is frequented mostly by the Whig section of the Liberal party and has a more aristocratic look about it than the National Liberal. But the latter is fast rising in importance and is already regarded as the main centre for Liberals in the metropolis, It has on its
roll more than five thousand members and I was told by my friend Mr. William Digly, its energetic Secretary, that applications for membership were daily increasing in number The building in which it is at present located is not sufficiently large or spacious: but its attriction is that it is in the very heart of the city. A new .house is being constructed for the Club and, when completed, with its largo and decorated dining hall, it will be a most magnificent building. Just opposite tho place where the National Liberal is now located, a splendid and spacious honse is bailding for "the Constitational Clab". The Northbrook Club is also in a fine building. It is meant for Anglo-Indian and Indian residents in England, bat I was sorry to hear from Sir George Birdwood and others that some Indian residents were not making use of it as largely as they ought to. The provincial towns are not behind the metropolis in reapect of clubs. The Manchester Reform Clab and the Newcastle Liberal Club are equal to any firstelass club in London. Speaking of tho former, it may not be out of place to mention here what I beard from the gentleman, who presided at the dinner given at the Clab in honor of the Indian Delegates. He said:-"Do you know how such dinners are arranged? When I beard one morning that you were to visiti;Manchester, I ran immediately to the Club, wrote in the Suggestion Bock that the delegates should be invited to dinner and that members wishing to join should subscribe each a certain amount. Well, in a few hours I found more than a hundred signatures of members, approving of the idea and willing to join". So, again, at the National Liberal, one day while the elections were in fall swing, a few members happened to talk about certain cases of intimidation exercised upon ignorant and poor voters. Well, the very next morning 1 found to my sarprise that the talling bad led to acting-a Voters' Protection Fund had been started, many bad readily joined it, and what had been a mere idea the day lefore became an accompolished fact the day after!

But it is during the election days that you ought to see a

Club and the excitement that then prevails ṇt it. I had .taken my quarters during the greater portion of my stay in London in the National Liberal and was thus both day and night an eyewitness of that excitoment. The Press Absociation, between which and the Clüb there was direct telegraphic commonication, reported the declaration of eaoh night's poll and handreds of members-used to gather there every night during tho election days. The results used to be received until two o'clock in the morning. - On the first pight-we had tho results of what were called ancontested elections-of candidates returned unopposed. These of course did not excite any intorest: But it was from the second night tint real excitement commenced. That was the night when the resalts of the poll in most of the metropolitan lorought were declated; and as most of the results were unfavourable to the Liberal cause, the National Liberal Clah presented that night a sight of mourning. Among the hundreds of members and visitors, interested in tho success of the Libural cequse, there were men that wore comparatively old and men that were comparatively young." As each telegraphic communication went that night to swell the Conseryative majority, the eldenly members present, seated in the chairs, with glasses of whisky" and soda by their side, muttered disappointment but on the whole semed to take things with philosophic coolness. But not so the more youthful and active members present. With them cach dofat of the Liberal party was a signal for groans and hisses and for cries of "Down with the Parsons and Priests" Such men as Prof. Thorold Rogers looked particularly dovncast that night for the bad turn the elections were taking in the metropolitan boroughs as regards the Liberal cause. Tho third.night was to be declared-the resalt of the poll in Birmingham, and the eagerness to know it broaght into the Club a larger number than had been present the previous night. When the telegraph brought Mr. 'Bright's name first. and Lord. Randolph Churchill's after it, throughout the large Hall of the
(llab there was tremendous cheering; but somehow the figuts of Mr. Bright's najajity were, as given out by the telographic iustrument in the Club, illegible. Thuse present breame anusually impatient to know by how many wotes Mr. Bright had defeated-Lord Randolph. A fey members ran at once in the direction of the Reform Club; somie others ran to the Grand Hotel just opposito the National Libcral and in a few minutes wo were able to know.that Mr. Bright's majority was not mobre than 700.The fourth night we had Mr. Herbert Gladstone and several other antecessful Liberal candidates at the Clab. That became a night for political talk and speeches; and the greatest epthusiasn prevailed then because of the tremendoas majority by which Mr. Gladstone had beẹn returned for Midlothian.

The Somerville Clab, which has been already mentionel, is for ladies only. It was started in March 1880 and has its present quarters in 405, Oxford Street, WV., It has a large Dis: cussion and Lecture Room, which is open to visitors, and a library for the exclusive use of members, It has on its roll more than 800 members. Its lecturing season . begins in tho middlow October and ends about the middle of July. Düring that season, on the first Tuesday. in every month, a lecfure or. entertainment is given; on the second Tresday, a debate on some subject previously announced is held, and this is open to visitors (ladies or gentlemen) introduced by. members; on tho third Taesdry a similar debate, operi to members only, is held; on other Tuesdays it is open to the "Committee to arrange for such meetings as they like. 'Theological subjects are fxyltuded from discussion at all meetings and debates of the Club. I baye mentioned these particulars.about thts institution, becausp it was under itz-auspice's and at the request of some of its members, that r delivered an address in its Lecture Room, z large number of ladies and only two gentlemen being present. As no particular subject had been suggested or proscribod for my address, I though that.the question most appropriate to the decasion
would be that of social reform in India. Accordingly I gave my hearers an account of tho widow marriage movement in Dengal and in Bombay; the Parana ILamsa body, which existed some yuars ago in this city; the Students' Litcrary and Seientific Society; tho Brahmo Samaj and. Prarthana Samaj movements. At tho close of the adrgess, Miss Orime, who tas in the chair, akked if.I would be good enough to answer questions, which those present might wish to ask me. I readily, consented and such questions as the following were asked:-"At what age generally aro girls married amongst- yon"? "Is it tipe that woinen are treated as slaves in India"? "What is the lot of midows in India"? "Are Indian ladies allowed to attend meetings and lectures"? These questions plainfy indicated that English ladies were following more or less clesely the discussions on social refornt taking placo in this country. But their iniformation is very imperfect and I was not scrprised when I was. asked by one of the ladies present if it was true that we, Hindus, were given to treating our ladies like slaves. One of the questions askod has some bearing on a oase that is just now exercising the public mind Aere. It related to the letters, which hal shortly before appeared in the :Times of India over the signature of "A Hindu Lady", and summarised versions of which fiad been telegraphed to the London Times by its Calcuttacorrespondent. I was asked: $:-$ "Is the account given by the Hindu Lady true"? "Are there many other ladies who can write English like ker" and so on. . I was not sure at the time that Rulhmabai was the writer of those letters; bat at a time When her easp has exitod so much interest and created sympathy for her in some quarters, thongh she is being ronndly denounced by' others, it may affurd her some comfort and consolation to know that there are ladies in England, wha would seem to - have hoard about her case, who, I believe, feel for her, and would bo glad to take up her canse were the case-cirried to the Privy Council. When tho questioning was over, one of the ladies
present sent to Miss Orme a pigeo of paper, containing tho question:-"Will Mr. Chandavarkar tell us acmething abous, the political condition of India?" On that subjoct too I spohe, and we dispersed after passing a.most pleasant evening.

## ( VI.)

## "LfVELY" MEETINGS.

"Take care of rotten eggs and London roughs", This was the caution, which a somewhat cynical fellow-passenger on board the ship in which I left for England gave me ow day when he learnt that the object of our visit to that country was to appear on English platforms and acquaint the Eritish public with the political condition of India. From what I have in the foregoing chapters remarked about political meetings in England the reader mast hare already "gathered that they are rarely dull and whenonce party spirit is broughtinto play, they become what Englishmen call "lively" meetings-"lively" in the sense that speakers are interrupted, the proceedings are distritird'by groans, hisses, and all sorts of ejaculations, and even bepubes and bones are sometimes broken. Of sucb meetings we used to read constantly in the morning dailies, of London last Octobor and November. For instance, during the eflection contests'of 1885; Mr. Goschen had to get away unobserved from a crowded meeting in Edinburgh, where he Kad intended to speak, but where the Radicals swarmed in such large numbers ind seemed so determined to disturb the meeting at any cost that it was thought safe for him to leave quietly. Ile got. away from
the meeting, and drove home by some other road than the one through which the roughs had expected his carriage to pass. Mr. J. M. Maclean had similar expetience to go throrgh a few days before thi elections, I was told of Sir Richard Temple that almost all his meetings at Evesham were failures, and that at one of them he was so, much bored by questions that he lost his temper and told his audience that he was not going to answer, as his friends in London had advised him not to

At some of the meetings that $L_{\text {attended }} \mathrm{I}$ was able to form some idea of $a$ "lively" meeting The first meeting of the kind that I saw was in Manchester I had gone to that city a day previous to that fixed for the Indian Delegates' meeting and was asked by Prof Munco and Mr Blennerhassett to attend the neeting to be held that very evening in connection with the latter's candidature Mr. Blennerhassett is an Irishman and was during the elections of 1885 the opponent of Sir James Fergusson. The Irish in Manchester and elsewhere regarded lim as a traitor to their cause, because he did not profess to he a "Nationalist" or Parnellite. His candidature was, therefore, most sternly and histerly orposed by them. Even his life was in peril during the lastelections. Letters nsed to be received by fim threatening to shoot him and so on if he should persist in lis candidature. But no man more bravely fought his battle, exposing his life to imminent danger every minute almost, and nothing, I believe; so much kept him firm and fearless throughout the contest as the courageous help of Mrs Blen-nerhassett,-an umiable and noble lady, who accompanied her húsband at every meeting which he attended and who threw her own life into peril in seeking to save his. Now, in asking me to aitend Mr. Blennerbassett s meeting; Prof Munro said that there was every chance of the meeting proving a boisterous one, as they had received infornation that the Irish were going to assemble in large numbers to kick up a row "Have you been
to what we call a "lively meoting p" aske! the Profespor. Ant wher I replied "No," "Well, thèn," he eaid, "you, will see ong this ovening". When we enterad the large Hall, where tho meeting was held, I saw at once what was likely to happen. Tho front "Werrches wero occupied by" men, who had been admitted by tickets. The place was guarded on all sides by a strong body of policemen. On the platform there was a goodly number cf ladies-a circumstance which shows that English ladies ar\& not afraid to brave the terrors of a stormy meeting. . The moment the:Chairman, accompanied by Mr. Blennerhassett enlered, hat portion of the andience. which occupied the front seats cheered, but the Irish, who were behind, hissed and-groaned, fome crying out "You are a renegade", "Go to Kerry", "A traitor", "TVe shall stoot you"-all this being addressod to Mr, Blenzerhansett.' Dat he bore it all with dignity, seeming not to mind the opposition. When the Chairman rose to open the proceelings, the noise in the Hall increased and it wegnt on increasing as one speaker followed another. When Mr. Blennerbassctt's tarn came, the noise became the loudest and an exträrdinarily strange sight presented itself. The moment he rose, Irish raffianism seemed to grow violent. An attempt was made to put him down and make his speach inardible. Men shook their fists at him, called him by various opprobrious epithets, and became so noigy that none, ,even those who were sitting near him on the plat-form, conld hear a word of what he said. This made the ment on the front seats, who were Mr. Blennerhassett's supporters and sympathisers, indignant and the Hall was filled with voices crying out, "Chnck'em out". Mr. Blennerhassett, witha wonderfal presence of mind, stood calin, resolvat not to give way. He said to the audience that be was determined to hold his own at the meeting and was not going to resume his seat without haying his say out of fear for thowe who had assembled there to oppose him. Upon this the lrish party said:-"You sla'nt speak." We will send you to Kerry".., Up
to this moment the police had been silently observing what was going in; lut when they found that the Irish were growing violent they thought it prodent to interfere. Several men were kicked, and turned out of the Hall. There was 'one Irishman rarticularly, whose face looked most ruffianly, and who, though. helfty several people and kicked and heaten to bleeding by the policemen, would not give way and most violently resisted every attcmpt to turn him out. They had to struggte, with him for neaily ten minutes nnd at last he was brought by nearly half a dozen men to the platform and thrust out of the Hall through the door behind us. Order was thas restored and Mr. Blennerhassett was iqle to make himself better heard, though there were occasional jnterruptions still. Whenever he referred to his. oppondnt, Sir James Fergusson, the Irish interrupted him with tho remark:-"But he don't want policemen". After the meeting was over, Mr, Blennerhasset's friends, fearing, that the Irishi might mol him in the streets if he drove unprotected ta his residence, şent for a 'bus. . On the top. of it sat about a dozen policemen and inside we were about a dozen of us-Mr. and Mrs. Blennerhassett, Prof. Munro, several lddies and gentlemen, including nyself, and four polisemon. The driver was told to take a certain route, so as to avoid all by-streets and lanes, particularly those frequented by the Irish. Whether the man did nut understand the order or was in the pay of Mr. Blennerhassett's enemies we knew not-he drove is through quarters which he had been directed to avoid. The ladies inside the bus, had just commenced to speak about this among themselves while the men were talking about politics "when, to the sudden fright of all, one of the wheals gave way, some of the policemen on the top fell down, and we, who were inside, felt as if we were done for. Some of us were going to jump out but the policemen inside kept us together lest, seized • by fright, we should run against one another and thus hatm ourselvos.

Mapily; it was only one wheel that had given way iml bey ond a slight shaking, we came to nothing worse. But it was not the qecriont we so much feared. It was the Irish nob wo were anxious to avoid and this stoppage of the 'bus on the ruad we were afraid would expose us to their attacks. And it was not long before a crowd soon gathered about the 'hus. Naturally we-begaz to fear that the Irish might bo amongst them. But the policemen surrounded us and kept us out of harm'r way, Bronghams and cabs were instantly brought and Tortnmatoly wo were able to return to our ${ }^{\circ}$ respective places of resilence safo and sound -to thank God that nothing worse had came offeither at or after*tie meeting.

The next "lively" meeting I should notice here is tho one we attend at North Hackney. Sir Lewis Pelly, the Conservative candidate of that contituency, is well-known in Inda. At some of his moetings he spoke abpat the delegates and some of his remarks were represented to us to be rather petsonal and bitter. . Although we had never intended to speak against him yet after his references to our mission it became our duty to appear before the constituents of North Hachney and defend ourselves. Our meeting there was held in the Kingsland Cangregational Church, It was a crowded and noisy meetingand when we appeared on the platform wo eaw at onct that "roughs" had been sent by some one to disturb the procetdings. A numbêr of men were standing in'a corner, 'who kept making noise and asking:-"Who are the Indian Delegates?" "Who senf them?" On one occasion the interruption became so great that the andience grew indignant andfrom all parts of the place voices were heard crying "Chack them out", "Chack thern out" All of a sadden nearly every mani was seen standing on his chair to find out where the interruption came from. . Doring 'this confusion, wve requested the Chairman to tell the audience not Zomind eitherithe "roughs" or theinterruptiop. The Chairman
said:-"Ialies and Gentlemen, please take sour seats and leare the men that have come to disturb the proceedings alone. Let us ses what they mean to do. The Indian delegates themselves wish that the men should be let alone". But the andience were not to be quieted. One of them, standing, like many others there, on his seat, and greatly excited, said:-"Mr. Chairman, we must chuck out these roughs. These Indian gentlemen are our guesta, and we, as gentlemen, are bound to see that they are not insulted here". This was very fealingly uttered and no sooner was "it said than a number of men rushed to the place where the "roughs" were standing-several of them were put out of the church, and one was brought and "provided with a seat on the platform. He did not like this treatment and appealed to the chairman for protection but the chairman soothed him with this remark:-"Mr.-, I regret to say jou were one of those who were disturbing the proceedings. I have been watching you. I think the seat you are now occupying is better suited to you than the one you had in a cerner there". After this the proceedings of the meeting became more orderly and our speeches, were heard with attention: Oar leader, Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, inspired by the excitement of the occasion, made a most effective speech which was received very favourably by the audience. He replied to the charge brought against us by a portion of the English press and repeated by some of the Conserrative candidates that we weretrying to make India a party question. Mr. Mudaliyar, in a speech. that was persuasive and argumentative, dealt with the answer Sir Leqwis Pelly had given to our test questions. It so happened "that just before rising to address I had canght sight of the following words inscribed on the wall in front of the pulpit :-"Glory to .God in the Highest, Peace on Earth, and Good-will unto Mon". I commenced my remarks by drawing the attention of the men that had come to distarb

## (34)

the proceelings to those words and asked them to behnve as good Christians at least while they were in that phace consocrated to the service of Nood. This put the audience into good hamour and was received with cheers. Inest referred to Sir Lewis Polly, and remarked that, though he had been somewhat bard on us, yet we would not imitate his example but would speak of him with all respect, and that, although not Englishnon ourselyes, we had received an English education, of which we were happy to say we were proud becanse it had faught ns that wo should behave like gentlemen in replying to our opponents. I can bardly give an adequate description of the enthusiastic manner in which the audience received this-they seemed to appreciato the spirit in which we were inclined to notice the attacks against our mission. A similar scene oceurred at Mr. Chamberlain's meeting in Birmingham. After Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Broadharst had spoken, I followed. I commenced by referring to a statement that had been made by a certain gentloman at a meeting that we had been brought to England "at the instance of Lord Ripon to white-wash his diggraced career". In referring to the statement I refrained from mentioning the name of the person who had made it. I merely observed that it had been made by a gentleman, who was standing in Conservative interests for.a constituency not far from Birmingham. No sooner was this said by me than thẹaudience began to cry out: "Shame" and called for the name of the gentleman. I tried to goon without naming him but they wouk not let me. A number of voic -:"Name the man, name the mans Don't go on without mame, him". I replied:-"No, you will excuse me, gentlenen, 1 am hiot going to name him". "No, name him", they went on relf tiir; I then said "Well, Gentlemen, I mast ask your indulycuc"。 It is no use naming the gentleman". Several voices: "Niure, Name". This was rather an embarrassing position, from whah, Lowever, I tried to extricate myself by observing:-"isut that I anz afraid of naming hirn. But be is not knuwn in

Fugland-and I do not wish to givo him a repatation that b, has not in this country by bringing his name farward beicre the large and influential body of people that I see befure me". This salisfied my hearers, they cheered and laughed, and I was allowed to prooeed. The third incident that deserves to be recorded here occurred at Grinstead in East Susser. That was the county, which Mr. Heald was contesting in Liberal inierests. I left London for Grinstead a few hours before tho Lina fired for the meeting and was accompenied by an English $1_{i} i$, ad. In the train by which we left we heard from several $\because$ How-passengers that the meeting was likely to be very "lively" Ased what made them think so, they said that at a meeting of Mr. Heald's opponent, which had been held a few days before the Liberals had created so great a disturbance that it had to be l ronght to an abrupt close and now the Conservatives were $\therefore$ ing to retaliate. Mr. Heald's meeting at Grinstead was held in the local Theatre. There was a large audience, more than itw house could contain, so that an overflow meeting had to be hird. We entered the Theatre by one of the private doors. When Mr. Heald saw the necessity of an overfow meeting, he arranged that I should address the latter first and he that at la former. I got out by the same private door by which we had $\cdots$ iered. Having spoken at the overflow meeting, I turned i...k to the Theatre with my English friend. But we found the private door shat from within. The only entrance t. The platform was the door of the large room where the recting was held; but that pptrance was, we were told, birred by a mob of roughs. It was a question with us whether se should risk our lives by trying to make our way through that mob. But we had no alternative: slowly. we reached the cnirance and tried to get in. Fortùnately, I had not worn my Wuina head-dress that evening; or else the roughs would have chsily made me out. My friend and myself pushed ourselves
through them quietly and taking us for men who had oove to hear, not to speak, they allowed us to pass on. But when wo got to the middle of the Hall, some among the audience, recognising me from my colour-there was more light thoroshoated out:-"Welcome". " The opposite side hissed and the roughs at the entrance tried to create a distarbance when Lrose to speak; but they did not succeed, as the andience was favorably disposed towards me and whenever the interraptions became louder, they cheered me on by saying:-"Don't mind them. Go on".

## (VII.)

## IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS.

## (Pabt Fisst.)

During our short stay in England, we were brought in contact with several porsons, to many of whom our srecial thanks are due for the assistance they rendered us in the performance of the somewhat delicate duty with which wo were charged by the Associations that had deputed ths to that country. I regardit as a highly fortanate circumstance to us. and as a matter greatly redounding to the credit of the English character that though we wंere strangers in that strange land, the sympathy and surport that we received from many ladies and gentlemen lightened our labours considerably and mado it a pleasire to work amongst a people, who know so well how to be courteous and kind to foreigners. At every place in. or outside London, which we visited, we experienced the
same courtesy snd kindness-whether it was at Maidstone, Newcastle, Swansea, Manchester, Birmingham, Aberdeen, Honiton or in Grinstead. Nor should I omit to mention here that the expenses of some of our meetings were borne by the gentlemen who assisted us in getting up those meetings, though we offered to pay them from the funds raised in India. Cavilling critics would indeed say-and in fact have said-that all this kindness was induced by party spirit, but for which, they think, we should not have attracted any notice in England. That the kindness shown to ns was genuine and spontaneons is shown by the fact that wheneveriwe declared at our meetings that we had nothing to do with English parties, the statement was received with ${ }^{*}$ chears:

It would not be of any interest to the reader if I named all those, to whom otr grateful thanks are due. In the present number I propose to. say a few words about some of those, whom I saw and of whom I have formed certain impressions that I deem it necessary to record in this account of my English visit, And first I should say something of Mr. William Digby whose close connection with the late delegation and whose assiduous services to India deserve our most hearty acknowledgement. He is well-known in this country, particularly for the services he rendered in a spirit of self-sacrifice to the people of Southern India during the famine of 1876-77. For two months and a half I enjoyed his close friendship and had every opportanity of, as, it were, stadying him. I know that among those, who do not share his political opinions, he is regarded as a radical politician, a man with revolutionary ideas and so on. But a more genainely sincere and honest man having the courage of his opinions, I have not seen. As Secretary to the National Liberal Club, he comes frequently in contact with leading men of influence in the Liberal party. In him the moral and religious element preponderates over
everything else, and men that are moral and religious disthy a great deal of zeal in everything that they take up. Shortly before the last elections, -be entered into a controversy with Lord George Hamilton, strongly attacking the latter in connection with the famine of 1870-77. Sir George Birdwood entered the lists on behalf of Lord George and the controversy becnme not only bitter but even eomewhat personal. Now, Sir Georgo and Mr. Digby may be said to have sorrething in common. So far as Finglish politics go, thè one is a Radical, and the other a Conservative. While Mr. Digby holds that if India gets justice from any party, it will be from the Liberals, Sir Georgo thinks that India should trast meither party or should tragt both equally. But both are men of strong feeling-men of large and honest sympathies. I happened to see Sir George at the time that this figh was going on between him and Mr. Digby. Sir George spoke to me about the controversy with sqme warmth and told me that he would like to discuss the Indian guestion with Mr. Digby by calling him and.me to lunch at the Carlton Club. I should have*liked very much to be the happy medium of peconciliation between two soch eminently good and useful men but unfortunately, the state of Sir George's health at the time removed all chances in that direction. Dr. W. A. Hunter is another gentleman, whom India is now able'to count among her sincerest friends in Parliament. During the elections of 1885 be waș elected M. P. for Aberdeen by a very large majority of votes. Before his election ho had a large practice as Parliamentary counsel. He in a remarkably sound and careful politician. We used to have the benefit of his company and advice almostevery day and we were yery favorably impressed with the spirit of caution and prudence he showed int all he said and did. As a ppeaker, he is fluent and witty. On onẹ occasion I beard him deal with a question of figures and statistics so humorously that though it was a dry subject
L. ras able to make it interesting and keep the audience laughe in. $r$ throughout. Dr. Rohert Spence Watson is one of whom Lnt L my friend Mr. Mudaliyar and myself have brought most is imant impressions. He is one of the leadifg lawyers of Dewcastle and as President of the Newcastle Liberal Associat...t occupies a prominent position in the sphere of politics thise. As a sjeaker, writer, and traveller be has already int his mark. He is the author of several works in $8^{\prime 2}-0$ and verse in English, among which may be named lero "Caedmon, the first English poet," "A ivisit to Y. . asn," "Villages Around Metz,". "History of English Rule t. 't Policy in South Africa." In recognition of his literary a taiaments and distinction, the University of St. Andrew's Las cult:red on him the degree of LL. D. Ile was one of the two $r$ naussioners, deputed by the Society of Friends during the 1.et. Iranco-Prussian war to relieve the distress of the peasantry intw neighbourhood of Mctz. While discharging that charitahit office, he and his companion were suspected to be "spies، 3 . th. French and arrested but they were released when stabsecurntly the true natare of their mission was discovered. The Promis Government at the close of the war presented lim with a welal, specially struck in his honor for the self-sacrificing spirit in $u$ lich he had relievel distress. He travelled once to Morocco wher in the absence of the Cherif, the Cherifa received and en-:- + $\because$ d him with greathonor. Me wás grantel permission by ' 1 in rifa to visit the sacrud city of Wasan-a privilege that had 1. Ir vefore hera grauted to a European. He is a very fluent wr 1 i.roible spaher. Haying a pargo following in Néwcastle h. la, several times been prewed to hecume a candidate forE.rtment both for that and chre town luat he has thys refused. He was indeal yrat wlizing to us. It was : whu invited us to New artie, ana made all the arrangements A : '. public muting then, : nuch the proidnd. There is A A such of the party man sith-his sming countenance
and his igenlal looks at once indicate that it is not in his na: ${ }^{\prime}$. to be led away by the spirit of the political partisan. A. A leading paper in Newcastle once wrote of him:-"Neither in 1. maxims of a party nor in the genius of a sect is to be found :? secret of the disposition, in which political questions are ary iu. ched by Dr. Watson but in the, largeness and generosity 'r: character to which neither sect nor party could give the of narrowness." Such is Dr. Spence Watson and I thin: him we have secured a friend, ready to act upon the princ, i, that every Englishman ought todo his duty by India. Joseph Cowen, also of Newcastle, in some respects resev but in others forms a contrast to Dr. Watson. Both are m
benevolent disposition, but the benevolence of Mr. Cowt; apparently confined to "the white races." Tall of oppressis it - : wrong inflicted on some petty state in Earope. Mr. Co. sympathies are at once aroused. Daring the Bulgarian at:ties he was one of those who claimed independence for $\mathrm{Sul}_{4}$, $\ldots$.. To Ireland he is now prepared to grant Home Rale. Bu: !: sympathies da not extend beyond Europe. As for Ind.. Egypt or any country populated by the dark races, he t. i, h, everything is for the best there and there ahould be no nect : $:$ cry for change or reform. -Of Egypt he once said that 1 .tu; "the product of centuries of enslavement" it was unfit for form of constitutional government. ' It is difficult to $\mathfrak{a}$...' stand this political character of Mr. Cowen. Bat Dr. Watens ; consistent throughout--his sympathies are not narrow ani : $\cdot$ political views bave nothing of the eccentric element apoat ti. $1 .$. The name of Dr. Spence Watson reminds me of the lady, whin a name is known wherever philanthropy is cherished and adt.ai; it -I speak of Miss, Florence Nightingale. I had the pleasur, of calling on her at her houşe in Oxford Street twice. TL ir: it now old and obliged to confine herself to her' bed on accourt of illness, the capacity for work is still in her. She is always dicis,: something-writing for the papers or 'reviẹws on some st! ${ }^{\text {ant }}$
or other. Earnestaess is atill discernible in ber expression. Nubing interests her so much as the well-being of the poor ati the helpless. We talked for more than an hour on a ur., iber of things relating to India bat it was the condition of $\therefore$ ' lower classes in this country that seemed to interest her $\cdots$.... Speaking abuat our workmen and agricalturists parti-- w.urly, she enquired:-"How do they live?" "What sort of : r : eation do they receive?" "That sort of dress do they wear?" $\because$ in they read aud write?"- With the delegation movement she ...riressed herself to be strongly in sympathy and warmly comr.ir nded the step adopted by the Indian Associations in sending a putation to aronse English interest in Indian affairs. "We, Ey-dish people,"-she said to me-"will not learn to take $\therefore$ arest in India anless yot serionsly press Indian questions :s our attention." She regretted that almost all the friends of India had been defeated at the elections; but her adrice to $\because$ was that we should not lose heart on that account. "We tre passing through a crisis. No one can say what will come cut of it. The Irish question is itself a source of great anciety a.d trouble. And I do not wonder that the olections have been in India a great disappointment. But your friends mast not $\because$ "air. Work on and it will all be right" These were th. words of encouragement Miss Florence Kightingale addused to me at the close of our second interview, and coming $\therefore$ un a lady, who has herself lived a life of great self-sacrifice in ti. canse of distressed and saffering hamanity, the adrice onght to ie carefully borne in mind by us. Another remarkable lady tín I saw was Mrs. Angusta Webster, who was one of the can lidates for the School Board. I visited ber with Mr. Martin Wood and was greatly interested in all she said about the mismanagement and extravagance of London School Boards. When I said to her that I was surprised that this state of things prevailed in civilized England, where I had thought public
opinion exercised very great influence, she said that even $n \times \%$ who were expected to know better of these Boards were surpused at some of the revelations of mismanagement. For instan $n$, when on one occasion she complained to a gentleman, who hul been for some years a member of the Board, of its extravaganu. and cited facts and figures in support of the complaiat. he seemed to feel considerably surprised and said;-"Dtar me! I never knew of all this before. I wish I had known it. I must look into it." And Mrs. Webster thought his wis not a singular case. Talking of the School Board elections sis said lady voters at one time had a prejudice against voting. Aı. 1 she told me how a candidate for the Board once hit upon a.d ingenious way of removing this prejodice. He invited the lady voters in his ward to tea in a place near the polling bootl, where his votes were being registered. Many ladies turned on: in response to the invitation. They were so pleased with tl ${ }^{2}$ arrangement that they said they had no idea voting was so easy an affair and now that they knew how comfortably it could lu, managed, they would no longer consider it a difficult thing fc: a lady to go to a polling booth and vote.

## (VIII.)

## IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS.

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Intervirw with Lord Randolpa Cefenchill.
On our arrival in England, paragraphs having appeared in the papers announcing the nature of the mission, on which we had gone there, some of them representing that we were taker.
to that cauntry to be tools in the hands of Liberals"and Radicals during the elections, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, whose acquaintance we had not then made, wrote to a friend, enquiring who and what we were. He said that he wished to know about all this, because it had been given out by one or two papers that we were going to side with the Liberals in the electioneering campairn. My friend put the note into my hands, whereupon both Mr. Mudaliyar of Madras and myself called on Mr. Blunt. He has his house in St. James's Square, not far from Buckingham Palace, which is Her Majesty's residence whenever she happens to be in town. Mr. Mudaliyar had a note of introduction to him from Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, of whom both Mr. Blunt and his wife, Lady Anne Blunt, spoke to us in the highest terms of praise. We explained to Mr. Blunt the object of our mission, aad assured him that we would try our best to remain neutral as far as English parties were concerned. He said he was himself $\varepsilon$ very warm admirer of Lord Ripon and heartily approved of his Indian" poticy. But he thought Lord Ripon had proved a benefactor of India, not because he was a Liberal but because he was a good and honest statesman. Mr. Blunt further told us that although he was not himself a strong party man, yet he did not think the Liberals were likely to do much good to India. Many of the Whigs, he said, either had their relations officially employed in this country or were commercially interested in it. They owed their wealth to it and naturally regarded the Civil Servica as a sacred monopoly of theirs. 'The position of the Conservatives was, in his opinion, different; and if reform was to come from one of the two narties on the Indian Civil Service question concerning $i_{-}$the natives, it would, he believed, be fram the Conservatives. Assured by ns that we would endeavaar to keep clear of party politics, he promised to take part in our first meeting. He moved one of the resolutions at it, which was presided over by Mr. William Digby. When he rose to speak a
few people hissed, because he was Conservative. They were of course Liberals, but the audience on the whole heard him patiently. This last circumstance shows that the meeting consisted of men of both parties. Mr. Blunt also wrote a letter to the Times, explaining the nature and object of our mission. And the Times gave it a prominent insertion, as indeed itused to do at the time to every commanication coming from Mr. Blant.

It was through Mr. Blunt that we were able to have the memorable interview with Lord Randolph Charohill, thon Secretary of State for India. It was he who put the idea into our head. He said he had already spoken about it to Lord Randolph and his Lordship had readily consented. When the members of the India Council came to know that Lord liandolph was going to reoeive the Indian delegates they are said to have $t$ arned aghast and tried to rebel. They perbaps could not conceive where at this rate this "Puck of politics" was going or likely to go. But Lord Randolph would not give way. Mr. Blunt also told us that it was Lord Randolph's intention to give fall effict to the Proclamation of Her Majesty shonld he continue in office. A mere sincere well-wisher of India, he said, than Lord Randolph he bad not met. His Lordship was full of India, his beart was in his work. Here Mr. Madaligar asked Mr. Blant how it was that Lord Randolph had been violently attacking Lord Ripon, Mr. Blunt replied that the athack had given him as much pain and surprise and he had even said so to Lord Randolph; but then, added Mr. Blunt, it was a party attack and he was personally aware that bis Lordship warmly approved of the domestic policy pursued by Lord Ripon in India. 1 might say with reference to this last remark of Mr. Blant that it tallied with the opiaion of a gentleman at the India Office who was then on terms of close friendship, it seems, with Lord Randolph. One or two days before the interview a friend interested in our mission, hearing that his Lord-ship was goiug
to receive us officially, wrote to the gentleman at the India Office requesting him to exercise his influence in our behalf so that his Lordship might give us a cordial and sympathetic reception. In reply, that gentleman wrote to our friend to say that immediately on receipt of his letter he had run up to the India Office and found Lord Randolph quite enthusiastic about granting the delegates a cordial interview withont any "coaching" from others-that his attack on Lord Ripon was more a party move than anything else, for in reality his Lordship approved of Lord Ripon's domestic policy in India, and that his Lordship had attacked Lord Ripon because the Radicals had been attacking him. It was thus that the interview was brought about. On Thursday the 15th October at 4 P. M. we were taken by Mr. Blant to the India Office-a massive building, or, I should say, several buildings rolled into one, presenting from the inside a somewhat dreary spectacle, where a stranger is apt to lose himself as in a labyrinth. But the Secretary of State's room-that where Lord Randolph was seated and received us-was of modest pretensions. One or two cupboards, containing books, a few chairs, a table and a large map of India-that was abont all the furniture I remember to have seen there. Nothing could exceed the grace and kindliness with which Lord Randolph shook hands with us. I do not wonder that they make a hero of him on Tory platforms. A good appearance is a great advantage to a speaker in England, and Lord Randolph has it even more than either Mr. Bright or Mr. Chamberlain. He has all the pqlish in his manners and speech of the Frenchman with the ceaseless activity of his own race. His moustaches, at which his opponents point their finger of scorn, give grace to his animated countenance and heighten the effect of the vivacity, which is the marked feature of his eyes, There is also a kind of melody in his voice-and when he speaks, words, to use an Oriental figure of speech, flow like
honey. In introducing as, Mr. Blunt told him that be hat advised us not to identify ourselves with any particular part.. Lord Randolrth metely nodded. Mr. Man Mohan Ghose sa.d we should be glad to remain nentral. Again a nod of approval from his Lord,hip. Lord Randolph apparently thought that it was a question on which it was prudent he should not speak bu might as well convey his meaning by his silence. He spoke of $L$ in visit to India, said how much he liked all he lad seen, and ma , some enquiries about Raja Khiv Prasad of Benares whom J., described asa "very nice gentleman". That over, we talked politic - . He-said that he was very earnest abouthis proposal for a Parli:mentary enquiry into Indian affairs. He had spoken abo a it to his colleagues in the Cabinet before introducing the India, budget into the House of Commons in July and they had all a:proved of it. But what the Liberals would do if they shonld cons.s into power, he said he could not say. He indeed thonght it wis probable, if they got into office, they would carry out his prop ss : but it was equally probable they would try to limit the scope it the enquiry. His own settled conviction, on the subject was ths' the enquiry should be thorough and lead to something pra. tical. The Comniittee should examine carefully the' way, , which the coutry was being governed; and it should consist ot the best men available in Parliament. Mr. Morley, he continuel. had opposed his proposal on party grounds more than from ar: settled opinion on the subject. His speech had surprised tio Lordship considerably. Our interview lasted a little more thin half an hour. Before parting, Lord Randolph saill he would im glad to hear from us again on any subject specially appertaining to our respective presidencies. We bowed our thanks to his Lordship and parted. Thas commenced an acquaintance, which, however, was not subsequently kept up in the good spirit in which it had begtn.

Mr. Ceiamberlain.

There were only a few days for the elections to begin. The t..ne was drawing near when our duty being done we should lave to leave England for India; and yet we had not seen Mr . John Bright. We learnt that a great meeting was to be held $n^{+}$Birmingham on Saturday the 21st November, where both Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bright were to speak. It seemed to us that the opportunity was one which we should not lose. Accordingly we communicated through a friend to Mr. Eshnadhorst, President of the Liberal Association in Birminm'am, our desire to be present at the meeting. Leaving London varly on Saturday, we arrived there in the afternoon just in time for Mr. Chamberlain's meeting. And it was there that we first saw the leader of the Radical party in England. In size he is moderately built, has a fine forehead and piercing eyes. He has wry grave looks and a somewhat austere expression, indicative of his firmness and his indomitable pluck. And when he puts on his eye-glass and looks at you, it seems as if be is reading you through and through, and detect the inmost secrets of your heart. Though he was born (at Camberwell) in 1836 and is now fifty years old, helooks rather young for his age. There ure anecdotes told of him in Birmingham, which show how people $r$ ten make mistakes about his age. In a short sketch of his life, written at the time of the elections of 1885 by Mr . B. C. Shottowe, there is one told which may be found interesting by ung reader. Some years ago Mr. Chamberlain and his friend and lieutenant, Mr. Jesse Collings, visited the south-west of Europe. They came as far as Malaga and from there they resolved to proceed to Gibraltar; bat they were disappointed to Gad that there was no steamer going that day, and would have to wait for a day or two. But there was an English merchant steamer lying in the harbour and they determined to hire it. They interviewed its (laptain, who declined to take them, because,
the said, there was no accommodation for passengers in his ship. The travellers, however, assured him that they were not particular about aecommodation, and would gladly manage to get on in the shif, provided they were somehow taken to Gibraltar that very day. The Captain was after all indnced to comply with their urgent request. He showod them into his cabin, which he placed at their dispossl. Ad Iressing Mr. Collings, whom he took for the more elderly man of the two, the Captain said:"You can take the bed; and the youngster must knock it ont on the sofa"-the youngster being Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Chamberlains oratory may not be eqnal to Mr. Bright's but it has charms of its own, Mr. Bright moves his bearers more by his earnestness and his voice than even by the simplicity and vigour of his Anglo-Saxon expression. There is very little of action in his speaking. You see him standing grave and composed, pouring forth his eloquence, not laughing when or beforehe makes you langh or foaming when he makes you foam. It is like the waters of a gentle stream gently running. Except a slight wave of the hand, you see no gesture in him. To be spell-bound by his eloquence it is not essential that you should keep your eyes on the orator and watch the movement of his eyes or kands, for in Mr. Bright's case neither the hands nor eyes move mach. Indeed, a mach better effect is produced by listening to him with your eyes closed, for then you are able to detect the traces of that "silvery" voice, which in his younger days enabled him to move the hearts of his hearers more effectively than he is now in his old ageable to do. It is a treat to hear his parorations,-so grand and yet so simple, bat anassisted by action. Not so Mr. Chamberlain. He is an orator, who depends for effect as mach on gestures as on his voice and wit. Action is, in a word, his forte as much as fluency and forco of speech. But it is not action of the kind that you see in noisy and declamatory speakers, who rave and roar and throw their
hands on all sides and move their bodies as if they were in a fit of agony. There is a peculiar grace in Mr. Chamberlain's delivery and pesture: Tho meeting where I heard him was held in the Grand Theatre of Birmingham and when he rose to speak, he stood in the middle of the stage. The audience in the galleries of that large Theatre, not being able to see him, loudly called uponhim to step a little to the front. Stepping to the front, he gracefully put forward his hand as a signal to the audience to be quiet and hear his reasons for standing in the middle. And he thus explained his reasons. "Gentlemen, on this stage where others have acted before me"-(here he smiled and then the audience latighed)-" $I$ think I had better follow the advice of the proprietor of the Theatre and be fells me that the acoustic properties of this places require that I should stand there"-pointing out the place where tia had firsti stood-"so as to make myself heard by all." The gentle movement oi the eyes and the hands and the flow of choice English from a voice that is pitched neither too high nor too low show that Mr. Chamberlain has studied carefully the art of elocation, The speech he made at the meeting I speak of consisted of many hits at Lord Randolph. "Lord Randolph is fond of long woords and of the most inappropriate adjectives." "I say it is an act of unparallelled avidacity for a man to come down here-a member of the present Government-and claim consistency as one of his virtues." "You know what Lord Randolph said yesterday"-(laughter)-"but you cannot imagine what he will say tomorrow." (Langhter renewed.) There was po reference to India made in this speech except a casual allosion to the Upper Burma Expedition, of which Mr. Chamberlain said :-"I am glad to find here some distinguished representatives of the natives of India(loud cheers)-our fellow-subjects and perhaps they woill tell you whether a war in order to force upon a barbarous potentate an agreement with English merchants is so much for the interests of India that India ought to pay all the expenses." But when towards
the close of the proceedings, after others had spoken, among: them myself, he again rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, he made these remarks about India :-"I did nut know when I came to this meeting that we were to have th. additional and unusual pleasure of welcoming four of our Indian fellow-subjects. (Cheers.) Had I known of this beforeban 1 I would have ventured to say something with regard to the affairs of that dependency of which we are so prond but which at the same time involves us in such heary responsibilitie.. (Hear, hear). I think, however, that I may assure the deleg :tes that the working men throughout the length and breadth of England are sound upon the sabject of India. (Cheers). Thy desire nothing in connection with the Government of Intur which shall not have for its first consideration the welfure of $t$.s people of India and if there are wrongs and grievances, that is a tribunal to which they may be broaght with the absol: '~ certainty of a fair and just hearing." Before departing, Mr. Chamberlain came up to us and said that the would beglad to ha ro an interview with us after the elections were over. That interview my colleagues had with him when we visited Birmin $z_{-}$ ham the second itime, i. e., on the 7th of December, bat I ray not present at it. Mr, Chamberlain asked my friends what was the most urgent reform India needed. Mr. Ghose drew Lis attention to the Civil Service question; Mr. Madaliyar to thes necessity of reconstitating the Legislative Councils on a popoiar basis. He promised to give his attention to Indian questions a add there the interview ended.

## (IX.)

## IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS.

(Part Third.)

Mb. Join Briaht.

It is now exactly twenty years ance Mr Gladstone said of himself :-"I have changed various opinions; I should say that I have learned various lessons." But the political career of Mr. John Bright has been of a different character. Instead of changing, he has always maintained the same views, and be might be said to be the same in 1880 that he was in 1866. He is perhaps the only living English statesman, of whom it may well be said that he has, instead of "learning various lessons," tanght the same lesson throughout to his countrymen,--the lesson of "liberty at homeand of peace abroad." As Mr. Chamberlain said of him at the meeting, of which I have already given an account:-"When the history of these times comes to be written, it will be admitted that there is no more splendid instance of political consistency than bas been afforded by the public life of Mr. Bright." And the history of that pablic life could not be sammed up better than in Mr. Bright's own words:-"Many things which I advocate are thought rather foolish at first; but in time people come up to them, and I have the satisfaction of being a little ahead of the Government and often of the nation," It is this spirit of consistency in his political character and the moral force on which it is built that have secured for him the affection of his friends and the respect of his opponents. At Liberal meetings, all tbree names-Gladstone, Bright, and Chamberlain-evoked of course the greatest enthusiasm, but you could nevertheless detect a diffo-
rence in the cheers with which the three wererespectivels recrived, For Mr. Gladstone, all-the older and the younger generation of Liberals-exhibited their profound admiration. But be extorted it more by the force of his genius and his capacity as the lender of his party than anything else. On the other hand Mr. (luamberlain was the bero of the rising generation of Liberals. The older class of Liberals did not seem to cheer him much, either becanse he was the man of the future and their best memories were asm sociated with the past, or because some of them thought he was going too fast for the times. But Mr. Bright seemed to bo respected equally by all and men of all parties acknowledged his moral earnestness, The belief about him is that there is not mach of the partisan in him, Even Lord Randolph Charchill, who opposed him at the elections of 1885, said that be regarded him as a most dangerous opponent of Mr. Chamberlain's policy because he (Mr. Bright) looked upon it as a policy most dangerous to the country. Some of the go-ahead Radicals were indeed known to grumble that Mr. Bright seemed to linger on the past with great fondnes instead of dealing with the practical problems of the fature with the distinctness which was characteristic of Mr. Chamberlain's utterances. But for all that he is regarded by the young as well as the old as a great moral force. At the close of our meeting in North Paddington, a respectable Jiberal, coming up to us, said:-"I liked wery much your references to Bright, I don't care much about Gladstone or Chamberlain. They are men of expediency." Mr, Lal Mohan Ghose was once addressing a meeting of his constituents in Deptford. While in the course of his address be was dealing with Mr. Gladstone's manifesto to the electors of Midlothian and Mr. Chamberlain's "radical programme," a burly looking working man interrupted him with the question:-"Why don't you speak of Bright?" Mr. Ghose could not speak of Mr. Bright just then without seeming to bring in the name abruptly and thos marring the sequence of thought in bis specch. He, therefore,
continued his remarks; but his querist was not to be satisfied. Ho kept on repeating his question until Mr, Ghose had to yield to his wish.

## His Meetna at the Town Hall.

The veneration, which is folt by the British public for Mr. John Bright, is witnessed at its best at his meetings. The first meeting we attended was held in the Town Hall of Birmingham on Saturday the 21st of November. Leaving Mr. Chamberlain's meeting that had been held in the afternoon of the same day, we went with our friend Mr, Lee to the Reform Club and after resting for half an hour there, we started for the Town Hall so as to be there at lenst $\boldsymbol{a}$ quarter of an hour before the commencement of the procteding. We were taken to one of the rooms in the Hall, where several gentlemen were waiting for Mr. Bright. Accompanied by the two Misses Dixon, he arrived at the exact hour of seven-a plain looking old man, presenting somewhat the features of the typical John Bull. His countenance is always placid in private conversation-yon feel then that you are in the presence of one who can make himself quite at home with you. But the moment he appears in public it becomes somawhat austere, leaving not a single smile on his face and then you feel that you are before a stern moral dictator who is serions even when witty and will pat up with no hambug. On his arrival, the formal introduction to him of the Indian delegates having taken place, he entered, followed by us, the large and spacions room of the Town Hall, where between three and four thousand people had assembled to hear him. On the platform itself there were, I should think, between foar and five hundred people. There was not an inch of space vacant; we were literally crammed. Fivery single seat was taken up in the galleries, which with the splendid array of ladies and gentlemen, several of them with binoculars in their hands, presented a magni-
ficent speesacle. A new and interesting feature of the meeting was-at least I had not witnessed it at the several political meetings I had before then attended-that a pretty largenamber of boys and girls were seen among the audience. Little boys and girls rarely, if at all, attend political meetings in England but Mr. Bright is regarded as a man whom everybody deems it a piece of good luck to see and hear. Butit was the floor that presented the most lively scene. There working men and working women had gathered in very large numbers. They were standing, as it were, neck to neck, and from the farthest end of the room to the platform there was one surging crowd. Though it was cold outside, the heat inside was something awful; even we felt it. A friend, sitting by me, remarked; "I daresay yon like this heat," aud he seemed considerably surprised when I told him that it was too much even for us. Mr. Bright's appearance on the platform was the signal for very enthusiastic cheers and they were given by the whole assembly standing; When he sat down, those on the platform and in the galleries sat too; the working men on the floor lustily sang an election song. That over, one of them called for "three cheers" for "John Bright," which were again most enthasiastically given. This was followed by "three groans" for Lord Randolph Churchill. All this while Mr. Bright looked an indifferent spectator of the whole scene-he was sitting calm, without betraying a single emotion on his'countenance. The Chairman opened the proceedings and in the course of a short speech asked the electors that had met there if they were going to prove ungrateful to their old friend and benefactor Mr. Bright by rejecting him and electing Lord Randolph. To this the working men on the floor replied "No". in a voice that rung through the hall. He was followed by Mr. Mudaliyar of Madras, who had a most cordial reception and whose short but sweet speech, containing apt references to the interest taken by Mr. Bright in the welfare of
the people of India, was frequently appladed. Then rose Mr. Bright to speak and with him again rose the andience. There were cheers and cheers for some minutes. Mr. Bright's address dealt with the work performed by the Liberals while in office from 1880-85. He began in a low tone, whereapon some one in the gallery cried out:-"Speak up. Johnny." He spoke with notes in his hands, and some of his perorations seemed to have been partly written out. In fact it was a set speech which he delivered on the occasion. There was not much of that eloquence, for which he is noted; but when he summed up the services rendered by the Liberals to the country in these pathetic terms:-"Ours bas been a victory that has been won without bloodshed," the sentiment called forth very hearty cheers. And the most striking feature of the speech was that there was not in it a single reference, direct or indirect, to him who was opposing Mr. Bright at the elections-I mean, Lord Randolph Charchill. His Lordship was passed over completely in silence as if no such person had appeared on Birmingham platforms. Mr. Bright was followed by screral speakers. One, of them asked:-"Are yon, gertlemen, going to prove turncoats by rejecting Mr. John Bright, who has wou cheap bread for the people." At this the sonorous voice of a lady was heard to cry out "Hear, Hear." This was so feelingly said that the audience, who had quietly heard tho remark of the speaker, seemed to be suddenly electrified, as it were, by the very telling, because apt, interruption of the lady. The word, twice repeated, evidently suggested to their mind the idea that here was one of those millions of ladies with large families of children to support, who but for the cheapening of bread would have had to starve. The andience had received in silence the speaker's remark but that single lady's"'Hear, hear,', suggestive as it was, was greeted with most enthusiastic oheering. In his speech Mr. Bright did not makeany remark about India, not having had any previous intimation that we were to
be present there. He, therefore, asked the Chairman to permit him to second the vote of thanks to him so that he might make another speech aid supply flie omission. In so doing, the made an extempore speech, which, because-it was extempore, proved one of his best efforts. He rose fully equal to the occasion, was thoroughly fired by his old eloquence, and spoke without the assistance of a single note. Then should you have heard the orator and seen the assembly-the one worked upon magically, as it were, by the sacred fire of the other, absolute slaves of his voice having the ring of the true orator. I realised what till then I had read of in books-how men hang on the lips of great orators. For the first time in my life did I feel what it was to be in a trance. The ladies and gentlemen there lad heard his first speech reclining on their seats. It had no doubt been cheered at certain parts; but the audience had not felt inspired, But no sooner did the second begin and with sentence after sentence did the old man eloqnent seem to rise than with him rosè the audience too. Those who had heard his first speech reclining on their seats now seemed unconsciously bending forward, and the whold audience heard him in such subdued silence that you could have heard everi a pin fall, until, rising by gra lual stages, he at last reached the climax of his earnesthess and eloquence and in tones that still ring in my ears said of India.-"I could almost hope that I was twenty years young er and could give some help to those who are likely to take up this cause." The feeling of the audience till then pent up by the charm of his eloquence could no longer restrain itself. There was a most deafening thunder of applause while the working men or the floor seemed wild with ecstacy. John Bright getting youngerl What would not the working man pay for it if that were physically possible. The very idea acted like a charm upon the admiring. andience and they waved their hats and handkerchiefs at the old man. Even he seems to have felt the excitement, for when he resumed his seat, after having spoken

In what seemed to us his best manner for nearly twenty minutes, w', who were seated next to him, observed that he was literait shaking. When he put his hand to the glass of water near Lim, it was so unsteady that it was with dificulty he could raise th. glass to his lip:. The meeting over, we retired to a room a: ljacent to the hall where the meeting had been held. An incident or urred there which shows how greatly Mr. Bright is revered. While he was talking to us several ladies and gentlemen - Uneted round him. After having shaken hands with some of taim he was departing, when an eldorly looking lady, w.. 0 seemed to be one of his most devoted admirers, not to le banlked of the parpose for which she had waited so 1. ary, stepped forward, and touched Mr. Bright's handa and retired, as he was finding his way through the crowd t. ' lis carriage. Before departing he said to us:-"Well, gentlem na, 1 , you may count upon my support in the House of Commons --ii I am re-elected." Mr. Man Moban Ghose smiled at this an .l said;-"Of course you will be." Mr. Bright in his quiet in inner:-"Well, I don't know-don't be sure of that." This H. 3 baid with a naivete, which was as engaging as it was sincere.

## Our Interifirw with him.

N'ist day-it was Sunday-came off our interview with Mr. Bri,ht. He was staying with Mr. Dixon. Before calling upon hinn, Mr. Osler suggested to us that we should after the close of the elections in Birmingham visit that town a second time and ad!uess a public meeting under the presidency of Mr. Bright. "I, : the difficulty," said Mr. Osler, "is to get Mr. Bright to m . ile. Whenever he is asked to speak of preside; he at first denines and you have to repeat your request. Ho asks in rcturn-II hat am $I$ to spegk? What an a to sayl?-But whin you persist, a little is your cntreaties, you get him. roml. What he will say to oup present proposal we mus see. But most likelr he will not refuae." He
called on him at three in the afternoon. There were prests: at the interview Mr. Dixon and Mr. Osler. There we found Mr. Bright a different man altogether from what he had appeard to $\mathrm{l}, \mathrm{e}$ at the public meeting the previous evening. He did not loch either solemn or grave. There were smiles on his countenas $\cdots$. He laughed frequently with us and fascinated the company the freedom and humour of his talk. He inquired what d.i become of Sir William Wedderbarn's scheme cf agricultural banks and wished it were given a fair trial. He made enqui- - about Lord Reay and said the was very glad to hear his Lurisship was becoming popular as Governor of Bomlay. He spota, aboat the Civil Service question and his old scheme for separatis 5 the Government of India into independent presidencies. Ther: talked of the Ilbert Bill and the war against Theebaw. He nrat referred to Lord Ripon and said with much warmth how dighted he really was to find that his Lordship had succect? 1 in winning the golden opinions of the people of India. Her. i remarked how India felt disappointed to find that Lord $\operatorname{nip}$ had not been made a Duke on his return from that coun ry. Mr. Bright in reply--"Oh, that's nothing. They want to 5 : $:$ rid of their present Dukes, and I don't think Lord Ripon st: high value upon that title." He told us how, while returni'g from a funeral, he had met Mr. Norris, then aboat to leave tor India to join his appointment as a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta, and asked him to be kind and courteous to the natite-. Speaking. of the future of India, he said:-"India has, I hope, a bright futare before her. If you are moderite cit we are reasonathe, no difimelty is ever likily to arise in the goi... ment of that country." "There is a notion among somo $\mathrm{pc} a ;$ that Mr. Bright is an ultra-Radical, who would, if he had ", way, give up India this very moment. . He is supposed to ! : । very revolationary ideas about this country but I ventur (") think that the remark I fave mentioned above shows how mistah $\cdot n$ that notion is. It justifies Mr. Justin McCarthy's view thet there has always beew" a certain element of conscrvatism" in

Mr. John Bright. But in him the element is of a gonuine cha-racter-it is conservatism of the sort which is essential to all true progress and without which all reform runs the risk of being hasty and short-lived. At the time of parting, Mr. Osler said to him:-"Mr. Bright, I bave been talking to these gentlomen about holding a meeting after our elections are over, and I propose that they should pay ns a second visit and tell ns something about India." Mr. Bright:-"Certainly. It is a very capital idea indeed." Mr. Osler:-"And they want you to presids." Mr. Bright:-"Well, don't be sure of that, though." Mr. M. Ghose, as the leading delegate, pat in a word by way of entreaty, Mr. Bright standing in the meantime in a thoughful mood with his hands in his pockets, as if he were considering whecher he should consent or deoline to preside. Mr. Dixon followed Mr. Ghose, observing that if it was desirable to hold a meeting, it was equally desirable that Mr. Bright should preside. Then Mr. Bright said:-"Well, Mr. Osler, you had better write to me aboat it on my retarn to Rochdale. Itis very likely I shall be able to come." This was, whispered Mr. Osler to us, as good as consent. The assurance brought to.a close our two hours' conversation with one, whom it is a delight to hear, an honor to shake hands with, and a privilege to interview. "How many people," remarked Mrs. Osler when we returned-"how many people would be so mightily glad to talk to Mr. Bright even if it were for a few minates only,"

## (X.)

## GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.



I have dealt hitherto almost exclnsively with what may be called the political side of the English character as it struck me
daring iny brief experiences of the General Election of 185... I venture to think, however, that it is an aspect, which is not calculated to give either a complete or even a fair idea of the Englishman as be is in his own native land. "The prevailing expression" of the English peopie "is not," says George Eliot, "that of a lively, impassioned race, preoccupied with the ideal and carrying the real as a makeweight." But if you look at them, as they appear during the excitement of a political controversy, especially one connected with a general election, you will generally come impressed with the notion that it is the ideal and not the real which pleases the English most and a livelier and more impassioned race does not exist on the face of the earth. At political meetings you find John Bull invariably full of animal spirits. His proverbialansterity of expression seems to desert him there and you see, in him an enthasiastic and very demonstrative being with sympathies and antipathies of the most ${ }^{6}$ noling kind. During the period of political controversy and platform oratory, which immediately preceded the General Election of $18 n 5$, tho Tories made it one of the strong points of their attack agaisst the Liberal party that it was so much divided in opinion that it was difficult to say what were the principles or who were the leaders of that party. Lord Rosebery replied to that attack by saying that the Liberals had and recognised lat one leader whose umbrella was large enough to hold under it any number of followers. At a Tory meeting held in one of the metropolitan borough, where Lord Salisbury spoke, some people (of wourse Tories) apprared among the andience with a large umbreila which was uncovered and comically displayed for some tine, had rotten egge, and dead cats thrown at it, and nltimately when Lord Salisbury rose to address, it wastorn into shredsand amidst the groans and hisses of the halfindignantand half comic audienco was rudely thrust out of the place. This is an instan's of how, when fired by the passions and prejudices of party apirit, Joinn Bull, who usually is said to freel an objection to "looking inspired," becomes one of the most "lively and im-
passioned beings" in the world. In the experiences of political meetings which I have detailed in previous chaptars, the reader has been furnished with other illustrations of this feature of the English character. If you dive a little doeper, you would find another principle at work during electoral struggles-the principle of sparing nothing to win a victory. We look upon England as the land of liberty, where even the poorest man is able to assert his own over the power of rank or office; and where corroption or intimidation cannot so much as raise its head. But the experiences of an election give you reason to cbange your mind and to think with the poet that distance always lends enchantment to the view. A gentleman writing to a friend about his defeat at the elections of 1885 observed:-"The majority by which we have been beaten in this division is unexpectedly large to both sides. It is unquestionably the result of organized pressure and intimidation exerted in the new electo rate........ The extent to which promises were voluntarily mado to us and (as the result proves) afterwards broken is a remarkable feature in our case. It seems as if the country folks thought the ballot nould be secret as between them and their friends but would not prutect them against their enemics." And observations to the same effect were made to my knowledge and within my hearing by several other defeated candidates. Of a wellknown gentliman, who beld a high appointment under Her Majesty, it was said in the papers that be had brought his official infuence to bar on his subordinates to get them to rote in favour of the party to which he belonged. Of the wife of a leading politician it was alleged that during the elections she had even visited a certain school and "actually urged the children to try and persuade their fathers to vote" for her hasband. Of another lady it was givon out that she had asked a working roman for whom ber husband was going to vote. On the latter replying for the Liberals, the Lady said:-"There will be no blarkets at Christmas then." The working woman, who was evidently more devoted to her party than to worldiness, indignantly
rejected the temptation held forth before her and retorted:-"It isn't Liberal working men who want oharity blankets; it's thuse who call themselves Tories."

These are election experiences, from which perhaps an Indian pessimist would draw the inference that after all haman nature was the same everywhere-the only point of difference between, say, the case of India and the case of England being, in his view, this that with ns though cases of intimidation and corruption occur they are not as easily exposed as in the latter country. But the pessimist ought to remember what seems to be a practically, if not theore-tically, ar cepted maxim among those engaged in political battles especially in connection with a General Election-that every-thing is fair there as in love and war. Hence if you wish to form a. more accurate estimate of the English charactor, you must seo John Bull more specially when he is not involved in the meshes of party politics. A general idea may be conreyed of him when I say that he lives like a machine. At home or in socisty you find that he has so much artificialised life as to carry the science of etiquette to something like absolate, though tiresoms perfection. We in India complain of the tyranny of 'custom; they in England complain of the tyranny of fashion. Custom is constant while fashion is changing, butin effect both are perbaps, to some extent alike. John Bull has a law for every little thing and judges you as much by what you seem-your gait, the cut of your coat, and your manners,--as by what yon aetually are. This to an Indian no doubt causes great embarrasament and for some time after your arrival in England you are naturally apt to be haunted by a vague suspicion that you are : perhaps all the twenty-four hours, of the day unconsciously violating some well-established point of English etiquette. But in England courtesy is well-known and well practised and there are few, if any, critics there to condemn you as a barbarian merely bacause when invited as a guest you
profess your inability to those the knife and fork with agility. The pict of an English homo-its neatness and its regularity-the care with which everything is put in its proper place and every at ' done, as far as possible; in its proper time: the kind and couscous treatment servants receive; the way in which children are tight to behave and to converse; show that sanitary reforms, ste nt reforms, and political reforms begin with John Bull at kew - that habits of order and good discipline, so essential to mesa in general and statesmen in particular, are learnt not so ravel from books or at school or college as in well-regulated homes, which in their little circle form an empire by themselves : b . where one is taught to govern and be governed. From every F. ir lish home which 1 visited as a guest I heard that the cause of 5, nfrerance was gaining in England. Ten or fifteen years ago, I $\mathbf{v}_{\text {a }}$ told, people used to drink more largely than it is now the f. linin to do. It would seem the evil has been transferred to Lathis from England. This, however, by the way. Another 1. ©lerful improvement John Ball has made is that he is less 1 : ted -without, I hope, being less religious. Had ten or fifteen : Pa ago a native of India stood for a seat in Parliament the first 1. 1 . sion that would have been asked him would have been this:"Are you a Christian?" But now people have grown more liberal Mr. Sal Mohan Goose was asked by a man at one of his meetings to tate his religious faith. Though Mr. Goose was ready and utmost going to answer, the audience would not let him say anything on the subject. They kept on crying out:--"Don't answer" untIl at last Mr. Whose had to drop his reply to the question. Fetus John Bull from his horne into the street, a more lucy and active being it would be difficult for you to find. Hen and women are to be seen going about in a hurry as if they lav hardly time to look about. If a stranger on a visit to that country from India drives or walls through the streets with his national headdress on, even the most busy man passing learns instinctively as it were to stand and gape. You throw off tho hew dress the nest day and wear tho English hat, not a soul
cares to look at you-you are lost in the cruwd and ar. int longer "the observed of all observers." But it in an Fin.'i,k mob gatieered in the streets on exciting occasiong but produces a most striking impression, I had twice opportur'i. a of watching and observing suich a crowd during my etay : . London-one on the occasion, when the late Lord Shaftesbur. . funcral cortege passed through Cockspar Street on its way :. the Westminster Abbey; the other on the day of tha $1, r i$ Mayor's show. On the former occasion a very large nir' ' of people gathered in the street to see the cortege pass. Tי,.. was a gravity about the whole crowd which was strikir: ! impressive and most appropriate to the moarnful solemnit. if the occasion. The crowd followed the cortege to the $A^{\prime \prime} \mathrm{V}$ and all through the mournful silence cbsorved by the lirm conconrse of people afforded a striking contrast to the $b$ t'e and excitement whish one finds in a crowl gatherd it a political meeting. Nay, the contrast between that frane a 1 the scene on the occasion when the Lord Mayor's proces. . passed through the leading streets of the city of Iondon wis even more marked. People began to collect nearly two h", " before the time fixed for the procession to pass throunh. Ti", were men, women, and children gathered in snch large num'.., that the traffe had to be closed as tha streets were 1 :cked. What with the policemen trying to keap the cr... ! in order, telegraph boys of ten and twelve pntrusted -' ', the delivery of telegraphic messages ranning about is 1 with difficulty finding their way throagh the prest of pea; ;', and the lower class of people struggling with one anothes t, pick up silver coins thrown by sundry members of the Xation Libetal, the whole presented a most exciting and picture 1 :" scene. At last the procession came, consisting of show: if several kinds. The most striking figure in it was that of old S.r John Bennett. "the Radical watch-maker of Cheapside." Ho is a prominentrfigure generally on most public occasions. The $f$ : : time I saw him was a few days after my arrival in England at
: : recting held in the Cannon Hotel, where Mr. Culquhoun raad ", aper on Upper Burmah. Even at the most crowded of meetI 1 ; you are sure to distinguish him from the rest. Ho is a fat, © 1 man, with small but piercing eyes, which are opened and shut ...ry second with force while the lips aro set constantly - sootion. Ile wears a bunch of red roses in his batton-- lo. Llis individuality is so striking that his age-worn , . uro in his well-known velvet coat and brown felt hat meets - ur eye wherever bo may be seatol. Ho is seventy-two ars oll. As the carriago which containod him passed, tho . swd received him with a volley of cheers. He took off his hat d kept it waving about to express his thanks to the crowd - their chocrs, whereapon some wags were heard to cry t :-"Don't take off your hat, old John. You'll catch cold a. l die." It was a very cold day and for an old man of 72 : s sit in an open carriage with his head bare ibwas indeed runrugg a great risk, But Sir John Dennott seemed not to care ${ }^{\prime}$ it rather to enjoy the fun. In his humorous manner be went wis doffing and then donning the hat and shared with the crowd l, merriment caused by his presence.


## XII.

## Waat tue Paess said op ds.

There is nothing very striking in the circamstance that in Ragland, where politics are inseparable from parties, the mission of tho Indian delegatos came to be regarded by several people, cepecially the Conservatives, as a party move. The impression revailed among them that we had gone all the way to England for the purpose of sapporting the Liberal, and if not the Liberal t7.g Radical cause, before the British constituencies. It may be thus explained. In our spoeches, we could not but express our
disapproval of Lord Lytton's Indian administration; and Lort. Lytton was a Conservative. Again, we conld not tat apphaul Lord Ripon's Indian policy; and Lord Ripon was a Liliural With all our best efforts to, put our estimate of both o: grounds having not the remotest connection with the acci!ent of the one being a Liberal and the other a Conservative, we could not hope to convince men, accastomed to judge a things political with party bias. Further, the impression wa strengthened by the circumstance that we spoke against th increase of Indian military expenditure. The proposal for the: increase came from and was supported by Lord Randolp': Charchill, and he happened to be a Conservative too. Thas it was that we came to be taken for men, who wished to thro: ourselves into the arms of Liberal politicians. Tory papess raised that cry, and some of the retired Anglo-Indians in Lor
 According to one gentleman, we were "low carte men"-men who had "cast off the religious and social traditions of the East According to another, we were "three young Radicals, wl." called themselves Indian delegates". A third critic ent ; down for "three mysterious Indian gentlemen". A forrth gaw, out that the cry of "jastice for India" we had raised was "a; electioneering !dodge". A fifth made the curious discorery that we had been taken to England, "at the instance of Lond Ripon, to whitewash his disgraced careor" and so on. Two nr three papers invented worse facts and said worse thin:" -papers, which, in point of rabid writing, wonld have surpas al the most rabid vernacular paper in India, of whom some perplute often are heard to complain. But the crities did more gooll than harm to our cause, for they gave wide pablicity to our mission; and there was not a single newspaper in England, which hel not something to say on it.

Here I shall present to the reader a collection of extrai 's taken from some of the journals that stood well by us. The Echo:-
"They (tho delegates) will get a partial hearing. They will be r,, hh-poohed by the official class and the Conservative Press. l'ey will no doult be satirised by theorgans of the Anglo-Indian mmunity in India; but they will do good nevertheless....They b'll sow seed which will spring op in due time...... We are cr drawing on the resources of India, and unless we econoIn se we shall be a greater curse to it than a blessing. We ' $:$ :, however, more from want of thought than of heart." Zue Preslyterian Messenger:-"Among the novelties of the ! : 2sent situation is the appearance among os of three delegates $i \cdots m$ India......They have come to lay before the English peo1 , the claims of India to more considerate treatment... The $\therefore$ inge which has come over our Indian empire is absolutely mar1 Jous. The English language has become the speech of the eduined classes ; English ideas have taken root; a new loyalty has i. an develuped; in ono word, India has fairly started on tha path that will make her a part of ourselves". The Courr $J$ urasal:-"The gentlemen from India are really men of high citure and from the speeches which they have delivered during ti. ir precandidature (sic.) are decidedly common-sense-like and whout the least extravagance in their ideas". The Frer Man:It speaks well for the rising intelligence of that country tLat three Native gentlemen have been sent fram Calcutta, Mudras, aud Bombay, to ask the electors of Great Britain to give greater attention to Indian affairs...... Last week they syught an interview with Lord R. Churchill, who promised them that a Parliamentary enquiry, will be made daring the forthcoming session and that it will embrace the whole judicial and administrative. A very safe assurance to give. But our opinion of the subtlety of the Indian intellect will be greatly at fault if, 7 otwithstanding the pleasure they expressed at hearing this, Way place any hope or trust in this now favourite Conservative I ambit." The Cambrian of Swansea:-"We earnestly hope the ladian representatives, who are now endearouring to arouse
hearty sympathy and cooperation throaghoat Enyland, on l. hatp of the best interests of our Indian empire, will bo ominnntly successfut in their efforts, and that our British Hoase of Parliament, when it next meots, will calmly oonsider the just claims whirh our Indian brethren have for justice, and grant them that justice at the earliest possible moment. In order to do this thero must be a chango of policy-not simply in the practico of a littlo cheeseparing economy, but our system of Indian Government must be organised on a new, broader, and cheaper basis". Tur Swansea Joubnal:-"We emphatically approve of the objects which the delegates from India havo in view in visiting this country. Their miain desire is to stir up tho sympathy of tho people in their favour, and to bring into closer bonds of friendship their great Empire with England...Tho response of Swanoea, as represented on the occasion of their visit, was as emphatic and enthusiastic as could possibly be pronouncel". The Manconsstrer Guardian:-"If the visit of the Indian delegates hus tono no more than demonstrate the warmth and sincerity of the popular feeling in this country towards our Indian fellow-stb jects, it will have beon useful...As for the charge that the Assocciations and the delegates have wrongfully assumed a representative character, it is met by the obvious rejoinder that it would be ridiculous for any possible Indian organization to pretend to be fully representative of all the sects and races of India. Persons who put forward this extremely transparent ohjection ought at least to show how a more approximately representative mission than that which we lately welcomed in this city coull be formed." The Holl Express :-"Mr. Bright made a very good speech apon Indian affairs last night. He had alsoys been one of the forward school with regard to India; be is practically at one with Lord Ripon and would unflinchingly apply the principles of English Liberalism to thie Governmicit of our greatest dependency... He expresses what is undoubtolly a growing feeling when he says that our Indian service stands, in argent need of reform." The Evering Exrness:-"The"

Uelegates, who came to England from India at the beginning uf the election in order to acquaint the electors more fully with 'he aims and desires of their fellow-subjects in the East, have tha many opportunities of addressing the people of this country : 7 d of making known the growing argency of the Indian question....There was a time when Ireland would have been $\therefore$ tisfied by very moderato measares of justice. Now and for 'me years past her growing dissatisfaction has hindered the f rogress of legislation, and has turned her into a very thorn in ito side of Britain. Nor will she be quieted again ontil every r. nse of grievance has been removed. At present the Indians are content to ask for the extension of local self-government is nong them, and the reorganisation of legislative councils. If it ese very reasonable proposals are acceded to before the lapse of in inordinate longth of time, the loyalty of the people of India !, the British Crown will be intensified.....Conservatives profess ! love glory. We would commend to them an utterance Mr. N. l. Chandavarkar made use of last night. "It was easy to confer and easy to rule with a strong hand. There might be iory in it ; bat there was the imperishable glory of having etacated and enlightened a fallen nation."

These are some of the extracts which I have inserted here fur the purpose of showing that the delegation was noticed even $1 y$ the provincial papers. J ought to conclade this with a quotation f. om the Pall Mall Gazette of the 8th December 1885:-
"Tho Meeting at Birmingham yesterday was probably " the last one at which the Indian Delegates will be present, "and Mr. Bright's wise and 'witty address formed an appro"priate conclusion to a campaign which it is only the barest 'justice to say that tho representatives of the native eda"cated class have conducted, amidst disgraceful insalts and " slanders, with a dignity and magnanimity which is itself ono "of the best possible testimonics to the justice of their " appeal."
XIII.

## Our Meetings.

Soon after our arrival in England a preliminary mecting of some of Indian's friends and well-wiphers was held in the roons of the National Liberal Club for the purposes of deciding how teent we could go to work in connection with our mission. There were present at that meeting, among others, Messrs. William Digby, J. D. Digby, A. O. Hume, Martin Wood, Seymour Keay, Haggard, Blant, and Dr. Clarke, Major Evans Bell and several others. It was decided at that meeting, after some discussion, that the delegates should address meetings besides issuing a manifesto on behalf of India to the English electors and putting testquestions to candidates, Our first meeting was held in tha Westbourne Park Chapel, North Paddington, on Wednewlay tho 14th October, under the presidency of Mr. William Digly. Though it was a very wet evening yot the chapel was fillel with a large audience. It was estimated that about 1500 people wors present. The audience gave us all three a very cordial reception and heard us attentively, frequently cheering our remarks. The allusion made by one of us in his speech to Lord Randolrh Churchill's remark that "the Indian famine insurance fund had been eaten up" was received with langhter and the audience kept on repeating the remark for some time. The next day we wero officially received by Lord Randolph Charchill, then Secretary of State for India, at'the India office. An account of this recrm tion has been given already, Our second meeting was hell in Oakley Hall, Old Kent Road, under the presidency of the Mev. Dr. Leary, in support of Mr. Blunt's candidature. Among theso present at this meeting were the Hon. A. Bourke (a son of this late Lord Mayo), and an Afghan religious chief. There wern about 500 people in the hall. There too we met with a grual reception. Mr. Blant delivered an interesting address on IndiaWhile in the course of his remarks he dwelt on the poverty of the people of this country, a man in the hall interrapted him

1: crying out:-" Here, Sir, is a man whose condition is S. ys. Pray think of him kefore you talk of India." Mr. blant replied that they had not met there to think of ltim. The Areb in chief addressed in his own language, not knowing EngI $\therefore$ Ho spoke eloquently, though none of those present besides liw-alf could understand a word of what he said. But the , wri.h of his utterances did not fail to win the applause of li, radience. Whenever he seemed to finish a sentence and $\therefore 4$. 4 for breath, he was cheered and encouraged with the remuks:-"You're quite right, Sir," "That's it," "Fire , ...." The Hon. A. Boarke was also one of the speakers. ( 10 r , aird meeting was held on the 27th October in the 1.:1 of the Corn Exchange at Maidstone in Kent. تroneh the time for the local promoters of the meeting 1 ni been too short to enable them to send placards an tills all round and widely advertise the meeting, yet in: hall, to the agreeable surprise of all of as, was filled - : ic iflowing and great interest was manifested in the mission w'thes delegates. Mr. H. Head, Chairman of the Radical Associa tion of Maidstone occupied the chair. At the close of the meeting a. Er'jer of working men gathered round me and asked questions al, , :t India. In bis letter to Mr. Digby, the Rev. Mr. Harold IFl:t thas wrote about the meeting:-" You will be drit l eed to bear that we had a most successful meeting firs right. The Corn Exchange, the largest public hall i. lie town, was well filled by a thoroughly representaiv andience of Lilerals.... I think we ought to endeavour to furit an association with the cobject of informing the English remper on the subject of India even after the delegates have roturnel." A lady, writing to me about the same meeting, oberved:-"I returned last evening from the Corn Exchange in which that grand meeting was held, with my heart full of what sou bad told us all, concerning the welfare of those poor people in Irdia, and I felt I could not belp writing today, not only to
thank you for coming as you did and interesting us f" if 1 : but to wish you and your two friends all the euceess that . possible in the arduous work you are so couragroously un lent:ing in England. I trust you will find as you juart? through our land, and take back with you when you return t... conviction that though our country is cold, one bearts are wap: towards our dear brothers and sisters in India." At Maidtonr. I was also kindly received the next roorning by the proprictur a : working-men of one of the local paper manufactoris.

Orr next meeting was held in the Albert Hall in Swan. on Monday the 2nd November. Mr. Dillwyn, M. P., pr. ded. There were abont three thousand peoplo prescut and nothe, could surpass the height of their enthusiasm. The Welsh in even more demonstrative than the English. Wo had sevr:al leading Liberals of the place on the platform with us and t'." speeches made on the occasion secmed to be very highly nlpreciated, After the meeting was over, with "three cheers" for 11 's delegates and for Mr. Dillwyn, a large number of those pres it came up to us and expressed their hearty sympally verh our mission. From Swansea we went to Neweastle, wher a public meeting was held on the 6th November in the Central Hall under the presidency of Dr. Robert Syence Watar. The attendance was not large, but we were roceived well $n \cdot .1$ heard attentively. Writing to Mr. Dighy, Dr. Spcis', Watson said:-"I have seldom been at a more enthusia. ic gathering...Bat what is to come of all this? We cat. t let all this enthasiasm die out. We must have a leagoe of ${ }^{\prime}$ e friends of India and peg away at it. I have never before to fitily realised our responsibilities. I am prepared to work at :ta thing". It was at this place that 1 was interviewedby a rcrr. sentative of the Newcastle Daily Leader. The meeting e: Newcastle was followed by a great and enthasiastic meeting in the West London Tabernacle, St. James' Square, Notting INil under the presidency of Sir Charles Dilke. There were about 2020
frople present at it. Thence we went to Manchester. There I was hospitably entertained by the Mayor of the place-Mr. Aiderman Schmidt, an Anglicised German of liberal views and in nial manners. The delegatesiwere invited to a house dinner if the members of the Manchester Reform Clab.' More than . handred gentlemen were present. The short post-prandial - eech of our leader, Mr. Man Mohan Ghose, responding to the toist of "the Indian Delegates," was very enthasiastically 1 ceived-especially his remark that they sow the British lion in I dia " when he was out on a hunting expedition and did not $\therefore$.splay the most amiable traits in his character" was most highly ©plauded. The dinner was followed by a pablic meeting, which w is heldin the Free Trade Hall under the presidencr of Mr. Slagg. It was a crowded mecting and we were listened to with attention. From Manchester we returned to Londonand spoke at Deptford. Iltogether we had three meetings in this constituency-all very l.rgely attended. On the 21st Norember we risited Birmintham and attended a meeting in the Grand Theatre, where Mr. $t$ hamberlain delivered an address, and a meeting in the Town Hall, where Mr. Bright spoke. Oar presence on Mr. Bright's platLurm gave offence to Lord Randolyh Churchill. His Lordship denied that we had any representative character and alleged that we were mere tools in the hands of Radical leaders. We gave a ruply to his Londship, whith was published in all the leading Ninglish papers. Meetings at Honiton in Devonstire, Aberdeen, and East Grinstead followed, and our campaign closed with the grand and memorable meeting beld in the Town Hall of Birmingham on the 7 th December under the presidency of Mr. John Bright.


## FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION

FHOM AX

## INDIAN POINT OF VIEW

## A PAPER



KASHNATH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., nomettma sentor dakshina fellow, elphinstone collear, advocate, high cotbr, boxbar,


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## FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION FROM AN INDIAN POINT OF VIEW.

The subject which I have undertaken to discuss in the present paper, is one which, as many of you are doubtless a ware, has recently attracted considerable attention both in Ins country aud in Englind. It is a subject so intimately comnocted with the wholo future of our country-no less in its social and political than in its industrial aspocts$I^{\prime}$ int it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of I ving correct views upon it. At the samo time it is a -ibject respecting which a controversy hav been raging for a long time, and is even now, as the late Professor Cairnes capressed it, "active and glowing with something of its l'istine fervour.'" I propose in this paper to present a cuspectus of the various arguments, which have been or may be urged on either side of the controversy as it affects luis country; and to set down some of the practical conclusuns as to the true line of policy to be followed in this ratter to which we are led by a consideration of thoso arguments.

Befure entering, however, ion a discussion of the conHicting views on this important subject, I think it desirahle to draw prominent attention, at the very outset to one c renmstance connected with it, namely, that the question

[^15]as between Freo Trade and Protection is not really one rt pure Political Economy-not one, in other words, on wlac: the verdict of Political Economy is final and unappealable I venture to think, that there are few or no questions of practical politice, upon which the deliverance of Politicel Economy can be accepted without numerons qualifications. And it appears to me, that this must become obvious even upon a slight examination of the matter. If Politicas Economy is conversant, as we are told by tho higheyt authorities it is conversant, with wealth alone; and if in practical life, the pecuniary aspect of a measure is, and mast be admitted to be, not the sole-often not erenth. most important-aspect to be considered; then it sfems t, follow, that the economical view of such a measmre is bat one of many factors which must go to form the final jul); ment upon it. And accordingly, we find Political Leonony spoken of in Mill's Antobiography, as "a branch of Social Philosophy so interlinked with all the other branches, that its conclasions even in its own peculiar province, are only true conditionally, subject to interference and coanternction from causes not directly within its scope; while tu the character of a practical guide it has no pretension apart from other classes of considerations.*" The same vitw, has been taken by another of the great Economists of cur day-I mean the late Professor Cairnes. He eays: "The data thus furnished"-that is to eay, by Political F.o.

[^16]noo ay-" may indeed go far to determine our judgment, 1 :st they do not necessarily, and should not in practice always, d, so. For there aro few practical problems which do not $\mathrm{fr}^{r}$ sent other aspects than the purely economical-political, I: :al, educational, artistic aspects-and these may involve ( "requences so weighty as to turn the scale against purely i. umic sulutions. On the relative importance of such con$\mathrm{f}_{1}^{2}$. mg considerations, Political Economy offers no opinion, $\because$..usunces no judgment; thus, as I sad, standing neutral 1. veen competing social schomes."* And Prof. Cairnes ... Is up his remarks on the subject in this wise: "It sup$\cdots$ ' the moans, or more correctly, a portion of the means, ! . stimating all, it refuses to identify itself with any." It : unuecessary, I approhend, to further labour a point $\because \cdot h$ is so clear, as well upon the reason of the thing, as 1: 1 the authorities which have boen cited and which may 1. . ewily multiplied. $\dagger$ Some, indeed, may think, that tho i", "t should have been disposed of even more summarily thnut it has been here. But as Profossor Cairnes has remarknd in the sequel of the passage already quoted, this "char" tristic of economic science" is not "at all generally apprecinted, and some serious and indeed lamentable consequ, :ices have arisen from overlooking it." And what is of Ft.'l rreater importance, in the whole of the very elaborate d. ussion which the question has recently undergone with

[^17]reference to our Customs Tariff, I am not aware of anirgi.: writer on the Free Trade side who gare its due. weught i. this circumstance. Tho great weight which is really dum to it will be shown at a later stage of our invertigation. At present it is enough to have drawn attention to it.

And now, with this proliminary caution, let us consille: the purely economic aspects of Free Trada and Protectionism in their operation in India. Tho objections 1 Protectionism, in the abstract, mas, we think, be fairl; summed up as follows :-

I That it benofits the comparatively small class of producers at the exponse of the consumer.

II That it prerents a country from producing as much in the aggregate as it might and could produco in the aluca. of the protective regulation.

III That it diverts capital from ita uataral channels.
IV That it renders industry unprogressive, and is demorulizing to the industrial classes generally.
$\nabla$ That, in principle, it is destructive of all foreign trad. and the moral and intollectual benefits thence resulting.

VI That it involves the great evils of the interference ol the State with Trade and Industry.
There is not, I believe, any objection to the system of protection which may not bo comprehended under one or other of these six heads. We shall now proceed to cunid. them in their order.

And first as regards the loss to the consamer. Wo find
it often allegel* that to gire protection to the growth of any article is equivalent to an enhancoment of the price of that article. To this objection, as applied to the particular case we have now to consider, there is, I venture to think, a very conclusive repily. I do not now wish to dupute the allegation that the repeal of the import daties on colton grools, for instance, which have been objected to as protectivo in their operation, will reduce tho price of those gronds in this country-although, haring regard to what has been stated on high authority to havo been the effect of the repeal of the Corn Daty in England, there may be room for doubt as to that matter. $\dagger$ But I will assume, for the parposes of the present argument, that such a reduction of prices will result from the repeal of the duties in question. Let ns now trace the results of that measure in other directions. $\ddagger$ There will be a deficiency

[^18]in the regvenue of the conntry to the extent of the yield of those dutios. How is that doficiency in los made $u_{f}$ ? Two, and only two, alteratives seem to present themselves. Either another tax-must be luvied, or the public expenditure must be reduced. If another tax is levied, it must be levied either from the class upon whom the import duties fell, or from a different class of the people. In the latter case, we shall have only shifted the lurden of taxation from one shoulder to another; and as we must assume, at least for the purposes of this argument, that the import daties are not objectionable on the ground of their involving any inequality* of taxation, thas realt is manifestly unjust. If on the other hand, the tax is livel frim the very persons on whom the import dutics fell, the risult will bo simply, that the state will have taken with oue hand what it had given with the other-will have takenin taxation what it had given in the redaction of the price of Cotton Goods. If we turn now to the other alternative, of economy in the public expenditure, the repeal of the import duties is simply a measure of remission of taxation. And without going very far into the question which arises with regard to that point, it may, I think, be very safely said, that there

[^19]t. other taxes which are more proper to be remitted than lese Import Duties. Our system of Land Revenue on this side of India may be good or may be bad-that , restion need not be discussed on the present occasion. $\because$.t the evidence afforded by the Deccan Riots, and by the $\therefore$ ful Famine now prevailing in this Presidency, must, ., most minds, bo conclasive to show that the Land Tax, 1. pat it in the mildest way, has some clains to be taken i to consideration when a remission of taxation is contemphted.* A similar argument inay probably be urged with much foree as regards the Salt Duty. $\dagger$ But it is unnecessary t. carry this branch of the argument any further. It appears to me to be quite clear, that if any tax is to be remitied, the whole system of taxation must be considered, in order to see uhich tax is the fittest to be abolished. And $\therefore$ such a consideration is given to the question, strong + :gument and high authority will be found to support the ase of other taxes than the tax on imports of Manchester soods. $\ddagger$ How then does the case stand? Assuming that the repeal of the import duties on cotton goods will reduce

[^20]the cost' bf thoso goods to tho Indinn cousumer, we inul that such reduction will either be counterbalanewl by womo additioual parment in another direction, or wall lead to ano injustice in the general system of taxation in tho country, or will cause an alteration of that system, which having regard to the interests of the people of this country, is by no means the most expedient. Of course, as I need scarcely say, I an now assuming-what at this stage of the argumeut must necessarily be assumed-that there is no other oljection to the Import Daty than that which we are now discussing. And on that assumption, the results to le expected from the repeal of the Duty, as just now printed out, seem to me to militate against that repeal.

But the Protectionist case, if it is to be so culled, in answer to this objection in the interests of the consummer, does not rest there. Assuming that the Import Duty dies increase the cost of the goods liable to it, and further ansuming that against such increase there is nothing to show on the credit side of the account, it may well be contended that the assumed increase will only last for a short time, and that the privations endared daring its currency will ho made up for, and more than made up for, by a large diminution of cust afterwards. Admitting for the nonce, that tho objection we are now considering is unanswerable in the case of a country altogether unsuited to the manafacture of the goods liable to doty, it appears to me to be utterly devoid of force when applied to a country in many ways adapted to that manufactore. $A$ concrete example will
make this quite clear; and the example of the cotton manufactures in our country is as good a one as any. Now we may admit, that the import duties on Manchester goods having kept their price at, a high level, the Indian consumer is at present paying something more for them than he would have had to pay but for the levy of those duties. So far there is a clear loss to the consumer. But on the other hand, it must also be admitted, that in many ways this country is even better suited to the manufacture of cotton goods than England. The raw material is several thousand miles nearer; the labour roquired is enormonsly more cheap;* and even the coal that may be necessary is not inaccossible. $\dagger$ If then you have the capital and other requisites necessary to start the industry fairly, so as to bring the manufacture into full working order, without being nipped in the bud by losses or infinitesimal profita at the very beginning, it appears to me to be plain, that in such a case the price of the goods must ultimately be much reduced. Upon the abstract principles of Political Economy, this conclusion appears to be a necessary one in the case pat. But we are not left entirely to an a priori argument in this case. In 1873 there was published in the Fort-

[^21]nightly Review an article by Mr. David Syme, in whilh ta, or three very striking instances are given of how the hivy of a protective duty on cortain articles in the United St, te; and in Franco ultimately reduced the prices of those arti-cles-so much so, that instead of importing them as they had done before the laying on of the protective impost, the United States and France were able to assume the position of exporters of those commodities, and the United Stater, indeed, were able to undersell even England herself.* To my mind, I own, this is quite conclusive. Both a priai reasoning, and the experience already gained in other countries, $\dagger$ lead concurrently to the conclusion, that in a country adapted to any manufacture, a protectivo duty, although it may in the first instance raise the cost of the manufactured article, must in the long run reduce the ciont. And if this is so, can the objection we are now discushircs The maintained? Can it be said that protection under such circumstances means injustice to the consumer ? It is cue

[^22]of the characteristics of civilised life, as contrasted with the primitive condition of manhind, to forego a small present good, or even to suffer a present privation, in the hope and with the intention of thereby securing some larger advanthige in the future. Is it not clear, then, that in such a a a e as that we have pat, the true interests even of the consumer dictate a policy of Protectiomism instead of Free Trade?

And this riew of the subject enables as to perceive, that the apparently formidable dilemma put forward on behalf of Free Trade is quite innocuous. "To give the monopoly"a ays Adam Snnth, in a passage of the Wealth of Nations which Dugald Stewart has pronounced to be "satisfactory and conclasire"* "to give the monopoly of the home market to the prodnce of domestic industry in any particular urt or manufacture, is in some measure to direct prirate people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, and must, in almost all cases, be either a aseless or a hurtful regulation. If the produce of domestic can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is evidently nseless. If it cannot, it mast generally be hartiul." $\dagger$ Tho carher portion of this passage appertains to our next point. But if we look into the alternatives presented 'o us at the close of it, we' shall find that they by no means exhaust the possibilities of the case. And our proceding

[^23]obserrations will indicate the third alternative-nhur y that the produce of domestic industry may not at a $\mathrm{l}^{m} \mathrm{~m}$. cular point of time be able to compete with that of formign industry, bat may reasonably be expected to be able $t \cdot \mathrm{~d}$, so after a short period, if in tho meantime it recrives suitablo help and opportunities of development. In a.caco like this,* Adam Sinith's argument, I venture to think, las lout littlo force.

Upon the whole, therefore, this first objection to Prutertionism in India appears to me to fail, becanse the prarciples upon which it rests do not quito square with the actual circumstances of this country. Let us now proceed to consider the next objection, which is that Protortionim tells unfarourably on the aggregato production of a country. This objoction is thus stated by Adam Smith iu the passaget to which we have already referred. "If a formicn
*On re-reading Chap. II of the Fourth Dook of the Wrolth of Nations, I find that this case bas not altogether escaped the atteution of its great author. But I veutare to sodmit, that the neaner in which he disposes of it is not quite satisfactory, for he does not fully work out the results of the hypothesis which he accepts as not un-. lukely. He says: "By means of such regulations, indeed, a particular manufacture may sometimes be acquired soouer than itcould bave Been otherwise, andafter acertain time mas be made at hoine at chuap or cheaper than in a forcign country. But though the industry of the society may bethus carried with advantage into a particular chann I sooner than it could have been otherwise, it will hy no means follow that the sum total euther of its industry or of its revenne, cau evorbon augnented by any such regulation." I have said in the text, upon this and on the next point, what appears to me to bo worthy of consideration against the views bere expressed. Smith's admazan, however, that we may by protective regalations acequire a valuable industry somer than we can without them, is not without value.
†Wealth of Nations Book IV Chap. II. (VolIIIL P. 114. Wakefield's edition.) This pessage is also cited by Stewart, Works IX. 25.
country", says he, "can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with :nco part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some adrantage. The general radustry of the country being always in proportion to the erpital which emplors it, will not thereby be duminished, . .. . . but ouly left to find out the way in which it can be f apluyed with the greatest adrantage. It is certanly not - uployed to the greatest advantage, when it is thus directed twwards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can bake. The valuo of its annual produce is certainly more ir less dminished, when it is thus turned away from rroducing comnodities evidently of more ralue than the ( ummodity which it is directed to produce : according to the supposition that commodity could be purchased from foreign $\therefore$ untries cheaper than it can bo made at home." Here argain, I hare no quarrel with the argument sofar as it goes. What I coutend is that it does not go far enough into ell tho possible circumstances; and the conclusion to be derived from it mast, therefore, be taken, not in the general form in waich it is inaccurately put, but subject to qualifications. Tho third alternative which we have mentioned in the dis--ussion of the preceding objection is of great moment here also. Considered in the abstract, it is, I think, impossible to say, that the total production, in the case we have put, will necessarily be diminished, if we take for the application of this test a period of time in which both lines of policy tave had a fair trial. If on the one hand it cannot be
denied, that in the beginning tho production murt be diminished; it acems to me on the cother hand to bo eprails undeniable, that after the protection has hud far time to put forth its frust, the production, in the case we have put will regain its former extent, and may everr bo developed into still larger propgrtions.*

It is unneccessary to dwell further on this topic, aud we" therefore procced to the next objection. "The sole offect," says Ricardo, $\dagger$ " of high duties on the importation, either of manufactures or corn, or of a bounty or their exportation, is to divert a portion of capital to an employment which it would not directly seek. It causes a pernicious dintribution of the general funds of the society-it bribes: manufacturer to commence or continue in a comparatively less profitable employment." Now there is ono poiut worthy of notice concerning this alleged diversion of capital, which, will have to be discussed when we examine the laet of the objections to Protectionism set out above-mamely that based on the evils of State interference with trade. At present we have only to consider the point as regards the diversion of capital into "comparatively less profitable" channels. Is there any basis for this allegation as applied to our country? During the elaborate and protracted discussions on the repeal of the Import Duties on Manchester goodz, I havo no recollection of having met with a single fact or figure adduced to show, that any diversion of capital has taken

[^24]place in consequence of the protertion alleged to be afforded by the Duties in question. In truth, those who took part in tho interests of free trade in that discusion dud not care apparently to go into any inquiry in this direction. They asserted that the duties were protective, and-thought that they had done enough to condemn them; thns showing themselres to lelong to that class of the disciples of "the founders of lolitical Economy," who, in the words of the late JohnStuart Mill,* "stop short at theirphrases," who "beheve themselves to be provided with a set of eatch words, which they mistake for principles-free-trade, freedom of contract, competition, demand and snpply, the wages-fund, iudividunl interest, desire of weath \&e.-which supersede analysic, and are applicable to every variety of cases without the trouble of thonght." These weighty words, I venture to think, describe only too traly the mode in which the question of the repeal of the Import Duties was dealt with in the discussion to which I have referred. And jet, as I hare codearoured to point out, if we employ a little analysis, we find, that the fandamental principles, on which the gened condemnation of Protectionism rests, have no place under the actual circumstances of this country. Now it has been pointed out by Mr. Raynsford Jackson, in his paper on "India and Lancashire"'contributed to the Fortnightly Review, + that about the close of the gear 1875 , no less a sum

[^25]than three crcres and eighty lakhs of Rupees had hen invested in Cotton Factories at work in Bornbag. Thesa figures are taken by him from the Bombay Governinent Gazette, and they are corraborated by the detailed statement on the subject to le found in the Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for 1873-74.* The figures, therefore, being trustworthy, it might have been expected that some facts would be adduced to show, that this large amount of capital liad been diverted from some more profitabl., industry. We might fairly have expected from the yractical business men who discussed this question, that they should have referred to some industries, more prolluctive and mare profitable to the country, which had been starved by retson of the protective import duty having diverted capital ifom them to the Cotton Factories. What, however, aro tho facts? I find no trace of any attempt to deal with tho question in any other than the "high a priori" method. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce does not make any reference whatever to this point. And the Manchester Chamber thinks it sufficient to assert, in the memorial addressed by it to Mr. Gladstone, who was then Prime Minister, "that the inevitable tendency of any trade nursed and fostered by protection is to divert capital and laloonr from the nataral channels into which they would otherwifo be more beneficially turned.' $\dagger$ When a gentlemsa laka Mr. Ifugh Mason, speaking on behalf of the Manchestir

> * PP. 41-4.
$\dagger$ Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1873-4. P. 53

Chamber of Comberce, in a matter so vitally affecting some of their dourest interests, can find nothing better than "inevituble tendencies" to press into his service, we may he pretty sure, I think, thiat there are no facts or figures to -upport his case. And jet if wo are to argue the matter -1 Priori, it appears to me, that, in the circumstances of our country, the assumptions which underlie the reasoning of the adherunts of Free Trade on this point are many of them fuite baseless. As Professor Cliffe Leslie has said of Politial Economists generally, "they havo feigned an unimpeded pursuit of wealth, a universal knowledge of the gains and "rospects of every occupation in all places, and a perfect acolity of migration; and from these fictions they have ianoned withexactly the samo certainty as if they were real - ases. The result is that Pulitical Economy has become a , 5 word for hasty assamptions and bal generalization.'"* in this country, where every thing is so liable to become tereetsped by custom, $\dagger$ where there is so little knowledge : oth of the real resources of the country, and of the proper 1 wies of developing those resources, where there is not a : uperfluity of enterprise, I think that a diversion of c.apital, even when it is proved to have taken place in c nsequence of a protective impost, is not necessarily a itiversion from a more profitable into a less profitable chaninl, cannot always be correctly looked upon as involving a 1 'ss to the country. Now in the case before us, not only is there no evidence to show any such "pernicions" diversion

[^26]whatever, but there are facts which tend to prove, thal a considorable portion of the capital employed at presunt in the cotton manufacturing industry was altogether anemplis. ed in any production-some of it was not in fact capital, strictly speaking-before that industry came into existence. I need scarcely say, that not having any precise figures before me, I make this statement with some litile diffidence; but I have obtained information from certnin friends, very well-informed in such matters, which thoroughly bears out that statement. It appears that in former times, before banking had reached its present develrpment, the great native merchants in Bombay used ulways to keep large balances in hand for the purposes of their trade, so that money might be forthcoming at asty time when it was required. The methods of business having now altered so as to dispense with the necessity of keeping in hand such large balances, a great portion of the caputal which used formerly to remain in that form has now gone $t$ o make the capitals of our Mills. Is this, orisit not, a desirable state of things? It appears to me, that except for the fact that business is not under this system quite se, safe as it was under the previous system, this result is by $n$. means to be deprecated. So much wealth which beforo was not productively employed, is now employed for parpowes in production. The aggregate production of the country, therefore, must have increased to the extent of the cutturn of this additional capital. True, it may be fand that if this protective impost had not existed, this cavitil
would have gone to the support of some more profitable industry than the cotton manufacture. This may be said. But a priori, I venture to think, that, having regard to the circumstances which have been noted before, it may be contradicted with equal show of reason. The truth is that we cannot really predicate what would have become of this additional capital but for the protective duty. Another important point connected with this matter is the circumstance, which I also learn from information, that a considerable quantity of the Government Paper formerly held by our merchants has found its way to the Native States-so that the wealth, which remained formerly in the coffers of somo of nur Native Princes, having been received by our merchants in Bombay, in lieu of their Government Paper, has now gone to replenish the capitals of our Cotton Factories. Here again, we see another mode in which the working capital of Bombay has received a clear äddition. So much wealth which had romained idle in the hands of its possessors-idle, I mean to say, so far as any help to the actual production of the country was concerned-has now been turnedinto capital employed in production and going to the support of the labouring classes. These facts,* if they are facts-and I have them from men of business on whom I can throughly rely-seem rather to point 'to a state of things not entirely squaring with the a priori views of the dogmatic Free

[^27]Traders, 'if I may venture so to call them. And they show the correctness and strong applicability to our country of a remark of Mr. Syme's, made in the paper to which I hnou already referred. "We are avare", he says, "that this latter advantage is consilered to be an illusory one, us capital and labour, it is alleged, would only be diverted from one iulastry into another, withont any real benefit to the country. To this we answer, first, that this objection would havo no force whatever, unless the whole capital and labour of tho country were already fully and remunerativoly empl'yed, a supposition never yet realized in any country"*-ant, I may add, perhaps least realized in India.

To look at the matter now from another point of view. I am unable to get access to any figures exhiliting tho actual aggregate production of the Presidency of Bumbay, for some years before, and some years after, the riso of tho cotton manufacturing industry. $\dagger$ Bat the figures for the imports and exports of all the three Presidencios are available, and so far as they farnish a proper basis for argameut, certainly do not afford any support to the Free Trader's views. I take the figures in the following table from tho Statistical Abstract concerningIndia(Number Two)-for the our years just preceding the period when the cotton industry having been established in Bombay, theinport duty began, it is alleged, to act as a Protective daty.

[^28]|  | Beagal. |  | Madras. | Bombay. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Improrts$18.7-60$. | 14,172.485 | f. | 2,540,739 | 11,895,060£. |
|  | 14.9061 .502 | £. | 2,253,496 | 13,649,467E. |
|  | 16,156,4:7 | £. | 2,638,400 | 15,750,8:3¢ |
|  | 220,717,598 | £. | 3,000,845 | 16,903,639e. |
| Exports$16.75-60$. | 13,43.967 | \&. | 2,407,906 | 10,740,044t. |
|  | 13,579,431 | £ | 2,665,920 | 12,033,123£ |
|  | 14,515,938 | £. | 2, 2 2, $4,664 \pm$ | 13,791,69\%¢. |
|  | 112,903,770 | £ | 2,492.156 | 13.493.284¢ |

This yields, for the annual average of imports into Bengal during the period in question, $£ 16,501,753$; into Madras L2, 608,270 ; into Bombay $\{14,530,752$. And the average of exports similarly is for Bengal $213,610,770$; for Madras $£ 2,447,651$; and for Bombay $£ 12,514,527$. Tarn we now to the averages after tho establishment of the cotton factories. I take the figures from the Statesmans' Year Book, which is basod upon official documents. And I omit the yeara $18 \%$, 1865, 1866 , which are exceptionally farourablo to Bombay. I also omit 1867, as the returns for that year give the figures only for 11 months, owing to tho change of the financial year then introduced. The figures now stand as follows :-

|  | Bengal. |  | Madras. | Bombay. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Imports 1808.71. | -1,840,163 | 夫. | 3,681,869 $£$. | 20,476,046 | £. |
|  | -21,321,371 | ${ }^{\text {e. }}$ | 4,104,692 x . | 24,128,314 | £. |
|  | 19,496,082 | f. | 4,086,478 $\mathbf{x}$. | 22,232,435 | £. |
|  | 18,588,706 | £. | 4,032,341 f . | 15.708,938 | £. |
| Exports 1868-71. | [20,066,608 | £. | 4,302,763 2. | 25,528,619 | f. |
|  | 21,367,819 | £. | 6,114,041 $£$. | 23,770,307 | £. |
|  | 20,971,821 | £. | 6,072,375 £. | 24,690,819 | £. |
|  | 123, 455,045 | £. | 5,150,725 f . | 26,494.761 | f. |

We get the averages from this table as follows :-Fur Imports-Bengal $\mathfrak{L} 20,311,580$; Mauras $£ 3,976,355$; and Bombay, $£ 20,636,433$. And forexports-Bengal $£ 21,165,340^{\circ}$; Madias £5,409,976; and Bombay $£ 25,121,126$. These averages are contrasted with the previous onos in the follow. ing table :-

|  | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Imports during 1857-60 | 16,501,753E. | 2,608,270£ | 14,509,7524 |
| Do. Do. 1868 -71 | 20,311,580£. | 3,976,31.5 E . | 20,636,433 |
| Advance | 3.809.829f | 1.368.075 | 6,096, 6.410 |
|  | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
| Exports daring 1857-60. | 13,610,776 | 2,447,661£ | 12,514,527 |
| Do. Do. 1868-71 | 21,465,346£. | 3,409,976 | 25,121,126 |
| Adrance. | 7,854,570£ | 2,962,315£ | 12,600,5992 |

Now these appear to be rather remarkable figares. And the lessons they teach, whether they may or may not be fairly prayed in aid of the view I am propounding, certainly negative some of the a priori assertions which have been made in the course of this controversy. Speaking in round numbers, we find from these figures, that daring tho regime of Protectionism in Bombay, our importz have developed so, that instead of being about two millions sterling short of Bengal, we are now ahead of her in that branch of commerce by more than three hundred thousand pounds. Similarly in exports. Whereas before 1800, our average full short of that of Bengal by over a million sterling, after $18 i j 3$ wis beat Bengal by nearly four millions. And mutatis mutumetis
these remarks apply in the comparison between Bombay and Madras. If we look at the percentage of advance in the three Presidencies, we still find nearly as good results for Bombay; for whereas the development of Bengal Imports shows, speaking roughly, an advance of about twenty-fivepercent, that of Bombay is about forty-two per cent. Madras, no doabt, shows a higher percentage-about fifty two per cent.* So of exports. While Bengal advances only fifty per cent, our exports aro very nearly doubled as are also those of Madras. And on the other hand, looking at the absolute extent of progress both in imports and exports, our advance is greater not only than that of Bengal and Madras taken separately, but even of them both put together. One further remark deserves to be made. The great development which we have bcen here contemplating is much more striking in the case of the exports than of the imports. If wo look at the figures, we find, that whereas we are in advance of Bengal and Madras put together to the extent of two millions and upwards in tho department of exports, we are only about nine hundred thousand pounds beyond them in the department of imports. Now this is very noteworthy, with reference to the allegation made by the Free Traders, regarding the "inevitable tendency" of Protectionism and so forth. For a necessary condition of a vast increase of exports is an increase of the aggregate production-which is exactly the

[^29]thing that Protectionism is alleged to prevent. Upon thos whole, therefore, the general figures of our Import and Export Trado do not afford the slightest support tos the dngmatic Free Trader's viewe: They show that lioming with her Protectionist system has not gono to rack and rum, but has been exhibiting, on tho contrary, a rtriking development, sn striking, indeed, as to throw into the shade the development of at least one of her sister Presidencies, who are breathing "the free and bracing air of Freo Trade."*

There isanother mode of comparison which may beadoptrd, and which also yields results not inconsintent with thore which we havo now seen. The tables above set out give ns the averages of imports and exports of the thrce Pre illencina in 1857-60 and 1868-71. Let us compare these averares
*Mr. Brassey (Work and Wages P. 60) says that "in a country in whech the erroncous policy of protection is still adopted by tha Gorernment, the proce of labour from the increased demand for it, will advance, as might be expected, in a still more rapil ratio than in a country m which a free trade policy is adopted. The closiong of the home markets in Rassia to forergn trade is producing a senssble effect on wages and the cost of living." Now if this is so, it serms to me, that even if Protectionism did diminish the aggregate proolostion of a country, it would still be desirable, in a country like ours, in order to secure a fair distribution. After all, it does not damph good to a country to havo a few bloated fortanes in the rondxt of a dead level of indigence here and there cheqnered wath equal, misery. It is better, I hambly conceire, to bave fewer large fortionn if the popalation at large be at the same ume remored ahove the, reach of starvation and misery. I cannot say whether these las been observed in India any such phenomenon as Mr. Bramey liag noted about Rnssia. In the absence of figurea, I am unable to way any thing more than that I have been informed that wazea thave risen to somsextent all over this Presidency daring the lat fuy years.
with the like arerages for the years 1846-49. To arrive at these averages I take the figures as given in Mr. Montgomery Martin's History of British India.*

|  | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Imports } \\ & 1846.49 . \end{aligned}$ | 6,22,36,232 ms . |  | 4,33,76,03878. |
|  | 6,64,96,716 ms . | 1,02,90,035 fs | 4,15,79,1188. |
|  | $5,41,85,818 \mathrm{fm}$ | 1,10,88,174 Is | 4,04,36,062 Ra . |
|  | 5,77,06,235 fs . | 1,06,52,712 $\mathrm{fu}^{\text {u }}$ | 5,71,34,128m. |
| Exports. <br> 1846-49. | 10,10,27.551 Rs | 1,47,69,816 $\mathrm{mz}^{\text {m }}$. | 6,26,49,6537s. |
|  | 9,51,97,977 Rs. | 1,58,43167 fs | 4,96,51,927fu. |
|  | ¢,86,69,282 ms | 1,49,15,589 $\mathrm{R}_{8}$ | 4,37,99,47973. |
|  | 9,81,97,4:4 ${ }^{\text {m }}$ | 1,94,63,112 Xb | 6,86,21,9078. |

The averagos yielded by these figures are contrasted with those which wo have already arrived at in the following table:-

|  | Years. | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Imports. | 46-49 | 6,01,56,2587m | 1,05,63,25873. | 4,56,31,337m. |
|  | 57-60 | 16,50,17,530 Rs | 2,60,82,700 ${ }^{\text {ms }}$ | 14,53,97,52074. |
|  | 68-71 | 20,31,15,800 ms | 3,97,63,4507s. | 20,63,64,330 ma . |
| Exports. | 46-49 | 9,57,73,058 ${ }^{\text {ms }}$ | 1,62,47,921 As . | 5,61,80,741 fs . |
|  | 57-60 | 13,61,07,7607s. | 2,44,7,6610 m | 12,51,45,270 ${ }^{\text {m }}$ |
|  | 68-71 | 21,46,51,710Rs. | 4,90,99,760 Bs . | 25,12,11,260 |

Now these figures show, that in the case of all the three Presidencies, the advance of imports in the third period beyond the second was not so great as in the second periop beyond the first. But whereas the excess in the case of

[^30]Bengal inports falls from 10 to 4 crores, speaking in round numbers, in the case of Bombay it falls from 10 to only 6 crores. The fall in the case of Madras is not nearly so much. The results thercford to which the figures for the imports point, in this comparison, are not different from those which we derived from the comparison we have instituted before. In tho case of the exports, the advanco throughout is greater in the third period than in the second. And the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay have had a pretty nearly equal development; the extent of edrance in the third period beyond the second being very nearly double the extent of advance in the second period beyond the first. And here again Madras is still far behind her sister Presidencies in the absolate total of her exports, but beats them both in the rapidity of her adrance. For whereas the difference between the first two periods is only one of eighty lakhs of Rupees, the difference between the last two periods is not less than two crores and forty five, lakhs of Rapees-or a little over three times the former amount. Upon the whole, therefore, the results of this comparison coincide pretty nearly with the results which we have arrived at already; and they show that the decline, where it exists, is common to Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, that Protectionism has not done any such harm to our Presidency aus has not also befallen her sister Presidencieg, althongh they have not been under a Protectionist regime.

There is, of course, one obvious criticism on these figures, and the results we have deduced from them.

Who shall say, it may be asked, that but for the system of Protectionism prevailing here, the development would not have been even more striking? Who, indeed, shall say that? I can only echo the question. I am not prepared to answer it. But I beg to point out, that no grounds can bo shown for holding to any such belief as is indicated in the question; and on the other hand, the logic of facts is rather against such belief. The a priori argument on the point, besides its intrinsic defects, has been shown above to take no account of certain circumstances of great moment in this inquiry. From the facts as we actually witness them, no argument can be derived in favour of such a belief. On the contrary wo have the fact, that in the Protectionist Presidency the advance of both the Import and Export Trade has been far more striking than it has been in at least one of the other Presidencies which are not Protectionists. And under these circumstances, $I$ think $I$ am justified in altogether declining to launch apon the sea of speculation to which we are directed by the question above proponnded.

The dip we have now had into this stream of figures and tables has, perhaps, rendered us oblivious of the point at which we had left our subject. But we must now return to it. We have pointed out, that such diversion of capital as may have occarred-if any diversion has oc-curred-by reason of the protective Import Duty on Manchester Goods, need not necessarily have been a diversion into an nuprofitable channel. And we have also endearour-
ed to show that the available statistics of our trale and commerce do not negative that assertion. As regards one department of industry-and that the principal one in this country, namely agricultures we may add to what we have already stated, the opinion of a very competent judge, General. W. F. Marriott. In an address on Indian Pulitical Economy and Finance before the East India Association in London, he said: "whilst India thus purchases more produce from abroad, there is no reason to sappose she prodaces less at home ; but the contrary. More land is taken into cultivation, and in Bombay, certainly, Manufactures have sprung up which did not exist previously."* Gencral Marriott's mind, evidently, has not been worked upon by the bugbear of diversion of capital into unprofitable channels. $\dagger$ His statement, too, I may add, receives corroboration from the recently published and highly important Report of the Deccan Riots Commissioners. That Report, no doubt, is conversant only with a particular portion of the Presidency. But, I think, we are safe in taking their remarks as applying with small limitations, at all cventa on the point before us, to the whole Presidency. After setting out some figures for the years 1854, 1864, 18.4, the Commissioners say: "In noting these figures, it must be remembered, that during the latter part of the period embraced, there was but little nooccupied waste, and the

[^31]increase in Sowkar holdings implies a corresponding decrease in those of the cultivating class."*

In now continuing our argument on the point before us, we shall assume-what we hare shown to be not the factthat the Import duties have caused a real diversion of capital into less profitable channels. And we think, that even after this assumption, the protective duty would be still defensible-upon the principle which has been already more than once mentianed. Upon this point, Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers, in his book on Political Economy, asks"What should we say of a farmer who starred his best land in order to try experiments on a rocky waste?"' $\dagger$ Well I may esy, that this will probably be a piece of folly; although I venture to think that, under certain circumstances, it will not only be a proper thing to do, but one of a class of things without which progress of any sort would be almost impossible. But however that may be, it seems to me quite plain, that this question, which Mr. Rogers apparently puts forward as a clincher, is absolutely pointless in the case we have already pat. If there is any reasonable chance of making a piece of land prodactive,-not necessarily in the immediate futare, it is quite enough if it can be made productive within a reasonable period-then I should say, that the farmer of whose holding such land formed part would not only be justified, but would be wise, in trying experiments apon it. Hewould be wise in looking

[^32]$\dagger$ Polit. Econ. P. 230
npon the certainty of a smaller inmediate outturn as dust in the balance, when set against the great likelihood of a larger aggregate outturn in tho not very distant fature.

We shall now proceed to the next objection-namoly, that Protectionism is demoralizing, and a clog on industrial progress. Upon this point, the late Professor Cairnes has written as follows: "When once the industrial clases of a country have been tanght to look to the legislature to secure them against the competition of rivals, they aro apt to trust more and more to this support, and less to their own skill, ingenuity, and economy, in conducting their business. The inevitable result is that industry becomes unproductive wherever it is highly protectod."* And further on he observes, that Protection "vitiates the industrial atmosphere, by engendering lethargy, routine, and a relianco on legislative expedients, to the great discouragement of those qualities on which, above all, successful industry' mainly depends-energy, economy, and entorprise." $\dagger \mathbf{I}$ do not for one moment wish to take from the force of theso observations. They are entitled to great weight. But I cannot help thinking, that when Professor Cairnes wrote them, he had present to his mind only the case of Protection to manufactures already cstablished; and not, at loast with sufficient distinctness, the case put by Mill in the wellknown passage to which Prof. Cairnes considers his own

[^33]remarks to be a reply.* A distinction must, I think, ba taken here between the case of an industry to be newly established, and ihe case of an already established industry to be maintained. In the former case, there is no doubt scope and opportunity for that "skill, ingenuity, and economy" in the conduct of business, on which Professor Cairnes lays such great and not undeserved stress. But where the industry is still unestablished, where an experiment is to be made to see whether it will take root and grow, in such a case, Mr. Mill's dictum is far more correct than Prof. Cairnos seems to think. From Mr. Mill's express words themselves, it is manifest that the latter was the only case he contemplated. And with regard to the vast majority of manufacturing industries, we are in the very position supposed by Mr. Mill. The cotton industry, it is true, has been established for some time ; but unluckily a large portion of the capital embarked in it has confined itself to the comparatively less eligible localities-being centred in Bombay instead of spreading over the cotton districts.

And even with regard to established industries; I think there may be circamstances worthy of consideration

[^34]as limiting the applicability and force of Professor Cairnet's remarks. I do not think, that there need be any demoralic. ing effect apon the industrial classes, where the protection is avowedly given in order to allow an industry the opportanity of taking root, and where it is clearly understood, in accordance with Mill's limitation, that the protection is to be temporary only. Protection in such a case, and with such limitations, need not necessarily be demoralizing at all. The example which Professor Cairnes adduces doas not appear to me to be conclusive upon the point. And I saspect that Protectionism in France, to which Professor Cairnes alludes, was based rather upon the "Theory of the Balance of Trade", as Professor Cairnes calls it,* on the ilea that the precious metals were the only wealth. The ground upon which Mr. Mill bases his dictamt and the

Some Principles \&c. pp 451,452,454.
$\dagger$ Prof. Cairnes (Some Principles \&c. p 484) thinks that "Proten. tion invariably begets a need for protection." We have endeaveared to point out how this does not follow from the circumstance from which Prof. Cairnes seeks to deduce it. And a priori it eeems to me, that the "need for support" cannot arise, where the support given is given nnder well understood limitations. Besides, if Prof. Carnes's broad proposition were correct, it might beargued by parity of reason, that the newborn child should not be sapported in walkingfor does not support beget the need of support? But that is a pnsition which, I apprehend, will not be accepted even by Mr. Herbert Spencer, whose views on these matters go, I believe, farther than thown of any other thinker. I may be, perhaps, permitted to add also, that if Prof. Cairnes's propositions about Free Trade are to be understood as universal, as applying to every society in whatever stage of civilization, it is difficnlt to see a logical halting-place between his doctrine and Mr. Spencer's doctrine of "specializsd adrainistrstion", which nevertheless Prof. Cairnes rejects. This point is referred to farther on in the text.
ground, I may add, upon which we ask for the benefit of that dietum-is another and very different one. Nor am I prepared to attach much weight to tho argument, that under a system of Free Trade there is greater inducement to the artizan to invent new modes of economising labour. Althongh the argument is not without force, I do think, that in this country, where the principles of the working of machinery are so little understood, whero there is so littlo familiarity with any of tho sciences which are practically applied in the working of that machinery, the argument may easily be pressed too far.* Upon the whole, I cannot but think, that the principle of self-interest, on which the Froo Trador so much relies, coupled with the certainty that the protection will cease within some short time, and coupled also with internal competition, would, in the circumstances in which we are placed, afford all the necessary stimulus to the exercise of that "skill, ingenuity, and economy, in conducting basiness" of which Prof. Cairnes speaks. Aud I do not feel at all sure that freedom of trade will roally give any more.

We next come to another count in the indictment against Protectionism, namely, that in principle it is destructive of all foreign trado. Professor Cairnes says:-"Consistently carried out, Protectionism would putan end, if not to all foreign trade, at least to all such as furnished us with commodities capable of being produced in the protected

[^35]country ; fur the cssence of the doctrine is to encourago untive industry, by excluding tho produce of foreign industry, wherever these come into competition with commodities which native industry can produco."* And Mr. Macdonell in his Survey of Political Economy goes a stop further, and observes: "Foreign trade and homo trade are advantagoous on the same ground, and if it be econorically hurtful to havo free trade between France and England, it is hurtful to have free trade between Edinburgh and Glargow, or for that matter, to have freo trade between one strect and another. Diogenes living in a tub, dependent on no man, is the model and only consistent Protectionist.' $\dagger$ Mr. Macdonell's roductio ad absurdum is probably capable of answer cven on the extremo Protoctionist theory. Dut we shall not dwell on that aspect of the subject. We have bat one roply to both Professor Cairnes and Mr. Macelonell on this point. The doctrine of Protectionism, with the limitations with which wo accept it, does not lead logically to the destruction of all trade-be it foreign trade, or homo trade. Our doctrine only sets itself against perpetuating the results of an accident, where those results are in the long run less beneficial than might be obtained but fot the accident. Whaterer the benefits of trade, for inslance, between England and India, I apprehend that it will net be contended by sach writers as Professor Cairnes or Mr. Macdopell, that that trade should, in the interesta of the

[^36]whole world, for ever continue to be exactly on the existing lines-in other words, that India should continue to export the raw material to England and import the manufactured goods from England. If then we ask for Protection only to enable as to alter this state of things, which we say is tho result of an accident, which the gifts of Nature to the two countries do not sanction, which prevents the world from producing as much in the long run as it would if the conditions were reversed-if we ask that, then whatever other criticism our demand may be open to, it certainly is not open to this which we aro now discussing. Whatever the extreme adrocates of Protectionism may be logically bound to accept as the result of their principles, the qualified protection for which alone $I$ am now contending does not logically load to what Profossor Cairnes very justly calls the "intellectual and moral loss which would result from the withdrawal of the principal motive to the intercourso of mankind."*

Extrome cases, Sir Alexander Cockburn once said, are the tests of principlest. And I have, therefore, not been unwilling to consider even the extreme case to which Mr . Macdonell has pressed the principle of Protection. But now I will in my turn put a case-also admittedly a very

[^37]extrome one-to test tho broad principle of Freo Trali. Supposo a small country particularly adnptod to tho production of one article only, which happens for some time to be in very large demand, but does not itself satinfy any of the primary necessities of mankind. According to the broal principle of Free Trade, that country onght not to waste its labour and capital on any other article of production at, all, but ought to be content to receive all it wants from other countries in exchange for the articlo in question. And jet it scems to me to be quite clear, that it wonld be extroncly bad statesmanship, even if it were good Political Economy, to confine the production in such a case to that article. "Tho rhythmical tendency which is traceable in all department.s of social life, which carries the devotees of fashion from one absurd extreme to the opposite one,"' $*$ might at any timo stop the demand for the article; and what then would be the condition of our small country? I have already stated, that I put this as an extreme case, and yet we are not altogether free from a danger somewhat similar to that here indicated. Daring the discassion on the Import Daties on Cotton Goods, Messrs W. Nicol and Co. of this city, addressed a lettert to our local Chamber of Commerce, in which, after premising that it is of vital importance "that each and every outlet for our cotton should be kept open," they go on to say as follows:-"This is the more important at a time when the margin betwern

[^38]American and Surat Cottons in the home markets has to be considered, for this margin appears likely to increase ratherthan diminish in proportion as the Southern States recover from the effects of the Civil War. We know that Lancaslive operatives have before this refused to work E. I. Cotton;. .... and it is always a subject of serious consideration with most English Mill owners as to what proportion of Surats their peoplo will work up as compared with Americans. This is gradually becoming the case, too, over the Continent." Considering, that our exports of raw cotton during the ten years from 1866 to 1875 average about $£ 20,000,000$, and form over a third in value of all the merchandise exported during the same period,* the danger indicated in this letter 4 is not so very unlike the danger in our extreme case.

We now come to the last objection which has been urged against the Protectionist system, namely, that it involves the great evils of State interference with trade and indastry. We are here brought face to face with a question which has been very powerfully debated only a short time ago, by some of the greatest intellects of this century-I mean the question-what are the legitimate functions of government? I conceive, however, that it is not by any means necessary for me on the present occasion to consider the merits of the whole controversf, to which the 'question has given rise, between Mr. Herbert Spencer on the one side, and Professors Huxley

[^39]and Cairnes on the other.* For I think, that even acecpting Mr. Herbert Spencer's viow, which carries tho limitation of governmental functions to the furthest point, the Protectionist case, as wo have stated it, may be sustained. In con-idering Mr. Spencer's viow on this subject, it is particularly necessary to take it in connection with his general philosophy. And one of the pervading principles of that phlosophy in its sociological aspect, is that there is a relation always subsisting between a society and its institutions, which harmonizes them, so to sas, and which makes the uscful institutions of one society not necessarily aseful in another. As Professor Cairnes observes, agreciur in this respect with Mr. Spencer: "Further it way bo conceded that the qualities of mind which characterize tho individuals composing a savage horde or a nomad tribe, must render it impossible that the horde or the tribe shonlJ, in its corporate capacity, exhibit the traits characteristic of a civilized nation; just as it would be equally impossiblo that people who are still in the state of civilization, presented, let us say, by the inhabitants of British India, should by any amount of legislative or political manipulis tion, be made to field the social and political results yielded by the more adranced nations of Western Europe.' $\dagger$

[^40]Or to put it in the words employed by Mr. Spenecr himself, in that "r rigormas picce of argumentative writing"* which constitutes his most recent statement of the view held by him. "It is only when a considerable adrance has been made in that metanorphosis which develops the industrial structures at the expense of the predatory structures, and which brings along with it a substantially independent coordinating agency for the indastrial structures-it is only then that the efficiency of these spontaneous co-operations for all parposes of internal social life, becomes greater than the efficiency of the central governing agency' $\dagger$ It seems, therefore, to bo plain, that apon Mr. Spencer's principles, cren if we leave the criticisms of Professor Haxley and Professor Cairnes out of consideration, the broad doctrine negativing all Covernment interference in trade \&c. cannot bo maintained in its application to this country. Upon the gencral question, I may also add, that in the very elaborate comparisons between governmental action and individual action which we find in sundry passages of $\mathrm{Mr}_{\text {: }}$ Spencer's writings, ho does not appear to have attached due weight to the circumstance which is thus referred to by Professor Husley with his usual felicity. "The state," says he, $\ddagger$ "lives in a glass house; we see what it trics to do, and all its failures, partial or total, are made the most of. But private

[^41]enterprize'is sheltered ander good opaquo bricksand moriar. The public rarely knows what it tries to do, and only hears of failures when they are gross and patent to all the world."

But further. It scems to mo to be pretty obvious from the whole history of our country for the last fow years, that if Mr. Spencer's doctrine, in all its broadth' were to be applied-or rather misapplied-to this country, we should not ouly fail to have the rosults of which Mr. Spencer speaks; we should not only fail to do the things done by. Govornment better than Government does them; we should go without the things altogether. After pointing out that in England, all the knowledge from that possessel by the poor to that of those " who carry on the business of thes country as ministers and legislators," has been "derived from extra-governmental agencies, egoistic or altruistic;" Mr. Spencer procecds to say: "Yet now, strangely enough, the coltured intelligence of the country has taken to sporning its parents ; and that to which it owes both its existence and the conscionsness of its own value is pooh-poohed as though it had done, and could do, nothing of importance."* Well, need it be said, that this is altogether inapplicallo to the circumstances of this country? Need we say, that the history of India daring the past few yeats shows a stato of things exactly the reverse of this? Our canals, and our railways; our model farms, and experiments for improving cotton seeds ; our Contagious Diseases Act, our Vacci-

[^42]nation Act, and our Cotton Frauds Act; our Post Office and our regulations for buggy fares; our Archæological surveys, and our Universities, and Colleges, and Schools in all their various grades; all show the workings of Governmental agency, not only not mischievous, in the majority of c ases, but eveu positively beneficent. Where should we have been, if thrown upon the resources of those "spontaneously developed agencies," whose praises Mr. Spencer is never tired of singing? Those praises are doubtless fully merited; but only when anderstood with the neccssary limitations as regards the conditions of the social environ-ment-limitations, which, as already pointed out, Mr. Spencer himself will probably not repudiate. In the report of the procecdings of the second International Congress of Orientalists, of which a copy is now lying before me, I find Professor Eggeling reported to have spoken as follows: "By appointing General Cunningham and Mr. Burgess archæological burveyors, the Government of India had rendered a very great service to archæological students." And in the discussion which fullowed on Professor Eggeling's paper, Mr. L. Bowring, Dr. Caldwell, Mr. Bargess, and even Sir Walter Elliot-the individual of all others who has done most to help archæological students-all expressed their opinion as to "the atter insufficiency of individual action'* with regard to the preservation and collection of old inscriptions. Similar instances could be easily multiplied, if it were necessary-

[^43]which, I apprehend, it is not-to labour the point ang further. It seems to mu, upon the whole, that Mr. Spencrer's doctrine is not applicable in the circumstances of our country; and having regard to the considerations already suggestcd, I would add, that Mr. Spencer himself would probally agree in this view.*

But apart from the objection basod upon Mr. Spencer's doctrine of specialized administration, there are other considerations urged against Government interference with trade which now require to be discussed. The general question of the limits of the province of Government has, as is well known, been handled with his usual fulness ly Mr. Mill in his Political Economy. And to me, I own, some of the fundamental propositions laid down by him appear to support the view which I have ventured to adopt rather than the reverse. At the very outset, for instance, Mill says, that the quostion of the true sphere of Government agency "does not admit of any universal solution;" $\dagger$ and further on, he qualifies the general proposition, that " $t h_{1}$, great majority of things are worse done by the intervention of Government, than the individual most interested in the matter would do them," by the significant addition-"in all the more advanced communities." $\ddagger$. Now this is the main point in our contention. We say that the example of England is not conclusive in India-that the policy of

[^44]Luissez faire may prove to be as mischierous here as it has proved fruitful of good in England. The question must be answered with reforenco to the facts of our social, political, and economical condition. How again does Mr. Mill treat the question of Government interference in oducation ?* In principle, his arguments in favour of it appear to me to cover the case before us. I do not wish to go through all those arguments. Assuming that the existence of manufactures in a country is desirable-a point to which we slall presently address ourselves-the case of education and of Protection fur manufactures would seem to stand on much the same footing. And we may say, adapting Mr. Mill's language, that "when unless introduced by Government help, manufactures would not be introduced at all, such help has the opposite tendency to that which in sq many other cases makes it objectionable; it is help towards doing without help." $\dagger$ Louk agaiu at the principle on which the State protects those of immature judgment. A nation may be of immature judgment, just the snme as an individual. $\ddagger$ And

[^45]with an' entirely different civilization from our own such as we now stand face to face with; with entirely different modes of work; with the need for kinds of knowledgo rarely, if ever, cultivated amongst us; our natiun is, to all intents and purposes, of immature judgment in the matters, we are considering. Without State protection, without State guidance and aid, we should know but little of the resources of our conntry; knowing those resources we should have no knowledge of the modes of developing them; or having a knowledge both of the resources and of their modes of development, we should still be at a loss for tho means of developing them, without Government encouragement. Once again, Mr. Mill's observations on the 'hours of factory labour,' and still more, his remarks on Mr. Wakefield's systęm of colonization, rest on principles which, I venture to think, are not without application in the question before us. And, therefore, considering all these matiters, we are safe in concluding, that on the goneral principles on which State interference is justifiable, there is nothing to object to in the State encouraging the rise of manufactures in this couztry.

But before leaving this topic, it is desirable to consider an objection urged by Mr. Rogers to the intervention of Government in such a case. "Who," he asks, "shall decile whether a particular industry should be developed in a country by protective regalations? Who shall determine the period at which the protection shall cease ? Is it not manifest that the selection of favoured indastries (of course I
except those which may be conceived as absolutely necessary to the well-being of the country) and the prolongation of the term of protection will be matter of perpetaal intrigue ... ... .?"* I am quite free to admit that there is much force in these questions, considered in the abstract. But they are pointless, I submit, when viewed in the light of our present condition. Where a Government is asked to interfere, and does at times interfere, between debtor and creditor, where it decides what sort of education shall be given to its subjects; where it determines what roads shall be made, and what lines of railway laid down; where, İ say, Government does all these and a legion of other things, surely it may also determine what industry shall be protected, and how long the Protection shall last. "Government managment," says Mill, "is proverbially jobbing." $\dagger$ And I am not prepared to say that our Indian Government is more immaculate in this respect than the ordinary run of Governments. But there need not necessarily be more scope for jobbing in this affair of Protection to manufactures than in the thousand and one other matters with which Government deals. And as in these latter, the possibility of jobs is not held to be an effective argument agsinst Government interference, no more, by parity of reason, should it be such an argument in the case we are considering.

[^46]The position, therefore, which we have alremly then up, is not rendered less tenable by tho apparently formidahlu attack of Mr. Rogers upon it.

We have now finishod the first and most important section of the present discussion. It appenrs to me, that the facts and arguments to which attention has been drawn already, are amply sufficient to justify tho proposition, that in a country circumstanced as ours is, Protection is not the mischievous agency which it may bo in other countries; that where there is reason to believe, that an induatry is naturally not unadapted to the circumstances of a country, but fails to flourish there in consequonce of accidents the effect of which a Protectionist policy may remove, there a Protectionist policy may not only be harmless, lut in the long run positively beneficial. In his Budget Sperch in 1864, Mr. Gladstone said: "Well, according to the old proverb, "give a dog a bad name, and hang him," it is, I confess, somewhat satisfactory to find that, at this time of day, we have nothing to do but toattach to any doctrine the name of protection, in order to demonstrate to any reasonable man that we have fastened upon it the worst and most conclusive condemnatory charge. to which any plan can possibly be open; so mach so indeed, that no man will have the courage to defend a legislative proposal nnder such a stigma."* I need not say that I cannot share in Mr. Gladstone's satisfaction at this state of things. And I trust, that the observations already made have shown,

See Gladstone's Financial Statementa F. 501.
that if I have had the "courage" to defend a "proposal under such a stigtna," such "courage" is not altogether synonymous with rashness. Mr. Gladstonemay be, and-if I may say so without presumption-I think, is right, if his observation is confined to England. But in applying it to this country, we must rocollect what another great anthority of our own day has said on this subject. "I venture," Professor T. E. Cliffe Loslio has said,* "to maintain, to the contrary, that Political Economy is not a body of natural laws in the true sense, or of universal and immutable truths, but an assemblage of speculations and doctrines which are the result of a particular history, coloured even by the history and character of its chiof writers; that, so far from boing of no country, and unclangeablo from age to age, it has varied much in different ages and countries and even with different expositors in the samo age and country." If then even the thoorotical doctrines of Political Economy are not necessarily true of all countries aliki, $\dot{a}$ fortiori, would the practical precepts based upon those doctrines be inapplicable to all countries alike. This truth which, I may add, has also been recognised by $\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{ll}}$, + appcars to me to have been ignored and kept out of sight in the controversy regarding Protectionism in India. It has been said, for instance, and said by very high anthoritlés, that the British Parliament
$\dagger$ Dissertations and Discussions IV. 88. I find that Mr. Mill had in Parhament also given a similar answer to Mr. Lowe to that which Profossor Leslio has given in the Fortnightly Review. See the Indan Economist for October 1371 F. 57, where the auswer" isextracterl.
which has signed the death-warrant of Protection in England could not permit it to exist in its great Dependency. It is abvious, that there is an assumption underlying this argument, which is quite inconsistent with the opinions of Mill and Leslic stated above. That the British Parliament will probably consider the argument conclasive, may, I think, be admitted, having regard to the signs of the times, and to the fact that such a statesman as Mr. Robert Lowe holds a notion about Political Economy the reverse of that of Mill and Professor Leslie. But it does not follow, that the Brilish Parliament is logically bound to accept the argament. There is nothing illogical in its holding Free Trade to be good for England, and not yet good for India. It is a principle of the British Constitution that the people shan not be taxed except by the vote of their representatives in the House of Commons. Of that fundamental principle, we are not allowed the benefit, although we have frequently asked for it, and although the benefit is indisputable. Why should we have another principle of the British Constitation-certainly not so fundamental as this-extended to us, when we ask that it should not bo extended to us, and when the benefits to be derived therefrom are, to say the least of it, problematical? The logical inconsistency does not seem to me to be greater in the one case than in the other; and for this very good reason-in neither case is there a logical inconsistency at all.

And now let us tarn to the other branch of our subject. Having, as I trast, shown that none of the stock objections
to Protectionism are of any force in the circumstances of our country, I shall [roceed to set down some of the poitive argaments, which, I think, may be urged in favour of a system of Protectiomsm in India. Now everybody who has paid any attention to this subject is aware of the ono universal wail for departod industries which may be heard in various parts of this country.* It is well known, that several articles, which in days goae by were exported from India for the use of the rest of the world, are not now produced in India at all, having been supplanted by the products of machinery turned out in Europe and elsewhere. We have, thorefore, the molancholy spectacle of old manufacturing industries either dying out or already dead, and no new ones taking their place. Now this being so, the experience of the past few years has, I thin 4 , shown, that no adrantage in the way of the opening of new industries can be gained, unless somo guidance and aid aro forthcoming for the instruction and support of our capitalists. If then we are to follow what may be called the Laissez faire policy in thas matter; if we are to act on tho theory that trade and industry must be left alone to work out their own progress and evolution; if we are to hold all Government help towards auch progress to be anjustifinble in principle, and mischievous in practice; then reasoning from our experience of the past, the conclusion as regards our future prospects seems to me to be obvious. Our general want of enterpriso,

[^47]our ignorance of the resources of our own country, our iguorance of the modes by which those resnurces are to bo developed-all these will reduce us to the condition of $n$ nation of pure agriculturists, with no mannfactures worth the name to afford "scope," as Professor Cairnes has it, "for wider and more diversified cultivation, such as is furmshed by an industry branching in numerous directions and offering to enterprise a varied field.'"* Is this a dessrable state of things? Is it a state of things which we can contemplate calmly and without alarm? Surcly, in the presence of the dreadful Famine now striding the narrow world of our Presidency, there cannot be two answers to these questions. Surely, when we see how the scantiness of rain in but one season has resulted in the distress of thousands, nay-in spite of official denials, I will add, for I have the most trustworthy private information on the point-has already resulted in several deaths; $\dagger$ sarely, when we see this, we cannot stand stoically serene before a theory, which will turn us over, bonod hand and foot, so to say, to the tender mercies of the seasons. And since we have considered the objection to Protectionism based on the ground that it demoralizes industry, let me ask, is there no source of demoralization in the state of things we are now witnessing Is there nothing demoralizing in

Some Principles de. P. 475 et seq.
$\dagger$ I. wish to guard here against a possible misunderstanding. I think thet, upon the whole, our Government did bravely and well in the matter of the famine. At the same time I also belleve that it fell into some very grave mistakes as regards the supposed contpirnies of Workraen, the "one-pound ration," and so forth.
thousands of people living on the charity either of private individuals or of the State? Is there no danger here of charitable support "beretting the need for support"? On the other hand, should any heartless theorist succeed in con rincing people of this demoralizing tendency of charity, and thus dry up that refreshing fountain, will there be nothing demoralizing in that condition of things, where man sees his brother man in distress, nay on the brink of eternitybut enslaved by a theory, will not, though he can, hold out a holping haud? See then the position in which we stand. Abandoning Protectionism, because it is demoralzzing, and falling back, then, as in our circumstances we must, on agriculture, we get periodical famines. Then if. we let the stream of charity flow, it is demoralizing. If we do not let it flow, it is demoralizing all the same.

> What boots it at one gate to make defence, And at another to let in the foc?"

But legitimate as, in my opinion, this argument is, we are not left to rely upon it alone. Eren if we had not, as most unfortunately we have, to count on the periodical recurrence of famines,* it would still be true, that for our nation to be purely agricaltaral is not a desirable state of things. Among writers who have discussed the theory of this subject, Mr. Mill, in a Wellknown paseage of his work on Political Economy, has said: "They"-meaning the American Protectionists-"believe that a nation all engaged in the same or nearly the same pursuit-a nation all agri-
cullural-cannot attain a high state of civilization and cultare. And for this there is a great foundation of roasr, $n$." ${ }^{*}$ Profossor Cairnes, + too, in the sequel of the passage which I have quoted in the last panagetph, about offering a varied field to entcrprise, observes: "I cannot deny that thero is a certain basis of truth in the considerations just stated; and that circumatances may even bo imagived in which they would possess real cogency." The sams tertimony can le olotaned from the mouths of practical men, and it is particularly valuable, being given with special referenco to this country. In the course of the discussion at our Chambor of Commerce on the Import Daties on Cotton Goods, Mr. Kittredge said: "Agricultural countries are proverbially poor countries, and India is no exception to the rule. Whils she has to depend, as has been the case until very lately, Wholly upon agricalture, she will remain poor.' $\ddagger$ And to the same effect are the opinions of Mr. R. H. Elliott and Lieutenant Colonel Tyrrell.§ We shall presently seo somo of the economical grounds on which these opinions rest. Bat in passing I wish to draw attention here to the higher ground to which both Mill and Cairnes allade-namely, that a purely agricaltural people cannot be a highly civilized people. It was with reference to this ground mainly, that at tha

[^48]leginnng of this essay, I thought it desirable to point out the necessary limitations with which economical generaliz3tions must be receired, when they come to be appliad to practice. That ground will be admitted to be a rery strong one-yet Poiitical Esonomy proper, I apprehend, dues not tako it into culculation. Bat further. It is now a very well-rtcognised trath, that to raise produce by agriculture in any country is to take so much out of its soil, and that unless something is giren back to the land in return for what is thus abstracted from it, the process of agriculture cannot be everlastingly fruitful. Some of you will probaLlj recollect the comparison made by Professor Haxley* between what he calls the "matter of hfe" and the "magical will ass' skin" of ono of Balzac's stories. Well, land may be compared to this " matter of life," in as mach as erery ase made of both implies "expenditure which cannot go on for ever," thourfh both have the "capacity of being repaired." Now it is pretty well known, that in our country, this "capacity of being repaired" is not mach exercised. That is not merely the result of my owninquiries, but inthe general Adrninistration Report for 1874-75, the Gorernment of Bombsy have thus acknowledged the fact: $\dagger$ "Land is orercropped, and too little, nourishment returned to the soil; and though this deteriorating influence has been in operation for centuries, yet high prices through a series of years have stimalated the desire tosecure large crops with-

[^49]out sufficiently altering the custom in respect to the preparation of menure." Now, it is obvious, that the mischef resulting from this exhaustion of soils is greater where the produce of a ${ }_{j}$ riculture is, tơa great extent, exported, sud only a comparatively small quantity used in the country itself.* And according even to Mr. J. E. T. Hogers, "a Government may with propriets check the too rapid exhaustion of a limited quantity of any commodity, when that commodity is not only valuable, but is a condition to the economical prosperity of a country." $\dagger$ The conclasion from these premises need not be stated.

Again, it is not an unfamiliar fact, that for at least threa months of the year, the agricultural population of the Mofussil of this Presidency is to a great extent unemployed. Such of the people as can do so, endeavour to engare in some other work, either, as I am told, doing business as drivers of hack bullock carts or in some other way in the districts, or, as pointed out by Dr. Hewlett in his, Census Report, coming down to Bombuy for such emplojment as they can get. Dr. Hewlett $\ddagger$ says, that there is a large influx of such men into Bombay from the villages in the Deccan, from Katch, Kathiawar, Culaba, Ratuagiri,

[^50]Milvan, Goa, and down the const-whech is a pretty large ares. It is ersy, tharefore, to see, that remaining a merely agricultural poople, we should be economically not so well-off as our capacities would fairly entitle one to expect. A not inconsiderable portion of the time of the ryot population will be spent in doing no workor to use the language of Political Economy, a large number of the ryots will, for at least two or three months of the year, be altogether unproductive labourers. Besides, as pornted out by Mr. Syme in the article which we have already frequently referred to, "the whole population of a country can never be fully employed, unless there be a diversity of occupations suitable to the young, the old, the weak and infirm of both sexes."* And even in our present condition, with so few manufactures worth the name, a portion of the rural population, as stated in the Report of the Deccan Riots Commissioners, is also emploged in trades and occupations other than agriculture. $\dagger$ It is, therefore, quite plain, that even from the purely economical point of view, even confining our altention to the means of increasing the aggregate production of the country, it is not desirable to permit our industry ta be confined to agriculture.

There is another point notunworthy of note. So long as our system of Land Revenue Settlement continuesto be what it is; so long as there exists a danger of a share of the profits
*Fortnightly Review. April 1870. P. 4j1. And compare also Carey's Social Science Vol III. P. $\mathbf{\Omega}$.
$\dagger$ See P. I4 of the Report.
derived from unprovements on the soll being pusumel upon on behalf of the State;* there is not, I think, mach chance of largo capitals being emploged in agricultural improvements. I do not wish now to enter into any controversy regarding the pulicy of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue, either on the model of the Bengrl Settlement or any other. $\dagger$ But this I will say, that while wo hear of the vagaries of the Survey and Settlement Depurtment with such frequency as we do, it is imposibiblo to fold our hands in content, and rest ander the self-csmplacent belief that we are living under the beat Lan 1 Revenue System that can be alopted. If this is so, it seems to me quite impossible to contend, that it will bs an economical benefit to tho coantry to derote its labonr to the extension and improvement of agricultare alone. Labour will not be so devoted; and much capital will rumain absolutely without employment.

Once again. Let us look at the matter from another point of view. Mr. Wakefield's theory of colonization, which, according to Mill, "has excited much attention and is destined to excite much more," $\ddagger$ is based npon the truth that "-

[^51]country will seldom have a productive agriculture, unless it has a large town population, or the only available substitute, a large export trade in agricultural produce to supply a population elsewhere."* Now considering that our Railway sytem may be said to be almost in its infancy; considering that the convegance charges are still rather high; and that raw produce, as a rule, can illbear these additional charges; the "substitute," which Mr. Mill speaks of in the passage now quoted, must be regarded as particularly inadequate in this country. And it is quite clear, that if we could secure in India "a larger manufacturing population"-a contingency which Mr. Mill himself hints at $\dagger$-the results would be vastly more beneficial to the country. It is unnecessary to specify the modes of working of Mr. Wakefield's plan of colonization. Its merits are pretty well understood. But the application of the truth underlying that plan to the circumstances of our conntry shows the desirability, even from an economical point of view, of introdacing manafactures into it. In the sequel of the passage from which we have already quoted, Mr. Mill himself points out some of the conclasions to which the application of that principle leads. The passage is one, which has not attracted any attention in connexion with the prebent controversy-at any rate, I do not recollect any reference having been made to it. I shall, therefore, make no apology for excerpting rather liberally from it. Mr. Mill opens with the observation, that

[^52]"it is, above all, the deticiency of town population whele limits the productiveness of the industry of a country like India." And after pointing out that the agricultare is "conducted entirely on the sjstem of small holdings," but that nevertheless there is a "considerable amount of comb: nation of labour," and at times Government help also, ho goes on to say: "The implements and processes of agnculture are however so wretched, that the produce of the soil, in spite of great natural fertility and a climate highly favourable to vegetation, is miserably small, and the land might be made to yield food in abundance for many more than the present number of inhabitants, without departing from the system of small holdings. But to this the stimulus is wanting which a large town population connected with the rural districts by easy and unexpensive means of courmunication, would afford." So far, it appears to me, that the argument points to the establishment of varions manu facturing centres, so to say, in our rural districts. But Mr. Mill proceeds to say, that "the town population does not grow, because the few wants and unaspiring spirit of tho cultivators prevent them from attempting to become consumers of town produce." And he, therefore looks to the extension of our exports of agricaltural produce for the development of our resources. This is, no doubt, in some measure, correct. But on the ether hand, there is now some demand for town produce even in the rural districts. The establishment of manufactures to supply the wants at present satisfied by the imports from Europe and elsewhere
will afford the stimulus which Mr. Mill speaks of, more effectively and more extensively, than the mere extension of our export trade.* And the "more extended wants and desires" which will result from this, will lead to a demand for other sommodities for which again other factories may be established. And so the various actions and reactions in the andustrial organism may lead to experiments guided by correct information, till we shall have seen for what particular manufactures our country has special capacities. Such inanufactures as may be found, by experiments or by anticipation from known facts, to be not adapted to the circumstances of the country may with adrantage be abandoned. Such as may appear to be suitable, ought to be fostered by temporary Protection, sacrificing a little present good for greater, good in the future. And then, but not till then, will our industrial organization assume its normal state-assume that state for which, if I may aay so, Nature has designed it.

In such a case as ours, Protectionism falls within the principle of the one exception recognised by Adam Smith to the general doctrine of Freedom of Trade. That exception occurs, it is well known, when, as Adam Smith himself expresses it, " some particular sort of industry is necessary for the defence of the country." $\dagger$ True it is, that the particular case, which Dr.' Smith had in his mind in stating this exception, was the case of the military defence of a

[^53]country; and he applied tho exception in favoar of tho English Navigation Laws. But the military defence of a country is nct an end in and for itself-it is valuable only an a means to the end, which in the safety and progress and civiluzation of the country. And therefore, if uron consideration we should find anything to be necessary for tho true progress and improtement of a country, that ought as much to come under Adam Smith's exception as the maintenance of a powerful and extensive fleet. In strict logic, there appears to me to bo but little difference between the two cases. Now we have shown, that manufactares aro necessary to enable us to make any great progress in the arts of modern civilization. We have shown that without manufactures our industrial condition must be regarded as abnormal. We have shown that, with agriculture alone, even our economical condition must needs be less prosperous and satisfactory than it is in ourpower to make it. It, therefore, follows, that Protection to mannfacture in India stands on at least as sound a footing in theory as the Narigration Laws did in England.

But then, says Mr. Macdonell in his Sarvey of Political Economy, "every country possesses a natural protection for its mamfactures in the cost of freight, and the natural preference of countrymen, it may be friends, to foreigners; home industries have petents, so to speak; and if this natural protection does not suffice to create manofactures, it may be assumed that they are not wanted."* I

[^54]venture to think that this is not by any means a satisfactory argument. This "natural protection," this "patent," is undoubtedly a real force; but it is not the only force to be estimated. You have to take into account, per contra, all the circumstances noted before-want of enterprise, ignorance, and to borrow the words of Mill, "the present superiority" of the rival "in acquired skill and experieuce" due to his "haring begun sooner."* These are not trifles, even taken singly; taken all together, they constitute a verg heary dead-weight indeed. Bat further, the argument that since the "natural protection" does not create the manufacture, ergo such manufacture is not wanted, appears to me a non sequitur. It is difficult to see how the conclusion follows from the premises. A far truer view of the matter, as it appears to me, is contained in the closing sentences of the Chapter from which I have quoted., Speak, ing of the English Economists, Mr. Macdonell there says: "They simply tell us that Protectionism is expensive to a nation. That is but part of the question. It still remains to be determined whether Protectionism may not occasionally be of service in apprenticing a nation, so to speak, to some industry, at first uncongenial, but subsequently proving saitable to it; whether it is always safe to trust to foreigners for a apply of commodities that may be of vital. consequence in war; whether a mixture of city life the concomitant of manufactures may not be so precions as to counterbalance some present loss; whether the collapse of a

[^55]large class or intorent living by a precarious home industry is always outwetghel by cheapness, somotimes distributed in imperceptible portions to consumers; and lastly whether the decline in proluction, due to an adoption of protection, may not sometimes be followad by a better system of diatribution? If I may be permitted to give an opinion on these questions, I should say that all Earopean conntries, and the United States, have outgrown the necessities of Protectronism.'’* This passage, as I hare said, appears to mo to be far more correct in principle than the previous onc. And the last sentence especially bears out the proposition, which I have already contended for with the help of Mr. Mill and Professor Cliffe Leslie, that a good, economical rule in one country is not necessarily a good rule all the world over.

It thus appears, that the consequences of India entirely ceasing to have any manufactures worth the name, are not particularly pleasant to contemplate. It follows, therefore, that an attempt should be made to introdnce some manufacturing industries into the country; and if they cannot be secured, as they have not been hitherto secured, without Protectionism, to Pratectionism we must resort. There is, however, another argument of some value bearing upon this part of the subject. It was pointed out by Mr. Dickinson, in the course of the discussion on Mr. Elliott's paper on "Our Indian Difficulties," read before the East India Association, that " such things as Madras sheetings and Dacca Muslins were wellknown articles of commerce, and the way in which

[^56]those industries were destroyed was by a most cruel system of protective duties in the English manufacturer's interest. By means of duties at the ports, and duties in transit, the native manufactures were utterly crushed out."* And Mr. Montgomery Martin has written more specifically upon this topic to the same effect $\dagger$ "For many years," he says, "great commercial injustice was done by England to British Inlia. High, indeed prohibitory, daties were laid on its sugar, rum, coffee \&o. to favour similar products grownin the West Indies; still worse, we compelled the Hindus to receive cotton and other manufactures from England at nearly nominal duties (two and a half per cent), while, at the very same time, fifty percent were demanded here on any attempt to introduce the cotton goods of India. The same principle was adopted in silk and other articles; the result was the destraction of the finer class of cotton, silk, and other manufactures, without adopting the plan of Strafford in Ireland during the reign of Charles F-namely, the founding of the linen trade as a substitute for that of woollen, which was extinguished in order to appease the English handloom weavers." Mr. Martin then sets out the Resolutions which he succeeded in getting the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company to adopt, and says finally that "the late Sir R!'Peel admitted the injustice, and adopted measures for its redress." We see, therefore, that the agency employed to destroy oun indigenous manufac-

[^57]tures was this very Protectionism. And when we ask that the same instrament which was used as a aword against us should now be used as a shield for as, we are met with the reply-Oh, it belongs to an antiquated arsenal, the English Government has long thrown it aside, and it cannot be ased now. I deny, that in extending Protection to any native manufactures, the British Government would be doing any injustice to the manufactares of England. But even if, Mr. Raynsford Jackson were right in contending, as he seems to do, that it would be an injustice,* I venture to submit, that the injustice would only operate by way of compensation, as it were, to those to whom injastice had been done before in the interests of the very persons who are now complaining. But further, not only have Indian manufactares been crushed out by Protectionism being worked against them, but English manufactures have been in their infancy fostered by Protection being employed in their favour. We shall state the facts in the words used by Mr. Gladstone in his Financial Btate. ment of 1864. He said: "But what is really the case of the papermakers? Is not their trial the same, to which, one after another, almost every branch of British industry has been sabjected? They grew up ander the inflaence of pratection. Protection, in a greater or less degree, unnerv. ed their energies. They adopted, and were content to depend upon; imperfect and wastefal methods of mannfactare, and when the legal protection, which had thas beguiled them

[^58]into security, was by Act of Parliament withdrawn, considerable suffering ensued. That suffering gradually threw them back upon the exercise of their own invention and skill. The restorative process next commenced; and after a short interval, every one of those branehes of industry, I believe with scarcely more than a single exception, has become more healthy, more vigorous, and more profitable than before."* Wo thus find, that "almost every branch of British industry' actually grew up under the influence of Protection. And under these circumstances, it seems tò me to be pretty obvious, that the demand for a free fight and no favour, which Mr. Raynsford Jackson makes on behalf of Lancashire, is not in reality so reasonable as it seems. On the terms which Mr. Jackson proposes, the combatants must be very unequally matched.

There is one other point on this branch of the subject, which I shall dwell upon-but only briefly, as it relates at present only to the cotton manufacture. It has boen $\dot{a}$ subject of frequent remark, that adulteration of cotton goods is extensively carried on in England. Messrs. W. Nicol and Co., in their letter to our Chamber of Commerce already referred to, state that "adulteration of cloth has become a science now-a-days in England;" and their statemont is amply corroborated. $\dagger$ What now is the mode in

[^59]which this so-called Free Trado policy wall work? The duties being repealed, the local mill-ownors lose so much out of their profits. Tho result will probably be, that somo at least of the capital engagod in the local industry will be withdrawn from it. Tho Manchester manufarturer then has nearly the whole field to himself. The adulteration may increase; and yet the poor consumer, in whose interests, forsooth, the duties were repcaled, must buy those adulterated goods. Any attompt to set up a rival can, of course, be easily put down by those already engaged in tho trade.* Soe, then, the result. The local consumer is entrely at the mercy of the foreign producer. Either he must go without cloth-an alternative which nood not bo considered-or he must take adulterated cloth. In such a case, it is evident, Free Trade becomes synonymons with restriction in favour of Manchester. Competition mean 3 the monqpoly of the parties in possession. $\dagger$

The net result of all our investigation appears to mo to be this. The objections ordinarily urged against a eystem of Protection to native industry, whatever thoir applicability in countries more advanced in modern civilization, are void of force. in the circumstances of this country. Looking only at the economic aspocts of the question, it appears, that not merely is Protection to native manufactures

[^60]unobjectionable, it is eren dosirable, in the circumstances of our country. And this position is further strengthened by the conclusions to lederived from a study of the question from a higher point of view, so as to comprehend considerations about the general progress of the country. The arguments by which this position has been here supported, also indicate the limits within which that position is tenable. For they show, that if there are some manufactures to which the country is adapted by reason of its natural possessions and capacities, such manufactures only (saving very exceptional casos) should be protected and holped to come into existence. And they show also, that the Protection should be continued only for such a reasonable period as to afford what may, in the case of each individual industry, be a fair and sufficient period of trial. Within the limits and under the conditions thus specified, the theory of Protectionism, I venture to think, is not wrong, is not inconsistent with the true principles of Political Esonomy when corroctly interpreted and properly applied. "The system of Protection," Professor Cairnes has said, "naturally grew ont of the system of the Balance of Trade. They were not indeed so much distinct systems as different aspects of the same system."* This would be an incorrect observation as applied to the doctrino of Prptection here adrocated. That doctrine is not based at one sidgle point on the theory, that the precious metals are the only wealth, and that the ultimn

[^61]thule of all policy is the acquisition of those metale. It rests on other data and ondifferent reasonings.
"The aggregate wealth of a country," I'rofessor Cliffo Leslie observes, "depends, of course, on the degreu of development of all its resources; the development of all the capacitics for production and commerco of all its localitens and all its inh2bitants. Bat to secure the dovelopment of all theso resources or natural forces, one indspensable condition is perfect liberty in every locality, for ceery trade, every company, every individual, and every enterprise; to allow every effort, individual or co-operative, to be made, every experiment tried, every improvement attonpted. ...... . The wealth of countries is in proportion, not to their natural resources, but to the liberty for their use."* Now I do not know, whether the application which I am going to give to this trath is one of which Professor Leslis himself would approve; but it certainly does seom to me, that in cases like ours, the liberty, on which Professor Lacshe lays such stress, is not to be attained under the dominion of free and opon competition. It is a mockery and $n$ delusion to speak of liberty, when the native endeavouring to develop the resources of his country, can be underand and commercially ruined by the unlimited competition of the foreigner. You may just as well speak of the prisoner, surrounded by a deep and wide moat which he cannot crose over, as enjoying liberty, because, forsooth, he has mofetcrs on his person. We must havea more real liberty than unlimit-

[^62]ed competition can give us. And we must also be artificially nourished and protected, till we are able to stand with our own strength; and then throw the doors open for the bracing air of Free Trade.
"We boast our light," says Milton in his splendid Speech on the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," we boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the sun itself, it smites us into darkness......The light which we have gained was given us, net to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge." The light of Free Trade, I say similarly, which we have obtained, is not given us " to be ever staring on." We must "look wisely' on it. We mast not treat it as showing all that is to be learnt regarding national progress. And we must also recollect that what is true of one country is not necessarily true of another country. Professor Lèslie says: "The lesson which investigation of facts impresses more and more on one's mind is distrust of economic generalizations; still they are of incalculable utility if we are careful, both as far as possible, to cover under them only the proper particulars, and also to use them as guides to, instead of as concluding, inquiry."* In the spirit of this weighty observation, we have declined to treat the cry against Protection as altogether reasonable; we have declined to use it "as concluding inquiry." But using the principle underlying it as a "guide," we have endeavoured to show, that the actual facts and circumstances which meet us in

[^63]this country are not "proper particulars" to bs "corered under' that principle. We have shown, that in India, Protection will not lead to the evils which it has led to in other conutries. We haren shewn, that here it will nut foreclose-as it does elsewhere-any benefitd likely to accrue to us bat for its operation. Furthermore, we have shown reasons for holding that it will prove full of positive benefit to us. And therefore, upon the whole, we maintain, that both on the true principles of economic ecience, and on principles higher than any which economic scienco has to deal with, the system of Protectionism is ono which ought to receive a fair trial in India.


Note.-The figures at the foot of P. 21 I find to be incorrect. Unluckily I did not discover that they were so in time to rectify them or the remarks basd on them on the following pages. The correct figares are given in the following Table prepared from the Statestical Abstract relating to India No. X. (P. 37 et seq.) :-

|  | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Imports | 21,821,424 £ | 3,688,248 2. | 20,153,917 ¢ |
|  | 21,325,600 £. | 4,069,535 $£$. | 22,849,269 f . |
|  | 19,496,082 £. | 4,046,505 $\mathbf{L}$ | 21,614,164 f . |
|  | 18,588,706 £. | 3,982,834 £. | 14,677,838 $\mathrm{f}_{\text {: }}$ |
| Exports$1868-71$ | 20,206,464 $£$. | 4,311,555 $£$. | 25,000,011 $£$. |
|  | 21.266,324 £. | 6,114,041 $£$ | 23,123,611 |
|  | 20,971,121 £. | 6,072,376 $£$. | 23,730,549 ${ }^{\text {e }}$. |
|  | 23,240,609 £. | 5,150,726 £. | 25,1/2,5*4 |

## BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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 Professor Weber. (Atmaram Sagoon \& Co.) Price Twolve Annas."The current numbers of the Nativa Opinion of Bombay contain a very able and dignified review of the Essay by Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang This writer endeavours to refute Professor Weber's arguments one by one, showing no ordnary acquantance with Sanskrit Literature and the writings of European Scholars." -Acadeny, February 1872.
"Professor Weber's Essay on the Ramayana which has been already ably reviewed by Mr. K. T. Telang."-Prof. Eggeling in Academy, March 1872.
"In Nutive Opinion, Mr. Kashinath's paper has boen published, and though we cannot euter into the merits of the question, we must say that he bas displayed consterable abfily and great critical power in the course of the argument he has conducted."-Tunes of India, 9th January 1873.
"This is a well written essay upon a quostion which has attracted much attention of late and drawn forth much elaborate criticism. The Essay under notice will be found a very useful disquasition on the pount at isbue."-Calcutta Review, July 1873.
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Srati, Sarriti, and Puranas, and the works of Európean Sululars have furnished him with argaments to refute Dr. Loriasor'a thoory and potablish his own."-Native Opinion, June 1876.
"To Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang of Bombay we owe at ranalation of the Bhagavadgitainto English Blank Verse, In ahighly intereating Introduction, the translator endospone to show that this work dow nots owe its origin, ain has been gonorilly aseamed, to a poriod considerably later than the rise of Buddhism."-Report of the Rinyal Aviatic Society, 1875-76.
"A translation of the Bhagavadgits into Eaglish Blank Nerse by anative of India is atrange combination. The translator is. Mr, K. T. Telang, M.A., LL.Bn, sometime Fellow of Elphinstone Collegen now Adrocste: at the High Courto Bombay. The translation is carefally made and follows obiefly the interpretation of native commentators. Still more important, however, than the translation, is an Iattodnctory Easay in which the originality and andiquity of the Bhagavaigita are ripdicated against European sceptics. This Essay reflects high credit on the knowledge and acamen of the writer, though he eeems occasionally to bare min. apprehonded the line of argament adopted by the European Scholara he criticizes."-Academy, February 1878.

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AN ESSAT

ON

# THE POSITION OF THE VERNACULARS 

IN

## OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:

(IN TWO P.ARTs.)

BI

VAMAN ABAJI MODAK, B.A.,<br>principal of the elphinstone hige school.



逢ombay:


## NOTICE.

Tae following paper was read in two instalments before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in March 1887. A desire was expressed at the time by somo friends that, if possible, the paper should receive a wiler circulation to enable the public to form an opinion on the subject. The views therein expressed with reference to the position of the Vernaculars in the Bombay Educational system have received a further support latterly from a movement in Calcutta with a view to sccure the admission of the Vernaculars into the curriculum of the Calcutta University. The Unirersities of Madras and the Panjab have from the begianing assigned to the Vernaculars an important position in their academical courses, and the writer of the paper trusts that the Bombay University will not be behindhand in giving the Vernaculars their proper place in our higher Educational system as an important means of promoting the growth of an indigenous national literature.

## The Position of the Vernaculars in our Educational System.

## PARTI. <br> HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

Mr. Chatrman and Gertlemen, -
When I had the honour of addressing you on this subject in April last, I dwelt chiefly on the general aspects of the question as regards the present state and the future destiny of our vernacular languages. I showed how their exclusion from the University curriculum, and, as a necessary consequence, their omission even from the course of secondary education gradually, led to their utter neglect by the enlightened and educated classes, whether for purposes of literary composition or even for the purpose of ordinary conversation and correspondence. I also showed that not only had a scholarly study of these languages and their literatures been altogether lost sight of, but that almost all the current literature, whether of a temporary or more permanent character, had passed into the hands of men whose minds were not imbued with the spirit of European learning; and that, in consequence, it was fast degenerating into an expression of crude notions and degenerate ideas with reference to the varied interests of man, viewed individually or collectivels. I further showed how these ill-formed, ill-digested, and often mischievous ideas were vitiating popular modes of speech and thought, feeling and action. And lastly I pointed out how superficial, in consequence, the education was, which was entirely conducted in an extremely unfamiliar and foreign language, and how, owing to the want of a proper channel of
communcation whinch the cultivation of the vernaculats alone could afford, the edncated fow were isolated from the uneducated masses, in thear thoughts and feelings, aims and aspirations. Having thus pointed out the eyil, I also sugrested some remedies chiefly in the direction of the adoption by the University of the vernacular languages as subjects of study, and their introduction into schools and colleges, as well as the formation of special associations and patriotic national gatherings like those of the Grecks, for the purpose of encouraying vernacular literature by the award of honorary prizes aud distinctions.

The sentiments expressed by me in that paper met with more or less hearty approval from nearly the whole of the native press in this presidency. Many of the writers in these papers have since urged me to carry the matter at once to the University; but I felt it necessary to study the quertion further before I formally took steps in the matter in iny capacity as a member of the University. It was necessary to trace the history of the struggle of languages from the beginning, and to view its present position in the light of experience gained here and abroad. As a result of this tudy I crave your indulgence for a little while to place before you the following remarks.

As regards the history of the question I shall begin with the famous despatch of the Honourable the Court of Directors of 1854 , in which they sanctioned the establishment of the Universities and the organization of the Department of Education in the different provinces of this country. Framed under the instructions of that sagacious statesman, lord Halifax, and drawn up, if report speaks truly, by the eminent philosopher John Stuart Mill, it breathes the mu-i farsighted and liberal sentiments in the matter of the educstional policy to be thenceforth adopted for the enlightenmeft of the people of India; and as such it has been worthily called
the Educational Charter of this country. In that Despatch the IIonourable Court of Directors have mentioned clearly the main object they had in view, and laid down the principles on which the educational system should be worked with a view to attain that object. In paragraph 88 of the Despatch they state the main object of education in India to be "the geneial diffusion of European knowledge"; and in order to attain that object they requre that the institutions affiliated to the University, natiely, the Anglo-Vernacular and Oriental Colleges, should provide for "a careful cultivation of the English and Vernacular languages, so as to render the studies of each most available for the purpose." In paragraph 32 they state that "it would greatly encourage the cultivation of the Vernacular languages of India, if ' professorships were founded tor those languages; and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian." Here, I would remark in passing, it is cvident that the Court of Directors regarded the cultivation of the Vernaculars as of primary importance; whereas the study of the classical languages of India to be altogether of secondary consequence. Who would have believed then that, in less than ten years from the date of the despatch, not only would the relative position of these two sets of languages be entirely changed, but that the study of the vernaculars, which was emphatically insisted upon in the despatch to be so essential in the system of higher education, would be entirely excluded from the same, to make room for studies which were then considered unessential and of secondary importance altogether !

Speaking of the medium of instruction to be adopted in the educational institutions they state in paragraph 13 that it is neither their "aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country;" that they " have always becu most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of
the population;" that "in any general system of educatur, the study of the vernaculars should be assiduously attemdil to;" and that "any acquantance with improved Lurupan knowledge, which is to be coumunicated to the great ma-; of the people, can only be conveyed to them throurh one or wher of these vernacular languages." In para. 14 they finther add in this comeston that "as the mportance of the Vomarnlar languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular hitemature of Inda will be gradually enmelied by trambations of European books or by the original compositions of mon whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may hadually be placed in this manner withn the reach of all classes of the pople; and that therefore they look to the English lair cuige and the vernacular languages of India-together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledre."

It is clear fromthe passage quoted above that the Honourable the Court of Drectors, in their Despatch of 1,34 , aim at the general diffusion of European knowledge in the country chicfly through the medium of the vernacular dialects, and duect that all other branches of instruction, meluding not only the study of the classical languages, but even that of the English language, to be subordinated and made subservient to the main object.

The establishment of the Universities and the organizatorin of independent Educational Departments under the instruction: conveyed in that Despatch, was immediately followed by as: important political revolution in the country; and the cwents n: 1857-58 led to a transfer of the chief administrative anthority from the Court of Directors to the Secretary of State. The change of spirit which was, in consequence, introducedin the administration, was no less felt by the educational'srutem than by the other departments of Government. The sound principlez which were laid down by the Court of Directors in their

Educational Despatch for the guiance of the Indian Government, were soon forgotten; and the Bembay University, though professedly modelled on the London University, with a view tc avord the defects of theolder Universities of the United Kıngdom, was soon destined to be diverted into the groove of the Oxford University system under the predominant influence of the late Mr. Howard and Sir Alexander Grant, to both of whom the Educational Department, is otherwise under no small obligation, for the rareability and vigour with which its affairs were administered during the first 15 years of its existence. It was mainly owing to the influence, however, of the former as Director of Public Instruction, and of the latter as ViceChancellor of the University, that the Vernaculars were ousted from our University in favour of the classical languages. Of course the inovement in favour of the classics proceeded from the most laudable object, namely, to revive the interest of the literary classes in the study of the ancient and learned languages of their country; but in bringing about this change the great importance of the Vernaculars as the sole medium of diffusing culture among the masses was, in my humble opuion, entirelf iost sight of. With these preliminary observations, I shall briefly indicate the different steps by which this change wal brought about.

Previous to the establishment of the Universities the Vernaculars had a recognized place both in the school and college curriculum. Although the literature of those languages was not studied as such, still they" formed to a great extent the medium of instruction in the school course, and were acquired for purposes of translation and original composition in the college examinations, as is the case with the modern European languages in England and on the Continent of Europe. When the Universities came into existence, it was necessary to prescribe regular books in each language; and as there were no prose brooks then in the Vernaculars of ans real hterary merit,
such educational works of an elementary character as the Balamitra and others, as were available, were prescribed for the purposes of the cxaminations. This furnished an opportumty to the advocates of classical languages to stand up for the mtroduction of thear favwurite subject into the cuiriculum of the Univesisty.

At a meeting of the Syndicate held on Noveniber $29 \mathrm{th}, 1 \mathrm{~s} 62$, Sir Alexander Grant moved "that in all languare examinations after Matriculation the University should recognize the classical languages alone." This motion was subsequently adopted at an adjourned meeting of the Syndicatt, when, including the mover, only four members were present, one of the members, namely Dr. Wilson, dissenting; and the resolution to that effect was brought forward for discussion at the annual meeting of the Senate on December 13 of the same year. Dr. Wilson submitted in writing certain reasons for his dissent, which I shall give in substance with such remarks as they suggest.

His first reason was that the study of two classical lancuages (English being considered as such) was likely to prove ' $a$ a distraction from the pursuit of those literary, nioral, and scientific studies, on which the progress of civilization in India is greatly dependent, and which so greatly conduce to the advancement of the general objests of human life, and of those special preparations which are necessary in the case of the learned professions."

With reference to this it is necessary to bear in mind liat the English language is quite as much a classic to Indan students as any of the dead languages, at least so far as its literature is concerned; while as regards difficulty, its idiom and vocabulary is far more difficult for Indians to master than any of their own classics. Dr. Wilson, therefore, was quite right in insisting on this point, and in subiniting that a classical language together with English was likely to
prove a distraction from other important pursuits, such as History and Political Economy, Logic, and Moral Philosophy, and the Natual and Physiological Scienees, which are so esscutial to a complete scheme of liberal education. I nced not remind my hearers that these subjects, in their higher aspects, have been, sunce the introduction of the classics, relegated to the list of optional subjects for the second B. A. examrnation; whereas before the change took place several of them weie included in the ondinary curriculum of the colleges. And it could not be otherwise, as English and the classical language between them take up more than half the time avalable for lecturing at college. Dr. Wilson veiy pioperly maintained that the subjects abovementioned were such as to greatly conduce to the advancement of the general objects of human life.

He next submitted that the study of the Indian classical languages was not equally necessary to all classes of University students, and that the different classes of people stood in an unequal relationship to the classical languages; white they all had an equal interest in the adrancement of the vernaculars. What Dr. Wilson meant was that the Canarese students, for instance, would find Sanskrit more difficult to master than Deccan or Gujarath students, whereas students belonging to other classes than the Brahwins would be at even far greater disadvantage.

He further urged that "the culture by University" study of the Vernacular languages of India ought to be a primary object of concern with our Indian Universities. The reason of this is evident; for it is by such culture alone that the vernaculars can be developed and fitted for the diffusion of European knowledge amongst the great masses of the people, which, as has been previously shown, was the sole object of the Court of Directors in establishing the present system of higher education.

Lastly, Dr. Wilson urged that "the vernacular languagen of India did really afford a scope for the lingual excrcise, so desirable in a University, and for philological and grammatical investigation and training." Now Dr. Wilson was unquestionably qualified by a considerable acquaintance with the Indian Vernaculars to form such an opinion; and any one who takes an impartial view of the subject, cannot deny the validity of his judgment. For the literature of the Vernaculars, comparatively limited though it be, distinctly marks an epoch in their development by fixing their grammatical structure, and by largely increasing their vocabulary. This literature forms a link, from a lingustic point of view, between the literature of the Prakrit languages and the modern prose-style that has been forming since the introduction of the Western method of instruction in this country.

After Dr. Wilson had submitted his reasons in writing, Sir Alexander Grant, proposing the adoption of the resolution of the Syndicate, put in a pamphlet, written by himself, printed by the Syndicate, and circulated among the members of the Senate. I shall here give his arguments in the same way as I gave those of Dr. Wilson, accompanied by such remarks as they seem to call for.

Sir Alexander Grant commenced by stating that his proposal was not a reyolutionary one, inasmuch as it only extended the restriction in favour of the classical languages from the M. A. to the B. A. and the Little-go. Now, I humbly submit, if this is not a revolutionary change, 1 do not-know what is. For clearly it is one thing to require a knowledge of the classics for the M. A. degree, which is not compulsory on students who seek professional edocation after their graduation, or who wịh to enter the public services, and who, therefore, could get a considerable amount of general education without a classic; while it is quite a different thing
to make liberal education in all its stages entirely dependent upon the acquisition of a classical language.

Sir Alexander Grant next urged that the text-books in prose in Marathi and Gujarathi were not models of style and wisdom, nor works of great acknowledged merit, and were not qualified to form part of the University standard. Now this may be admitted, without admitting the necessity of having any prose books at all for purposes of University examination. Even in English and Sanskrit the majority of books prescribed are poetical, in their style at least, if not in their construction; and naturally, because they are the fittest for exercising memory and for calling forth nobler feelings, and requiring considerable amount of imaginative power at the same time that they are calculated to exercise both the analytical and reasonng faculties.

The next thing which Sir Alexander Grant urged was that the poetical works in Marathi and Gujarathi appeared to have borrowed their ideas almost exclusively from Sanskit, and that their difficulties $m$ idiom and phraseology seemed to consist in the numerous Sanskrit forms and words used in them, and could be more easily mastered by a previous study of Sanskrit. On this point it ought to be remembered that Sir Alexander Grant's'opportunities of knowing the vernacular languages of this presidency must have been, at the date of this discussion, very small indeed; and consequently his acquaintances wit'h theis id $\rho \mathrm{m}$ and vocabulary was necessarily slight. His judgment, therefore, on the subject, ought not to carry as much weight as that of Dr. Wilson. No one who has more or less intimate acquaintance with the vernaculars, can accept his opinion on the subject; for although there are a good many ideas in Marathi and Gujarathi poetry, which have been imbibed from Sanskrit literature, still there are not a few instances of originality, especially in illustrative imagery. As regards idiom and phraseology, the two languages have
more intimate relatonship to the Prakrits, their immedrate parents, than to Sanshrit; and the stock of pure Sannkit words which do not occur in the conversation of cultuated men, but are found in vernacukr-poetry, is small, and could be learnt mercly by means of a dictionary rather than by going through the elaborate process of learning a language so difficult as Sanskrit.

The next aggument brought forth by Sir Alexander was that the work of fostering national vernacular literature ought to be left to the nation itself without the artifical stmulus of the University examinations, and to the reflex effect of the study of Sanskrit, as the fostering of English was lcft to the study of Greek and Latm. Sanskrit scholar3, he uigerl, might bring out really good edutions of Marathi poetry. Now, though the first part of this argument may be adinitted to be partly true, it cannot be denied that in the absence of the great stimulus of the University examinations, the National vernacular literature has greatly suffered in consequence of a taste for it not being created in the University, and the practice of vernacular composition being never cultivated. As to the reflex effect of Sanskrit learning, to which Sir Alexander Grant refers, very little of it is obscrvable, in Marathi literature at least; and during the last twenty years that classieal studies have been encouraged by the University, there has been no edition brought out of any vernacular poctical work, scholarly or otherwise, by any educated man imbued with the spirit of Sanskrit learning. On the contrary, it would have been done if a demand for it had existed in the University, as the same has been done in the case of Sanskrit literature in consequence of such a demand existing.

Sir Alexander Grant further said that the University should still continue to examine in vernaculars at the Matriculation to ascertain that each candidate was able to translate into his
own tongue the ideas which he had acquired through English. It hardly needs to be pointed out that this was impiacticable. For the colleges soon felt it necessary to refuse admission to those who did not bring up a classical language, and the schools, in consequence, had to give up the study of the vernaculars in favour of the engrossing dfmand of classical studies, so that the wholesome practice of tianslating Enghsh ideas into the vernacular, practically cease at the very threshold of secondary education.

Sir Alexander Grant lastly urged that students would gain immensely by the change he proposed, while they would lose nothing by putting aside the vernaculars at College; and that no Hindu could be called an educated man without knowing Sanskrit. On this point it should be observed that though there could not but be some gain arising from the introduction of classical studies into the University, still it could scarcely be called immense, especially when it was accompanied by the total ignorance of the candidate of the grammar and literature of his own language, and the absence of any practice of writing original composition in it. Again if no Hindu could be called an educated man without $\cdot$ knowing Sanskrit, he could scarcely be so called without acquiring a command over his own language and literature for literary purposes. As I intend, however, to discuss more fully the question of gain and loss arising from the change here referred to further on, I shall here content myself with this much.

Dr. Murray Mitchell spoke against the proposal of Sir Alexander Grant in the same way as Dr. Wilson liad done before, and the further consideration of the subject was adjourned to the next annual meeting of the Senate.

This meeting took place on December 21, 1863, when the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Alexander Grant, further urged on behalf of his proposition that the Native Press had exhibited no
marked repugnance to the proposition, and that the Calcuta University had already introduced the change. As regards the first point it may be observed that it was at best a negative plea. The Native Press was then in its infancy, the Iuduprakasha and Native Opinion having only during the previous year come into existence. But still the former strcugly opposed the proposal at the time. However, at present, as I have already remarked, the Native Press is nearly unammous in proposing the re-introduction of the vernaculais into the University. As regards the second point, it might be urged that the instance of the Calcutta University could not afford a parallel; because in Bengal the educational system was already half a century older than on this side of India, and the vernacular language and literature had then already received an amount of culture and impetus and advancement, which made the exclusion of that subject from the University comparatively harmless there.

Sir Alexander Grant next maintained that Dr. Wilson's reasons for dissent were based on a wish to mix up Univrrsity education with primary o. middle-class education, and assigned to the University a function not properly its own. Now it seems to me that Dr. Wilson could only be charged with mixing school with University education, if it were proved that the vernaculars were utterly unant for University culture whether in their philological or literary aspects, a point which had still to be proved.

Sir Alexander concluded by saying that a moderate reorganization of the High Schools might provide the necesmary preliminary training in classical languages. Now as regards this we ky "hll well how this has been done with a vengeance, so that the vernaculars have been driven away altogether from the sphere of sevondary education.

Dr. Wilson, again opposing the resolution, disclaimed all idea of discouraging the study of Sanskrit; and as a compro-
mise he proposed to allow that a certain definite aniount of Sanskrit might be exacted from every candidate for a deg'ee in Arts. What he objected to was exacting a perfect study of Sanskrit or any other classical language, for very much the same reasons as mentioned above, though only with a fuller detail of explanation. I shall only notice here such points as have not been embraced in the previous remarks of Dr. Wilsun.

He stated that the study of a classical language, when combined with the compulsory study of English, must necessarily interfere with the study of the vernacular languages of India, on the culture and improvement of which the welfare of the country was in so great a degree dependent. Now who can fail to see the importance of this argument? How could there be any time for studying the vernaculars even at school, since the two classical languages between them (English being considered as one) take up nearly two-thirds of the hours available for instruction and revision in the time-tables of High Schools. As a matter offact every High School, including even the New English School of Poona, which started with a plan of its own, has had for several years past to devote its attention exclusively to the classical languages to the utter neglect of the vernaculars. As regards the importance of the study of the vernacular languayes and its effect on the welfare of the country, Dr. Wilson only repeated the statesmanlike views of the great Despatch of 1854, to which I have drawn attention at the beginning of this discourse. Dr. Wilson further urged that one result of making the studies in Arts difficult by the introduction of Sanskrit would lead to the desire of dispensing with liberal culture as a preparation fur professional education. It is needless to say that the result is exactly what was anticipated by that sagacious educationist. The University has been in full swing for more than twenty years, and still we have not a single Master of Cinal Engineer-
ing, and but three Doctors of Medicine. This clearly show; that, except in the case of the legal profession, which is of a semi-literary character, liberal culture has been found to be utterly incompatible with the demands of professional education, which cannot but be regarded as a national misfortune.

Dr. Wilson next urged that the vernacular languages of India, which must be the medium of conveying knowledge to the masses of the people, ought really to be critically and philologically studied in connexion with our University, where they could be met intelligently, and treated with reference to the due understanding of them as they at present exist, so as to fit them for the conveyance to the people of general instruction. About this argument it is sufficient to say that it is simply unanswerable.

He next urged that the vernaculars were by no means so despicable as they were represented to be by some masters 'of taste who had not studied them specially; that the Marathi was an admittedly copious and powerful language, having a distinct tide literature well worthy of attention from a lingual point of view, and well fitted to form a foundation for lingual training; and that also in Gujarathi neither poctical nor prose works were wanting, as could be proved by a list of manuscripts in a single collection noticed by the late venerable and learned William Erskine.

In this connexion it should be borne in mind that everyone in the Senate who hada closer acquaintance with the vernaculars, including the only two native gentleman who took part in this discussion, namely, the late Honorable Jagannath Shankarset and Rao'Saheb (now the Honorable) Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, sided with Dr. Wilson, and considered it desirable that the vernaculars should be retained in the University; while those who opposed him had very little practical acquaintance with the vernaculars.

Dr. Wilson also said that Sanskrit study could only improve the vernaculars, if they were studied simultaneously with it. Dr. Wilson was quite right on this point; for the process of translation from Sanskrit into the vernaculars, together with original composition in them based on Sanskrit works, would greatly increase the vocabulary and phraseology of those languages; and by supplying new expressions for new ideas borrowed from Sanskrit, would impart to them both culture and refinement, in a way in which nothing else could.

He concluded by saying that if Sanskrit and other classical languages were made necessary, he would urge the claims of Persian as being the Freneh of, the East, and further as being one of the bases of many of the Aryan vernaeulars of India; and that he would require that the vernaculars should be made compulsory in the Matriculation examination. On the latter point it is necessary to remark that after classical languages were made compulsory in collegiate education, it followed of necessity that the schools should devote themselves to prepare the ground for the study of those languages; and it was impossible to make vernaculars compulsory at the en$t_{1}$ ance examination. As regards the first point the introduction of Persian was at that time opposed by several Fellows, and Dr. Wilson's motion in favour of it, as that in favour of the vernaculars, ultimately fell through. But he lived to see Persian admitted to the list of classical languages ten years after duting his own Vice-Chancellorship.

Dr. Wilson was followed by Dr. Haug, who said that he would only allow Persian, owing to the poverty of its grammar, to be taken with $\Delta$ rabic, and that the vernaculars might be retained as far as the F. E. A. but always coupled with Sanskrit; one paper being in vernacular and two in Sanskrit. Now this was a most sensible compromise, and it is to be regretted that it was not adopted.

Mr R. (now the Ilonorable Justice) Weat, our prescnt Vice-Chancellor, said that some practical step mont be devind to ensure a certan amount of knowledge of the vernaculars without saising too high the test of Matriculation in vermaculars. It was necessary, he added,' that along with classical studes, ctudents should be required to keep up there vernaculars, and onght not to be allowed to lose all effectual grasp of them for the higher purposes to which they might he apphed. Judged fion the histony of language and herature in Eingland, th was, he sad, by no means impossible that even men, wher faculties hav been roused to" activity by a sound acadenucal training, should ifot be impelled to constantly exercise their own language among, their own people. His mofussil expericucr showed that students, whle attaining protiesency in Enghish, had quite lost the use of ther onn language, execpt for such homely purposes as ordering their duners, or scoldarg then wives. They were unable even to write or read the most ordinary letters in the common.written character of Camaus. or Maharathi. At the same time he agreed with Sir Alcatuler Grant in thinking that the prose books in the rernaculare were. unsuated to the purposes of University Examinations. He would, therefore, urge that while substituting the clavies for the vernaculars, it should be made a condition of pa-sing the F. E. A. and B. A., that the candidate shall display a thoromgh competence to translate from each of the languages, tahen up by him under the proposed regulation, into some verna. cular language chocen by himself, and a sufficient general proficience in the latter for the ordinary purposes of literary composition. Ins reasons for making this suggetion were as follows:-
(1) He thought that some inducement should be held out to the study of the vernacular, or, at all events, to the retention of a practical famliarity with it, while more strictly academical studies were going on.
(2) No better discipline could be desired than that of re-producing the thoughts gathered from a classical or ferife litcrature in one's own comparatively poor and uncultivated language.

It was thus that Enghsh had been nurtured at the Roman breast, and had drawn from Latin Greek writers the store of thoughts and expressions which formed the basis of nearly all that had since been achieved. He would, therefore, wish that at least practical facility in interpreting the language of history, politics, and philosophy into their own vernaculars, should be demanded from native students.
(3) He thought, that for many generations, the vernaculars must be the only languages known to the masses; and meanwhle all their progress, except in purely material prosperity, must greatly depend on the provision of competent interpreters between them and the higher thoughts contained in the English and Classical languages.
(4) He said that in return for the great blessing of education the graduates and students of the University should qualify themselves to perform this important work in society, by which alone the benefit of the British rule would-be practically and universally diffused.

Mr. West was followed by Rao Saheb, now the Honourable V. N. Mandlik, who said that he was afraid that a defective knowledge of the vernacular would strike at the very rootof the system, by muddling up the stream through which the education was to be conveyed. He, therefore, agreed with Mr. West.

Now it appcars to me ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ that Mr . West's arguments are as strong as they possibly could be for the retention of the vernaculars in our educational system, at least, for the purposes of translation and original composition in connexion with other subjects. His emphatic statement of the claims of the vernaculars speaks for itself, and does not require any comment.

Mr. Dewport, 'on behalf of the original proposition of $S_{1 r}$ Alexander Gilant, urged that the vernaculars had so many dialects that the Universty would invite certain failure if it undertook to cultivate and improve them all. To this argument Dr. Wilson's reply, made subsequently, cannot but he admitted to be effective, namely, that independent of all provincial peculiarities there was really a standard for Maıathi and Gujarath, well-known to gentlemen who passed'exammations in those languages.

Mr. E. I. Howard, then Director of Public Instruction, in supporting the original proposition, urged in addition to what had been said before by others that if the standard of the vernaculars were settled, he would agree to Mr. West's amendment. On this point I would remark that Dr. Wilson's reply above quoted is unanswerable. Mr. Howard further said that English was notutilized for University Education thll its standard was fixed by the publication of the authorized version of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and Shakspear's plays. To this it might be replied that thourh English might not have been utilized for University Education, still its improvement was not stopped, in consequence of its being used largely as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges; and it being the language of an independent and progressive nation, was in use among all classes of people, high and low, cultivated and uncultivated, and in the transaction of all public and private matters, which is not the case with the Indian vernaculars under British occupation. Here English having taken complete possession of the field, the rernaculars are entirely rusticated.

Mr. Howard also said that as the most brilliant writers in English were bred on Greek and Latin, so the vernaculars would be improved by the study of the classics. This argument, in my opinion, loses its point by the admission on the part of Mr. Howard that English was thus improved by
being used us a uredium for translation, which is not the case with the Indian vernaculars.

In replying to the amendments of Dr. Wilson and Mr. West, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Alexander Grant, said that Dr. Wilson's amendment would have the effect of inducing students to stop at the F.E.A. instead of going on to the B.A. whle Mr. West's amendment aimed at political objects which it was beyond the scope of the University to consider.

As regards the first points it may be observed that as passing the F.E.A. did not confer any academical status on a candidate, and as it did not secure admission to the higber grades of any profession or service, there was no likelihood of men stopping at the F.E.A. from fear of having to take up Sanshrit at the B.A., any more than there is any fear, now, of men stopping at the matriculation from the same motive. On the second point it might be observed that if the argument proves any thing, it proves too much. For if the University is not to aim at securing fully the benefit of the British Rule to the people of India by improving the vernaculars, and thereby diffusing European and classical knowledge amongst the masses, because it would be then aiming at a political object, there is no justification for the existence of the educational department either, as that also aims at the same object. Moreover, such an interpretation of the function of the University would be directly contıary to the spirit of the Despatch of the Court of the Directors which first sanctioned the establishment of the Universities and the formation of the educational department, with exactly the same object in view as I have already pointed out at the outset in this paper.

After this somewhat prolonged discussion, Dr. Wilson's and Mr. West's amendments were put to the vote and lost; and the original recommendation of the Syndicate in favour of the exclusion of the vernaculars, was carried by a small majority. It should be borne in mind in this connesion that there were no
less than tweinty votes in favour at least of the partial retention of the vernaculars, and that nearly all those who had more or less intimate acquantance with vernaculars votedin behalf of the amendinents.

This concludes the first and most important stage of the battle of the languages.

By the resolution of the meeting of the syndicate above refer red to, Persian was excluded from the list of languages for purposes of the higher examinations only by the casting vote of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir A. Grant. Hence the admission of Persian uas still regarded as an open question.

Consequently, seven years later, at a meeting of the Senate, held on 7th February 1870, Dr. Wilson, then Vice-Chancellor, proposed that Persian be included in the list of languages set down for the higher examinations of the University. The late Professor Hughlings and others led the opposition, while Mr. Burgess and several others including the Rev. Mr. Robertson and Mr. Dadoba Pandurang supported Dr. Wilson's proposition. The last named gentleman added that he would at the same time urge the claıms of Marathi and Gujarathi. Hete also the same thing occurred, viz; those who hisd any acquaintance with Persian supported its claims to admission in the University; while those, who had little or no acquaintance with it, spoke against it. But as the party in favour of Persian was on this occasion stronger, they carried the day; and Persian, notwithstanding its poverty in grammatical forms according Dr. Haug, and its somewhat monotonous poetry according to Mr. West, who both had opposed its inclusion seven years before, was at last added to the list of what ceased to be from that date classical languages set down for the higher examinations of the University. While Marathi and Gujarathi with their almost perfect grammatical system, and poetry not much inferior to that of Persian, were left out where they still remain.

The French language, on the only ground of its having a cop,ous literature, was admitted to the same list only last year, and the arguments used on both sides on the occasion are, I believe, still fresh in the minds of many who are present here.
'The last two languages, viz., Persian and Frencl, are both modern and living languages, spoken by millions of people at the present day.

This concludes the historical retrospect of the struggle of languages, and so I may conclude the first part of my paper. But before I do so, I trust I may be permitted to dwell for a little while on the gain and loss caused by the changes that have been above narrated.

As regards the gain, a large number of young men are undoubtedly being annually turned out by the schools and colleges under the auspices of the University, whoseacquaintance with classical literature is confined to a knowledge of the books actually set down for the different examinations, and sometimes merely to portions of these books, which, in the short period available for the purpose, have to be crammed merely for the purpose of those examinations, to be thrown aside afterwards, perhaps never to be looked at again. 'The innumerable grammatical rules, general and special, with their exceptions and counter-exceptions, and the multifarious forms of words, many of them but rarely met with in ordinary classical literature, which, during the four years of the high school course, are tortured into the brains of the hapless young men, all but unrelieved even by occasional glimpses of any easy readable passages from classical literature, are nearly forgotten even before the student's college career is over. The ennobling influence of some branches of classical literature; the refinement of taste and the elevation of sentiment, that ought to result from a genuine, loving study of it; the discrimi.
nating appreciation of the thoughts, feelings, doings, laws, usages of the remote ancestors of our rase, which, while it makes us admure, honour, and reverently preserve all that is great and good in their precepts and examples, ought to free uy, at the same time, from a mene blind admiration of the past, and abject submission to authority, however erring and effete; and lastly, the irresistible love of intellectual freedom that animated our great ancestors; all these results, which we have a right to look for in those whose minds have been enlightencd by classical learning, are but very imperfectly attained. I do not deny that there are a few classical scholars amongst us, whose literary pursuits and antiquarian researches have adorned their career, and in some casea secured to them a name even among the savauts of Europe, the land of progress. I will also readily admit that those, who have read even a few masterpicces of classical literature, cannot remain altogether uninfluenced by the originality, beauty, and other minor characteristics of classical authors. But 1 fail to see that these results could never have been achieved by making the classical languages optional, while the study of the vernaculars was insisted upon in the generality of cases.

So much for the gain. Now for the loss. In consequence of the exclusion of the vernaculars from the Colleges, the schools also, at all events the High Schools, have had to follow suit, and exclude the vernaculars from their curriculum in consequence of want of time to do both these and the classics. As it is, as I have above stated, the English and classical languages between them take up nearly two-thirds of the school time. As the boys generally come up to the Iligh School about the age of 12 , their acquaintance with their own vernacular is of an extremely elementary character. Of their own literature they know next to notling; and 'the game remark holds good with reference to theur knowledge of the giammar of their own tongue. Vernacular education,
therefore, is all but neglected, at all events by the alumni of our schools and colleges. Hence the diffusion of European knowledge amongst the people generally through the instrumentality of educated men imbued with the spirit of European learning, and having a thorough mastery over their own tongue for the purposes of translation and original composition, which was the great aim of the gieat Educational Dispatch of 1854 , is not so much as atten.pted. Fairly active as the vernacular press has been during the last few years, the educated and enlightened have taken very little or no part in it; and the books, periodicals, pamphlets, newspapers, dealing uith the various subjects that engage the attention of the people, which are issued from the press, are wranting in the impress of solid culture and refined taste. They neither display inventive imagination, matured judgment, sober uisdom, nor careful thought, such as can only be secured by genuine intellectual culture. The writings are not unoften basty in their conception, slallow in their substance, unpolished in their expression, and vulgar in their sentuments. The ordinary conversation of the educated and the half-educated alike, is often conducted in a language which is neither English nor vernacular, but a most ludicrous mixture of the vocabulary of both the languages. The language of the rising generations of young men, is, in consequence, growing corrupt; while the.press is exercising an influence on their minds and character which is far from wholesome.

## PART II.

## OPINIONS OF FMINENT EDUCATIONISTS.

In the first part of my paper on this subject I gave you a short historical retrospect, showing what the position of the vernaculars in our educational system was intended to be by the Court of Directors when they sent out the great Educational Dispatch of 1854 ; what it was before the establishment of the University and for a few years even after that event; and what it has become since their exclusion from the University in the year 1863, when the classical languages wore inade compulsory in all language examinations after Matriculation. I gave you, with considerable detail, the arguments that were used on the occasion when this change was made, both for and against it, accompanied by such remarks as they suggested. I then showed, in summarizing the gain and loss arjsing from the change, how it had led ultimately to the excluston of the vernaculars even from the sphere of Secondary Education ; and how it has seriously hindered the progress of vernacular literature by almost wholly depriving it of the great intellectual impetus that educated men, with minds imbued with the spirit of European learning and European civilization, could alone have given it, provided the wholesome practice of translation and original composition in the vernaculars had not been altogether neglected. There are rare exceptions, here and there, $I$ freely admit, of an educated man giving us a translation of some well-known English drama, or writing a few verses occasionally, or contributing to some petty literary periodical. But these very rare exceptions only show more vividly the paralysing effect of the change on the generality of our educated men, whose minds, although they receive a flood of light from classical andmodern European lore,
are unable to take part in dispelling, however slightly, the dark gloom in which the mind of the nation is still enveloped.

On this occasion I propose to show you, on the authority of some of the most eminent educationists of the West, whether our present system of higher education, as fixed by the change above referred to, answers the requirements of a truly liberal education; whether the study of the classical languages is of such transcendent educational value, that they must take precedence of other subjects of much more practical importance; and, lastly, whether the vernácular languages deserve a place in a system of bigher education.

Cardinal Newman, in his work on 'The Scope and Nature of University Education' says:-‘A University aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspirations, at giving enlargement and sobricty to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and at refining the intercourse of private life." "The ideal of a general liberal training," says Mr. Mathew Arnold in his work on 'The Schools and Universities of the Continent,'-" is to carry us to a knowledge of ourselves and the world, by special aptitudes which are born with us; and the grand thing in teaching is to have faith that some aptitude of this kind every one has." "Education," says Professor Huxley in his 'Lay Sermons, Addresses, Reviews, \&c.,' "is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of nature (including human nature) and the fashioning of the affections and the will into an earnest and leving desire to move in harmony with those laws." "The object of Universities," says John Stuart Mill in his Rectoral address at St. Andrews, "is to make capable and cultivated human beings." "The essentials of a liberal education," says Professor Bain in his work on Education as a Science" "should comprise (1) the Nataral

History of Sciences ; (2) History, Political Economy, Politics, Jurisprudence, Rhetoric, Universal Literature; (3) English (which I need not say is the vernacular in England) comprsition and Literature." "The object of a liberal education," says Professor Sidgwick in his 'Essay on the Theory of a Classical Education,' " is to lead youths to the full, vigorous, and harmonious exercise, according to the best ideal attainable, of their active, cognitive, and esthetic faculties."

If such be the aims and objects of University or hberal education, then, I ask, how they are to be fulfilled by assigning to the classics so exclusive a position in our University course, or by shutting out the Vernacular languages from the same. How can Physical Science, History, Political Economy and Mental Science (which several of the eminent educationist" above quoted insist upon as being essential parts of a eystem of a truly liberal education, and which undoubtedly have a really liberahzing effect on the human mind,) form a necessary part of a scheme of liberal education, in which mere linguistic learning takes up so much space?` Again how can a scheme of University Education, whicb ignores the culture of the vernacular or national tongues, both practical and philological, be made the means of making " capable men " according to John Stuart Mill, capable, of course, of turning their learning to the best advantage of their follow-men; or, according to Cardinal Newman, of "raising the intellectual tone of society"-of "cultivating the public mind" or of "purifying the national taste." or of "supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspirations," or of "giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age," or of "facilitating the exercise of political power," or of "refining the intercourse of private life ?" All these objects, so eloquently and exhaustively expressed by that eminent divine, require not simply the possession of kn@wledge, however useful or extensive it may
be, but the capacity of working directly and effectively on the thoughts and feelings, the opinions and practises of the people in general ; and nothing is so much calculated to give that capacity as thorough a mastery over the language and literature, which alone the people can understand.

If it be urged that all these objects may be gained in India as they are gained in the United Kingdom in spite of the exclusion of the vernaculars from the University course, I reply that the comparison is fallacious; the conditions of the two couniries being quite different from each other. The English language, which is the popular language in England, is used for all purposes of study, instruction and examination in every branch of learning; the practice of translation and original composition in it is made compulsory; and lastly it is the language used by cultivated society in every department of life. Consequently all knowledge from whatever source it may be acquired is easily assimilated in the minds of the students, and finds a ready expression in every form in the language of the country, and thus contributes to the intellectual and moral advancement of the nation. "The best part of the teaching at Oxford and Cambridge," says Prof. Bain in the course of an exhaustive analysis of the value of classical education, "is the very great stress laid upon writing a very good English essay." "It should be borne in mind," he further adds, "that even in a professedly classical examination, a candidate's success is more due to his English essay than to histacquaintance with Greek or Roman authors." Any comparison, therefore, between this country and England in this respect is altogether fallacious. Was there ever any nation in the world amongst whom the educated classes not only spoke and wrote, but actually thought, in a foreign tongue? Is there any nation now living outside of India of which we could say it? Certainly not that I know of, and yet such is the case in our country. Not only
do the educated classer habitually speak and write and think in Enghsh, but a ver! large number of them find it a difficult, panful (I will not use such a strong word as impossible though I have heard it used) process to do the same in their mother tongue, esfecially when they have to deal with a subject which does not come within the scope of colloguial topic-. Let me rot be misunderstood I do not in the least deprecate the very great attention that is being natu. rally paid to the study of English, and the effort that in beng made on the part of our educated men to acquare a tholough mastery over it. This must be so, since it is the language of our rulers, and, therefore, of all higher adninistratuve work in the country. Nay, a thorough knowledge of Enghsh is absolutely necessary to our educated classes, since it is the only key we at present have to all modern and western knowledge, which alone can by its light dispel the darkness in which this once glorious land is at prescnt enveloped, and by its heat remove the stagnation which has for ages arrested the free flow of the national intellect. But I deprecate the present neglect of our vernaculars, without cultivating which the light cannot be spread far and wide to illuminate the national mind, and the beat cannot go sufficiently deep to stir up national energy. For it is a chimerical idea to think that English can ever become the surrent language of our people. Nor, even, if it were possible, is such a consummation to be desired; since it must in that case break up our continuity as a distinct people, and almost shut up to us our glorious past. No, let us neither wish nor hope for such a result. Certainly the English language will always be in favour with the few, and it will also serve as a medium of communication between the political leaders of the different provinces of the empire, as long as the British connection lasts; but for the effectual enlightenment and advancement of the several provinces, recourse must be
had, sooner or later, to the vernacular languages of those provinces, improved and fitted, not by the action of individuals only, but by a system of national education, to take up the work of national progress. Although the English language in England is differently circumstanced, as I have elsewhere remarked, being the current language of the whole of a highly enlightened and progressive people, who make use of it in all departments of life both for literary and other purposes, and being also the medium of study, instruction and examination in the educational system of England; still the nonrecogniton of it as a special subject of study in higher educational institutions, has been made a ground of serious complaint by several eminent educationists. "The wise and learned nations amongst the ancients," says Lock in his essay on cducation, "made it part of their education to cultivate their own (tongue);" and "it is a matter of wonder that (to Englishmen) their own tongue is never proposed as worthy of their care as worth cultivating, though they have directly to use it." "The absence of direct teaching of English" says Prof. Sidgwick, in the course of his remarks on the theory of classical education, " is an educational desideratum. The study of English, is surprisingly neglected in the Englisheducational systen, and in the Universities hardly any one dreams of learning early English." "The Englishman," says Mr. Halis, (Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, ) in his essay on 'the teaching of English' published in Canon Farrar's collegtion of essays on a Liberal education, "grows up in mere ignorance of his mother tongue. English is an unknown tongue in England, (the ordinary knowledge of it being altogether superficial, whle French and German are studied in their own country. The predominant influence of Latin has proved extremely detrimental to the study of English by throwing in the shade and dwarfing it. It has made the study of English seem despicable and unworthy,
in effect suppressed it The language is, in fact, condemed unheard. It has never received a fair trial. The classical languages have been the only wear; and not a native thread, nor a home-dyed colour, nor a domestic-pattern, can be toletated."

Well, if such are the complaints made against the comparative neglect of English in the educational system of lingland, differently carcumstanced as it is, how much more londly and persistently ought we to complain of the utter neglect of our veruaculars in our educational system, which rests satisfied with a most rudimentary and superficial acquaintance with them?

The effect of this neglect of vernacular literature I have already noticed in my previous paper, and also in the finst part of this paper. To counteract in some measure this probable neglect, the late Mr. Howard, when Director of Public Instruction, instituted the Daxina Fellowships for the ex. press purpose of cultivating vernacular literature; but owing to the general apathy on the subject, this original object of the fellowships was soon completely lost sight of, and they were turned into mere college tutorships. But this neglect of an important branch of studs did not fail to attract the attention of a later Director, namely Mr. (now the Honorable Mr.) Peile, who made the study of the vernaculars compulsory even in High Schools in spite of their expulsion from the University. In justification of this step he remarked "the present vernaculars, better or worse for the changes wrought by time, will be the languages of the people of India a hundred years hence, as they are now; for it is futile to imagine that they can be superseded by the language of 50,000 Englishmen, who are excluded by native custom from intimacy with the Indian people, and by climate from making India their home. If a vernacular language is capable of improvement by being made the medium (interchangeably
with the more perfect languages) of cultivated thought, we are bound in our duty to the people of India to encourage such a use of it. How otherwise, in the language of the Despatch of 1854, are the vernaculars of India to be gradually enriched by translations of European books, or the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner withn the reach of all classes of the people?" Well, the solicitude of the Honorable Mr. Peile to keep up the study of the vernaculars, which was so eloquently expressed, bore no fruit, in consequence of the necessarily predominant influence of the University on the course of secondary education, as 1 have already mentinned elsewhere. Consequently in one of his subsequent Educatonal Reports he thus notices the effect of the neglect of the vernaculars on University men:-" The dislike shown by University graduates to writing in their vernacular can only be attributed to the consciousness of an imperfect command of it. I cannot otherwise explain the fact that graduates do not compete for any of the prizes offered for vernacular translations or compositions, prizes of greater money value than the Chancellor's or Arnold's prize at Oxford, or the Smith's or Member's prizes at Cambridge. So curious an apathy, so discouraging a want of patriotism, is inexplicable, if the transfer of English thought to native idiom were, as it should be, a pleasant exercise, and not, as I fear it is, a tedrous and repulsive toil,"

The Bombay Committee of the Edueation Commission in noticing the above remarks in their Report in 1882 observe " this reproach has not yet been wholly removed, and the causes of it demand the earnest attention of the University and of the Educational Department." In another place the same Committee observe " in the development of a permanent vernacular literature our graduates have hitherto taken but
hutle murewt" "Lut," they add, "t is clea fiom thecrulence before the Commision that many native yentlemen in Bombay, Guzerath and Maharashtra are kcerly conscious of this defet, and are ready to co-operate with the University and with the Educatonal Department, in ang measures that are calculated to remove it." lic, I also acknowledge the existence of th. reviving concemousnes of the importance of our cherated men having a good command over their own vemaculars. Will the Comersits, however, come to our help w the matter asomerented by the Commssion ? Well, it remains to le seem uhtither it will: but till it docs, the Educational Department aboue will be quite helpless to do so as experience has sheun $u$. Nor is there any hope of the efforts of mere indinduals, however patriotic they may be, being of much use in the woin of cultivating the vernaculari, when the national system of hirlicr education wholly nerglects the woik.

But it may be asked, are the vernaculars worth studying? I emphatically answer, yes. What is there to read or 10 study? - I reply, their literature, such as it is, their igrnmmar, and their vocabulary. The literature, besides being the onty key, however imperfect, to the thoughts and feelings of our immediate ancestors, is capable of furnishing a considerabie knowledge of the traditional history, religion, asd philonopy of ancient India, and this in a much smaller compass and in much simpler language than the original chassical hiterature. Moreover, the moral and religious infuence of the whole of vernacular literature on the minds of the youth, cannot but be decidedly superior to that of classical literature taken as a whole; the authors in the case of the former being mostly of a religious turn of mind. Nor is vernacular literature so utterly destitute of literary merits as ome exclusive students of classics suppose. Does not Mukteshwar, speaking only of Marathi Literature, exhibit considerable beauty of expression? Moropant of forcible language and logical reason-
ing? Dnsancshwar of felicity of illustration? Waman Pandit of lyrical pathos? Ramdas of originality of conception? and Tukaram of devotional fervour and sublime sentiment? And as regards their grammar and vocabulary, there is ample scope in them for giammatical and philological studies.

But again it may be urged that the vernacular literature is mostly poetical; that there are no prose books in it worth sindying; and that, therefore, it is not fitted for being made a subject of higher culture. Why. not, I ask? Did not the Greeks carefully study Homer before any prose literature had sprang up amongst them? Did not the Romans study their own poets when prose literature was still being formed in Latin? And even in the languages now recognized for Unversity culture, is not poctry studsed to a much larger extent than prose? Undoubtedly it is, and rightly so too. For poetry is especially fitted to form a means of intellectual culture. "The poetry of a language," says Prof. Bain in his work on education as a science, "especially favours the hold of memory upon it by the impressiveness of the measure, the elevation of the style, and the anakening of emotion. Its first effects are emotional, and its secondary uses are intellectual. It contains thoughts, images, and language, of more or less worth, and such as are capable of taking part in our future intellectual constructions." I therefore do not see why, as long as prose literature of the right stamp is not avalable, the poetical literature, which we have, cannot be made useful for purposeq, of instruction.

There is still another objection that may be raised to the admission of the vernaculars into the Universty. It is this, namely, that if the vernaculars, in their present undeveloped state are introduced into the University for the purposes of instruction and examination, there is fear of the vernacular prose style crystallizing. To this I reply that, as there is no prose style as yet fixed, there is no reason why it should become
fixed by the study of the poctical literature in the vernaculars. Those vernacular prose writers, who will write hereafter with their improved ideas, must necessarily write in a style of their own: and the style can only become fixed when there is a sufficiently large prose hiterature affording models for imitation. At thesame time the grammar and syntax of vernacular prose, is sufficiently determmed to admit of its being used for transla. tions and original compositions, which is all that the University is asked to exercise students in.
But it may be said that there is no room for vernacular studies in the University course, since it is essential that the study of the classical languages should be made compulsory. I ask, why? If it be for the mental discipline it is supposed to give, I ask, in the language of Professor. Bain, in what does it consist ? If it consists in employing the memory, then I reply that the memory is more oppressed and expended than trained in the process of acquiring it. If again it "consists in training the reason, judgment, and constructive and inventive power, there is no evidence to show that this power it possesses in a greater degree than any other subject. This extraordinary power cannot be ascribed either to classical grammar or classical literature, any more than to any other subject of study. If it consists in the long continued exercise of patient effort required in the process of translation, how far, $I$ ask, is this process resorted to in the case of the classical studies in our colleges? Moreover is not the process of translation the same whether the lauguage used for the purpose be vernacular or classical? If a knowledge of clas:1cal languages be considered necessary for the study of phiio$\log y$, then I contend that the study of the medizval prakrits as well as the vernaculars, is at least as essential for that purpose as that of the classics. I have already shown in my former paper the absurdity of the argument that a thorough knowledge of the classics is necessary for a proper under-
standing of the vernacular literature; nor is that knowledge essential for the purposes of professional studies, at least as these are carried on at present. As regards the effect of classical studies on secondary education, I cannot do better than quote the words, with the necessary alternations, of Professor Bain. The cost in time and energy is dispropontionately great. The classics have led to the virtual exclusion of all other studies from the secondary schools. The vernaculars have had to surrender their claims at once and altogether; while other compulsory subjects, such as History, Geograpliy, Mathematics and elementary physical sciences, are either superficially taught, or together with English and classics subject the pupils to a crushing burden of distracting studies. Improved methods of teaching may reduce the evil to some extent, but not much. Well may we exclaim somewhat in the language of Hieronymus Wolf of Awgsburg " Happy were our classical ancestors who, so soon as they could read and write their mother-tongue, might at once pass to the liberal arts and the persuit of wisdom. For us who must spend many years in learning foreign (and dead) languages the entrance into the gates of philosophy is much more difficult!" And might not we also say in the language of Montaigue's father that "the tedious toil the moderns applied to the languages of those people who themselves had them for nothing, was the sole cause of their not being able to arrive at the grandeur of soul and perfection of knowledge of the ancients."

The contempt for the vernaculars is neither new, nor peculiar to this country. We simply imitate in it the senseless neglect to which the European vernaculars, and especially English, were for long ages subjected under the exclusive predominance of the classics. It is only when the minds of European thinkers were awakened to the necessity of applying the test of practical usefulness to linguistic studies,
that the German, the French, and lastly the English gained a recognized position in the eductional ystems of their respective countries. Among those, who took up the cause of the neglected vernaculars in England, might be mentioned Ben Johnson, Montaigue, and Locke in ea:lier times; and Mr. Mathew Arnold, Professor Huxley, and specially Professors Bain and Sidgwick in recent days, Of the last two educationists, Prof. Bain lays the greatest stress on the classics beng displaced by the mother-tongue, which he regards as an indespensible acquisition, and which, according to him, is an essential element in a comprehersive scheme of liberal education that entitles a man to a degree., And he further asserts that one's own literature must be the first to awaken literary interest and prepare the way for universal literature. He emphasises the admission of tae mother-tongue in a general scheme of education on the ground that the main justification for learning languages is that we mean to use them as languages, to receive and impart instruction by their means.

Professor Sidgwick also, after fairly estimating the value of classical studies, similarly insists on the necessity of rejecting their claim to supersede the study of the mothertongue. He calls it a vague idea to think that the modern languages being hybrid, it is not worth while teaching them systematically. As regards historical study of literature les says: "What is of the greatest utility is the study of the intellectual life of our own age and the antecedents of the ideas and feelings among which and in which we shall live and move; and it is more imperatively necessary to study the modern thought of recent centuries than any of the older influences that combined to determine our remote past." Now it cannot but be admitted that what Professor Sidgwick says here with regard to the importance of the study of English to Englishmen is not wholly inapplicable to the vernaculars in our country. He also insists upon the exercise
of translation from clasical authors into English prose, and says that " under the guidance of a competent teacher it is very vigorous and efficacious training in the use of English." "Translation," he adds, " is continually training and strengthening our faculty of language in many ways, and necessarily *imparts to it a certain kind of vigous." What is said here of translation into English may with equal force be said of translations into our Indian vernaculars. He further insists on translation being supplemented by some competent and independent teaching of composition in the mothertongue, and also upon the great advantage that could be derived by combining the study of a difficult with an easy language, provided the latter is taught with as much attention and respect as the former. The importance of this last consideration cannot be too much borne in mind in determining the relative usefulness of classical and vernacular languages in this country for purposes of study.

Well, I think, I have sufficiently shown the importance of cultivating the vernaculars by admitting them as an essential subject of study in the curriculum of our higher education, both collegiate and secondary. If this importance is fully realized, and if classical studies are confined to a limited sphere and made to give place to the vernaculars as necessary subjects, the change might enable us to introduce some other most desirable improvements in our educational system. At present the engrossing nature of lingaistıc, especially classical, studies, "hich, as I have already pointed out elsewhere, take up nearly half the time at college and two-thirds of the time at school, has made it necessary to leave out other literary subjects of equal, if not of greater, practical importance, and also scientific subjects of undeniably the greatest practical value by relegating them to the optional list. What can be of greater importance for the purpose of liberalizing the minds of our youth than giving them a
certain acquaintance with General Mtstory, especially the varying fortunes of the leading nations on earth who have played a conspicuous part therein, and of the great epochs, which have, ior better or for worse, affected the course of human history? What again cañ be of greater practical importance than the study of Political Economy, which alone can enable the sising generation of our educated young men to take a lively interest in the economical problems that are daily springing up for solution in connection with the financial administration of this country? And lastly what instrument of liberal culture can be superior to the study of Mental and Moral philosophy, which alone can give men the necessary acquaintance with their inner aclf and the inner world of thought and emotion? Nor sre the claims of Science of lesser importance than those of the literary subjects above mentioned. It is the close study of nature in its various branches which has enabled Europe and America to make the greatest strides in developing their material resources, and in making the variousarts of peace so conducive to the happiness and progress of humanity; and if India is to profit by its contact with England, it can only do so by insisting upon the study of Natural science, in at least its leading branches, both in our schools and colleges. The burning question of the day which is stirring both the Government and the people is-how to develop the, material resources of the country, how to make, not only the producer of raw materials, but the manufacturer of those millions of worth of art productions, which are at present exclusively imported from Europe and America? Well, how can this burning question be satisfactorily solved, unless practical science forms an essential part of our cducational system? It will not do to make the above literary and scientific subjects only optional. They must be made more or less an essential part of our scheme of liberal education;
and this cannot, 1 am afraid, be done so long as classical studies so much engross our attention. Classical learning and the study of philology must, in comparison to the above subjects, be called luxuries. They constitute, according to Mr. Herbert Spencer, the efflorescence of life, and perhaps the ornament of a cultivated mind; and as such they ought to occupy only the leisure part of life, and must be left, according to Professor Sidgwick, to students of special bias and faculty. Most of the educationists including such eminent men as Professors Bain and Sidgwick, Huxley and Spencer, dwell upon the extreme importance of science as forming a part of liberal culture in preference to classies. "The usual arguments for classical education," says Professor Sidgwick, " are based on very narrow views of culture, and an imperfect acquaintance with the intellectual development of mankind, and a want of comprehension of all the conditions of the infinitely more important problem with which they deal, viz., education in general."

Another mischievous result of the exclusive predominance of classics is to leave out the most important consideration, from a scientific view of education, namely, that of special aptitudes, to have faith in which, is, according to Mr. Mathew Arnold, the grand thing in teaching. Under the present arrangement, those who find the exciting, and to some extent perplexing, grammatical studies that the classical curriculum imposes on them during their school career too hard to get through, or who have no aptjtude for such studies, are denied admission not only to arts colleges, but even to professional institutions, such as the medical college, the college of science, and the law school, and are thereby excladed from all bigher collegiate studies for some of which at least they must have special aptitudes. We, therefore, unnecessarily limit the expansion of liberalizing studies in the country, and deprive it of the services of those who might, under altered circum-
stances, be fed to the pursut of some special subject for which they have a real taste. "A great classical scholar," say" the Rev. Sidney Smith (in a review of Edgeworth's Essays on Piofescional Education) " is an ornament and an important acquisition to lus country. But in a place of Education we would give to all knowledge an equal chance of distunction, and would trust to the varieties of human disposition that every science worth cultivation would be cultivated. Looking always to real utility as our guide, we we would see with equal plcasure a studious and inquisitive mind arranging the productions of nature, investigating the qualities of bodies, or mastering the difficulties of the learned languages." In reply to those who would leave out all considerations of utility in arranging a scheme of education he asks " what other measure is there of dignity in intellectual labour but usefulness? If this test were strictly applied to classical studies, the pufted up pedant would collapse into his proper size, and the maker of verses and the rememberer of words, would soon assume that station which is the lot of those whogo up unbidden to the upper places of the feast." This is strong language, but Rev. Sidney Smith is not alone in deprecating the excessive importance that is attached to classical studies in higher education. Almost all the educationists whom I have above quoted at different places, but especially the eminent philosophers John Locke and H. Spencer, and Professors Huxley, Bain and Sidgwick, deny this exclusive importance of classı cal studies, and assert the necessity of giving a place to sciencex and the mother-tongue in equally emphatic expressions. If the time and space at my disposal had allowed it, I would have quoted their most instructive remarks and emphatic testimony. As it is, I can only refer you to their works which I have mentioned elsewherc.

In conclusion I earnestly trust that I shall not be misunderstood. I do not wish to deny the special usefulness of
classical studies in this country. If our nation is ever destined to struggle through its present 'feeble civilization,' as Prof. Bhandarkar would call it, but dormant state as.Ishould prefer to term it, and if our race, which he calls inferior in compantson to the European races, but which I should describe as berng in a dechning condition as the European races were during the mediæval period, is ever destined to rise to a superior level, it can only be by reforming itself so as to regain the great virtues which characterized our ancestors of the Vedic and classical periods, as well as by assimilating the modern European spirit of enquiring into, of combating with, and subduing external nature, as far as practicable, to the service of man. I should, therefore, be the last person to discourage an enthusiastic study of our genuine classical literature, by those who have a special liking for it. My own introduction to Sanskrit literature, however imperfect it is, I have likened to the obtaining of a new sight ; and I am, therefore, unwilling that this new sight should be lost to those who have a love for those studies. But these results, I submit, with due respect to the opinion of those who, I know, differ from me, may be achieved without making classical studies compulsory and exclusively predominant, irrespective of special aptitudes; and without excluding those other equally important, if not more important, literary and scientific subjects, which some of the greatest modern thinkers bave looked upon as essential in. a scheme of really liberal education. If some studies were made optional, in all higher examinations, and it classical languages were included among the list of optional subjects, I have no fear whatever that classical culture would be altogether neglected. The aroma of classical poetry, as Professor Bain calls it, would still attract some students of a literary taste to classical poetical literature ; others of an antiquarian turn of mind would take up those studies in order to investigate the archaic Vedic literature; while
others qf a philosophical tendency would be led to the study of the classics for the rich philosophical lore which they contain. Even as it is, when classical studics are made a stne quá non of liberal education, how few indeed do really develope a genuine taste for higher classical literature? Very few indeed, if the truth must be spoken. Do you think then that these few would not still be forthcoming, as we know some of our learned friends have already come forth, without any compulsory stimulus from the University, if classical studies were made optional, as I think they ought to be, especially if their inclusion in the necessary curriculum is to impose the long drudgery of the present grammatical studies in the schools, and exclude from the collegiate course the vernaculars and other important subjects, both literary and scientific, to which 1 have previously referred?

As regards the grammatical drudgery (I beg pardon for repeating the expression), which the colleges force on the schools, most of the writers, whose opinions I have above quoted, including even Milton, Locke and Mill, strongly condenn the elaborate grammatical studies which bave been thrust upon the schools as being perfectly useless from a literary point of view, equally detrimental to the right cultivation of memory, and disastrous to an efficient culture of the other mental faculties. I will not weary you with extracts from their opinions on the point, and here again I must beg you to refer to their works of which I have already made mention. If a very easy rudımentary classical grammar, embracing a few of the simplest rules and the most ordinary declensions and conjugations-a grammar that could be learnt in a very short time with perfect ease-together with two or three easy classical works (say the Hitopadesh, the Shakuntala, the Meghaduta, and a few chapters from the Ramayan or Mahabharata in the case of Sanskrit) were all that could be required as a necessary course both for school and college curriculum, I would have no objection to
it; for in that case there would be room enough for the introduction of the vernaculars as well as some of the other subjects I have before mentioned. The most useful subjects would thus be prevented from being neglected, while a sufficient introduction to classical studies will be furnished, such as may lead those who have a taste for them, to devote themselves specially to the subject as part of their optional course at college, and as a chosen study during the leisure part of their after-life. But if any one were to say that you must choose as a second language for the purpose of linguistic training either a classical or a vernacular language, then I say most distinctly, I would choose the latter as being practically the most useful for enabling students to assimilate the knowledge they acquire, to keep up the practice of transferring English thought to their own tongue by way of translation and original composition, and lastly to make their knowledge useful to them for literary occupation, and for diffusing their ideas amongst the vast majority of their countrymen, who never have, and who will never have, the onnortunity of mastering a difficult foreign tongue like English.


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## NY VISIT TO THE VIENNA CONGRESS

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RAMERICINA GOPAI BH MNDARKAR, MA.

Mr D. Hov. M R A S., \&c.




## MY VISIT TO THE VIENNA CONGRESS

## BY

RAMKRISUNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph. D. Hon. M. R. A. S., \&c.

A pusper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Isiatic Society, February 11th, 1887.

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When my college friend and classfellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yajnik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should gire an account of my visit at a meeting of this Society, I had no hesitation in saying that that was the last place I should myself think of for such a purpose. My visit to Europe was of a very short duration, and though I could say something that might unterest an ordinary native audience, I had very little to communicate that was worthy of being listened to by such a learned body as the Bombay Asiatic Society. Besides, even as regards a mixed native audience, so many natives of the country had visited Europe before me, and lived there for a number of years, and communicated their experiences to their countrymen after their return by publishing books and pamphlets and delivering lectures, that short as my visit was, I could have nothing new to tell even to such an audience. My scruples, it appears, were communicated to the respected President of the Society, who, thereupon suggested that I should give principally an account of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienoa to which I had been deputed, and in connection with that some of the impressions which what I saw in Europe had produced on my mind. To this I assented, and I thus appear before you to-day.

I arrived in London on Saturday, the 28th of August, and stayed there till Thursday, the 9 th of September. On the afternoon of this ${ }^{-}$ day I left for Oxford, where I spent the next three days. On Monday I went thence to Birmingham, and returned to London on the following Wednesday. The nest four days I spent in London, and left England for France on Monday, the 20th. In London I saw St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the House of Commons, India Office, the National Gallery, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the Tower of

London, the Kew Gardens, Mampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Thall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I bad unfortunately none to guide me in London, as I had in Oxford and Birmingham, and therefore I did not see as much or as well as I might have. I met our late Secretary, Dr. Codrington, in Vienna, and on my informing hira that I had been to London, he told me he'was in London during the time I was there, and had he hnown of my being there he nould have been glad to take me with him and show me all the sights. I was very sorry that I did not know Dr. Codrington was in London; but as it was, everybody was very busy and nobody could make it convenent to go with me. I cannot stop here to gire the impression that each of the buldings and institutions I saw produced on my mind, and my general impression I will give further on.

I wore in Europe my usual Maratha costume, the turban, the long coat, and the white uparnemior scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words bahut garamí hotit hai, salam, \&c. The conversation thus begun in Ihudustani nas continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were AngloIndians; and they told me how long they were in Indaa and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable fechngs. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the worls
 and asked the gentleman whether be was in the Maratha country, to which he repled ın Gujarati, अमे काडेवाडमां हता, "I was in Kattiawar." आअनुं काम सं ₹ृतुं "What office did you hold there ?" I asked. अने देलियिकल एंंड हता "I was Political Agent," was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi आपण अांडरसन साहेत्ब काय, "Are you Anderson Saheb?" to which he replied, "Yes." Then we went on speaking in English together, and he was kind enough to go with me and show me the Office of the Oriental Bank to which I wanted to go,

The first person 1 saw in London was Dr, Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very hindly. I visited him sereral times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languafes, three of which the Society did me the honour of publishing in their journal last year, were very important, and wished me to complete the $n$ à sodn as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Ottice hbrary, Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit in the

University of Edinburgh, happened to be there, and I was introduced to him by Dr. Rost. Professor Eggeling has been compiling a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manoscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Osford Catalogue, and he had come.that day to London to examine some of the manuscripts carefully. I had an interesting conversation with him, and in his congenial company, and in that of Dr. Rhys Davids, the Pâli scholar; to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at home. I passed a very agreeable evening with them at the National Liberal Club, of which Dr. Rhys Davids is a member. We had a long conversation on a variety of topics, ranging from Buddhistic metaphysics to English and Indian politics, including the annexation of Burma. Dr. Rhys Davids seemed to be full of admiration for the freedom, boldness, and truth of the religious and philosophic thought of ancient India abont the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him preseuts no parallel. Professor Eggeling did not quite agree with him, taking into consideration the development of philosophic speculation since the time of Kant, and I was disposed to sympathize with him, though as regards religious idees and theories I perfectly agreed with Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dr. Rhys Davids, the Buddhistic ideal is the condition of an Arhat who enjoys profound internal peace undisturbed by passion. It is a condition of holiness, goodness, and wisdom. This seems in his opinion to be at the bottom of the religious aspirations of man, or probably the only thing that is valuable in those aspirations, and this alone Buddhism set up as an ideal to be striven for by the religious man, to the exclusion of the ideas of God, the human soul as one unchangeable substance, and eternal existence. Dr. Rhys Davids is an enthusiastic Pâli scholar, and has succeeded in organizing the Pâli Text Society, in connection with which, with the aid of other scholars, he has been publishing in annual instalments the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. The service $h$, has thus been rendering to the cause of scholarship and research is invaluable. But it is very much to be regretted that he cannot devote his whole time to his studies, and has to work for his bread at the bar. If he had been a German he would have got a Professorship somewhere. He is, however, Professor of Palli in the London University, but without pay and without pupils. He is a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is a paid appointment ; and I have no doubt, if elected,
he will be of sery great service to the Society; but it is by no means certain that he will get the appointment. I saw him on one occasion in his rooms in Brick Court, when he showed me some splendid lah manuscripts which had been presented to him, if I remember right, by the king of Siam.

Another gentleman with whom I came in contact in London and who was very kind to me was Colonel Henry Yule, Member of the India Council and President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Edward Thomas, a Bengal Civilian, who, after bis retirement devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquities, and Dr. J. Fergusson, a zealous student of ancient Indian architecture and archæology, both of whom were active members of the Royal Asiatic Society, are dead. The Society's Secretary, Mr. Vaux, has also rather suddenly been removed by death at an early age and another not yet appointed; so that the Society is not in a very flourishing condition at present; and Colonel Yule obserred to me how difficult it was for them to get enough matter for the Society's journal. I also came in contact with Mr. J. S. Cotton, Editor of the Academy, who was once empluyed by the Secretary of State to examine the materials in the India Office, and digest them into a report on the advancement or condition of India; and he seemed to be very familar with Indian matters.

At Oxford I was received with cordiality and almost enthusiastic kindness by my old master, Mr. Sidney Owen, who was Professor of History and Political Economy in the Elphinstone College, from January 1857 to April 1858, and his family. Here I had before me the charming and edifying spectacle of a wellregulated, high-toned, and happy English family. The one object of father, mother, sons, and daughters seemed to be to please me; and I felt $I$ was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long.lost son or brother. Oxford was at this time empty, the Colleges baving vacation, and all I could see was the buildings. Mr. Owen showed me Magdalen, Christ Church, Worcester, Baliol, and others. The quadrangles with the green grass nicely trimmed, the gardens and walks, and the canals give a raral, quiet, and pleasing appearance to the scene calculated to compose the mind and dispose it to contemplation, thought, and study. Within the premises of the same college there are often buildings in three different styles of architectare, the medirval, that of the seventeenth century, and the modern. It was a curious sight of a nature to awaken
historical associations rather than produce a sensation of harmony, the stone of the medireval buildings in particular being in 2 crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the relective mood. I also saw the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemeration is held, the Bodleian Library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid a visit to Professur Max Müller, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. Ile regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the tume of my visit. He wished to see more of me than be could under the circumstances. Still I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him for an hour and a half. He told me he had quoted my lectures in a paper that he had been publishiag in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression bhâshârthäh occurring in connection with certais roots in the Dhâtupâtha as meaning "roots the sease of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of ceurse I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Aryans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, stll I did not believe that the expression bhashärthäh meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then be spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhaunagar, Mr. Gauriśamkar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Saminyàsa, and about a copy of the new Samnyâsin's work on the Vedânta presented to him by the author. Professor Max Müller spokeapproringly of the doctrine of the Vedanta that the contemptibility and misery of life come to an end when an individual soul knows himself to be the same with Brahma or the Supreme soul. As I am not an admirer of the doctrine in the form in which it is taught by Sainkaràchârya and which alone is now the prevalent form in India, I observed that though according to his system a man must rise to the knowledge, "I am Brahma," previous to his entering on the state of deliverance or of eteraal bliss, still it is'essential that the feeling of me or egoism should be destroyed as a necessary condition of entrance into that state. The me is the first fruit of ignorance, and it mast be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no iadividual consciousuess when he is delivered, and in that state be cannot have the knowledge, "I am Brahma." The illustration often given of a liberated soul that becomes one with Brahma is that of the space or ether that is
enclosed in an earthen jar becoming oue with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brabma when there is no individual consciousuess and no knowledge that "I am the Brabma," what happiness can there br? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahma," does not according to Sauikarachairya's system mean I am one with the Supreme soul, who is the author of the Universe and who dwells in the Universe so full of beauty and grandeur. This, I beheve, is the idea of the audor of the Vedintasutra and of some of the Upanishads; but witl Śamkaràchârya the Universe or Creation is an illusion like that perceived by a man who sees a rope in darkness and mistakes it for a serpent, and flies away from it through fear. Misery, worldly happiness, sinfulness, littleness, and indeed all finite thought and feeling, are illusions. When these are dispelled the soul is free and happy and without finiteness or limitations, so that the proposition, "I am Brabma," means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to mysclf to be; but a free, blissful, unchanging, and unconditioned soul." This is the real natare of the soul, and anything at variance with it t'」at is felt is an illusion; so that Śamkarâchârya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all but to sce that oneself is really a blissful and unconditioned being. Though I might admire the doctrine about the first ideal, I do not think the latter to be very charming. This discussion we carried on for some time, and then turned to other matters. Professor Max Müller made me a present of a copy of the four parts of the dnecdota Oxonzensia as a memento of our short meeting, and with a few complimentary remarks on my work in the field of scholarship, for which I feel very thankful to him, brought the conversation to a close.

On Sunday, the 12th, I was introduced by Mr. Owen to Professor Jowett. IIc received me very kindly, but nothing of importance was said in the short conversation that followed.

I went to Birmingham to have a glimpse of Industrial England. Fortunately I found an obliging friend in Colonel A. Phelps, late Com-missary-General, Boubay. The British Association for the Advancement of Science recently held its meetings at the place, and an exhibition of the arts and industries of Birmingham had been got up for the occasion. Colonel Phelps took me twice to see the exbibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of ludustries with the latent
improvements, from a new apparatus forelectric lighting withoat the high tension so dangerous to life that is a drawback in the present mode, to a machine for washing clothes by means of steam, and school furniture so manufactured as to avoid the evils such as shortsightedness, which result from the use of the present kind of farniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. Ie then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Laberal Club, where I saw a great many members in the dining and the smoking-rooms. Mr. Chamberlain came in a short while after we entered, and I was introduced to him by the Colonel. A short but interesting conversation followed. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to excuse himself from attending to the affairs of India, while I strove hard to fir the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the Eritish Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so mucle of England I started from London for Vienna on the 20th. I went by way of Paris where I could spend only two days, during which, however, I saw so much as to make my head giddy. Isaw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Lourre, Luxembourg, Pantheon, the porcelain and tapestry manufactories which, I was told, are maintained at the expense of Government, and other places. Paris appeared to me to be a beantifal town, the palace at Versailles with the parks and avenue in front is superb, and the pictures at that palace and in the Louvre are innumerable and beautiful. The French appeared to me to be a nation of lovers of beanty and spared no expense, since the Government maintained even factories for painting pictures on porcelain and weaving them by means of coloured thread. But when certain places in the town called to my memory the frightful deeds of the people during the first revolution and of the Commune in 1871, the melancholy reflection forced itself on me that even an intense love of beauty, which I consider to be heavenly, is not necessarily associated in the human heart with a heavenly or angelic character, and that it is a mere passion in the human breast like rage and resentment. I was sorry not to have met any of the French Oriental scholars in Paris. I had very little time, and besides I was told that one of them, Monsieur Senart, was not in town, and I subsequently learned that even Monsieur Barth was absent. From

Paris I went to Munich, where I stopped for a day. Ifound it ta be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a bulding in an elevated position called the Maximiliar College, which commands a very fine view. I saw these and also a bronze colossus representing Bavaria, behind which there is a corridor in the shape of three sides of a rectangle with marble busts of the great men of the country placed in niches in the walls. The riew from this point also is commanding. and in the light of the morning sun the place lonked very eharinng and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went ou Saturday, the 25 th, to Vienna, the place of my destination, which I reached at about 9 p. m.

The next morning Dr. Rost and Dr. Kielhorn came to see me at the Hotel de France, which is situated close to the University. We walked together for about an hour and returned by a tramear to the University. The meetings of the Congress were held in this building, and the office of the managing committee was also located there. We stepped into the office and signed our names in the Register of members. In the evening a conversazione was held at one of the hotels in order that the members of the Congress might make each other's acquaintance. The attendance was very large, and I was introduced to and exchanged cards with a great many scholars. There were two Egyptians with an ivory complexion and Turkish caps, a Chinaman, the Secretary of the Chinese legation in his national costume with the long pigtail, á Japanese in European costume, an Indian Mussulman, native of Aligarh and educated at Cambridge, similarly dressed, and myself with my turban and uparnem. The Chinaman's knowledge of French was greatly admired, and they said he spoke the language perfectly as well as a Parisian.

The nest morning at ten o'clock the members of the Congress gathered together in the large hall of the University. Opposite to them on the other side of a large table sat the members of the Committee of Organization with the minister of Public Instruction and Archduke Rainer, who is a great patron of learning in Austria. The Archduke in a short speech deelared the Congresa open, after which the Minister of Pablic Instruction rose and welcomed the members of the Congress in the name of the Government. He was followed by the President, Baron Kremer, who delivered a long address in Freuch. Then the leaders of the differeut deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brougbt
presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the differeat sections met in the rooms assigned to them, and after the election of the President and Vice-President, papers were read and discussed., As I belonged to the Âryan Section I witnessed the proceedings of its meetings only. I will therefore confine myself to an account of them. Our President was Prof. Roth of Tübingen and Vice-President, Prof. Weber, Among the members who attended were Dr. Rost of the India Office; Professors Bühler of Vienna, Kielhorn of Gottingen, Ludwig of Prague, Jacobi of Kiel, Leumann of Strasburg Kün of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, andWindisch of Leipsic; Drs. Hoernle of Calcutta, Cartellieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest $\boldsymbol{5}$ and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum, Grierson, a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjnb Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cast of the Royal Asiatic Society of London attended some of the meetings, and we-had an American gentleman of the name of Leland, who has made the language of the Gipsies his special study. There were two French scholars of the names of Milloué and Guimet, and an Italian scholar named Lignana. There were other members whose names I do not remember. Our average attendance was about 45. Prof. Max Müller did not come on account of the unfortunate occurrence I have already mentioned, and the other scholars conspicuous by their absence to me, at least, were Professors Oldenberg of Vienna, Aufrecht of Bonn, Kern of Leyden, Eggeling of Edinburgh, and Dr. Böltlingk of Jena. The Âryan section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers ia English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian and Dr. Hoernle, who used Englush. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French; and the Italian read in the language of his country. These four languages only were recognised by the Congress. Mr. Bendall read a paper on the discovery in Nepal of a new alphabet with arrow-head characters. Specimens were exhibited on the occasion, but I felt conviaced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the Nàgarì, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each Nigarî letter. They were thicker in this manuscript than usual and written in a manner to make one end narrower than the other. Mr Grierson appeared before the section twice, once to read a paper on some of the diale:ts of the Hundi, and at another time with obseriations
on Tulasìdîsa and other Mindî poets. This gentleman has been doiug very uscful work by studging the peculiarities of the Hindi, as epohen in the provnces of Behar and Mithila, and publishing grammarm of the dialects prevaleut there. The Aryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Goverument of India the institution of a regular survey of the spohen dialects of Indis. I read at the first day's meeting extructs from my Report on the search for manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palnleaf manuscript of a Jaina work hitherto unknown that had been discovered in the course of the search now conducted by Dr. Peterson and myself, and which would have been placed before the section by Dr. Peterson himself if he had been present. This excited a good deal of curiosity, and one of the scholars gave it as his opinion that the work belonged to that beanch of the Jaina sacred heterature which is known by the name of Purvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At anether meeting Prof. Roth made a few observations on the peculiarities of Vedic grammar, dwelling principally on the fact that when a noun and an adjective are used together the case termination is often found affixed to one of them only, as ia the instances परमे हयंम्यू, माहिना जनूंति, \&c. Prof. Jacobi read a paper in which he endeavoured to show that the Brahmanic hero-god, Krishna, was admitted by the Jainas very early, more than a century before the begioning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kaśmîr and the Hındu Kush. One of Dr. Bühler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr.Cartellieri showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vâsavadattà with similar ones occurring in Bâna's Kâdambarí, that Bâṇa adopted, in a good many cases, Subandhu's images, and often his very words and expressions, so that the doubts thrown on Subandhu's priority to Bâṇa were groundless. Dr. Nocrnle read a paper on an old manuscript of a work on Arithmetic foand at Bakkhali in the north of Paujab in a ruined enclosure. It is written in a character which is a variety of the Kaśmir character known by the name of Sürada ; and $\mathrm{Dr}_{r}$. IIoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9 th century. The character appeared to me not very different from or very much more ancient than that in which Kubmir manuscripts about 100 or 150 years old are written. Dr. Hoernle had read a paper on the same manuscript about three years before at a meeting of the

Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Leland read a paper on the Gipsy language in which he traced the origin of the Gipsies to India; Captain Temple gave some account of the Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs that he has been compiling; the Italian scholar read a few remarks on the words Navagua and Dasagva occurring in the Rigreda; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vrishabhar the first Tirthamkara of the Jainas. A few other papers were also read.

At one of its meetings the Section adopted a resolution asking the Government of Indin to restore the appointment of epigraphical surveyor, as the arrangements proposed by Dr. Burgess for getting translations of inscriptions done by different scholars willing and qualified to do them were considered unsatisfactory, and to re-appoint Mr. Flect to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of guch a personal question being brought before that learned body.

One thing in connection with the work of the Semitic section that came to my notice mast here be mentioned. Prof. Karabacek read a report on the paleographical results furnished by some of the papyri or documents written on pieces of the papyrus which were found in Egypt. These were purchased by the Archduke Rainer, who paid more than 2.i, 000 forins for them. I went to the place where they are kept and exhibited, and was told that some of them were more than two thousand years old. There is among them an original order issued by the Caliph Amru, which bears his own siguature. The papyri were found rolled up, and it is a very difficult thing to unroll them in a manner not to break them into pieces. This however is done very carefully by Prof. Karabacek and his condjutors; and there is a large photographicil apparatus in the building by means of which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the sise of the original printed off from the negative in the colour of the original.

On Monday, or the first day, an evening party was given by the minister of Public Instruction. Besides the members of the Congress there were other distinguished guests, among whom was the British A mbassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sutiptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large bnnqueting hall of the Rathhnus. The Rathhaus or Townhall is an extensive and noble building round which the learned guests were taken, previous to their being led into the banqueting hall. Refreshments were laid on the table, and the best available music provided for the occasion. In the evening of the same day, there was a
reception at the ressidence of Archduke Rainer. There was an mirlimited supply of the best Vennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffer, and ices A good many persons, including myself, were introduced to the Archduke and the Duchess, who spoke a few words to them in German, French, or English. On Thursday, a grand dinner was giver in the evening by the Committee of grganization, and there were tom ts and post-prandial specches as usual. In the afternoon of Frrinys the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a sprecial train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Viema lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills ox the sides, the seene nas charming. We spent about an hour at the place and returned home a little after sunset.

Dr. Bühler had told me a day or two before the dinner on Thurslay to compose a few verses in Sanstrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I sad I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Âryan section, where I should have a select andience that woald understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses in different metres and sung them in the manuer we nsually do in lndia, at the final meeting of the Âryan section on Saturday morming. After that was over, I read some of the bymns in the Rigreda Sainhitit in the manner in which they are. recited by Vaidika Brabmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxions to hear how the accents are indicated in pronumciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applicd themselves with such derotion and zeal to the stady of the sacred language of my country and its varied literature, was very gratifying to me. The spirit that actuated them appeared to be that of the old ?ishis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions and desoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India whenever any grand sacrifiee was performed by a great hing, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of Mishis is reported in the Brihadárapyaka Epanishad and the Viju Purậ̣a, Janaka, the king of Mithilà, performed a horse-sacrifice, amd a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupanchalas or the country about Thanesar, Mathurâ, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janak a wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the

Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore bronght forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horus of each. Then he sadd to the Brahmans: "That one among you who hnows the Brahma the best should take away these cous." None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yajjũaralkya said to a pupil of his, "Young man, drive these cows home." The papil began to da so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, "What, does be thinh himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best ?"' Jauaka had a priest of the name of Aśralh, who sand to hım : "Well, Yijiuavalkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best." Yijinaralkya replied, "I am but an humble servant of one yho knows the Brahma the best; I ouly want the cows." Then the priest Aśvala put a question to Yajunavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questons, requiring him to explain a large variety of points concerning the ritual, the gods, the soul, the supreme cause of the world and the soul of all, good deeds, bad deeds, Sc. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gârgi Vachakuavl who, in her own words, "attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kásí or Videhas attacks an eqeng with two arrows on his strung bow." Yajiavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upanishad, aud is very importaut for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endearoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned M!shis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Muthild, the capital of the king of Videhas, ou the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Venua, the capial of the Emperor of Austria, to dispel the darkness that had overspread the earth in this sinful age of Kali, out of pity for man. Aś vala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Bühler, Yajjinavalkya appeared ns Weber and Roth, and Siakala as Kielhorn. Kaholla manifested himself as Jolly; and the remaining Pishis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Ylennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read uearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanshrit works. She was our Gärgi Vâchaknarî.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have deroted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the langunge and its literature, and to the solution of the
various problepas suggested by it. They have successfully traced the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classuifil the languages of the civilzed world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak them, shown that the Áryans of India composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Rotnans and the nations of modern Europe, escept the Turks, the LLuagarians, and the Fins, penetrated into the secret of the formation of human speech and the growth of myths, and constituted the science of language and comparatise mythology. They have collected.manuscripts from all parts of India, and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam ; and the Government of India has been assisting their efforts by instituting an archelogiral survey and search for manuscripts. They have examined the Tedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original bistory and condition of the Indian Âryas, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahâbhârata, Râmâyaṇa some of the Puraṇas, and the law books, as well as the dramatical literature, have been subjected to a similar examination. Buddhism, the memory of which has faded away in India, has again been brought to our notice; and its sacred texts, manuscripts of which are nowhere now found in India, have been rendered available to us.

In this work of study and research the Germans, of all the nations of Europe, have been the foremost. Most of the great achievements I have briefly indicated above are due to their patient industry and critical acumen. We have had one great French scholar, and there are now two or three. Englishmen first of all discovered Sanskrit, as was of course to be expected from the fact of India's having fallen into their hands, and we have had first-class English scholars, such as Colebrooke and Wilson. But somehow Sanskrit and philologieal studies have not found a congenial soil in the British isles. While there are at present twenty five German scholars at least who have been working in the different branches of Sauskrit literature and have published something, we have not more than five among Englishmen. England employs Germans in connection with her philological work. The best Sanskrit scholar in the country is a German, and the Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh and the Librarian of the India office are Germans. There is a German in charge of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian is a Hungarian. The Germans are the Brahmans of Europe, the French
the Kshatriyas, and the English the Vnisyas; though as was the case in India, the Brabmans of Europe have now taken to a military occupation. The great excellence of German scholarship consists in the spirit of criticism and comparison that is breught to bear on the facts that come under observation, and in the endeavour made to trace the gradual development of thought and language and to determine the chronological relations of events.

So much for the bright side of the picture. But it has also a dark side, to shut our eyes to which will do no good to the cause or to anybody. The praper and fruitfol exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be cailed the bistorical spirit, depends upon innate ability and a naturally sound judgment. These are not to be found everywhere, and often we meet with instances in which very comprehensive conclusions are based upon the most slender evidence. Though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thougnt, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvautages under which the foreigaer must labour. He has no full and familiar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination. In the case of European Sanskrit scholars there is besides always a very strong disiaclination to admit the high antiquity of any book, thought, or institation, and a tendency to trace Greek influence everywhere in our literature; while not seldom the major premise in the reasoning is that the Indians cannot bave any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreiguers. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race preveuts a full perception of the truth. Of course, scholars of ability and sound judgment shake off such tendencies and prejudices; and among these I may mention, since I do not wish to make invidious comparisons between living scholars, Dr. Muir of Edinbargh and Prof. Goldstücker.

But independently of sugh defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or Purânic style and the dramatic plays were alone, properly understond in Europe, while those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays
and works on Poetics, were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the Sûstras, as we call them; and often the sense of passages containing idomatic expressons in other worhs also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grnmmar and a dictionary ; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either. As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anushtubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse. If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Earope before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Grechs into that part of the contivent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from the old Pandits of India. This defect was first of all clearly perceived by those German scholars who spent a good many years in India; and now it has been acknowledged by others also, though there are still some whose reliance on a grammar and a dictionary continues unbounded. And the Gernans have already begun to remedy the defect. Dr. Garbe was sent more than a year ago to this country at the expense of the Prussian Government to study Indian philosophy. He lived at Benares for a year and read one or two works with some of the Pandits there, and has recently returned to his country. Dr. Kielhorn has undertaken to publish an edition of the Kásikâ, an old commentary on Pânini's Sûtras containing copious notes and explanations of a nature to enable the European scholar to understand the intricacies of the style of grammatical exegesis. And on the last day of my stay at Vienoa, Dr. Buhler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instraction to represent to hura the necessity of having an Assistant Professorship of Sanskrit in connection with the University of Vienna. This he means for Dr. Hultzsch; but his ultimate idea is that large Universities such as those of Berlin and Vienna should have an Assistant Professorship to be held by a Sanskrit Master of Arts of the Bombay University, and on Dr. IIultzsch being raised to the Professorship or provided for elsewhere, he will have an Indian in his place. This I believe is a good
idea, in the interests of both European and Indian Sanskrit scholarship but the principle involved in it, viz., a close intercourse between the scholars of the two countries, deserves to be carried out in other ways. This also has not escaped the attention of Dr. Bühler; for though he is not now in his bodily form present in India, he carries on an active correspondence with many persons here, and has recently issued a prospectus about a Vienna Oriental Journal which will contain several articles in English intended to be read by us here. I have no doubt that such a close iutercourse will be productive of benefit to us here. New ideas and views about matters in Sanskrit literary history are constantly started in Germany, and these will stimulate thought and inquiry among us, and we shall be able to make use of our knowledge either to confirm or refute thent, and put forth new ideas and views of our ovin. It is very much to be wished that more of us devoted ourselves to learning and research. Every year our University turns out a good many Sanskrit scholars, and but few have hitherto made scholarship the occupation or pleasure of their lives. 'But physical wants claim attention first, and unless somebody in his liberality makes provision for them, there is little hope that we shall have many scholars among us. The necessity of endowing Professorships for the advancement of learning and science among us was recently urged with characteristic ability on the attention of his audience by the ViceChancellor of the University and our President; and I gave expression in my humble way to the same idea in my first Wilson Lecture and in my evidence before the Education Commission ; but there is no hope of Government being able to do anything in the matter in the present state of circumstances, while as regards ourselves there is little public spirit among us, and the liberality of Khojas, Parsis, and Hindus flows in other channels, and no one has the power of diverting it into this.

Another feeling which the sittings of the Congress evoked in me and to which I gave expression in my verses, was that of admiration for the respect for human nature tind brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were erinced by the interest which so many people took in the condition, the thought, and languages of the people of Asia, Africa and Polynesia, so inferior to Europeans in all that constitutes civilization. I also thought that international congresses such as this were calculated to promote good feeling between the different nations of Europe, so as to render war impossible in the course of time. And from what

I saw during my hasty visit it appeared to me that Europe was approaching towards a realization of this ideal. There is hardly so much difference as regards external appearance and manners between the different nations of Europe as there is between the different races of India, though their languages are more widely different than those of Northern India. Their dress, their modes of eating, their social manners, and their institutions are a gooddeal more alike than ours. Any invention or discovery made in one country finds its way easily into another. The railway trains of one country run in continuation of those of another, and the postal and telegraphic arrangements are such as one might expect only in a country under one and the same Government. Travellers are always going from one country to another, and everywhere there are hotels where their comfort and convenience are carefully attended to. So that, to an external observer, Europe appears in times of peace to be one country. And I saw a pantomimic show in one of the theatres in Vienna which intensified my general impression. At first girls in European costume appeared dancing on the stage. Then was shown the digging of the Suez Canal and the plying of steam-boats in it. This was followed by a representation of the cutting of the Mount Cenis tnanel; and afterwards appeared men and women in the costumes of all countries, with some in our Indian costume, and a number of negro boys. And they all danced together in joy, the negro boys beating time. This idea of a universal brotherhood was, I thought, the most prectus product of European civilization, more valuable by far than ralways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versufied Sauskrit address with the words, "Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeapours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves;" and coded it by saying, "May Congresses such as this conduce to knit different countries together in friendship, to the cessation of war, and to the prosperity of mankind."

I was however not free from disturbing thoughts. Though all this Oriental learning had probably its origin in a respect for buman nature, still a mere love of reputation and a desire to conform with the fashion of the day, are the motive causes in most individual cases. Though the whole external look of Europe makes for peace, still ever since the idea expressed in the lines

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were farled,
In the Parlament of man, the Federation of the world,
was distinctly formulated, there have been many wars in Europe, and many more times have the Europeans fought Asiatics and Africans and crushed them. And I remember that the adrancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy resuits of one of these latter wars; so that, love of oriental learning is not necessarily associated with good-will for the oriental races. A German Sansknt Professor once said to me that he liked social equality being given to the natives of India, but not political equality, and that he considered the Ilbert Bill to be mischierous. I told him that in Ceylon and the presidency towns the native magistrates did actually exercise the power of trying European offenders. He did not know that, he said, but still proceeded to defend his position, and bringing his ortental learning to his aid, observed, " Oh , Buddhism has softened the Ceylonese, so that they might exercise that power; but the case is different in India." I listened quietly, thanking my country's stars that she had not fallen into the hands of Germans. A nd tro of the most civilized nations in Europe have for the last fifteen years been making preparations with their usual energy for a grand human sacrifice, in which the blood of about eight million human victims is to be poured on the altar of the goddess of nationality. Even the Oriental professors of those two nations are full of warlike sentiments; and there is a firt determination to destroy the hated enemy or die. So that, the spirit of humanity, though evolved in the course of European history, has been entirely driven out of the field of action by the spirit of nationality. The very physical eneroy of the European races and the importance attached to mere material greatness, are unfavorable to the further growth of that spirit. And in this matter, at least the prophecy of the old Locksley Hall has not been fulfilled, and there is ground for the despondency expressed in the new. After the Congress was over I stayed for a week more in Vienna, and saw the museums, the picture galleries, and other sights. I left the place on Sunday, the 10 th of October, for Venice, where I spent three days.

I have already taken up so much of your time, that I have little left for conveying to you some of my general impressions. I will, however, do so hastily. Everywhere the energy of the European races and the orderly shape that they give to everything made a deep impression on my mind. On my way from Brindisi to Calais, I observed
on the sides of the railway in Italy vines and trees planted in straight lines at equal distances, and in Southern France, happy looking villages with nice roads laid out, and grass so well trimmed as to give the fields and even the slopes of hills a smooth appearance. Everywhere the hand of man was to be seen. In London 1 was impressed with the immense wealth of the people, and their devotion to business. In private dwellings and in shops all things are nicely arranged. The shops are generally in substantial buildings, and the shopkeeper is alwnye seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affars of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could uot avord making comparisons between what I saw and what exists in India I felt that with our fields neglected except for getting a harvest or two, our things lying about in a disorderly condition in our houses and our shops, and our shops constructed of wooden planks and our shopkeepers often dozing in their seats, we are considerably inferior in point of energy to the European races, and especially to the English. When I saw the exhibition at Burmingham and observed how some improvement or other is always made in machines, implements, and arts, and how new arts and industries spring up, I could not avoid remarking to my kind friend Colonel Phelps, "Your intellects are always awake, ours are dormant." Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu. The English people possess a vast power of organization. Those of them who hold the same view on any matter easily combine together to adrance that view, and thus form clubs and associations, I was struck when I heard that the National Liberal Club in London had 5,000 members. In India hardly so many as five persons can be foand to lay aside their jealousies and combine for the advancement of a cause. In every one of the towns I visited there are one or more museums, and in most of them picture galleries. Both the Government and the people take pride in them and in other institutions of the kind, and are ready with their contributions of money for their improvement. We have no museum anywhere in India worthy of the name, and picture galleries are never dreamt of. I saw a splendid free library at Birmingham maintained'by the municipality, and in the Guildhall in London, and was told that all the municipalities in England had such free libraries. We never heard of anything of the kind in India. Even such a rich municipality as that of Bombay with its surplus of
five lacs does not maintain an institution of the kind, and it is a matter of no little wonder that the idea should not have been put into the heads of the members of our Corporation by any European gentlemen or a native who has been to England. The means of communication throughout Europe are, as I have already stated, perfect, though the Customs Officers on the frontiers of a country give some trouble, and there are establishments in all places for the accommodation of travellers. Travelling, therefore, is so easy, that a timid Hindu like myself, who cannot speak French or German, could go from London to Vienna, and thence to Venice, alone, without the least difficulty. All that I snw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We- are far behind Earope, and especially England, in all those matters that I have just noticed, and ours is what Principal Wordsworth calls a feeble civilization; though I believe the vigorous civilization of Europe is now on its trial, and the war between the French and the Germans which must come some day, and the socialistic and nihilistic movements, if they make further progress, will determine whether it is not one-sided, and its ideals have not been chiefly, if not exclusively, material. And in this respect we should by no means be very anxious to realize it among ourselves.

One point more, and I have done. When I set my foot on the soil of Italy and saw the Italian Custom-house officers, policemen and others, exercising their authority, the thought entered my mind, "But a few years ago this country was cut up into a number of little states, most of them despotically governed, and now these pople have become one nation and got representative institutions"; and $I$ cast a wistful eye at their newly-acquired independence. While in London I once went to soe the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Bolegn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were executed, and also the dungeon into which those persons who were obnoxious to the reigning prince or his courtiers were cast quietly and in a manner unknown to anybody, I observed to my friend, "You are a wonderful people; three centuries ago you were governed by monarchs nearly as absolute and despotic as any that reigned in India, and you have now gradually worked out your freedom without shedding much blood; while we have not succeeded in emancipating ourselves during the last twenty-five centaries," Notions such as these were
present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myselfj what it was that I wished? Should I like that the English had never conquered the country? I at once said, "No." For, as I had already observed to my friend, we really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was no possibility of our having any idea of that European civilization which I so much admire, there was hardly much security of life and property, and there was little possibility of a man travelling from one province to another nithout being looted. And we should in that case have had no post-office or roads or railways or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and above all, that education which has now opened our eges to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not sabjugate the country when it was in the lowest state of political degradation, with selfishness reigning supreme, rival competitors for thrones or for power intriguing against each other and asking their aid, and the people at large maintaining their traditional indifference? Would I then wish that the English voluntarily retired from the country-for driving them away was out of the question-and left us to govern ourselves? Even here I had no hesitation in saying 'No." If they should retire, we should immediately return to the old state of things. For though we talk about public spirit, public duty, nationality, and things of that sort, these ideas have not deeply sunk into our nature. Self-interest is as strong a motive with us as it ever was before. There is a lamentable want of serious thought amongst us. Childishness is rampant everywhere. We are divided into castes and communities that have not yet learnt to make common cause with each other. We still want that energy and those orderly modes of action, and that power of organization, which are necessary in order that we may progress in civilization; and we shall only lose the ground which we bave gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higber civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I beliere it to be an act of Divine. Providence that the English alone of all the candidates who appeared about the same time for the empire of India should have succeeded. The Marathas, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French were all weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the empire was given to the English. For the Marathas possessed the usual vices of Indian rulers, the Portugaese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the nativea of the
countries they conquered hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the French are volatile and have no settled principles. Of the other nations of Europe, the Germans and Austrians do not themselves enjoy that freedom that we do under the British, and Russia is the most despotic of all European states, and is perhaps as barbarous as ourselves without our mildness. But England is a nation that has worked out its freedom. She gave liberty to the Negro slaves at a vast sacrifice of money; and it is the only country in Europe where the sentiment of humanity has made progress. It is impossible that such a country should treat us as slaves; or like the Dutch reduce us to the condition of mere artisans and labourers. Reflections such as these quieted me, and I was content that the English should rule over us, notwithstanding that there are very few Sanskrit scholars among them. In this frame of mind I got on board the steamer "Siam." The next morning, a fellow-passenger of the name of Colonel Noble, Commissioner of Sahet Mahet in Oudh, came and sat near me. He asked me a variety of questions, one of which was, "How will you manage about caste after your returu to your country." I said: "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that $I \mathrm{am}$, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and will not invite caste opposition. If notwithstanding, I find myself in difficulties these must be put up with; for it is of the highest importance that we should visit Europe, if we would march on, side by side with our rulers, towards a higher goal." "That word 'rulers'," says Col. Noble," that you have used, I do not like. For it is the feeling of a great many Englishmen that we are but your brothers to direct and guide you towards a brighter future." I was highly delighted, and thought that if all the statesmen and officers in whose hands the destinies of India were placed were actuated in all that they did by such a feeling as this, we should be the happiest people on earth; we should forget that we were governed by foreigners, and look upon the British Government as our own national government. There were a good many other passengers on board who wefe very courteous and kind to me, and with whom I had pleasant conversations. Among them were Mr. Sheppard, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and a good many other civilians belonging to Bombay, Madras, and the North Western Provinces. The charge of hauteur usually brought against Anglo-Indians I found to be false on board the steamer. The Siam dragged its slow length along the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the

Red Sea, and the:Indian Ocean, and at last we found ourselves in the harbour of Bombay. In the bustle and commotion which followed in consequence of everybody's desire to go on shore at once, I made my way to the place where Colonel Noble was, and took his leave with the words, "Your sentiments with regard to my people are, no less than your name, Noble," and came away.

## yanc

dedicated to

## THE ARYAN SECTION

## op

## The Vienna Oriental Congress.

By Dr. R, G. Bhandarkar.

पोरस्ट्यानां जनानां निरतिशायमापि स्वाट्मतो भेग्राजां भाषातियफ्कलनामधिगमनिषये संततं सम्रयनाः।
 सोय सेार्यभात्रों जगति तिजयते 'मानुषत्बानुव्र्धी ॥? ॥ नाना़ि्रेश्रासंस्थान्यपितचुध ननान्सं गतान्न्वीनिपुर्या-
 चैदेहरस्याधमें पुर्वराभाथैलाभाभ्थितं पुण्यसंघं घधजानामृर्षीणां सकलसुरनरेवेन्द्रितानां ₹नरामि॥ २॥

> अभ्वलो भवत्वते बूलरूप:

याज्तवल्क्य इत्र बेबररानी।
ज्याऊरू: किल भनेरेकल

गर्गों बाचकत्वर्वेडा पुरंध्री प्रतिभाति मे। भन्याचलोकनं यस्या जीवर्यालग्बनं महत् ॥ ४॥ अन्यान्तुरिगरोहतयाक्रुचिमुसान्मन्येत्र तांस्तानृर्षीन् सर्वें तश्वरता: श्र्रतिस्ृत्तिपरा ज्ञानैकब द्वस्पृहा: । था ड़ू तिष्य गुगमभान्व जानित गाडं तमः सर्त्रतो सूरीक चुसुपस्थितः सकरणः संगयं मुनीनां गणः ॥५॥ समतैंट्य वाँऋोंदे गिरित्यनवर्धान्सभानेमां प्रात्तः । पेम्णः पारांज्ंड़ा वर्य च देशार्य नॉं भनंयुराति ॥ ह॥



कल्प्तार्मीहही संसं ज्मतुजानां च भूतये $\|<\|$
$\frac{2}{p} 16 a$ THE

# OLD MAN'S 

## HOPE

## TRAGT FOR THE TIMES.

## Qaleutta:

PRINTLD LY TIIE GALCCTTA CENTRAL PRESS CO., LD., j, conscla hotse maegt.
886.

## AWAKE!

Snns of Ind, why sit ye idfe,
Wait ye for some Deva's aid?
Jackle to. be up and doing !
Natons by themselves are made i.
Are ye Serfs or are ye Fremmen,
Ye that grovel in the shade?
In your own hands rest the issues!
By themselves are nations made!
Ye are ta.ed, what voice in spending
Have ye when the tax is paid?
Up! Protest : Right ariumphs ever !
Natious by themselves are made!
Yours the lind, lives, all, at stake, tho
Not by you the cards are played;
Are ye dumbi Speak up and clamm them:
By themselves are nations made:
What avail your wealth, your learning,
Empty tutles, sordid trade?
True self rule were worth them all !
Nations by themselves are made !
Are ye dazed, or are je chilitren,
Ye, that crouch, supine, afraid?
Will your childhood last for ever?
By themselves are nations made!
Whispered murmurs dark!y creeping,
Hidden worms bencath the glade,
Not by such shall wrong be righted!
Natuons by themselves are made !
Do ye suffer? do ye feel
Degradation ? undismayed
Face and grapple with your wrongs !
By themselves are nations made (
Ask no help from Heaven or Hell!
In yourselves alone seek aid:
He that wills, and dares, has all; -
Nations by themselves are made!
Sons of Ind, be up ard doing,
Let your course by none be stayed
Lo! the Dawa is in the Fast;
By themselves are nations made I"

IME BEARS US ALONG SO SILENTLY 'AN' smonthly that it is, often, almost with a start thi some of us old folks awake, as it were, to the cor sciousness that we are already rapidly nearing of graves. Many and weary have been the years of $m$ pilgrimage, and now the time of peace and rest for $m$ at any rate, draws nigh apace; but, before I pass awa and am no more seen, before that night falls for me in whic no man can work, I would fain speak to those brethren wh have so zealously toiled beside me, and to that people whom the and I love so well, of the great and enduring Hope that is in mea Hope that, could I see it realized, would light for me the porta' of the unexplored, and allow me to depart with the blessed assurane that a happier day was dawning for our Beloved Country.

As I move, silently and unnoticed, from one district and pre vince to other districts and other provinces of this great Empir amidst much that seems to me to be regretted, much that I canno but think wrons, one feature of Indian life of the present da forces itself everywhere on my attention, with an intensity the overpowers and almost excludes all other sensations. Strugs: aganst it as I will, and as I have for years now struggled, one gloom shadow overclouds all my waking hours, one hatefal spectre haunt all my dreams. Whatever I do, wherever I go, one sorrowful fact stare me in the face and withers all the flowers of my life. I have et deavoured to drape it over with more pleasing and presentabi facts, but the best of these, that I could procure, look only as litt scraps of coloured rags, sparsely scattered here and there upoe vast and rugged mountain side. I bave tried to forget, to ignc it; to live and float upon the surface, without looking don into or giving heed to de depths below; but all in vail Year after year, the heartache has grown within me, till nor at last, urged by a power stronger than myself, I feel that I mus speak, and speak out. I have long hesitated to do this, for unt recently I have been unable to see my way-unable to set befor myself any distinct goal, any definite course of action offering an hopes of mitigating the misery that so oppresses me. But th time of doubt has passed. I see my way, my goal, the definit course of action, clearly enough now, and if, before 1 pass away, can succeed in making my countrymen, high and low, see it with equax 1 clearness and adopt it with a corresponding determination to succee. ' $I_{i}$ at any rate, shall not have laboured or suffered in vain.

My friends, I am glad to meet you all once more after our long jarting. You are looking well and cheerful enough I must own ; it tas been a little coldino doubt, but you are well clothed and well fed Ind your darling, children, and all those near and dear to you, have all hat even your kind hearts can desire for them. You do well, brethren, o feel gratitude for all these blessings, which, perhaps, you have as et done little to merit, for at this moment there are fully fifty nillions of your countrymen who are moaning hunger-strichen, for he better times that mever come, who, with one single dirty bag bout their loins, shiver even in this warm clime in the chill eveniners nd raw mornings, who can never fill their own stomachs, who, porse still, have to see the one joy and crown of their lives, their ittle children, unfed, unclothed, to watch them, weakened by inufficient nourishment, fall one by one (vaialy clinging to their miserybaddened parents for protection), innocent victims to the demons of lisease that are ever prowling through our famished population.

Ah men ! well fed and happy ! with, so to say, scarce a sorrow or a are (for what are your troubles to their's?) do you at all realize the ull misery of these countless myriads? From their births to their eaths, how many rays of sunshine thirk you chequer their gloomhrouded paths? Toil, toil, toil ; hunger, hunger, hunger (not actual tarvation or it would sooner be all over) ; sickness, sufficring, sorrow, hese alas! alas! are the key-notes of their short and sad existences, ond who can deny that for these fifty odd millions and more, it were etter that they had never been born, better, almost, that stones were ow tied about their necks, and that they were cast into the rivers nd drowned!

You, who are comparatively so well off-you for whom life, iespite its inevitable sorrows, has yet so many joys, so many sun-reams-do you, can you, picture to yourselves the hopeless sadness f these your unhappy brethren's hard and suffering lives? Do ou feel for them? Are you men, or stones 3 I will not say nimals, for all know how much many animals sympathize in the ifferings of their fellows; but are you stones? And if not, how is it 'at with this ocean of misery surging beneath your feet, you are 1 so smiling and comfortable? How is it that you are apparently raking no single effort to remove this national calamity, and-in s) ar as you calmly tolerate it-disgrace?

Do you perchance give credence to the idle words of those pecious advocates of selfishness who tell you that such miscry rust be ; that the lower classes must suffer ; that it is the lot to which I has pleased the Almighty to call them; that their suflerings re a dispensation of Providence which they should accept with heerful resignation, and that it is useless to attempt to fight against he will of God, or distress ourselves about sufferings that He bas orjained? Doubtless the time will come when these blasphenters will now something more about that will of God, of which they so glibly alk ; but of this much we may all be certain, viz, that it is not the pill of God that any man should undergo sufferings which can be
averted from him by his fellowmen, and that on the contrary ; the will of God, hearken to it or not as we may, that each one us should avert all the suffering he possibly can from all his fello

The greater portion of this incalculable amount of suffering preventible and preventible by you; and I solemnly tell you, sta ing as I do on the verge of the other life, that unless you do ex yourselves to prevent it, you will assuredly sooner or later $h_{y}$ to regret it bitterly. Believe me that the retribution for shirk good work is no less certain than the retribution for doing evil wG Let people delude themselves as they may; let them drug tl inner knowledge of the truth, their consciences, as they will $n$ worldly pleasures, or seek to smother them with worldly purs and ambitions, they yet never wholly lose consciousness of the fo which every one of you know in your inmost hearts, that as mens so inevitably, here or elsewhere, shall they reap, and that precis according to your own acts and omissions here, shall divine jus deal with you in the great hereafter.

But I foresee that not a few will innocently reply that they already seeking to mitigate this evil ; that they give alms to the po that they subscribe to dispensaries, nay perchance that they have gi, handsome donations to a certain gracious lady's project for provid medical aid for women. Well, without condemning any of the though too often they mean the frittering away of money and energ that could be better employed in other channels, they are all as tho when some great dam had been breached and a flood were roar down the valley, a little group should gather beside the torr and commence baling it out with thimbles. It is on the dain $t$ they should mount and there struggle to fill in the fissure; i to the origin of our flood of misery that we must go and there st to staunch this ocean of tears. It is for women and children to $d$ and tenderly, as they ever will, God bless them! with partict instances; it is for us men resolutely to gird up our loins, and lo ing facts in the face grapple with principles and prime causes.

Now the prime cause of all this suffering is Poverty-a pove such as the world has never before seen on so vast a scale-a puve so extreme that it is difficult to make strangers realize it. I remember a dear Englishlady, with whose friendship $I$ was honc. ed, once saying to me that what she most especially noticed our Indian towns and cities was the extreme preference people showed for marketing in the evenings, and when I explair to her that this was because these poor folks had only $c$ meal a day, and that one in the evening, and only just so mı of a meal then, as the day's earnings would purchase, and that those days when they and their's earned nothing, they and the lay down starving to try and forgct in sleep the cruelty of th lots, except in rare cases (ah! so rare) when goaded by the gnaw; pangs of hunger they prowled about seeking to steal the need food, that the social organization of which they were misera units implacably denied them, the tears came into her kind ey
she was a woman, and an Englishwoman, and she could not lerstand that this was all a great wrong that her countrymen, :all ignorance for the most part, had wrought us; a wrong against inch it was our bounden duty to rise, not to revenge, not to speak, Sven feel malignantly about, but simply to put an end to.
To the British Government we owe peace-2 great blessing, one which may be purchased too dearly, since it is better, for fance, for a nation to have to fight and to lose even ten per cent. its numbers by the sword than for the whole nation to starve. : owe we say the great blessings of peace, of protection, comatively complete, to life and property, of a grand new departure education, including the grandest examples of noble lives which have come to lcarn of through our connection with them, and infinite serics of applications of Western science to the affairs of ry-day life which have added to the comforts and enhanced the uries of the rich and the well-to-do, but we owe to them also gric vous impoverishment of the masses, which has plunged more n fifty millions of our people permanently into dire distress.
There is no question that the Europeans will dispute all s. Some will deny the misery-they are as a rule so astoundingly corant of the conditions of our lives that they will do so in all od faith, fully believing what they say. This, indeed, is and ever ; been one of our greatest troubles. There are bad men amongst in, as amongst ourselves, but as a body they are honest and upint and desirous of doing right. Only unfortunately they are erly ignorant of our lives and of the condition of the country, and sc wrapped up in a comfortable sense of their own good inten. is, which are a reality, and great knowledge and wisdom, which are ths, that like the Bourbons they never learn anything, while ike them they forget a great deal, and too often those liberal princis that they learnt in boyhood. Many Europeans, I say, will deny misery, but as for you, you know that what I say is the exact th, and that, if anything, I understate the case. Not a rew of 1 are old enough to have heard with your own ears, from those $\phi$ had had ample experience of it, full accounts of the state affairs under our Indian rulers prior to 1803, and you know that * individuals here and there suffered cruelly, though it was often her hard for the rich, especially rich traders and bankers, the pses were comparatively well off, and were never persistently und down by poverty as they now are. Once in a way there a big famine; and hundreds of thousands (though much fewer in now-a-days) perished, and there was an end of it. Now and in there was a storm, sometimes hail, once in a lifetime a thunder$t$, but sunshine and fair weather predominated. The British have rood deal mitigated the hail, and set up tremendously elaborate ductors to prevent damage from lightning, but they have banished the sunshine, and the masses are now withering out a pallid exisce in a stifling, never-lifting fog of penury.
${ }^{3}$ But there are Europeans, who know the country and move
much amongst the people, specially many good missionaries, will admit the misery, but deny that the British Governmen mainly, or even appreciably, responsible for its creation. They assign, all kinds of reasons but the true ones, and I have even i estimable and self-devoted men who attributed the sufferings the people mainly to their refusal to adopt Christianity. No am the last to deny that the adoption of a higher standard morality might do something to diminish the sufferings of masses, who, besides suffering from a poverty from which they $c$ not escape, suffer also from the results of that increasing addict to strong drinks that our paternal Government, with so many f tests to the contrary, has so sedulously nursed and is still nurs amongst us; but it is altogether putting the cart before the ho to pretend that the existing sufferings of the people can be mat ally diminished either by an improved morality or an incre of education, -the fact being that neither of these can becom practical possibility, until the poverty, the extreme, excessive, grinding poverty that is crushing all life, physical and mental, of the masses, is mitigated.

To all, however, who have really investigated in an impar' and persevering manner the present and past conditions of people of India, the fact that, despite the many shortcomis and misdeeds of Indian rulers and Indian administrations, th was, in their times, no appreciable fraction even of the misery $t$ now pervades the lowest classes under British rulers and Brit administrations, is a fact too conclusively demonstrated to adi of argument. But post hoc is not always propter hoc, and ma of the panygerists of British rule, unable to deny the fact, wh indeed is disputable only by ignorance, attribute it, not to any ex ing maladministration, but to the increasing pressure of populat due to the protection afforded by the present stable and just ( vernment. But this view seems uatenable in face of the $v$ established principle that in a country like this, still thronged w virgin resources, any increase of population, up to limits not nearly attained in India, involves, where no abnormal adverse fluences are at work, a quite proportionate increase of the fund of which that population is supported.

With so many of the regulative conditions of life, so much proved as they have unquestionably been by the British, this pres enhanced population ought to be far better off, and all classes, high a low, ought to be richer ; whereas; as a matter of fact, the hig classes are poorer and the lower classes are absolute paupers, $\varepsilon$ this is directly and distinctly traceable to a fundamental defect British rule.

This defect is twofold ; for an, even then, poor and backward cor try, our European friends created an administration too expensive : too elaborate for any than a very rich and very advanced one, so tl throughout, too large a portion of the earnings of the country has $b$ c drawn away in taxation, and, what is worse still, too large a proport
he vast sums thus abstracted temporarily from the country - been so expended as to become permanently lost to it.

Under the worst and, most grinding native tyrant, the proceeds axation, with the exception of comparatively quite small sums ded, very soon found their way back into the country to lubricate wheels and even furnish fuel for the commercial machincry of country; but under our present benign rulers, many millions ughinot quite so many as is commonly supposed) yearly leave the ntry for good and all, and never directly, or indirectly return to it. course we are all familiar with the boasted per contia, the many fions of British Capital said to be invested in India (it is not ly anything like so large a sum when critically analysed as is posed), and the argument that, although interest on this is yearly ? to England, this only represents a portion of the profits thus erated, the balance remaining in this country. But so far he most careful investigations can enable one to speak on so very slved a question, I believe it is certain that all that remains in 1 cases is the simple hire of labour which in many cases (like the go business) could have probably found more profitable, and ainly more congenial, employment in other channels, had this i really, and not in many respects only nominally, a free country. Here is the clue to all our troubles, here is the breach in the 1 ; it is this persistent drawing away of the wealth of the country : we must protest against, and not merely this, but, put a stop to. $r$ by year a large proportion of the profits of the industry of entire population is drawn away to increase the working capital another people-our brethren no doubt-good and worthy folks 'ainly, but quite able to provide for themselves, and by no means ly hungering for our poor little ewe lambs of annual earnings which year by year remorselessly torn from us and cast into the mighty :hinery of the British financial world. Talk about the American. sage Machine, into which whole pigs and calves were flung to urge as ham and veal sausages, it is but as a child's toy to that intic machine of British commerce, into whose greedy maw aing is too vast-whether the entire earnings of one nation, as hur case, or the liberties of another as in that of Burmah, nothing iy is too vast, nothing too sacred, to be cast, so that it may prge later as dividends to British investors!
But to return : here, and here only, is the source of the trouble; ir by year a large and yearly increasing share of the profits of the ustry of the country is being drawn out of this country, sre it ought to remain to increase our working capital, and is being manently transferred to another country which alone thereafter efits by it , and the consequence is that year by year the country rowing poorer, and year by year that squalid penury which verywhere swallowing up our lower classes like a rising swamp, is pening, widening, blackening! Widespread and saddening however ire the consequences of this fundamental, defect in the British inistration, we owe the British so much that we could well afford
to forgive them all this, if only now, when the evil is patent, the would honestly grapple with the difficulty and apply, with suc promptness, as the conditions of the case admit, the needful remedi measures.

These are simple enough. As speedily as may be, without nee less expense and without injustice to individuals, 90 per cel of the non-Indian agency employed in the Goverment in a its multifarious branches should be replaced by Indian.* Instea of increasing the European army, as has just been done 1 10,000 men, it should have been diminished by at least an equ number, and as time went on further and further reduced, an loss of military strength being made up by the encouragement , Indian volunteers and the organization of an Indian militia thoughor the empire. The Secretary of State's Council should be abolished an the real governing power transferred to this country, the Governmei here being largely leavened by a representative Indian element, so th the people may have a potential voice both in the imposition of a taxation and in the disposal of its proceeds.

But, it will doubtless be said that these, after all, are a mere repr duction, in other words, of the resolutions at which the late Nation Congress arrived, and which the entire country through hundreds associations and in hundreds of public meetings has since ratified at insisted on! Assuredly they are no discoveries of mine; assured you are as well aware of their paramount importance as myself; b the difference between us is that, while you are inclined to despa of inducing the authorities to adopt these measures (and oth minor coggate ones); I am confident of your ability to secure th and my great Hope is that I may induce you to take heart grace, pluck up spirit and so combine and persevere as to make tl a certainty. Men differ in colour, local customs and national hab disguise affairs in varied garbs, but human nature varies so slow that the political lessons of one country and one age become ofte as time rolls by, curiously applicable to other countries at lat periods, and it is by a brief reference to one such lesson of $t$ past that I hope to show you, alike the duty we all owe now to o country and how we can best perform this.

Fas est ab hoste doceri, and still more admissible is it to ta a lesson from our good friends, the English, and learn from the how to battle with and overcome the fiscal tyranny that is, no killing us, as a similar one, years ago, was destroying them.

It is not so very long ago; I myself can well remember as ab (I was being educated then in England) this great struggle, a I could give you my own account of all that took place; but, $y$ might some of you fancy, so close is the resemblance of the $t$. cases, that I was subordinating the real facts to the object I now ha

[^64]n hand, and I shall therefore, for the most part, content myself with uotations from a standard English book, Gowing's Brief Biograghy ff Richard Cobden.

Richard Cobden I'Yes, it is to the Anti Corn Law League, to the great seven years war against the nefarious Corn Laws, that I would 'all your attention. How similar are the cases I our English brethren vere being starved by iniquitous laws (passed in the interest of a mall group of aristocrats), which prevented food getting info the ountry. Our own poor brethren are being starved by institutions low completely obsoletc, (maintained inthe interest of a small group if bureaucrats) which drain away all our money out of the country.

Yes, the masses in England were suffering, were plunged in istress, and constantly on the verge of starvation as the palpable esult of iniquitous fiscal ordinances maintained in the interest fa small class, and yet Mr. Gowing tells us :-
"People had grown hopeless of securing free trade in corn until there should be a different system of voting and a different set of men sent up to the House of Commons."
"As soon as the foreign corn came in with the stoppage of the war, the farmers began to cry that they would be ruined, for rents had been going up for many years. What was to be done. Should the landowners largely reduce their rents? Or should a law be passed to keep up the price of corn at the expense of the poor people who wanted bread? Well the poor people were not in Parliament to plead their own cause against dear bread. Generally they had no votes and no voice in the election of members of Parliament."

[^65]Here then was the English nation, a far more resolute and less $w$-abiding people than ourselves-a people of whom we are told, ne after time, that they broke the windows of those most instruental in maintaining the obnoxious regulations; that "the military are called out, several persons were killed, the Houses of Parliament re guarded by soldiers, and indeed the whole of London appeared be in possession of the army. Similar disturbances prevailed most of the populous districts of the North of England and the idland Counties, \&c., \&c." Well even this energetic people, so ready right themselves, were being starved by iniquitous fiscal restricns maintained for the benefit of a small group of aristocrats and argish body of landowners, just as our people are being starved by al arrangements maintained for the benefit of a small group of

Indian bureaucrats and the British Standing Army, and yet evel these people felt that redress was hopeless, and that they mus continue to suffer and to starve until the form of the Governmen should be modified, until they should be really and not merely nom nally represented therein,-until, in fact, they should possess tha direct share in the administration of their own country which i the birthright of every free citizen of a free country.

Now as regards the Anti Corn Law League "it is now univet "sally allowed to have been the best and most ably manage " popular movement in the history of political progress, and neithei "rival nor enemy, past nor present, has ever hesitated to admı "that the agitation owed its success in the main to Richard Cobder "and that for such a task he was the ablest leader that has eve "appeared upon the scene of English political life," and yet we ar distinctly told that even this league, the most ably managed popula movement in the history of political progress, led by the ables leader that has ever appeared upon the scene of English politica life, would have found it impossible to procure the repeal of thos iniquitous fiscal regulations that were ruining the country an starving the people, but for the fundamental reform effected in 183 in the constitution of the Government of the country.

He that hath ears to hear, let him hear! Though an Ange came down from Heaven, and enunciated the truth, nothin could tell us more plainly than these passages in English pol tical history, that we have no chance of getting rid of thos odious fiscal arrangements which are ruining lndia, and starving ou people, until we are "really, and not merely nominally, represented in the governing body of the country, and "pussess that direc share in the administration of" our "own country, which is the birth right of every free citizen of a free country !"

If, then, we are willing to profit by the lessons of history, an to be guided by the experience of that noble nation to whom " owe our existing conceptions of political rights, and our aspiration for a freedom like their own, we shall, henceforth, instead of fritter ing away our money and our energies on a score or more of differen objects, some local some general, one and all, everywhere, combine $t$ lay hold upon, and make our own, in defiance of all opposition an in despite of all obstacles, "that direct share in the administratio of our own country," that our English friends, whose humble pupil in these matters we are, have taught us to be our "birthright."

Now, this share can only be obtained in virtue of some forr of representative institutions, and what, therefore, we have to strug gle fori and win is the introduction into the Government of tha representative element contemplated in the National Cougres, 3rd Resolution.

But officials, high and low, tell us that what we contemplate $i$ absurd and impracticable. Let us not be discouraged; this is th way of officials all over the world, this is precisely how they me the demands of our English brothers.

When Cobden and other members of the League in 1839 inormed a nobleman (who bad taken an active part in the Corn Law egislation) that they yere agitating to secure the total and immeliate repeal of the Cótn Laws, his reply was "you will overturn the nonarchy as sooth as you will accomplish that." When in that same pring 200 delegates waited upon Lord Melbourne, a so-called Whis and then Prime Minister, and explained to him that their object was the epeal of the Corn Laws, he replied "you know that to be impracti'able." At the same time Sir Robert Peel, the Tory leader, told them he thing was out of the question, while Sir James Graham lenounced the poor delegates as "levellers" and "asserted that if the Corn Laws were repealed great disasters would fall upon the ountry, the land would go out of cultivation, Church and State could iot be upheld, all our institutions would be reduced to their primiive elements, and the people whom the Corn Law repealers were xciting would pull down our houses about our ears."

Yet within less than seven years, as the reqult of the agitation of the League, the Corn Laws were to be for ever abolished, and this nainly through the instrumentality of Cobden's great convert, Sir Robert Peel, who so few years previously had treated the demand for ibolition as too preposterous for consideration. Here, again, is the llouble lesson for us. Firstly to laugh to scorn, as they deserve, all the words of discouragement and abuse, the threats and ridicule that we are certain to meet with alike from officials and not a few of the Anglo-Indian non-officials; and secondly to mould our agitation on the same lines as that "most ably managed popular movement in the history of political progress," the Anti Corn Law Leaguc.
"The task of the Anti Corn Law League, Mr. Cobden said, was to be that of instructing the nation. There had been agitatious of the starving poor for cheap bread, but the starving poor had had no votes, no system, no persistence, no clear grasp of the soundness of the principle of free trade, and no means of bringing conviction home to the minds of those who held the power in their hand. The League set to work to obtain by all legal and constitutional means, such as the formation of local associations, the delivery of lectures, the distribution of tracts, and the presentation of petition 3 to Parliament-the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws."

In the early part of the Session of 1839 , Mr. Villiers moved in the House of Commons) that a number of petitions against the Corn Laws should be, referred to a Committee of the whole house. These were mainly the petitions that came from the movements of he League. The House rejected the motion. Then Mr. Villiers noved that certain members of the Manchester Anti Corn Law Assofiation should be heard at the bar. The motion was defeated by 36 r votes against 172. The delegates waiting in London for the lecision of the House met next morning to consider shat should he their next step. There was no sign of discouragement, and speaking to his brother delegates Cobden said, ' the delegates have offered o instruct the House; the House bas refused to be instructed; and
the most unexceptionable and effectual way will be by instructing the nation.'" So has it fared with us ; our educated men singly, our Press far and wide, our representatives at the National Congress,-one and all have endeavoured to instruct, the Government, but the Government, like all autocratic Governments, has refused to be instructed, and it will now be for us to instruct the nations, the great English nation in its island home, and the far greater nation of this vast continent, so that every Indian that breathes upon the sacred soil of this our mother land may become our comrade and coadjutor, our supporter, and, if needs be, our soldier in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble band, will wage for justice, for our liberties and rights.

It took them seven years; it may take us as long or longer, but like them we are certain of ultimate success.

> For Freedom's battle once begun Bequeathed from wearied sıre to son Tho' baffled of, is ever won.'

Shortly after Cobden's declaration, already referred to, Mr. Villiers brought on his annual motion, calling upon the House in Committee "to take into consideration the Act IX of George IV, regulating the importation of foreigy corn." The motion was discussed for five nights and was then defeated by the decisive majority of 147 !

Were the leaguers disheartened ? Some were for the moment; but Cobden never wavered; his spirit soon inspired all, and in that apparent defeat was planted the germ of future triumph. All the local associations were brought into one union, thenceforth known as the League, and the executive committee of the Manchester Association were duly constituted the Council of the League.
"Then the serious business of instructing the nation began. "The demand of starving thousands for cheap bread had been " heard often enough in times of stress and trial, but they who under: "stood the question of free trade, either as a principle or in its applica"tion to the complicated conditions of industry or commerce, were few "-whether among the poor or rich, the educated or the ignorant. "It was the business of the League to make the country comprehend " the rights of the question, and this task was carried out with splendid "energy and at a vast cost. A periodical paper, the Anti Corn Law "Circular, the organ of the League, was started for the dissemination of "information and argument on the great question ; tracts, leaflets and "pamphlets were distributed by hundreds of thousands; lecturers were "sent up and down the country; meetings were called, both in large " towns and in country districts, at which, in many cases, Cobden or "some other well qualified spokesman of the League would be present."

Numberless were the difficulties that had to be encounteredthe landowners and magistrates were of course against the lecturershere a farmer offered a bushel of wheat to anyone who would throw the lecturer into the river-here an innkeeper toadying, as is the wont of such, the local magnates turned the lecturer out on to the
street-here a magistrate fined one for lecturing in the open ais under pietence that he had obstructed a thoroughfare-at Stamfurd a mob threatenedito tear the Leaguers to pieces-in many places they met with, marked hostility from the very people whose cause they were so heroically fighting. But they persevered, and as melt the snows of winter before the warm winds of spring, so melted before their good tempered persistence, the ignorance of friends and the opposition of foes. All such opposition and discouragement, aye, and more too, (for our local bureaucracy are more powerful and less scrupulous, perhaps, than even county magistrates in 1837 in England) shall we certainly have to encounter, but even we have only to persevere with our agitation to succeed. To those in real earnest there is no such thing as failure-Labor omnia vincte.

But all this could not of course be done without money. "The League was most liberally supported with money by the great manufacturers and merchants of Lancashire and the North of Eugland." I cannot quote the exact figures for each of the years, but 1 find that at the outset a few men subscribed $£ 6,000$, that in $1842 £ 50,000$ were subscribed, in 1843-44, £100,000, and, in 1845. just before the final triumph, $£ 150,000$. We have plenty of millionaires amongst us, quite competent, if they will only combine, to furnish, if not quite such gigantic sums, at least funds fully adequate for the more modest requirements of this impoverished land, and 1 have every confidence that many of these will, when they come to understand the merits of this great question, which we propose to make our starting point and at the same time our prime object, join us not only with head and heart, but also with hand and purse.

For, although I myself so strongly urge upon you this struscic primarily and immediately in the interest of those mute sufferng: millions, a consciousness of whose sad fate seems for me to rob everything else in life of its brightness, it must be manifest to you that on this great fundamental reform hinges not only all those other political objects for which this or that section of our people are striving, but equally the safety, prosperity and happiness of every class of our entire community. I care not whether it be prince or peasant, noble or plebeian, rich or poor-one and all have an abiding and paramount interest in securing the priceless blessings of representative institutions.

Let us be frank and speak out. Who amongst you, whatever your rank and position, can ever feel thoroughly safe and comfortable under the present autocratic, irresponsible Government? Are you a socalled independent Prince? Can you feel any certainty that you or your successors will retain your or their quasi-independence?. Our gracious Queen Empress, indeed, declared that there should be no more annexations, and here indefiance of all past pledges, and equally, in my judgment, in defiance of justice and common sense, we have Burmah annexed. You all know the process. A tissue of lies as to your public and private acts and life, carefully nursed into a bristling barrier against all public sympathy-a story about the intrigues of
some Foreign nation-a stroke of the pen, and the Kingdom of a piince, and the liberties of a people, are blotted out for ever. I tell you that with representative institutions, such iniquities as these would be for ever impossible, and that from the day India, now downtrodden and despised, secures this great vantage ground, every Prince obtains a guarantee for his continued independence with which he can at last rest secure. But even those amongst you who need not at present apprehend anncxation-whose territories are too poor to pay for British Administration, and contain no sites especially eligibleas healthy and pleasant military cantonments, what peace or comfort have you, if you chance to fall under the displeasure of some imperious political agent, or incur the suspicions of some crack-brained one? I don't want, as we say, to dig up buried bones, but you one and all feel the truth of what I say, and one and all know that there is no sense of peace or security for any one of you under the existing benevolent, but purely despotic Government. Again I say help us, privately only if you will, to secure representative institutions, and from the day that India is blessed with these, all the intrigues, annoy ances, humiliations, doubts and anxieties that now distract your lives and prevent your giving the time and attention you would fain bestow upon your people, to your real business of ruling-all these I say will become things of the past, impossibilities in the future.

But let us descend a step or two lower on the social ladder; noblemen, raees, millionaires. Let me ask you, what sense of security have you? Do you not tremble in your shoes, lest by some unlucky chance you get into the bad graces of a Lieutenant-Governor? And do not we get Lieutenant-Governors of all sorts? Now and again, at rare junctures, good gentlemen and true like Sir C. Aitchison, or cold, selfish, cynical, unsympathetic, but still capable men like Sir A. Lyall. But do we not get creatures, who can neither speak nor think, reward: ed with the Gubernatorial dignity for having done dirty work for Government, a sort of combination of the whilom Lahore Chief Court, "be-hath, be-ankh, and be-akle p"* Do we not get men absolutely unfit for any such position, made Lieutenant-Governors as a reward for being sons of the Queen's mother's stewards? Or, again, aristocrats with great connections, unable to resist the fascinations of their neighbours' wicked wives, and made Lieutenant-Governors, in the hopes of their being thus compelled to reform-a hope not always fulfilled? Or, again, a weak fractious, bigotted invalid, shunted out of council for which he was too aggravatingly imbecile? And yet the displeasure, however unwarranted, of anyone of such beings can, as you know practically, make your lives a burthen to you. From the LieutenantGovernor, the Commissioner takes his cue, from the Commissioner the Collector, from the Collector the Superintendant of Police, and from these all their undetlings. You are absolutely innocent; some enemy has told some lies about you to an incompetent Lieutenant-Governor: he has taken a dislike to you for some trivial cause; but $\varepsilon$ five years you are a mixable man, happy if by great largesses $i c$

[^66]the old wily jamadars and fifty other underlines, dallis, carriages, elephants (I will not spy more) you escape actual public degradation.

My poor, friends, join us secretly if you will-for you are, it must be admitted, somewhat timid at times-but help us to secure representative institutions, and we warrant you that under these you shall be able to laugh, instead of as now trembling, at the whims and caprices of Lieutenant-Governors and Private Secretaries, Commissioners, Collectors, and even Superintendants of Police; nay the time will then come for all these ofticial evolutes to mind their p's and q's, and to take care that they give you all reasonable satisfaction, or the British House of Commons, prompted by the Indian Legislature will, as a last resort, know the reason why!

Shall I go lower again on the scale-well-to-do traders, bankers, agriculturalists and the like? You are too small, luckily, to fear much from Lieutenant-Governors-Adjutants* do not feed on antsbut do not Collectors and Joints, Superintendents, and even Inspeczors of Police, "strike an awe and terror in your aching sight?" What misfortune would you consider equal to offending one of these awful autocrats? Is one of them, with cause or without cause, angry with you, and may you not, unless you can secure the countenance of one of the others, as well go out and hang yourselves? Is there any limit to the petty secret annoyances, humiliations, and insults to which you will be subjected by the zealous underlings of the offended autocrat, even if you should not, though utterly blameless, find yourselves in jail or in fetters before you know where you are? Do you like all this wearying anxiety, all the intriguing, manceuvrint and what not which it involves? Would you be free to live honest, simple lives, without fear or favour of or from any official? Then join our crusade, and help us in your own quiet way to secure representative institutions, under which alone what your souls yearn for is possible.

I will not press this point further ; there is no class, no individual in the entire community whose personal comfort is not materially involved in this question of form of Government. Under a despotic Government, such as ours still is, benevolent and paternal though it may aim at being, we are all really serfs, and though as a matter of forbearance on the part of our autocratic rulers (who as a rule have souls and consciences and would not, could they realize the facts, approve much that is done in their names in view to pleasing them), though I say as a matter of grace on the part of our rulcrs we have great liberty in many matters, it is as a matter of grace and not of right-not one of us has any certain security against official oppression and injustice-not one of us can truly call himself a free man, until the existing despotism is replaced by a more or less representative form of Government.

But there are other aspects of the case, and one of these ell worthy the consideration of every man who has any money.

Without any notice, in defiance of the universally expressed wishes of the entire community, Burmah has been annexed, and an
income tax of $21 / 2$ per cent has been summarily imposed upon all of you who are not absolute paupers. This is done by a staunch Liberal (at least so Lord Dufferin considers himself), and one who honestly, I think, though he rather hides his feelings in a golden haze of pretty speeches, sympathizes with us. If this is done in the green tree what will they do in the dry? Why with an unprincipled imperialist like Lord Lytton, backed by a firmly-seated Conservative Government (and such a thing, mind, is perfectly possible) we shall be having Siam annexed, or even an attempt made to dock China of a province or two, to enable us to meet the French (there is always some such idiotic stalking horse) on the Mekong; and then we may have a ten per cent income tax, proposed, discussed, passed, all at one single sitting. You may hate it-you may feel as if you would gladly throttle the criminals who have brought about this legalized, plunder of your hard-earned wealth-but if you will not join us now to secure representative institutions, you must then whent the evil day comes-and come it will-jusk grin and bear it. But with representative institutions all this will be changed'; no Viceroy will hand his name down to posterity as a conqueror and plunderer of other nation's territory, at ouse expense; no party will give a sop to a section of its British supporters at our cost ; and if, despite their better knowledge, the British nation will persist in wars; and annexations, it shall not be by the expenditure of India's blood, or India's money that this murder and rapine shall be consummated.

It is needless to go further into details; there is not one single Indian, high or low, rich or poor, whose position, prospects, comfort, and general welfare do not, in numberless different ways, direct and indirect, suffer by the existing autocratic form of Government and will not be improved and enhanced by substituting for this, representative Government. Before you hangs the golden prize, worthy even of our great Indian nation's ambition. Will you, despising all obstacles, press forward and grasp it? Great are the difficulties, strenuous will the struggle be; but the difficulties were greater that British reformers had to face 60 years ago; the struggle for them was even a more arduous one, for we have with us the mighty spirit of the age, that their throes give birth to, and yet they triumphed, as I have shown you, and you too may similarly triumph if you will only follow faithfully in their footsteps.

Friends, brethren, I appeal ta all who call our India home, without distinction of creed, or race, or colour. I appeal to all, high and low, gentle and simple, ignorant and learned, rich and poor. This day have I set before you, good and evil, freedom and happiness, or continued serfdom and disquiet; and that, encouraged thereto by the dauntless struggles of British reformers, you will now, one and all, alike for your own sakes and the sakes of those millions who are being crushed beneath the existing despotic system, boldly choose the nobler and the better course and throw in your lot heart and soul with us, this is my hope, my belief, my prayer; this is the Old May's Hope; and if I can only live to see this realized, I shall die content and happy!

## APPENDIX.

Provisional Rules for giving effect to the 3rd Resolution of the National Congress of 1885 , in re the introduction of a representative clement into the various Indian Governments, Provincial and Supreme; tentatively and informally agreed to, by many members of the late Congress, as a basis for discussion at the nevt Meeting of the Congress.
(1).-Not less than one-half the Members of the Reformed Councils, Provincial and Supreme, to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials, having seats ex-officio in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government. Elected Members to it for two yeart and to be open to re-election, but not to nomination. Nominated Members to sit for five years and to be open thereafter to election, but not renomination.
(2.)-Elected Members of Provincial Councils, on the first introduction of the scheme, to be elected by the Municipal Committess or Town Councils of the larger Municipalities, by Local Boards, Chambers of Commerce, leading Political Associations, the Universities, \&c., so as to secure a thorough representation of all the more cultivated and competent sections of the community, the exact details being settled separately for each province and being subject to modification from time to time.
(3)-The elected Members of the Supreme Council to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
(4)-No elected or nominated Member of any Council, local or supreme, to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses necessarily incurred in travelling in comnection wint their membership.
(5).-No elected or nominated Member of any Council to be capable of receiving any title or bonorary distinction during membership of for a period of five years after he has ceased to be a Member, unless the same be first approved by a majority of the Council to which he belongs or has belonged.
(6). -All educated males of not less than 25 years of age, resident in India, to be held qualified for membership, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.
(7)-All legislative measures, and all financial questions, inclading of course all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced caxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councih. In the case of all other branches of the administration any Member
may, after due notice, put any question he sees fit to the ex-offict Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with th supervision of the particular branch concerned) and shall necessart (except as hereinafter provided) receive a full and complete reply t his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for th thorough comprehension of the whole subject, and on this reply th Council may at once for at any subsequentmeeting giving due notic thereof) proceed to consider the question and record thereon suc: resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that i the subject in regard to which the enquiry is made involves matter of Foreign policy, or Mi"tary dispositions or strategy, of such nature that in the opinion of the Executive the public interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the infor mation asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the ex-officio Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and declind to furnish the information asked for; but this shall not preclude the Council from considering the question in the light of such information as they may independently possess, and recording thereon such vote, conditional or other, as may to them seem fitting.
(8).-Neither His Excellency the Viceroy, nor any local Governor, nor Lieutenant-Governor shall be either President or Member of any such Council, but they shall communicate with such Councils through one or more of the ex-officio or nominated or elected Members whom they may, from time to time, at their own discretion, constitute their representatives to lay before the Councils the views, projects and proposals of the Executive Governments.
(9). -The Executive Government may nominate the President of the Council, or it may permit the Council to elect this officer, but the VicePresident shall be elected by the Council.
(10).-The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which in its opinion, the public interests would materially suffer by the scceptance of such decision ; but whenever this power is exercis ed, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary shall be published within ten days, and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and justify their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and justify to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretdry of State by the overruled majority, it sha ${ }^{2}$ be competent to the Stanaing Committee of the House of Comm ${ }^{\text {a }}$ (see Resolution III) to consider the matter and call for any anc, papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such major. or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.
(11).-All meetings of such Councils shall be open to the Public and Press, and all proceedings thereat shall be accurately reported and published within 15 days in the Goucrnment Gazette.

CESOLUTIONS possed at the Indian National Congress, a: of Keprescntatives fiom Calcuta, Mradras, Bombay, Puona, 4 itubad, Lahora, Letcknozv, Agra, Benares, Ahmeaabad, Kurval Surit, Vecrumgraum, Ganjam, Masulifutam, Chingleput, Tant Combaconum, Mudure, Timearely, Cuinhatore, Cudduh, i, A A tupoor, Bellary ahe L'mballa, held in Bonkoy on the 28 th, \# and 3ork December 1885.

## RESOLUTIONS.

1.-Preposed by Mr. G. Subramanialyer (Nadras), seconded by"Mr. " Mebta (Bombay), and supportel by Mr. Norendsonth Sen (Lalal "That the Congress camestly, recommends that the promised ind inco the nowing of the lndian admmistration, here and in Ent should le entrusted to a Koyal Commission, the people of I beng adequately represented thereon, and evdence taken both Jadia and in England.
II.- Propoced by Mr. S. Ma. Chiplonhar (Poona), seconded by Mr F. An: Chanlu (Madras), and smpported by Mr. J Ghosal (Allahabad): "* this Cangress consides the aboltion of the Council of the Secras of State for India, as at preseht consthated, the necessary premid to all other reforms.:
111.- Yoposed by the Hon. K. T. Telans, C.I E. (Bombay', spoondea by Hun. S. Subiamania Iyer Madras’and supported by the Hom. IH Lhas Naorof (Hombay,. "That this Congess considus the ref and evpanion of the Supreme and extsting Local Legistatse Couth by the adma-ion of a consuderable propertion of elected meml (and the creation of smmar Councils for the N. W. Piovinces and On and also for the Pumab) essental; and holds that all Budgets sho be referred to these Councils for considenation, then members b. moreover cmpowened to interpellate the Esecutive in regart to buablhea of the administration, and that a Stancing Comnittee of House of Commons should be constituted to teceise and ca der any formal protests that may-be recorded by majonties of Counculs against the exercise by the Evecutive of the power, wh would be vested in $t_{6}$,of overnuing the decisions of such majontas
IV - Proposed by the Hon. Dadabhai Naomji (Bombay, seconded by Tira Raghavacharyar (Marras), and supported by Mr. D. S. W) (Madras): "That in the opinion of this Congress the compen examinations now held in England, for first appontments ia wi civd departments of the public servire, should henceforth, in accorilas with the views of the India Office Committee of 1360 , be t smultuneonsly, one in England and one in India, both bemg as fir practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete su t countues being finally classified in one Jist according to neen,' that the successiul candidates in Inda should be sent to Enetas. further studv. and subjected there to such further examiontons is of seem needful, Further, that all oher first apoinmentz (exoly peonships and the lisel should be flled by compentive exanmasi beh in Inde, under conduions calculated to secure such iner. 4

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Fitopesed uy Mi. I U Yajnik (Minotrot, seconded by Mr S. A.
 atmataydu Printulu (Masuliza eme: "That in the opinion of this Cobshes, if the mocicased denands for matitary capenditure die not to be. as they ourtht to be, met to retrenchsient. thes ought te be mor.
 the extention of the licuse-tax to those clases of the communty. brim! ad non-ulficial. at present exempted from it, cave beng tikra tha. In the rase of ill classes a sufficiently bigh tatabe minomoms be mnutanced. And further, that this Congress is of opmon that Gicat i'man should extend an mpenat gurantee to the Indan delo."

Fiopsied by Mr P. M. Melta (Uombay), seconded by Kao Rikahtur Kishoay Lamman Nulkar (Ponnaj: "'ltat this Congress depricatc 4 the anuevauma of Upper Eurnah, nad consuders that of the Govonnowt unforumately drode on anmexation, the entire country oi liorrab shonh le scpasimed from_the Indian Viceroyalty and constituma a Ciowa Cilony as distinct in all matters from the gosertment of ths country as is Ccylon."

Proposed by Mr A. O. Hume (Bengal), seconded hy the Moz, S. subramania lyer (Madias): "That the Indian \$ational Conseres re-a isemble next year in calcutta, and at on Tuestiay, the 2 ght of December 1886, and the next succeeding deys."
 Gavifird by almast biery Paltical Associatuk (more than one hwseind w
 11 Is tmpersille to steng, now, that they failhfully represent the wiews of tite Cuts of tine anhabitants of Brition India).

# $\frac{\delta}{p} 17^{a}$ <br> <br> THE <br> <br> THE <br> RISING TIDE: <br> <br> THE PROGRESS OF POLTTICAL ACTIVITY 

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## エINDエA.

## Qaiqutta:

PBINTED BY THE CALCUTTA CENTRAL PRESS CO., LD., 5 , COUNCIL HODSE ETEEET.
1886.

## THE RISING TIDE.

Oh I weary and cold we lay waking,
With the sad salt foam below,
While the brave old ship lay grinding on the shoals of an
But ah ! with the dawn that's breaking. [ominous Past;
The tido has begun to flow,
The tide that shall float her and bear cs , safe on to oni haren at last !

Yes ! the Gulls quiver round in a taking,
Too lively for corpses we show,
And they cackle and screech. like demons, now their chance of a
For they see in the dawn that's breaking [feast is past,
The tide has begun to flow,
The tide that shall float us and bear $\mathrm{ps}_{\mathrm{s}}$ right on to our haven at last !

Then three cheers for the tide that's making,
For the love that is each man's vow,
For the free bright sea before us and the hearts sorels tried in the past ;
For lo 1 with the dawn that's breaking
The tide has began to flow,
The tide that shall float us and bear us, safe on to our haven at last!
Usios.

## PREFACE.

THE PIONEER, one of the six* leading English daily newspapers India, is the organ of the bureaucracy, and, as such, is pers tently hostile to Indian aspirations.

Lesides being permanently the organ of " the Scrvices," it is als wherever possible and whenever it can obtain employment as sue the mouthpiece of the Government of India, and specially of $t]$ Viceroy. In Lord Lytton's time, either the managing propriet and real editor, or the nominal editor, used to see the Viceroy's Priva Secretary daily. It is almost needless to add that the manageme of the Pioneer is not quixotically scrupulous, or that, thus favoured, steadily supported Lord Lytton in all his "woeful waste and wicks. wars." It is perhaps still more unnecessary to explain that with simple-hearted, bonest gentleman like Lord Ripon, such a paper four no lavour ; in his time it could gain no priority of intelligence, and was treated just like all other journals ;-above all Lord Ripon showe a disposition to defend Indian interests and Indian aspiritions, al consequently the Proneer steadily abused and reviled him, as it has, ew since Mr. A. P. Sinnett was driven out of the editorship, by the propri tors, on account of his pro-Indian views, steadily abused and revile. the Indian Comminity.

Lord Dufferin is himself, unfortunately, a bureancrat by training theoretically his sympathies are with down-trodden nationalities practically he has always cultivated friendly relations with their treader: down. He is like another well known Irish nobleman who said tha while he had the deepest sympathy with the wrongs of the poor slave he always visited and stayed at the houses of the slave-holder because their dinners and wines were good, and their women prett and lady-like! In theory Lord Dufferin deeply sympathises with on suffering millions, but pfactically he consorts with and support a bureancracy that, unchocked by the powerful public opinion tha in England suppresses within narrow limits the despotic proclivitie of all great State departments, is rapidly becoming, in India, "thr greatest plague in life."

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Pionees should once more have become, to a certain extent, the mouthpiece o the Viccroy, or that in a late issue it should have published an articl.

[^67]nisrepresenting the scheme of constitutional agitation on which the ndians are entering, Wacing their aims, objects and moli operaneli n perfectly false lights, and attempting to mislead the public entirely n regard to the whole question. Neither, perhaps, is it a matter for urprise that the Indian public accepted this article as inspired, sinco $t$ cmbodicd almost precisely the same sentiments as had been expressd in communications on these very subjects, generally understiond to lave passed, quite recently, between aythorities in India and England.

The Mirror is the leading English native newspaper, and this, aking up the challenge, in some very out-spoken articles, discussed he Pioneer's allegations sentence by sentence, and thoronghly exposed he injustice and dishonesty of its attacks. In doing thisitincidentally fforded a good deal of information as to the objects and operations $f$ the party of Reform in India. and placed their position in a far learer and bettcr light than it has, we think, previously enjoyed Lanifestly they are above all things loyal and peace-lovino admmers ad firm supporters of British Rule, only determined to secure y constitutional action the removal of those defects in that rule shich, as they allege, mar, to a certain extent, its otherwise noble haracter.

Whaterer may be our views in regard to many of the matters 'iscussed in these articles, which we reproduce now with the permission f the editor of the Mirror, we cannot fail to sympathise in the spirit ihich actuates the Indian National Party. The particular reforma $t$ which they aim may not, when attained, prove the panaceas that they ow imagine them, but there can be no doubt that they are setting to rork in the right spirit of independence and self-help. Whatever fortuncs ttend the toilsome and troublous task on which they are entering, and thatever the practical ultimate results of the reforms which sooner or ater they are certain to secure, the self-sacrificing struggle in which hey are about to engage, will prove the nobleat possible education for hat new Indian Nationality of which Lord Ripon's auspicious reign reheld the birth, and merits, and will we are sure obtain, the sympathy nd countenance of every unprejudiced Englishman.

# T'HE PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY 

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## I NDIA.



E PROMISED, recently, to discuss, once for all and it detail, an article which has recently appeared in the Pioneer, attacking the entire body of Indian reformers and misrepresenting, grievously, alike their views, aims, and modi operandi. We explained that for the Pionees itself we cared but little, but that believing this particulan article to have been practically, though indirectly, inspired by a very high authority, we conceived it desirable, in the interests of all parties, to examine most carefully the allegations made therein against the party of progress in this country. We conceive that this article, besides being extremely disingenuous, is, in reality, a more or less deliberate insult to ourselves, and every honorable and educated native of this country, to all of whom the Pioneer's insinuations, whether so intended or not, have the appearance of extending, but we shall none the less discuss the matter dispassionately, 'reproduce honestls the article sentence by sentence, and add thereto such comments as may be necessary for a full comprehension of the questions raised.

This is how the article opens:-
The lessons learned in English political circles by Native agitators of the Bhose and Ghose type are likely to be applied in Inda in such a form as may seriously hauper the hands of those responsible for the good government of the country.

That altogether depends; if those responsible for the good government of the country are sensible men, who know when to yield and how gradually to broaden the basis of the Government, so as to increase its stability, then, so far from finding their hands hampered by out action, they will find them so strengthened that all difficulties in the matter of reform will disappear. But, on the other hand, if they prove bigoted Conservatives, unable to realize the progress of opinion and the silent expansion of the country, then undoubtedly our agitation will very seriously hamper their hands, for they will find no rest until they yield, or are recalled from England.

- The success which has attended the Parnellites in the case of Ireland bas turned tue heads of our Native friends, who state quite openly that they in theu turn hope to force the hand of Goverament, just as the Irishmen have done, bs ceaseless agytation and attack at every point.


## $-4-$

This, as we pointed out in a previous article, is an entire mistake success that has iattended the Parnellites bas, we fear, bren, ny rate partly, due to the murder of. Lord Cavendish and other ages for which no justification is possible. India as one man pproves these misdeeds, and would rather continue for ever in pulitically-speaking enslaved state in which it now finds itself, in have recourse to such weapons of attack. We shall, no doubt, as persistent as the Irish in endeavouring to secure what we deem $r$ rights, but it will only be by open and honorable means that we all strive to obtain the fruition of our aspirations.

In Englaud they will, through Radical sympathisers, bring before Purliament gain and again every case in which the decision of the Government of Indu, ind the Secretary of State is adverse to their aspirations, appealing also to the "ouse of Commons whenever they think they bave caught the executive tripng.

Of course, we shall! Why if we did not, we should, indeed, deserve p be called the fools that the Pioneer and its party always profess to onsider us ! Yes! Good English friends, you have taught us the lesson;
"Take a suck at the lemon and at him again,"
as been in substance ever your exhortation to us, and will you now lame us for taking your lesson to heart and resolving to act upon it ?

That we shall persevere and agitate, and agitate and pergevere, ever despairing, ever coming up again after each repulse fresher and ronger than before to renew the struggle, you may at once make up our minds.

## Merses profundo pulchrior evenit,

bu will find to be as true of our rising nationality as Lannibal mond it to be of that of Rome, and all we can do is to suggest, as a ind of compromise, that you follow the example of the Coon with tolonel Crockett, and instead of giving us and yourselves all the bother rat this will necessarily involve, quietly arrange a modus vivondi with s , by making some such small concessions. in the mattter of represutative institutions, as shall satisfy the country for the next ten years, ad pave the way for such gradual further developments in the future s shall ultimately satisfy it permanently.
"Cases of high-handedness and oppression" will be served up perpetnally, the hope that English officials in India will be intimidated by the threat of - question in the House."

Quite so, and we should like to know whether either in the inferests of the rulers or the ruled it would be desirable that such ases should be hid away from public ken; and whether, on the fontrary, it is not highly expedient that officials ahould be so intimidatid by the threat of a question in the House as to be thereby induced to bstain from high-handedness and oppression. The Pioncer apparently hinks these are virtues, and quite whimes over the prospect of the poor
officials wickedly intimidated from practising them by sume of us wrotch ed Indians threatening to have a question asked in the House Really this is too good. We are reminded of Leech's burglar, whe happening " in the exercise of his profession "to break his shins over : coal scuttle, is loud in his complaint of the iniquity of people whe leave things about for people to fall over.

Or, again, despite its antiquity and sinfulness, the Pioneer may be likened to the innocent little maid who, after steadfastly contemplating the great picture of Nero's persecutions, turned tearfully to hes father saying: "Oh papa! and there is one poor Lion that hasn't got any Christian to eat." Can we not picture to ourselves the hoary old reprobate, disguised in short frock and sash, lace-trimmed continuations and broad straw hat and ribbons, turning mournfully to the Viceroy and whining :" Oh my Lord, if you let this go on, there will soon be several poor officials with no Indian to oppress, or deal highhandedly with. "

They will decline to take any final answer from any one but Parliament, nod will strive to keep up a constant irritation in Indian matters with a view to weating out the patience of whatever Government may be in power, and compellung them to give way for the sake of peace and quictaess.

Does the Pioneer fancy we are going to accept its answer; or any Power's answer short of the highest? We are suffering, as we believe, from misgovernment; we are laboring, we conceive, under unjust political disabilities. Many, many, millions of our fellow-countrymen are living lives of unalleviated privation and misery, solely, as we conceive, as the consequence of institutions forced on us from outside, and unsuitable alike to the country and the people ; and is it to be held up to us as a reproach, if from this day forth, in sunshine and in storm, amid good repute and evil repute, disregarding our personal comforts and our immediate personal interests, we stand pledged to fight and struggle by all legitimate and honorable means to amend that misgovernment, remove those disabilities, and bring back once more some gleams of happiness and rest to that countless cuultitude of our suffering brethren?

Certainly, with such objects in view, we shall, if, like the unjust judge, the British Government will not arise and do us justice until wearied out by our persistent importunities, labor hard to weary it cuth It is nothing for ourselves personally-everything for our country and our countrymen that we seek; and neither taunts nor threats, neither official cajolery nor repressive enactments, shall turn us a-ide from the great quest on which we have entered. Reprewntative institutions are our Sangreal, the only possible life-blood if any healthy and permanent administration, and nothing is so a'solutely certain as that, within a comparatively brief period, we $\therefore$ 'all obtain some first instalment of representative Government.

[^68]Ifaniars, whose nin is nutonety at all come and who will be willing torls m their ends. So much for theit plan of opratione in England, which are more hkely a result in fulure than in success.

We do not like to shock any one, not even the Managing Proprictor und virtual Editor of the Pioneer, but truth compels us to say uot only hat we do hope to create a compact Indian party in Parliament, far nore formidable than the Irish party, because composed, as a whote, of men of higher charactor, but that we have eveu now male a hurr itep towards this, and have already a strong party of frients in Parliament prepared to support any definite action we may dicide o take. If, as has been talked of, a party of our Enghsh friculs Fecide to come out to attend our National Congress this $y$ ar, the pioneer will be able to form some idea of the compactness and streneth of our British supporters.


#### Abstract

In Inda their modus operandi will be moro mischievons Their firat nin 12 to create the machinery of wulespread agitation, which they can gut in motion at a moment's notice; and for this purpose they are utilising existing pohtwal and social associations, and collecting funds under varions pretexts.


This is only partially correct ; the organization, the machinery, though still, in plares, very imperfect, already exist, but it was not onginally created for purposes of agitation, nor is it, taking it as a whole, mainly devoted to such. Were agitation its object, it would long since have made the country too hot for a malignant and slanderous paper like the Pioneer, but the real objects of this vast machinery, occavional dim glimpses of which so frighten the bureaucracy, are firut the s) atematic political education of the masses; and, secondly, such in organization of these, as shall render practically impossibie auy sudden or precipitate movement on their part, by ingraining in them the conviction that violence can only entail sin or suffering on all concerned, while, by persistence in peaceful agitation, everything can bo sooner or later attained.

Doubtless for this purpose all existing political and social associations have been or will be utilized, and let us add all, or nearly all, religious organizations. The whole nation is even now linh. I together in three main chains-religious, secular, educated-with many branches; but one single ring runs through the terminal links of all three chains, and on that ring rest hands, unseen by those whe unwittingly obey the impulses they impart, but instinct with power and wisdom.

If those who take offence at the slight external and visible sicus of the great internal and invisible organization, that necessarily appar from time to time when any concrete work has to be undertakeu, could only realize what this organization means for them, though lits Balaami, they came to curse, they would go away blessing altogether It is, so to say, but a few years ago that a sudden bloody rising which might have swept away half the Enropeans in the country in a singlo night was quite on the cards. We do not believe that there ever wa*

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really, despite all that we have heard, any actual, inmediate dang of such an outbreak, but at any moment the danger might have $b$ come imminent; at any moment the flood-gates might have burstthere was nothing to prevent it-neither the educated classes on on side on the secular line, nor the religions leaders on the spiritu line on the other, had organized any systematic hold on the massesall was chaos, and gigantic forces, innocent of all systematic contr.. lay only half dormant, ready at any moment under any accident excitation to plunge the land in bloodshed and wreck a continer Humanly speaking, those evil dangerous times have passed away f ever, and that orgaization which the ignorant fancy to have for $i$ sole object agitation has really rendered impossible any violenc on any large scale, throughout all those portions of the Empire which it has been fully extended.

As for the collection of funds we are not aware that there a any pretexts about this whatsoever. Funds are required to comple; here the political education of the masses, and with it the gener organization, and to press persistently on the people of England (whe we really begin the crusade there) our grievances, our rights, on aspirations, and for these purposes a little money has here and the been collected, and a very large sum indeed will, no doubt, be collect;' when later money "in masses" is required.

The Pioncer need not be afraid, there is no lack of money; it were worth while, ten lacs would be forthcoming to-morrow to est, blish a new paper at Cawnpore, and reduce the Pioneer to half $\mathbf{i}$ ' present'dimensions, but one must have devils as well as angels, er as well as good, a mischievous and lying print like our Allahabe, enemy as well as an honest and benevolent paper, like ourselve and so as we work with nature and in accordance with her laws, r. will leave the organ of the bureaucracy to the natural fate of suc unhealthy growths. Fear not, little Pi! No bold Bengali Babu sha, tear out that last remaining cherished hair from your poor old ba. noddle!

They can even now arrange for " spontaneous outbursts of national feting: in all the principal towns.

This is perfectly true; they certainly could arrange for any $d$ monstration they considered fight and proper; but as a fact their ene gies are chiefly devoted to curbing all outbursts and arranging for peaceful, insensiblo development and progress.

But not content with this, they wish to rouse the people.
This is just that the real leaders of the movement do not wish,nay it is exactly towards the prevention of popular uprisings the the movement, now gradually appearing on the surface, has, for year been patiently working beneath it. Of course, although the rive runs in flood down stream, there will be always little side eddie where, for small distances, little portions of itrun up stream, and su

3, on the outsikirts of this grat movement will, from time tu time, pear Indians taking exactly an opposite line to what the iramoure yority of us approve and who do act as if they dusired blindly to use trouble. But such are always promptly put aside, and for sena. ne past we have seen neither writings nor specches at variance with e basal scheme for gradually securing all those political rirhts, to nich we consider ourselves entitled, by peaceful and constitutional sans. "Kouse the people" indeed! We wonder if those who so bly write about this have any conception how casy that would have en-if they have any idea of the fire that lurks, so ready to buret to flame, below the, to them, impenetrable veil of ignorance and difference; if they at all realize that years and years ago but for the: ginences secretly brought to bear, a self-roused people would have ed conclusions with them?

No! From time to time we hear much talk of the country's ,ving been won by the sword, and having to be retained by the ord-only recently there was an idiotic leader in the London Tirues ach to this purport-and we cannot help laughing, because the furt that were the influences at work, to protect and sustain Driti-h rule
India, turned against this, in one fortnight there would not be, we mly believe, a single Englishman at large in Iudia to wich that ach talked-of sword. We do not want to get rid of British rale, we not want to, and we will Not separate ourselves fiom the British npire ; at any rate, not within any period that can be included within y practical, political programme. British rule, with all its deffets, still essential to the welfare and progress of India, and British rulo ; will cherish and uphold, but certainly by all constitutional means : shall-the entire nation will-strive persistently to improve the isting form of Government, and remove those defects which still sadly ar the generally noble features of this generously conceived, but, none e less foreign, administration. Blundering bureaucrats, high aud low, er and anon, areguilty of acts of injustice or oppression, or commiterrens hich in their positions amount to crimes) sufficient to "rouse" a far ore "phlegmatic people, and our leaders sit, and have sat ycar after ar, patiently watching and shielding the British Government froro 'e, otherwise inevitable, consequences of the misdeeds of ite unworthy presentatives, and then a Government organ in, we fear, an only tuo harly inspired article, talks of us as wishing to "rouse the people"'

> And by securing the holding of mass meetings snd the sigaing of mnnstar itions to create spurious pablic opinion to which refereace can be made with all 3 solemnity by. supporters in Parliament.

This, too, is only partially correct. As to the holding of mans zetings we do not, in theory, much approve these, as no real gornd rhit is ever done there, and they virtually only publicly register the orgone conclusions" of those who attend them; but there are tincs d localities when and where it is desirable to afford people the relief such public registry of the convictions burning in their breasts, and such cases mass meetings (and these will undoubtedly increase in
number and size as time goes on) are, and always will be, useful safe valves, whereat a great deal of steam not required for working $t$ existing machinery of the country can be advantageously blown off.

It is highly probable that monster petitions will sooner or lat find their way to Parliament. Our leaders do not, we believe, great favor these; but if in any Province or Presidency the masses set the hearts upon this innocuous but doubtfully useful amusement, they w be allowed to please themselves, but the last thing such petitions w embody will be a "spurious public opinion;" they will only arise response to some real local excitement; they may very likely not, at, times, be drafted in the most statesman-like style; they may be quainl simple in their incongruous combination of matters, local and imperi small and great, but they will embody the genuine sentiments of $t$ ' signatories, and they will, therefore, deserve a more patient and kind considcration than they are at all likely, we fear, ever to receive.

That they are not making much headway as yet is, perhaps, due to the fs that their organisation is defective, but they are by no means idle, and when any i) portint question again crops ap, we shall probably see to what exent their effor have reached.

Of course were our objects those which the Pioneer a the party it represents affects to, or, perhaps, really does believe, r should, indeed, not be making much headway. But it is passing stran that from their point of view the extreme disproportion between mea, and ends did not awaken in our opponent's minds a suspici that, after all, our ends might not be what they suppose To begin with what the Pioneer will, perhaps, consider tl, zoost important item, though we ourselves regard it as bu a drop in the ocean, we have, at least, a score of Europeans, me of conspicuous ability, devoting themselves, here and in Englan heart and soul, to the movement. Then, and here is the re strength, there is not one single really able Asiatic in this Empin and very few influential ones, who are not publicly or privately linki, in along one or other of the three chains, or one of their mas branches. Of the middle classes, a very large proportion are, many cases unconsciously to themselves, linked in through the rel gious teachers or secular leaders in whom they believe, and who advice they will at all times implicitly follow. Amongst the mass much remains in some localities, and especially in Low Bengal, to be done. A considerable proportion of the lower class have already accepted different members or associations of the ed, cated classes as their political guides, and are prepared to follow the leads, while a still larger proportion can be held back and controlle through their religious teachers, so far as the lower grades of thes often bigoted and quite unconscious of the great machine of whic they constitute the outlying parts, are controllable by the higher ar more intelligent grades. But there still remain a considerable an in some few localities, a preponderant proportion, who have yet to 1 wheeled into line.

Behind all this-and though this scareely conecrus the public it just as well that some inkling of the truth should pormeato tho neral ignorance-regss an organization that for thousands of years, rugghug through a cycle of moral depression, has silently and secretstriven, while necessarily bowing to the ordnances of Fate, so to suld the operation of these as to reader them as little unpropitions possible to our beloved India. Truly with all this supportang a movement now growing apparent even to the dull eyes of our rblind self-satisfied detractors, were our objects at all what they s pleased to attribute to us, it might well be said that we wore not making much headway," but facts being as they are, we can sure the Pioneer that we are making quite as much headway as : can possibly desire, and that as all we seek is orderly propros d gradual, and, to outsidere, almost insensible, advance, our heady is never likely to become more apparent than it is now.
In Bengal, the machinery of agitation is certainly beine perfected, but then ngal is tainted with sedition, and politicians at home look askance at every thing at comes out of it.

It is curions, but it is only a specimen of the extraordinary corance that prevails in the highest quarters as to the every-day its of Indian life, that Bengal should be specially mentioned as e locality in which the machinery of agitation is being perfected. ; every intelligent Indian reader of this paper knows, Donlis by far the most backward Presidency in respect to organstion. Bombay (always expecting Sindh), and Madras, are far ahead in ese respects.

As for Bengal being tainted with sedition, this is the first time at we have heard of it. Undoubtedly, in past times, a knot of Wahatis
Patna were convicted of sedition, but it is odd if the ancieat sdeeds of one tiny isolated community, who neither are, nor ever ve been, in sympathy with either the rest of the Mahomedans or the .ndus of Bengal, are to be considered to taint the sixty millions of ral inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa with sedition. The ang is too absurd, and as to politicians at home, looking askance at $y$ thing (let alone every thing) that comes out of Bengal, we can only $r$ that one or other of our leaders is in weekly communication with ding English politicians in both Houses of Parliament, not one of nom betrays any indication of looking askance at us or our movement. ite recently, too, our friends, Messrs. Monmohun Ghose, W. C. nnerji, and other prominent Bengal politicians, found themselres seived every where in England with cordial kindness, and nowhere tected any single individual even lookiag askance at them. Nay, ierever Mr. Monmohun Ghose, in his capacity of Bengal represenive, appeared at public'meetings, or, what is far more important, ect, private gatherings of important politicians, he was received with en arms, and assured emphatically of support in all those projected orms which we are now adrocating, and to secure which we are
agitating here and in England, and shall continue to agitate, ever o and more strenuously, till we succeed in obtaining them.

The agitator class are shrewd enough to sce this, and they aim at extending operations all over India, so that something like unity of purpose may be scerre

As already explained "the agitator class" (if, as we presume, is the title applied to all Indian Reformers) are not shrewd enougl! discover that "politicians at home look askance at everything comes out of Bengal," for the simple reason that they are not endc with the faculty, so highly developed in the writers in the Pionce seeing what does not exist, but they are shrewd enough to know. refurms, if they are to be lasting and beneficial, must be in accord with the feelings of the people of the country as a whole, and $h$ in every step they contemplate they labor to have the whole ne with them before they take that step.

The grandiose resolutions of "National Conferences" ne quoted in suppi the view that Iadia is unted in certain subjects, aud that every race and cree at one in their demands for political power: but thex the mass of the peopl silent and mert, and so they must be "roused."

The very simple and straightforward resolutions of the Nati Conference (there was only one such, the others being provincial) truly and rightly quoted in support of the riew that the educ classes throughout India, and all who follow their lead (and this includes a majority of the middle, and a considerable propor though less than half taking India as a whole, of the lower and 10 classes) are really united in certain subjects, and that a majority regards intellect and wealth (though somewhat less than a mi as regards numbers), of every race and creed ase bond fide at on their demands for political power. It must not be supposed that other, numerically rather larger, fraction, that rather more th: moiety, if it comes to head counting, have not likewise their dem for political reforms. They have unfortunately their own ideas, w are not at one, as yet, with the large majority where education wealth are concerned, for "the mass of the people" may be "silent inert," until they suddenly spring into action, but let no forei fancy that they have not their dreams over which they brood. so it comes to pass that that portion of the masses, still more or outside the controllingf'influences of those wiser and better al think out results beforehand, has now to be educated (the Pis misleads its readers by using the word "roused") to understan real position of affairs, to abandon impracticable and undesi objects, and join the rest of the country in "laboring to secure ref which are as desirable as they are simple and practicable.

The rousing process in Bengal need not excite great anxiety in the min the rulers of India, populons though the province may be, for the people mild and peace-loving race; but if this agitation spreads among the more races of Upper India, and they are misled by these agitators, then there $n$ tmuble to be faced beside which the reign of lawlessaess in Lieland wall $b$ as child's play.

It follune from what we have already said that almost the pinary and object of the education which we are seeking gradually to bart to that portion of the masse still repuiring it, (an rducation oh truly is a roysing process, though not in the scose of the writur this article) is to render impossible any such lawlessness as has, ost throughrut, disgraced Ircland's, otherwise creditable, strugrilepolitical autonomy. As one of our leaders remarked to us recently, t me hear any one propose the smallest wilful infraction of the , and I will nuygelf denounce him, thongh he be my own brother. the authorities; things are in many respects bad enough as $y$ are, we are not going to tolerate the faintest approarh to lessuess, or anything else that can make bed worse-a calm istence in constitutional efforts to obtain the relicfs we require, is lutely certain to succeed, and that without leaving bchind any low of shame or regret." These are the unanimous sentiments of vho are in any degree influential amongst us, and if there really be amongst our opponents, who have ever pictured to themselves a nd mutiny or the growth here of a system of assassination and age, such as has, for some years past, had its home in cin ilized and (of course, we poor Indians are little better than savages!) - may for ever, we believe, dismiss this painful dream. Six years aro 1 might have been possible, (though the country is too civilized to :. even then, tolerated much of what seems quite the National ime of Ireland,) but now both have been made equally impossible.

> That India will benefit by this agstematic agitation we absolutely deny; it nill an end to good government, and make our preasent benevolent rule an imbility, for once an alien Government is met at every turn hy intuudation and ts, beaevolence has to be put aside, and a sterner policy adopted.

That India, despite all the opposition of the interested official opolist classes whom the Pioneer represents, will benefit greatly ersistent agitation, and will, by calm perseverance in constitutional ts to secure justice, obtain from the English nation that political unchisement to which she aspires, is as certain as that the Ganges$r$, small as is the stream that foams and sparkles in the upper ues of the Bhagirutti, will, all in due season, reach and blend with vaters of the ocean. Has this writer, like a modera Rip Van Winkle, aslece for the last quarter of a century? Is he utterly blind to 'Spirit of the Age?" Has he forgotten the recent Reform Bill? $b$ unable to understand that more than half the voters in England men who, like ourselves, have been long and wrongfully debarred the exercise of their just political rights, and who sympathize from sottom of their hearts with us in the straggle on which we are jing to conquer for ourselves, what they have conqucred for them$1 ?$
Intimidation and threats! Yes, indeed, andacious rebels that we ye stand up to the heaven-born official classes, from Viceroy downb, and we say: "Look out!if you venture to depart in your dealings us from the spirit of that policy which the people and the Par-
liament of Great Britain have laid down for your guidance, then sure as cggs are eggs, we will report you to that people, and $t^{t}$ Parliament, and give them no peace till they wheel you into lir This is awful intimidation-these are truly fearful threats, meriti indeed, the adoption of a sterner policy. But-and our friends hi not recently visited England for nothing-we can promise the Pion. that the tenure of office of any Government here, who tried under f circumstances to adopt this sterner line of policy, and even of a Ministry in England who ventured to support them in this, wort not be excessively prolonged :-

We are glad to notice that the aspirations of New India are not met in at a sympathsing spirit by the more thoughtful and far-seaing Native gentletnen the old school, who see nothing but sedition and discontent as the result of ag. tion on the model we have described.

Name? Name? as they say in the House of Commons! W then are these more thoughtful and far-seeing Native gentlemen the old school? We do not know any such; we have enquired and wide, and can hear positively of no one. There may be so' utterly uneducated old forls, who in conversation with Europe' Officials may privately have said something of the kind, but amonis educated men of any school we can hear of no single one who c discover any indication of sedition in the agitation we are carrying . A thousand pardons! We see, it is not in the agitation we are carl ing on, but in that other thing, that nightmare in the Pioneer's $k$ dream, that agitation on the model described by the Pioneer, tl those thoughtful and far-seeing Native gentlemen of the old sch, discern nothing but sedition and discontent; and no wonder! thi will be a marvellous unanimity on this point amongst Native gent men of all schools, but as this agitation on the model, which $t$ Pioneer has described, is merely a "fearful shadow" of the Pionet own imagination, we may be absolved from discussing it further.

Of all thoughtful and far-seeing Native gentlemen of the 1 school, renowned alike for his courteous manners and his extrei shrewdness, stands here the Maharajah Sir Jotendra Mohun Tago K.C.S I. No man is more certainly, or has proved himself more a sistently, friendly to the British Government, and what he thinks the agitation we are really carrying on (most surely would hed approve agitation on the model described by the Pioneer) may judged from the fact that he has recently become President, and 1 taken the liveliest interest in the organization and development of $t$ Bengal National League.

[^69]${ }^{1}$ We are a hittle tired of this writer now, and what out poor readers st be with our 'conaments on his vagaries, ismore than we can e to think of. Let us try and make an end of it. There are no riots, that we can hear of, who wish to lower India by introlucing , her that system of mingled cowardice and brutality that has, n tume to time, too sadly characterized the popular movenent in dand-a movement in which, but for this, we should have deeply apathized. No one here is applying; has applied, or dreams 'applying a slow match to any guapowder. We believe in mind re than in matter, and prefer the influcuce of intellect to that of ramite But there has been a perfectly awful lot of guupowder ig about loose which any chance spark might have exploded, and se who first undertook the work of storing this up in bags and ths in orderly arrangement, went about their self-imposed duty with ir lives in their hands, as their very efforts to avert the terriblger perpetually underlying the entire social organism here, might, ceivably, have proved that very chance spark. But now that much he work has been done, and even the powder that is still lowse becu practically isolated, all real cause for alarm has, we believe, ually disappeared, and every fresh step in organization, cvery h lot of loose powder, packed safely away in sound casks, dimihes the small residuary possibility of any serious trouble.
No wild and fanciful schemes have been put forward that we iw of, unless, indeed, it be wild and fanciful to assert, as we all do, it the best amongst us are not so much inferior to the average Enguman that we get out here in Government employ, as to be unable discharge the duties performed by such in a perfectly satisfactory nner. For upwards of fifteen years our countryman, Mr. B. L. 'pta, of the Civil Service, to take a single example, has been ore the public in all sorts of official capacities, and no Englishin, even, pretends that in any of these he has proved one whit arior to his English colleagues, while we, Natives, consider that consequence of his more thorough knowledge of the people and ater sympathy with them) in many of these he has proved vast: superior to any Englishman, who has ever held office here. But $h$ being the case, perhaps, it is wild and fanciful for us to endeaur to procure such a modification of existing rules, as shall give iffty B. L. Guptas instead of one or two, and proportionally diminish number of English officers, who cost us one-third more in salarics ilst here, do the work to our minds less satisfactorily, and then rein to England to spend there the pensions drawn from the taxation pur people, and utilize for England the experience and abilitics fuired and developed in our service and at our expense.
Or is it wild and fanciful for us to claim, through representatives, irect share in the Government of the country on the grounds, per alia, that, as we are heavily taxed, and an enormous revenue is ted from us, we have a right to a direct and putential voice, in 'ying to the questions, what taxation shall be imposed and how
shall the procceds thereof be expended ?-that as at least fif millions of our people remain chronically in a condition of sen starvation, the result, as we believe, of unsuitable forms of Gover ment, we have a right to such a share in the Government as sha give us a chance of gradually adapting the Government more satisfa torily to the condition of the country and its people? Or is the anything wild and fanciful in the schemes, embodied in the Resol tions of the National Congress held at Bombay, by which we star and, we can now safely say, the entire country stands? If any or maintains that there is, we can only express our dissent, and rema. that these resolutious have been seen and considered by a lan proportion of the very ablest men and foremost thinkers in Englan and while not a few have differed or doubted on partionlar poin not one has treated the resolutions as otherwise than reasonable a moderate, and not one has even hinted, to us, that they are either wi or fanciful.

Au reste, let neither the Pioneer nor any other short-sight. disbeliever, fear lest "India may suddeuly find herself led to the brit of a precipice with no guiding hand to save it from ruin," for, litt as such people seem able to realize it, "there is a Power that shap our ends rough hew them as we may" aud there is a steady purpo that runs through all the Ages, and that fulfils itself in India, elsewhere, now and for ever!


## THE APPEAL

OF

## Tht Effugal eflitiowal efrigut,

TO. ALL INHABITANTS OF BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA.

Friends \& Fellow Countrymey!-A number of us, whose names n will find in the accompanying papers, being deeply impressed with the gent and paramount necessity of introducing a representative element into g Government of this country, have formed ourselves into a Lrager, whose le object it will be to endeavour, by all appropriate and constitutional sans, to bring about the concession of Representatife Isstitutions to Dia.

No one can be more fully alive than we are to the manifold bleasings at we owe to British Rule; but we feel-and in this we have, we believe, s sympathy of many of the most distingoished thinkers and many of 3 leaders of Public Opinion in England-that the 'good and great work, ought by Great Britain in this country will not be complete until the ating form of Government is modified, and the administration here is de to partake of that representative character which is the glorious distincn of British Institutions, elsewhere, almost throughout the habitable globe.

If representative institutions have been found necessary in colonies ere identity of race, creed and customs enables the Rulers to grasp, intuiely, the needs of the Ruled, how doubly indispensable are they here, where idamental differences in nationality, religion and culture, debar the Goverrs from ever effectively realizing the real wants and wishes of their people !

It is not, however, to be denied that at present the authorities in India pear indisposed to concede what we desire, beliering, we understand, that ih concession would be premature. How then are we to bring home to m, and to that noble British Nation that they represent, the real facts of s situation, and lead them to realize, not only that what we seek is not mature, but, that it has already become urgently necessary alike in the erests of Governors and governed, of India and of Great Britain ? Singly, jeven in small bodies, our views attract little attention, but united in one at league our unanimous and matared opa ions will necessarily receive 3 attention. Therefore, we entreat all of you, high and lou, rich and rr, without distinction of race or ereed, caste or colour, to join us in this od work. Ereryone of you is deeply interested in a measure, the ultimate ultz of which will be the removal of all grievances and the restoration, an immutable basis, of the pristine prosperity of our beloved country. 'eryone of you, who has been born and bred here, is bound by the most red obligations, even if you have never until now laboured for jour fellows your country, at any rate this one time, to join in this one great effort, pobtain for India this relief, this blessing, on which hinge all other reliefs


It is needless to explain that to make this Leagee a real euccese, to attain the great object it sets before itsolf, a willespread co-operation ample funds will be requisite, and it is with that co-operation and those ar fal funda that we now call apon you, in our Country's name, to aid us. none of you fancy that this is a matter with which you hare no concer in which you are not personally interestel. There is not one amongst : be he rich or poor, humble cr great, a tiller of the land or a dweller in ci who is not directly interested in this primary and comprehensive reform, wh by alone the laws ander which you live, the action of the Courts, and genes the conduct of the alministration as a whole, can be made to meet satisfacte the daily and hoorly requirements of your lives, and harmonize with! innate sense of what is Right and Just.

All are interestel alike; from all we ask aid in proportion, and onl. proportion, to their means and position. From the poor and oneducated. ast only an expression of that sympathy and good will which all in t hearts feel for our work; an open acknowledgment of their adhesion to canse, and a nominal sabscription to mark their membership. From the 1 bat edacated we ask only a similarly emall pecuniary contribation, lat expect not only an open acknowledgment of adhesion, but also honest operation in popularizing an appreciation of the benefits of, and neces for, Representative Ifstitutions, and in securing adJitional members the Leacor. From the well-to-do or rich, be they elucated or unedaca ve expect-tho whole country expects-cordial and liberal assistance in ${ }^{\mathbf{n}}$ and in mones. From all of every degree we look for support, anlí with entire confidence that we now invite all to join our Lesgees and asf effectively according to their means and abilitivs, with co-workers and ful with men and money.

Signed, on behalf of the League, by Maharajah Sir Jotendro $M_{0}$ Tagore, K.C.S.I., and nearly all the leaders of all sections of the Inc Community in Culcutta.
$\frac{8}{p} 18$

## THE

# STAR IN THE EAST; 

OR,

## THE BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

## ©aleatat

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## THE STAR IN THE EAST.

Robed in mourning, crowned with ashes, Night-enshrouded, Indra weeps, Rolls the storm, the lightning flashes,

Still the nation heedless sleeps.
Has-she cries-this bitter tempest,
Has this cruel night no end,
Must pain ever rack this sad breast,
Will none save me, none befriend?
Once I reigned the Orient's empress
Ah ! The glory of that past !-
Crowned with learning, science, gladness,
Woe is me 1 too bright to last ;
And around $m e$, heaven-aspiring,
Myriad bravé sons dauntless trod,
Bowing head and heart to nothing
But their country and their God.
Crownless, now, forlorn l'm weeping,
Dust and ashes all my meed,
Sluggard sons ignobly sleeping
In a slough of selfish greed.
Oh heaven 1 Are hope and justice dead,
Shall a new day waken never?
Ah children! shall your mother plead,
Plead vainly, thus, for ever?
Weep no more : A Star is gleaming

* In the pearling eastern skies,-

And thy sons, long spell-bound dreaming,
Hear, at last, thy call arise !
Weep no more, my love, my glory,
Weep no more dear motber-land,
See thy children rally yound thee
Heart to heart and band in hand. '

## ITHE BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE


$T$ is now many years since the more enlightened and advanc cd thinkets of the Indian community began to realiz that, excellent as was British rule and greatly as, in son. respets, it excelled any native rule of which they ha any recent experience, it had yet, as a whole, failed $\mathbf{t}$ adapt itself sufficiently to local conditions. Initiated i past times in a wise and sympathetic spirit, and orig:nall plastic in the hands of rulers who identified themselves to a marke degrce with their people (whose good will and support the strove above all things to secure and retain, and whose disp!easur and distrust they feared to incur), it had become, as it solidified in th course of time, a rigid machine, worked by men, for the most pat careless alike of the approval and disapproval of the country themselves scatcely less of machines than the administration o whose treadwheel they laboured. It was not that the thing wa designedly, with malice prepense, constructed on unsuitable lineson the contrary, in the early years of its development, the wise arr prudent men who supervised its growth had endeavoured, so far as thei imperfect knowledge of the circumstances permitted, to adapt it to loca requirements. But even their knowledge scarcely pierced below th surface, and, as time rolled on and the necessity for carrying the peopl: with them grew less and less apparent, and Europeans, growing mort numerous, began to consort more enter se and less with Indians, and the knowledge of the customs, habits, wants and wishes of thes; latter (never very profound) grew more and more superficial, ou rulers gradually substituted for the original desire to construct a administration accurately corresponding with the traditions and instincts of the people-a determination to evolve a government it strict accordance with their own conceptions of what was best anc most desirable. The result, was the elaboration of a rigid frame work in no way conforming to the moral, socid or intellectual contou of the country, failing to take support where this would gladly havi been accorded, and becoming oppressive and annoying by weighing heavily where pressure could ill be borne.

Some few thinkers, both Indians and Europeans, far in advanc of their time, had, as we may now perceive, realized the unhap: position into which British rule was drifting at a much earlier pernoc But the country, as a whole, was still densely overshadowed by ign.. ance and superstition, there was no inter-communication betveen the more thoughtiul men of different provinces, or even of differen districts; the majority of the local officers still retamed in the
ealings with the people some outward show at least of that symputly ith their subjects that had constituted the very essence of their redecessors' policy ;ind thus, though in truth it no longer altogether eserved this, British rule still maintained its traditional hold on the earts of the people, and though a general sense of malaise waervading with growing intensity the body politic, this was nut, as yct, ssigned to any definite source, and was accepted rather as a dispens.aon of Providence (as a bad harvest might be) than attributed to its eal cause, the blundering benevolenfe of foreign Rulers.

Thus it happened that, wheq the great military revolt of 1857 , urst upon the bewildered country, the people, everywhere, were agan it the rebels. No doubt the jail birds and bad characters seized the, to hem, joyful opportunity of anarchy, to plunder and murder, and they lundered and murdered without any weak-minded regard to the race, olour or creed of their victims; no doubt landowners and others who tad suffered under the iron systems of Civil and Revenue Law imrosed ignorantly, on a population to which they were wholly unsuited, $y$ well-meaning foreigners who fancied that everything they imported rom their own country must needs be good for cevery country-no loubt, we say, that sufferers under these inclastic and alien systems reized the occasion to right their grievous wrongs, and where decrecolders and auction-purchasers were foolish enough to demur, dissosed somewhat too summarily of them and their demurrers. But one the less was the country, as a whole, on the side of the British Fovernment, and none the less did it pray for and, so far as in it lay, zid the re-establishment of this latter.

Before however the Mutiny broke, new departures had been taken which could not fail, in their ultimate issues, to produce a complete evulsion in public feeling. A great and growing expansion of educational activity, railroads, telegraphs, cheap postage and a greatly enlarged sphere of postal operations, the development of Indian newspapers, a most unjust system of annexations or confiscations (even to the jewels of noble ladies) for the benefit of the Governmentall these and many others had been cast, leavenlike, into the great bushel, and so it happened that when, after the Mutiny, the immense increase in the British army, the marked change in the treatment of Indians by Europeans, the imposition of the hateful income tax. of the cumbrous and complicated Criminal and Civil Codes and Procedure Codes and other like specialities of British manufacture, compelled every one, high and low, to reconsider the situation (so far as their comparative ignorance permitted) a great change in public opinion was gradually evolved, and amongst even those who had been most entirely loyal to the English Government grave doubts were felt as to whether, after all, the mutineers had not been right, and whether in the general interests it would not have been better that British rule should have been, once for all, extinguished. This, be it understood, was amongst the enlightened and partially-enlightened members of our community. Amongst the uneniightened, the masses, no such doubts were felt-the sentiment that the

Government was bad and unjust, that British rule was alien ans oppressive, was accepted almost as an axiom.

But there was at that time an infuence at work that greatl: softened these hostile views, that engendered patience and encouragei hope. We have been of late years assured by the Anglo-Indian Press and even by Englishmen claiming to be considered statesmen, that ou gracious and beloved Empress' grand Proclamation on her assump tion of the Government of India, has no legal validity, was a men personal expression of good feeling in no way binding on the Britis! Government under the British constitutional system. Common sense i opposed to any such monstrous reading of this most solemn Stat ${ }^{\text { }}$ enunciation, but British constitutional law is by no means an em bodiment of common sense, and we are not sufficiently versed it constitutional law to say whether this view can be legally maintainec But this we can say, that it is fortunate for all parties that thi; dishonourable and desingenuous attempt to evade one of the mos explicit and solemn promises ever made by any Sovereign to an; nation, was not promulgated at any earlier period, for nothing $j$; more certain than that, for many years, the unopposed continuance of British supremacy was due wholly and solely to this Proclamation All classes, enlightened and ignorant, accepted it in good faith, is that same spirit in which we still believe it to have been given forth $b$ : our dear Sovereign. All classes saw in this enunciation of principle a permanent and sacred charter of our liberties; all were accustomer to the slow action of great rulers; all knew that it took a long whik for truth to permeate upwards to mighty monarchs, but all feit tha herein lay a certain assurance of better times to come, and though the: ceased not to chafe at the political injustice to which they were subject ed by the local rulers, and at the painful all-pervading pressure o foreign, and to them repugnant, institutions, -all saw in this solemi charter a clear ground for the certain hope that sooner or later the Grea Mother would come to realize the misdeeds of her servants anc make good to us, in their entirety, her blessed assurances of equa justice and freedom.

It was solely due to this wise and benevolent Prociamation that. for many years, sore and sorer as the hearts of the people grew. no overt and grave discontent endangered the peace of India But tine rolled on, and the situation grew more and more critical; No changes for the better were made in the administration; on the contrary, day by day the gulf seemed to widen between the ruler: and the ruled, less and less regard to the feelings of the natiot seemed to be daily paid, and the most astounding legislative enactments were flung forth with a light heart in utter disregard alike a the wants of the country and the wishes of the people.

At last the cup of national endurance and patience seemec almost full. Heaven sent us a genius for a Viceroy, who, while commanding no respect by his private character, was, as a states man, unstable as water, rushing from Fuller Minutes to gagging th press, and absolutely devoid of that sobriety of temperament, tha
ncerity of purpose, which constitute the essential foundations of Il true statesmanship.
| Clever, accomplished, the most genial of boon companion, ae most charining of modern minor poets, all with him was utside glitter. The most serious State affairs appeared to be, in his yes, mere games to be played and won, no matter who or what ost, for his personal glorification and for the gratification of a vanity, hose chief aim, to use his own oft-repeated phrase, was "to makic good splash !"

But why break a butterfly on the wheel? Suffice it for our resent purpose to say that his incapacity to realize the conditions f the country, his reckless desire to glorify his rule and his apparent vant of any higher principles by which to test the rightenusness If those attractive schemes which his feverishly active brain was or ever generating-his thorough unfitness, in a word, for the 1eat office into which he had been pitchforked,-all but wrecked he Britich Dominion in the East.

Times had greatly changed since the volcanic fires of the reat Mutiny had blazed out over an unsophisticated and shudlering population, had flared awhile in crimson horror, had flickered ind disappeared. Indian newspapers were now to be numbered by undieds, and, though few of them possessed a large circulation, lad in the aggregate millions of readers, and tens of milions who, through these latter, listened to their messages. Men rad begun to move to and fro on the land, and to discover hat their own long-hidden feelings of dissatisfaction with the Government were echoed by the hearts of their fellows in the most Histant villages. . The more advanced thinkers, alike those favourtble and hostile to the continuance of British rule, had begun to Iraw together. Already some of these had begun themselves to ict, or to send out others, as political missionaries to the masses, :o convey to these some idea of their own rights, as subjects, and of the Government's duties, as rulers. Where letters formerly passed in thousands they were passing in millions. Education if a sort, stimulated by cheap publications from Indian presses, books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, and above all by the yreat increase of inter-communication in all parts of the empire, thad made vast strides, of which even the material increase of students in schools and colleges afforded no appreciable indication. Organizations of various kinds, each of limited extent, but very numerous, unacknowledged, of more or less doubtful purposes, were silently permeating the country. The people were rapidly losing all faith in the Queen's Proclamation, and growing to look upon it as a cruel fraud, and the bitter sease of injury and injustice which had so long smouldered in their hearts was beginning at last to glow ominously brighter.
was made and the gigantic and costly farce of the Dehli Assemblag was enacted, while Famine was tightening the rope around th throats of millions of innocent peasants in Southern India. Thu did they actually stand when, a little later, the iniquitous invasio of Cabool achieved, the Indian Press gagged, the cotton duties, on of India's most important and most legitimate sources of revenue traitorously abandoned as a Conservative sop to Manchester, anCavagnari massacred, the Government sat trembling (as bankrupt i reputation as its own exchequer) upon the crumbling fragments c a mendacious Budget.

Many thought that the time had come-underground, th smothered thunder presaged the coming eruption, and we wer, unquestionably nearer to a general uprising than we have ever befor been since the ever-spreading red shadow first clouded any portio, of the patient East. Openly or secretly the country, almost to ; màn, were against the British Government, and any trifing additio, to the provocations, under which the people were gnashing thei, teeth, might, nay alnost certainly would, have eventuated in : conflict in which that Government would have found itself in arm against the entire population.

Do English readers at all realize what this means? Do they at at consider how it would be with them and theirs with even 100,000 even 200,000 Bitish Troops and 250 millions against them in re:iq earnest ? They look back to 1857 and say with a self-satisfice sinile: "Who got the best of it then? Did we not fight and conquer ? And so they did, and many of them like true heroes, but, despit: their valour, it was solely the fact that the people of the country wer with them that rendered their success possible. Had the country been against them, not one of them-no, nor one of the additiona quarter of a million of European troops that, with France's profiered aid, they might possibly have succeeded in landing in India-wouly have survived the struggle. The brave strong man fights througk the swarm of ill-conditioned wasps, despite their venemous stings, bu the thirty-foot python, stingless though it be, crushes him to pulp in its vast flexile folds. Who furnished cheerfully supplies to ever. little British force, while the mutineers could get nothing but wha they seized vi $t t$ armis? Who sheltered and comforted every straf European, man, woman and child, who, escaping the mutineers and the gangs of blackguards (the noxious products of their boastec civilization), that throng every british cantonment, found thei way into the mofussil? Who was it who kept European officer apprised of every movement of the rebels, while these latter coulc so seldom learn exactly where the British forces were ? Who wa: it that to the number of nearly one-quarter of a million enlistec within the period of little more than one year and fought side by side with the British in a thousand fights dgainst the mad mutinou sepoys and the swarms of budmushes, dacoits, and other jail birds why flocked to join their standards? To all these questions one answe only is possible-The People of India.

No! While we may primarily attibute the comparatively apid suppression and, a little later, entire obliteration of this crrible military revolt to the indomitable pluck and notable power If organization of the British, high and low, Military and Civil, and he grand statesmanship of Lord Canning who, in defiance of the ysterical protests and prayers of the bulk of the officlal classes, the noment the tide turned set to work ruthlessly to reduce the military xpenditure by twelve millions sterling per annum, and proclaimed in amnesty, every qualified and impartial historian will have to idmit that but for the active support of a large number of Indians ind the sympathy, no doubt more or less passive, of the test of he population, the British Empire in the East would now, long ince, lave faded into " a glorious memory of the past."

It is well to realize this clearly-it is well to realize the entircly lifferent character of the uprising that threatened us towards the lose of Lord Lytton's unprincipled administration-well for us all, Indians and British, to be thankful that, through IIeaven's mercy, this crrible trial, for all, was averted.

It was when matters were almost at their worst, when British upremacy was scarcely worth six months' purchase, that an hitherto mrecognized agency, working for peace and good will amongst men, irst entered the sphere of practical politics. Scattered throughout he land were to be-found a few men of far deeper culture and more developed moral sense than the rest of the educated nen of the day. These men, united by community of kntowedge and pursuits, had been, ever since the Mutiny, anxicusly watching the fluctuations of national feeling and, so far as indircctly and anonymously was posşible, throwing the entire weight of their influence into the scale of order. When, however, the crisis yrew to be.really acute, they resolved that more overt measures should be resorted to in order, if possible, to avert what, to them, seemed an immediately impending and incalculably disastrous calamity.

Their view of the case was not, simply, that hundreds of thoucands of Indians would suffer (and, as in the case of the Mutiny, at least half of these absolutely undescrivedly even from a British point of view), not mercly that tens of thousands of Europeans, a vast majority of them good and well-meaning men, would be "in nne red burial blent," not merely that for many years all progress, physical, mental, moral would, amid the prevailing anarchy; be arrested, and serious retrogression in all lines involved, but that even when the bitter and prolonged struggle terminated, the after-conscquence would be ruinous alike to India, England, and the cause of human progress generally,

They, and possibly they alone, were, at that time, able to estimate, with even approximate accuracy, the gigantic forces that then scemed about to spring into action. Fools prate about holding an empire of 250 millious of souls by the bayonet-wise men know that brute
force is the feeblest bulwark that can be opposed to the sentiment: cunsictions (just as often wrong as right) of a great nation. The knew only too well that grievous and prolonged as the strugst might be, that occans as might be shed of Indian blood, if one the country in its then temper rose, it would never again be pacifie until, by far means or foul, the Empire of Great Britain in India ha been destroyed They knew only too well also that India was, a yet, by a full century short of the development which would enabl it to stand advantageously on its own basis, and that out of th ashes of the Bitish Phoenix, would arise at first, at any rate, multitude of evil things infinitely more prejudicial to the real pri giess of the country than British rule had ever yet, even accordin to its worst enemies, proved itself to be. They knew that th. forcible and bloody rupture between England and India, as th result of such a struggle, would reduce the former to the levi of a secoud-rate power, and sound for centuries perhaps th death-knell of the highest hopes of humanity. For, little : Europeans, as even Englishmen, seem to realize the fac nothing is more certain to those sayes in the East who, sittin apart from the turmoil of the world, study, passionless, the histor of mankisd, than that England, with all her faults, with all he crimes, has yet been the foster-mother of the existing liberties of $t \mathbf{t}$ world. Would France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hollanı Relgium, Germany, Italy, Austria, North America, have been this da in possession of that degree of freedom (small it may be in som cases) that each enjoys, had Great Britain sunk beneath the ocea soon after the Normanconquest 2 From (aye and before) the tirs whell the Barons wrested the great Charter from John, larg sections of the English nation have ever done battle bravely again: tyranny in every shape, and, year by year, and age by age, hay ceaselessly struggled against autacracy and its brood. It is to th example of the nobler portion of the British nation, it is to tf spirit of freedom with which their words and works have ever bee instinct that the whole world this day mainly owes such liberty; it anywhere enjoys; nay, it is to these that India herself owes trimpulse, now stirring at every heart, to struggle for freer institution and a less despotic form of Government.

Degrade and humiliate England, reduce her to a minor powe and, despite all said and done during the last hundred years, tif poison cloud of despotism would roll back westwards, over Eurof at any rate, leaving it to some future Campbell to sing the sa requiem :-
"Hope for a season bade the world farewell,"
"And Freedom thrieked when "brave old Eugiand' fell."
But determined as were these men, who almost alone realiz the dread issues at stake, to avert, by all possible means, the three ened catastrophe, they were far too deeply versed in the inner life. the nation to fancy, for a single moment, that the sparks that h: been kindled in so many hearts could evor again be extinguisht

- that it was possible for mortal man to do belter with the flames, lat must inevitably result, than direct them in such wise as to mmi. ize their vehemence and utilize their expanding volume for the good - the country. Then began they to preacil to their most trusted iends directly and to the country at large, through innumerable direct channels, the doctrine that expansion must be given to te hitherto repressed and imprisoned national feelings of discon'int and hatred, and that this expansion could only safely take the rm of overt constitutional agitation, no matter how noisy, or even : first childish, if only it afforded due vent for those bitter and ndictive feelings foredoomed, if still pent down and hidden, to ultify before long the brightest promises of thic coming century.

On the first day that this doctrine assumed a concrete and actical form, those seeds were sown of which the Bexgal. ational League is one, and not an ignoble, outgrowth.

But we anticipate. Despite the most strenuous cfforts (compatie with evading the attention of the therr unscrupulous and iprincipied Government) on the part of that limited number ho accepted this new Gospel, no marked results were immeately obtained ; the leaven had indeed been hidden, but it orked but slowly. It may be that, nicely balanced as were then ie forces operating to excite and to restrain, even the little fected during the last fifteen months of Lord Lytton's adminisation constituted the feather that depressed the scale of fate in vour of order. But even those to whom the movement owed, its igin would not pretend to assert that such was certainly the case.

But whilst India's best and wisest were thus strusgling with eir utmost energy to sanify the body politic, with scarccly appreable results, Providence, who ever helps those who help themIves, came to the rescue, and the loug doubtful and darkling battle atween good and evil was won.

Lord Ripon came-and as night mists before the rising sun,
a nightmare at a friend's rousing touch, so before his simple, anly, trustful honesty, so at his kindly sympathetic words, vanished, , if by magic, the danger that had loomed so tremendous amidnt ie national discontent.

At last we had a true man-one who in good sooth desired othing better than to do his best for us and for India. AII Enz;h statesmen, therefore, were not, as his example proved, mere auds and specious wind bags, full of empty and lying promises ad professions. The good Empress who had sent us at last oue znest Viceroy might send us more like him, Despite the unimpathetic attitude of the officials of whom we chiefly bad experioced, there might be, there must be, other true and good men in ngland who, wher they came tor know how sad cur case was, ould see us righted. The race of noble philanthropists who zolished slavery in the West Indies was not extinct. Here at ast was qnee truc-born English nobicman, bent, in good earnest,
on seeing equal justice indifierently dealt out to black and wh There was still a hope then. There could not be only one such mat It was for us to reach the others, and then, pcrhaps, slavery in $t^{\prime}$ East Indies also might be, in time, abolished.

The extraordinary revulsion in popular feeling produced I Lord Ripon's reign can only, be compared to what we once witnesse when visiting England. For weeks past a bitter north-cast wir had parched heaven and earth, binding all things in an icy shro -a haze of gloom hung everywhere, and all was dumb and motid less as in the country of the dead. The night closed in, in a dar: ness oppressive as a ponderous Pall ; at midnight $17^{\circ}$ of fic were registered. A brilliant sunrise ushered in a balmy spring day a warm south wind, laden with perfume, breathed upon the rig lake. By noon the ice was all rotten. By sunset it was fast di appearing, and when next day, fervid as one of summer's on children, awoke us, the waters were dancing free, dimpled with ts million fire flashes, and singing in rhythmic ripples around eve: point. Water fowl splashed and sparkled on the sunny waveletsgreen tassels wete sprouting on every bush, while on the banks-

> "Where scattered oft the earliest of the year
> By unseen hands, are showers of violets found"
primroses and other fender blossoms smiled through their det tears on the rising day. Everywhere the hum of insects, the son of birds, the distant sounds of sheep bells, mingling with the myris voiccs of renewed life, rose like a golden hymn of praise and jq A single day had slipped by, and where late all had been glod and bitter frost and death-like stillness; now all was sunshine, sol and happiness.

Then first, fostered by Lord Ripon's benign influence, did the hidden leaven commence to work appreciably-then first $t$ gospel of hearty open constitutional agitation in lieu of secre hatred-impelled plotting, began to find favour in the eyes of 4 many-then secret organizatıons dissolved, as such fungoid growt will, or turning themselves inside out and taking a fresh root, ro into upper air as honest recognized associations for the promotio of the national cause-then, first, did those anxious watchers, wl had realized the perils in the past, begin to breathe freely and that God that the great battle was indeed won.

The battle was won; and although long before that bright mor ing ripened into noonday, the daik clouds of the Anglo-Indias. vehement, and (as the best amongst them do not now deny), a reasonable antagonisin darkened the prospect, this failed whol thanks to the confidence inspired by Lord Ripon's charact and condact,* to shake the faith of the country in their ni Gospel, though it doubtless somewhat modifed, and that whol

[^70]the letter, their attitude in regard to it. At the outset y had taken it. up in the exuberance of joyful hearts and in f confident belief that'Lord Ripon was guing to work miracles, ich as children throw themselves into some new pastime. But as the $y$ drew on, and the clouds gathered, and they found too many of ose sons of a free land who, had they been true to the basic principles their own nationality, should have been their leaders, comrades, pporters, bitterly opposing their rightenus claims, and heaping sults on them in public speeches and public prints, they quickly bered into manly earnest, and once for all took the new task on them, not as a parerggn, but as their ergon, not as a pastime - a while, but as the serious labour of their entire lives.

But we must not blame, too hastily, our adversaries; they were questivarbly misled by a few designing men who, themselves kping in the background, excited a needless and unrighteous lignation by cunning misrepresentations; if, thus misled, they it their tempers and were ungenerous and unjust, we equally it ours and said many things no less unfair and unbecoming. id after all, we owe them much, since to their opposition was inly duc the success of the efforts, then being made, to solidify $=$ party of Reform and fuse a congeries of provinces, tribes and ins into one nation.

Neither party has much to be proud of in that frantic boyish uggle, and now that this has passed away we may well hope it, like true Britons, they will bear us no malice, but, having ight us resolutely and come off, if not victorious at any rate with ams beating and colours flying, they will like us all the better, 1, shaking hands, prove themselves ready to battle side by side ih us, aiding us by their greater experience and knowledge to liver India from our common adversaries-a despotic and irresponsle Government, and an oyerweening and too self-sufficient ticial class.

The National Congress of December $\mathbf{2 8 5}$ held at Bombay was e first tangible and unmistakeable outcome of the national unificam , and the third Resolution arrived at by that Congress indicated e very essence of the great task on which the people of India, at it a nation, one and indivisible henceforth and for ever, was soberly d deliberately girding up their loins to undertake. We know the tempts so strenuously made; at the time by thoughtless Angloincial organs to discredit that Congress and deny its representative aracter, but that has all passel awdy, melting as time ever dissolves efalse. There is no Indian Political Association, and these are now mbered by hundreds; there is not an important Indian city or wn which has not by acclamation publicly ratified the resolutions
that Congress. Nobles have spoken in their own names, the iddle classes through their Subhas, unions, leagues and associams, and the ryots through mass meetings whose portentous mensions have staggered, at times, even the warmest advocates
progress and national enfranchisement. Of that Congress and
that resolution the necessary outcome.

Bevgal National League was the alme The Resoluticn ran as follows:-
"That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of simi Councils for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punja essential ; and holds that all Budgets should be teferred to these Counc for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpell. the executive in regard to all branches of the administration; and tha Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorit of such Councils against the exercise by the executive of the power, wh would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majoritie

The scheme of the Congress was simple. The seco Resolution proposed the abolition of that obstructive, per cious and costly organization, the Council of the Secretary State for India. Even Euglish politicians had early recogniz that the Indian executive could not be left entirely free to roug ride the princes and people of India at its own sweet will a pleasure. Hence this Council had been devised as a check up that executive. But after a quarter of a century's fair trial it h proved a total failure. Let the Indian executive do any thi wrong or bad-let them reply non possumus to every demand justice and progress, and that council of antiquated Anglo-India were ready to support the executive and "uphold their authorit But let that executive, in any interval of lucidity, for ot advocate some measure favourable to the national cause or inter and that ogre of a council straightway proceeded to suppr that measure, much as the guinea-pigs were suppressed in the celebt ed trial of the knave of hearts. They put it in their boxes a sat upon it.

This council had been weighed in the balance and foù wanting; as a check it only checked those very measures that sho have received encouragement. It was and is utterly useless, worse, aggressively injurious. It was, and alas! must we repeat it, s is, a hot-bed of jobbery and very costly. Righteously theref did the Congress lay down its abolition as a necessary prelii nary to all real reform. "

But while desirous of dispensing with this shan check, Congress fully realized how necessary it was that, in future, so real check should be exercised over the vagaries of the execut and this check they proposed to provide by the resolution alrea quoted.

This check was to rest, not in the hands of a set of superannua officials, foreigners, domiciled permanently six thousand $m$ away, and as ignorant of the conditions of modern India as a sudde resuscitated Lord Mayor of Elizabeth's time would be of those modern England, but in the hands of picked natives of India, elec by the best and wisest of their countrymen At the same $t$
was not overlooked that, under the existing conditions of the puntry, the executive, after having been compelled to listen fully the voice of the pdople, must possess the right to override, tere it deemed this absolutely necessary, and disregard that voice.

To prevent serious mischief from an improper and unwise exercise this right, and to ensure that the executive should not resort it without grave consideration, a final appeal to a special Inding committee of the House of Commons was provided for.

Now as to governing Incia through the British House of mmons, that would, of course, be absurd. As to expecting embers of a committee of that House, already fylly employed th work for their parties and their constituents, to busy themves constantly about minor details of Indian administration d go into multitudes of cases of personal grievances and the like, is would be equally absurd. But for the decision, at rare interIs, of great questions involving important puinciples, in regard which the people and Government of India were unable to agree arrive at any mutually satisfactory compromise, no more thoroughcompetent and reliable tribunal than a picked committee of the itish House of Commons could be conceived.

But while the scheme shadowed forth in this, now famous, ird Resolution, was admitted, even by adversaries to possess me meit as a mere theoretical conception of what should be ned at, the great majority of Anglo-Indian writers denied that y practical methods for providing the requisite elected members , the proposed reformed and expanded legislative councils, could, the existing state of the country, be suggested, and generally 3tended that no practicable scheme to regulate the relations
the representatives and the Government could be deviscd. it, a month or two later, a series of provisional rules, ,ich had been tentatively agreed to by a majority of the Cungress Jresentatives, were published, showing conclusively that if only British Government would accept the principle, no difficulty uld exist in giving practical effect to it. There might be difences of opinion as to exactly which way was on the whole the it, but these rules offered one set of simple solutions, and in ing so suggested other alternative solutions of every problem rolved.

We had now arrived at this position. The country had come to ow exactly the principle of which it desired the concession; it had o come to realize at least one simple method by, which that nciple could be brought into practical operation, and then the pple of Bengal saw that the time had come and banded themives into a great League pledged thenceforth to agitate and uggle ceaselessly, and by all lawful means, to secure that desired acession.

The inauguration of this League must ever constitute an portant era in the political history of Bensal. For the first time
for ages, leaders of every section, sub-division and class of the pry lation of Bengal combined heartily and that for an unsclfish obye Here were met Mahomedans and Hindoos, princes and pea-an great landowners and small tenants, lawyers, bankers, merchan medical men, professors and principals of schools and col'eg divines and religious reformers, learned scholars, novel writers, ne paper editors and poets, all pledging themselves to labour in t public cause.

One thing only the League lacked, and that was a goor intermixture of non-official Europeans and Eurasians, of who less than a score, we believe, at any rate at the outset, joined the n movement. The Indian community were greatly grieved at $\mathbf{t}$ marked abstention on the part of their non-Indian brethren. I cause of the entire non-official community, so far as representati is concerned, is one and indivisible. Assuredly the European a Eurasian communities would be as great gainers as the nati Indian, could the object, at which alone the League aims, be happ attained. Unlike all other political associations in India, $t$ Bengal National League aims at but one single reform, a that equally in the interests of Furopeans, Eurasians and India Other objects, propounded by other associations, may involve, in t eyes of either or both the two former communities, some dang to their special interests or some curtailment of their spec privileges. But the single quest of the Berfgal League, the imp sition of a representative check on arbitrary taxation and arbitrò mis-government, should be (were men only rightly alive to th own real interests) as dear to Europeans and Eurasians as to 1 Indians. It may be that the Indian gentlemen with whom 1 conception of the League first originated did not, fearing lest th advances should not be kindly received, sufficiently exert themselto solicit and secure the co-operation of the two other gro communities; it may be that some lingering soreness, the legacy the defunct Ilbert Bill controversy (a legacy now, let us hope, ever buried by the cordial rafprochement of all three communit in the matter of the joint protest against official absenteeist prevented at the time the invaluable co-operation of the Europe: and Eurasians in this great undertaking.

Be the cause what it/may, the result was equally to be regrett and we cannot avoid hoping that now, at least, our European a Eurasian fellow subjects will join us and take that leading part the crusade against autocratic and irresponsible Government, wh their position, abilities, experience, and last, but not least, heredit; biasin favour of political freedom, so rightfully entitles them play.

Saddened by the abstention of both the other communities, League yet braced itself to attempt, single-handed, the enterpr in which all three showd have been equally active, and under presidency of the first citizen of Bengal, Sir Jotendro Mon Tagoke, they commenced operatious and issued an appeal to
untry, so succinct and withal so cogent, so moderate and yct so inest, as to merit reproduction here :-
"Friends \& Fellowi Countrymen!-A number of us, whose namea 1 will find in the, accompanying papers, beiug deeply impressed with the sent and paramount necessity of introducing a representative element into : Government of this country, have formed ourselves into a Liague, whose e object it will be to endeavour, by all appropriate and constitutional :an1s, to bring about the concession of Representative Institutions to India
"No one can be more fully alive than we are to the manifold blessings at we owe to British Rule; but we feel-ind in this we have, we believe, e sympathy of many of the most distinguished thinkers and many of : leaders of Public Opinion in England-that the good and great work, ought by Great Britain in this country, will not be complete untll che isting form of Government is modified, and the administration here is ide to partake of that representative character which is che glorious distinc. in of British Institutions, elsewhere, almost throughout the habitable globe.
"If representative institucions have been found necessary in colonies reve identity of race, creed and customs enables the Rulers to grasp, intuiely, the needs of the Ruled, how doubly indispensable are they here, iere fundamental differences in nationality, religion and culture, debar : Governors from ever effectively realizing the real wants and wishes of eir people!
"It is not, however, to be denied that at present the authorities in India pear indisposed to concede what we desire, believing, we understand, that th concession would be premature. How then are we to bring home to em, and to that noble British Nation that they represent, the real facts of e situation, and lead them to realize, not only that what we seek is not pretture, but that it has already become urgently necessary alike in the interests Governors and governed, of India and of Great Britain! Singly, or even
small bodies, our views attract little attention, bat united in one great ange our unanimous and matured opinions will necessarily receive due ention. Therefore, we entreat all of you, high and low, rich and poor, thout distinction of race or creed, caste or colour, to join us in this grop rk. Everyone of you is deeply interested in a measure, the ultimate sults of which will be the removal of all grievances and the restoration,
an immutable basis, of the pristine prosperity of our beloved country. reryone of you, who has been born and bred here, is bound by the mose ared obligations, even if, you have never ugitil now laboured for your llows or your country, at any rate this one time, to join in this one great ort, to obtain for India this relief, this blessing, on which hinge all other liefs and blessings, all true Liberty, Prósperity and Progress.
"It is needless to explain that to make this League a real suecess, and attain the great object it sets before itself, a wídespread comoperation and sple funds will be requisite, and it is with that co-operation and those need1 funds that we now call upon you, in our country's name, to aid as. Let ne of you fancy that this is a matter with which you have no concern or which you are not personally interested. There is not one amongst you, he rich or poor, humble or great, a tiller of the land or a dweiler in cities, 10 is not directly interested in this primary and comprehensive reforn, where, alone the laws under which you live, the action of the Courts, and nerally the conduct of the administration as a whole, can be made to meet :isfactorily the daily and hourly requirements of your lives, and harmonize ch your innate sense of what is Right and Just.
"All are interested alite; from oll we ask aid in proportion, and on/y proportion to their means and position. From the poor and uneducated, ask only an expressen of that sympethy and good will which all in the hearts feel for our work; an open acknowledgment of the.- adhesion to : cause, and a nominal subacription to mark their membership. Fism the pc but educated we ask ouly a similarly small gecxniary contribution: but 1 expect not ooly an open acknowledgment of adhesion, but also hooest s operation in popularizing an appreciation of the benefits of, and necessity ifKepreseatative Institutions, and in securing additional members for $t$ League. From the well-to-do or rich, be they educated or uneducated, expect-the weok cositry expects-cordial and liberal assistance in wo and in money. From all of every degree we look for suppor, and it with entire confidence that we now invite all to join our League and aid effectively according to their means and abilities, with co-workers and func "ith men and money."

This address explains sufficiently, perhaps, the objects of $t$ League and the spirit in which it was founded, but it may not out of place to reproduce also a letter addressed somewhat lat by Sik Jotendro Mohun to one of the leading London Journ: which, but for the all-absorbing interest excited at home by $t$ strusgle over Irish affairs, would, we feel sure, have received-mo attention than it did.
"I beg to forward herewith a copy of a brief Report on the formati, of a Nacional League to promote the introduction of Representative Instit roons into India, as also of the appeal which the League has addressed the country, and I vencure to hope that you will give publicity to this mov ment in Eagland, through the medium of your columns.
"Forming fart, as you do of a self-governing community, you c hardly realize, I fear, the eagerness with which we, who are practica debarred from all share in the Government of our country, covet that po tical freedomand those Representative Institutions that Great Britain 1 conferred on almost all her dependencies, except on the most imports and populous of tyese, British India.

- It would be well that England should realize this, as also the pi found feelings of dissatisfaction with which the existing character of $t$ administration is regarded-feelings, which although openly expressed or by a few of the most adranced and independent of the educated class fervade, I telieve, all ranks and sections of the community.
"I am a ware that many of those indisposed to favour native aspiratic deny our solidarity, bat permit me to assure you that, whatever may ha been the case in the past, at this present moment, throughout the length a breadth of the Empire, amongst Indians of all races, creeds and castes, the is one common desire for a reform in the administration and one comm determination to endeavgor to secure this by all practicable, legitimate a constitutional means."

And now that we have traced the Bengal National Leagi from the first faint enunciation of that new Gospel of which it one, and not the least notable, fruit and sketched, all too hurried we fear, the antecedent circumstances which necessitated that Gc pel, can any educated, impartial, and thoughtful member of eith of the three great communities in Indid, deny the justice a'
atire reasonableness of that prayer, with which nur Lemauf in adeavouring to penctrate the cars and heats of the Britinh Nation ? ay more, does not the existing state of affairs here, at this present oment, demonstrate in a thousand ways how the entire country suffering just for the lack of those freer institutions for which e are so earncstly pleading ?

If there is one thing more than another essential to the wellsing of a country, it is the existence of a good understanding and utual good will between rulers and.ruled. Hut what have we are in India? Something, we fear, very near akin to mutual misiderstanding, distrust and dislike.

Take the case of our present Viceroy. Day by day Ilis Excelncy is becoming less and less popular with the Indian community. lailed by the entire country with delight at his advent, in conselence, partly of his own high reputation, and partly of the strong -commendation in his favour - with which our beloved Lord Ripon ft us, it is a melancholy fact that he is now looked upon by vast umbers as a veritable incubus, a true "Old man of the Sca," in deliverance from whom rests India's main hopes of prosperity and rogress.

Surely this is not only a pitiable, but at first sight, an almost credible state of affairs.

A thorough and most courteous gentleman, of the most untlemhed private character, of high intellectual culture, kindly nature 1d the most generous instincts and impulses, he is beloved in private fe by all who have the honour and happiness of enjoying his :quaintance. A politician, of vast experience, deeply versed in zery phase and detail of European national politics, his views on "Il questions of international diplomacy command the respect of uropean statesmen. To his own singulat personal merits he adds te happy fortune of being conjoined with a consort, whose noble id indefatigable efforts to promote the welfare of the women of idia-have evoked a respectful and affectionate response throughout 'ıdia.

Still this admirable man, instead of being, as might a priori , ave bcen expected, the idol and the darling of the country, is week , $y$ week not only growing in disfavour with all classes of Indians, but steadily becoming more and more generally regarded as the greatest $f$ existing obstacles to the fruition of every true patriot's best hopes ir India. And yet, the people of India are neither ungrateful nor upid; they are by no means a nation of fools, but on the contrary eenly appreciative both of the qualities of their rulers and of the irections in which their own and their country's best intercsts lie.

Now it is quite certain that a very considerable proportion of ie unpopularity which at the present moment attaches to Lord pufferin is wholly unmerited, and results solely from misconceptions if his words, acts and views. It is extraordinary how many utter nisstateurents as to his policy and his sentiments have been circulated
in all giod faith by our Press, and these too founded on int formation that the editors, who first admitted them to their columns had every reason to believe trustworthy. It is a fact that in mort cases than one we have now traced back such misstatements to European officials, who doubtless stated in all good faith what thes had heard from others, but who, as a matter of fact, only stated the opimons held by Anglo-Indian officials like themselves and not by Lord Dufferin.

Take the well-known article in the Pioneer, which was believed on authority that no Indian would promd facie distrust, to have been inspired by Lord Dufferin, in so far that it reproduced almost exactly sentiments which. as evidence was produced to show, hac found place in demi-official communications from Government House to authorities at home.

Now we have been at great pains to get to the bottom of this matter. It was believed, and apparently on the best grounds, that Lord Dufferin was very angry at the criticisms of the Native Press, and desired to gagit. That he viewed the political activity of the country with apprehension and desired to repress it by sterner measures. Now what are the facts? Lord Dufferin did write most strongly in at demi-official letter about, not the criticisms, but the direct misstatements of the Native Press-not as a personal grievance to himsell but as a serious hindrance to good Government and a grievous source of misunderstanding between the people and their Governors and he did urge the extreme importance, in the interests of the country, of preventing the circulation of such misstatements. $\mathrm{So}^{\text {s }}$ far, then, the reader might in all good faith have concluded that he desired to gag the Press; but, unfortunately, or rather fortunately. these passages did not stand alone, for the letter after pressing further the difficulties in which such misstatements involved the Government, went on to suggest, not that the Press might be gagged but that it should be kept better informed, and that in view to this some recognized channel or special machinery should be creatcd through which all such misstatements could be contradicted, and the questions involved satisfactorily explained.

In another letter, while taking no objection to the general political activity of our people, and holding that ordinary public meetings and open political associations are a great help to Government in a country like this, Lord Dufferin went on to allude to the recent mass meetings of ryots, in which, judging from his Irish experience, he feared that grave danger might, in no very distant future, be found to lurk. Very probably he may have dweit too forcibly on those dangers, possibly he overrated them, but the main point is this, how did he propose to suppress these dangerous gatherings? What were the "sterner measures" (words never used by the way. either by himself or Mr. Mackenzie Wallace-and we speak from certain knowledge) he indicated? Why simply that with the permission of Her Majesty's Government, the Government here should frankly face the matter, consider carefully the demands, "weither"
inreasonable nor very alarming," of the Indian party of Reform, and see if it were not possible to meet to a great extent their sishes. This done, and the material concessions accepted and pproved, it was io be understood that the new arrangements hould be allowed to stand, without further demands for changes, for a easonable period, ten or fifteen years, sufficient to enable them o be fairly tested in practice.

Moreover at the same time, although little danger was to be nticipated in Bengal from even the most gigantic mass mectings of the lower classes, some check must be put on these aince, in he event of the system extending itself amongst the more comlative populations of the North-West Provinces, Outh and the 'unjab, ignorant and even well-intentioned men might, at any time, e suddenly excited into crime, not against Government but, as 1 Ireland, against the higher classes of their own countrymen, the andlords and their representatives. -

We have no hesitation in saying that taking these letters as a thole, Lord Dufferin deserved the fhanks in licu of, as he has scurred, the revilings of the whole country.

There are a dozen other similar cases, in which the Viceroy has icen vehemently attacked on the strength of published statements, hich have proved, to our personal knowledge, absolutely without
shadow of foundation. It would be an ungrateful and wearisome ask to go into these now, when most of them have been happily orgotten, but we cannot'refrain from noticing at least one minc juite recent instance of the absolute misstatements that find their ray into the most respectable papers.

In the Statesman that arrived the other day, we find the Simla orrespondent of that journal deliberately making the following ssertions:-
"I am cold by a person who comss frequently in contact with the ficeroy that he looks on the Town Hall meeting as an attempt to coerice Zovernment, and he has determined not to submit to the orders of a fiaction of the Indian population, however large that fraction may be. Coercion crikes at the roos of good Government, and if the Viceroy and other esponsible officers of State cannot consider calmly and impartially the manner n which the State vessel is to be worked, but have to shape their cource ccording to the dictates of a mutioous crew, statesmanship becomes an mpossibility, and the country is reduced to the level of the land visited by Japtain Gulliver where animals governed and men obeyed. So at least thinks he Viceroy, who is, I believe, very much annoyed with the epecches made $t$ the Town. Hall, and who has decermined to render unavailing the tactics which forced the Government to relinquish the Ilbert Bill."

Now in the first place, any one who knows anything of Governnent work, knows that a Viceroy is so overworked that he never ooks at a paper connected with any pending case, until the case is ipe for decision. We venture to assert that up to this moment Lord Dufferin has not formed even the shadow of a conclusion in regard o this question. When the whole matter is ready; and all the
papers (amongst which of course the full report of the meetine will be included) are collected, the Viceroy will take it up and record his opinion. It is simple ignorance of the modus operamiti which leads any one to suppose that in the present stage of the affair the Viccroy call have arrived at any definite opinion on tha matter. But in the second place, to any one who really does know the Viceroy, the assertion that he looks upon public meeting as attempts to coerce the Government is no less absurd than it is false. Time after time Lord Dufferin has observed in conversation with men of all ranks, that under the present system of administration he hardly knows how the public are to make known effectively their views and wishes to the Government except by public meetings and addresses or resolutions evolved at these Certainly so far from being angry at, disliking or disapprovind any such meetings, the Viceroy avowedly looks upon them especially when conducted, as in the present case, with sobriety and composed of influential constituents, as most valuable aids to Govermment in the difficult and laborious duty they are called on to discharge, and yet an utterly, nay absurdly, false statement like this is gravely inserted without comment in the very best of our Calcutta dailies! Far be it from us to accuse the Statesman's correspondent of wilful falsehood. We have no doubt that this monstrous story was told him by an official ia a position to tell the truth, an he would. But it is a regular trick of certain extremely conservative officials. to strengthen their own attacks on all popular movements by. putting their own opinions forth as those of the Viceroy.

Undoubtedly this has been done in the present case, and the poor correspondent has sinned in good faith, but this is now such a stale trick, that correspondents and editors should be on their guard and not accept every canard, hatched even by a high official, as the Viceroy's own duckling.

We might go on for hours, filling pages after pages with similar misstatements, but cui bono; the things to realize are, that these misstatements seriously impede the administration, do harm to every body and do good to no one, and that this fertile source of distrust and dislike between rulers and ruled would absolutely dry up under, even, that mild approximation to representative institutions at which the Bengal National League is immediately aiming.

And it must not be supposed that these serious misrepresentations only prejudice the people against the Government. They must also prejudice the Government against the Native press, which is the roice of the peopic, and insensibly against the people themselves. Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, here and there an exceptional man, may regard with feclings of disappointment and regret, unmingled with any bitterness, these calumnies; for they really often amount to this, which so constantly creep into our columns. But the great majority of officials (who, though always prone to autocracy, generally incline towards benevolent despotism) must become more or less exasperated and grow less and less:
eapable of crediting our Press with the good fath that unglevtion. ably, broadly speaking, characterizes it. We can quite understan! their feeling. They say: "One day this follow sticks in, somewhat guardedly, a downright fabrication. Three days after he"repeats it in a more pasitive form. A few days later and he begins a series of articles based on this original falsehood which be now treats as a thoroughly established fact; and you talk of the good faith of the native press. l"augh l' Now we undeistand his anger, but prithce good official who is to blame? The erring editor, or the impossible form of Government of which you are one of the lillars? The poor editor gets his information from what he has a right to consider good authority, often one of your own brother officials; he hardly believes it, but still he could not wholly neglect it. He could not write: "I say Loid Dufferin, Mr. Blank tells me that the Hon'ble Mr. Noodle assured him that you said that if the native piess did not mind its. P.'s and Q.'s you would just teach them a lesso:1-now my Lord is this true? ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ So he inserts the information in a rather cautious manner. He waits three or four days. No one contradicts. He then re-inserts it in its naked atrocity. Still no correction or contradiction, and this being so we say that the simple-minded cditor, ignorant of the astounding traditions of our autocracy, which hold it infra dig, to notice, and prohibit the correction of, such errors, is perfectly justified in supposing his information correct and writing on it thenceforth as an historical fact.

But even to you, O good official, it must be manifest that did our Legislatures contain a goodly sprinkling of elected and therefore independent members, with rights of interpellation, all these vile cobwebs would be swept away almost as soon as they had been woven, and all the mutual soreness and ill-blood that is generated by such misstatements would disappear.

We say then broadly that at least half Lord Dufferin's extreme unpopularity is utterly undeserved, and that, so far as the internal administration is concerned, we have probably no more sincere or intelligent well-wisher than himself, and we have shown that this large share, at any rate, of his unpopularity could never have existed under even that mild form of representation for which the bengal National league is labouring.

But we go a great deal further. We are no Thick-and-Thin Hefenders of Lord Dufferin, and we hold that for certain measures lie is deservedly unpopular. Our view is that the entire conduct of the Afghan business, from the Rawal Pindi Durbar* down to the huge proposed increase to the army and the consequent income tax, the intasion, and still worse the annexation, of Burmah, and the treatment that the nniversal national desire to be allowed to volunteer has, in practice, met with, were all wrong. It is impossible for us to $\mathrm{g}^{\prime \prime}$ into the question of responsibility; it may or may not be that the Home Government share the responsibility for the wrong-doing;

[^71]it may be that they are the party chiefly to blame; we do not pre tend to know; but unless the despatches are published showing thi contrary we must hold the Viceroy (and we are quite sure he ha never put forward any plea of non-responsibility) responsible fo all the great measures of his Government, and if several of sucl measures be, in the opinion of the country, wrong and unjusti fiable, and carried through moreover in tho face of the mos explicit and unanimous protests of the entire Indian Press (the only voice as yet allowed to the country), he must expect to be, anc will necessarily become, unpopular.

He may be right and the country may be wrong ; but, if so, hi, must look for consolation to a consciousness of a painful duty. honestly performed and to the verdict of posterity.

But, as we said, we desire to push our argument further, and we. contend that the greater portion, at any rate, of even this deserven unpopularity would not have been incurred had India enjoyed some such modified form of representative institutions as we are seeking.

In the case, for instance, of Burma, we doubt whether the invasion would have occurred, or the line of policy have ever been adopted which, no doubt at the dist monent, sendered that invasion a necessity, had the country possessed representatives to make' clear to the Government, face to face, from an authoritative standpoint, the intease and universal feeling on the subject that pervaded the nation. Be thes as it may, we feel quite sure that the annexation of Burma would not have been carried through in the face of such a constitational opposition. The Home Government would not have ventured to sanction it, knowing that, even in England, a large section, not only of the community but even of the members of the House, utterly disapproved the measure. Again, in the voluntecring matter, the bitterness that arose out of the silent contempt with which the most earnest aspirations of the country were seemingly being treated, could never have arisen had we had representatives authorized to ask questions. As has now become known, at the eleventh hour, the Government here by no means treated the question with contempt, but on the contrary went intu it most thoroughly, and reported on it to the Secretary of State. But the Secretary of State until quite recently neglected, despite reminders, to send any despatch in reply, and so the Government continued according.to ctiquette, unable to give any satisfactory reply, or show in any way that they really had, and that promptly, given their most earnest attention to the wishes of the people. Had the Government within three months, which but for the Secretary of State's lache they might and would have done, negatived the proposal, publishing at the same time the despatch embodying their reasons, we venture to assert that not one-tenth of the ill-feeling to which this question has given rise would ever have been engendered, and we repeat that no such miscarriage and imisfortune (for it has been no less) could ever have befallera us had we enjoyed any sort of seal and recognized representation.

We have dwelt at great length on this matter of the exinting unpopularity of the Viceroy, because there is no one thing more desirable in the intciests of India than that confidence and erool will should prevail between the Head of the Government and the people, and we have left ourselves no space to show, in detail, ho:v alinost every grievance the people have, every disability and discomfort under which they labour, so far as these are due to errory of Government (for many of their discomforts are due to social abuses which they must themselves reform) may be isumediately traced to that want of direct and effective representation which we have so much at heart.

Englishmen have more than once remarked to us that they conld not see how this failure to realize the true sentiments of the people could be real, considering that all officials, not excepting the Viceroy himself, continually see and converse with Indian nobles and gentlemen. In the first place, the majoity of officials neier converse with any Indians; they see such, now and then, exchange the stereotyped formal salutations, indicate in a lordly manner some wish or opinion that, at the moment, may be uppermost in their minds, remark that Mr. Gladstone is a madman or a traitor (the unanimity of Anglo-Indian officials on this point is narvellous), and then the interview comes to an end. But even in the casc of that minonty who really courteounly endeavour to ascertain the views of their visitors, these latter are, as a rule, only fair-weather sailors, Ramegate and Margate cockney-would-be-Yachtsmen, who know as much (and as little) of the wonders and the dangers of that great deep, the nation's heart, as they do of the politics of China.

The upright, independent, highly-cultured men who really know and could, and would, speak out the truth, are not usually ts be found amongst the hangers-on who silver the palm; of red-coated chuprassees. But, at any rate, it will be justly rejoined, men heke Lords Dufferin and Reay, do see and honestly try to puinp even the best men in the land. Now will our Enflishman suppose a radical M. P. favoured (as an extraordinary exception) with an finterview with our Gracious Sovereign, and will he also suppose that humours were just at that time rife that the Crown was manceuvring to perpetuate an existing constitutional anomaly by bringing about the appointment of another Royal Duke to succeed the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chicf. Will any one pretend .that even the most radical M. P. would venture to give Her Majesty a spice of his mind on this subject? Certainly ha would never allude to the matter, and should the Queen (which would be in the bighest degree improbable, unless she had summoned this particular Radical for this very purpose) refer to it, we may be quite sure that even the most independent Radical would go no further than to indicate in the most guarded and courteous manner his doubts as to the expediency of the measure. Far different will be his tone, when, publicly representing his constituents, be makes the House ring with his denunciations of the "grasping greed of Royalty and the truckling sabserviency of Tory Premiers.'

And such is the case here too. No Indian gentleman, howev, often honoured by conversations with the Viceroy, can "beas the lion in his den, the Douglas in his hall," and denounce, as 1 knows the country denounces, that Viceroy's sayings, doings an policy. Delicate hints, bland suggestions, insinuated doubts ar regrets are all that we can offer at the Viceregal altar.

But says our Englishman: "Well you have the Press; that, : any rate, to judge by its scurrility and abuse of every thing ar, everybody, does not shirk outspokenness." True our Press does, $\uparrow$ times, scream itself hoarse, but solely because, until it roars, no $G_{4}$ vernment here pays the smallest altention to its calls for justic and reform. And even outspoken as it is, what is your invariab remark when its utterances run counter to your exalted wisdom, own conceptions of what is fit and proper? "Press? Editors? a 5 ? of rascally school-boys and briefless lawyers, ranting in monke, like imitation of Brutus and Burke, they represent the views the country? they know anything about any earthly subject? set of blatant, self-seeking humbugs!"

We have never denied that the official community have a around them, even as it is, opportunities of learning the want wishes, and opinions of the country; but what we contend is that as a rule, they ignore these opportunities, and that when, rare cases, some knowledge of the nation's mind is forced in upe; their reluctant convictions, they treat that knowledge with wh; is, practically, contempt. Can any good come out of Nazareth Are these miscrable Indians going to teach US what We are do?"

No, let our Anglo-Indian, who don't want to see our han beside his own upon the Reins of Rule, say what he will, but it only by broadening the basis of Government, by the inclusion . a strong representative element, that we shall ensure the adequat full and free exposition of the sentiments of the country in a shaf that will leave no doubt as to their reality here or in Englant and will at the same time command for them that respecti consideration which a great nation has the right to demand for th deliberate expressions of its will.

If now we have not made the object of the Bengal Nationa League, the desire of the entire nation, sufficiently clear, if we hav not brought home to all honest hearts and minds the justice, th reasonableness of our demands in this matter, we despair of eve doing so. Some one else must take up the parable; we can sa. no more.

But there are those amongst our opponents who will sa *we know very well what you want, and why you want it, and w do not dispute that from your point of view there is a certain shon of reason in your contention; but will you please show us how wt: how England, will be any the better for allowing you graduall, to monopolize the lion's share of all the good appointments no

Ild by Englishmen, or by placing you in a position to prevent onr sing as we like with the resources of this great country whin we sve conquered, and upw hold at our will and pleasure? Your soalled reforms may suit your book well enough, but how will ngland be the better ?" England will be the better because, then, first ill it be possible fur her to govern India bighteoushy! Now do you ant to govern Indid righteously so that, with an untroubled heart. ou may answer at God's judgment seat the awful question " Hiou sat thon discharged this thast thit I refosad in thee ?" Don't fancy nu can escape, because thousands are sharers with you in the crime! , very mulidual compoxing the mob that commits a single murder answerable in his individual person for that crime, and cuery inividual Enchshman, in a position to influence (and what Enylishian is not? the action of England towards India, will in his wn individuality have to answer for the injustice and oppression, ne starvation and misery that result from Indian mingovernmerit ut it aside here, if you will ; there is no escaping it elsenhere. It not for nothing that you have been made rulers over many thing teat is the glory, greater yet the responsibility.

But we say, again, do you want to rule India Righrrously b you want her necessities, her prosperity, the welfare, the progress, se happiness of her people to be the first considerations ; or do you tally desire it to continue possible that her highest interests should e sacrificed to the exigencies of party warfare in England, and her tosperity subordinated to the aggrandizement of a section of your prileged classes? If you do want this, then are you no true Englishman, ut a vile vampire, incarnating the corpse of what was once perhaps, 1 honest Briton, prolonging a loathsome existence by sucking the fe-blood of both countries, and we pray that all worthy Englishmen ay soon find you out and bury you at the nearest cross road with stake through your corrupted heart. But to the immense majornty ho, although ignorant, carcless, and too lazy to do their duty by oling into matters for which they are responsible, yet, at the botim of their hearts love truth and justice, and do want (some one clac)
govern India righteously, we appeal and entreat them this once,
least, to consider how it is possible for a small band of foreigners, norant of all the most vital conditions and circumstances of te country to govern Righteoushy (or indeed in any way except haphazard) a population of over 200 millions, wbose utterices, whose wishes, whose opinions, they either wholly ignore or iven when listening to them) treat with unvarying and sovereign intempt? It is clear that such a Government can ouly be enabled t attain even a distant approximation to righteousness by asscciating ith it, on terms of something like equality and indepondence, a rge contingent of the ablest, best, and most representative members Ithat population, so placed as to enable them to force on the dull urs and unsympathetic hearts of our foreign rulers, a knowledge of, ad compel their attention to, the wishes and (for in the long run, as stary shows, it comes to this) the wich of the country.

Yes, it will be better for England that this should be so, then she may grow on in loving sisterhood with India, supposti and helping and in turn supported and helped by her. It would well for her to do her duty in this matter, for, great as would be 1 reward for so doing, greater will be the Nemesis if she neglect it.

We have already glanced at the serious, though hidden, cris that we passed through towards the close of Lord Lytton's admini tration, and we have shown how, by diverting the secret bitternd of an angry nation into the safe channels of constitutional agitatif under the benignant influences of Lord Ripon's reign, all dans was for the time auverted and confidence and hope once more restd ed. But those who, in the interests of peace and progress, initiat that diversion, already perceive that the time will come when eu these channels will be insufficient to carry off safely the risi flood of national sentiment. They discern that, in the Imper policy which has thus far been the key note of Lord Dufferi reign, the annexation of Burma, the great increase to our milita expenditure, the imposition of fresh and unpopular taxation, and th especially in the growing difficulty everywhere being experienced the masses in procuring a sufficiency of food, seeds have been sou that must hereafter bear a terrible harvest unless the only remedy, $t$ introduction of a popular element into the government, be honestly at boldly adopted. They have no grave anxiety as regards the immec ate moment, for, despite growing and widespread discontent with t] existing form of administration, the country is still loyal to t] British Crown and still believes in the ultimate success of their appea to the justice of the British nation. But they see only too clear that, if that nation permit its leaders and representatives to mai tain too long their present non possumus attitude towards : India's justest prayers, the time will come,-it may be sooner, it ma be later, but come it will, and come when it may, it will come all 8 soon,-when the people, losing all lingering reliance in the Queer Proclamation, and all belief in either the justice or good intentio of the British nation (as they have long since lost all faith in tl specious piofessions of English statesmen and Indian administr tors), will despair of all justice but what they seize for themselve of all freedom but what they win with their own right arms. Whe that time comes,-though God in his mercy forbid it ever should,-1 no Englishman fancy that any Indian soldier will be on his side. Wht the mind of Paris was once made up, was the National Guard ev against the people? Let none fancy that Indians will enlist support the Government as they did in 1857; that Indians w serve or feed the enemies of their country; that any large sectic of the Eurasians even will stand by them. No; when th sad day of doom dawns, as dawn it must if England, after all $h$ Colonial experiences, still hugs the suicidal Georgian policy, tl English will stand alone, and then God help them, and God forgi them for all the blood that will be poured out, the infinite mise that will be shed like a poison dew, throughout ludia and Englan
$r$ the ruin that will be wrought to both countries, and the political, pral and social retrogression that will be entailed throughout if the world.

Heaven forbid that it should come to this! Our heart bleeds the terrible picture, limned in flames and slaughter and framed th weeping orphans and broken-hearted widows, rises before us, d we would gladly spare others the pain. But, now-a-days, few en, if any, dream of looking six months ahead-the question of e moment, often trivial to a degree, alone obtains a hearing-and conly hope of inducing those in whose power it lies to take, cre be too late, the only practicable steps to avert the coming danger, $s$ in forcing on their minds some conception of the immensity that peril. Come what may, and we pray from the bottom of $r$ hearts, alike for our own and for her sake, that England, foreurned, will yet prove wise in time, India, with the Bengal. ational League and scores of similar political associations and edies, labouring head and heart to procure by every constitutional eans the removal of obsolete barriers to national progress, before e growing waters bank up and sweep away in one fell rush-dam, gineers, labourers and harvest,-India, we say, will have nought th which to reproach herself and, (though both lands, alas! must ale the misery), the dishonour, the disgrace, will be England's and ugland's alone, for ever and for ever.

[^72]
## THE GROWTH OF LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH DEPENDENCIES.

When considering the object that the Bengal Natio: League has set before itself, we naturally turn towards the of Dependencies of Great Britain to ascertain how they have fa under the governance of our common Queen and Empress, and w measure of political rights each has succeeded in acquiring. Igt ing minor differences, according to which these Dependencies mi be separated into some six or seven classes, they may be rous divided into two main divisions, viz., those that practically manage their own affairs, and those in which, more or less, all the $m$ important affairs are managed by the British Goverument, throt its local representatives and their nominces.

The colonies pertaining to the former class are usually descri as enjoying Responsible Government, and are, so far as their intel administration is concerned, practically independent. In this c! are comprised: (1) the Dominion of Canadt, with its seven Provir of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince E.dwa Island, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia, each with its own k Legislature for the disposal of purely local matters and the en dominion with its Parliament of Canada (two Houses) meeting Ottawa and dealing with all matters of general public policy affecting larger portions of the dominion than a single Province; Newfoundland; (3) Cape Colony ; (4) Tasmania ; (5) New Zealand; Queensland; (7) Victoria; (8) New South Wales; (9) South Austra

The administrative arrangements of the Dominion of Can are undoubtedly more like what we must ultimately aim at ach: ing than those of any other dependency of Great Britain, and it $r$ be well, therefore, even now, to specify a little more in detail, would take a volume to do real justice to the subject, what th arrangements really are.

The whole Dominion is presided over by a Governor-Genc appointed for a term of years, (as is the Viceroy here) in the Que name by the British Ministry for the time being. This Govert General is to the Dominion what the Queen is to Great Britain constitutional Sovereign-possessing little real direct power, b great deal of indirect influence; compelled to move along with popular sentiments of the day, but yet not a mere foam crest be lessly marking the summit of the wave of public opinion, possessing under favorable conditions, when the office is held b person of ability and tact, a considerable power, real, although neit recognised nor seen, of modifying and directing alike the shape course of that wave. Each Province-and, as above explained, tl
seven of these-is immediately presided over by a Licutenantiernor, nominated, by the Governor-General, who is to his l'rovince it the Governor-Genetal is to the entire Dominion.
There is a Pailiament for the whole Dominion, which meets ry year at Ottawa, and which, modelled upon that of the United tes, consists of two Chambers, (both of which are now clective), Upper Chamber or Senate, whose speaker the Governor-General ninates, and a Lower or House of Commons, who clect their own aker. Then, for each of the sever' Provinces, there are local liaments, in most cases consisting of two Chambers, but in the is of Ontario and British Columbia, of only one.
The Dominion Parliament deals with all questions that we should - call Imperial, the Provincial Parliaments, with purely provincial ters. These Provincial Parliaments are precluded, for instance, a dealing with the laws of marriage and divorce, the criminal law, laws in regard to Naturalization, Copyright, Patents, Bankruptcy,
Besides legislating on such general questions, the Dominion liament disposes of all questions for the whole dominion, affecting public debt and property, the military and naval services, ation, navigation, shipping, commerce, currency, post office, pries, aborigines and the like.
A somewhat lengthened experience has shown what questions $t$, and what may not, advantageously be left to the local Legisres; and although the conditions of the two countries differ in yy and thase essential point;, yet the separation effected in Canada be found, when the time comes, useful in indicating how a similar uation can be effected here. Practically, though there have been e little hitches, the system is sorking, and has worked remarkably , as, indeed, despite all the abise that has of late years been wered on it, has its prototype in the United States.
Nominally to assist and advise the Governor-General, there is ouncil, called the Queen's Privy Council, on the model of the ish Privy Council. The members are nominated by the Governorreral (the President, as in England, being one of the Ministry), so far as political work is concerned, this Council is a mere re-head, and exercises no direct influence whatsoever.
Alt real power is vested in a Cabinet of fourteen Ministers, who un their position precisely as Cabinets in England do, viz., in ae of commanding the support of a majority of the House of mons, by whose adverse verdict, of course, they are similarly osed from office
The Prime Minister, there called the Minister of the Interior, is leader of that party which is, for the time being, in the ascendant ue Canadian House of Commons, and he is called upon by the ernor-General to form an administration, just as the Queen calls n the Marquess of Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone to form one, and he ins it, just as they do, out of the most prominent and powerful of solitical adherents and supporters.

The Ministers held iat check, of course, more or less, accordi to the intensity of their aggregate personalities, by the pat whose broad back supports them in their elevated position, : practically as entirely masters of the situation in Canada as : Ministers in England. The Govenor-General, as representing $t$. Sovereign, and performing many of the functions attaching Royalty in Great Britain, issues writs for the election of represen tives, convokes, prorogues, or dissolves the Legislative Chambers, s \&c., but he does this all under the "advice" of the Prime Minis for the time being. No doubt he has a power of refusing his asse to Bills, passed by the Houses of Palliaments, or of suspending th operation pending the assent of the Crown, but practically it wot be only under very exceptional circumstances, such as that of debatable measure passing by a small majority, that this por would ever be exercised.

Then, each Province has its elected Legislature; in the major of Provinces these consist of two Chambers-a Legislative Asseml equivalent to a House of Commons, and a Legislative Counc representing the Senate, or, in a far-off way, a House of Lords-E in some Provinces there is only a single Chamber. Everywhere Lieutenant-Governor locally represents, and is nominated by $t$ Governor-General, and he is assisted (as it is called) by an Executi Council which is a Cabinet enjoying the support for the time being a majority in the Legislative Assembly.

Some of the provinces are poor and backward, like Sind w' us; there (as in British Columbia for instance) there is only a $\sin \xi$ Chamber, and the number of officials have been cut down to $t$ lowest possible limit. British Columbia has a Legislative Assemt of 24 members, amongst whom four Ministers, a Chief Commission of Lands and Works, a Minister of Finance and Agriculture, Attorney-General, and a Provincial Secretary and Minister of Min constitute an Executive Council or Ministry. There, of course, $t$ people managing their own affairs, and being poor have a very che Government; it is not as in India, where even the poorest Provinc are loaded with an elaborately expensive Government, in some cas costing more than the entire Province yields, directly or indirectly.

Quebec, again, which is more like the N. W. Provinces a Oudh, has the double Chapmber-the Legislative Assembly with e and the second or Legislative Council with 2.4 members, all, course, elected-and with these an Executive Council or Minist, supported by the majority of the Legislative Assembly, and consi: ing of members of both Houses, though the majority are from $t$ Lower House.

But whether poor or rich, each Province manages its or domestic affairs, as seems good to the majority, and through representatives it takes part in the management of all larger que tions affecting the dominion as a whole. Practically in all matte affecting their own interests, the people of Canada are entirely ind pendent, and it is they, the people, who alone understand what th
nt, and what they do not want, and how any and every meanan. I affect them and their interests; it is thes, we say; who alune tide what shall be,donc, and how it shall be done. This is what
have to aim at ; the struggle for justice in this matter may be g and-must be severe, but we must never either relax our ctiorts despond; we must prepare ourselves "to suffer and be strong," 1 through darkness and storm, if need be, by patient toil and bwerving fortitude, to win our way to the only goal for which it is th the while of any civilized nation to struggle.
But great ends have to be compassed by small beginnings. We mot get all we want, or all we deserve, at once. We must travel - long and weary road (of which more on another occasion) to ponsible Government, step by step; all this we admit, but we Ill never, never attain that goal at all, unless we begin taking those ps, and the first immediate, practical step, which every man can e, which every enlightened Indian, who is not a traitor, will and ist take, is to join the Bengal National. League, or some similar tociation, and suppost it not only with such pecuniary aid as each 4 afford, but by personal efforts to extend its influence, strengthen organization, and help to smooth the way for its triumphant svard progress.

Are any of you still asleep? Awakel The time has now ne to exert ourselves; only the dull of head or heart, only the enlightened, the timid, the selfish will shrink now from pressing ward. There is an immensity to be done; all the more rcason , setting to work in real earnest at once. We cannot expect any sat results from even our most strenuous exertions for some time come; we must be patient and wait for these-and the sooncr take the work in hand, the shorter will be our time of waiting. not let us shilly shally half-heartedly ; at last, we do all thoroughknow what we want and what we mean to have.

Let us then be up and doing
With a beart for any fate:
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

In discussing the political position, attained by the several bpendencies of Great Britain, we enumerated those that at present joy what has been called Responsible Government, viz, those iich are, as we hope ultimately to be, practically independent of eat Britain, as regards the conduct of internal affairs. Taking the pminion of Canada as a type of the form of Government to which here, though not at once, aspire, we have endeavoured, in the
briefest possible manner, to convey some idea of how its admini; tration is, in practice, cariied out. The other Responsible Goverr ment Colonies-Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Tasmania, NeZealand, Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, and Sout Australia - have constitutions similar to those enjoyed by the Dom nion, except that they are not complicated by the secondary $c$ local Legislatures and sub-Governments, which were the necessar concomitants of the federation to which the Dominion owed it birth. All are presided over by Governors, nominated for a tern from England, like our Governors and Viceroy, who represent th British Sovereign, but in all, the real power rests with an Executiv Council, vis., a Cabinet of Ministers enjoying the support of th majority of the Legislative Assembly for the time being, whic Legislative Assembly is, in all cases, elected, though the franchis varies in the different Colonies.

In all these Colonies, there is a second or higher and less popula Chamber, usually called the Legislative Council, which plays (or i intended to play) the part and occupies the position in regard to th lower and more popular Chamber, (usually designated the Legisla tive Assembly) that the House of Lords and the Senate do i England and in America, respectively, in regard to the House $c$ Commons and the House of Representatives. Of course, thes second Chambers are intended to act as "drags" on the Governmen coach. Popular assemblies are liable to be suddenly and vehement! affected by gusts of passion, outbursts of virtuous indignation, an the like, and thus to be led into unwise, if not actually ruinous, line of action. The second Chambers are intended, in virtue of th more conservative chatacters of the members "ho compose then to object and oppose in such cases, and by their opposition affori time for the people and their popular Chamber to cool donn ant look at questions from a common-sense point of view. Of courst therefore, a different class of men is wanted in the Upper to wha you ge: in the Lower House. In England an hereditary peerag has provided this different class, but this is now losing gradually th confidence of the country, as a whole, and, doubtless, the existin! House of Lords will have to be modified before long, so as to brint it somewhat more in harmony with the popular sentiments of th present day. But in the Colonies, where no nobility existed, ans where it has not been the policy of the Crown (a great mistake n. duubt; to create one, other expedients to secure a more conservative stable and cautious set of men for the Council than are usuall: returned (in many cases by manhood suffrage, to the Assembly, hait to be adopted.

In New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, thCouncillors sit for life, and are nominated from time to time, a vacancies occur, by the Governor, under, at present, in most case we believe, the advice of the Ministry.

Ir. the other Colonies the Councillors are elected for a term o years, bit in all cases by electors having a property, and in som,
aces, (e.g. Tasmania), an educational qualification as well; wheress embers of the Assemblies, in several of these Colonies, are clected Ithe basis of manhood suffrage. Moreover, in almost all cases te Councillors themiselves require property or other qualifications at demanded from members of the Assemblies.

It would serve no useful purpose to go now deeper into the ffering details of the constitution of each of these cight Respon-ble-Government Colonies; suffice it to have given some idea of de barest ouflines of their administration, and to note that, however ey may differ on other points, they agree in this that in every case is the people of the Colony who know the wants and wishes of neir fellows, and thoroughly understand all local conditions, and st a number of strangers from a distaut portion of the Empire, o ignorant even to realize their own absolute want of knowledge ; is, we say, the people of the Colony themselves, and not aliens, tho manage and conduct all its internal affairs.

But it is no secret, we suppose, to any of our readers, that all reat Britain's dependencies have by no means as yet attained to this reat blessing of Responsible Government. Besides the group, which smprises the Dominion of Canada and the other eight Colonics iready enumerated, which has an aggregate population of, say, nine tillions, there is another smaller group, usually designated Croun olonies, with an aggregate population of, perhaps, seven millions.

Now these Crown Colonies are divisible into three classes: iirst, those in which, under one name or the other, two Chambers - e retained, one an upper and smaller one, like our Executive or rupreme Council, the members of which are either elected (as at ie Bahamas) or nominated (as at Barbadoes and the Bermudas); nd the second, a considerably larger House of Assembly or Repre:ntative Assembly, the members of which are in all cases elected by ectors possessing a property qualification. In the case of the Bahalas, it might seem as if the form of Government closely approached 1e "Responsible," but, as a matter of fact, it is divided from this $y$ a great gulf, for in all these three Colonies, the Executive Councll, 1 other words the Cabinet or Ministry, instead of being practically ie masters of the Governor, are really his humble coadjutors and tore or less his subordinates, and this Cabinet, instead of dependig on the support of the majority of the Lower House, is composed artly of ex-oficto Ministers and partly of nominees of the Crown $r$ Governor, who could, theoretically, snap their fingers at the largest tajority of both Chambers. But less satisfactory as is this form f Government, in all these three Colonies, a very considerable mount of control is secured over the Executive, and in not one of yese are any of those arbitrary acts and abuses of authority, which ave too often characterized the public administration in India, ossible.

Secondly, we have a group of Colonies, in which there is a single s.egislative Assembly, and that partly elective and partly nominated by
the Ctown, and designated, therefore, a "Compesite Counctl." This rro includes Western Australia, Natal, British Guiana, the Leeward Islan and- Malta. It is to a place in this group that India (as will be se by the tenor of the National Congress's 3rd Resolution) aspa as a first step, and it may, therefore, be useful to glance at $t$ leading features of the administrative arrangements in one or $t$, of the more important of these. The Government of Weste Autralia is directly administered murch like that of India, by Executive Council, presided over by the Governor, and compos of five members, officials, appointed by the Crown-the Coloni Secictary equivalent nearly to our member in charge of the Hon Department), the Colonial Treasurer (our Finance Member), tl Attorney-General (in whom our Legal Member and Advocat General are advantageously combined), a dırector of Public Worl (In whom our Minister of Public Works and many Chief Enginee are rolled up together), and, lastly', in consequence of the peculi conditions of the Colony, a Surveyor-General.

Now this Executive Council is theoretically, in most respect just as absolute and irresponsibie as are our Viceroy and Counc but two causes operate to render the Govemment of Western Austr ha almost as free in practice as that of any of the other Responsibl. Government Colonies of the Australian Group.

The Girst of these is, that the population of Western Australi though sparse and scattered over an enormous length of coast lin is a population that do not understand any nonsense, and who a quite capable of chucking their Governor and his Council into tl sea, if they oppressed and bullied them too much. Any Govern and Councll of Western Australia, who on their own IPSE DIXITs, defiance of the clearly expressed wishes of the entire populatio should suddenly impose on these an extra taxation of two milhon sterling, would, in an inconceivably small space of time, find then selves having a most $u n$-pleasant talk and taking a most un-pleasa walk, "along the briny beach!" But, besides this unacknowledge but most powerful check upon exuberance of autocracy on the pa of the Governor and Council, there is also an acknowledged ar legitumate one. Western Australia has a Legislative Council, whic is not, like our Indian ones, a sham and farce. This Council consis of seven nominated and fourteen elected members, a considerab property qualification being required from both electors and electec Practically in one way or another (the matter is too long to enti upon in this present brief paper) almost every question does come, ( at least can be made to come, if the elected members so desire, $i$ one shape or another, before this Council, and that too in such "ay as to enable the majority to place officially on record its disal proval of any proposed or consummated Government measure. C course, the Executive Council can theoretically ignore any suc expressions of opinion, but in practice this is, we believe, unheard o So far as we can yet judge, (in the absence of much more detaile infurmation as to the existing position of the Government, whic
comparatively recently been modifred in several imp.rtant spects, than we can obtain in any book), so far we $\mathfrak{a}$ y as wr c.11 Ige, the lines on which the Government of Western Ausin wa is n , are precisely those on which the country desires to see the bvernment of India run, as a first step towards that Kesponsible vermment, which is necessaily the ultumate goal of all um plitical aspirations.

AFTER Western Australia the next most important of the ngle-chambered, composite councilled colonies is Natal. Here, ton. in Western Australia, there is a great deal of real fieedon, and practice it is as impossible for a Governor to go right in the lecth * the unanimous opinion of the colony as it would be for a Pime inister in England to run counter to the Bitish Vox Dit (!) as sume "e pleased to designate the Vox populi.

There is the inevitable Governor, there called a Lieutenantovernor, assisted by an unusually large Executive Council, consistig of nine meinbers, vzz, the Colonial Secretary, the Secretary for ative Affairs, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Chitf ngineer, the Chief Justice, the Commandant of the Troops, and yo elected members nominated out of the Legislative Council.

The five members of this Council, first enumerated, have t-officio seats in the Legislative Council, which besides these includes 3 elected members, two out of whom must also sit in the Executive ouncil. These elected members sit for four years unless the 'ouncil be earlier' dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor. The lectors are required to possess a substantial property qualification. in most matters the Executive Council can, at a push, overridea lajority of the Legislative Council, but, as a matter of fact, in Imost all internal affairs, the Executive follow the opinions of a jubstantial majority of the Legislature, if not immediately, at any rte, if such opinion is reiterated by a fresh majority, after a dissoluon.

The Government of British Guiana is curious and cumbrou*, modification of the previous Dutch Government, and one we hould not care to see reproduced in India; but for all that it can oast the possession of a very strong representative element, quite trong enough to render impossible those gross mistakes as to the jews and wishes of the people which constitute, it might almost e said, the rule, and not the exception, where the Government in india is concerned.

Not, be it clearly undesstood, that we are ascribing any blame, saying this, to individuals; it is the sjstem, not the men, that we
now seek to anaign. Here we have a lot of unfortunates, perch up above the clouds, and forced to legislate and arrange for country and a population of which they are profoundly ignora from whom they are completely isolated, and who for all piactic purposes are entircly invisible to them. And they make blunder Well ! and que voulez vous? What else can you expect? It is very well to compare them to the gods who
"Lie beside their nectar while their bolts are hurled
"In the valleys far below."
But those gods, at any rate, had, ex hypothese, first class brains, wh those of our rulers are often rather below average, and then, thou; those gods were rather ill-conditioned, and smiled when they oug to have wept, (much like some of our heaven-borns) still they con look down and could see what was going on below, whereas our po "Governors and Councils" see the clouds, the clouds, and nothing b the clouds.

No! Do not let us be angry with or revile our poor rulers-th mean well; but the system under which they work renders impossible, it would seem, for them to use even such faculties as has pleased the Almighty to endow them with, to any good purpos in our service. They are perpetually, according to our view, ledvir undone the thing that they ought to have done, and doing the thit which they ought not to have done. Meddle and muddle, to choo their own apostle's apt definition, sum up their entire labors, but th is the result of a villainous system of Government which divides tl rulers and the ruled as effectively as if they were in different plaret and if we blame our rulers individually, it is chiefly for being so stupt as not to realize the absurdity of their positions, and not to joi with usin endeavouring to bring about a reform in the existing obsc lete and mischievous arrangement.

To return. British Guiana is governed by a Governor, Court c Policy, and Combined Court. The Governor, of course, is sent ou by the Ministry in power in England, when the vacancy occur He may be good, bad or indifferent, but as these are too commonl cases of providing for " the brothers and the cousins and tie uncles the bads and indifferents it must, we fear, be admitted, "have it. The Executive Government, eonsists of the Governor, aided by th Court of Policy, which consists of five official members, and fiv. elccted members, the latter elected by a combination of an electora College of seven members, elected for life by the several electora districts, and the Court of Policy, as it stands, when vacancies havt to be filled up. For whenever vacancies occur, the electoral Collegt elect two candidates, one of whom the Court of Policy selects. Ther six financial representatives are elected by the several electora districts, and these, conjoined with the Court of Policy, constitute the Combined Court which disposes of all questions of finance anc taxation.

Thus all such matters are dealt with by an assembly of it members, of whom $I I$ are clected, but by the interposition of the
ctoral College and the power of selection vested in the Court of licy, (in which, whenever a vacancy occurs, there must always be eofficials to four eliected members), five of these cleven ase sure be more or less Conservative. It would be quite easy to work ta scheme for India on the lines of the British Guiana Constituin, but we consider that it is on the lines of the Western Aurtralian mstitution, which is altogether simpler and more easy of introduc$m$, that we should endeavour to work.

The Leeward Islands again are à sort of confederation, remindus of that of the dominion of Canada, but not enjoyins esponsible Government, only Composite Councils. These Islands e six-St. Kitts, Dominica, Antigua, the Virgin Islands, Montserrat d Nevis. Each of these Islands has a President, who, like the embers of the Executive Council that assists the President, is pointed by the Crown, and a Legislative Council, which is partly ficial and partly non-official, and in the cases of Antigua and ominica, the two most important Islands, partly elected.

In Antigua, the Legislative Council consists of four ex-officio ficial members, eight members nominated, and twelve electe $\$$ by ters, having a substantial property qualification. Dominica has lly fourteen members in its Legislature, of whom half are minated, half elected. As for the members of the Legislatures of e other four small Islands, they are all nominees, but half are ficials and half independent (or supposed to be so!) The whole * Islands are presided over by a Governor, aided by an Executive Id a Legislative Council. The former consists of four Island esidents, three ex-officio members, the Colonial Secretary, Attorneyeneral and Auditor-General, and ten unofficial members. The egislative Council consists of eighteen members, half nominated, If elected. The nominated members include the three aboveentioned officials, a President, who must belong to one of the land Councils, and five unofficial members, taken one from ich of the Islands excluding Antigua. It will be scen that in de way and another, every part of this straggling group of olonies is represented in the administration. The Isiands be by no means advanced; any good-sized sub-division Behar would exceed them ten-fold in the population, wealth, telligence and every other qualification for ensuring, primit facie, e success of representative institutions, but while these have been troduced and permitted a substantial development in these backard and insignificant islands, they have thus far been rigidly scluded from this great continent, thronged now with men fully - intelligent, if not more so, than the great bulk of the electors Great Britain.
Malta, which really is little more than a great fortress, which ight, like Gibraltar, be expected to have only a Military Governor itirely autocratic, has, as a fact, a Composite Council like the receding Colonies. The Governor has an Executive Council of rree officials, and also a Council of Government, comprising the
officer commanding the troops, eight other civil officials, and eig elected non-official members, elected for five years by electors havi substantial property qualifications.

So even here in this barren island fortress, inhabited by foreignd a considerable proportion of them, enjoying a worse reputation th that of any other race in Europe, representative institutions ha made a ccrtain advance.

It now remains for us to deal, and briefly, with those few at insignificant little fortresses and settlements which constitute the thi class of Crowr Colonies, the only group of British dependencis except India, in which no representative element enters, at prese: into the administration.

Some of these are inhabited by mere savages. Reasonat enough, for instance, in Fiji, Kepresentative Institutions are not yet vogue. The mass of the population are still savages, men of a k and non-Aryan race, still cherishing strong predilections for "lo pig," and the result of the premature introduction in those islan of Representative Institutions would probably be the serving up' His Excellency the Governor barbecued on toast, along with the rest his European coadjutors, skilfully cuisined, to the manifest discomfi of the individuals concerned. We think we can assure Lord Duffer that if he should resolve to aid us to attain that humble modict of representative institutions at which we at present aim, neith he nor even the youngest, fattest and tenderest of his Aide-de-Cam will incur the slightest risk of such thoughtless and discourtec treatment!

Penang, Perak, Malacca. Singapore, Hongkong,-mere dots even the largest scale maps,-naturally have no representation, conditions of these settlements with their immensely prepondere masses of low fourth race, non-Aryan inhabitants, the survivals of, time before the conception of representation had dawned on $t$ human mind, would render representative Government, (except coupl with franchise qualifications, which would reduce the electors to purely nominal number,) practically impossible.

In Mauritius, a larger and more important, though still insig: ficant colony, the governing Council, although no elected members thereon, comprises a large proportion of non-official nominees. have no hesitation in saying that representative institutions ought be here introduced. These have been withheld to permit the plany class to continue to oppress and ill-treat the immense majority the population, which is of Indian origin. It is not necessa
desiatle to give, at piesent, to the lndian emigrants, who constitute dy thee-fourths of the population, any preponderant vine the administration. But numbers of them have grown in wealth id inteligence, and they ought to possess a potential voice in this. id to be placed in a position to defend their humbler comradey rainst the oppression, cruelty, and shameless and selfish class gislation of the dominant planter class and their official friends ad this been done, the disgraceful barbarities which for long, laracterized the tieatment of our people in Mauritius, and which xessitated a Royal Commission to brimg it within something like -cent limits, could never have occurred. As it is, the tratent our Indian brethen still receive is far from what it should be id the laws are still most iniquitously favorable to the planters, and stice and fair play will never be secured until our people are. some extent at any rate, represented in the administration of the land.

The Seychelles, St. Helena, Heligoland and other tiny ocean recks, the west coast of Africa settlements, viz., (1) the Gold Coast, ) Sierra Leone, and (3) the Gambia River, in all of which the itire population are a low race of nou-Aryan savages, Gibraltar, mere fortress, naturally and reasonably stand excluded from epresentative Institutions. To Cyprus there is little doubt that ese will hereafter be extended, if the island, which we greatly rubt, be permanently retained by England.

Jamaica and Trinidad, buth, despite their world-wide known mes, small Islands with very limited populations, though each ekoning a large number of nominated non-official members in eir Executive Councils, do not enjoy in these days any form of presentative government-a fact that may be explained with ference to their past histories and present conditions.

In the Falkland Islands, unless votes were given to Sea Lions ad Penguins, it would be difficult to get up a constituency, numeri!ly worth bringing to the poll.

St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, Santa Lucia are all mites of aces, in the same category to a great extent as their larger brethren Trinidad and Jamaica, and in none of these could any one quainted with the local politics be surprised to find that the reesentative institutions that all these at one time and up to the ifranchisement of the slaves, enjoyed, were later voluntarily irrendered. In this matter lies a lesson for us. When the Negroes ere enfranchised, it appears to have been taken for granted that tey were then and there (people of a distinctly lower race, and itirely uneducated as they were) entitled to vote. They immenscly "edominated in most islands, and began to return persons of their vn race and calibre to the Legislatures, which naturally thus reuited soon came into a collision with the Executive. The situation :came impossible, and representative institutions were abolished more properly surrendered in all the, West-Incia Islands, except Barbadoes ąnd the Bahamas. Of course, the mistake lay in not at
once hedging in the franchise with qualifications which would ha kept not the Negroes as such, but all ignorant and needy perso black or white, from intermeddling in matters they were , qualified to deal with. If now, at this present moment, when $¢$ political organization is still imperfect and immature, you wi to introduce full-blown Representative Institutions into Inc on the basis of Manhood Suffrage, or on that of any low franchi the country would be most injuriously affected, and mught conce ably be brought into a state requiring a regular reconquest of $t$ masses by the higher and educated classes, acting in conjuncti with the British, and the temporary re-establishment of a military d. potism, such as succeeded the Civil War in the Southern States, the Mutiny in Upper India. But you might introduce a represent tive element into our Government here, on the basis of a hi franchise involving considerable property or educational qualificatiq to-morrow, not only without a shade of danger, but with infius. benefit alike to Europeans and Indians, to high and low, to rull and to ruled, and it is simply crass ignorance of the real condití of the country and the real state of public opinion amongst us th leads any one to deny or even question this fact.

To return. British Honduras, as formerly a dependency Jamaica, is in the same category as this latter, and there only renai for us now to notice Ceylon, the last and at the same time by far $t$ largest and most important of those third class Crown Colonies, fro whose administration a representative element is wholly exclude The Government of Ceylon is very similar in form to that of Ind As a matter of fact, it has been its proximity to India, and the fe of setting up at India's doors a government so much more libes than the authorities have ever been inclined to concede to us, th has kept Ceylon in the backward position she now occupies. Bl for this there is little doubt that, like all colonies at all approachis. her in size and importance, Ceylon would long since have pass into the second or composite council class of colonies.

But despite this unacknowledged, and probably never verbal formulated, reason for excluding a liberal element as much as mig. be fiom the administration of Ceylon, and despite the fact that it inhabitants, as a body, are far less advanced than the people: India, we yet find that, evpn in this exceptional third class colon ${ }^{\text {y }}$ the Cingalese occupy a better position politically than we do. Lif India, Ceylon is governed by a Governor with an Executive and Legislative Councal; the Executive Council includes the Coloni Secretary, who is also Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor, the QueenAdvocate, the Treasurer, the Auditor-General and the Command of the Forces. This Executive Council is, at first sight, very lik our Viceroy's, but in reality it is a body much less under the Gove nor's control, and both more independent officially and more unde the influence of public opinion. The Legislative Council, as here i India, consists of this Executive Council, plus two Provancial Lieuti, nant-Governors (Agents they are called), the Surveyor General, th

Hector of Customs, and five unofficial nominated member. This c, not promese any much greater freedom from autucratic and sitrary government- than the Government that we have in Indis, $t$, as a matter of fact. it confers it. In the first place, there is in -ylon a real equality between Cingalese and Europeans; none of e sham and show in these matters which is all we in India ever $t$, but bonâ fide equality. There has never been an Ilbert Bill there; $r$ many years past, Cingalcse Magistrates have sellt European 'er-do-weels to jaul, dealing with them preciscly as European arpistrates deal with Cingalese badnasties, and out of this and her similar facts, it has come about that European gentlemen ect and treat Cingalese gentlemen almost as their equals, and that e authontics show a consideration for the vicws and wishes of the ople of the Icland, that, as a broad rule (cf course we have had ceptions like Lord Ripon and Lord Reay), is unknown in the se of the authorities here. Then, again, the unofficial nominated embers of the Council are not altogether the cyphers they are here. rey possess the right of interpellation, and are thus in a position to ree full cxplanations from the Executive, a consciousness of which ct has a tendency to keep this latter on its good behaviour, an citement often much needed by our Indian Executive.

We have now glanced casually at the nature of the Government taining in each and all of Great Britain's Dependencies, and we id that, while more than half of these are absolutely frec, and we been thoroughly honestly dealt with, in so far that they c practically treated in strict accordance with Brtish national seoretical professions in regard to civil liberty and the like, most the whole of the rest enjoy a measure of representation hich equals or exceeds all that our Bengal National League - preparing to struggle for. Even in the small residue of petty ttlements amongst savages, military fortresses and "oceanic dust," hich constitute that tiny and degraded group of third class, arbitraryovernment, Crown Colonies, the only place of any appreciable size id importance, although kept back and treated with less liberality an it would have been but for its proximity to its, and although its sople are distinctly less advanced than ours, yet enjoys an adminination superior to and more advanced than our own, and distinctly taracterised by a more just, liberal, and considerate treatment of e people of the country.

And yet,-yet there are people to be found who profess to wonder ; the universal discontent that prevails amongst us, or at the efforts tat we are beginning to make, to win, by all honorable means, an lprovement in our degraded political status!

Wiren we consider our own miserable plight, so far as $t$ exercise of those political rights, which are every free-born citizel birthright, is concerned, and then turn to the enviable positio occupied by our fellow-subjects in the Canadian Dominion, Ca! Colonies, the Australian Colonies, \&c., we cannot help wanting know what we have done to be thus left out in the cold, or aga what they have done to obtain so much that is denied to us.

A study of the past history of these colonies-answers tl latter question conclusively. It may be thought that Great Brita conceded to them the liberty they enjoy out of love, gave it to the as mainly inhabited by Britons, and denied it to us as Indians. B history shows that it was nothing of the kind.

Great Britain oppressed and misused her American Coloni politically until these, goaded to resistance by injustice precise similar to what we now suffer from, rose in arms and seized $t$ independence that, in those days, it was impossible to enjoy as dependency of the British Crown.

Great Britain in like manner dealt unjustly, politically speakin with her Canadian Colonies, until they rose in rebellion, and the and not till then, was political freedom conceded to them. For th years the Australians maintained such an outcry for the control their own affairs, and that outcry so increased in intensity that, became patent, even to Lord Palmerston, that, unless what w asked for was conceded, the Colonists would follow the example the creators of the United States, and then, and not till then, w political enfranchisement conceded to the Australians.

At the Cape of Good Hope it was the same thing. There to as here, the inhabitants were governed as children, denied all re voice in the government of their own country, and excluded frc all political rights. From 1841 onwards they petitioned for presentative Government, but it was only when they rose in ari to resist an arbitrary mandate of the authorities, that John Buf eyes were opened, and what they had so long craved and demand was granted to them.

The fact is that the said John Bull, good, honest man as he is rather of the old school of parents, and, if allowed his own wa would keep his children, in bibs and tuckers all their lives.
declines to perceive that they are growing up, and need, therefo: habiliments suited to a more advanced period of life, and it is $n$ until a son kicks up a real good row, and makes himself thorougk disagreeable, and evidences a capacity for making himself a gre deal more disagreeable still, that Mr. J. B. realizes the chang time has brought about, and thenceforth treats that recusant chi as a grown-up and responsible person.

If history teaches us anything, it teaches us that it w probably only be by making ourselves disagreeable, in one way another, that we too shall succeed imobtaining responsible Gover ment. But these are right, as well wrong, ways of doing eve
ling, and it may be well to look a little closer into the history of se emancipation of the Colonics above referred to since we may arn thereby what. to avoid as well as what to imitate.

And here we, propose to quote a few passages from Mr. J. ayne's "Colonies'and Dependencies." After explaining that Canada fers fewer inducements to Colonists than the United States, he ys:
"To retain the loyaly of Canada to the British Crown, and to enable to compete with the United States as a field of emigration, it was thought oper to give it some semblance of free government."

Then, after describing the arrangements made, he goes on :-
"The Canadians were thus cajoled with thesame empty show of presentative institutions, which exists at this day in Germany. The Councils id Assemblies could, indeed, vote new laws; but their acts might be vetoed , an irresponsible Executive The Councils and Assemblies voted supplies, it the Executive administered them. No Member of the Executive could deprived of his post by the Council and Assembly; and however corrupt d unpopular the entire Government might be, it was removable only by e British Government which acted through the Colonial Office. A system . fter adopted to degrade and irritate a growing community could not ve been devised. Yet this system existed in the Canadas for balf a century; ann coould probably bave existed to tbes day." (Mr. Payne writes 18831) "bad wot Cansdaans rusen against it in arns."
Now all this applies with even greater force to India; we are ore unjustly treated than ever were the Canadians; they were lowed some semblance of representative institutions, they actually id some political rights, whereas we, politically speaking, are mere rfs. Let us take the lesson that the story of the emancipation
the Canadas teaches to heart, but withal let us not blindly litate these pioneers in the path of colonial enfranchisement.

We must not blame them; we cannot realize the difficultics their way. It may really have been necessary for them to appeal , aims. But now, after the lapse of nearly fifty years, after a broad ad has been cleared through the, at that time, unexplored jungle colonial oppression, it never can be necessary to appeal to arms, nce we can certainly, by a little extra patience it may be, secure rpeaceful means all that we desire. And this being so, it would a crime of the deepest dye to resort, even uuder far greater proration than we have yet received, to violence. Let us explain:
a country like Russia, where there is no liberty of the Press, no eedom of opinion, no channels for constitutional agitation left sen, we hold that violence on the part of an oppressed population
perfectly justifiable. They must not rise until they have made ifficiently good arrangements, and have made sure of sufficient pport to render their success probable, as to do so would be to ik uselessly many lives. But they have a right to freedom. There no other way by which by people so situated it can be attained, Id they are, therefore, justified in taking up arms. But in our se, with a free Press, with perfect freedom of opinion, and with all
channels for constitutional agitation left open to us, it would be monstrous crime even to dream of having resort to brute force.

For it is not as if one could single out one, two, or ten me responsible for keeping us still bound in these swaddling clothe of arbitrary Government. It is not Lord Dufferin, it is not $h$ Council, who ate solely to blame; it is these, and the whole officic body here, and the great body of retired Anglo-Indian officials i England, and the great mass of unconscientious politicians in Grea Britain, too lazy to learn at first hand the truth about India. It this immense body, perhaps a million or so of men, who are con jointly responsible for, and must share the shame and disgrace of th: political slavery under which we, free-born citizens of that boastfi "Land of the Free," are condemned to rot and wither. If there we, a dozen men even whom one could point out as malignantly main taining this iniquitous order of things, we should certainly say, sciz them and keep them in confinement till they repent their sins, an are ready to do unto others as they would be done by; but the are to be numbered by hundreds of thousands, and, what is mor for all we know, the great bulk of them, so far as they have at a) considered the matter, are aiding to sit upon our heads (like a s of drunken cabbies on that of some poor fallen horse) in alf goo faith! That they sin, in that they, some of them, allow themselv, to be blinded by prejudice, self-conceit and self-interest, while othe will not try to learn for themselves the real truth of the matter; th. so surely as there is in the great hereafter a perfect requital of a good and evil, they will each and all meet with a fitting requit for this sin, is certain. But that $\sin$ is of such a nature that earthly judge can presume to apportion its punishment, and no ra: or hasty sufferer by it should dream of taking upon himself requite it.

But it is not only this. Even if we could pick out (which cannot) the hundreds of thousands of men, who conjointly in varyit degrees are the criminals in our case, even, if it were justifiabl (which we have just shown that it is not) to uso violence to puni. these, ve should still be no nearer a justification of any resort arms, since in this latter the people whom we should kill or woun would not be any of these criminals, but a set of entirely innoce and probably ignorant pen, knowing nothing whatsoever of $t$. merits of our case, and only loyally executing the orders they receifrom their superiors. To injure one of these, whilst our objec are attainable (more slowly and at far greater cost, it is true, $b$ still attainable) by peaceful means, would, according to our creed, an unpardonable crime.

No ! if that sterner course of action, suggested by a leadi Anglo-Indian Journal the other day, be ever unwisely adopted any Goverment here, $w_{i}$ also may begin to think of sterner me, sures to vindicate our right; but so long as the Freedom of o Press and our Freedom of Opinion are left intact, and so long as channels for constitutional agitation ate left open to us, we ho
te man who should propose any such sterner measures as the anadians felt compelled toresort to, a traitor not only to that jueen-Enpress to whom we all owe allegiance, but equally to pdia's cause which he might pretend to desire to aid.

We commenced in our last a cursory examination of the ciramstances which led to the political enfranchisement of the ianadas, held, for nearly fifty years, in an Egyptian bondage, losely resembling, although not quite so objectionable as, that ithin whose iron bands India is now wasting. We explained that lthough the Canadians resorted to'arms, and may possibly under pe circumstances have been justified in so doiug, nothing of this fnd could be necessary in our case, as matters now stand, and that, aerefore, any resort to force on our part would be a crime. We well upon this the rather that it is essential that all should underand that, while we commend the Canadians for the resolute and they made to secure their political rights, and hold up this :solved attitude as an example to be followed by our own penple, e not only do not hold up their methods of procedure as deserving $f$ imitation, but unhesitatingly condemn them as unnecessary the present day, and consequently unjustifiable.

Let us now resume the story of Canada's emancipation as told $Y$ our author:-
"When Queen-Victoria came to the throne in 1837, Te Deumt were ' ng in honor of the event in the charches on the St. Lawrence. The conegations quitted their seats and walked out. Before the end of the year veral bodies of insurgents were in arms in different parts of the Province. he discontent of Lower Canada had reached the point of outbreak. The ssembly had forwarded to England the grievances of the Colony, embodied the "Ninty-two Resolutions," and a majority in the British Parliament had plied by suspending the Canada Act, and placing the Province under ilitary'rule. The situation was the same as the situation had been in ew England sixty years before, when Parliament suspended the Charter of assachusetts. The condition of Upper Canada was little better. The overnment had fallen into the hands of an official clique who styled them. lves the British party. The great majority of the people were designated bels, and were believed in Great Britain to be anxious to shake off the itish connection, and to annex Canada to the United States."

Truly " nutato nomine de te fabula narratur;" can any histobal parallel be more complete? Already we have the Pioneer, e organ of the official clique, who here style themselves the British irty, in an article that undoubtedly only echoed the sentiments the great bulk of the Anglo-Indian officials, unblushingly recomeuding "sterner measures," in other words the equivalents of the
suspension of the Canada Act, and the suspension of the Massa chusett's Charter! Can official blindness go further'? Have th fates, indeed, foredoomed these men to destruction, and, as a firs step, according to the adage, deprived them of reason? It is to absurd,-there may be men in India idiotic enough to contemplat such a step, but, surely, even John Bull will not fall three times sur cessively into the same pitfall! To resume :-
"Upper Canada, though not in actual rebellion, was ripe for it. The ou break in Lower Canada was suppressed, but so little interest was then taken i Canada or its aflairs that the very fact of the rebellicn was generally unknow until, in 1839, there arrived in Liverpool on their way to Van Diemer Land twelve Canadians ander sentences of transportation for treason. Engli: people were startled, and some indigaant sympathisers sued out writs babeas corpus, and ultimately the prisoners were released. This incide. caused enquiry, and enquiry dispelled a cloud of ignorance. At length, force of public opinion, the situation was fealized by British statesmen, ar the true remedy was applied."

He then proceeds to explain in detail the system of represent. tive Government, introduced by the Union Act of 1840 , and cos cludes as follows :-
"The subordination of the Erecutive to the Legislature, as in the mothe country, which was thus secured, received the name of 'Responsible Gover ment.' It was the emancipation of the Colony, and rendered it practical as free as one of the United States. It was also the emancipation of $t$ : Empire, for when secured in one of the Colonies, it was within the rea of all. This change is the principal event in our modern Colonial History."

Well done Canadians! Did we not recently say rightly that $\mathbf{v}$ would not blame them? For us as well as for themselves, $f$ India's torrid realms as well as for Canada's frozen steppes, the blood was shed-and what they did and dared renders it unnece sary for those who follow to imitate their manner of action, who it illustrates for all time the spirit in which injustice and wros should be opposed and conquered.

We might have described this historical episode in much great detail ; the account is after all most imperfect, and the extraordina parallelism of the Canadas and India, where political questions a concerned, might have been brought out far more strongly, had s told the story in our own pyords; but we preferred an independe witness, and we have, therefore, quoted verbatim from the work an Englishman who has neither knowledge of, nor sympathy wit India, and whose words might, therefore, be expected to carry great weight with our adversaries.

Let us now glance even more cursorily at the cases of $t$ : Australian and Cape Colonies:-
"Until 1842, that is to say, for a period of half a century, New Sol Wales had been governed as Canada had been governed before the Act 1791, that is to say, despotically by its governors. It then received a mc constitution, something like that which Canada had received half a centt before. The Australians like the Canadians had long chafed under
isgovernment of the Colonial Office [fwit as eur bave long coufet ender the isgovernment of the India Office], and, strange as it secims, many Australan. e now living who onfe denounced the tyranny and oppression of the other-country, , n"d loudly clamoured for separation."

Here, if anywhere, one would think is a fesson for our rulers. bme of them, at any rate, must have seen the downright incendiary emphlets that circulated in New South Wales,-pamphlets to which te strongest of our appeals are but as moon-beams unto sanray, - as water unto wine. Things went from bad to worse; throughIt the forties the clamour grew; Great Britain began to realue nat she would either have to fight for Australia or lose her; and 1850 the necessary concessions were made. Then, when the ustralians had been placed in a position, enabling them to separate emselves from the mother-country, was anything further ever heard oppression and tyranny? Did any one of those "Sydney Rebels," the Conservative party, the bureaucrats, designated them, ever say rother word about separation? So far from this it was just from dney that the volunteer contingent was sent the other day to supint the British cause in Upper Egypt. It was a thoroughly bad use. The bombardment of Alexandria was a crime morally, and blunder, worse than a crime, politically speaking; the attack upon e Mahdi-British intervention in the matter in any shape-a pure ece of dementia: but this only makes the case the stronger, that en in a bad case a community rushes forward now to support the me country, that less than forty years ago they were denouncing as oppressor and tyrant, and from whom they were preparing to :tort a separation by force, if needs be; and all this simply because
the interim those political rights which inherently pertain to every e-born citizen of the British Empire, long unjustly withhell from em, had at last been, and with a fairly good grace, conceded to em. Now we, with our poor corns maddening us, compressed in all m shoe of foreigu make that in no way approximates to fitting us, no doubt complain in mild and measured tones. The Pioneer, it is he, talks of our violent language. Does the Pioneer remember the 1 gentleman, who, sitting in an omnibus, blandly semarks to the nductor: "Oh, Mr. Conductor, I should be so grateful, if you ald go on, as I have an important appointment to keep," whereupon. : conductor, Pioneer-like, screams out to the driver "Go on, Bill, re's an old cove in here a cussin and swearin like blazes!' Verily', like fashion, are we "cussin and swearin like blazes!" but, if now cing pity on our sufferings, John Bull will kindly allow us to divest rselves of these incongruous and impossible iron boots, and let us ourselves or allow us to help him to fit us with a pair of wearable jes, that make due allowances for our actual configuration, there 1 straightway be an end of all complaints, and instead of a disisfied, unhappy, suffering nation, continually half inclined to doubt ether the best plan would not be to slip cables and run for it, gland would find in India a well-wisher, an admirer, a friend and $y$, such as the whole of the rest of this round, rolling world never 1 and never can furnish.

We again quote Mr. Payne:-
"The next Colony, which obtaned tesponsible Government, was th Cape Colony. So long as the only route for ships to India was rourd the Cape, it was thought necessary to maintain this as a Crown Colony, garr soned by British forces. The Government of the Colony was unsatisfactor to the colomists as in Canada and Australia [as our Governupnt is now to us Crown Councils, Executive and Legislative, bad been esmblished in 183 previous to which the Cape had been theated merely as a mlitary post, an ruled by a military Governor. The setters petitioned for Representati, Government in 1841, but their claims were neglected [they took na measter es make thennelves disagreeable], and so little attention was paid to cheir wisht that the Home Government, when the Australians refused to take any mot convicts, determined to make the Cape a penal settlement, and in 184 despatched a shipload of convicts to Cape Town. The colonists, who wes resolved to make a stand, rose in arms and refused to allow thein to be lanc ed. This incident forced their claims on public attention, and in the nes year ( 1850 ) the Governor was empowered to summon a constituent Counc for the purpose of settling a more acceptable form of Government."

Full Responsible Government was then conceded, and thoug their path, in other ways, has been beset with thorns, this was th end of the colonists' troubles with their Government.

Now, can anything show more clearly than this simple, unva nished story that the whole secret of eliciting reform at the hanc of our good Lord and Master, John Bull, is to make oneself disagre able? You may apparently complain and petition ad infinttum thus did the Canadas, the Australias, and the Cape, but they toc nothing by their motions; they might shout till they were hoars but until they began to kick, to fight, or evince a readiness to do s until, in fact, they began to make themselves disagreeable in goc earnest, no one paid the slightest attention to them.

Very clearly we have to make ourselves disagreeable; an please God, as time goes on, we will do so, and no mistake ; bi there are ways and ways of doing things; we do not approve of resort to arms. We shall not break either the laws of God or ma We shall work within both constitutional and common law and loc. law limits, but we shall nevertheless hope to make ourselves ult mately so stupendously disagreeable, as to force even our "clain" on public attention," and so secure those modifications in the existir form of the administration, which are essential to the prosperi of India, and the well-being of her now greatly depressed and suffe ing population.

And, now, glancing back at all these past struggles-struggl
lat it behoves our rulers to study with as much care as we propose , do-struggles as pregnant with lessons for them as fur curaslue, -what says our author?
"Such is the sfory of the attainment of "Responsible Government"
the prancipal Colonies. It amounted to the political enfranchisement of weral millions of colonists, residing in the dependencies beyond the seas the incidents, which immediately occasioned it in each Colony, are of itle importance; its deep fundamental cause was the enfranchisement of e English Middle Classes by the Reform Act of 1832."

And yet after the Reform Act of 1885, whereby the Enchish wer classes also were enfranchised, there are people mad chough , suppose that a modification of our present despotic and autocratic "rm of Government, in the direction of Responsible Government, nark, we only say in the direction of this) can long be withlueld om us I

Possibly this is, in some degree, our own fault. If we were to orm and rant, and resort to such tactics as found favour in the rger colonies, it would possibly make things easier for all partics, nd bring our grievances within what Mr. Gladstone called the there of practical politics. But as we are quiet and orderly, refusing i stain our country's unsullied robe with bloodshed or other crime, ; we insist upon trusting for success to persistent efforts, carefully strained within all those limits prescribed alike by the laws of God id of man, our adversaries, it would seem, cannot believe that we e in earnest, and affect to treat our fixed resolves as mercly the ayward fancies of naughty children.

Ah! well we can afford "to labor and to wait;" let those laugh ho win. There are people for whom the past has no lessons, and te future no visions. But that any cultivated and unprejudiced man nould doubt what must be the ultimate result of that endeavour to cure political enfranchisement, on which we are now soberly enterg , would, were such a thing possible, be, indeed, a marvel.

As for ourselves, we have no doubts and no illusions. We know iat confining ourselves rigidly to constitutional methods, the work ill be long and weary. We foresee trouble and even, perhapa; uffering for some of the most prominent workers. We look forwatd * insults and abuse, misrepresentation, falsehood, slander, and all ae other evil practices to which our adversaries have already so eely resorted. We are prepared for repeated disappointments, there English politicians are concerned, such as that of which we ave recently had experience in the matter of the Parliamentary quiry; we know that neither here nor there are we dealing with zoroughly honest, straightforward public men whose words are eir bonds, but with a lot of professional politicians, whose public and ivate consciences are entirely disconnected, and who, while in ,ivate life, truthful and honest, are so in public life only when a sparture from the straight and narrow way does not appear to them pore expedient. We realize that for long we shall, as it were, beat ir hands against a dull wall of selfishness, greed, race-prejudice, and
ignorarce, and that for us will be.that experience of hope defer that maketh the heart sick. Yes ! and we know that long before $t$ happy day shall come, long before that redemption shall dawn up our beloved country, the hand, the head, the heart, that now inc these lines, shall have dissolved in the funeral pyre; and yet no sh: of doubt of the ultimate and entire triumph of our sacred cause e darkens for us the outlook, or dims the brightness of that hallon vision of a free and happy India which cheers and rewards us its reality shall console and bless those who come after us. L Moses of old, we stand, looking over that promised land, which sl recompense all who attain it for their weary wanderings in 1. wilderness of despotism-not for us that land flowing with milk ; honey, that good land, where India's children shall once more $m$ merry and rejoice; but that the days of their deliverance are draw nigh, and that, though we be not there to share their joys, our peo shall enter in and enjoy, is as certain as is the rising of the sun, wl already the dawn is ruddy in the East-ias certain as man's folly certain as God's Truth.

## INDIA'S FAREWELL TO LORD RIPON.

## TREU UND FEST

Farewell, true heart, farewell, farewell!
Our happy dreart is o'er,
Thy kindly care, thy steadfast love
Will soon be ours no more!
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, A nation's prayers watch o'er shee,
Nor space, nor time can part thee e'er
From hearts that here adore thee!
Thou cam'st, and all the land grew bright
And every heart beat high,
Hope wreathed each home with budding blooms,
So sweet! so soon to die!
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,
\&c. \&c. \&c.
But not for as the Hero's crown,
The Freeman's priceless prize,
And not for $2 s$ the cloudless smile
Of Freedom's starry eyes !
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

Oh! ask not why, thy noble thoughts
Scarce budded into Life,
Or blessings, Love alone designed,
Wasted in bitter strife.
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

Alas! that Freedom's sons should stain
Their mother's spotless shield,
And mar the cause their sires upheld
On many a glorious field.
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

Sore raged the storm and bitter words
Like poisoned darts grew rife,
And evil deeds, like loathsome weeds,
Pressed struggling into life.
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

But all unmoved, no thought of Self
'Twixt thee and Duty came,
The general good, the common weal,
Thy sole and sacred aim !
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&cc. \&c. \&c.

It might not be-for long the strife
Ere ancient wrong be righted,
It might not be-our dream was o'er,
And Hope's frail flowers were blighted.
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&e. \&c. \&c.

But not in vain thy toil hath been,
Old Time rights every wrong,
And all, and more shal yet be ours,
The weak shall yet be strong.
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

The sacred fire thy love hath lit,
Shall burn for ever clear,
Till equal Right and Justice crown
This Land we hold so dear !
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

It comes, it comes, by Poets sung,
It comes by Hope foretold,
The glorious autumn to outvie
The golden days of old.
Fare well, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&c.

Blest Herald, thou, whose name shall shine
For aye in India's story,
The love of Man, the fear of God,
Thy guides, thy strength, thy glory! Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, \&c. \&c. \&e.

Then fare thee 'well, brave heart, farewell,
True heart that wavered never,
All clse may pass, thy love is ours
For ever and for ever!
Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,
A nation's prayers watch o'er thee,
Nor space nor time can part the e'er
From hearts that here adore thee !


SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S

## VIEWS ABOUT INDIA

By DADABHAI NAOROJI

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## SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S

## VIEWS ABOUT INDIA.

ACGUST 1887.
I.

IOFFER some observations on Sir Grant Duff's reply to Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., in this "Review." I do so, not with the object of defending Mr. Smith. He is well able to take care of himself. But of the subjects with which Sir Grant Duff has dealt, there are some of the most vital importance to India, and I desire to discuss them.

I have never felt more disappointed and grieved with any writings by an Englishman than with the two articles by Sir Grant Duff-a gentleman who has occupied the high positions of Under-Secretary of State for India and Governor of Madras. Whether I look to the superficiality and lerity of his treatment of questions of serious and melancholy importance to India, or to the literary smartness of offhand reply which be so often employs in the place of argument, or to the mere sensational assertions which he puts forward as proofs, I cannot but feel that both the manner and matter of the two articles arc, in many parts, unworthy of a gentleman of Sir Grant Duff's position and expected knowledge. But what is particularly more regrettable is his attitade towards the educated classes, and the sneers he has levelled against higher education itself. If there is one thing more than' another for which the Indian people are peculiarly and deeply grateful to the British nation, and which is one of the chief reasons of their attachment and loyalty to British, rule, it is the blessing of education which Dritain has bestowed on India. Britain has every reason to be proud of, and to be satisfied with, the results, for it is the educated classes who realize and appreciate most the bencficence and good intentions of the British nation; and by the increasing influence
are the powerful rhain by which India is becoming more and moro firmly linked with Britain. This education has produced its natural effects, in promotitg civilization aud independence of character-a result of which a true Briton should not be aslamed and should regard as his peculiar glory. But it would appear that this indepadence of character and the free criticism passed by the clucated classes on Sir Grant Duff's acts have rufficd his composure. He has allowed his feclings to get the better of his judgment. I sha!l have to say a few words on this subject bereafter.

Sir Grant Duff asks the English tourists, who go to India "for the purpose of enlightening their countrymen when they come home"-"Is it too mach to ask that these last should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before they givo their conclusions to the world ?" May I ask the same quation of Sir Grant Duff himsclf? Is it too much to ask him, who has occupied high and responsible positions, that he, as fur more bound to do so, should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before he gives his conclusions to the world? Carcley or mistaken utterances of men of his position, by misleading the Pritish public, do immcasurable harm, both to England and Inda.

Of the few matters which I intend to discuss there is cne-themost important-upon which all other questions hinge. The correct solution of this fundamental problem will help all other Iudias problems to settle themsclves under the ordinary current discukwons of every day. Before proceeding, however, with this fundamental question, it is nccessary to make one or two preliminary remurhy to clear away some misapprehensions which often confuse and complicate the discussion of Indian subjects.

Theze are three parties concerncd-(1) The British nation, (2) those authorities to whom the Government of India is cutrusted by the British nation, and (3) the natives of British India.

Now, I have no complaint whatever against the British vation or British rule. On the contrary, we have every reason to be thanbful that of all the nations in the morld it has been our good fortume to be placed under the British nation-a nation noble and great in its instincts; among the most advanced, if not the most adranced, in civilization; foremost in the adrancement of humanity in all its varied wants and circumstances; the source and fonntain-head of truc liberty and of political progress in the world; in short, a sation in which all that is just, gencrous, and truly free is most lappily combined.

The British nation bas done its part nobly, has laid down, and pledged itself before God and the world to, a policy of justice and generosity towards India, in which nothing is left to be desired. That nolicy is complete and worth of its ereat and ploriong nast and present.

No, we Indians have no complaint against the British nation or British rulc. We have everything from them to bo grateful for. It is against its servants, to whom it has entrusted our destinies, that we have something of which to complain. Or rather, it is against the system which has been adopted byits servánts, and which subverts the avowed and pledged policy of the British nation, that we complain, and against which I appeal to the British people.

Reverting to the few important matters which I desire to discuss, the first great question is-What is Britain's policy towards India? Sir Grant Duff says: "Of two things one: either we mean to stay in India and make the best of the country-directly for its own advantage, indirectly for that of ourselves and of mankind at large, or we do not." Again he says: "The problem is how best to manage for its interest, our own interest, and the interest of the world. . . ." Now, if anybody ought to know, Sir Grant Duff ought, that this very problem, exactly as he puts it and for the purposes he mentions, has been completely and exhaustively debated, decided upon, and the decision pledged in the most deliberate manner, in an Act of Parliament more than fifty years ago, and again most solemnly and sacredly pledged more than twenty-five years ago. Sir Grant Duff either forgets or ignores these great events. Let us see, then, what this policy is. At a time when the Indians were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not understand what their political condition then was or was to be in the future, when they had not uttered, as far as I know, any complaints, nor demanded any rights or any definite policy towards themselves, the British nation of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forcthought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of Parliament more compléte and clear, more exhaustive, more deliberately looked at from all points of view, and more calculated for the development of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view-that of political danger or of even the possible loss of India to Britain-was faced with true English manliness; and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted, and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be-viz., the policy of justice and of the advancement of humanity.

I can give here only a very few extracts from that famous debate of more than half a century ago-2 debate reflecting the highest glory on the British name.

## Sir Robert Peel said :-


#### Abstract

"Sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of it with a -deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposen it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its mhalitanta, so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound. . . . . "


The Marquis of Lansdowne, in the Ilouse of Lords, said:-


#### Abstract

"But he should be taking a very narrow view of this question, and one 'utterly inadequate to the great importance of the subject, which anvolved in it the happiness or misery of one hundred millions of human beings, were he not to call the attention of their Lordships to the bearing which tha question and to the influence which this arrangement must exercise upon the future destinies of tbat vast mass of people. He was sure that their Lordahip would feel, as he indeed felt, that their only justification before God and Providence for the great and unprecedented dominion which they exercised in India was in the happiness which they communicated to the subjects under their rule, and in proving to the world at large, and to the inbabitants of llindoustan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Malomedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands. . . . ." Ila Lordship, after announcing the policy intended to be adoptecl, concluded: "Ile was confident that the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whorn it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it."


Lord Macaulay's speech is worthy of him, and of the great nation to which he belonged. I have every temptation to quote the whole of it, but space forbids. He calls the proposed policy "that wixf, that benevolent, that noble clause," and he adds:-
"I must eay that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which containg that clause. . . . . Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. 'I'ropter vitam vivendi perdere causas' is a despicable policy either in milividuals or States. In the present case such a policy would be not only despucable, hut absurd. . . . . To the great trading nation, to the great manufacturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race can make in knowledge, in tate for the conveniences of hife, or in the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of indifference. . . . .. To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to gorern eavages. That would indeed be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India mizht remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency-which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers, in order that they might continue to be our slaves. It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom he found in India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to marder him, to administer to him a daily.dose of the pousta, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bohly and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice; nore horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We -shall never consent to administer the pousta to a whole commuaity, to stupefy
wretched purpose of rendering them more amensble to our control. . . . . I bave no fears. The $p$ th of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. . . . . To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges or citizens would indeed be a title to glory-all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are fullowed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our artand our morals, our literature and our law."

Now what was it that was so deliberately decided upon-that which was to promote the welfare and well-being of the millions of India, involve their happiness or miscry, and influence their future destiny; that which was to be the only justification before God and Providence for the dominion over India; that which was to increase the strength of the Government and secure the attachment of the nation to it; and that which was wise, benevolent and noble, most profitable to English trade and manufacture, the plain path of duty, wisdom, national prosperity, and national honour, and calculated to raise a people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to prosperity and civilization? It was this " noble" clause in the Act of 1833, worthy of the British character for justice, generosity, and humanity: "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

I now ask the first question. Is this deliberately declared policy honestly promised, and is it intended by the British nation to be honestly and honourably fulalled; or is it a lie and a dclusion, meant ouly to deccive India and the world? This is the first clear issue.

It must be remembered, as I have already said, that this wise and noble pledge was given at a time when the Indians had not asked for it. It was of Britain's own will and accord, of her own sense of duty towards a great people whom'Providence had entrusted to her care, that she delibcrated and gave the pledge. The pledge was given with grace and unasked, and was therefore the more valuable and more to Britain's credit and renown. But the authorities to whom the performance of this pledge was entrusted by the British nation did not do their duty, and left the pledge a dead letter. Then came a time of trouble, and Britain triumphed over the Mutiny. But what did she do in that moment of triumph? Did she retract the old, great, and noble pledge? Did she say, "You have proved unworthy of it, and I withdraw it." No! True to her instincts of justice, she once more and still more emphatically and solemnly proclaimed to the world the same pledge, even in greater completeness and in every
form. By the mouth of our great Sovereign did she once more give her pledge, calling God to witness and seal it and bestow his blessing thereon; and this dif the gracious proclamation of 1858 proclaim to the world:
"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian terriwry 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 fay as mar be, out subjecta, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, tha dutes of which they may be qualfied by their education, ability, and intererty duly to discharge.
" In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our encurity, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

Can pledges more sacred, more clear, and more binding before God and man be given?

I ask this second question. Are these pledges honest promises of the British Sovereign and nation, to be faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled, or are they only so many lies and delusions? I can and do expect but one reply: that these sacred promises were made honestly, and meant to be honestly and honourably fulfilled. The whole Indian problem hangs upon these great pledges, upon which the blessings and help of God are invoked. It would be an insult and an injustice to the British nation, quite unpardonable in me-with my personal knowledge of the British people for more than thirty years-if I for a moment entertained the shadow of a doubt with regard to the honesty of these pledges.

The third question is-Whether these pledges have been faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled? The whole position of India is this: If these solemn pledges be faithfully and consciontiously fulfilled, India will have wothing more to desire. Had these pledges been fulfilled, what a different tale of congratulation should we have had to tell to-day of the prosperity and adrancement of India and of great benefits to and blessings upon England. But it is useless to mourn over the past. The future is still before us.

I appeal to the British nation that these sacred and solemn promises should be hereafter faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled. This will satisfy all our wants. This will realize all the various consequences, benefits, and blessings which the statesmen of 1833 have foretold, to England's eternal glory, and to the bencfit of England, India, and the world. The non-fulfilment of these pledges has been tried for half a century, and poverty and degradation are still the lot of India. Let us have, I appeal, for half a
.can hesitate to forctell, as the great statesmen of 1833 foretold that India will rise in prosperity and civilization, that "the strength of the Government woukd be increased by the happiness of the people .over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it." As long as fair trial is not given to these pledges it is idle, and alding insult to injury, to decide anything or to seck any excuser: against us and against the fulfilment of the pledges.

If this appeal is granted, if the British nation says that its honest promises must be honestly fulfilled, every other Indian question will find its natural and easy solution. If, on the other hand, this appeal shall go in vain-which I can never believe will be the case-the present unnatural system of the non-fulfilment of the great policy of 1833 and 1858 will be an obstacle and a complete prevention of the right and just solution of any other Indian question whatever. From the seed of injustice no fruit of justice can ever be produced. Thistles will never yield grapes.

I now come to the second important question-the present matcrial condition of India, as the natural result of the non-fulfilment of the great pledges. Mr. Samuel Smith had remarked that there was among the well-educated natives " a widespread belief that India is getting poorcr and less happy," and he has subsequently expressed his own impressions: "The first and deepest impression made upon me by this sccond visit to India is a heightened sense of the poverty of the country." Now, to such a serious matter, what is Sir Grant Dufl's reply? First, a sncer at the educated classes and at higher cducation itself. Next, he gives a long extract from an address of the local reccption committee of the town of Dezwada, in which, says the address, by mcans of an anicut, "At one stroke the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread, and the coffers .of the Government with money." Now, can levity and unkindness go any further? This is the reply that a great functionary gives to Mr. Smith's scrious charge about the poverty of India. What can the glowing, long extract from the address of the committee of Bezwada mean, if Sir Graat Duff did not thereby, iptend to lead the British public into the belief that, because the small town of Bezwada had acknowledged a good thing done for it, therefore in all India all was happy and prospering? Ilowever, Sir Grant Duff could not help reverting, aftor a while, to the subject a little more scriously, and admitting that "there is in many parts of India frightful poverty." What, then, becomes of the glowing extract from the Bezwada address, and how was that a reply to Mr. Smith's charge? However, even after making the admission of the "frightful porerty in many parts of India," he disposes off-hand of the giave matter-remarking that other people in other countries are also poor, as if that were a justification of "the frightful poverty in many
parts of India," under a rule like that of the British, and conducted by a service the most highly praised and the most highly paid in tho world? Sir Grant Duff, with a cruel levity, only asks two or threo questions, without any proof of his assumptions and without any attention to the circumstances of the comparisons, and at once falls foul of the educated classes, as if thereby he gave a complete reply to the complaint about the poverty. Now, these are the threc questions he puts :-"The question worth answering is: Do the Indian masses obtain, one year with another, a larger or smaller amount of matcrial well-being than the pcasantry of Western Europe?" And he answers himself: "Speaking of the huge province of Madras, which I, of course, know best-and I have visited every district in it -I think they do. . . ." They "do" what? Do they obtain a larger or smaller amount? His second question is: "but is there not the same, and cven worse, in our own country?" And lastly, he brings down his clincher thus:-"As to our system "draining the country of its wealth,' if that be the case, how is it visibly increasing in wcalth?" And he gives no proof of that increased wealth. Thus, then, docs Sir Grant Duff settle the most serious questions connected with India. First, a sneer at cducated men and higher education, then the frivolous argument about the town of Bezwada, and afterwards three off-hand questions and assertions without any proof. In this way does a former Under-Secretary of State for India, and only lately a ruler of thirty millions of people, inform and instruct the British public on the most burning Indian questions. We may now, however, see what Sir Grant Duff's above three questions mean, and what they are worth, and how wrong and baseless bis assertions are.

Fortunately, Mr. Grant Duff has already replicd to Sir Grant Duff. We are treated by Sir Grant Duff to a long extract from his Budget speech of 1873 . He might have as well favouxed us, to better purpose, with an extract or two from some of his other specches. In 1870 Mr. Grant Duff asks Sir Wilfrid Lawson a remarkable question during the debate on Opium. He asks : "Would , it be tolerable that to enforce a view of morality which was not theirs, which had never indeed been accepted by any large portion of the human race, we should grind an already poor population to the very dust with new taxation ?" Can a more complete reply be given to Sir Grant's present questions than this reply of Mr. Grant Duff : that the only margin that saves "an already poor population" from being ground to the cery dust is the few millions that are obtaincd by poisoning a foreign country (China).

Again Mr. Grant Duff supplies another complete reply to Sir Grant Duff's questions. In his Budget speech of 1871, he thus depicts the poverty of India as compared with the condition of England-r"one of the countries of Western Earope" and the "our
own country" of his questions. Just at that time I had, in a rougl way, shown that the whole production or income of British Indi, was about Rs. 20 ( 40 s.) per head per annum. Of this Mr. Gran Duff made the following use in 1871. He said: "The position c the Indian financier is altogether different from that of the English one Here you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income o the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at E800,000,000 per annum. The income of British India has been guessed a $£ 300,000,000$ per annum. That gives well on to $£ 30$ per annum a . the income of every person of the United Kingdom, and only $£ 2$ pe; annum as the income of every person in British India. Even ou' comparative wealth will be looked back upon by future ages as a state $o$ semi-barbarism. But what are we to say of the state of India? Hov many generations must pass array before that country has arrivec at even the comparative wealth of this?"

But now Sir Grant Duff ignores his own utterances as to how utterly different the cases of England and India are, Mr. Gran Duft's speech having been received in India, Lord Mayo thus com mented upon it and confirmed it:-

Here again is another answer to Sir Grant Duff's questions, by the late Finance Minister of India. Major (Sir) E. Baring, in proot of his assertion of "the extreme poverty of the mass of the people' of British India, makes a comparison not only with " the Western countries of Europe" but with "the poorest country in Europe." After stating that the income of India was not more than Rs. 27 per head, he said, in his Budget speech of 1882: "In England, the average income per head of population was $£ 33$ per head; in France it was $£ 23$; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was $\mathfrak{L} 4$ per head."

It will be seen, then, that Mr. Grant Duff and a higher authority than Sir Grant Duff have already fully answered Sir Grant Dufis questions. The only thing now remaining is whether Sir Grant Duff
fwill undertake to prove that the income of British India has now became equal to that of the Western countries of Europe; and if foo, let him give us his facts and figures to prove such a statementmot mere allusions tơ the prosperity of some small towns like liezwada, for even to that of the Presidency towns, but a complete estimate of the income of all British India, so as to compare it with that of Eugland, France, or " Western countries of Europe."

I may say here a word or two about "the huge province of Madras, which," sass Sir Grant, "I, of course, know best, and I ,have visited every district in it." We may see now whether he has .visited with his eyes open or shut. I shall be glad if Sir Grant Duff will give us figures to show that Madras to-day produces as much as the Western countries of Europe.

Sir George Campbell, in his paper on tenure of land in India, says, from an official Report of 1869, abont the Madras Presidency, that "the bulk of the people are paupers." I have just received an extract from a friend in India. Mr. W. R. Robertson, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says of the agricultural Rabourer :-
" Hıs condition is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilized. In the best seasons the gross income of himself and his family does not exceed $3 \boldsymbol{l}$. per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most 'deplorable. . . . I have seen something of Ireland, in which the condtion of affairs bears some resemblance to those of this country, but the condition of the agricultural population of Ireland is vastly superior to the condition of the similar classes in this country."

There cannot be any doubt about the correctness of these views; for, as a matter of fact, as I have worked out the figures in my paper on "The Poverty of India," the income of the Madras Presidency in 1868-69 was only about Rs. 18 per head per annum.

Such is the Madras Presidency, which Sir Grant Duff has visited with his eyes apparently shut.

I shall now give a few statements about the "extreme poverty" of British India, by persons whose authority would be admitted by Sir Grant Duff as far superior to his own. In 1864 Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, then Viceroy, said: "India is on the whole a very poor country,; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence." Ard again, in 1873, he repeated his opinion before the Finance Committee, that the mass of the people were so miserably poor that they had barely the means of subsistence. It was as much as a "man could do to feed his family, or half-feed them, let alone speoding money on what might be called luxuries or conveniences. In 1881 Dr, (Sir W.) Hunter, the best official defender of the British Indian Administration, told the British public that $40,000,000$ of the people of British India "go through life on insuffcient food." This is an
official admission, but I have no moral doubt that, if full inquirie were made, twice forty millions or more would be found "going throug' life on insufficient food,' and what wonder that the very touch 0 " famine should destroy hundreds of thousands or millions. Comins down at once to the latest times: Sir E. Baring said, in his financ speech in 1882 :-

[^73]Again, in the course of the debate he repeated the statement about the income being Rs. 27 per head per annum, and said in connection with salt revenue: "But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the mass of the people." Then, after stating the income of some of the European countries, as I have stated them before, he proceeded: "He would ask honourable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." I asked Sir E. Baring to give me his calculations to check with mine, but he declined. But it does not matter much, as even "not more than, Rs. 27 " is extreme poverty of the mass of the people. Later still the present Finance Minister, in his speech on the Income Tax, in January, 1886, described the mass of the people as "men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living, as they do, upon the barest necessaries of life."

Now, what are we to think of an English gentleman who has occupied the high and important positions of an Under-Secretary of State for India and Governor of the thirty millions of Madras, and Who"professes to feel deep interest in the people of India, treating such grave matters as their "extreme poverty" and "scanty subsistence" with light-heartedness like this, and coolly telling them and the British pablic that the people of Bezwada were gloriously prosperous, and that there, "at one stroke, the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread and the coffers of the Government with money!"

I shall now give a few facts and figures in connection with the condition of India, and with some of the other questions dealt with by Sir Grant Duff. First, with regard to the poverty to which Mr. Samuel Smith referred. Sir Grant Duff may rest assured that I shall be only too thankful to him for auy correction of my figures by him or for any better information. I have no other object than the truth.

In my paper on "The Poverty of India," I have worked out from official figures that the total income of British India is only lis. 20 (40s., or, at presentiexchange, nearer 30s.) per head per anuum. It must be remembered that the mass of the people cannot get this average of Rs. 20, as the upper classes have a larger sharc than the average; also that this Rs. 20 per head includes the income or produce of foreign planters or producers, in which the interest of the natives does not, go further than being mostly common labourers at competitive wages. All the profits of such produce are enjoyed by, and carried away from the country by, the foreigners. Subsequently, in my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India in 1880, I placed before his lordship, in detailed calculations based upon official returns, the income of the most favoured province of the Punjab and the cost of absolute necessaries of life there for a common agricultural labourer. The income is, at the outside, Rs. 20 per head per annum, and the cost of living Rs. 3 k . No wonder then that forty or eighty millions or more people of British India should "go through life on insufficient food." My calculations, both in "The Poverty of India" and "The Condition of India" (the correspondence with the Secretary of State), have not yet been shown by anybody to be wrong or requiring correction. I shall be glad and thankful if Sir Grant Duff would give us his calculations and show us that the income of British India is anything like that of the Western countries of Europe.

I give a statement of the income of the different countrics from Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics":-

| Couniries. | Gross earmings per inhabitant. | Conritrea. | (fria4 cartinge per mhatitast. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| England. | ! £ 41 | Pelgum . |  |
| Scotland | 32 | Holland | 26 |
| Ireland | 16 | Denmark | 212 |
| United Kingdom | 35.2 | Sweden aud Norway | 162 |
| France | $25 \cdot 7$ | Switzerland | 16 |
| Germany. | 18.7 | Greece | 11.8 |
| Russia | 9.9 | Europe | 15 |
| Anstria. | 16.3 | United States | 97.2 |
| Italy | 12 | Canada | 26.9 |
| Spann | 13.8 | Australia . | 434 |
| Portugal . | 13.6 |  |  |

The table is not official. In his " Progress of the World " (1880), Mulhall gives-Scandinavia, £17; South America, £G; India, $\mathbf{x 2 .}$ What is then poor India's whole income per head? Not even as much as the United Kingdom pays to its revenue only per head. The United Kingdom pays to revenue nearly 50s. per head, when Wretched India's whole income is 40 s . per head, or rather, at the present exchange, nearer 30 s . than 40 s . Is this a result for an Englishman to boast about or to be satisfied with, after a century of British
even the countries of South America! Every other part of the British Empire is flourishing except wretched India.

Sir Grant Duff knows well that any poverty in the countries of Western Europe is not from want of wealth or income, but from unequal distribution. But British India has her whole production or income itself most wretched. There is no wealth, and therefore the question of its right distribution, or of any comparison with the countries of Western Europe or with England, is very far off indeed. Certainly a gentleman like Sir Grant Duff ought to understand the immense difference between the character of the conditions of the poor masses of British India and of the poor of Western Europe; the one starving from scantiness, the other having plenty, but suffering from some defect in its distribution. Let the British Indian Admainistration fulfil its sacred pledges and allow plenty to be produced in British India, and then will be the proper time and occasion to compare the phenomena of the conditions of Western Europe and British India. The question at present is, why, under the management of the most highly paid services in the world, India cannot produce as much even as the worst governed countries of Europe. I do not mean to blame the individuals of the Indian services. It is the policy, the perversion of the pledges, that is at the bottom of our misfortunes. Let the Government of India only give us every year properly made up statistical tables of the whole production or the income of the country, and we shall then know truly how India fares year after year, and we shall then see how the present system of administration is an obstacle to any matcrial advaucement of India. Let us have actual facts about the real income of India, instead of careless opinions like those in Sir Grant Duff's two articles.

Instead of asking us to go so far as Western Europe, to compare conditions so utterly different from each other, Sir Grant Duff might have looked nearer home, and studied somewhat of the neighbouring native States, to institute some fair comparison under a certain similarity of circumstances. This point I shall have to refer to in the next article, when dealing with a cognate subject. Sir Grant Duff says: "I maintain that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply in proportion to its size, to its population, and to the difficulties of government." Surels Sir Grant Duff knows better than this. Surely be knows that the pressure of a burden depends upon the capacity to bear it: that an elephant may carry tons with ease, while a child would be crushed by a hundredweight. Surely he knows the very first axiom of taxation-that it should be in proportion to the means of the taxpayer. Mulhall very properly says in his Dictionary: "The real incidence of all taxation is better shown by comparison with the people's earnings." Let us see facts.

Let us see whether the incidence in 13ritish India is nut hearier tha, that of Eiglame itself. The grose revenue of tho United Kingedom
 $36,707,118$. The revenue per head will be his. 9 . . The gross reveuuc of British India in 1885 is (in $t l=t$ en rupes) \&i0,600,000, and population in 1881, 108, $700,(0) 0$ - say roundly, in 1885, $200,(10,000$. The revenue of the United Kinglom does not inchate railway or irrigation earnings: I deduct, therefure, these fron the British Indian revenue. Deducting from (fo, $60,0 \times 6$, calway earniugs $\in 11.898,000$, and irrigation and naviration caruingy $21,670,000$, the balance of gross revenue in $\mathbf{E} 57,116,000$, nheh laken fur $200,000,000$, gives 5 . 8łd.-say 5s. 8 4 , -per Licad. Now the United Kinglom pays 48 s. Gd. per heal from an income of $\mathcal{E} 55: 2$ per head, which makes the incidence or pressure of 692 per cent. of the income. British India pays 5s. 8d. out of an iucume of 40 s ., whech makes the incidence or pressure of $1: 3$ per cent. of the income. Thus, while the United Kiugdom pays for its gross revcuue ouly 602 per cent. out of its rich income of $t: 02 \mathrm{j}$ per head, British India pays out of its scantiness and starration a gross revenue of 1.43 per cent. of its income; so that, wretchedly wrak and poor as British India is, the pressure upon it is more than doubly heavier than that on the enormously wealthy United Kingdom; and yet Sir Grant Duff says that no country on the face of the carth is governed so cheaply as British India, and mislcads the British public about its true and deplorable condition. Dut what is worse, and what is British India's chicf dilliculty, is this: In England, all that is paid by the pcople for revenue returns back to them, is enjoyed by them, and fructifies in their own pockets; while in India, what the people pay as revenue does not all return to them, or is enjoyed by them, or fructifies in their pockets. I large portion is enjoyed by others, and carried away clean out of the country. This is what makes British Iudia's cconomic position unnatural.

I give below, the incidence of a few more countrics:-Percentape of expenditure to income: Germany, 107 ; France. 13.23 ; Bejgiam, 9.5; Holland, 0.61 ; Russia, 101 ; Denmark 5.17 ; United Stutes, 3.9 ; Canade, 50 ; Australia, 162 . But in all these casea, mhatever is spent returns back to the people, whether the percentage is large or small.

The Budget Estimate of $1857-88$ is nearly $\mathbf{1 7 7 , 5 0 0 , 0 0 0 , ~ s o ~ t h e ~}$ percentagy of incidence will increase still higher. Sir Grant Dufis object in this assertion in to justify the character and prove the success of the present British Indian policy. It will be hercafter seen that this very argument of his is one of the best proofs of the

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Grant Duff says: "Mr. Suith proceeds to admit that Inda $k$ a'jsorbed some $£ 350.000,000$ sterling of silver and gald in the la forty gears, but makes the very odd remark that, alchough Englit oriters cousider this a great proof of wealth, it is not so regards in India." To this, What is Sir Grant Duff's reply? Of the san hind as usaal: mere careless assertions, and a fling a: the mi representation about the educated classes. He says:-
"It may suit A or B not to reerrl two and two as making fur, b arithmert is trae, revertheless; and there is the ballion, though dubthe oce of the greatest boons that could te conterred upon Ind a would be get the vast dormant hoards of gold acd siver whica are buried in the grout or worn on the person brought into circulation. Can that, howerer, we hop. fir as long as the very people whom Mr. Smath treats as exponenis mative opinca do their utmost wo excite hostíty asainst the British Gover ment?"

To aroid cunfusinn I pass orer for the present without notice tl last assertion. It will be seen further on what ditierent testimor eren the highest Indian authorities give upon this subject. Wis regard to the other remarks, it is clear that Sir Grant Duff h. not taken the pains to know what the natives say, and wh the actual state of the matter is, with regard to these econom conditions. The best thing I can do to aroid useless controversy to gire in my second article a serics of facts and official figury instead of making bare assertions of opinion without any proofs, : Sir Grant Duff says These economic questions are of far great and more serious importance, both to England and India, than $S$ Grant Doff and others of his viers dream of. These facts and Gigun will show that British India has not receired sach amounts of go and silver as is generally supposed, or as are more than barely adequa to its ordinary wants. The phenomenon of the import of bullic into British India is very much misapprehended, as will be shov ju my second article; and Sir Grant Duff's assertions are mi leading, as such meagre, vague, and offhand assertions always ar By the present policy British Indis is prerented from acquiring ar capital of its own, owing to the constant drain from its wretch income, and is on the verge of being ground down to dust. Sac foreign capital as circulates in British India carries away its ot protits ouf of British lndia, leaving the masses of its people as por gs ever, and largely going through life on insufficient food.

## II.

SHALL now consider the important questions of trade, bullion, population, drain, \&ce., to which Sir Grant Duff has referred. promised in my first article, I shall at once proceed to give acial facts and figures, which will enable the public to judge for emselves.
I begin with the question of the trade of British India. What is e true trade of British India? The trade returns of British India, published in Blue-books, both in England and India, are misleading those who do not study them with certain necessary information to fide them. What are given as. trade returns of British India are t such really, as I explain below. The exports of the produce of a untry form the basis of its trade. It is in return for such exports, gether with ordinary commercial profits, that the country receives imports. I shall first analyze the so-called exports of British dia. A large portion of them, together with their profits, never turn to British India in any shape, either of merchandise or 'sasure; though in every true trade all exports with their profits ght so to return. The present exports of British India con-tof-

1. The exports of produce belonging to the Native States.
2. The exports of produce belonging to the territories beyond the id frontiers.
3. The exports of the produce belonging to European or other reign planters or manufacturers, the profits of which are enjoyed in d carried away out of the country by these foreigners, and do not long to nor become a portion of the capital of the people of itish India. The only interest the people have in these exports that thev are the labourers, by whose labour, at poor wowes, the

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resources of their own country are to be brought out for the profit 0 : the foreigners, such profit not to remain in the country.
4. Remittances for "home charges," including interest on publi debt held in England, and loss in exchange, and excluding inte rest on debt which is incurred for railways and other productiv: works.
5. Remittances for interest on foreign debt incurred for railway and other productive public works. What in this case the lender. get as interest is all right; there is nothing to complain of in that In other countries, beyond the interest to be paid to the lenders, tht rest of the whole benefit of such loans remains to the people of thi country. This, however, is not the case with British India.
6. Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners to thei; own countries for their families, and on account of their savings anc, profits. These remittances, together with item four, and what ths foreigners enjoy in the country itself, are so much deprivation of the people, and cause the exhausting annual drain out of the very poon produce or income of British India. This is India's chief evil.
7. The remainder are the only true trade exports of the produce ${ }^{5}$ belonging to the people of British India.

Let us now examine the actual figures of the so-called exports-o: British India, say for 1885 . For easier understanding I give the figures: in sterling, taking the conventional $\mathfrak{L l}=$ Rs. 10 . The amount of merchandise exported is $£ 83,200,528$. This, however, consists of not only domestic produce and manufactures of all India, but also foreign merchandise re-exported. .I do not include treasure in these exports for the simple reason that the gold or silver is not produced in India, but is simply a re-exportation out of what is imported from foreign parts. I take all my figures from the statistical abstracts published among parliamentary returns, except when I mention any other source. I take, then, exports of merchandise to be $283,200,528$. We must first know how much of this belongs to the Native States. The official trade returns give us no information on this importalit point, as they should. I shall therefore make a rough estimate for the present. The population of all India is nearly $254,000,000$, out of which that of the Native States is $55,000,000$, or about $21 \cdot 5$ per cent. ; or say, roundly, one-fifth. But the proportion of their exports will, I think, be found to be larger than one-fifth. All the opium exported from Rumbay comes from the Native States. A large portion of the cotton exported from Tombay comes from the Native States. According to IIunter's "Imperial Indian Gazetteer," one-sixth of such cotton comes from Kathiawad alone. To be on the safe side, I take the total of exports of the Native States to be one-fifh only-i.e., £16,600,000. Next, the export of merchandise from the frontier countries is about $£ 5,300,000$.
pray roughly take only one-quarter of this as exported out of India. pat will be $£ 1,300,000$.
The exports of coffee, indigo, jute manufactures, silk, tea, se., hich are mostly those belonging to foreign planters and mauufacurcrs, amount to about $£ 11,500,000$. I cannot say how much of us belongs to native planters, and not to foreigners. I may take tese exports as $£ 10,000,000$.
Remittances made for "home charges" (excluding interest on railay and productive works loans), including interest on I rublic debt ad loss in exchange, come to about $£ 11,500,000$.
Remittances for interest on foreign loaus for railmays and other ublic works are about $\mathfrak{E} 4,8,7,000$. I cannot say how much interest a the capital of State railways and other productive worhs is paid t Encland as part of the interest paid on "debt" ( $\ell 2,612,000)$. If $t$ ine debt as $£ 162,000,000$, and capital laid out on prolactive c.i.s $£ 74,000,000$, the proportion of interest on $£ 74,000,000$ out of $2,612,000$ will be about $£ 1,189,000$. If so, then the total amount $f$ interest on all railways and public works will be about $E 0,000,000$, aving all other home charges, including exchange and interest on ublic debt, as $£ 11,500,000$, as I have assumed above.
Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners for their umilies, and of savings and profits, and for importing merchandise suitble for their consumption, may be roughly estimated at $£ 10,000,000$, lough I think it is much more.
The account, then, of the true trade exports of British Iudia stands uns:-

| Total exports of all India and Froñier States |  |  | 183,200,000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Native States | . . . | . $£ 16,600,000$ |  |
| Froutier Territory |  | 1,300,000 |  |
| European planters |  | 10,000,000 |  |
| Home charges |  | 11,500,000 |  |
| Interest on all ralway and public worksloses |  |  |  |
| Private remittances |  | 10,000,000 |  |
|  |  |  | 53,400,000 |
| The true trade exports of th | e people of Eriti | India | c27,800,000 |

Jr say, roundly, £30,000,000 for a population of nearly 200,000,000, iving 3s. per head per annam. If proper information could be btained, I belieỵe this amount would turn out to be nearer $\mathbf{~} 20,000,000$ han $£ 30,000,000$ for the true trade exports of the people of British adia. To be on the safe side, I keep to $£ 30,000,000$. It must be emembered that this item includes all the re-exports of foreign merhandise, which have to be deducted to get at the true exports of lomestic produce.

Is this a satisfactory result of a century of management is British administrators? Let us compare this result with the rade exports of other parts of the British Empire. As I hare no

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information about the foreign debt of those parts, for the interest ; which they may have to export some of their produce, I mal allowance for their whole public debt as so much foreign deb This of course is a too large allowance. I take interest at 5 pi. cent., and deduct the amount from the exports. I am therefo: evidently under-estimating the exports of the other parts of $t l^{2}$ British Empire. As the exports of British India include re-expor of foreiga merchandise, I have taken the exports of all oth: countries, in a similar way, for a fair comparison. No deduction $f i$ any payment of interest on foreign debt is made for the Units Kingdom, as it is more a lender than a borrower. I cannot giv here the whole calculation, but only the results, and they are these:-


Let us next take some of the foreign countries, and see hot wretched British India's trade is when compared with even ther For a few of the foreign countries I can get particulars of the public debt, but not of that portion of it which is foreign det I have taken the amount of the whole public debt, and allowed $5 p_{i}$ cent. interest on it, to be deducted from the exports, as if it we all foreign debt. In this way I have under-estimated the $\operatorname{tn}$, trade exports. These countries I mark with an asterisk; tho. marked $\dagger$ include bullion. For these I cannot get separate returi for merchandise only. In the case of the United States the figure really agreat under-estimate, as I take its foreign debt as equal inamou to its whole public debt, and also as I take interest at 5 per cent. cannot get particulars of the foreign debts, if they have any, of oth countries, and some allowance will have to be made for that. B in all these cases the ampunt of exports is so large, as compari with the paltry figare of British India, that the contrast remai most striking:-

| Countriea. | Exports per head. | Countrices. | Exports ver hear. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *Rusbaan Empire | 120 | Aastro-Hungarana Empire | 470 |
| *Norway | 617 | $\dagger$ Roumama | ¢7 |
| Sweden. | 616 | tGreece | 399 |
| * Denmark | 97-5 | Esypt | 38 |
| German Empire | 1072 | *United States | 55 |
| Holland. | 3481 | +Mexico | 20 |
| *Belgium | 3752 | tChilt. | 149 |
| *France | 687 | +Argentine Republis | 90 |
| $t$ Portugal | 339 | 4Uruguay | 1982 |
| Spaun | 365 | Japan | 38 |
| *Italy | $17 \cdot 9$ | Britsh India. | 30 |

## SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF ON INDIA.

In Japan, only so. lately opened up, is exporting more than British lia.
After seeing how poor the true trade exports are of the people of itish India from the point of view of British India's interests, let mext examine the matter from the point of view of England's erests. What benefit has England's trade derived, after possessing 1 administering British India for more than a hundred years, undcr nost expensive administration, with complete despotic control over the people having no voice and nb control of any kind. Has itish India so improved as to become an important customer for itish goods? There was no protection, no heavy duties to hamper itish imports, as in other parts of the British Empire itself, in foreign countries. And yet we find that British India is far the most wretched customer for British produce or manufures. Here are the facts :-The total of the exports of British yduce from the United Kingdom to India is, for the year 1885, $9,300,000$. As I have explained before about exports from India, st they are not all from British India, so also these exports from , United Kingdom to India are not all for British India, though y enter India by British Indian ports. These British exports have be distributed among-(1) Native States; (2) frontier territorics; consumption of Europeans; (4) railway and Government stores; and the remainder for the natives of British India. Let Government e us correct information about these particulars, and then we shall able to know how insignificant is the commercial benefit England ives from her dominion over British India, I shall not be sursed if it is fonnd that the real share of the people of British India the British exports is not half of the £29,300,000 imported into lia. It must be remembered that whatever is received by the tive States and the frontier territories is in full return, with the linary profits of 15 per cent., for their exports to the Luited ngdom. Their case is not like that of British India. They have such exhausting drain as that of British India, beyond paying : small tribute of about $£ ; 00,000$. If I take $\$ 15,000,000$ as itish produce received for the consumption of the native subts of British India, I think I am on the safe side. What is 's amount for a population of $200,000,000$ ? Only 18. $6 d$. per head. ke it even at $2 s$. per head if you like, or even $£ 25,000,000$, which d 1 be only 2s. $6 d$. per head. What a wretched result for four-fifths 'the whole British Empire / The popalation of British India is $0,000,000$, and that of the rest of the British Empire outside Iudia, Iuding the United Kingdom, about 52,000,000.
I now compare the exports of British produce to British India th those to other parts of the British Empire and to other foreign butries. I give the results only:-

BRITISH EMPIRE.

| Exports of British Produce per Head fur 138j. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'To Countries | $\stackrel{8}{8} \frac{d}{6}$ | To Countries. |  |
| North American Colon | 308 | Maurtius |  |
| West Indian Islands and |  | Cane of Good Hope |  |
| Guiana |  | Natal |  |
| British Honduras | 6,67 | West African Settlements | 57 |
| Austialasia | 15.58 | Possessions on the Gold |  |
| Straits Settlements |  | Coast |  |

Some deductions may have to be made from these figures.
What a sad story is this! If British India took only $£_{1}$ head, England would export to British India alone as much as s' exports at present to the whole world ( $£ 213,000,000$ ). What amount of work would this give to British industries and produc ${ }^{7}$ Will the British merchants and manufacturers open their eye Will the British working men understand how enormous their loss: from the present policy, which involves bcsides a charge of dishonon able violation of sacred promises that clings to the British name? India prospered and consumed British produce largely, what a ga would it be to England and to the whole world also ! Here, then, w be Sir Grant Duff's-"India's interest, England's interest, and t world's interest"-to his heart's content, if he will with a tr and earnest heart labour to achieve this threefold interest in $t$ right way.

Let us next take other foreign countries, with most or all which England, I think, has no free trade, and see how British In. stands the comparison even with them:-

| Export of Brttish Prodice per Mead |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| To Countrics. |  | Russia (perhaps partly sup- |  |  |
| Germany | 73 | phed through intermedr- |  |  |
| France | 711 | ate countries) |  | 0111 |
| Siweden and Korway . | 108 | Greece |  |  |
| Denmark and Iceland | 194 | *Turkey in Lurope |  | 168 |
| Holland (this may be sup |  | Asia |  | 310 |
| plying anme portion |  | Fgypt |  |  |
| Central Europe) | 4+ 3 | United States |  |  |
| Belgum ( ${ }^{\text {do. do.) }}$ | $2{ }^{2}$ | *Central America |  |  |
| Portngal | 0 | *Brazal |  | 10 |
| Spain | 39 | Uruguay | - | 510 |
| Italy (perhaps partly su |  | Argentine Repnblic |  |  |
| plied by interniedat |  | Chli . . . |  |  |
| countries) | 49 | Japan. |  |  |
| Austrian terntory (datto) | 08 |  |  |  |

Japan, so latcly opened, has commenced taking $1 s$. $1 d$. worth ${ }_{\text {t }}$ head. These figures tell their own eloquent tale. Is it too much uxpect that, with complete free-trade and British management, and "development of resources," the prosperity of British India ought to such as to consume of British produce even £I a head, and that would be so, if British India were allowed to grow freely und natural economic conditions?

## SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF on tindia.

In the first article I referred to the capacity of British India or taxation. Over and over again have British Indian financiers umented that British India cannot bear additional taxation without ppressiveness. Well, now what is the extent of this taxation, which , already so crushing that any addition to it would "grind British ndia to dust?" It is, as I have shown in the first article, after _ueezing and squeezing as much as possible, only $5 s .8 d$. per head er annum, and according to the present budget a little more-say 6 . et us see what the capacity for taxation of other parts of the British mpire and of other foreign comntries is, and even of those Native tates of India where anything like improved government on the ritish Indian system is introduced. I give results only :-

BRITISH EMPIRE.
Gross Revente prr Hrad fre Anyum.


FOREIGN COUNTIIES.
Gross Revenue per Head per Anviy.

| Countries. |  | Conntrem. |  | d d. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Russia in Europe | 245 | Austro-Hungary | - . | $41)$ |
| Norway | 23 c | Italy . |  | 310 |
| Sweden | 198 | Greecs |  | 57 |
| Denmark | 2611 | Servia. |  | 15 |
| German Empire | 136 | Rulgaria |  | 12 |
| Prussia | 412 | Rocmania |  | 20 |
| Saxony | 228 | Egypt (proper) |  | 30 |
| Grand Duchy of Oldenbargh | 186 | United States | (different |  |
| Saxe-Coburg and Gotha | 170 | States have their | seprarate |  |
| Bavaria | 449 | revenue begidea) |  | 26 |
| Wurtembarg | 278 | Mexico |  | 15 |
| Grand Dachy of Badera | 272 | Brazl |  | 26 |
| Hesse | 218 | Guatemala |  | 21 |
| Alsace-Lorrai | 248 | Nicaragua |  | 14 |
| Holland | 47 | Salvador |  | 29 |
| Belgian | 45 | Orange 'rree State |  | a, |
| France | 736 | Persa |  | , |
| Portugal | 316 | Republic of Pera |  | 13 |
| Spain. | 4110 | All terntory darect | tly under |  |
| Switzerland | 12 | Tarkey . |  | 13 |

N.B.-Some of the above figures are worked cut of Whitaker's Almanac, 1 sig

It will be seen that British India's capacity for paring taxation is ary poor indeed, compared to that of any other country of any msequence. Of the above figures I cannot say which may be opressive to the people. I give this as a fact, that these people pay mach for being governed. But it must be further borne in mind iat every farthing of what these people pay returns back to them, hich is not the case with British Irdia. Can it be said of any $r^{*}$ hese countries that one-fifth or one-third of its people goes through

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SLK II. E. GKANi nurg UN INDIA.
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life on insufficient food from sheer poverty of only 40 s . income, ar not from imperfect distribution?

I shall next take the case of some of the Native States of India. have taken some where during. the minorities of the princes Englis officials have administered the State, aud put them into ord and good government. The capacity for taxation which I giv below is not the result of any oppressive taxation, but of the natur. developments by improved government, and of the increasir prosperity of the people. I give instances in the Bombay Presidend that I know, and of which I have been able to get some particulars.

Gross Reveyce per Head. $\mathrm{f} 1=\mathrm{Rs} .10$.


These States have no debts. Baroda, Bhavnagar and Gondal har built and are extending their own railways, and all have built ar are building their own public works from revenue, and have goc balances. Baroda has a balance in hand of $£ 2,100,000$, equal it eighteen months' revenue; Cutch has $£ 140,000$, equal to eigł months' revenue; Bharnagar has $£ 560,000$, equal to two year revenue; and Gondal has $£ 150,000$, equal to fifteen months' revenu I give only one or two short extracts from official statements. S W. Hunter, in his "Imperial Gazetteer," says about Bhavnagar $i_{i}^{i}$ connection with Kathiawad: "Bhavnagar has taken the lead in tl $^{\xi}$ material development of her resources, and is the first State in Inds which constructed a railway at her own expense and risk." I ma say that Gondal did the same in conjunction with Bhavnagar, an Baroda had done that long before. In handing over the rule , Gondal to the prince on the completion of his minority, Majc Nutt, the British Administrator, and in charge of the State at tb' time, says with just pride and pleasure, in reference to the increas' of reveuue from $£ 80,000$, in $18 \% 0$ to $£ 120,000$ in 1881: "On" point of special interest in this matter is, that the increase in revenu" has not occasioned anty hardship to Gondal subjects. On the contrar: never were the people generally-ligh and low, rich and poor-in greater state of social prosperity than they are nom." The Bomba Government has considered this "highly satisfactory."

At the installation of the present Chief of Bharnagar, Mr. Peil, the Political Agent, describes the State as being then "with flourisb" ing finances and much good work in progress. Of financial mattei I need say little; you hare no debts, and your treasury is full.! When will British Indian financiers be able to speak with the sam' pride, pleasure, and satisfaction? "No debt, full treasury, goo":
cork in progress, increase of revenue, with increase of social rosperity, for high and low, rich and poor." Will this ever be in sritish India under the present policy? No.
There are some other States in Kathiawad in which higher tasation ver head than that of British India is paid by the people, thongh I o not know that it is said that there is oppressive taxation there. I nay instance Junagadh as $11 s$. per head, with $£ 500,000$ balance in ıand, equal to fifteen months' revenue; and Nawanagar as 1 Cs .3 d. ber head, and gradually paying off some debt. I have no doutt bat Native States will go ou rapidly increasing in prosperity as their ystem of government goes on improving. I know from my own rersonal knowledge as Prime Minister of Baroda for onc year that hat State has a very promising future indeed. There are several ther Native States in India in which the gross revenue per head is sigher than that of British India. All the remaining first and second lass Kathiawar States are from 8s. to 13s. per head; Gwalior, 7s. $8 d$. ; ndore, 13s. 5 d. ; Phartpore, 8s. 8 d .; Dholepur, 8 s . 10 d .; Tonk, 7 s. ; Kotah, 11s. 4d.; Jallawar, 8s. 10d. Only just now Sindia lends e3,500,000 to the British Government ; Holkar, I think, has lent $£ 1,000,000$ for the Indore railway.
There cannot be much oppression in these States, as the Political tgents' vigilance and superintendence, and the fear of the displeasure of Government, are expected to prevent it.
Then Sir Grant Duff maintains that no country on the face of the arrth is governed so cheaply as British India. In the first place, thiv is afiction, as the heaviness of burden on poverty-stricken British India is nore than double than that on the enormously rich England; aud ;econdly, Sir Grant Duff's object is to show that this cheapness is a roof of the success of the present British Indian policy. But, on ,he contrary, the facts and figures I have given above about British india's wretched income and capacity for taxation, its insignificant rade, and the very paltry commercial benefit to England, are conduive proofs of anything but success in improving the prosperity of the jeople. Moreover, for the so-called cheapness, it is no thanks or credit .o Government. It is not of choice that Government takes only Cs. jer head. On the contrary, it is almays longing, ever moaning and asing every possible shift to squeeze out more taxation if it can. ly all means make British India capable of paying even 20s. per licad (if not 50 s. per head, like England) for revenue, without oppression and misery; or make its income $£ 20$ per head, if not $\mathfrak{£ 1 1 \text { , like that }}$ of England; and then fairly claim credit for having raised to some material extent the prosperity of British India. Let us have such sesults, instead of tall talk and self-complacent assertions. Had Movernment given us year after year correct information about the ctual income and condition of the people of British India, Britain

## SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF ON LVDIA.

would then have known the deplorable results of the neglect of, ant disobedience to, her deliberate and sacred mandates.

Again, Sir Grant Duff's boast of the cheapness of government i wrong, even in the misleading sense in which he maintains it. II tries to show that because British India pays only 6s. per head, it i therefore the most cheaply governed country on the face of the earth-i.e., no other country pays a less amount per head. But evet in this he is not quite accurate. He would have found out this hat he only looked about in India itself, and he would have savec himself the surprise which he expresses at Mr. Smith being startle when he (Mr. Smith) was told that taxation was lighter in Nativ, States than in British India. As a matter of fact, there are som Native States in which the revenue per head is lighter than in British India. Whether that is a desirable state of affairs or not $i$ another question; but when he twits Mr. Smith, he should have ascer tained, whether what Mr. Smith was told was at all correct or not There are some of the Native States where the gross revenue is ver: nearly as low as or even less than 6s. per head : Hyderabad, 6s. $4 d$. Patiala, 6s. 4d.; Travancore, 5s. 8d.; Kolhapor, $5 s .6 d$. ; Mysore 4s. 10d.; Dungapore, 2s. ; Marwar, 1s. 10d.; Serohi, 2s. 3d.; Jeypore. 4s. 3d.; Banswara, 3s. 8d.; and Kishengarh, 4s. 10d. Travancore it known as a $\pi \mathrm{cll}$-governed country. $£ 15,000$ of its revenue is interes on British Indian Government securities, and it Lolds a balance in hand in Government securities and otherwise of $£ 501,000-$ equal tc nearly eleven months' revenue. Jeypore has the reputation of being a well-governed State. There are similarly even some foreign coun tries outside India which are as "cheaply governed" as British India United States of Columbia, 5s. 10d.; Republic of Boliria, 5s. 11 d .

Sir Grant Duff refers to the absorption of gold and silver and tc hoarding. What are the facts about British India? In my "Poverty of India" I have treated the subject at some length. The total amoun (after deducting the exports from imports) retained by India durins a period of eighty-four ycars (1801 to 1884), including the excep tionally large imports during the American war, is $£ 155,761,385$, This is for all India. The population at present is $251,000,000$. may take the avcrage of eighty-four years roughly-say 200,000,000 This gives 4 Js . $6 d$. per head for the whole eighty-four ycars, 0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head per annum. Even if I took the average population as 180,00 , 000 , the amount per head for the eighty-four year: would be 50 s , or $\boldsymbol{\tau} d$. per head per annum. Of the United King. dom I cannot get returns before 1858. The total amount of trea. sure retained by the United Kingdom (after deducting exports fron imports) is, for twenty-seven years from 1858 to 1884, $£ 86,194,93 \tilde{i}_{\text {f }}$ Taking an average of $31,000,000$ of population for twenty-seven years the amount retained for these twenty-seven years is $55 s .7 \mathrm{~d}$. ner head:
or very nearly 2s. 1 d . per head per annum; while in India for more han three times the same period the amount is only $45 s . \mathrm{Gd}$. pcr head, or $6 \frac{1}{2} d$. per head 'pen annum. France has retained from 1861 to 1880 (Mulhall's Dictionary) $£ 208,000,000$; and taking the populationay $37,000,000-$ that gives 112s. per head in twenty years, or $5 s .7 d$. jer head per annum.

Sir Grant Duff ought to consider that the large amount of bullion $s$ to be distributed over a vast country and a vast population, ncarly 2qual to five-sixths of the population of the whole of Europe; and when the whole population is considered, what a wretched amount is his of gold and silver-viz., $6 \frac{1}{2} d$. per head per annum-received for all jossible wants ! India does not produce any gold or silver. To compare $t$ with Europe-Europe retained in ten years, 1871-1880 (Mulhall, 'Progress of the World," 1880), $£ 327,000,000$ for an avcrage popuation of about $300,000,000$, or 21 s . 10 d . per head, or 2 s .2 d . per lead per annum. India during the same ten years retained EC5,774,252 for an average population of say $245,000,000$; so that he whole amount retained for the ten years is about $58.4 d$., or only $3 \frac{1}{2} d$. per head per annum, against 218. 10d. and 28. 2d. respectively of Europe. This means that India retained only one-fourth of what Europe retained per head per annum during these ten years. It must be further remembered that there is no such vast system of cheques, slearing-houses, \&c., in India, as plays so important a part in England and other countries of Earope. Wretched as the provision ff $6 \frac{1}{2} d$. per head per annum is for all wants-political, social, comnercial, \&c.-there is something far worse behind for British India. All the gold and silver that I have shown above as retained by India s not for British India only, but for the Native States, the froutier Serritories, and the Earopean population ; and then the remainder is or the native population of British India. We mast have official infornation about these four divisions before we can form a correct estimate of what British India retains. The Native States, as I have said before, 'ave no foreign drain except the small amount of tribute of about $\mathbf{Q} 700,000$. Some frontier territories receive something instead of 3aying any tribute. These States therefore receive back for the isports of their merchandise, and for the ordinary trade profits on ruch exports, full returns in imports of merchandise and treasure, and this treasure taken away by the Native States and frontier erritories forms not a small portion of what is imported into India. [t must also be considered how much metal is necessary every year or waste of coin and metal, and for the wants of circulating currency. When Government can give us all such information, it will be found hat precious little remains for British India beyond what it is comselled to import for its absolute wants. I hope England does not nean to say that Englishmen or Englishwomen may sport as much

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as they like in ornaments or personal trinkets or jewellery; but tn the wretch of a native of British India, their fellow-subject, has : business or right to put a few shillings' worth of trinkets on his w, or daughter's person; or that natives must simply live the lives brutes, subsist on their "scanty subsistence," and thank their sta, that they have that much.

I will now try to give some indication of what bullion Briti India actually retains. Mr. Harrison gave his evidence before $\mathbf{t}_{\text {t }}$ Parliamentary Committce of 1871-74 that about $£ 1,000,000$ of fre coinage was more than sufficient to supply the waste of coin or met. Is it too much to assume that in the very widespread and minu distribution, over a vast surface and a vast population, of small trinks or ornaments of silver, and their rough use, another million mfy required to supply waste and loss? If only a pennyworth per he per annum be so wanted, it would make a million sterling. Ne: how much goes to the Native States and the frontier territorie Here are a few significant official figures as an indication: The " R port of the external land trade and railway-borne trade of the $\mathrm{B}_{\mathrm{o}}$. bay Presidency for 1881-85" (p. 2), says of Rajputana and Cent) India-"13. The imports from the external blocks being great than the exports to them, the balance of trade due by $t$ Presideucy to the other provinces amounts to Rs. $12,01,05,912$, appears from the above table and the following." I take the Nati States from the table referred to.

Excess of Imports in Bombay Presidency.


Or $\mathcal{L} 7,130,579$. This means that these native States have exported much more merchandise than they have imported. Thereupon $t$ Reportremarks thus:-"The greatest balance is in favour of Rajputa and Central India, caused by the import of opium from that bloc. Next to it is that of the Central Provinces. It is presum that these balances are paid back mainly in cash" (the ital are mine). This, then, is the way the treasure goes; a. poor British India gets all the abuse, insalt added to injur Its candle burns not only at both ends, but at all parts. $\mathrm{T}^{\text {t }}$ excessive foreign agency eats up in India, and drains away out ${ }^{\prime}$ India, a portion of its wretched income, thereby weakening ai, exhausting it every year drop by drop, though not very perceptibl and lessening its productive power or capability. It has no capital, and cannot increase it much. Forcign capital does nearly: the work, and carries away all the profit. Foreign capitalists frc Eurone and from Native States' make profits from the resonrea
itish India, and take away those profits to their own countrics. e share that the mass of the natives of British Iadis have is to udge and slave on scanty subsistence for these forcign capitalists ; $t$ as slaves in America did, on the resources of the country and land longing to the masters themselves, but on the resources of their n councry, for the benefit of the foreign capitalists. I may illastrate s a little. Dombay is considered a wealthy place, and has a large ital circulating in it, to carry on all its wants as a great port. hose capital is this? Mostly that of foreigners. The capital of 2 Europcan exchange banks and European merchants is mostly teign, and most of the native capital is also forcign-i.e., that of ? native bankers and merchants from the Native States. Nearly i,000,000 of the capital working in Jombay belongs to native ukers from the Native States. Besidos, a large portion of tho althy merchants, though more or less settled in Bombay, are from itive States. Of course I do not mean to say anything arainst ese capitalists from Europe or Native States. They are quite free d welcome to come and do what they can. They do rome od. But what I mean is, that British India cannot and es not make any capital, and must and does lose the profit its resources to others. If British India were left to its own e devclopment it would be quite able to supply all its own ints, would not remain handicapped, and would have a free field in npetition with the foreign capitalists, with benefit to all conccrned. e official admission of the amount of the drain goes as far as $0,000,000$ per annum ; but really it will be found to be much larger cluding interest on railway and public works loans):-add to this in out of the country what is eaten and enjoyed in the country elf by others than the natives of the country, to the deprivation by much of these natives, and some idea can be formed of the actual d continuous depletion. Now, take only $£ 20,000,000$ per annum be the extent of the drain, or even $\$ 10,000,000$ per annum; s amount, for the last thirty years only, would have sufficed to ild all the present and great many more railways and other blic works. There is another way in which I may illustrate the ming of the candle at all parts. First of all, British India's $n$ wealth is carried awny out of it, and then that wealth is bught back to it in the shape of loans, and for these loans British lia must find so mach more for interest; the whole thing ring in a most vicious and proyoking circle. Will nothing $t$ a catastrophe cure this? Even of the railway, \&c., loans the sple do not derive the full benefit. I cannot go into details uut this here. I refer to my correspondence with the Secretary State for India, published in the Journal of the East India sociation yuder the title of "The Condition of India." Nor can

I go here into the calculations about the dxain. I can onily res to my papers on "The Poverty of India" and "Condition of India Let Sir Grant Duff kindly show me where I am wrong in thd papers, and I shall be thankful; or he will see that no country the world, not even England excepted, can stand such a drain witho destruction. Even in those days when the drain was understood be only $£ 3,000,000$ per annum, Mr. Montgomery Martin wrote in the. significant and distressing words:
"The annual drain of $£ 3,000,000$ on British India has amounted in thir years, at 12 per cent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to $t$ enormous sum of $£ 723,900,000$ sterling. . . . So constant and accumulating drain, even in England, would soon impoverish her. How severe, then, mi be its effects on Inda, where the wage of a labourer is from twopence to thrf pence a day! Were the hundred millions of British subjects in Inc converted into a'consuming population, what a market would be presented 1 British capital, skill, and industry!"
What, then, must be the condition now, when the drain is gettir perhaps ten times larger, and a large amount besides is eaten in $t l$ country itself by others than the people. Even an ocean would 1 dried up if a portion of its evaporation did not always return to it : rain or river. If interest were added to the drain, what an enormol loss would it be!

In the darkness of the past we see now a ray of light and hop when the highest Indian authority begins to perceive not only tl material disaster, but even the serious "political danger" from tl present state of affairs. I only hope and pray that Britain will so matters mended before disaster comes. Instead of shutting his eye like an ostrich, as some persons do, the Secretary of State for Ind only last year, in his despatch of 26th January 1886 to the Treasur. makes this remarkable admission about the consequences of ti present "character of the Government," of the foreign rule Britain over India:-
"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the publ revenues is very pecular, not merely from the habits of the people and the strong aversion to change, which is more specially exhibited to new forms taxation, but likewise from the character of the Government, which is in tl hands of fureigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices, and for so large a part of the army. The impatience of new taxation, which wou have to be borne, wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on th country, and virtually to moet additions to charges arising outside of tl country, would constitute a poltical danger the real magnitude of which, it to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of , concern in the government of India, but which those responsible ior the government have long regarded as of the most serious order." [The italic are mine.]
This gives some hope. If, after the faithful adoption of the policy 1833 and 1858, our material condition does not improve, and all th
irs expressed in the above extract do not vanish, the fault will not Britain's, and she will at least be relieved from the charge of disnour to her word. But I have not the shathew of a doubt, as the itesmen of 1833 and the proclamation of 1858 had no doubt, that e result will be a blessing both to England and India.
A second ray of hope is this. Many Englishmen in England are king active intercst in the matter. Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, Sir Trevelyan, and others have done good in the past. Other are rnestly working now-Mr. Slagg, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Digby, Mr. S. nith, Mr. Hyndman, and several others. A further ray of hope in an increasing number of members of Parliament interesting emselves in Indian matters, such as Dr. Hunter, Mr. S. Smith, r. Clark, Mr. Cremer, Sir J. Phear, Sir W. Plowden, and many hers; and we cannot but feel thankful to all who have taken id are taking interest in our lot. All unfortunately, however, bour under the disadvantage of want of full information from overnment, and the difficulty of realizing the feelings and views ; the natives. But still they have done much good. I must also Imit here that some Anglo-Indians begin to realize the position. ie owe much to men like Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir G. Birdwood, fajor Bell, Mr. Ilbert, Mr. Cotton, and, others of that stamp, or their active sympathy with ns. Mr. Bright hit the blot as far uck as 1853 in his speech of the 3rd of January : "I must say that is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil id capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, de chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government 'the country." It is not necessary to go far to seek for this fundazental error. It is the perversion of the policy of 1833, which in the ore widened and complete form of 1858 is virtually still a dead letter. Much is said about poor natives wasting money in marringes, \&c. hope it is not meant that these poor wretches have no right to any scial privileges or enjoyments, and that their husiness is only to live ad die like brutes. But the fact of the matter is, that this is onc $f$ those fallacies that die hard. Let us see what truth the Deccan iots Commission brings to light. The Report of that Commission cys (page 19; par. 54); "The results of the Commission's uquiries show that undue prominence has been given to the tpenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryots' idebtedness. The expenditure on such occasions may andoubtedly ecalled extravagant when compared with the ryots' means; but the ccasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total um spent this way by any ryot is not larger than a man in his posion is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures." (The dics are mine.) And what is the amount the poor ryot spends on
the marriage of his son! Rs. 50 to 75 ( $£ 5$ to $£ 7$ 10s.) Siy in Commissioners.

Sir Grant Duff says: "We have stopped war, we are stopl famine. How are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed?" not Sir Grant Duff a little liasty in saying "We are stopping famine." What you are doing is, to starve the living to save the dying. Mas the people themselves able to meet famine without misery and deathis, and then claim credit that you are stopping famine. However, the true answer to the question, "How are the ever-increasing multitude to be fed?" is a very simple one, if gentlemen like Sir Grant Dul will ever have the patience to study the subject. The statesmen $0^{*}$ 1833 and of 1858 have in the clearest and most emphatic wa: answered this question. They knew. and said clearly upon what th welfare and well-being of the hundreds of millions depended. The, laid down unequivocally what would make British India not only able $t$ feed the increasing multitudes, but prosperous and the best custome of England; and Mr. Grant Duff" following kind question of $18 ;$ will be fully answered. "But what are we to say about the state 0 . India? How many gentertions must pass away before that countr. has arrived at even theentomarative wealth of this (England)? This benevolent desire of Mr. Grant Duff would be accomplished i no long time. This qutestion of population, of "the ever-increasita; multitudes," requires further cxamination. Macaulay, in his revie of Southey's "Colloquies on Society," says:
"When this island was thinly peopled, it was barbarous; there was li ${ }^{-}+{ }_{3}$; capital, and that little was insecure. It is now the richest and the most high!. civilized spot in the world, but the population is dense. . . . But when $w$ confure our own condition with that of our ancestors, we think it clear tha the advantages ariging from the progress of civilization have far more that connierbalanced the disadvantages arising from the progress of population Whate our numbers have increased tenfold, our wealth has increased hundred fold.: . . If we were to prophesy that in the year 1930 a population of fitt millions, better fed, clad, and lodged than the English of our tume, will cove these islands, . . . many people would think us insane. We prophesy nething but this we say, if any person had told the Parliament which met in perplexit: and terror after the crash in 1720, that in 1830 the wealth of England woili, surpass all their wildest dreams, . . . that for one man of ten thousatrd pound then living there would be five men of fifty thousand pounds, . . . ou ancestors would have given as much credit to the prediction as they gave $t$, - Gulliver's Travels.' "

I claim no prophecy, but the statesmen of 1833 have prophesied and the Proclamation of 1858 has prophesied. Do what they have said and tereir prophecies shall be fulfilled.
Ney let us see a few more facts. Because a country increases in population it does not necessarily follow that it must become poorcr nor because a country is densely populated, that therefore it must bu poor. Says Macaulay: "England is a hundredfold more wealth.
hile it is tenfold denser." The following figures speak for themslves :

| Countries, | 7 Inhabiluats per an, mile |  | Ineome per finh iti int (Xnthali's Lhtromary |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Belginm | 487 | $\ldots$ | 222.1 |
| England | 478 (1886) |  | 41 (1882) |
| Holland | 315 | $\ldots$ |  |
| Italy . | 257 | .. | 12 |
| ${ }^{\text {Bratish Ludia }}$ | 229 | $\ldots$ |  |
| Germany | 217 |  | 18.7 |
| Austria | 191 |  | 16.3 |
| France | 184 | .. | 25.7 |
| Switzerland. | 184 |  | 16 |
| Ireland | 153 (1886) | $\ldots$ | 16 (1882) |
| Deamark | 132 | ... | 23.2 |
| Scotland | 128 (1886) | $\ldots$ | 32 (1882) |
| Portugal | 126 |  | 13.6 |
| Turkey | 120 (Mulhall) | ... | 4 (Sir E. Baring) |
| ${ }_{\text {Spain }}$ Greces. | 85 |  | 13.8 11.8 |
| ${ }_{\text {Rusese }}$ Great in Europe |  | ... | 198 9 |
| ${ }_{\text {Sueden }}$ - | - $\left.{ }_{15}^{27}\right\}$ | ... | 16.2 |

The densest province of British India is Bengal (443). Thas here re countries denser and thinner than British India, but every one of sem has a far better income than British India. Belgiam, denecr man the densest presidency of British India, is eleven times more 'ealthy; England, as dense, is twenty time; more wealthy. Here re some very thinly populated countries: Mexico, 13 per square ale; Venezuela, 4.7; Chili, 8.8; Pern, 18.6; Argentine Reublic, 2.6 ; Uruguay, $7 \cdot 8$; and several others. Are they therefore so tuch richer than England or Belgium? Here is Ireland, at your oor. About its people the Dake of Argyll only a few wechs ago 32nd of April last), in the House of Lords, said : "Do not tcll me rat the Irish labourer is incapable of labour, or energy, or exertion. lace him in favourable circumstances, and there is no better workian than the Irishman. I have myself employed large gangs of rishmen, and I never saw any navvies work better; and besides that, rey were kind and courteous men." The population of Ircland is iss than one-third as dense as that of England ; and yet hovi is it lat the income of England is $£ 41$ and that of Ireland only E16 per thabitant, and that the mass of the people do not enjoy the beiefit $f$ even that much income, and are admittedly wretchedly poor?
British India's resources are officially admitted to be enormous, ad with an industrious and law-abiding people, as Sir George Birdood testifies, it will be quite able to produce a large income, become 3 rich as any other country, and easily provide for an increasing opulation and increasing taxation, if left free scope.
Lastly, a word about the edućated classes, upon whose devoted sads Sir Grant Duff has poured down all his vials of wrath. Hexe re some fine amenities of an English gentleman of high position : Pmforsinnal malcontents : hugy, nushing talkers; ingeniously wrong;
fogrers, chattcrboxes; disaffected cliques; the crassa ignorantia, lattle enteries of intriguers; silly and dishonest talk of Indian grumblers; politicizing sophists threaten to be a perfect curse to India," \&u.

I lcave these flowers of rhetoric alone. Not satisfied even with this much, he has forgotten himself altogether, and groundlessly charged the educated classes-" Who do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government," "who do their utmost to excite factitious disloyalty." I repel this charge with only two short extracts. I need not waste many words.

The following, from the highest authority, is ample, clear, and conclusive. The Government of India, in their despatch of the 8th of June, 1880, to the Secretary of State for India, bear this emphatic testimony: "To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India-and the number is rapidly increasing-any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent, from the consciousncss that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion."' Secondly, on the auspicious day of the Jubilee demonstration the Viccroy of India, in his Jubilee speech, says:
"Wide and broad indeed are the new fields in which the Government of India is called upon to labour-but no longer, as of aforetime, need it labour alone. Within the period we are reviewing education has done its work, and we are surrounded on allsides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whosethearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an Administration so peculiarly situated as outrs their advice, as,istance, and solidarity are assential to the successful evercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively assocnated with their English rulers in the administration of therr own domestic affairs."

## Look upon this picture and upon that!

Two Indian national Congresses have been held during the past two years-the sccond great one, at Calcutta, haring 430 delegates present from all parts of India, and of all classes of the people; and what is it that both these Congresses have asked? It is virtually and simply the "conscientious fulfilment" of the pledges of 1833 and 1858. They áre the pitbt upon which all Indian problems turi. If India is to be retained to Britain, it will be by men who insist upon being just, and upon the righteous fulfilment of the proclamation of 1858. Any one can judge of this from the kind of ovations given to Lord Ripon and Sir W. Wedderburn on their retirement. ;

Here, again, our gracious Empress in the year of her auspicic Subilee once more proclaims to the world and assures us, ${ }^{2}$ in response to the Bombay Jubilee Address last June, "It had al been, and will always be, her earnest desire to maintain unswervingl principles laid down in the proclamation published on her assumpt ${ }^{\prime}$ the direct control of the government of India." We ask no $m$ (


[^0]:    These figures suggest two observations. First, that about $\mathbf{6 0}$ per cent. of the persons apprehended and brought up before the magistrates were put to all the annoyance of a police arrest and appearance before the magistrate's court, and the anxiety and expense which is involved in a criminal or a quasi-criminal prosecution, without any justifiable groands for such abuse of the coercive power of the State. The right of personal freedom is indeed very sacred, and it is very necessary for the conservation of the commonwealth that the person and property of each man should be hemmed round with all the defensive armoury of the State, and a considerable margin mast also be allowed for the failure of the police and the private prosecutor to detect crime and convict the accused. But a margin of 60 per cent. challenges attention, and it becimes impossible to resist the conviction that these figures point to a growing evil which the courts foster, and aggravate to a large extent. The figures for the six years quoted before eatablish this point beyond cavil. While the number of convictions exeeed the discharges during 1866 and 1867, the proportion is absolutely reversed for the last four years, and the disparity between

[^1]:    - (C) - -503.72875 ]

[^2]:    * Not all Parsees,-One Parset, cne Hindu and one Mahomadan.

[^3]:    "The Government of Bombay have suggested that the Gaekwar should Page 3r. te advised to suppend or remove the Dewan, the Revenue Sir Soobah and his deputy, but the Governor General in Council is of opinion that it would be better to await the result of the inquiry before demanding their suspension or removal."

[^4]:    - $[C,-1249]$

[^5]:    * C C--x 25 .

[^6]:    ' ANNUAL MEETING OX DHE EASTINDIA ASSOCIATION, AUGUST 6, 8873 .
     desured to make stome brief 'explamitions to the members, and this perhaps was the most fuing of portunty. With regard no the dopation gnen by the Princes of India, there was, it appeared. some murpprehension. Alchungh, tho Couricul had clearly and nnequivacally, showh that these donathoss had been given emtifery upon publice grounds, and amply for the general good of the country, he uould now emphancaly repeat thas in order that there maght be no misunderstanding or mwapprehension on that poine- Theve wrsabsolutely no condition, no promise, no hope, beld out that the donors should hate any personal interest or benefit from the efforts made by the Association in Fagland. He wished it to be disinctlv understood that there were no more condrtoons attached to the donations than to the ordinary yearle subscriptions or donations of any of the members present, except that the gifts wexe princely, as became the gifts of pnnces. Any contrary opmion would seriously endanger the position of the Assoctauon, and sherefore he wished to set tha matterat rest at once and, he hoped, for ever. In furcher explanation, he mughtadd that an bis fourney through Western India, he vasited the Court of Haroda ia March last year, to solicit support, but hus Iighness $\%$ as not melined to do anything. Some months afterwards, however, he recuved a letter unving him to return, and when he went, his Highness asked his advice and assistance om certan private affairs. He accordingly undertook the perfarmance of certan work for His Highness, without having any idea of expecting anything hike pecumary remuneration. Hux his Highness urged that the service performed was at great value ta hym, and-finding that a personad recompense would not be accepratie-he mssued upon making a prownon for his (the speaker's) chuldren to the extent of K 5 50,000. (Hear, hear.) He (the speaker) felt the great delicacy of the posituon be held as regards the East India Association, and leence his first resaive to accept mo pecunary recompenve even in the form so considerately urged by has Highness. Subsequently. however, he consulted with some of his best friends in India-friends who would, he knew, care

[^7]:    more for his honour than his pockett-and they told mm thin, intibure opintorn, he need not have the slightest hestation in accepting the provsion for biftethituron-(hetr, brat)-especially as he had earned it by hunest and valued labour. (Heat, hear.) Hufi, he nas undecided in the matter, and he had since consulted sume of his English frends in F fiduth, dtom, after hearing all the circumstances of the case, one and all sand as strongly ar porivit. that he whould not have the slightest hesitation in the niater, and that he was bound to athowlus +4 . 4 dute the benefit of his work (Hear, hear) He would not have troubled the meeting with his ea planation about a private affaur, but a public character had been given to the circumstance, and it mos ako sopposed that he had undertaken some agency of his Highness, and had come orer Enghand to fight has cause or to exrne the East India Assoclation to do so, and to advance his perwonal muerests. This was allogether wrong. (Hear, hear.). He had heard in Bombay that certann tigh officuls had entertanned misapprehencions of the kind to which he referred, and only the other day, when in the Commutteeroom of the House of Commons, a gentleman high in authority, and for whom he had respert, saxd "If you ar- going to give anv evidence about Native Princes, I should look out for you." "Thus Gentleman afterwards explained to me that he meant no reference to the repnet abous my accepuing agencies, but simply to my views about Native States.] This confirmed has surpicios that nome misar prehension existed. It was to dispel this misapprehension that be beld an agency, that he had ventured to trespass on the tume of the Association in making this explanation, and he wonitdistinctly repeat that he had always felt his position in regard to the Association to be so peculaarly delicate, that, although it was probable that he might have expenenced hutle difficulty in making two or three lacs if he had chosen to undertake agencres, he had throughout mantamed strict|y his resolve that his character and conduct should be enturely above suspicion, and therefore to all such offers he had always replied that he had a broader work to do, and that he could not serve God and Mammon at the same time.: He hoped that as long as he was the Honorary Secretary of thus Assocration he should never do anything which would, in the shightest degree, compromise the Association, or which would be calculated to produce any prejudice aganst its work. (Journal of the East India Association Vol. VII. No. 2, Page 622).

[^8]:    - This I had explained was usintelligible to me. It was meant, I suppose, that I was only to execute orders given by the Gaikwar.
    (1) One addituonal mportant reason was that the Durbarees and even Yasous would mown nart then take advantage of giving orders in the Gackwar's name.
    (2) Without this arrangement irregular expenditure could not be checked.
    (3) Withous thus it was smpossible to bring Finances into orices.

[^9]:    * "I have recerved with pleasure your Lxcellency's friendly Khareeta of 31st March 1874, with $n$ copy of the Report of the Commistion.
    In my Khareeta of 3 ist December 1873 , I had requested to be furnshed with a copy of this Report in order that I might be able to express my views upon it before your Excellency determined upon any friendly adnce to be given to me. As your Excellency, however, is to communtCate to me shortly your friendly advice, I shall eake the opportunty of expressing my views upon the Report, when I shall reply to your Excellency's fnendly Khareeta contaning that advice. 1 beg to expresi \&c \&c

[^10]:    - The llaucs are mine.

[^11]:    " Journal of the East India Association," Vol. ix., pp. 268-278.

[^12]:    * I make not more than rupees 20. I requested Sir E. Baring to give me his calculations, either to correct mine or his, but I am sorry he declined. However, this difference is a matter of not much consequence, as it makes but very little difference in proving the extreme paerty of Indan. The italics are mine

[^13]:    'The italics are mine

[^14]:    "There are also one or two cardinal points wherein the Bitish Government might, and probably will, do more than it has her tofore done to the advantage of the country and the inctease of its own popularits. Last year thers appeared a thoughtful article (the anthor is not known to

[^15]:    * Somo londing principles of Political Economy newly expounded IR 450-51, and comparo alsu Fortnightly Review June 1876. P 881.

[^16]:    * P 236 (3rded.). See also Mill's Political Eiconomy, Prrice (Popalar edition.); Essayz on some unsettled questions of P'ubtual Economy pp. 138-9;110-5. (1st ed ).

[^17]:    *' renightly Reviow for July 1871 P. 93. The paper has been finen seprintod in Prof. Cairnes's Essays in Political Economy. See P. 2 2\%
    tsie, inter alia, Prof. Leslig's Essay on Financial Reform. Coblen Ciub Essays 2ud Series P. 193.

[^18]:    *Wealth of Nathons Bouk IV ch. II; Chamber of Commerce Report ( Bombay) 1nit-ǐ. P. 80; Fortnghtly Review June 1870, P 889; see also Mr Sorabji Shapurjı Beugalee's letter to Lord Lytton on the Import Duties P. 3.
    +Seo Ricardo's works (McCalloch) P. 191. Rogers Political Economy P 230 , and Chdstone's Cinancial Statements P. 129 whence it will npphr that the operation of the repeal of the Corn Laws in England was benericial in a different mode altogether. 'The passago is cited with approval by Prof. Leshe; Cobden Clab Fssays. (2nd Ser) 236. Prof. Leslie, in that papar, conches his lance agamst all indirect taxation. It is mofe than doubtful, however, whother his beau ideral of taxaton is practicable-in Indas especially. Soe Gladstone ${ }^{\circ}$ Fuancial Statements 1 . 518 and Lepurt of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for 187" P. Et Journal of tho East Iudia Association VILL. 192.
    $\ddagger$ I hare been unable to resist the temptation to add the follow. ing remarks although they do not bear on the abstract question, but ouly apply to the caso of an impust which is necessary for revenue

[^19]:    purposes as well as protective in its oparation. My excuse must bo found in the fact that it is with reference to such a doty that tho abstract question which I am discussing has been raised.
    *In point of fact the duties will be found to satisfy most if not ail of the famous canons of Taxation laid down by Adam simith. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji is also of this opnion. See hid Letter $\mathfrak{i}$, Lord Lytton P. 6 Et seq. Compare also Syme's Indastrial Science 1'. 71, where and ou the following pages may be seen some sery inciave observations on the late Indıan Tariff Act.

[^20]:    *Se Report of Dercan Riots Commission P.2; The Poona Sârvaitnik Salhâ's Report for the Indian Finance Committee (1873); Nortnightly Review April 1876 P. 526. Since this was written ,ur new (rovernor has expressed his opinion on this subject in the course of his reply to arl address presented to him by the Poona iârvajank Snbhá Sir R. Temple holds out no hope of reduction in whe Land Assessments, we he is satisfied about the care with which the settlemont has been mode. Is His Excellency aware of the late Mr. Havelock's exporiment?

    Theport of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1874-5 P. 109 Fortnightiy Review April 1876 pp. 521-8.
    $\ddagger$ Report of the Bormbay Chamber of Commerce 1874.5. P. 97,

[^21]:    *In saying this. I do not forget that cheap labour is not necessariIf or always the most profitable. But even taking note of all that is involved in this admission, the circumstance referred to in the text is one entitled to some weight on the question discussed. See on this point the Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for 1874-5 P. 54. and Brassoy's Work and Wages pp 69, 87.
    †Compare Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1874-5. P. 54. and Journal of the East India Asseciation VIII. 123.

[^22]:    *Fortnightly Review April 1873. pp 443,450,451. Compare also Mr 'Syme's Oqtlines of an Industrial Science pp 87-8. What has been stated in the text also farnishes matter for consideration as against the contention of the Chairman of our local Chamber of Commerce, that "r", law can be laid down with greater certainty than that if you protert the manufactures of a country by protective tariffs, ite cxport tralh in these mannfactares will wither and die." (Chamber of Cummerce Report for 1874-5. P. 87 ).
    tOar own cotton manufacture shews a susbtantially simidar risull. for although our indigenous machine-made coarse cloths are nut yet, I belneve, cheaper in money cost than Manchester clous, atull considering their greater durability, it is in the long run chearmer to buy them than the clothsimported from Manchester. Cuwluth Syme's Industrial Science P. 170.

[^23]:    Leectures ou Poltical Economy-Works edited by Hamilton Vol 1. P. 2 I note.
    +Wealth of Nations Book IV chap II.-Vol ILI.P. 113 (Wakcfield's edition )

[^24]:    *Compare Fortnightly Review April 1873 pp 443-57.
    $\dagger$ Ricardo's works (Ed. by McCalloch) P. 189.

[^25]:    * See Dissertations and Discussions Vol IV. S6. Compare also the guotation there given from Profesonr Leslie and the note thereon at P. 87; and Fortnightly Review for July 187I1P. 90 (Carnes's Essags 1. 251.)
    $\dagger$ For Jane 18:6. P. $8 \%$.

[^26]:    * See the Acsdemy. April 10, 1875. P. 364.
    $\dagger$ Compare, apon this point, the observations of the late Mr. 3 gehot in the Fortnightly Review for May 1876-P. 737.

[^27]:    - I also believe, that there has arisen so mach faith in the cotton manufactaring industry, that the hoardings of some people have seen the light inconsequence of this new indastry being established among us.

[^28]:    *Fortnightly Review. April 1870 P. 457.
    †Compare Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojı's paper on the Poverty of In ina Journal East India Aspociation IX, P. 237, et eeq.

[^29]:    * It should be noted here, however, that the aggregate imports and exports of Madras look almost insignificant by the side of those of Bombay and Bengal.

[^30]:    * See the table at the end of the book. Mr. Martin gives the sums in Rupees; and in the second table, therefore, I bave reduced the Pounds sterling to Rupees at 10 Rs to the Pound sterling.

[^31]:    * East India Association Journal VIIL P. 207.
    $\dagger$ Yet the gsllant General is no Protectionist. See East Indix Association Journal VIII. 186.

[^32]:    *P. 33.

[^33]:    *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy de. pp 483-4 $\dagger$ Ibid P. 487.

[^34]:    * Ibid P. 484. n. Prof. Cairnes in this note quotes, as supporting his view, a remark of Mr. Wells to the effect, that no representative of any protected industry has ever proposed or even withoat grambling submitted to a reduction of the protective Tariff. 'This may be very true. Bat it does not follow, that this was done because the Protection could not be dispensed with. There is another, and, I bumbly think, a more correct, mode of explaining the condact of these persons-they drd not wish their profits to be reduced as they would be by the competition following on the reduction or sepeal of the Protective impost.

[^35]:    * Compare on this pront Prof. Huxley's remuke. Lay Sermons T. 62 et seq and Mr. Brassey's Work and Wages P. 122.

[^36]:    * Some principles de. P. 122.
    + P. 392.

[^37]:    * Some Principles \&o. P. 454. I may add, that I arn quite prepared to accept the logioal conolosion from this doctrine. If Bombay, for instance, has an established manufuctura, which is better adapted to the circumstances of Poona, and whinh in a short time can be astablished in Poona by means of Protection, I wonld protect tha Poona manufacture against Bumbay.
    † Compare Mill's Dissertations and Discussions IV, 124.

[^38]:    * H. Spencer's Essays on Education P. 148.
    + See Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1873-1 P. At.

[^39]:    * The precise figures may be seen in the recently recoived Statistical Abstract concerning India No. X, P. 49.

[^40]:    * See Spenoer's Essays ( 2 ad series ) P. 143 ; Fortnightly Review November 1871, and Haxley's Critiqnes and Addresses, P. 8 el pif see also Preface P. V1 et beq; Fortnightly Review December 1871. and Spencer's Essays (3rd scries) P. 127 et aeq; Study of Sociology. passim; and Fortnightly Review. January and Fcbruary 1875; and Spencer's Social Statics Part III.
    † Fortnightly Review. February 1875 P. 262.

[^41]:    * Incley's Critiques \& 0 Preface P. VI.
    †Fortnightly Leview Docember 1S71. P. 617. Spenecr's Essays III. 157-8.
    $\ddagger$ Critigues and Audresses F. 9. Fortnightly Review. Norember 1871 P. きこ.

[^42]:    * Fortnightly Rev ew December 1871. P. 651. Spencers' Lasays III 163.4.

[^43]:    * I. 38. (Trubner 1876).

[^44]:    * The subject has been again discussed in the Werminster Review for April 1877.
    $\dagger$ Pohtical Economy. (Popular Edation) P. 568 a
    ${ }_{\ddagger}^{+}$lbid P. 571 b

[^45]:    * Ibid P. 576. et seq; and compare Dissertations and Discussions IV.12-13.
    $\dagger$ Political Economy P. 576 b.. It is unnecessary to givo detailed references. I will now content myself with referring generally to Book V. Chapter XI.
    $\ddagger$ In the article to which roference has been already made, I find corroboration for this view, in the following words of the Westminster Reviewer, who appears to be an adhereut of Mr. H. Spencer's doctrine. "There is", he says, "an early stage of existence in which nations hike infants or childron cannot be set free from authornty; they cannot judgo wisely enough or act with suflicient selfectmetral to avond fatal or irretrievable mistakes." Westminster Revicer for April 1877. P. 925.

[^46]:    - Political Economy P. 233. I own that the parentheticai re'anse appears to me a rather dangerous one to Mr. Rogers's argament. For, whose "conception" of the "absolute necessity" is to prevall? That of the governing powers, I take it; and then you have full scope for "intrigue."
    $\dagger$ Political Economy P. 580 a

[^47]:    * Compare the varions articles on that subject in Mookerjoe's Magazine.

[^48]:    * Political Economy. P. 558 a.
    † P. 476. See also Syme's Industrial Scieace P. 18\%, and thas memorial of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce quotel by Mr. Syme in that book at P. 77.
    $\ddagger$ Report of the Chamber of Commerce 1874-5. P. 98.
    § See East Inda Association Journal Vol VIII P. 128. Vol IX. 49-50. See also Fortnightly Review April 1873. P. 462.

[^49]:    * Lay Sermons de P. 170. $\dagger$ P. 115.

[^50]:    * Compare on this point, Mill's Political Economy pp. $5: 7$ et seq.
    $\dagger$ Political Economy. P. 223. This admission by the way, all rda a loophole for the entrance of mach of that intrigue and as those, means for demoralizing Governments against which Mr. Rogers atrongly protests. See too P. 45 supra.
    $\ddagger$ See Dr. Hewlett's Census Report for 1872 P. 10. And compare Poona Sêrvajanik Sabhâ'n Roport for E. IF. Committee I 2 it

[^51]:    *It is true that this is expressly prohibited by an Act of the L"gislatare. Bat we know how a coach and sis may be driven throush such Acts in administering them. And I am assured by one wis has very carefully and exhanstively investigated this subjoct, that in practice the Act is so far almost a dead letter. Eren a surpuad danger of this, however, is enough for our argament.
    4 The authorities against the Bengal settlement are collected in a note in the extremely elaborate judgment of the Cbief Justins of Bombay and Mr. Jugtice West in the famoas Kanara LadCała P.23.
    $\ddagger$ Political Economy. P. 75 a.

[^52]:    - Ibid P. 74 b.
    $\dagger$ Ibd P. 75 b.

[^53]:    * Compare also on this point the remarks of Mull. Polutical Economy P. 74 b.
    $\dagger$ Wealth of Nations Book IV. Chapter II. Dugald Stewart in hia criticism on this seems not to question the theoretical correctness of the exception bat its practical efficacy.

[^54]:    - P. 391; see also Rogers Political Economy P. 232

[^55]:    * Political. Economy P. \$56.

[^56]:    * P. 397.8.

[^57]:    * East India Associstion Journal VIII. 138.
    $\dagger$ The History of British India. P. 543 n . Compare also what $\mathrm{M}_{1}$ R. Knight says at. Journal. E. I. Association II P. 255.

[^58]:    * Fortnightly Review. June 1876 P. 896.

[^59]:    * Gladstone's Financial Statements P. 482. It will be observed, that the "sufferng" of which Mr. Gladstone speaks need not be undergone at all, if the Protection is avowedly given, in accordance with the linitation lad down by Mill, for a short period only, so as mèrely to gipe the industry an opportunity of taking root.
    + Keport of the Chamber of Commerce 1873-74 P. 37 et eeq. and Syme's Industrial Scicnce P. 80 et seq.

[^60]:    * Fortnightly Review, April 1873, P. 433 et seq.
    $\dagger$ This is exactly paralleled by what Mill eaye about childron "Froodou of contract, in the case of chuldren, is bat nwother word for freedom of coercion," ( P. 577 Political Ecunomy.) Cumpare al a Syme's Industrial Science pp. E1, 69.

[^61]:    * Some Jinciples \&c. P 451.

[^62]:    * Colden Club essays (Ind Series) P. 190.

[^63]:    * Fortnightly Review, November 1872, P. 538,

[^64]:    * I here use the word Indian as applying to all persons, wathout distinction of $r$ : creed, or colour, who are bond fuld domiciled here, who intend living and dying here, who will therefore give back to the country, as time goes on, all that they draw from country as snlary. In official parlance most of those II call Indians are designated statut natives; but to these I also add pure Europeans not born but only permanently domic here.

[^65]:    "In the seventeen years, from the battle of Waterloo to the passing of the Reform Bill, there never was a reform meeting or a reform demonstration at which the corn laws were not denounced. But sveryhody knew that there was no hope for the repeal of the corn laws by the unreformed Parliament."
    > "Even Cobden, however, and the Anti Corn Law League would lave found it impossible to get the corn laws repealed but for the tiumph of the Reform Bill of $1832 . "$

[^66]:    * i. , handless, eyeless, brainless, a popular but stnctly correct description of a former trio of Chef Court Judges.

[^67]:    - Vis., (1) The Eaglishman; (2) The Dally Newe; (3) The Statesman (Calcutta) (1) The Pioneer (Allahabal); (5) The Bombay Gazette; (i) The Times of Tadia (Bombay). Of these (1), (1) and (6) are rabid anti-Indian organs; (2) is mone 1 :pectable; (3) nut (5) eadearour to be just and impartial.

[^68]:    They cannot hope to craste a compact Indian party in Parliament of such -tiength ae to decide the fate of Ministries as the Irish party have done; but they connt upon always being able to command the sympathy and support of certuin

[^69]:    It is to these that the Government must look for the means of placing bef. the people the true meaning of the wild and fanciful schemes which aren put forward so ghbly: their influence must be enlisted against the agitators, suddenly India may find itself led to the bronk of a precipice with no gridi hand to save it from rum. The patriots who hope to make it a second Irela will, perhaps, see how dangerous it is to take Westurn agitation as their mod, it cannot he applied to India save as a slow match is applied to a train of g' powder: Do they nish to do this?

[^70]:    * See, in reference to the feelings aroused by Lord Ripon's kindly rule, "India's I à well," repunted at the end of this pamphlet, from the Mirror of the 14 th Decem 18Si, the day on which Lord Ripou left Calcutta at the close of ins Viceroyalty.

[^71]:    It is only just to note that this meeting with the Amir was arraged in accorlance whit the advice of Lord Rupon.

[^72]:    (In contrection with the subjects discussed in the foregoing paper, it has been mght destrable to seprodrece (as showing, inter aha, the reasonable spistt in pich thus far our Indian reformers are wonking) a series of anticles which 'ently nppeared in the "Mirror" of Calcutta (the leading Indian Newspaper), "the growth and development of political liberty in Great Britan's other pendencres.)

[^73]:    "It has been calculated that the averaye income per head of population ir India is not more than Ra. 27 a year; and, though I am not prepared to pledgt myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficientiy accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is exceeding?: poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a populatio: as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possible would be unjustifiable.'

